

# Profane and Sacred

*A study of the Norwegian Journalistic Field*

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The starting point for this project can be traced back to my time as a research assistant for Professor Jostein Gripsrud in 1998-99 at the Department of Media Studies at the University of Bergen, where I worked on a study of lifestyles and educational careers of students in a Bourdieuan perspective<sup>1</sup>. Inspired by this project, and receiving additional encouragement from Professor Martin Eide, I started writing an application for a doctoral grant for a study of the Norwegian journalistic field. A year later, working as temporary lecturer at the Department of Media and Journalism at Volda University College, I received two new grants from the Norwegian Media Authority (via the Council of Applied Media Research, RAM) who gave me some months to develop the project further in 2000-1, and the necessary funding for a future large-scale survey of Norwegian journalists. In 2002 I received a four-year doctoral grant from Volda University College on the project (including one year of lecturing).

I had started reading Bourdieu's works in the early nineties for my *hovedfag* thesis (similar to a master's thesis), where I tried to apply Bourdieu's concept of field on the emerging research-field of personal computer networks (BBS, a technology which later was replaced by the Internet)<sup>2</sup>. This was the start of a long-lasting interest in Bourdieu's works and the related traditions in the philosophy of science (French epistemology and Gaston Bachelard in particular), associated statistical methods (correspondence analysis), classical sociology and the French sociological-anthropological tradition. After some time, however, I became increasingly uncomfortable with Bourdieu's sociology. It was less a loss of faith in the sociological power of field analysis than a nagging feeling that the concepts of field, capital and habitus had become so naturalised in me that I had problems with looking at any social phenomena without conceptualising it exclusively and unproblematic in Bourdieu's terms, which felt like the kind of "conceptual sclerosis" that Gaston Bachelard warns against. Much for this reason, I was eager for an opportunity to apply the theory of fields in a larger work and thus hopefully gain a more nuanced understanding of this sociological approach, its sociological roots and its strengths and limitations. Bourdieu's concern with the journalistic field at this time appeared to offer an attractive case for a field analysis: it was a field that Bourdieu himself had not undertaken a full study of, and a type of field which seemed to differ somewhat from the more cultural/intellectual fields I associated with field analyses. Even if the resulting thesis in many ways feel more like a preparatory sketch for an field analysis than a full analysis, I do not regret this choice.

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<sup>1</sup> Gripsrud and Hovden (2000).

<sup>2</sup> Hovden (1997).

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Volda, Boxing Day, 2007  
Jan Fredrik Hovden

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It is by interpreting occupations in terms of preoccupations that we can understand their real, inward meaning.

Gaston Bachelard, *The Formation of The Scientific Mind*(1938)

## Chapter 1: Introduction

Max Weber – who was also a respected political journalist - says in “Politik als Beruf” that good journalism requires just as much intellect as any form of scientific work, but the journalist has to *work under very particular constraints*<sup>3</sup>. Weber emphasised the role of time pressures and the organizational nature of journalistic work, two themes which later have been extensively explored in sociological studies of news production<sup>4</sup>. Other common constraints which have been the focus in this tradition are the “political economy” of news, the impact of political and economic structures on news production<sup>5</sup>, and how “cultural values” in a society affects the journalistic gaze and products<sup>6</sup> (e.g. in the theory of “news framing”<sup>7</sup>).

In this thesis, using the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu’s theories of social fields as a guide, I would like to supplement these traditional concerns with the study of another set of constraints on journalistic practice in a Norwegian context – the structures of the *journalistic field* and the journalists’ *habitus* – which I believe are at least as important, if less visible, than the previous forms of constraints. By an apparent paradox, I will argue, these constraints are the genuine product of a gradually increasing journalistic freedom in Norway during the last century, where journalists increased autonomy from external influences - in particular from political parties and the state - has contributed to the construction of a particular informal social structure, what Bourdieu calls a *social field*. In this way this thesis is a study of the strong constraints latent in any prospect of “free and independent” journalism.

A *social field* is a complex concept, but can for now be thought of as a kind of social microcosm with its own logic, its own particular (if informal) laws and structure, where participants fight an unequal fight for internal recognition - unequal because the member’s chances of success are linked to their relative *positions*, which are based on the accumulation of certain forms of assets - what Bourdieu terms *capital*. The forms of recognition and the means for such recognition are by definition internal to a particular field, and in this way, members of a field are more dependent on each other than on the “outside world”. If the basic idea of semi-autonomous social universes with their own

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<sup>3</sup> Weber ([1919] 1988:525). In this context, one should note that Weber in 1909-10 planned a broad and comprehensive study of the German press. In his “Preliminary report on a proposed survey for a sociology of the press” (2001), Weber lists a wide range of research themes which precede many central concerns in later press research, from political-economic perspectives to more general focus on the role of the press in shaping public opinion and culture in society. The project was ultimately abandoned because of lack of funding and lack of cooperation from the German press. Weber’s project is discussed in more detail by Hanno Hardt (1979:127-141) and Pöttker ([1910] 2001).

<sup>4</sup> Some classic texts in this regard are David Manning White’s study of journalistic gatekeepers (1950), Peter Golding and Philip Elliot’s *Making the News* (1979), and Philip Schlesinger’s analysis of the effect of time constraints in his study of the BBC, *Putting Reality Together* (1978).

<sup>5</sup> E.g. McManus (1994) and Golding and Murdoch (1993).

<sup>6</sup> See for example Gans (1980), Hall (1978), Gitlin (1980) and Ericson, Chan and Baranek (1989).

<sup>7</sup> Tuchman (1980). A discussion of the relationship between the sociology of social fields and the news sociological tradition is given in chapter 7.

laws is not new, this idea has by Bourdieu been developed into a complete sociological approach with its own distinct theory, methodological approach and philosophy of science.

The first objective of this thesis is thus to *study the practices of Norwegian journalists* (how troublesome this word is going to be!) *as located in and structured by a social field*, using the theoretical tools and empirical investigations Bourdieu has made of other social fields as guidelines. In this way, this thesis is a contribution to the debate on the role and function of journalism in the public sphere and the understanding of journalistic practice more generally.

To study Norwegian journalists as participants in their own social field has many attractions. At a purely descriptive level, there are many historical changes in Norwegian journalism which seem to resonate with Bourdieu's view of social fields as turning *inwards*, "... turning in on itself, on its own principle, on its own premises."<sup>8</sup> At another level, Bourdieu's approach makes it possible to try to understand journalistic practice while avoiding many common problems: first, it makes it possible to see journalists as creative and strategic agents without mistaking their emic, practical-strategic self-explanations for a scientific analysis (I am thinking in particular here of their claim of being "professional", in other words, unaffected by every influence which is not in their interest to be associated with). Second, it makes one look for the ways journalistic practice is structured without seeing their actions as a simple reflection of these structures (as in the example of economic determinism or crass class determinism), and it reminds the researcher that social structures come in many forms – economic relations (market), gender, class, age etc. – which must be studied simultaneously for them to be meaningful. Third, the focus on a field as a site of struggle among agents of unequal strength emphasises not only the *conflictual nature* of journalism and how dominant journalistic classifications ("good journalists", "not really journalism", "an excellent prize-winner") are *made* through daily struggles in the journalistic field, but also that these are unequal struggles with a *plurality* of viewpoints, journalistic views and interests, a plurality which is all too often ignored by researchers who want to see journalists as an undifferentiated mass. Ignoring this plurality not only hinders the understanding of the conflictual context in which journalists orient themselves<sup>9</sup>, but also makes researchers liable to mistake dominant classifications in the field for scientific classifications, and by this, inflict a not insignificant degree of symbolic violence.

The second objective of this thesis is *the theoretical concept of social field itself*. Bourdieu emphasized the concept of field as a work in progress and encouraged others to utilize it on different subjects and in their own ways. The epistemological principles of the school of French epistemology – of which Bourdieu's sociology can be seen as a continuation into the sociological realm - make it clear that the concept of social field and the strong claims Bourdieu made for it must be subjected to close scrutiny. "Coherent knowledge", says Gaston Bachelard, "is a product, not of architectonic reasoning, but of polemic reasoning". Bachelard's point was, simply put, that our knowledge of any scientific object – he used the atom as an example – is not the best model we have, but "exactly the sum of criticisms to which its first representation has

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<sup>8</sup> Bourdieu ([1992] 1996:242).

<sup>9</sup> Champagne ([1995] 2005:57).

been subjected.”<sup>10</sup> Bourdieu submitted his model to many empirical tests and refined both his methodology and theory during the almost forty years since he first presented the concept.

In this context, the study of journalism as a social field offers a particularly interesting research object. First, even if several studies of journalists in what we may term the Bourdieuan tradition have been made lately (cf. section 3.5-3.6), critics have objected that the majority of these analyses have been concerned with the symbolic power of journalists, and little with the workings of concrete empirical journalistic fields<sup>11</sup>. This study offers – to my knowledge – the first field study of journalists along the tradition of *Homo Academicus* (Bourdieu never attempted such a study), and as such hopefully will help provide a further understanding of social fields through its differences and similarities with other social fields. Just as important, however, is that journalists and the journalistic field appear in some ways as somewhat of an anomaly in the traditional taxonomy of social fields. On the one hand, it is a practice which on the surface is not very different from other intellectual and artistic work, shown historically by the long tradition of authors and intellectuals who have also been journalists (and vice versa). On the other hand, journalists’ dependence on large-scale production and mass markets appears to break somewhat with Bourdieu’s descriptions of intellectual and artistic fields as fundamentally structured by an opposition between the commercial and non-commercial, of production for other producers versus production for a general market<sup>12</sup>. As the existence and logic of a social field is – according to Bourdieu – necessarily the product of an accumulation of a specific symbolic capital different from those that dominate in other social fields, this begs not only the question of how a journalistic field functions (what is the nature of its symbolic capital?), but also whether a distinct journalistic field even can *exist* under such conditions (as not being merely a dominated “subfield” in another, more autonomous field). Are autonomous social fields only possible in economically disinterested universes? The nature and functioning of such “heteronymous fields” as one might term them (an alternative term could be “fields of corporate professionals”, borrowing the last part of the term from Raymond Williams<sup>13</sup>), appear somewhat under-researched in the sociology of fields<sup>14</sup>.

This hybrid aspect of the practice of journalism has lead researchers to give various answers to the question of whether journalism can be a social field, the strength of its autonomy and its similarity to other social fields. Bourdieu described the French journalistic field as a self-contained field, although with a particularly weak autonomy<sup>15</sup>. In *Faire l’opinion* (1990) Patrick Champagne, while acknowledging the existence of a journalistic field, says he is tempted to speak of a journalistic-political field rather than

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<sup>10</sup> Bachelard ([1940] 1968:119).

<sup>11</sup> Bastin (2003:271).

<sup>12</sup> Bourdieu ([1977] 1993:82).

<sup>13</sup> In *Culture* (1981:52) Raymond Williams sketches four historical stages of the social relation of producers to institutions of cultural production and society, arguing for an increasing corporatisation especially in the last half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, which he terms “the corporate professional stage”.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. for example Hesmondhalgh (2006:219), who criticizes Bourdieu for “ignoring profound transformations in the field of cultural production in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, in particular the growth of the cultural industries – central to which are the media industries”.

<sup>15</sup> Bourdieu (1994).

two separate fields because of the deep mutual embeddedness of the two areas of practice<sup>16</sup>. Later, Champagne has gone further and asked if journalistic autonomy ought not rather be thought of as in reality a form of “negative autonomy”, a type of balance, an equilibrium between the demands of the political, intellectual and economic field<sup>17</sup>, which is in effect a questioning of the existence of journalistic capital as a distinct type of symbolic capital and as a distinct social field (at least for France).

There are many possible approaches to the study of a social field. This study places itself in the French prosopographic tradition. *Prosopography* is not a well-known concept outside of France, but can be thought of as a kind of collective biography of a social microcosm, where individuals’ backgrounds and positions (in a wide sense) are made subject to an extensive empirical collection<sup>18</sup>. Two well-known prosopographies by Pierre Bourdieu are his analysis of Paris professors in *Homo Academicus* ([1984] 1988) and of French corporate heads (with Monique Saint-Martin) in “Le patronat” (1978). Both studies are large-scale analyses of individuals belonging to the same social field, and based on a comprehensive collection of comparative data on individuals on a wide variety of subjects: education, social background, various forms of internal/symbolic capital, their professional careers, their opinions on various matters etc. Importantly, the main object of a prosopographic analysis is not individuals, but *the history and the structure of the field*. In contrast to what seems to be the case for most prosopographic analyses of social fields, the field analysis in this thesis is not based on (secondary) data of known individuals (e.g. biography collections), but on anonymous data collected by a survey questionnaire to a sample of Norwegian journalists and editors in 2005 (cf. appendix 1 for more details). Such an anonymous/survey-approach to the construction of the field – if with its own share of methodological problems<sup>19</sup> – has some compensations, making it possible to incorporate a large number of individuals and variables in the analysis, which for example makes it feasible to include both dominated and dominating agents in the same field analysis<sup>20</sup>.

The main analytical aims of this thesis is thus (aside of arguing for the feasibility of a field study of Norwegian journalism) to sketch some basic properties of the Norwegian journalistic field, and suggest how various habituses and the most important internal forms of capital are distributed in this microcosm, and how this structure gives direction and meaning to central journalistic struggles, beliefs and position-takings.

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<sup>16</sup> Champagne (1990:261-77). Similar suggestions have also been made by Bourdieu ([1995] 2005).

<sup>17</sup> Champagne (2007).

<sup>18</sup> For other examples of prosopographic analyses, see Remy Ponton and Gisèle Sapiro’s studies of French writers (Ponton 1977, Sapiro 1999), the historian Christophe Charles’ many studies of French elites (e.g. Charles 1990) and Frédéric Lebaron’s (2000) study of French economists. For a short introduction to the French prosopographic tradition, see Broady (2002).

<sup>19</sup> A short discussion of the respective advantages and disadvantages of these two approaches to prosopographic analysis can be found in appendix 1.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Giles Bastin (2003:269), who criticizes the Bourdieuan tradition for a split between analyses of dominated and dominating agents, and that these analyses often use different theoretical approaches.



### ***1.1 Logic of presentation***

In the second chapter, 2. The construction of the object, some *epistemological obstacles* for the researcher of journalistic practice are discussed. Following the tradition of historical epistemology from Bachelard to Bourdieu, an emphasis is put on the fact that journalists *do not exist*: “Journalist” is not a scientific research object, but essentially a lay term, a folk concept rooted in various extra-scientific practices and needs for definition and labelling which the researcher must beware not to import. Discussing briefly some uses of the term by press organizations, in official occupational classifications and in attempts by journalism researchers to define this group, it is argued that the greatest mistake one can make is to transform the journalists’ own categories (“journalist”, “crime”, “news”, “magazine” etc.) into scientific categories, they must rather be seen as part of a *journalistic cosmology*. More precisely, they are social classifications which are simultaneously the present outcome and the weapons in internal struggles in the field, where the researcher, if not careful, is bound to play an active supporting role for the dominating journalists, by not seeing that seemingly neutral concepts are in reality largely arbitrary and highly ideological dominant classifications. Finally, Bourdieu’s sociology of fields and its applicability to a study of journalism are briefly discussed.

In 3. The rules of journalism. Journalists and journalism in Pierre Bourdieu’s theories of social fields, an introduction is given to Bourdieu’s sociology, with an emphasis on how journalists and journalism have been explicitly and implicitly treated throughout his oeuvre. Following a general introduction to his theories of symbolic power, a semi-historical account is given of central themes in his most relevant works for a study of journalistic practice. Even if journalism and journalists is not a primary subject for Bourdieu until the mid-nineties, culminating with his televised lectures of television and subsequent publication of *Sur la télévision* in 1996, I argue that the role of journalists in French society has been a persistent concern for Bourdieu since his earliest analyses of intellectuals, and a subject treated with remarkable consistency in his works. Also, some notes are made of other works in this growing research paradigm for the study of journalism, in particular the works of Patrick Champagne.

In the fourth chapter, 4. Journalistic habitus and journalistic habits, the validity of the concept of *habitus* is discussed for the understanding of journalistic practice. To explore this question empirically, various data are analyzed. First, the social recruitment of Norwegian journalists is compared with a general survey of the Norwegian adult population, and an short analysis is given of the relative distribution of various journalistic products (newspapers, magazines, various sub-themes – news, sports, culture etc.) in the national social space (e.g. varying among the preferences of readers from different social classes), suggesting interesting homologies of social differences among journalists, their audiences and their sources which I will argue not only contributes to much of the logic of the journalistic field as analysed in the following chapter, but also contribute to making journalism a strong doxic force in society. Also, a brief discussion is given of the position of journalistic elites in the Norwegian field of power. Finally, the journalistic tastes and preferences of journalism students in two Norwegian schools are analysed, suggesting some more tangible patterns in the relationship between journalistic preferences and gender/class background, and also that these preferences appears to remain relatively unchanged during their journalism studies and first years in the profession. This later finding is taken as an indicator of the

strong durability of the dispositions of habitus and the ease with which these can be brought into the practice of journalism.

5. The Norwegian journalistic field and its transformations opens with a more detailed discussion of Bourdieu's concept of *social fields*, pointing out some links and similarities with other authors in the sociological tradition of the study of social differentiation. This is followed by the sketch of a short field-history of Norwegian journalism based on a reading of existing historical works, arguing that the last century has seen a process of increased autonomy and social differentiation which suggests the applicability of the model of a social field. It is followed by a reconstruction of the Norwegian journalistic field by a multiple correspondence analysis of data from a survey of 1203 journalists and editors done in mid-2005. The analysis suggests that the Norwegian journalistic field is characterized by two fundamental oppositions (fundamental in the sense that they explain most of the differences in capital observed among the fields participants): first, along a *volume scale of total field-specific capital*, which is simultaneously an opposition between the old and the young, the male and the female, print media and broadcasting etc., and secondly, a volume scale of a whole range of resources and positions that one can collectively term *journalistic capital*, which are linked to internal recognition, status and domination in the field. Some examples of this are having won a national journalistic prize, being a columnist in a large newspaper, being on the jury of a renowned journalistic prize, or having national office in the press organizations. The properties of this space is then explored further with an emphasis on the distribution of various publications, different social characteristics (gender, class, age, geography etc.), social mobility patterns and differences between journalistic generations.

In 6. Journalistic magic and magicians the production of journalistic belief, the normative universe of journalism and *journalistic capital* is analyzed in more detail. First, using the concept of *nomos*, the legitimate order of the world (a concept which are central both for Bourdieu and in the sociology of religion), a short discussion is given of *journalistic legitimation* both internally (related to inequalities in the journalistic field, for example through various journalistic awards) and externally (vis-à-vis other social fields, e.g. in the particular idea of having a "mission for society" <samfunnsoppdraget> which gives journalists particular rights and duties), followed by a small correspondence analysis of how journalists classify each other as worthy or unworthy participants in the field, suggesting that the major schisms in this regard to a large extent follows the oppositions of the journalistic field as proposed in the previous chapter. A more detailed discussion is then given on the concept of symbolic capital (in particular, its relation to Max Weber's concept of charisma), where the particular symbolic capital and charismatic ideas of the journalistic field are analyzed by a study of journalists' role-models and journalistic prize-winners. This, combined with the earlier analysis of the journalistic field and additional position-takings makes it possible to suggest some fundamentals of the specific *cosmology* of the Norwegian journalistic field, including the variances in *nomos* (their ideas of legitimate and illegitimate members of the field), the distribution of various forms of journalistic *illusio*, which again are linked to various ideas of the journalist's role in society, their conceptualization of their audience etc.

In the final chapter, 7. Concluding remarks, a short discussion of the main points of the thesis is given. This is followed by a reflection on the particularities of the Norwegian journalistic field as opposed to the structure of the French field as suggested by Bourdieu, and some observations on the particular strengths and potential weak

points of Bourdieu's sociology of fields for the study of journalism and the social world in general.

The sociologist ought...whether at the moment of the determination of his research objectives or in the course of his demonstrations, to repudiate resolutely the use of concepts originating outside of science for totally unscientific needs. He must emancipate himself from the fallacious ideas that dominate the mind of the layman; he must throw off, once and for all, the yoke of these empirical categories, which from long continued habit have become tyrannical.

Émile Durkheim, *The Rules of Sociological Method* ([1895] 1964:32).

We have only to speak of an object to think that we are being objective. But, because we chose it in the first place, the object reveals more about us than we do about it. What we consider to be our fundamental ideas concerning the world are often indications of the immaturity of our minds. Sometimes we stand in wonder before a chosen object; we build up hypotheses and reveries; in this way we form convictions which have all the appearance of true knowledge. But the initial source is impure; the first impression is not a fundamental truth. In point of fact, scientific objectivity is possible only if one has broken first with the immediate object ... everything must be called into question: sensation, common sense, usage however constant, even etymology, for words, which are made for singing and enchanting, rarely make contact with thought. Far from marvelling at the object, objective thought must treat it ironically. Without this malign vigilance we would never adopt a truly objective attitude ... we must restrain all our enthusiasms, we must repress our personal feeling ... for the scientific mind an attitude of preliminary antipathy is a healthy precaution.

Gaston Bachelard, *The Psychoanalysis of Fire* ([1938] 1964:1).

## *Chapter 2:*

# Constructing the research object

### ***2.1 Journalists do not exist***

Journalism is everywhere. For most of us, a substantial time each day is spent on consumption of journalistic products, and as studies have shown, such media use fulfils many functions and has many uses of which a source of information is only one. At its most fundamental, media use obviously has a *nomos*-building function, it helps uphold a coherent, meaningful and most importantly common world-view for society's members (even if the media's role in making us return to "reality" is of course only a return to the socially constituted *nomos*)<sup>21</sup>, a social function which is admirably discussed by Benedict Anderson in his study of the production of "national consciousness"<sup>22</sup>. The media also provide us with common rituals for the family and community (as Hegel says, newspapers are modern man's substitute for morning prayer<sup>23</sup>), they give entertainment, provides us with models of behaviour and personal identity and all those things that are well known from the "uses- and gratifications"-tradition in media research<sup>24</sup>.

Most probably, the intricate interweavedness of media products with our personal lives makes journalism a particularly difficult object for the researcher. Much like the way Heidegger points out that the voice on the telephone are phenomenologically much closer to us than the telephone itself<sup>25</sup>, the media have a prosthetic quality, they apparently bring the world closer and are easily forgotten<sup>26</sup>.

As researchers of journalism, we meet the same problem only on a higher level: journalism is everywhere. If we want to study journalists, there are grants and research programmes and conferences directed to "research on journalists", we can read histories of the "journalistic profession" and academic studies of "journalists", and academic degrees in "journalism" are offered at several academic institutions. There are professional organisations for journalists with their own publications (e.g. the magazine 'Journalisten' <The journalist>), there is a "Norwegian Institute for Journalism" (IJ), and prizes for the best journalist ("Den store journalistprisen"). We find "journalism" as a category on most search engines on the web and in academic publishers' lists of books. If we want to find statistical data on these entities (journalists), they are classified under 3491 in ISCO-88 (the Norwegian standard for classification of occupations). There exist

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<sup>21</sup> For the concept of *nomos*, see Berger (1967:25).

<sup>22</sup> Anderson (1983).

<sup>23</sup> Cited in Ibid.(39).

<sup>24</sup> When the term "uses and gratifications" is used, there is sometimes a tendency to imply that such media use is the result of "natural needs", but these needs are of course historical and linked to a specific form of society, a specific organization of labour and associated lifestyles/consumerism, as discussed by for example Thøedor W. Adorno ([1972] 1992) in *The culture industry* and by Raymond Williams (1983) in his notion of "mobile privatism".

<sup>25</sup> Heidegger ([1962] 2000:95).

<sup>26</sup> Stiegler ([1994] 1998:4.3.1).

laws which regulate the practices of “journalists” and governmental reports which discuss them.

Given this overwhelming evidence, it is hard to think that journalists do not exist. *But this is exactly what we must do.* As Durkheim reminds us, widespread use of a term is not a guarantee of its objectivity, it only routinizes and naturalizes it, and such help give an *appearance* of truth<sup>27</sup>. In this case, it is obvious that this mass of pre-constructions which weighs, like Marx said on history, like an alp upon the living, helps us forget that its widespread use does not make journalist a *scientific category*.

## 2.2 The notion of epistemological obstacles

An instructive concept for this problem is the notion of epistemological obstacles as used by Gaston Bachelard (1884-1962). Beside Georges Canguilhem (1904-95) he is arguably the most important figure in the French tradition known as *historical epistemology*, a mixture of philosophy and history of science which appeared at Institut d’Histoire des Sciences et Techniques at Sorbonne in the inter-war years<sup>28</sup>.

For Bachelard, scientific facts do not just ‘exist’, like in the very naïve concept of ‘data’, which the researcher can ‘collect’ - a misconception which still appears, thinly veiled, in many current books on sociological methodology: scientific facts must on the contrary be *conquered, constructed and confirmed*<sup>29</sup>. Unlike Husserl, who saw scientific knowledge as a continuation of common knowledge<sup>30</sup>, Bachelard believed scientific objects could only be achieved by radical *epistemological breaks* <*rupture épistémologique*> with the *epistemological obstacles* made by poetic and spontaneous (that is to say – normal) thought, where “everyday” knowledge is the first obstacle for the researcher: “it is vivid, concrete, natural and easy. You need only describe it and marvel. And then you think you understand it.”<sup>31</sup>

“... the problem of scientific knowledge must be posed in terms of obstacles. This is not a matter of considering external obstacles, such as the complexity and transience of phenomena ... it is in the act of cognition that we shall show causes of stagnation and even of regression; there too we shall discern causes of inertia that we shall call epistemological obstacles. Knowledge of reality is a light that always casts a shadow in some nook or cranny. It is never immediate, never complete. Revelations of reality are always recurrent. Reality is never ‘what we might believe it to be’: it is always what we ought to have thought. Empirical thought is clear in retrospect, when the apparatus of reason has been developed ... we know against previous knowledge, when we destroy knowledge that was badly made and surmount all those obstacles to spiritualisation that lie in the mind itself.”<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> Durkheim ([1895] 1964:18).

<sup>28</sup> For an introduction to Gaston Bachelard’s historical epistemology, see Chimisso (2001) and Tiles (1984). A comparison of Bachelard’s thought with Althusser and Foucault is given in Utaker (1979), and the relation to Husserl’s phenomenology is discussed in Barsotti (2002). Note that the “philosophy of the subject”-tradition identified with Lévi-Strauss and Sartre – which became the major competing tradition to the historical-epistemological tradition in French sociology - was also strongly influenced by Husserl’s phenomenology. For more on the relationship between these two traditions in French thought, see Bourdieu and Passeron (1967).

<sup>29</sup> Bourdieu, Passeron and Chamboredon ([1968] 1991:11).

<sup>30</sup> Kjerland (2005:13).

<sup>31</sup> Bachelard ([1938] 2002:29).

<sup>32</sup> Ibid.(24).

Bachelard even goes so far as to say that primary intuition is, when confronted with a scientific explanation, always wrong<sup>33</sup>, and that “scientific objectivity is possible only if one has broken first with the immediate object.”<sup>34</sup> The main problem with everyday knowledge is for Bachelard that we have *poetic* minds. We cannot look at an object for long without falling into daydreams, being led astray by our poetic imagination and weighted down by hidden passions and desires, which hinder a scientific construction of the object, and “replace knowledge by wonderment and ideas by images.”<sup>35</sup> False ideas are not – as one would believe – quickly dispelled by experiments and research, because, as Bachelard says: “Our dreams are stronger than experience”<sup>36</sup>.

Although Bachelard most famously was preoccupied with the “hypnotising effect” of the elements – water, air, earth, fire – which he discussed in their own books inspired by Jung’s ideas of archetypes, the problem he poses for science is a general one: “The world in which we think is not the world in which we live”<sup>37</sup>, and when confronted with “this inert world whose life is not ours, which suffers none of our sorrows nor is exalted by any of our joys”<sup>38</sup> we have a tendency to *valorise* phenomena: we assign to them values and characteristics which are irrelevant for a scientific understanding<sup>39</sup>. For Bachelard the scientific mind <esprit scientifique> can only appear by destroying the non-scientific mind: the *scientific unconscious* of our minds must be *psychoanalysed*<sup>40</sup>.

Even if Bachelard’s work has been superseded in a myriad of ways by developments in the sociology of knowledge, the problems he discusses are still very relevant. If one does not agree with his concept of the “poetic mind”, the idea that normal, practical thought and scientific thought are very different and not easily reconciled can be found in many writers, including Durkheim’s discussions of practical thought<sup>41</sup>, in

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<sup>33</sup> Ibid.(86).

<sup>34</sup> Bachelard (1964:1).

<sup>35</sup> Bachelard ([1938] 2002:38).

<sup>36</sup> Thus Bachelard finds for example, when looking at early scientific concepts of electricity in *The Psychoanalysis of Fire* (1964) that real understanding of electricity was hindered partly by the vividness and entertainment value of the phenomenon, and partly by wrongly conceptualising it as a form of *fire*. Through the scientists’ unconscious, fire was a sexual force, which in turn led to strange ideas, like the idea that electricity was life-giving for plants, or that eunuchs did not conduct electricity.

<sup>37</sup> Bachelard ([1940] 1968:95).

<sup>38</sup> Bachelard (1964:1).

<sup>39</sup> Bachelard provides many examples of unconscious valorisations in the history of science which led science on completely wrong tracks. Some examples from *The Formation of The Scientific Mind* ([1938] 2002) are how doctors and patients believed emeralds were healthful (an unconscious valorisation based on their economic value), the alchemist’s preoccupation with essences and distillation / triturating (a valorisation which mixes both the enormous amount of work these operations demanded - the more demanding, the more valuable - and their dreams of sexual power), and how Kepler’s theory of the planets’ elliptical movement met with resistance based on the valorisation of simple geometrical forms (which saw in the ellipse only an imperfect circle).

<sup>40</sup> Bachelard’s psychoanalysis is not a Freudian one, but an indirect and secondary psychoanalysis, a kind of *catharsis*, where we are made aware of our poetic and valorising tendencies being projected on our scientific objects. Such a psychoanalysis is never complete, but must always be a never-ending struggle against the epistemological obstacles that hinder us in the construction of a truly scientific object.

<sup>41</sup> In *The Rules of Sociological Method* ([1895] 1964:14) Durkheim’s uses the example of our relationship with the sun: Even 500 years after Copernicus we still experience the cosmos as a geocentric system: the sun “rises” and

Heidegger's ideas of Dasein as a form of being fundamentally involved in the world<sup>42</sup>, in Levi-Strauss' discussions of primitive/concrete thought<sup>43</sup> and in Pierre Bourdieu's theory of praxis.

### 2.3 Bourdieu and epistemological vigilance

In the realm of French sociology, the Bachelardian tradition – transmitted via Canguilhem – was taken up by Althusser, Foucault and Bourdieu in the sixties, all of whom can be seen as attempting to extend the historical-epistemological tradition into the realm of sociology<sup>44</sup>. In Bourdieu's case, the ideas of Bachelard and Canguilhem are incorporated into a comprehensive social theory of knowledge – including the social conditions of scientific knowledge. From Bachelard's writings on the epistemological obstacles for scientific thought in our poetic imagination, there runs a direct thematic line to Bourdieu's analyses of the French educational system (with *Inheritors*, *Reproduction* and *The State Nobility* as central works) and his analyses of intellectual and scientific fields. Of the later works, one should in particular mention the analysis of the French academic field in *Homo Academicus* ([1984] 1988), his reflections on the “epistemocentrism” in science in *Pascalian Meditations* ([1997] 2000) and his last lectures by College de France on the scientific field ([2001] 2004). In this light, Bourdieu's analysis of the social space in *Distinction* ([1979] 1984) can be seen also as an empirical study of how knowledge, social practice and life-styles are differently valorised by their position in the social space<sup>45</sup>.

We could point to many other parallels between Bachelard's scientific realism and Bourdieu's sociology, as in Bourdieu's rejection of “false problems” and “false oppositions”<sup>46</sup> (like objectivism and subjectivism, united in his concept of *habitus*) and his insistence on the importance of developing good scientific habits, a *scientific habitus*, e.g. by active reflection on how one's own social origin and dispositions

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”sets”, it moves across the sky, and for most of us this a *practical truth* because it helps us in our daily life (e.g. knowing when to quit working and go home).

<sup>42</sup> Heidegger ([1962] 2000).

<sup>43</sup> Lévi-Strauss ([1964] 1994).

<sup>44</sup> Bourdieu has expressed his debts to Bachelard in many instances; see for example the interview in Bourdieu and Kraus ([1988] 1991:246). The link to the Bachelardian tradition is perhaps most explicit in *The Craft of Sociology* ([1968] 1991), a textbook on epistemology written together with Jean-Paul Chamboredon and Jean-Paul Passeron, which gives a programme for sociological analysis principally based on this tradition.

<sup>45</sup> Note that Bourdieu in this work opens up for many types of valorisations besides those most directly related to social class positions, cf. for example when he writes in *Distinction* ([1979] 1984:173) that “An old cabinetmaker's view, the way he manages his budget, his time or his body, his use of language and choice of clothing are fully present in his ethic of scrupulous, impeccable craftsmanship and the aesthetic of work for work's sake which leads him to measure the beauty of his products by the care and patience that have gone into them.”. Bourdieu would, however, probably attribute the social space and the role of class/gender socialization a primary role in a theory of social valorisation, because these dimensions systematically distribute (and in this way over-determines) other forms of valorisation, cf. Bourdieu (1999:chapter 1) and Bourdieu ([1980] 1990:70-9).

<sup>46</sup> Cf. when Bachelard in *The Formation of The Scientific Mind* ([1938] 2002:30) criticizes the “worthless originality” of polemical scientific thought: “...obstacles to scientific culture always present themselves in pairs ... it stems from the polemical attitude of scientific thought ... We keep working away at varying the phenomenon in terms of our opposition to other people's knowledge.”



influence one's scientific practice ('socioanalysis'<sup>47</sup>). When Bachelard says that scientific facts must be won, constructed and verified, this is a series of epistemological acts which are parallel to Bourdieu's insistence on the researcher's need to construct his scientific objects, build models/theories and try to verify them (e.g. by statistical analysis)<sup>48</sup>. When Bourdieu sees the research process as a long process of trial and errors, a dialectic process of thinking and experience, theory development and experiments, which gradually ought to bring one nearer to a scientific construction of the research object<sup>49</sup>, this is a good example of Bachelard's ideal of *applied rationalism*<sup>50</sup>:

"... the renunciation of first-hand intuition is the end product of a long dialectical process in which intuitions, formulated in an empirical operation, analyses and verifies or falsifies itself, engendering new hypotheses, gradually more firmly based, which will be transcended in their turn, thanks to the problems, failures and expectations which they bring to light. The logic of research is an intermeshing of major and minor problems which forces us gradually to understand at every moment what we are doing and permit us gradually to understand more fully what we are seeking, by providing the beginnings of an answer, which will suggest new, more fundamental and more explicit questions."<sup>51</sup>

## ***2.4 Who is a journalist?***

As Bachelard reminds us, general doubt is easier than specific doubt - but less valuable<sup>52</sup>. Rather than the ritualistic function methodological "reflexivity" often has, we have to think about the specific problems which face us and hinder us in constructing a scientific object in the case of journalism.

A particularly important source for scientific misunderstanding for Bachelard is *language*. Words, he warns, "rarely make contact with thought"<sup>53</sup>. Every word contains a petrified social philosophy, and he sees particular danger for scientific thought in metaphors and analogies because they are not fleeting images, but on the contrary, they function akin to Kantian categories, as mental schemata we use to look at the world. This epistemological point has been much developed by, for example in George Lakoff's investigation of the power of metaphors on social thought<sup>54</sup> and in Wittgenstein's investigations of language games ("A 'picture' held us captive. And we could not get

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<sup>47</sup> Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992:210).

<sup>48</sup> Bourdieu, Passeron and Chamboredon ([1968] 1991:57).

<sup>49</sup> Bourdieu ([1984] 1988:7).

<sup>50</sup> Bachelard ([1949] 1970).

<sup>51</sup> Bourdieu ([1984] 1988:7). When Bourdieu thus often insists on the inseparability of theory, method and empirical work – as when he criticizes opinion polls of being "a science without a scientist" ([1987] 1990) or says of his theoretical concepts that they "... are research programs which call not for 'theoretical discussion' but for practical implementation, which refutes and generalizes." (Bourdieu and Kraus [1988] 1991:255), this is in line with Bachelard's view that overcoming epistemological obstacles, construction of the scientific object and its verification is a series of epistemological acts which cannot be separated, being a perpetual dialectic process in all true research.

<sup>52</sup> Bachelard ([1938] 2002:86).

<sup>53</sup> Bachelard (1964:1).

<sup>54</sup> Lakoff and Johnson (1980).

outside it, for it lay in our language and language seemed to repeat it to us inexorably.”)<sup>55</sup>.

Language has many uses<sup>56</sup>, the majority of which are not to provide scientifically valid categories. It is “an immense network of easily accessible wrong turnings”<sup>57</sup>. If we look at some of the examples of the use of the concept of “journalism” in the beginning of this chapter, we can identify at least three important sources of statements of who is a journalist or not, ignoring the simplest products of commonsense: 1) press organisations, 2) official (statistical) occupational classifications and 3) various “definitions” made by researchers.

Epistemological problems are very *practical* problems, and appear in the seemingly most mundane of a researcher’s chores. If we want to do a survey of journalists we need a list of the sample universe, and the intuitive thing to do would be to draw our sample from the press organisation’s lists of members: *Norwegian Union of Journalists* (NJ) (and possibly also *Norwegian Union of Editors* - NR). Such a demarcation of “journalists” is, however, potentially highly problematic. Historically, NJ has changed its criteria for membership many times, and their definition of a “journalist” has to be seen partly as strategies of *Realpolitik* (e.g. competition with other professional’s organizations for members) and as a part (and result) of internal struggles in the journalistic field where different groups fight to exclude whom they think “unworthy”. One example of the latter happened in 1997 when most journalists who worked in PR were collectively excluded from membership in NJ<sup>58</sup>. NJ’s “Journalists” (2004) are thus not the same as NJ’s “Journalists” (1994).

Similar problems for the researcher also reside even in apparently scientific forms of classifications, the occupational categories in official statistics. In the older Norwegian official index of classification used since the sixties until recently, NYK (Nordic standard for the classification of occupations), “Journalists” were classified in the main category 09, “Artistic and literary work”, and further sub-classified into category 095, a category shared with mainly various kinds of workers in publishing houses, editors, critics and “authors of technical literature”. The category of “journalist”, however, was reserved for people working in newspapers and print media: workers in television and radio (including, among others, radio- and television reporters, director of programmes, producers, anchor-men and –women<sup>59</sup>), were classified in category 098. In ISCO-88<sup>60</sup>, the new system of official classification which succeeds NYK, the same groups are classified very differently. “Journalists” are in category 3491 together with “Information associate professionals” (which in NYK was classified in 096) but still separate from

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<sup>55</sup> Wittgenstein (1965:#115).

<sup>56</sup> Ibid.(#23).

<sup>57</sup> Wittgenstein (1977:18).

<sup>58</sup> This incident is discussed by Odd Raaum (1999). There are many other historical examples which could be cited: for example, the debate in the 50s over sports reporters (were they *really* journalists?), or the debates in NJ in the 70s and 80s regarding the possibility of being a journalist and to be politically active at the same time, or the discussions of 2001, when the chairman of NAL (Norwegian Newspapers Publishers’ Association) advised NJ to ostracize all members who worked as “entertainers” (“- Kast ut underholderne”, *Journalisten* 18.06.01).

<sup>59</sup> Displaying a sense of decency, male and female television anchors were classified into two separate categories.

<sup>60</sup> The Norwegian ISCO-88 is based on the European Union variant of ISCO-88, but not identical. Cf. SSB (1999).

3492 “Radio and television announcers”. Newspaper editors, which in NYK were in the same category as “Journalists”, are now classified in a completely different stratum: 1319 (“General managers not elsewhere classified”) if they have less than 10 persons working under them, in category 12 (“Corporate managers of large and medium-sized enterprises”) if not. These classifications, which seem quite odd both in their variations and specificity seen with a sociologist’s eyes (who usually wants to construct groups or classes with maximal internal homogeneity and maximum external heterogeneity according to some sociological factors – the nature of the work done, the skills needed etc.), should surprise no one. The Norwegian statistical bureau (SSB) has, in the words of psephologist Henry Valen, traditionally been “the long arm of the social economists”<sup>61</sup>, and the chief motivation for the construction of both indexes is first and foremost a bureaucratic-political one: to improve industrial efficiency and productivity (for example, by predicting the number of skilled workers an industry will need in the future and planning for it, or easing the movement of labour between different countries)<sup>62</sup>. If having a semi-scientific character, such classifications of occupations must be seen as a particular form of social classification of groups<sup>63</sup>, and does in this case not help us much in the problem of a scientific sociological classification.

Compared to other occupations, journalists, as many have commented, appear as a particularly vague category (Weber’s words that journalists are “socially unclassifiable” are sometimes cited<sup>64</sup> in such instances). The academic response to such problems is usually one of two. The most common is to simply ignore the problem, usually by accepting the press organization’s definitions. The other strategy is to search for *definitions* of journalists and journalism, often only turning commonsensical notions into scientific concepts. Two common examples are Porter’s definition of a journalist as “... a person whose primary occupation is the gathering, writing and editing of material which consists largely of the reporting or interpreting of current events” and Donsbach/Kunczik’s somewhat “looser” definition of a journalist as someone who “... is involved in the shaping of the content of mass-media output, be it gathering, evaluating, sighting, processing or disseminating news, comment or entertainment.”<sup>65</sup>. Such attempts at definitions and finding what Locke called the “real essence” of journalists usually commit a number of intellectual sins which follow essentialism, like trying to identify “essential” differences which often are highly problematic - for example, the difference between symbolic and mechanical manipulation of media content, use concepts which are immensely vague (“news”, “current events” etc.) and generally ignore that the ruling notions about who journalists are, what journalism is and what news is (or not) varies historically and regionally<sup>66</sup>. Such problems, of course, increase exponentially when attempts are made to compare journalists in different

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<sup>61</sup> Lie and Roll-Hansen (2001:376).

<sup>62</sup> SSB (1965, 1999:3), Lie and Roll-Hansen (2001). Also note that SSB has a history of explicitly refusing to use class-based forms of social classifications, cf. the chapter “Velferdsstatens velferdsmåling” in *Statistisk talt* (Ibid.).

<sup>63</sup> For a more comprehensive discussion of such problems with official statistical classifications, see Börjesson and Palme (2001).

<sup>64</sup> Weber ([1919] 1988:525).

<sup>65</sup> Both cited in Splichal and Sparks (1994:21-26).

<sup>66</sup> Cf. Schudson (1978).

countries, like in David Weaver's *The Global Journalist* (1998), which clearly compares very differently selected groups.

## 2.5 Folk-theories and journalistic cosmologies

When I say that journalists “do not exist”, this is simply to stress the point that “journalists” is a very problematic category for scientific research. The justification for delimitations of journalists- and non-journalists in research appears too often to be largely commonsensical, that is, they rest on apparently self-evident (doxic<sup>67</sup>) notions which are not justified sociologically, that is, by questioning what makes a particular definition of journalists into a meaningful *sociological group*. For example, to exclude free-lancers or individuals below a certain income threshold (as the Norwegian Union of Journalists does) appears purely convenient: the sociologist, however, must ask questions (“all knowledge is an answer to a question. If there has been no question, there cannot be scientific knowledge.”<sup>68</sup>): do these individuals share common symbols, world-view and norms? Are they conscious of the group and themselves as members of the group? Do they have common life chances? How are they linked with other members? Do they have authority in the group, or are subject to such authority? And so forth. In the absence of such sociological judgements and questions, the researcher is bound to accept a *preconstructed* object for scientific analysis, that is, an object not defined for a scientific purpose. Truly scientific objects can only be constructed “... against experience, against perception, against all everyday technical activity”<sup>69</sup>.

This basic critique can be extended also to the seemingly most scientific concepts, as in the idea of a journalistic “profession” (which has been a dominant theoretical framework for analysing changes in journalistic work and organization in Norway<sup>70</sup> as well as internationally): the sociological concept of “profession” and its related concepts (like professionalism) was in deep crisis in the seventies, and several authors doubted the scientific basis for distinguishing between so-called professions and other occupations (McKinlay called this “myths” imposed on “a gullible public”<sup>71</sup>). In the seventies and eighties, the dominance of neo-structuralist Parsonian concepts of the profession was challenged by more Weberian, constructivist approaches, exemplified by Magali S. Larson’s argument that “ideal-typical constructions do not tell us what a profession is, only what it pretends to be” and one should ask instead “what professions actually do in everyday life to negotiate or maintain their special position” (what she terms the “professional project”)<sup>72</sup> – a critique of professionals and professionalism which also has been echoed in the sociology of news<sup>73</sup>. I would here like to point to the

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<sup>67</sup> Bourdieu ([1980] 1990).

<sup>68</sup> Bachelard ([1938] 2002:25).

<sup>69</sup> Canguilhem, cited in Bourdieu, Passeron and Chamboredon ([1968] 1991:82).

<sup>70</sup> Cf. for example Raaum (1999:34-44) and Ottosen (1996:378-83, 2004:222-225). It should be noted that both these authors discuss the problems of using the concept of profession applied to journalists (Ottosen preferring instead the concept of “semiprofession”).

<sup>71</sup> Cited in MacDonald (1995:7).

<sup>72</sup> Larson (1977:xii).

<sup>73</sup> As argued by Chris Anderson (2007), a major trait in journalism scholarship in the same period can be seen as the deconstruction of the idealistic image of the journalist and a sceptical attitude toward journalists’ self-

even more serious critique by Elliott Freidson, namely that ‘profession’ is basically a lay or folk term<sup>74</sup>, a critique which has also been voiced by Bourdieu:

“‘Profession’ is a folk concept which has been uncritically smuggled into scientific language and which imports into it a whole social unconscious. It is the *social product* of a historical work of construction of a group and of a *representation* of groups that has surreptitiously slipped into the science of this very group ... The category of profession refers to realities that are, in a sense, ‘too real’ to be true, since it grasps at once a mental category and a social category...”<sup>75</sup>

The predicament that Bourdieu points to is that the *double presence* of the concept of ‘profession’ - simultaneously being a *sociological concept* used by social scientists and a *folk concept* used by the participants to label and understand their activities – makes us extremely prone to mix naïve beliefs into our scientific construction. The problem, as indicated in the discussion of definitions above, however, is not limited to the question of who is a journalist or not, but is similar for *all* terminology which is commonly used by journalists.

WHO IS A JOURNALIST? An instructive example of this problem, if only for the clear account of the methodology used, is David Weaver’s and Cleveland G. Wilhoit’s *The American Journalist* (1986), a survey of American journalists in 1982/3. Starting out with a less than totally clear definition of journalists (in accordance with his 1971-study) as “the full-time editorial manpower responsible for the information content of English-language mass communications in the United States”, the latter are defined as “daily and weekly newspapers, news magazines, radio and television stations, and general news agencies”. “Editorial” personnel are “those who have editorial responsibility for the preparation or transmission of news stories or other information – all full-time reporters, writers, correspondents, columnists, newsmen, and editors”. In the subsequent selection of the sample Weaver admits that many of the categories “did require decisions as to what constituted legitimate news services”, and emphasises the need for excluding “what appeared to be purely photographic, entertainment or feature services” in order to focus exclusively “on persons who produce news, information and opinion rather than those who produce fiction, drama, art or other content.”<sup>76</sup> As the result of their sample procedures, a long list of people who could be argued to practice journalism in the USA are excluded without a sociological explanation: all those working part-time (including freelancers), most people working in magazines, all those working in non-traditional journalistic mediums like the specialist press, all photographers and camera operators who are not themselves reporters, everyone working in non-English publications (e.g. the large Hispanic press) etc.

It should, at this point, be obvious that one of the greatest mistakes we can make as social scientists is to uncritically transform the professions’ own categories into scientific categories. “Journalists” (which we always must think of in brackets) classification of their world into typologies of members (“journalist”, “editor”, “PR”, “free-lancer”), types of subjects (“news”, “entertainment”, “politics”, “culture”, “local news”) and types of publications (“newspapers”, “magazines”, “specialist press”) etc. is not based on scientific classifications. They are neither merely a form of journalistic

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accounts of their practice, e.g. in various critiques of journalistic notions of “objectivity” (Tuchman 1972, Schudson 1978) and in studies of journalists as active constructors of reality (Tuchman 1973, Gans 1980, Gitlin 1980).

<sup>74</sup> Freidson (1983:27).

<sup>75</sup> Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992:242).

<sup>76</sup> Weaver and Wilhoit (1986:168-171).

routinization to reduce complexity in the way Tuchman argues<sup>77</sup>, but must also be read as part of a local journalistic *cosmology*. We must, to quote Bachelard again “take facts as ideas and place them within a system of thought.”<sup>78</sup> In this perspective, a journalistic union’s statutes for membership and the individuals they exclude are of little interest as a guide to a scientific demarcation, but very interesting as an indication of the *nomos* of the group: like the detailed lists of food-taboos in the *Book of Leviticus*: they separate the holy and profane, the accepted and the forbidden, clean and unclean.

As researchers, however, this means our task has suddenly become more difficult. Unlike pre-scientific thought, which “has shut itself into general knowledge and wishes to remain there”<sup>79</sup> we are left with a continuous battle against journalistic concepts. But how can we discuss a practice without giving it a name (“journalism”), and how can we give it a name without simultaneously smuggling in a naïve construction and a whole social philosophy?

## **2.6 Action research**

Another problem with this use of apparently self-evident, widely used journalistic concepts in journalism research is, as Durkheim insists, that concepts are collective representations, i.e. they are socially constituted and product of a social history<sup>80</sup>, and that “the classification of things reproduces ... the classification of men”<sup>81</sup>.

If probably not as direct as Durkheim originally proposed<sup>82</sup>, affinities between social systems and systems of classifications are widely demonstrated in anthropological literature, perhaps most famously in Levi-Strauss “cooking scheme”<sup>83</sup>. In the Marxist tradition, social organization and classification are similarly seen as closely bound but also *hierarchical*. According to the “dominant ideology thesis”<sup>84</sup> of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, the dominant agents in society tend to veil (often successfully) their exploitation and privileges in ideological constructions defending these arrangements (e.g. the divine right of Kings under feudalism): “The ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas.”<sup>85</sup> For Weber, this issue is developed into a complex theory of legitimation, as in the related concept of theodicy, e.g. in the idea that suffering in this world means salvation in the next (Calvinism) or justified because of bad conduct in a previous life (Brahmanism)<sup>86</sup>.

The problem for the researcher of journalists is thus not only that the constructs and classifications he borrows are often pre-scientific, emic terms, i.e. that they are

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<sup>77</sup> Tuchman (1973).

<sup>78</sup> Bachelard, cited in Bourdieu, Passeron and Chamboredon ([1968] 1991:82).

<sup>79</sup> Bachelard ([1938] 2002:72).

<sup>80</sup> Durkheim (2001:16).

<sup>81</sup> Durkheim and Mauss (1963:11).

<sup>82</sup> For criticism of this notion in Durkheim’s sociology of knowledge, see chapter 22 in Lukes (1973).

<sup>83</sup> Lévi-Strauss ([1964] 1994:335).

<sup>84</sup> Gramsci (1971).

<sup>85</sup> Marx (1845).

<sup>86</sup> Weber ([1956] 1978).

*inaccurate*, but also that they are simultaneously the outcome and the weapons of ongoing social struggles in the universe he is researching. He is thus in very real danger of mistaking highly *ideological, dominant classifications* (e.g. insisting of an essential difference between news and feature, newspapers and magazines, or between information workers and members of the journalist unions) as natural, not realising that he in effect is contributing and supporting the established classifications of the journalistic elite and helping their continuous domination, an act which is particularly effective because he appears – to everyone, including himself - as a neutral outsider.

If this type of research appears not uncommon in press research, this is probably partly because such research – at least in Norway and probably the case in many other countries – has been dominated by ex-journalists<sup>87</sup>, and also today, many well-known press researchers have previously had careers in journalism. As Bourdieu would no doubt have argued (at least for those with longer careers), these journalist-scientists and scientists-journalists are structurally inclined to play a double game for academic and journalistic capital (which is not to deny that they may be able to play them both well). Because of their *illusio*, their mental investment in the struggles of the journalistic field (which are continued also in those taking an apostathic role, if negatively), they appear especially susceptible to transforming journalistic problems and interests into scientific problems, as seen in many of these researchers' preoccupation with the question of "bad" vs. "good" journalism and with everything that threatens the legitimacy of journalism in the eyes of outsiders, often expecting – not only of themselves – that scientific analyses of the press ought to be directed towards solving these problems.

## ***2.7 The concept of social field as an alternative to profession***

How then to break away from the problematic notions and epistemological obstacles which resides in the concept of a journalistic 'profession'? One alternative, in the tradition of Freidson, is to shift the focus from what a profession *is* to how an occupation comes to become *perceived* (and perceive themselves) as a profession, and focus on "what professions actually do in everyday life to negotiate and maintain their spatial position"<sup>88</sup>. Another alternative is to try to replace the concept of profession all together. Several authors have argued for such a course. One is the Swedish sociologist Thomas Brante with his alternative concept of 'modes of production'<sup>89</sup>, another – the one which I will discuss here – is Pierre Bourdieu with his concept of 'social fields'. I will return to this concept in more detail later, but for now only sketch the basics of this theory as an alternative to the classical idea of a "profession" .

Bourdieu, like Brante, states that the concept of 'profession' is problematic because internally there are usually bigger differences than similarities: "... professional categories are ... socially produced only by superseding or obliterating all kinds of economic, social, and ethnic differences and contradictions which make the 'profession' of 'lawyer', for instance, a space of competition and struggle."<sup>90</sup>. For Bourdieu, the logic

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<sup>87</sup> This has had many curious results, as for example in the production of very selective press histories (e.g. not mentioning a newspaper's involvement with the German administration during the occupation in 1940-45), making them akin to "family albums" where unpopular relatives are removed (Eide 2003).

<sup>88</sup> Larson (1977:xiv).

<sup>89</sup> Halvorsen (1993:53).

<sup>90</sup> Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992:242).

of 'professional' practice and discourse must be sought precisely in these internal differences and struggles, in a *social field*.

The relation between the concept of 'social field' and 'profession' is a close but intricate one. Both concepts are attempts to explain the increased division of labour in society. But where for example Parsons saw professions becoming free and autonomous, "outside society" and forming a "professional complex" replacing the state<sup>91</sup>, Bourdieu sees the nature of modern society as being characterised by a growth of various social fields, like the field of art, the academic field, the religious field and the economic field<sup>92</sup>. Fields are products of long historical processes of autonomisation, of social differentiation, which are reversed and re-reversed, fields are born, die and merge with other fields and are sometimes resurrected. A social field is a system of relations between positions, where the agents engage in struggles concerning something of mutual interest. The field consist of specialized agents and institutions of different types – in the case of the journalistic field: editors, freelancers, journalism teachers, video editors, news anchors, small local newspapers, large tabloids, television companies, magazines, journalist unions etc., which engage in various forms of journalistic struggles, where one of the basic struggles uniting the field's members is the question of good and bad journalism, a symbolic struggle fought in daily discussions in newsrooms and hiring of staff, by juries awarding journalistic prizes, by teachers and active journalists lecturing journalism students or giving statements in the media on journalistic issues etc. The journalistic field has a particular *structure*, dependent on the uneven distribution of basic resources – what Bourdieu terms *capital*, resources " ... whose possession commands access to the specific profits that are at stake in a field"<sup>93</sup>, or put more fundamentally, "a force inscribed into the objectivity of things so that everything is not equally possible or impossible"<sup>94</sup>. The power to influence the basic struggles in the field, one's 'clout', will not be evenly distributed, but highly dependent on *position*, given by one's capital.

The journalistic field is not an *apparatus*, a machine: the practices of journalists – where they work, how they work, what positions they take on important questions in the field, what kind of journalism they prefer to work in (e.g. cultural journalism rather than, say, sports journalism) are not dependent on their capital alone, but also on their habitus. A *habitus* is, in short, our system of dispositions for acting, thinking and orienting ourselves in the social world. It is a collection of vague mental habits and inclinations which are inscribed in our minds and bodies, according to the objective life conditions in our childhood (in other words, of one's initial class position) and subsequent modifications by later experiences.

In my view, Bourdieu's concepts of field, capital and habitus are helpful in facing the many epistemological obstacles appearing when studying a (professional) group. They are intrinsically *iconoclastic*: unlike the concept of 'profession', they break with the charismatic and professional discourse, the emic descriptions of journalistic practice as

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<sup>91</sup> Halvorsen (1993:59).

<sup>92</sup> The concept of field is also related to the concept of 'institution', where Bourdieu feels his concept to be superior, because it emphasises the conflictual nature of social life and can cover practices which are weakly institutionalised. Cf. Swartz (1997:120).

<sup>93</sup> Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992:97).

<sup>94</sup> Bourdieu ([1983] 1986:241).



a *purely professional* practice, as constituted by conscious decisions based on professional rather than extraprofessional learning and norms, and less influenced by self-interest and the social unconscious. By reducing the dominant participant's vision of the field to a *point of view* among other views (and thereby including alternative views, which one seldom get to hear, in particular journalists working in publications with low legitimacy in the field), it links these points of views to participant's interests and capital, thus unveiling their interest in a discourse of disinterestness, and problematises the boundaries of the field. It replaces the concept of profession with the focus on how the concept of profession is produced and maintained in a space of struggles and a strategy in the social space. Rather than speaking of "journalists" we should talk about "participants in the journalistic field"<sup>95</sup>, which includes and excludes groups which probably would have preferred the old boundaries.

The scientist who wants to understand a "profession" thus has a struggle against the odds on his hand, but this struggle is an absolute necessity if we want to construct our object and avoid simply fulfilling a political role in the field of our chosen "profession": by accepting their own ideas of who is a journalist, we are on the way to consecrating a hegemonic *point of view*, and thus helping maintain the boundaries which keep out unwanted elements and the dominant groups idealisations of itself. Nobody will stop us from not making a scientific construction of our research object - and we can afterwards bask in the support and encouragement of the dominant groups of the field.

As I have indicated, Bourdieu's theory of social fields appears helpful in this respect because it raises to awareness many of the epistemological obstacles we face when studying a profession, and helps us see that 'journalists' do not simply exist, they are not 'out there' but they represent a concept which – through force of habit and the mass of reconstructions surrounding practices – is forced upon us and fosters what Bachelard termed *conceptual sclerosis*<sup>96</sup>: a gradual coagulation and fermentation of our scientific muscles.

Finally, Bourdieu's descriptions of modern society as characterised by a differentiation of the social world into various microcosms (fields) which are in a state of competition for legitimacy in *the field of power* (a concept I will return to in chapter 4), should make us attentive to the problem that the sociologist, as a member of the scientific world, the journalist and the politician are all in direct competition regarding telling the truth of the social world. This competitive relationship probably explains why we, like Weber writes of scientists' perceptions of journalists, are tempted to judge each other collectively by our ethical lowest representatives<sup>97</sup>. The sociologist thus also has to struggle against his own scientific *illusio* and inclinations which always threaten to turn his analysis into an attack on a competing field.

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<sup>95</sup> If I believe it is meaningful to talk about a "journalistic" field (in contrast to, say, a "media field"), it is precisely because the central focus of charismatic belief which regulates this particular universe and provides it with a distinct symbolic capital is closely related to the disputed concepts of "journalist" and "journalism", cf. chapter 6.

<sup>96</sup> Bachelard ([1938] 2002:70).

<sup>97</sup> Weber ([1919] 1988:25).

There is no doubt [...] that the emergence of large collective production units in the fields of radio, television, cinema and journalism as well as in scientific research, and the concomitant decline of the intellectual artisan in favour of the salaried worker, entail a transformation of the relationship between the producers and their work. This will be reflected in his own representation of his position and function in the social structure, and, consequently, of the political and the aesthetic ideologies they profess. Intellectual labour carried out collectively, within technically and socially differentiated production units, can no longer surround itself with the charismatic aura attaching to traditional independent production. The traditional cultural producer was a master of his means of production and invested only his cultural capital, which was likely to be perceived as a gift of grace. The demystification of intellectual and artistic activity consequent on the transformation of the social conditions of production particularly affects intellectuals and artists engaged in large units of cultural production (radio, television, journalism). They constitute a proletaroid intelligentsia forced to experience the contradiction between aesthetic and political position-takings stemming from their inferior position in the field of production and the objectively conservative functions of the products of their activity.

Pierre Bourdieu, "The Market of Symbolic Goods" (1971)

*Chapter 3:*

## The rules of journalism: Journalists and journalism in Pierre Bourdieu's theory of social fields

Any account of a sociological theory must be an interpretation, and in the case of Bourdieu and the subject of journalism this is doubly true. Even if we abandon the role of intellectual biographer and the corresponding quest for a detailed knowledge of Bourdieu's intellectual life, we are left with a written *nachlass* of an outstanding size which spans many languages. In the case of his writings on journalists, the prospect is made even more difficult by additional problems.

The first difficulty is the semantic vagueness of the category of "journalists", which is carried over into Bourdieu's writings as he usually makes no attempt to delimit or define this group, leaving the reader to wonder which categories of cultural production were in Bourdieu's mind in each specific case. Complicating this further is the fact that Bourdieu never made an extensive empirical study of the journalistic field, and the majority of his writings on journalists and journalism can be divided into two types. First, from the mid-sixties and forward we find a large collection of shorter remarks on the subject in texts where journalists are not the main analytical focus, most prominently in his discussions of the functioning of artistic, scientific and political fields. In the eighties Bourdieu elaborates more on the role of journalists, in particular regarding the functioning of political fields and intellectual fields. Second, from the late eighties and the nineties, a number of writings by Bourdieu appear where journalists are more central, but with a few notable exceptions these are predominantly in the form of *interventions*: written in his most active period as a public intellectual in the nineties, they are delivered in popular genres – chronicles and short retorts in newspapers, speeches at strikes, in interviews - in other words: as brief texts specifically written for non-specialists and therefore less precise, less "scientific" than many of his other works.

Finally, and more generally, the way Bourdieu conceptualized journalists at a given time must be seen in relation (often overlooked by critics) to several factors: a) the then present-day status of his theoretical and conceptual apparatus, especially the concept of social fields, which he envisioned in slightly different ways in the course of his long career, b) that his writings on journalists include not only analyses of contemporary society, but also of intellectual fields in much earlier historical periods, c) that Bourdieu's increasing interest in journalists is also a response to real changes in the research object, in the nature and role of journalism in French society, and not merely a "theoretical development".

As an introduction to Bourdieu's writings on journalists and his applicability of his sociology of social fields to this subject, I will begin with a short introduction to Bourdieu's theory of symbolic power, then move on to a semi-historical account of his writings on journalists and journalisms, focusing on their position in Bourdieu's early analyses of intellectual fields, their role as "Trojan horses" to cultural fields, their doxic role in society and his later analyses of journalism as a social field in France in the nineties. Finally, a brief account is given of analyses of media and journalists by others working in a Bourdieuan tradition.

### 3.1 *Sur la télévision*

When Bourdieu in May 1996 did two televised lectures on Paris Première on the subject of the power of journalism and television – later that year published in *Sur la télévision; suivi de l'emprise du journalisme*<sup>98</sup> (translated to English in 1998 as *On Television and Journalism*) – this were followed by intense debate in France. Although the book was received favourably by many, including many journalists, many criticisms were raised against the work. One was that Bourdieu disregarded the variation of the journalistic profession, that the book did not “... do justice to a complex situation and portrays the profession quite inaccurately as a homogenous whole”<sup>99</sup>. Another criticism was that the problems of journalism Bourdieu pointed out were mostly well known to not only media researchers, but also to the journalists themselves – so what happened to the “epistemological break” from common sense that Bourdieu’s sociology was supposed to provide?<sup>100</sup> More generally, there was a general indictment that the book was not based on empirical work, or as Jean-Louis Fabiani bluntly put it: that Bourdieu in his analyses of journalists had taken “a vacation from the empiric requirements of social research”<sup>101</sup>.

It is not hard to see that this book could leave some readers with such an impression: *Sur la télévision* was very different from the books which had made Bourdieu a famous intellectual in France. Unlike his other studies of social fields – like *Homo Academicus* ([1984] 1988) (a study of the academic field), *The Rules of Art* ([1992] 1996) (the artistic field) or *The State Nobility* ([1989] 1996) (the field of power), the book was quite short (less than 100 pages), written in a popular and polemic style, and lacked the usual statistical maps and tables. Direct empirical references were also sparse, eschewed in favour of more general claims on the influence of journalistic logic on journalistic products, other social fields and society at large<sup>102</sup>.

Some of the criticism was clearly based on a misunderstanding of the nature of the book (and the lecture), which was destined for a popular audience and intended as a political intervention, aiming for a debate on the effects of commercial media on the

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<sup>98</sup> In addition to the transcripts of the two televised lectures and a new foreword, the book also contained “L'emprise du journalisme”, an earlier article from *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales* (Bourdieu 1994).

<sup>99</sup> Marlière ([1998] 1998:223).

<sup>100</sup> Lemieux (2001).

<sup>101</sup> Fabiani (1997). This criticism must be seen in the light of a more general critique of Bourdieu at this time in France. After the publication of *The Weight of the World* ([1993] 1999b) there followed a period where he intervened directly in actual political questions in France much more frequently than before. Many felt that Bourdieu now did what he himself often criticized in other intellectuals - “... speaking with authority far beyond the limits of their technical competence” ([1980] 1993a:45), and that he had removed his academic gown and replaced empirical analyses with “sociological militancy” (Meizoz 1998) or even “sociological terrorism” (Verdès-Leroux 1998). Many of Bourdieu’s interventions can be found in *Acts of Resistance* (1998), *Firing Back* ([2001] 2003) and *Interventions 1961-2001* ([2002] 2004).

<sup>102</sup> In Norway, the book received some favourable reviews, but did not give rise to any major debate. Interestingly, it was denounced by the champion author-intellectual of the working class, Kjartan Fløgstad, when he said in a television interview (NRK 2, “Georg - bit for bit” 14.1.2006) that everything Bourdieu said in *Sur la télévision* had been expressed much clearer by Georg Johannesen 20-30 years ago in his novel *Romanen om Mongstad* (1989), a fictitious story of a man enraged by a (real) newspaper portrait interview with the managing director of Statoil after gigantic budget overruns in the building of the Mongstad refinery in 1987-88.

fields of cultural production<sup>103</sup>. Still, it is true that Bourdieu never made a dedicated empirical (prosopographic) study of a journalistic field according to his own requirements for such an undertaking (I will return to these requirements at the end of the chapter). In his defence, most of the central claims in the book were indeed based on empirical work, but much of it done by close colleagues rather than by Bourdieu. The first lecture is for example clearly informed by Patrick Champagne's work on how journalists construct the social reality they claim to report<sup>104</sup> (but Champagne's work was in turn directly inspired by Bourdieu's work on social magic and opinion polls<sup>105</sup>).

More important, however, and a fact little noted by his critics, was that *Sur la télévision* was the culmination of a long history of theorising by Bourdieu on the role of journalists in intellectual and cultural fields. From the middle of the sixties onwards, journalists turn up in Bourdieu's work with an increasing regularity and with remarkable consistency. The role and position of journalists are discussed first in his writings on the intellectual field, and later in his analyses of more specialised social fields, like the artistic, the academic and the political field. In these earlier works journalists are given relative little attention, not being the main focus for the analysis, and it is also not journalists "in general" that are considered by Bourdieu, but rather the role of specialized journalists that most actively participate in the specific field – like "critics" in the artistic field and "political journalists" in the political field.

In the course of Bourdieu's career, the role of journalists in the functioning of different cultural / intellectual fields received gradually increasing attention. In the mid-eighties he published several works where the impact of journalists on the political and the scientific field is considered in much more detail than before, and also the first references to a distinct "journalistic field" <champ journalistique> appear. The introduction of this concept does not however, really mark any sharp change in Bourdieu's thinking on journalists, as we can find remarks in his earlier writings which can easily be reconciled with the idea of a journalistic field.

The question of the role of journalists and journalism in modern societies was a subject which became increasingly important for Bourdieu in his late career, being an issue deeply embedded in many of his most central sociological concerns: the role of intellectuals as "capitalists of the symbolic" in perpetuating and legitimising social differences, the social struggles over the legitimate categories with which to view the social world, and the increasing threats to the autonomy of cultural fields – the artistic, the scientific, the political and the fight against neoliberalism in all its forms – in which he saw the rise of the journalistic field as playing a crucial role.

### ***3.2 Bourdieu's theory of symbolic power***

For Bourdieu, symbolic systems not only serve a cognitive function (Humboldt, Cassirer, Saphir-Worf) and an integrative function (Durkheim) – by giving us the shared categories and classifications which we use to think with and orient ourselves in the

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<sup>103</sup> Cf. Neveu (2005:196).

<sup>104</sup> Champagne (1990, [1993] 1999).

<sup>105</sup> Bourdieu ([1973] 1993).

social world, they also have a political function as *instruments of domination*, and constitute a form of power distinct from Marx's material power, as *symbolic power*<sup>106</sup>:

“... a power of constituting the given through utterances, of making people see and believe, of confirming or transforming the vision of the world and, thereby, action on the world and thus the world itself, an almost magical power which enables one to obtain the equivalent of what is obtained through force (whether physical or economic), by virtue of the specific effect of mobilization – is a power that can be exercised only if it is recognized, that is, misrecognized as arbitrary ... it is defined in and through a given relation between those who exercise power and those who submit to it ...”<sup>107</sup>

This power, “a power of constructing reality”, is not randomly or evenly distributed in society, but is the shifting outcome of continuous social struggles, where different classes and class fractions fight symbolic struggles to impose a definition of the social world that is best suited to their own collective interests<sup>108</sup>. However, given the nature of the social world, which for Bourdieu is structured by the unequal distribution of different forms of objectively valuable, scarce resources (*capital* - economic, cultural, political etc.), which simultaneously function as *forms of power*, being “a force inscribed in the objectivity of things so that everything is not equally possible or impossible”<sup>109</sup>, the dominating classes are much better placed to impose their worldview on everyone else. Homologous to Marx view of “the ruling ideas ... [as] nothing more than the ideal expression of the dominant material relationships”<sup>110</sup>, Bourdieu sees the hegemony (but never monopoly) of the dominant classes over symbolic power as having important consequences. By their power to form the consensus and the common culture, the dominant classes naturalise their own, arbitrary worldview and culture as universal and deserving of respect (of particular importance is their control of the educational system – the central theme in *Reproduction* ([1970] 1990). Simultaneously, they distinguish themselves favourably from the vulgar (=common) people, mystifying, legitimising and valorising the established social order and its distinctions (for example, making the lifestyles and culture of the dominant classes seem valuable and irresistibly imitable - the central theme in *Distinction* ([1979])). In this way, they maintain and improve the value of the dominant classes resources vis-à-vis other resources as capital, and ultimately contributing to (if not ensuring) the reproduction of the social order. <sup>111</sup>

Symbolic power is thus basically “a misrecognizable, transfigured and legitimated form of the other forms of power”<sup>112</sup>, but it is not in the control of a single undifferentiated dominating class with common interests, as in popular-vulgar forms of Marxism: the dominated classes is for Bourdieu divided against itself: consisting of a

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<sup>106</sup> For more on the relationship between Bourdieu's theory of symbolic power and Marxism, see Bourdieu ([1977] 1991).

<sup>107</sup> Ibid.(81) .

<sup>108</sup> Ibid.(166-7).

<sup>109</sup> Bourdieu ([1983] 1986:241).

<sup>110</sup> Marx (1845).

<sup>111</sup> See also Bourdieu when he in “The field of cultural production” ([1983] 1993:121) says that “Just as in the case of the system of reproduction, in particular the educational system, so the field of [cultural] production and diffusion can only be fully understood if one treats it as a field of competition for the monopoly of the legitimate exercise of symbolic violence.”

<sup>112</sup> Bourdieu ([1977] 1991:170).

conglomerate of different classes (or social elites) whose position in society rests on different and competing forms of capital – the political elite by control of the state apparatus and political capital, the economic elite through economic capital, the various cultural / intellectual elites through different forms of cultural capital, scientists through academic / scientific capital etc. The dominating classes are themselves a site of conflict, in what Bourdieu terms *the field of power*, “a field of power struggles among the holders of different forms of power ... over the power to dictate the dominant forms of domination ... over the legitimate principle of legitimation, and inseparably, the legitimate mode of reproduction of the foundations of domination.”<sup>113</sup> In other words, the different social elites fight vis-à-vis themselves to ensure the value of their different investments (the value of their specific form of capital). The economic elite, for example, will fight other elites for the legitimacy of economic capital, struggle against all limits on economic accumulation and inheritance, and fight to improve the power of economic capital vis-à-vis all other forms of capital.

To complicate this model, Bourdieu sees the distinct elites as being themselves internally divided. As the rise of a social elite - politicians, artists, scientists, industrialists, intellectuals etc. – commonly rests on the historic accumulation of a distinct form of symbolic capital and a certain freedom from the influence of other forms of capital (“art for art’s sake”, “business is business”, “scientific objectivity” etc.), social elites in modern, highly differentiated societies tend according to Bourdieu to organise themselves (not consciously) in a specific type of social formation he terms *social fields*, “... relative autonomous microcosms, i.e., spaces of objective relations that are the site of a logic and a necessity that are specific and irreducible to those that regulate other fields.”<sup>114</sup> These “microcosms” are themselves the site of a struggle between internal fractions of the elite, who fight to determine the nature of the *symbolic capital* which separates the field from other fields. For example, in the field of literature, various actors (writers, academics, critics, publishers etc.) will battle over the fields *nomos* – the borders of the field, more specifically what is “real”/“good”/“true” literature and writers – and what/who is not<sup>115</sup>. In these struggles everyone does not have equal chances, but is differently empowered by their accumulation of internal forms of capital, the specific resources that are deemed valuable by the participants in the field. Thus, in the field of literature, having a professor’s degree in the history of literature or a prestigious literary prize gives the holder much more weight in these struggles than those without.

For Bourdieu, being concerned with symbolic power and its effects, the study of intellectuals and professionals as “capitalists of the symbolic” naturally occupies a central place in his sociology, as they are particularly well placed to shape the character of class relations in society:

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<sup>113</sup> Bourdieu ([1989] 1996:264-5).

<sup>114</sup> “In analytic terms, a field may be defined as a network, or a configuration, of objective relations between positions. These positions are objectively defined, in their existence and in the determinations they impose upon their occupants, agents or institutions, by their present or potential situation (*situ*) in the structure of the distribution of species of power (or capital) whose possession commands access to the specific profits that are at stake in a field, as well as by their objective relation to other positions (domination, subordination, homology, etc.)” (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992:97).

<sup>115</sup> Bourdieu ([1992] 1996:223).

“The struggle which sets professionals against each other is no doubt the form par excellence of the symbolic struggle for the conservation or transformation of the social world through the conservation or transformation of the vision of the social world and of the principles of di-*vision* [sic] of this world; or, more precisely, for the conservation or transformation of the divisions established between classes by the conservation or transformation of the systems of classifications which are its incorporated form and of the institutions which contribute to perpetuating the current classification by legitimating it.”<sup>116</sup>

Class struggle is for Bourdieu thus “in reality a struggle for classification”, and changing classifications is not only an intellectual act, but also political, as “classification create social groups, which then can be mobilized.”<sup>117</sup> More generally, Bourdieu’s focus on symbolic power, “that invisible power which can be exercised only with the complicity of those who do not want to know that they are subject to it or even that they themselves exercise it.”<sup>118</sup> can be seen as a continuation of the interest in the basis of legitimacy in society in the Weberian tradition (I will return to this in chapter 6)<sup>119</sup>.

In Bourdieu’s view, journalists occupy a special place in these struggles, because they control access to the mass media (and thus to a mass audience), and by this “... have power over every kind of symbolic capital”<sup>120</sup>.

### ***3.3 Early texts: journalists and journalism in intellectual fields***

In the late sixties and the early seventies Bourdieu wrote a series of articles on intellectuals (at this time he did not distinguish academics and writers/artists as belonging to separate fields, this came later) which became the founding texts for his “sociology of cultural works”. In these early texts where the role of journalists is discussed, Bourdieu regarded journalists as participants in the intellectual field.

In his first text on intellectual fields, “Intellectual Field and Creative Project” (1966), Bourdieu sketches the genesis of the French intellectual field by a historical process of autonomisation: in the Middle Ages, during part of the Renaissance and the classical period in France, intellectual life was originally dominated by external authorities of legitimacy – in particular the patronage of the aristocracy and the church (which imposed their own ethical and aesthetic values). Through the growing differentiation of human activity, however, intellectuals gained an increasing autonomy from economic, political and religious powers. First, the public is extended and diversified through the rise of the bourgeoisie and the educational system. Secondly, through an internal diversification of intellectual work, there appeared new groups (publishers, theatre managers, saloons, academies etc.), who could function as “specific authorities of selection and consecration” by bringing into play new, opposing judgements and rewards for intellectual work, and thereby also increasing the competition for cultural

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<sup>116</sup> Bourdieu ([1981] 1991:180).

<sup>117</sup> Bourdieu ([1999] 2001:55).

<sup>118</sup> Bourdieu ([1977] 1991:164).

<sup>119</sup> Bourdieu’s concept of “symbolic power” is thus closely related to Weber’s concept of charismatic authority (appeal of leaders who claim extraordinarily religious, heroic or ethical virtuosity), but also has elements of traditional and rational-legal forms of legitimacy, cf. Weber ([1919] 1988).

<sup>120</sup> Bourdieu ([1981] 1991:281 fn 34).



legitimacy (which becomes the specific logic of the intellectual field)<sup>121</sup>. The growing autonomy of the intellectual field necessarily coincided with the gradual exclusion of the public as a source for judgements. More generally, Bourdieu argues against objectivism (structuralism) and subjectivism (phenomenology) for an alternative analytic strategy, which is to reconstruct the practical sense of intellectuals seen in relation to their position in the space of possibilities (Bourdieu's guarantee of methodological autonomy is here to be found in this postulated process of autonomy<sup>122</sup>).

In this process of autonomisation, journalists in this article appear as one particular type of "intermediaries between the artist and the public" in the field, including publishers, art dealers and – in particular - critics. While not intellectuals in the common sense of the word, Bourdieu sees journalists as participants in the intellectual field who fulfil an important function by making an immediate appreciation of the works of art, and by making them known to the public, thus helping to establish the public meaning of the work and the author. This public meaning is, however, not a product of the personal tastes and whims of journalists and critics, but "necessarily collective" and "accomplished by way of an infinite number of particular social relationships" through intricate processes of selection (the journalists' choice of intellectual works to consecrate or desecrate is already preselected, first by the publisher, secondly by the author, by selecting a publisher "right for his work" or guiding his work towards a particular publisher and an increasing solidarity between the artist and the critic), in the form of "mutual admiration societies" and new forms of critique which "places itself unconditionally at the artist's service and endeavours scrupulously to decipher his intentions and reasons in what is intended to be merely an expert interpretation."<sup>123</sup>

In a related text some years later, "The market of symbolic goods" (1971), Bourdieu makes some changes to the theoretical model. Most importantly, he now considers the field of cultural production to be structured primary through the oppositions between two sub-fields: *the field of small-scale production* (where producers primarily produce for other producers, like avant-garde poetry) and *the field of large-scale production* (where producers produce for non-producers, "the public at large"). The first subfield "tends to develop its own criteria for the evaluation of its products, thus achieving the truly cultural recognition accorded by the peer group whose members are both privileged clients and competitors", in other words, develops a certain autonomy from external demands, and produces "pure", "abstract" and "esoteric" works which are more or less unintelligible outside the subfield. The subfield of large-scale production "submits to the laws of competition for the conquest of the largest possible market"<sup>124</sup> and is characterised by "the subordinate position of cultural producers in relation to the controllers of production and diffusion media."<sup>125</sup> "Journalists", being subjected to strong external demands, are by Bourdieu placed in the latter, least autonomous subfield. In contrast to the journalists' role as intermediaries between the author and public in the first work, the focus is now more on their role as direct competitors with

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<sup>121</sup> Bourdieu ([1966] 1971:162).

<sup>122</sup> Pinto ([1997]:16-17).

<sup>123</sup> Bourdieu ([1966] 1971:165-173).

<sup>124</sup> Bourdieu ([1983] 1993:115).

<sup>125</sup> Bourdieu ([1971] 1985:125).

other groups of cultural producers in a fight for cultural legitimacy. Bourdieu, however, relates them to a dominated position in the field, as part of a “proletaroid intelligentsia”, “forced to experience the contradiction between aesthetic and political position-takings stemming from their inferior position in the field of production and the objectively conservative functions of the products of their activity.”<sup>126</sup> This inferior position is partly due to their lack of intellectual consecration in the subfield as a whole, but it is also related to the social conditions of their work, whose limitations are far too apparent and contributes to their demystification. Because of the public and large-scale nature of their work, they cannot surround themselves with the mystical aura of the “author”:

“Intellectual labour carried out collectively, within technically and socially differentiated production units, can no longer surround itself with the charismatic aura attaching to traditional independent production. The traditional cultural producer was a master of his means of production and invested only his cultural capital, which was likely to be perceived as a gift of grace. The demystification of intellectual and artistic activity consequent on the transformation of the social conditions of production particularly affects intellectuals and artists engaged in large units of cultural production (radio, television, journalism).”<sup>127</sup>

With their regulation to the field of large-scale production, journalists are simultaneously linked to middle-brow art and culture, a “socially neutralized product [which] is the result of the economic and social conditions of its production” and “entirely defined by their public”. The quest for profitability leads the cultural producers to aim for the largest possible market, which means a search for the highest common denominator, even in the production of material targeting more specific audience groups<sup>128</sup>. The resulting lack of distinctive value, combined with an image of social and cultural inferiority (which is partly because of the lack of legitimisation from the educational system, which firmly favours the limited fields of cultural production), give their products an inferior material and symbolic value.

In a footnote in a later work<sup>129</sup>, Bourdieu looks back at “Intellectual field and Creative project”, saying that while it “advances central propositions concerning the genesis and structure of the field”, it contains two errors. First, it tends to reduce the objective relations between positions to interactions between agents, and secondly it omits to situate the field of cultural production within the field of power, thus losing an important explanatory principle. This he later attempted to correct in “Champ du pouvoir, champ intellectuel et habitus de classe” (1971), so that his later works on social field are based on the analytical model shown in figure 1.

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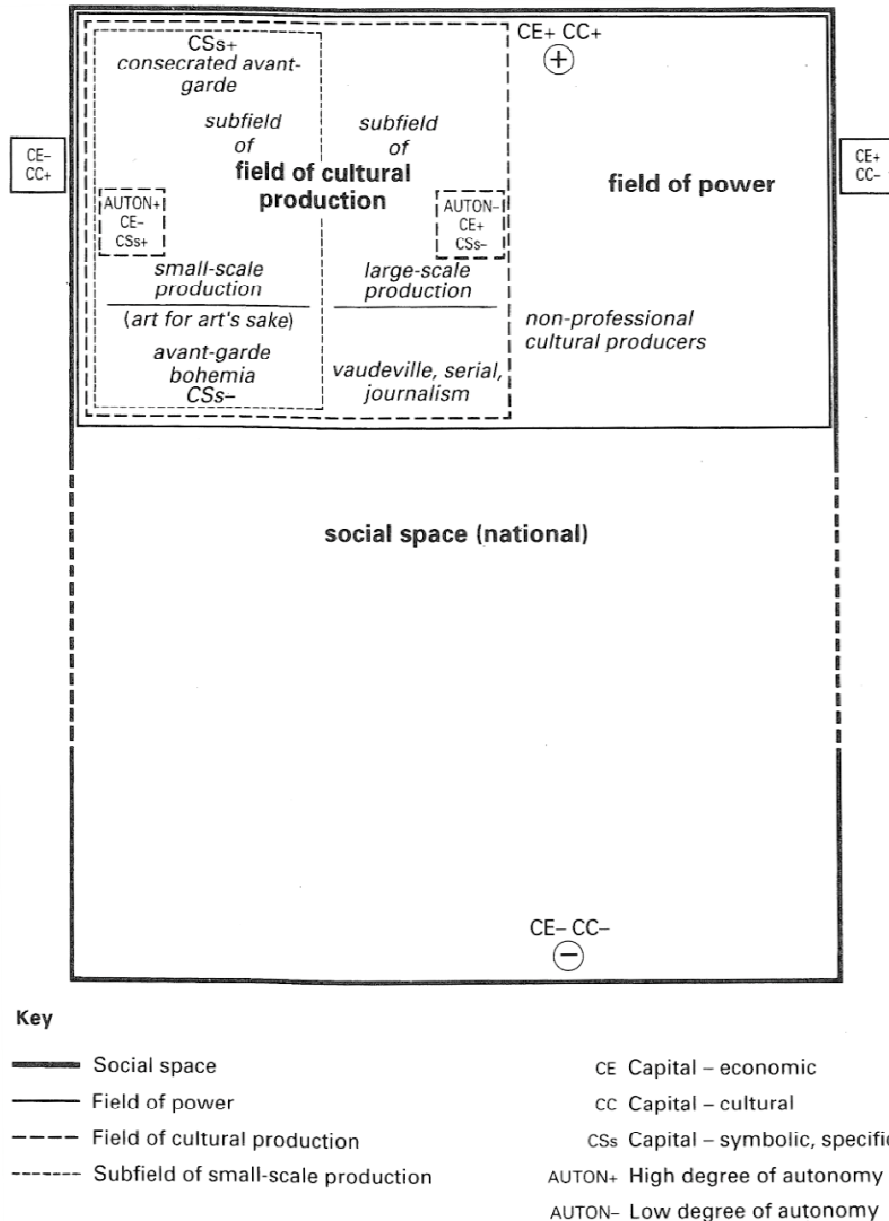
<sup>126</sup> Ibid.(130).

<sup>127</sup> Ibid. Note however, that Bourdieu sees the relation with the field of large-scale cultural production, by threatening the field of restricted production with a general disenchantment of the creative myth by the progress of the division of labour, as partly responsible for the professional ideology which sets creative liberty and the demands of the market as incompatible, cf. Bourdieu ([1983] 1993:127).

<sup>128</sup> Bourdieu ([1971] 1985:125-6).

<sup>129</sup> Bourdieu ([1992] 1996:376).

FIGURE 1 BOURDIEU'S MODEL: CULTURAL FIELDS IN THE FIELD OF POWER AND SOCIAL SPACE.



Source: *The Rules of Art* (Bourdieu [1992] 1996:124)

It is important to note that even if Bourdieu's assignment of "journalists" to the field of large-scale production in the intellectual field (in the second text) and his conceptualization of journalists as merely cultural intermediaries (in the first text) can seem somewhat uncouth - even given the apparent goal of making an ideal-model of the intellectual field - criticism raised that he in these works builds a "hermetic theoretical barrier between the activities of journalists and intellectuals" do not seem entirely fair<sup>130</sup>.

<sup>130</sup> Bastin (2003:259). In the same text Bastin also criticizes Bourdieu for viewing journalists as "external agents" and "outside the field". But Bourdieu's writings appear to me to open for a more nuanced interpretation of the position of journalists: e.g. even if most journalists do not participate in a particular sub-field in the intellectual field (e.g. in a field of literature), some groups of journalists (literary critics) can be regarded as intermediaries in the field of intellectuals, and some (if not all) of these literature critics can be regarded as active participants in the struggles in this particular subfield in the field of restricted cultural production.

First, as Bourdieu notes in one of these texts, the barrier between these two subfields should not be seen too literally, as more than a “limiting parameter” because one will always find the entire range of intermediaries between the two poles, and also because the two subfields – and their “internal logic” and myths can only be understood in relation to each other<sup>131</sup>. Furthermore, Bourdieu’s treatment of journalists is not unambiguous in these texts. Even if journalists in general are banished to the subfield of large-scale production, critics - who clearly are a type of cultural transmitters, writing in newspapers and journals, and could be considered to be a form of journalists - are by Bourdieu seen as very active participants in intellectual struggles in the field(s) of small-scale production. In this way, the texts seem to open up for a more nuanced partition of the heterogeneous category of “journalists”, according to the role different sub-categories (or even only a selection of a sub-category<sup>132</sup>) of journalists play in the empirical case of a particular social field.

### ***3.4 Ringmasters and “Trojan horses”***

When Bourdieu wrote about “journalists” in his earliest texts, he was not talking about journalists “in general”, but rather about the most specialised journalists who follow the events in the intellectual field. Later, as Bourdieu made more specialised studies on subfields of intellectual production, he discussed more closely the relations between journalists and different types of elites. A recurring theme, which was to become increasingly central for Bourdieu, was journalists’ increasing power to consecrate social and cultural elites, which in effect he saw contributing strongly to the weakened autonomy of those groups. In particular he was concerned with the relationship between journalists and politicians, and the role of “Trojan horses” in intellectual fields, “double-role species ... playing a double game” in two fields (in particular journalist-intellectuals and intellectual-journalists)<sup>133</sup>.

### **Journalists and the political field**

In early texts discussing televised political debates, “La Doxosophes” (1972) and “La production de l’idéologie dominante” (1976) - the latter including a detailed sentence-by-sentence analysis of a televised political debate between the prime minister Jacques Chirac (UDR) and George Marchais, the head of PCF (French Communist Party)<sup>134</sup>, Bourdieu and Boltanski put the journalist in a relatively dominated role<sup>135</sup>. As a “ringleader” he obediently contributes to dominant ideology by presenting political struggles according to elitist fantasies: a theatrical and ritualized confrontation, where

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<sup>131</sup> Bourdieu ([1971] 1985:127).

<sup>132</sup> One can, for example, envision an analytic situation where the film critics working in the largest and/or most prestigious newspapers / journals should be considered part of the subfield of film art, but not the film critics working in less prestigious publications.

<sup>133</sup> Bourdieu (1987:1) .

<sup>134</sup> “Ritual 1: public opinion”, “Ritual 2: presentation”, “Ritual 3: the draw”, “The display of symmetry”, “The politeness of politics”, “Magic formalism: the ringleader breaks in to impose the true rules of the game” etc.

<sup>135</sup> The journalist, together with politicians and high commissioners is here seen as a representative for the “the history of the dominant class made method” (Bourdieu and Boltanski 1976:64).

the public are reduced to spectators<sup>136</sup>, and politics appears as a controlled game among professional equals (“all is put in the work to show the symmetry between the two participants, the organization of the space, the ritualisation of the exchanges ...”<sup>137</sup>).

In writings on the political fields in the eighties, however, Bourdieu emphasises the symbolic power of journalists in relation to other fields. In this regard, says Bourdieu, the political field has a particular weakness<sup>138</sup>: unlike most other fields, where the separation from the audience is more or less possible (he often evokes the field of mathematicians as an example of an extremely autonomous field, where producers produce only for other producers), the political field is inextricably bound to its audience (“the electorate”) and cannot become strongly autonomous<sup>139</sup>. Political mobilization, a central strategy in the field, requires mass mobilization – and because of this the journalist is indispensable for politicians:

“... the politician is a close associate of the journalist, who holds sway over the mass media and who thus has power over every kind of symbolic capital (the power of ‘making or unmaking reputations’ which Watergate showed in full measure). Capable, at least in certain political situations, of controlling a politicians’ movements access to the status of a political force really counting for something.... he is united to those he has helped to make (in proportion to his value as a favourable judge) by a relation of deep ambivalence which leadshim to oscillate between admiring or servile submission and treacherous resentment, ready to speak his mind the minute the idol he has helped to produce commits some blunder.”<sup>140</sup>

This re-evaluation of the power of journalists in relation to politicians was, as Bourdieu made clear in an interview in 1999, not simply a theoretical development, but a response to real changes in French society. The last twenty years, he said, journalists had gone from the role of observers to active agents in the political field<sup>141</sup>. Similar comments on other fields by Bourdieu indicate that he saw this as a general trend, where the journalists’ power to consecrate – and not only confirm and celebrate those consecrated by others - increased sharply in the seventies and eighties.

### **Who is to judge the legitimacy of the judges?**

A concrete example of the journalists increasing influence on the intellectual field is given by Bourdieu in the article “The hit parade of French intellectuals”(1984). Given a list of the French “intellectual masters” published by the newspaper *Lire* in 1981<sup>142</sup>

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<sup>136</sup> This, Bourdieu says in “Political representation” ([1981] 1991:295), also symbolizes the growing autonomy of the political field.

<sup>137</sup> Bourdieu and Boltanski (1976).

<sup>138</sup> “The political field has a particularity: it cannot become fully autonomous, it is still dependent on its clientele, on the laymen. These laymen have, during the struggles among the clerics, between members of the field, so to say, the final word.” (Bourdieu [1999] 2001:51).

<sup>139</sup> Ibid.(48-51)

<sup>140</sup> Bourdieu ([1981] 1991:281). Note that Bourdieu’s suggestion that the journalistic field now dominates the political field in France has later been challenged by several researchers, including Darras (2005).

<sup>141</sup> “One of the greatest changes in the last twenty years is that agents, who looked on themselves as observers in the political field, or could be seen as such, have become real agents. I speak of journalists, in particular television journalists, and the pollsters. When we describe the political field today we have to include these categories of agents, for the simple reason that they have effects in the field.” Bourdieu ([1999] 2001).

<sup>142</sup> Claude Lévi-Strauss, Raymond Aron and Michel Foucault appear in the top third spaces. Bourdieu is placed at number 36, tied with the doctor Jean Bernard and the composer Pierre Boulez (Bourdieu 1984:262).

Bourdieu bases his critique of what he sees as a methodological error in the selection of the 448 judges: being predominantly dominated by intellectuals with strong “media muscle”, which, he argues, “are predisposed to elect according to the principle of their election”<sup>143</sup>, this results in a list which is heavily biased towards the intellectuals with the highest “journalistic profile”. In a form of *allodoxia* (mistaking one thing for another) *Lire* presents a view of the intellectual world which is in fact a very *restricted* view from a certain position in this world, a position “dominated by intellectual-journalists and journalists-intellectuals”, who with this list make as an attempt “more unconsciously than consciously” to impose their vision of the intellectual world, its divisions and hierarchies<sup>144</sup> “closer to their [own] productive and interpretative capacities”<sup>145</sup>.

By their common “cultural subordination” in the intellectual field, and their “dual membership” and “dual identity” in both fields, Bourdieu sees certain intellectuals and journalists as united by a structurally motivated interest in blurring the boundaries between the intellectual and the journalist, thus improving their own capital in both fields:

“Placed in a median position between the field of restricted production and the field of general production, the journalist-intellectuals and the intellectual-journalists most often lack the means (and above all the time) to make distinctions which in any case it is not in their interest to operate: since they work unconsciously to negate the division which diminish them, they tend quite naturally to juxtapose in their preferences the great scholars, whose fame is such that their absence would disqualify the voter ... and the most journalistic intellectuals or the most intellectual journalists ... This effect operates first of all on the journalists themselves, who ask for nothing better, thus reinforcing the tendency for the two orders to become confused.”<sup>146</sup>

Of course, in Bourdieu’s view of the social world, such classificatory strategies are a process “which is constantly at work in the field of cultural production”, and exercised on a daily basis in all social fields. What is new, says Bourdieu (in 1984), is that these “mongrel characters” - journalist-intellectuals and a special category of intellectuals-for-the-media “which hardly existed in 30 years ago”<sup>147</sup> have become both very numerous and successful. Whereas the recognition of intellectuals by the media before the seventies required first an internal recognition in the intellectual field<sup>148</sup>, the situation is now that in the (then) current definition of an intellectual in France, a “high journalistic profile” has become a major component, resulting, says Bourdieu, in a form of dependency of the intellectual field on the journalistic field, where the intellectual must comply with journalistic requests. Ultimately, he says, this is a form of recognition of the

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<sup>143</sup> “...the list of the elect has been predetermined by determining the principle of election of the electors, themselves predisposed to elect according to the principle of their election.” (Bourdieu [1984] 1988:257).

<sup>144</sup> Ibid.(256).

<sup>145</sup> “... structurally committed to mixing the genres and blurring the differences between the limited field of production and the field of general production, between journalists and academics or writers, or more precisely, between the enterprises of short-term cultural production and their annual, swiftly packaged products ... and the long-term cultural enterprises and their products” Ibid.(120).

<sup>146</sup> Ibid.(257).

<sup>147</sup> Ibid.(259, 322).

<sup>148</sup> Bourdieu is not the only scholar sketching such a development of the French intellectual field, both Raymond Boudon and Régis Debray have given similar analyses cf. Neveu (2004:88).

legitimacy of the journalistic verdicts<sup>149</sup> and thus a major threat to the autonomy of all intellectual fields<sup>150</sup>.

How did this change come about? According to Bourdieu, this change must be explained as the outcome of several processes. First, there have been major changes in the French academic field itself, which were largely the outcome of morphological changes: the large increase in the number of students in the universities in the late fifties and sixties indirectly contributed to a *crisis* in the field by increasing radically the gap between aspirations and possibilities. For the students, the rise meant an all-to-clear devaluation of the value of their university education on the labour market, and smaller chances to have a career at the university. For the lecturers, who also increased sharply in numbers to meet the rising demand for elementary lecturing and supervising, the effect was even more drastic. Earlier, the number of lecturers and professors had been rather well-matched, which meant that a university career was more or less predictable, “a world without surprises”<sup>151</sup>, where a young lecturer could be reasonably sure to rise to the post of professor in due time. The large increase in the number of lecturers – much sharper than the rise in the number of professors – destroyed this logic of succession, increased the internal competition and resulted for many in a “crisis of faith”<sup>152</sup> in the university system and its values, and a realisation of their relatively small chances of success in the academic field. Simultaneously, there had been a rise of competing external instances of consecration (cultural journalism in particular, which again must be partly explained by the rise in the number of people with an university degree in social studies and art studies both as a market and a labour force for journalism). For those most lacking in the internal forms of (academic) capital and recognition, or those who lack the patience to wait (who are often the same, as the latter is partly the outcome of the former) for the “long and slow process of canonization” and the long production cycle which characterises the academic field, “journalism offers both a way out and a short cut: it enables them to overcome rapidly and cheaply the gap between aspirations and opportunities by ensuring them a minor form of the renown granted to great scholars and intellectuals”<sup>153</sup>. By offering those members of the field who have little scientific capital and are “least certain of realizing the ambition of scientificity” the possibility to “live beyond their intellectual means”, these “hybrid” characters become

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<sup>149</sup> Bourdieu (1984:261).

<sup>150</sup> It is illuminating to compare this with Bourdieu’s analysis of the French academic field in the late sixties in *Homo Academicus*, where “appearance on television, writing for newspapers, weeklies and popular reviews” for the Parisian professors of 1968 are used - in addition to membership in the Académie Française, publication in paperback and being mentioned in *Larousse* (a dictionary of short biographies) as indicators of “capital of intellectual renown” ([1984] 1988:40), a form of capital which is “more or less” monopolised by the arts and social science professors. In the particular case of the arts and social science faculties, appearance on television is linked to the sector of space characterised by both high scientific and intellectual prestige, whereas writing in *Nouvel Observateur* is more common among “the young and minor masters” in “the sector of external renown” (Ibid. 81).

<sup>151</sup> Ibid.(153).

<sup>152</sup> Ibid.(152).

<sup>153</sup> Ibid.(112-119). Note that Bourdieu does not see a participation in journalism as an automatic disqualification from an academic career, as “it can even, at a certain stage in the evolution of the institution towards heteronomy, become a path to promotion within the institution itself.” (Ibid).

the “Trojan horses” in the university field for the intrusion of journalistic criteria and values<sup>154</sup>.

The scale and the nature of the threat offered by these journalist-intellectuals to the intellectual field are thus highly complex. First, the power of these “Trojan horses” is linked to their privileged access to a mass audience, which makes it possible for them both to dominate the public discussion through their own output (which is bad enough) and also function as *gatekeepers* and *judges* of intellectual works vis-à-vis the public - in other words, to impose an act (or rather, attack) of classification by selection and celebration as seen in the case of the list of intellectuals. With this comes a corresponding ability to enforce journalistic problems and a journalistic point of view on the (restricted) intellectual fields<sup>155</sup>, by prioritizing the simple and readable before more complicated and scientific analyses; by choosing authors who are most able to speak entertainingly on television etc. (criteria which ultimately are only lightly disguised market demands to reach a biggest possible audience)<sup>156</sup>. Secondly, as indicated by the list of top intellectuals in *Lire*, the power of these journalists-academics and academics-journalists also partly resides in the cross-field “networks of solidarity” and “circuits of exchange”, which together with their common structural ambiguity makes it possible for them to validate each other’s claims<sup>157</sup>.

Note, however, that the “power” of journalist-intellectuals is a power of *position*, dependent on the current state of the fields in question and the interplay between them<sup>158</sup>. Their strong influence on the academic field would not have been possible without the pre-weakening of the academic field as described, nor without the rise in the (market) demand for their services, nor without the increased autonomy of the journalistic field (which gives journalists and increased belief in their own criteria). We should also here add the impact of new types of habitus in both fields, less predisposed to conform to both academic and journalistic values, and more specifically the position of “cultural journalism” in both fields. None of these factors alone is sufficient explanation, demonstrating among other things the fallacy of locating the “power of journalism” in journalism itself or in a particular “media logic”, and the need for a concrete empirical and sociological investigation in each case. The rising autonomy of the journalistic field has, for example, probably had little impact on the field of mathematics.

It should also be noted that journalists’ power to consecrate in reality is quite restricted. The list of intellectuals compiled by *Lire* could, for example, not omit Claude

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<sup>154</sup> Ibid.(112,347).

<sup>155</sup> Ibid.(324).

<sup>156</sup> This critique is repeated and elaborated ten years later in what is possibly Bourdieu’s most polemic attack on journalist-intellectuals ever in *Free Exchange*: “It is above all through journalism that commercial logic, against which all the autonomous universes (artistic, literary, scientific) are constructed, imposes itself on these universes. This is fundamentally harmful, since it favours the products and producers who are most directly submissive to commercial demands ... There is a kind of censorship through silence ... Journalists have been the screen or filter between all intellectual action and the public.” (Bourdieu and Haacke [1994] 1995:19-22).

<sup>157</sup> Bourdieu (1984:261).

<sup>158</sup> See also Marchetti (2000) when he writes that “... the media space has become highly strategic notwithstanding its relative lack of autonomy. What is mediated is largely the outcome of power relations within different social spaces that are then translated according to media logics.”



Lévi-Strauss, as a complete break with the logics of internal academic consecration would in effect destroy the legitimacy of the list<sup>159</sup>. Thus, the nature of the list is also a sign that the journalistic field, even if it has had a growing control over the intellectual field<sup>160</sup> “is still dominated by the restricted field [of cultural production] and its specific principles of perception and appreciation.”<sup>161</sup>

### ***3.5 The view from the media***

The symbolic influence of journalists, as seen by Bourdieu, is not limited to influencing other intellectual and cultural fields. A central idea running through his whole oeuvre is the idea of the journalist as a supporter of dominant ideology by reproducing and supporting (usually unconsciously) dominant classifications. The earlier example of the journalists’ presentation of the public as “spectators” of the political game would later become a particularly important instance of this logic, which was later taken up in the works of Patrick Champagne and others in their work on the representations journalists project onto the world they claim to report.

#### **The misrepresentation of the public**

Bourdieu consistently rejected a monolithic view of the audience as a single undifferentiated mass, focusing instead on the polynomial and conflictual character of cultural consumption. In the December 1963 issue of *Les temps modernes* he wrote with Jean-Claude Passeron a scalding article on media researchers, “Sociologues des mythologies et mythologies de sociologues”. With the proclaimed intention to “banish the pathetic vulgarities some try to introduce into the scientific universe”, the article targets the “mass media ideologists” (Roland Barthes, Edgar Morin, Gilbert Cohen-Séat and Pierre Fougereyrollas are among the targets), who “transform daily chat into scholarly formulas”. With their vague and homogenizing concepts, like “mass culture” and “mass medium”, Bourdieu and Passeron accuse them of presenting an “elitist fantasy” of avoiding the real basis on which messages are received (in the social structure): ignoring that messages are never received in an equal way by the audience (“there are one thousand ways to read, see and listen”), and that the audience is never without defences, invalidating the claim of the vulnerable mass<sup>162</sup>.

This same theme is later taken up and elaborated by Bourdieu in two important articles, “Les Doxosophes” (1972) and “Public opinion do not exist” ([1973] 1993), the second a critique of opinion polls, the first a critique of the “doxosophes”<sup>163</sup> of political

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<sup>159</sup> “The inclination of journalists to impose a definition of the intellectual closer to their inclinations, that is closer to their productive and interpretative capacities, is thus counterbalanced by their concern to affirm their membership of the circle of true judges. Since they cannot achieve a radical subversion of the scale of values, it is only by according a favourable bias to the most journalistic of intellectuals that the journalists can affirm their membership of an enlarged intellectual field...” (Bourdieu 1984:267).

<sup>160</sup> Ibid. (268).

<sup>161</sup> Bourdieu ([1984] 1988:267).

<sup>162</sup> Note the parallels to central concerns to early works of the British cultural studies. Bourdieu and Passeron were among very few researchers in France to take an interest in this tradition, and they also translated texts of Richard Hoggart, E.P. Thompson, Raymond Williams and Paul Willis to French (Neveu 2005:204).

<sup>163</sup> ‘Doxosopher’ is a concept of Platon, “a specialist of the doxa, opinion and appearance, an apparent scientist and a scientist of appearances” (Bourdieu 1972).

science. In the second article Bourdieu lists some basic sociological misunderstandings and ideological underpinnings underlying the practice of opinion polls, first and foremost the very idea of a social consensus which underlies the concept of *public opinion*:

“At the present, the opinion poll is an instrument of political action: perhaps its most important function is to impose the illusion that there is something called public opinion in the sense of the purely arithmetical total of individual opinions; to impose the illusion that it is meaningful to speak of the average of opinions or the average opinion. The ‘public opinion’ that is manifested on the front page of newspapers ... is a pure and simple artefact whose function it is to disguise the fact that the state of opinion at a given time is a system of forces, tensions, and that nothing more inadequately expresses the state of opinion than a percentage.”<sup>164</sup>

To produce “public opinion” and this “consensus effect”, Bourdieu argues, poll researchers have to turn a blind eye to the “entirely artificial” situation of a poll, where people are asked to respond to general and abstract questions which are the product of *logocentrism*, of a particular habitus and schooling by the pollster and question-makers, who are socially very different from the general public (a fact seen e.g. in the distribution of non-responses, which increases the lower the respondent is in the social hierarchy). In effect, Bourdieu says, such use of polls not only is an act of the *depolitisation of politics*, making political questions appear to be purely scientific or bureaucratic, lying outside the political realm, and thus upholding dominant ideology, but also provides the elites with a fictitious legitimization of political and bureaucratic action, which in this way has “transmuted the opinions traditionally associated with social elites into the opinions of the people”<sup>165</sup>. Such use of “the people” as a central act of classification and strategy in the struggles between and inside social elites (in particular the political field) would later receive much attention by Bourdieu<sup>166</sup>.

The historical rise of an idea of “public opinion” and its (mis)use would become a central theme in the writings of Patrick Champagne, most elaborated in *Faire l’opinion* (1990). Journalistic products, in Bourdieu and Champagne’s view, fulfil a symbolic function very similar to that of political polls: as they are both presented as representations of public opinion, and they both help powerful politicians set up an apparently *unmediated* relationship between themselves and voters which eliminates all other collective and individual agents (e.g. the unions and the political party system)<sup>167</sup>.

### A projective test

Far from “reporting” political news and debates, journalists are seen by Champagne as playing an active role as misrepresentators and active constructors of reality. For example when studying the press’ coverage of the “riots” in Vaulx-en-Velin in 1990, he dismisses the idea of “events” in the journalistic sense, which he says are “never in the

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<sup>164</sup> Bourdieu ([1973] 1993:150).

<sup>165</sup> Bourdieu and Champagne (1989).

<sup>166</sup> See in particular the articles “Political representation” ([1981] 1991) and “Delegation and Political Fetishism” ([1984] 1991).

<sup>167</sup> Bourdieu (1994:77). There is here a clear link to Bourdieu’s earlier ideas of the journalist’s role as a “mediator” between the dominant artist/intellectuals and the public, see for example “Le couturier et sa griffe. Contribution à une théorie de la magie” ([1975] 1991), where Bourdieu sees the journalist fulfil a similar symbolic-ideological function by acting as a promoter for “collective belief” in the symbolic value of the artists “mark”. Cf. also Bourdieu ([1977] 1993:100).

end anything but the result of the spontaneous or provoked mobilization of the media around something that they agree, for a certain time, to consider as such". The intense coverage of the "riots", which he sees to a large degree as a self-fulfilling prophecy provoked by the journalists' presence and coverage, is not seen as related to the intrinsic "importance" of the event, but "because they echoed a number of social problems constituted in and by the media." (e.g. stereotypes of the suburbs and of large housing projects). Also, he accuses the journalists of "focusing on confrontations more than on the objective situations which provoke them"<sup>168</sup>. The media impose their own construction on social problems by dramatizing the most superficial facts (which are usually the least important), by the terms they impose (e.g. "ghetto") and in the choice of social agents they choose to speak to or interview<sup>169</sup>. The journalists' fabrication of this social representation, which is very far from journalists' ideas of "reporting"<sup>170</sup>, is for Champagne basically the product of journalists' *collective representations*, and an act of classification where journalists, in their haste, cannot break with social stereotypes and the dominant ideology they contain<sup>171</sup>.

### ***3.6 The journalistic field***

#### **Towards a journalistic field**

In Bourdieu's writings on cultural fields in the late seventies and early eighties, we can find several references to the logic of competition between journalists and journalistic products, and also discussions of the internal relations between journalists and between newspapers, for example writing of a "space of newspapers"<sup>172</sup> in "The production of belief" ([1977] 1993). Even if these writings can be considered as precursors to the idea of a journalistic field, the focus is still on journalists as participants in other fields, and the logic of journalistic competition is explained mainly through the effect of *homologies* between journalistic competitors, the newspaper and its public, a homology which is the product of the oppositions in the social space which it reproduces through the parallel differences in habitus:

"Even in the case of the seemingly most heteronymous forms of cultural production, such as journalism, adjustment to demand is not the product of a conscious arrangement between producers and consumers. It results from the correspondence between the space of the producers, and therefore the products offered, and the space of the consumers, which is brought about on the basis of the homology between the two spaces, only through the competition between the producers and through the strategies imposed by the correspondence between the space of possible position-takings and the space of positions. In other words, by obeying the logic of the objective competition between mutually exclusive positions within the field, the various categories of

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<sup>168</sup> Champagne (1991).

<sup>169</sup> Champagne (1993).

<sup>170</sup> "media ... produce reality effects by creating a media-oriented vision of reality that contributes to creating the reality it claims to describe." (Champagne 1991:56)

<sup>171</sup> Note that Champagne gives particular weight to the role of television, not only because of its large diffusion and central position in the field (which makes their stories – and representations - picked up by other media), but also because of the particular power of images to dramatize and give a sense of looking at unmediated reality "... they seem to designate an indisputable reality even though they are just as much the product or more of less explicit work of selection and construction." Ibid.(49).

<sup>172</sup> Bourdieu ([1977] 1993:89).

producers tend to supply products adjusted to the expectations of the various positions in the field of power, but without any conscious striving for such adjustment.”<sup>173</sup>

In other words, the logic of journalistic products and competition is seen as closely related to - and primarily refracting - the struggles and classifications between classes as described in *Distinction* ([1979] 1984).

The first published references to a separate field of journalism by Bourdieu are very probably two articles in 1984, one on the logics of political delegation<sup>174</sup>, the other the aforementioned comment on a hit parade of French intellectuals<sup>175</sup>. In these articles, however, the nature or structure of this journalistic field is not elaborated, but is restricted to a few comments on how this field is “dominated by the restricted field [of cultural production] and its specific principles of perception and appreciation”, and that one effect of the field is that it “causes journalists to spend more time reading each other than reading the books that they feel bound to mention because the others have mentioned them (it is the same process for political ‘events’)”<sup>176</sup>.

Bourdieu’s first attempt at a description of the logic of a journalistic field does not appear until ten years later<sup>177</sup>, in the article “The power of journalism” (1994) in a special number of *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales* dedicated to “L’emprise du journalisme”<sup>178</sup>. Written in a very general tone, with almost no empirical references (not even specifying it to be an analysis restricted to the French journalistic field), Bourdieu sketches a short history of the field and its structure which follows very closely his descriptions of other cultural fields, saying that it appeared

“... during the nineteenth century around the oppositions between newspapers offering ‘news,’ preferably ‘sensational’ or better yet, capable of creating a sensation, and newspapers featuring analysis and ‘commentary’, which marked their difference from the other group by loudly proclaiming the values of ‘objectivity’. Hence, this field is the site of an opposition between two models, each with its own principle of

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<sup>173</sup> Compare this statement from “The field of cultural production, or: The Economic World Reversed” ([1983] 1993:45) with two very similar arguments in “The metamorphosis of taste” ([1980] 1993b:111) and “Delegation and political fetishism” ([1984] 1991:216). Note that in the 1984-article Bourdieu refers to a journalistic field, but not in the two earlier articles.

<sup>174</sup> Bourdieu ([1984] 1991:216).

<sup>175</sup> Bourdieu (1984).

<sup>176</sup> Ibid. (261-7).

<sup>177</sup> It should be here be borne in mind that the mid-eighties was a particular turbulent time for the French media system. Television was state-governed until 1975, and continued as a commercialised monopoly until 1982. Private actors were allowed access in 1986, and in 1987 the formerly state-owned channel TF1 was privatized. In the first period television was viewed as an instrument for promoting education and culture, and this continued – although to less extent – in the second period. After 1982, however, this ideal declined sharply in favour of the dominance of a market-based view of the television business with little difference between state-owned and private channels (with the cultural channel France 5/ARTE the only exception), a state of affairs which have given rise to an identity crisis for public service broadcasting in France. Also, television advertising and AUTOMAT, a Nielsen-style audience rating system were both introduced in the mid-eighties. *Television Across Europe*, EU (2005).

<sup>178</sup> In addition to “L’emprise du journalisme” (1994), Bourdieu in the same issue wrote two other short pieces related to journalists: “Libé vingt ans après” ([1988] 1994), a comment on the changed readership of the newspaper *Libération* and its corresponding change in contents, originally written for *Libération* in 1988 but was never published by the newspaper, and “Les jeux Olympiques. Programme pour une analyse.” (1994). The last article is included in English translations of *Sur la télévision*.

legitimation: that of peer recognition, accorded individuals who internalize most completely the internal 'values' of the field; or that of recognition by the public at large, which is measured by numbers of readers, listeners, or viewers, and therefore, in the final analysis, by sales and profits."<sup>179</sup>

Like the academic or an artistic field, then, journalists are now presented as agents in a relatively autonomous microcosm with its own specific logic and schemes of perception. A central characteristic of the journalistic field for Bourdieu, however, is its low autonomy (compared to other intellectual fields) vis-à-vis the economic field, to which it is "permanently subject to through trial by market"; in particular by its direct dependency on advertisers and the wide-spread use of audience ratings. This pressure, which he says increases the closer one is to the commercial pole, is "exercised only through the effect of the field", and is seen by Bourdieu as translated - or better yet, *euphemized* - into the logic of the field through the race for scoops (an economic competition for consumers), which imbues the whole field with a logic of permanent haste and renewal, a propensity to judge products and producers through the logic of the "new" and the "out-of-date", and a obsession with the competitors' actions (to win profit by copying their successes and avoiding their failures) which makes the logic of journalistic competition advance not variety, but strong uniformity in its products<sup>180</sup>.

### **Return to television**

In the following years, Bourdieu repeated and elaborated his descriptions/criticisms of the journalistic field in a myriad of smaller writings, speeches and interviews which culminated with the televised lectures on the power of journalism and the publication of these in *Sur la télévision* in 1996. In the two televised lectures which make up the bulk of the book, Bourdieu mostly repeats his main arguments from his earlier writings on journalists on which I have already commented, combining his interests in journalism's growing autonomy and this effect on - in particular - the political and academic field (e.g. in the practical context of debate programs), the effect of depoliticising and stereotyping through its hasty representations of the social world, the closing-in effect (journalists reading and following each other moves), its basically commercial-based logic, the central role of television etc., and I see thus no need to repeat them at length here.

What should be noted, however, is the way this book and Bourdieu's later writings on journalists were elaborated by his references - if often not very explicit - to research and writings by others working inside Bourdieu's sociological program (many of them being close colleagues of Bourdieu and their students). In addition to Patrick Champagne's quoted work on public opinion, media (mis)representation and journalistic fields (which is especially dominant in the first televised lecture)<sup>181</sup>, one should also mention Alain Accardos' work on the precarious work situations of dominated journalists<sup>182</sup>, Remy Riefel's and Serge Hamili's work on elite journalists<sup>183</sup>,

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<sup>179</sup> Bourdieu (1994:70).

<sup>180</sup> Ibid.(73).

<sup>181</sup> For Champagne's later discussion of journalistic fields, see in particular "The "Double Dependency" (1995) (2005). One should also note his 1971-work on the different social reception of television messages ("La télévision et son langage" ) and his analysis of political debate programs in "Le cercle politique. Usages sociaux des sondages et nouvel espace politique" (1988).

<sup>182</sup> Accardo ([1993] 1999, 1998).

Lois Pinto’s analyses of the relationships between intellectuals and journalists<sup>184</sup>, Remi Lenoir’s work on the relation between the judicial and journalistic field<sup>185</sup>, Dominique Marchetti’s analyses of the field of medical journalism and Julien Duval’s studies of economic journalism in France<sup>186</sup>.

### The Bourdieu-Schneidermann episode

As if to illustrate his analyses of the relationships between journalists and intellectuals, Bourdieu had a history of troubled relationship with journalists. An instructive episode here – as it also illustrates some of the reception that met *Sur la télévision* – was a controversy with TV journalist Daniel Schneidermann. On January 20, 1996, Pierre Bourdieu was invited to appear on Schneidermann’s television programme *Arrêt sur images*<sup>187</sup> to discuss how the social conflict and the strikes of December 1995 in France (where Bourdieu participated) was portrayed by television (the theme was “Télévision et conflits sociaux”), a theme Bourdieu had commented on several occasions previously<sup>188</sup>.

FIGURE 2 PIERRE BOURDIEU APPEARING ON ARRÊT SUR IMAGES, JANUARY 20 1996<sup>189</sup>



The meeting between Bourdieu and Schneidermann - Bourdieu at the summit of the academic pole as a professor at the College de France, Schneidermann occupying the intellectual pole of French journalism (being a columnist in *Le Monde*, author of a novel

<sup>183</sup> Rieffel (1984) and Halimi (1997).

<sup>184</sup> Pinto (1994).

<sup>185</sup> Lenoir (1994).

<sup>186</sup> Champagne and Marchetti ([1994] 2005), Marchetti (1997) and Duval ([2000] 2005).

<sup>187</sup> The television program «Arrêt sur images» <“Stop the image”> was launched in 1995 on the cultural channel *France 5*, dedicating 52 minutes on a weekly basis to decipher “the truth behind TV images”, and where “sharp-eyed commentators answer the presenter’s questions and raise the public’s awareness of the implications of images.” Source: [www.france5.fr](http://www.france5.fr).

<sup>188</sup> The speech in question by Bourdieu, delivered at Gare de Lyon during the strikes in December 1995, is reproduced in Bourdieu ([1995] 1998a).

<sup>189</sup> Here discussing with star journalist Jean-Marie Cavada. Source: *Enfin pris?* Press dossier at <http://www.homme-moderne.org/enfinpris/dospres/images.html>.

and several books about the media, and a graduate from École Normale Supérieure) - was (in hindsight) quite predictable. Regularly interrupted and criticized by the star journalists present<sup>190</sup> - among other things, by Guillaume Durand for not wanting to discuss his personal engagement on the side of the strikers, Bourdieu argued for the failings of television to give a rational account of the events, and the problems of the television as a forum for rational debate on the shortcomings of journalism («As the conditions in which I am going to speak on television are as they are, I will not be able to say much.»<sup>191</sup>). In a later broadcast at March 9 (where Bourdieu did not appear) Bourdieu's appearance on January 20 was the subject of several criticisms.

This was followed by a sharp reply by Bourdieu in *Le Monde Diplomatique* a month later<sup>192</sup>, where he gave an account of his involvement and conduct with the broadcast of January 20. Writing of having the paradoxical feeling after the show of a fish “that jumps into the water, its natural element, and - knowing it beforehand - finds itself dissolvable”, Bourdieu criticized Schneidermann harshly for having abused his trust by changing radically the agreed conditions of the debate<sup>193</sup>, and illustrating “with full force what I wanted to prove: the impossibility to give a critical discourse on television through television” by “cut offs, interruptions, distractions from the topic”, the censorship of television through the conduct of its moderator and highly selective selection of guests, “...placing people that say exactly what one expects from them, or even better, that have nothing to say at all.” Bourdieu concludes that “One cannot criticize television on television because the mechanisms of television impose themselves on the programs which criticize television. The broadcast on the treatment of the strikes on television reproduced the very structure of the broadcasts on the strikes themselves.”

Schneidermann gave a quick and biting reply in the next issue, criticizing Bourdieu for using the “strategy of a martyr”, being pompous and afraid of debate.

“One does not contradict Pierre Bourdieu, one does not interrupt Pierre Bourdieu, and one does not interfere with the speech of Pierre Bourdieu. It was so simple! You came alone, with your pictures, to deliver your message. Television was to abdicate. The bottom line, if I understand you correctly, is that there exists only one possible form of communication: the magisterial lectures of College de France ... 'Pierre Bourdieu talk to you': was this the program you dreamed about? What did you want, as a bonus? Drum rolls? A presenter in uniform?”<sup>194</sup>

When Bourdieu published his book *Sur la télévision* later that year, the incident was not mentioned explicitly, and it appears that Bourdieu never responded to this article by Schneidermann. A few years later, Schneidermann elaborated his anti-critique of Bourdieu in the book *Du journalisme après Bourdieu* (1999)<sup>195</sup>. While agreeing with Bourdieu on many problems of modern journalism (the race for the scope,

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<sup>190</sup> Jean-Marie Cavada, Daniel Schneidermann and Guillaume Durand, all of them well-known journalists.

<sup>191</sup> Cited in Fortin (2000:4).

<sup>192</sup> Bourdieu (1996c).

<sup>193</sup> Among other things, an agreement that Bourdieu's own participation in the strikes would not be a subject on the programme. Ibid.

<sup>194</sup> “Réponse à Pierre Bourdieu”, May 1996.

<sup>195</sup> For more on the Bourdieu-Schneidermann controversy and Schneidermann's anti-criticism, see Fortin (2000). A discussion of the programme and Bourdieu's television appearances can be found in Forbes (2003).

sensationalism, the desperate search for an audience etc.), he accuses Bourdieu of a fear of contradiction<sup>196</sup> and for oversimplifying his critique of journalists<sup>197</sup> (and lacking empirical research to back up his claims – as mentioned before, this was a widespread critique during his later, political engaged phase).

### 3.7 Modern doxosophers

#### “Whoever denied the existence of great journalists?”<sup>198</sup>

Bourdieu tried on several occasions to modify the image of himself as anti-journalist. Even if he clearly had little faith in the current enterprise of French journalism and saw it as contributing enormously negatively to the autonomy of the intellectual fields, his critique was not as one-sided as the public impression would have it. As we have seen, most of his early critique of journalism was targeted not at journalists *en masse*, but primarily against various variants of journalist-“hybrids”, “intermediate intellectuals”<sup>199</sup>, “double-role species” “playing a double game”, which included not only selected “star journalists” but, just as important, also academic figures with close ties to the press and “the new mandarins”, technocrats who used journalism to make intellectual interventions.<sup>200</sup>

He once said that his problem with journalism was bad journalism, journalists not doing their job, not journalism itself<sup>201</sup>. Denouncing these journalist-intellectuals was in Bourdieu’s view a protective act for both intellectuals and journalists, seeing these as “too self-important to do journalistic work, and not intellectual enough to do intellectual work.” He did not see journalists as an undifferentiated profession or as unanimously hostile to his analysis<sup>202</sup>, and expressed explicit admiration for several journalists, some for their ability to make good interviews, some for their proficiency in describing social life and milieus (where journalists in many instances, he once said, were on par with the

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<sup>196</sup> This critique was later repeated by, among others, Alain Finkielkraut (1998), who in a comment in *Le Monde* wrote that “... it is not the misuse of power by the media that Bourdieu attacks, even if it appears that way, but rather what one could term ‘uncontrollable democracy’. What he cannot accept, is that others’ voices are heard on equal terms as his own voice, it is not about the limitation of the public sphere, but of his own existence.”.

<sup>197</sup> Regarding the first accusation, Schneidermann (1999:10) writes for example that “under the cover of scientific research ... he [Bourdieu] criticizes media by using the same approach as he criticizes the media for using: flock mentality, accusation without proof, hasty generalization, a focus on easy targets ...”.

<sup>198</sup> Bourdieu (1998b).

<sup>199</sup> Bourdieu (1984:274).

<sup>200</sup> Bourdieu (1987:1).

<sup>201</sup> Ibid.

<sup>202</sup> “... journalism is not a monolithic enterprise: there are people who are quite willing to help us” (Bourdieu and Haacke [1994] 1995:22). See also Bourdieu (1987:1), when he says that “... the journalists are very different. When one says “the journalists”, that don’t mean anything. Those that I aim at are the intellectual journalists, the people who are between [the two fields]. For me these are dangerous people. I don’t have anything personally against them. But they are a ‘double role’-species. When they do journalism, they do not do proper intellectual work. And when they do a little intellectual work, they do not do true journalism. I believe that to denounce the intellectual journalists is to simultaneously protect the intellectuals and the journalists: the intellectual journalists are often too conceited to succeed in the journalist’s profession, and not intellectual enough to succeed in the intellectual’s profession.”



best researchers<sup>203</sup>). And if he himself, as he said, never succeeded in his relations with journalists, he still believed fruitful collaborative work coupling sociologists and journalists was possible (although not without difficulties)<sup>204</sup>.

If believing that the journalistic milieu had little chance of immediate reforms<sup>205</sup>, Bourdieu clearly believed in the possibility for improvement. The freedom of journalists, if low, he said, was real, and journalists should look for their possibilities for change<sup>206</sup>. He expressed faith in the positive effects of good journalistic education, and also in the possibility that his analyses would be helpful as a form of socioanalysis of journalists, to make them more aware of the constraints they were living under in order to fight them better<sup>207</sup>. He often expressed sympathy with the crushing conditions of much journalistic work, in particular the job insecurity suffered by younger, dominated journalists, which he felt contributed greatly to the decline of journalism, “giving them [young journalists] the alternative to disappear very quickly” or to submit to the pressures<sup>208</sup>.

### Naive realists

Even given such reconsolidating remarks by Bourdieu, it is difficult not to see a fundamental critique of the journalistic profession in Bourdieu’s writings. Remembering Bourdieu’s position in the tradition of French epistemology, where scientific facts are seen as only won through struggle with epistemological obstacles, where “the scientific mind can only establish itself by destroying the non-scientific mind”, and “everything which is easy to teach is inaccurate”<sup>209</sup>, journalists must clearly be in a bad position to give objective descriptions and interpretations of the social world. Because of the strong constraints surrounding their work – the competition, the haste, the format, lack of specialist knowledge etc.<sup>210</sup> – it is no wonder that journalism was for Bourdieu not a stripped-down version of sociology, but its opposite<sup>211</sup>, and that he saw journalists as doomed to “participation in the circulation of the [social] unconscious”<sup>212</sup>

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<sup>203</sup> Bourdieu (1987:3).

<sup>204</sup> Ibid.(4) and Bourdieu (1998).

<sup>205</sup> Bourdieu (1995).

<sup>206</sup> Bourdieu ([1992] 2004).

<sup>207</sup> See in particular “Un leçon de journalisme” (1987), a speech given at a conference for students at the Ecole supérieure de journalisme de Lille, and “Misère de média”, an interview in *Télérama* in 1995, where he says that “I would want them to understand a little better that what befalls them is not because of their bosses... but that it is a structure that suppresses them. This knowledge can help them to endure the pressure, and organize themselves and give them instruments for a collective understanding”.

<sup>208</sup> Bourdieu (1996b).

<sup>209</sup> Bachelard ([1940] 1968:8-20).

<sup>210</sup> Bourdieu ([1993] 1999b). An early critique of journalism along similar lines, if theoretically very simplistic, is provided by Tuchman (1972).

<sup>211</sup> This particular idea has been criticised by many, e.g. Fabiani (1997). Note however, that Bourdieu has emphasised that the situation should not be presented as one of true sociology versus untrue journalism: “It goes without saying that journalists produce some truth and sociologists produce some untruth. In a field you find everything, by definition! But perhaps in different proportions and with different probabilities ...” (Bourdieu 1998:73).

<sup>212</sup> Bourdieu ([1992] 2004).

where “communication is instantaneous because, in a sense, it has not taken place.”<sup>213</sup>. Journalists are, in Bachelard’s sense, bordering between naive realism and positivist empirism, in a pre-scientific stage of knowledge, whereas scientists have to be applied (or discursive) rationalists, “engaged in an open polemic with primary reality”<sup>214</sup> where common sense can only form obstacles to knowledge and never provide any real insight into phenomena.

Because of their epistemological shortcomings, journalists were seen by Bourdieu as exerting daily symbolic violence with a clear conscience, “through verbal reflexes, stereotyped images and conventional words, and the effect of habituation that it produces ...”<sup>215</sup>, e.g. discussing the “symbolism” of a scarf worn by Islamic girls<sup>216</sup>. In such cases, where the journalistic field and the scientific (sociological) field (and, we should add, the political field) are in conflict over how to give an interpretation of events, Bourdieu left journalists with little credit and small hope for improvement:

“Journalists, subjected to the constraints weighing on them from the pressures and judgements of both internal and external forces, and especially from competition and the resulting haste that has never fostered reflection, frequently give careless, often imprudent, descriptions and analyses of the most burning issues of the day ... Social science... has to deal with all these people, too clever by half and armed with their ‘common sense’ and their pretensions, who rush into print or to appear on television to tell us what is going on in a social world that they have no effective means of either knowing or understanding.”<sup>217</sup>

### **Against the destruction of a civilization**

A general assessment of Bourdieu’s writings on journalists and the media seems to be that while they offer valuable insight into the impact of modern journalism on intellectual and cultural fields, they pay little attention to an understanding of the concrete functioning of journalistic fields and journalistic praxis<sup>218</sup>. Bourdieu is primarily interested in journalists’ role as capitalists of the symbolic who produce the reality they claim to report, and which through their “de facto monopoly on the large-scale informational instruments of production and diffusion of information” are a threat to all independent intellectual life and cultural production, and democracy itself. First, by defining “what goes on in the heads of a significant part of the population and what they think”<sup>219</sup> - where television is particularly important because it for most people is their only source of information, second by regulating and censoring the agents of intellectual and cultural fields (who have to yield to the journalistic way of doing things, which in practice means to undergo massive journalistic censure by setting the conditions under which they are able to reach a mass audience, where journalists, Bourdieu says, are “always inclined to confuse a rational dialogue with a wrestling match”<sup>220</sup>). And by offering an alternative form of legitimation, they tempt the weakest

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<sup>213</sup> Bourdieu ([1996] 1998a:29).

<sup>214</sup> Bachelard ([1938] 2002:20).

<sup>215</sup> Bourdieu ([1995] 1998b:22).

<sup>216</sup> Bourdieu (1995).

<sup>217</sup> Bourdieu ([1993] 1999b:627-8).

<sup>218</sup> See for example Bastin (2003) and Marlière ([1998]1998).

<sup>219</sup> Bourdieu ([1996] 1998a:10,46).

<sup>220</sup> Bourdieu ([1995] 1998b).

members of other fields to give up cultural and academic freedom for quick public recognition, and thereby “poisons intellectual, scientific and artistic milieus, which were established on contempt for money and a relative indifference towards the consecration of the public”<sup>221</sup>.

Television could have been an instrument for direct democracy, says Bourdieu, but has been turned into an instrument of symbolic suppression<sup>222</sup>, speaking in words through which “come a whole philosophy and a whole worldview which engender fatalism and submission”<sup>223</sup> for example by contributing passively to presenting neo-liberal views as self-evident<sup>224</sup>, “collaborating with the imbecile forces of the market and participating in their triumph”<sup>225</sup>.

### ***3.8 Tasks for the study of a journalistic field***

If Bourdieu in his writings did not give much attention to the minute workings of concrete journalistic fields and journalistic practice, his other analyses of social fields provide us with a promising toolbox for understanding journalistic practice. And in the last 10-15 years, the theories of Pierre Bourdieu have been utilized by an increasing number of researchers, to the degree that one now can speak of the beginnings of a new paradigm for journalism research<sup>226</sup>. The objects and approaches used, however, vary greatly, as they are inspired by different aspects of Bourdieu’s writings on journalists. Of later works in this tradition, the majority of the work appears to be studies of political television debates<sup>227</sup>, ethnographic studies of news work<sup>228</sup>, and studies of journalistic subfields<sup>229</sup>. Large scale analyses of the structure of journalistic fields on a national level, based on data on journalistic individuals<sup>230</sup> – which is the main focus for this thesis – are largely absent.

In the following chapters I will return to a more detailed discussion of applying Bourdieu’s concepts of habitus, field, and capital (and in particular symbolic capital) using the statistical data of Norwegian journalists and editors as my case. The sociology

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<sup>221</sup> Bourdieu (1995).

<sup>222</sup> Ibid.

<sup>223</sup> Bourdieu ([1996] 1998b).

<sup>224</sup> See in particular “The “Globalization myth” and the welfare state” Bourdieu (1996a) and “For a European social movement” Bourdieu ([1999] 2003).

<sup>225</sup> Bourdieu ([2000] 2003), Benson (2006).

<sup>226</sup> Neveu (2007).

<sup>227</sup> E.g. Darras (2005), Bolin (2007) and Torbjørnsrud(2007).

<sup>228</sup> E.g. Schultz (2005), Schultz (2007), Siracusa (2000) and Joinet (2000).

<sup>229</sup> E.g. Marchetti ([2002] 2005), Duval ([2000] 2005)and Riutort (2000).

<sup>230</sup> Note that analyses of journalistic subfields by Marchetti ([2002] 2005) and Duval ([2000] 2005) are done at an institutional level, using institutions and their properties as units instead of individuals (e.g. in Duval’s case, position in the subfield of economic journalism is given by the rate of pick-up by other media, its share of advertising in turnover, the proportion of journalists with degrees in economics vs. business school backgrounds, the presence of editorials or not in the product etc.). This is a perfectly appropriate form of field analysis, and has been used by Bourdieu in many instances, for example in several instances in *The State Nobility*([1989] 1996).

of fields must be understood as a type of research program which will assist the researcher to break with the illusions bound up in every-day and professional ideas of journalistic practice, and gradually help with the construction of a relational scientific object, a movement from "those features which are the most external and readily accessible to those which are the least visible and most profound"<sup>231</sup>. An analysis of a social field, according to Bourdieu, demands three operations<sup>232</sup>.

1) First, *one must analyse the internal structure of the field*. As a social field is structured by the unequal distribution of *capital*, various fundamental resources which give its wielders very different chances in the internal social struggles which Bourdieu sees characterise all fields, one must try to identify the most important forms of capital in this journalistic sub-universe, and grasp how these are distributed among members and positions in the field. And because the value of a particular resource as capital is a result of historical struggles between agents in the field (and vis-à-vis other social fields)<sup>233</sup>, the history of the journalistic field must be part of the analysis. Such a comparison – ideally combined with comparative studies of journalistic systems in other countries, which I have been unable to do in this study other than in a very limited form – should help the researcher to see the current structure of the journalistic field as only one of many historically possible variations. An analysis of differences in capital and positions in the Norwegian field in journalism is provided in chapter 5, with a more detailed discussion of symbolic capital following in chapter 6.

2) Second, says Bourdieu, one must study how different types of *habitus* are distributed in the journalistic field. Habitus is, in short, a person's system of dispositions to act, think, and orient him or herself in the social world, which Bourdieu sees as fundamentally formed by growing up in a position in the social space, with its particular possibilities and constraints given by one's parents capital. The concept of habitus and its link to journalistic dispositions, at its most basic, as a "taste for journalism", or in other words, of sharing the *illusio* of the journalistic field, and how different habituses are attracted to various journalistic positions and specializations are sketched in chapter 4. The distribution of habituses in the field are sketched in chapter 5.

3) Finally, a study of a journalistic field must also analyse the field's position in the *field of power*, the "metafield" where different social fields – the economic, the field of the state, the academic, the cultural, the political, the journalistic etc. – fight for the dominating principle of domination, that is, the value of their respective forms of capital, and in this way, their own status and reproduction. Some suggestions in this regard will be given in chapter 4<sup>234</sup>.

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<sup>231</sup> Durkheim ([1895] 1964: xliii).

<sup>232</sup> Bourdieu ([1992] 1996:214).

<sup>233</sup> "... the balance-sheet, at a given moment, of what has been won in previous battles and can be invested in subsequent battles ..." (Bourdieu [1983] 1986:86).

<sup>234</sup> Cf. also the discussion of the operationalization of habitus and capital in the discussion of the construction of the survey questionnaire to the journalists and editors in appendix 1.



'News values' is one of the most opaque structures of meaning in modern society. All 'true journalists' are supposed to possess it: few can or are willing to define it. Journalists speak of the 'the news' as if events select themselves. Further, they speak as if which is the 'most significant' news story and which 'news angles' are most salient are divinely inspired. Yet of the millions of events that occur every day in the world, only a tiny portion ever become visible as 'potential news stories'; and of this proportion, only a small fraction are actually produced as the day's news in the news media. We appear to be dealing, then, with a 'deep structure' whose function as a selective device is un-transparent even to those who professionally most know how to operate it.

Stuart Hall, "The Determination of News Photographs" (1973)

Som journalist får ein aldri gå i fred for hendingar<sup>235</sup>.

Herbjørn Sørebo (1933-2003), editor NRK

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<sup>235</sup> <"Being a journalist, one is constantly stumbling over news-worthy events">

## Chapter 4:

# Journalistic habitus and journalistic habits

### *4.1 Habitus and journalistic practice*

Journalistic news values are, as Stuart Hall noted, “one of the most opaque structures of meaning in modern society”<sup>236</sup>. Journalists in Norway, when asked to account for their practices – for example the high priority of a controversial news story by an editor – often resort to the formula “we have made a journalistic judgement” <”vi har gjort en journalistisk vurdering”>. Such an explanation, however, which implies that journalistic practice is a series of conscious professional judgements following common (professional) norms and guidelines, is, if in line with the ideology of professionalism, a wholly unrealistic theory of action, and at its very best an extremely incomplete explanation of journalistic practice.

A first problem with such an explanation is the well-documented fact that journalistic practice varies a great deal even in the areas where the seemingly most simple journalistic “rules” and guidelines are to be applied (which undermines the idea of simple shared norms and rules)<sup>237</sup>. Secondly, as shown by journalists’ answers to a survey in 2005<sup>238</sup>, these variations follow clear statistical regularities. For example, when given the apparently simple task to prioritize the five “journalistically best” news stories of twelve candidates for tomorrow’s issue - given the hypothetical situation that they work in a small city newspaper<sup>239</sup> - a journalist in one of the four largest regional newspapers (*Aftenposten*, *Adresseavisen*, *Stavanger Aftenblad* and *Bergens Tidende*) is almost twice as likely as a journalist in a small local newspaper to prioritize a story about the local theatre having to close down because of financial difficulties and the story that the top player on the city’s soccer team has been sold unexpectedly, but only half as likely to prioritize a story of an elderly woman who has waited several years for a place in the nursing home.

An adaption of the “professional” argument above to account for such differences could be to argue that different newsrooms and publications have different editorial guidelines which are followed consciously by the journalists, or - if one can accept a somewhat more relaxed ideal - that newsrooms have different cultures and informal rules, their own “style” (e.g. “the VG-style”<sup>240</sup>) which is not explicitly formulated, but nevertheless is learned by journalists during their socialization in the workplace<sup>241</sup>. An alternative approach, less sympathetic to professional ideology, would be to explain such differences between news outlets as related to the logic of economic competition for readers<sup>242</sup> or, alternatively, as the result of a different (if often causally somewhat

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<sup>236</sup> Hall (1973:181).

<sup>237</sup> See for example Gans (1980) and Schultz (2005).

<sup>238</sup> The methodology and construction of this survey is discussed in appendix 1.

<sup>239</sup> Question 71 in the questionnaire.

<sup>240</sup> Eide (1998b).

<sup>241</sup> Breed (1955).

<sup>242</sup> E.g. Golding and Murdoch (1991) and Allern (2001b).

mysterious) “media logic”<sup>243</sup>. Such explanations, if clearly important, however, have trouble in explaining the consistent correspondences between personal characteristics of journalists (like gender or class background) and journalistic practice more or less regardless of news outlet: for example, in my questionnaire, the fact that male journalists are less likely to prioritize a story of a troubled theatre than females are, or that journalists recruiting from the dominated classes - children of industry workers, lower clerks, farmers and fishermen etc. – are less likely than others to prioritize the same story.

For Bourdieu, this basic problem – explaining the regularities of practice without attributing them to simple rules, norms or conscious intention – is central in his concept of *habitus*<sup>244</sup>. Habitus is, in short, a person’s system of dispositions to act, think, and orient him or herself in the social world. Bourdieu’s fundamental idea, with links to Durkheim and Mauss’ analyses of primitive classifications<sup>245</sup>, is the correspondence between the social structures we grow up in and our mental structures (or to be more precise, of a unity of the social world which manifests itself *both* in social bodies and in social/material structures), where our practical mastery of action, classification and perception under objective life conditions – “the possibilities and impossibilities, freedoms and necessities, opportunities and prohibitions”<sup>246</sup> and our social trajectories are inscribed in our bodies as durable “mental habits”<sup>247</sup>. Habitus is social history transformed into what he terms *dispositions*, generalised and relatively stable tendencies to think and act in certain ways, a *practical sense* which we use to orient ourselves in the world, a kind of practical awareness with a margin for improvisation, error and deviation. Our habitus is by its nature intentional/directional and intrinsically bound up with social struggles<sup>248</sup>.

Following Bourdieu’s theories in a journalistic context, one will expect the dispositions in a journalists’ habitus to be important and influential in every area of their professional conduct<sup>249</sup>, including the subjects they are interested in and the publications they want to work on, their perceptions of what events are “journalistically interesting”, their journalistic ideals, and so on. There is of course no question of trying

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<sup>243</sup> E.g. Altheide and Snow (1979), Hernes (1978a) and Eide (2001b).

<sup>244</sup> Bourdieu ([1985] 1990:65).

<sup>245</sup> Durkheim and Mauss (1963).

<sup>246</sup> Bourdieu ([1980] 1990:54).

<sup>247</sup> “Mental habit” is a concept from Erwin Panofsky’s book *Gothic Architecture and Scholasticism* (1976), which was one of Bourdieu’s inspirations for the concept of habitus (which is used, if quite differently, by many writers, including Max Weber, Norbert Elias and Marcel Mauss). Note, however, that habitus is a more general concept than “mental habits”, as it also includes other types of dispositions, e.g. bodily hexis as described by Bourdieu in *Outline of a theory of practice* (1977:77).

<sup>248</sup> “... habitus is a form of significance, and the very constitution of significance involves drawing lines and making distinctions ... Being a certain (signifying) way means being distinct regarding one’s lived manners, and this involves being evaluated as more or less commendable. To existentially signify and to struggle to institute one’s own lived narrative as the legitimate one, are virtually synonymous ... In this context [of a social field], merely being a certain way constitutes a claim to overpowering other manners by means of instituting your own as a legitimate or even coveted one.” (Macroulatos 2003:87).

<sup>249</sup> An analogy used by Bourdieu for this general and generative nature of habitus is that of handwriting: whatever the medium, one’s style will always shine through ([2000] 2005:44).



to link journalistic practice directly to journalists' social backgrounds (or gender, for that matter), as journalistic practice, like all practice, is necessarily both strategic (that is, it is linked to one's resources, one's *capital*) and takes place in a particular social context (in a social field), as given by Bourdieu's formula *practice = [(habitus)(capital)]+field*<sup>250</sup>. In other words, one should not expect to find any simple and direct links between social background and journalistic practice excluding other factors, even if one would expect that one's habitus functions as a very important - if largely unconscious - journalistic news criterion<sup>251</sup> (the field of journalism, with its particular structure and one's position in it, is another such criterion). In line with Bourdieu's desire to overcome the dichotomy of internal/external readings of a text in favour of an integrated perspective<sup>252</sup>, the writings of journalists are not "personal", but part of a discursive production which is to a large degree a result of this combination of habitus, capital and field.

Even so, for some journalists, the suggestion of a correspondence between their journalistic practice and their social backgrounds will no doubt be felt as something of an insult. But if denying journalists the charismatic ideal of being "uncreated creators" that underlies the commonsense use of the concept of "professional", that is, unperturbed by any influence which it is not in their interest to be influenced by, we are not denying journalists anything that we would not deny any other group, including scientists<sup>253</sup>.

In later chapters I will look closer at the structure of the Norwegian journalistic field and important forms of capital. In this chapter, to substantiate further the idea of a systematic link between the journalist's habitus and his journalistic habits, we will first look at the social recruitment of Norwegian journalists, and also how the preferences for various journalistic products (publications, themes) are distributed in the social space (the preferences of various social classes), suggesting the existence of a structural homology between the habituses of journalists and their audiences. Also, some notes will be made on the social recruitment of the media elites compared to other Norwegian elites (and thus their position in the Norwegian field of power). Finally, for a more in-depth study of the link between social dispositions (habitus) and journalistic dispositions (their preferences for various types of journalistic work, their position-takings in journalistic questions, their journalistic ideals etc.), data from a study of Norwegian journalism students will be analysed.

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<sup>250</sup> Bourdieu ([1979] 1984:101).

<sup>251</sup> For further theoretical discussions of the relations between habitus and journalistic work, see Schulz (2005, 2007) and chapter 7 in O'Donnell (2005).

<sup>252</sup> Bourdieu ([1992] 1996:193-208) and Chalaby (1998:695).

<sup>253</sup> For example, Charles Soulié (1995) has identified clear correspondences between social background and choice of research objects and theories among French students in philosophy.

## 4.2 Journalists and journalism in the Norwegian social space

### Media use in the Norwegian social space

The model given in figure 3 is a statistical reconstruction of the main structure of *the Norwegian social space* (or, if one would prefer, the space of Norwegian class relations) based on a national random sample, following a similar sociological and statistical approach as the one used by Bourdieu in *Distinction* ([1979] 1984). Even if the construction is somewhat coarse (see "The analysis of correspondences" below<sup>254</sup>), its structure conforms relatively closely to other analyses of the Norwegian social space<sup>255</sup>, and like them suggests a parallel to Bourdieu's description of the French social space: the first (vertical) axis is one of *general capital volume*, which opposes traditional working-class and lower white-collar occupations to those characterized by higher education and positions (e.g. managerial positions and working in the liberal professions). The second (horizontal) axis is one of *capital composition* which separates those in public sector and cultural occupations (teachers, public servants, lecturers etc.) from those in private sector, finance and industry (business leaders, lower service workers etc.), or in other words, an opposition between cultural and economic capital (including inherited capital, as can be retrieved from the data from the respondents fathers, which suggest a clear element of social reproduction).

Onto this structure I have projected a series of selected variables on media use: *names of newspapers read* (at least three of the six latest issues), *names of magazines read* (ditto), and *preference for various forms of newspaper content* (those listing themselves as "very interested" in this content). The analysis suggests a not unfamiliar structure where the space of media use follows a logic closely related to the distribution of social positions. Thus, we see that the opposition between "high" and "low" social positions (the vertical dimension) is not only one of national vs. regional and local newspapers, but also one of "high" versus "low" media use in a normative sense: between having an interest in "serious" versus "light" news (editorial, foreign news, culture, economy vs. sport, car, celebrities, accidents), "important" newspapers and magazines vs. publications which are "irrelevant" for public debate, or worse, perceived as a threat to it (e.g. traditional "celebrity" magazines like *Se og Hør* or *Her og Nå*).

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<sup>254</sup> For a discussion of the peculiarities of this statistical method and its relation to Bourdieu's sociology, see section 5.3.

<sup>255</sup> The most comprehensive analysis of the Norwegian social structures within a Bourdieuan-statistical methodological framework is Lennart Rosenlund's analysis of the social space of Stavanger town in *Social structures and change* (2000), which argues that the Norwegian social space has a basic structure similar to Bourdieu's capital volume-capital composition structure identified with the French social space in *Distinction* ([1979] 1984). The validity of this structure for the Norwegian social space have been supported by several later analyses, see in particular Hjellbrekke and Korsnes (2006:95).

### The analysis of correspondences (Media use in the Norwegian social space)

The statistical model of the Norwegian social space in figure 3 is based on a multiple correspondence analysis of a national random sample of 8814 18-69 year olds surveyed in 2002<sup>256</sup>. For indicating the respondent's volume and composition of capital (self and inherited), and thus position in the Norwegian social space, 7 questions and 64 modalities were chosen as active points: *Inherited capital: father's occupation when respondent grew up* (9 modalities), *father's educational level* (5 modalities). *Respondent's capital volume and composition*<sup>257</sup>: *Private or public sector* (2 modalities), *occupation* (21 modalities), *type and level of education* (18 modalities), *gross yearly income* (5 modalities), *total value of cars* (4 modalities).

The selected model has a total variance of 8.2, with the first five principal axes having a raw inertia of 0.3637, 0.3227, 0.2639, 0.2452 and 0.2319. The combination of a clear "drop" in the explained inertia after the second axis and the finding that the third axis is unstable vis-à-vis the fourth axis according to Greenacre's criteria for internal stability (1984:213) suggests that we restrict interpretation to the first two axes. Using Benzécri's modified rates to judge the explanatory power of the model (Le Roux and Rouanet 2004:200), the first axis explains 51% of the inertia, axis 2 34%, which means that the plane of the first two axes explains 85% of the inertia of the significant axes.

For studying the public as a space of consumers for journalistic products, I have used *indicators of newspaper and magazine readership* (a yes meaning that one has read at least three of the last six issues of a publication) and *preferences of various types of newspaper content* (being "very interested" in foreign news, sport, celebrities etc.) and projected them onto the previous model as passive points (which do not influence the model). As always in correspondence analysis, one should be wary of interpreting distances between single points, but rather look for the underlying logic which forms the basis of the opposition along the axis (Benzécri 1973:405).

Note that this analysis includes variables with a very varying number of categories (varying from 2-19 categories), and in several instances breaks the methodological rule that no single category in correspondence analysis should hold less than 5% of the active individuals ("the 5%-rule", as suggested by Le Roux & Rouanet 2004:216). In particular two of the seven variables (the occupational categories and the type and level of education) because of this contribute a disproportionately high percentage of the total variance of the solution compared to the other variables (half of the variance of the first two axes are caused by them), and thus have a larger impact on the orientation of the axes than the other indicators. Conversely, this means that in particular that the importance of inherited social capital and economic capital are somewhat subdued in the analysis (for example, the contribution of the indicators of economic capital account for less than 15% of the orientation of axis 2, whereas the opposition between public and private sector for 28%.)

Even if this analysis, being based on available variables in secondary data, is somewhat simplistic statistically and with some manifest methodological problems, I do believe this analysis adequately shows the fundamental structures in the social space (not least because it, as mentioned earlier, conforms relatively closely to other analyses of the Norwegian social space) and the fundamental structure of the relationship between the field of production and consumption of journalistic works. Further details of the analysis, including weight, inertia, coordinates, absolute and relative contributions for axis 1-3 are provided in table 32 in the table appendix.

<sup>256</sup> The survey *Forbruk og media* <Consumption and media> was done by Gallup (2002). A selection of variables was generously made available to me through cooperation with Lennart Rosenlund.

<sup>257</sup> Note that the labeling of one's occupation and if one works in the public or private sector as "capital" is somewhat inaccurate, as these variables only very indirectly can be seen as indicators of capital, and should probably be seen as first and foremost indicators of social status.



Similarly, those in positions characterized by high cultural capital (where a majority are women) are more interested in "intellectual" and "cultural" themes and publications, whereas those in the private sector - more often male and with higher volume of economic capital - are more interested in "financial" and "technical" subjects and traditional male lifestyle components (cars, hunting/fishing, computers etc.)<sup>258</sup>

This series of homologues between class positions and parallel forms of oppositions - high-low, serious-unserious, heavy-light, foreign/national-local, culture-economy/technology etc. - betrays the underlying generative basis for these differences, linking media consumption and *habitus*, where I will understand such media use as one particular aspect of individuals' more general *life style*<sup>259</sup>. Furthermore, the parallels also suggest that the common judgements of media quality (serious, important, unserious, non-important etc.) as clearly related to the greater classificatory power linked to the dominants' positions, where the social elites have been in a better position to naturalise their own tastes into a normative hierarchy<sup>260</sup>, thus forming part of the general classificatory struggles over tastes which masks the underlying social struggles between different groups in society:

"Struggles over the appropriation of economic and cultural goods are, simultaneously, symbolic struggles to appropriate distinctive signs in the form of classified, classifying goods or practices, or to conserve or subvert the principles of classification of these distinctive properties. As a consequence, the space of life-styles ... is the balance-sheet, at a given moment, of the symbolic struggles over the imposition of the legitimate life-style ... 'Distinction', or better, 'class', the transfigured, misrecognized, legitimate form of social class, only exists through the struggles for the exclusive appropriation of the distinctive signs which make 'natural distinction'"

<sup>261</sup>.

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<sup>258</sup> An apparently similar methodological attempt to analyse a Norwegian national "media order" by correspondence analysis has been published by Tore Slaatta (2003:104-110). If suggesting some similar patterns at a very general level (e.g. the link between educational level, newspaper reading and magazine use), this analysis is only partly comparable with the one presented here. In my case, various types of media use (in a quite restricted sense, linked to newspaper and magazine use, the preference of various news types etc) are projected as *passive points* onto a constructed model of the national social space, the latter being based on a series of indicators of capital-composition and volume (*active points* - which influence the construction, whereas passive points do not) - a procedure which follows the logic of the main map of the social space in *Distinction*. Slaatta's first analysis (p104-110), in contrast, appears to try to construct a *symbolic space* of media use, mixing several types of quantitative indicators of medium use (reading a weekly magazine or playing a video game yesterday (yes/no), number of newspapers read yesterday) and some more detailed indicators of radio and TV-channel used as active points (the inclusion of age - a social category - as an active point in this analysis is somewhat puzzling). His statistical model is later extended by various active indicators of cultural practices (e.g. going to a museum, cinema or sports arrangement in the last 30 days), and, in a third analysis (p161-165) adding more nuanced indicators of newspaper and magazine use, cultural practices, and opinion data on political preferences and economic questions (all as active points). Some basic indicators of capital (e.g. class position and *habitus*) are projected onto these constructions as passive points. Note also that this mix of very different types of indicators as active points in the same analysis appears somewhat methodologically unorthodox, cf. Le Roux and Rouanet (2004:179-221).

<sup>259</sup> Bourdieu ([1979] 1984:172-3).

<sup>260</sup> An example of the arbitrary aspect of such classifications is given in *Distinction*, where Bourdieu points out that the interest "general news" holds for powerful groups, e.g. politicians, civil servants and business leaders is "perhaps no different in nature" than the interest ordinary people have in obituaries, accidents, marriages etc., as they both concerns events involving friends and acquaintances: "One forgets that the dominated class is defined precisely by the fact that it has a particular interest in affairs 'of general interest' because the particular interests of its members are particularly bound up with those affairs." Ibid. (443).

<sup>261</sup> Ibid. (249).

### Journalist, audience and source: the play of homology

What should be noted in figure 3, even if we here necessarily must anticipate some analyses which I will present later in this work, is the suggestion of a structural homology (a "resemblance in difference"<sup>262</sup>) between three sets of agents of importance to journalism – journalists, audience and sources. These three groups of agents are all internally structured according to a similar logic, that is, according to underlying class differences and therefore a shared *habitus*. For example, the social relation between culture journalists and economic journalists (where the former come from backgrounds characterized by more cultural capital than the latter, who are marked by economic capital) is reproduced also in an analogous relation between the audiences for culture and financial news and also between cultural producers and business leaders (e.g. the sources for such news).

This particular triple homology is very hard to explain without resorting to the general idea underlying the concept of *habitus*, of an underlying relationship between social structures and mental structures and dispositions (schemes of perceptions, of tastes and interests etc.), where it is precisely their very generality that makes it possible to realize the same dispositions (e.g. a "feeling for" sports) in very different social fields and activities – in enjoying reading about sport, becoming a sports journalist, a sociologist of sport or a professional athlete – while simultaneously following the underlying logic of the social field, which gives the discourse and activities their social meaning and desirability<sup>263</sup>. A similar logic is described by Bourdieu when he says of the theatre critics writing in French newspapers that

"The subtle shifts in meaning and style which, from L'Aurore to Le Figaro and from Le Figaro to L'Express, lead to the neutral discourse of Le Monde and thence to the (eloquent) silence of Le Nouvel Observateur ... can only be fully understood when one knows that they accompany a steady rise in the educational level of the readership, the structured space of discourses reproduces, in its own terms, the structured space of the newspapers and of the readerships for whom they are produced, with, at one end of the field, big commercial and industrious employers, France-Soir and L'Aurore, and, at the other end, public-sector executives and teachers, Le Monde and Le Nouvel Observateur, the central positions being occupied by private-sector executives, engineers and the professions and, as regards the press, Le Figaro and especially L'Express, which is read more or less equally by all the dominant-class fractions (except the commercial employers) and constitutes the neutral point in this universe. Thus the space of judgements on the theatre is homologous with the space of the newspapers for which they are produced and which disseminate them and also with the space of the theatres and plays about which they are formulated, these homologies and all the games they allow being made possible by the homology between each of these spaces and the space of the dominant class."<sup>264</sup>

One of Bourdieu's points, it appears, is that the journalist can write according to his audiences' preferences without striving to do so because his *habitus* is similar, since his attraction to a particular newspaper and a journalistic specialization is based on a similar dispositions to that of the audience attracted to this product. As we remember from the previous chapter, Bourdieu saw this homology as having an important conservative political effect on cultural production. The suggestion of a similar logic for the Norway in the analysis above (including also the sources of news into this logic), makes for a

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<sup>262</sup> Bourdieu ([1984] 1988:178).

<sup>263</sup> "... the real principle of the structural homologies or relations of transformation objectively established between [fields]" (Bourdieu 1977:83-84).

<sup>264</sup> Bourdieu ([1977] 1993:87-93).

powerful triadic recipe for *doxa*<sup>265</sup> where journalists - if ignorant of this fact – appear as very important contributors to the reproduction of the symbolic and social order of Norwegian society.

### Journalists in the Norwegian social space

Journalism is in Norway often referred to as an “open vocation”, and as always such claims to formal equality conceal inequality in practice: journalism, like every other vocation, is populated by people who, in their social backgrounds and experiences, systematically differ from those of other vocations. In the first government-initiated study of power and elites in Norwegian society in the early seventies<sup>266</sup>, it was concluded that the journalistic profession “recruited more often from the middle classes than comparable occupations” (and was “characterized by distinctly high-status backgrounds”)<sup>267</sup>, with a clear underrepresentation of journalists with fathers in industry, farming and fishing<sup>268</sup>. Later empirical investigations of journalists’ social recruitment in Norway have infrequently discussed journalists’ class backgrounds<sup>269</sup>, but by using official statistics which link the occupational data of children and their parents (SSB Generasjonsdatabasen) it is possible to get a very general picture of the social recruitment of young journalists in Norway for the period 1980-90, which paints a similar picture of social recruitment to journalism also in later years.

Table 1 lists the relative chances (the odds ratios<sup>270</sup>) for children of fathers with various occupations of being a journalist at age 30-35 years. For comparison, I have also included similar statistics for five other types of occupations (engineers, physicians, artists, teachers and lawyers). Noting first that journalists have a clear tendency to *generational reproduction* (the chance of a journalist’s son becoming a journalist is more than ten times as high as for the son of an unskilled industrial worker, and also much higher than for the other occupations listed), and that this form of social reproduction appears to be at least as strong, if not stronger, for journalists than for

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<sup>265</sup> Doxa is the “... quasi-perfect correspondence between the objective order and the subjective principles of organization (as in ancient societies) ... [so that] the natural and social world appears as self-evident.” (Bourdieu 1977:164). The concept of doxa is related to Durkheim’s concept of “collective consciousness”, but differs from it partly in being field-specific as well as general to a society.

<sup>266</sup> Like Denmark and Sweden, the Norwegian national assembly has initiated large research studies on power and elites in society. In Norway the first such study was approved in 1972, the second in 1997.

<sup>267</sup> Lorentzen and Høyer (1976:ii,15). This report was based mainly on a statistical survey of journalists in 1974 done by the authors and Anita Werner’s historical analysis of press biographies in *Norske journalister* (1966).

<sup>268</sup> Only 24% of the journalists had a father who was an industrial worker, compared with 45% of the population (Høyer, Mathisen, Werner and Østbye 1982:231).

<sup>269</sup> For some other studies relevant to journalistic recruitment in Norway, see Olaussen and Arstein (2001), Aarebrot (2003), Høyer and Ihlen (1998), Norsk journalistlag and Norsk redaktørforening (1999) and Sørensen and Grimsmo (1993) and Sørensen, Seierstad and Grimsmo (2005). Common to these studies is that they do not discuss class backgrounds in a theoretical frame, but focus instead on isolated “background variables” (e.g. education, gender, work experience outside journalism and voting behaviour).

<sup>270</sup> (Singular) *odds* is the probability  $p$  that an event will occur against the probability of it not occurring ( $p/1-p$ ), so that the odds of a newspaper journalist organised in NJ being a woman are 0.51 (113 yes/222 no). The odds of a magazine journalist being a woman are 1.00 (37 yes/37 no). The *odds ratio* (also called *relative odds*) is the probability that an event for one group is true versus being true for another group, in this case 1.96. In other words, a magazine journalist is twice as likely to be a woman as a journalist in a newspaper is (but merely 1.6 times as likely as a journalist working in broadcasting, where the odds of being a woman are 0.63).

teachers and engineers, but less strong than for lawyers and physicians, two occupations which also appear much more closed to social mobility (given by the greater differences in odds between working-class categories and social elites)<sup>271</sup>. Journalism, by contrast, appears to have a relatively broad social recruitment (even more so than teachers), if recruiting more *strongly from middle- and upper social strata*, where children of fathers that are academics, teachers and industry managers have a particularly strong chance of becoming a journalist (figure 4)<sup>272</sup>. Children of the working classes are noticeably absent from this “open” profession<sup>273</sup>.

In the perspective of Bourdieu, we can see this as a kind of censorship effect by the journalistic field: the “attraction” of a field is rooted in a positive match between the dispositions of a particular *habitus* and a belief in the importance of the field’s stakes and the perceived value of the perceived profits (in a wide sense) – one’s *illusio*. *Illusio* is, simply put, “a fundamental belief in the interest in the game and the value of the stakes”<sup>274</sup>. Following Bourdieu’s line of argument, the journalistic field, like any social field, will offer particular demands and rewards, which, depending on their harmony with the dispositions in one’s *habitus*, will be felt to be more or less important and attractive (compared to, say, a career in science or art). Fully sharing the journalistic *illusio* do, for example, very probably involve having a strong feeling of being a journalist, and having a deep-felt personal concern in one’s “heart of hearts” with the internal debates and rewards of journalism (usually – if we are to believe Bourdieu – to the exclusion of believing in the importance of the stakes and prizes of other social fields<sup>275</sup>). In a Freudian terminology, the field of journalism can be seen as offering a possibility of social euphemization for the dispositions of a particular *habitus* where the

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<sup>271</sup> For a more detailed general analysis of social reproduction and mobility patterns in Norway, see Hjellbrekke and Korsnes (2006).

<sup>272</sup> Regarding gender differences, the relative small number of journalists in the material makes such analysis more uncertain. A few tendencies can however be noted. First, generational reproduction of the journalistic profession appears to happen principally along same-sex lines from father to son and from mother to daughter: all children of journalistic fathers who became journalists themselves were sons, and vice versa for children of journalistic mothers (note, however, that the numbers in the latter case are very small). Also, daughters who became journalists appear to be recruited more often from the upper than the lower middle classes than sons, where daughters with fathers who are academics (who are absent among sons who are journalists), of the medical profession and teachers are much more likely to be journalists than those with working-class fathers. This is of course also related to the greater chances that they also will have highly educated mothers in prestigious occupations, as couples tend to be similar in occupational status and educational level, cf. for example Øyen (1964) and Hjellbrekke and Korsnes (2003:50-53). In particular, daughters of mothers who are journalists, teachers and (to a somewhat lesser degree) work in public administration are much more likely to become a journalist than those with working-class mothers. Similarly, mothers’ occupation and educational level also appear to be more important for the chances of daughters of becoming journalists than for sons (Table 39 in the table appendix).

<sup>273</sup> The attraction of the middle classes to the journalistic occupation can also be seen by studying the parent’s educational level (Table ): the chances of becoming a journalist increase greatly from having one parent with only primary school to secondary school, but less from secondary to higher education. Also, having an educated mother makes the chance of a daughter becoming a journalist much higher than having only an educated father.

<sup>274</sup> Bourdieu ([1997] 2000:11).

<sup>275</sup> Ibid.(97).



agents' *libido* can be expressed into a journalistic *illusio*<sup>276</sup>. Expressed in functionalistic terms, thus, a field “demands” a particular form of habitus which functions both as an entrance-fee and a form of capital in the field (if advantageous to the ability to play the journalistic game well), which in effect also results in a harmonization of mental schemas and perspectives favourable to the *doxa* of the field.

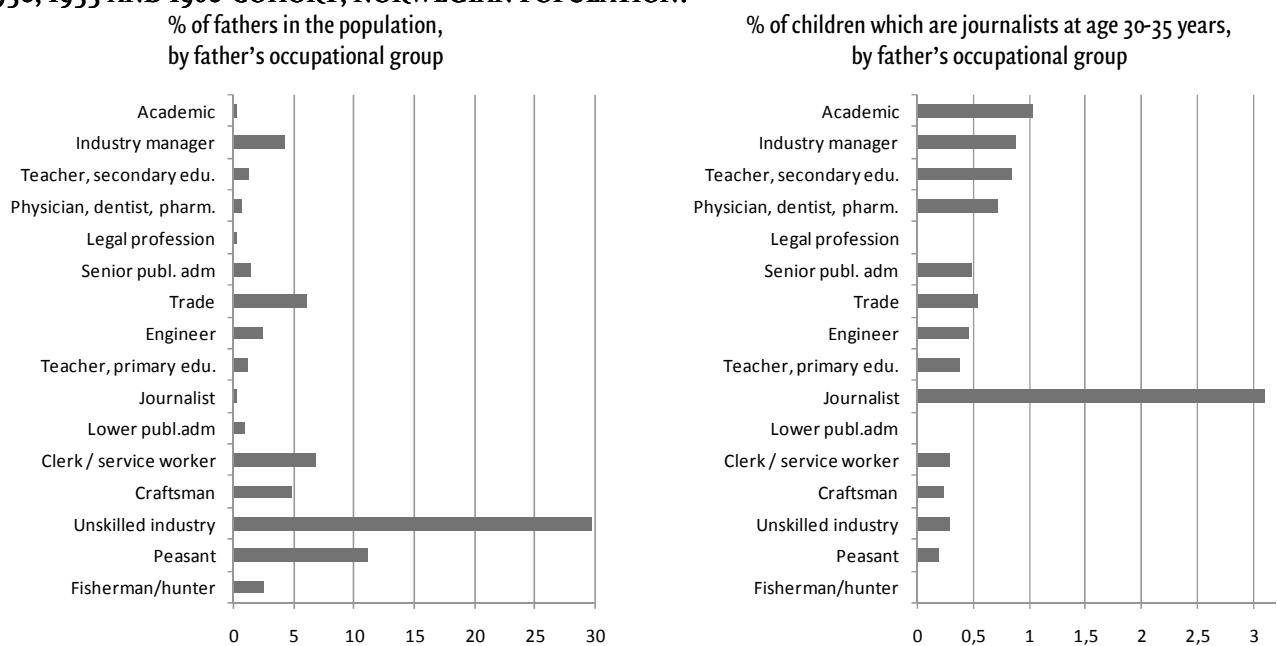
**TABLE 1 RELATIVE ODDS FOR BEING IN VARIOUS OCCUPATIONS AT THE AGE 30-35, ACCORDING TO FATHER'S OCCUPATION. 1950, 1955 AND 1960-COHORTS, NORWEGIAN POPULATION. (FATHER UNSKILLED INDUSTRY WORKER = 1)**

FATHER'S OCCUPATION	N	CHILD'S OCCUPATION AT AGE 30-35					
		Journalist	Engineer	Artist	Teacher	Lawyer	Physician
Academic	98	3,7	0,9	0,0	2,4	0,0	7,7
Senior publ. Administration	627	1,7	1,4	4,0	3,0	5,3	7,8
Physician, dentist, pharm.	282	2,6	0,9	1,8	3,8	8,8	43,7
Legal profession	108	0,0	1,6	0,0	2,5	57,0	29,4
Teacher, secondary education	602	3,0	1,1	1,7	5,0	1,4	6,2
Industry manager	1961	3,1	1,6	3,3	1,8	5,9	4,2
Teacher, primary education	542	1,3	0,9	7,5	3,6	0,0	5,5
Engineer	1112	1,6	2,5	3,6	1,9	3,0	5,0
Lower publ.adm	383	0	1,8	1,3	2,0	0,0	3,9
Journalist	97	11,4	1,2	0,0	2,4	8,6	3,8
Trade	2832	1,9	0,9	2,1	1,7	2,6	3,3
Clerk / service worker	3215	1,0	0,8	0,9	1,8	2,1	1,3
Craftsman	2266	0,8	1,0	1,1	1,0	0,7	1,5
Unskilled industry	14001	1	1	1	1	1	1
Peasant	5199	0,7	0,7	0,7	1,5	1,0	0,7
Fisherman/hunter	1179	0	0,6	0,0	1,1	0,0	0,6
Other	12569	1,5	1,2	1,7	1,7	1,6	2,1

Source: SSB Generasjonsdatabasen.

<sup>276</sup> Cf. Bourdieu ([1992] 1996:227-231) and Bourdieu ([1997] 2000:164-7).

**FIGURE 4 CHANCES OF BECOMING A JOURNALIST, ACCORDING TO FATHER'S OCCUPATION. 1950, 1955 AND 1960-COHORT, NORWEGIAN POPULATION.**



Source: SSB Generasjonsdatabasen.

### Social classes and journalistic classes

In public discussions of journalists and journalism in Norway, journalists are very often presented in a monolithic fashion (e.g. discussing the voting behaviour of journalists vis-à-vis the general public<sup>277</sup>), paying little attention to the great differences which exist among journalists. As Patrick Champagne has pointed out, such generic discourse on journalism is bound to obscure the most interesting structures and bring out only the most superficial, as journalism is far from a homogenous profession<sup>278</sup> (e.g. in the example above, the voting preferences of political journalists is clearly more relevant for discussing the press coverage of political news than the voting behaviour of sports journalists). In terms of social recruitment, one must similarly be aware that various journalistic positions, publications and specializations in Norway recruit in very different proportions from different social groups (table 2 and figure 5)<sup>279</sup>.

Looking, for example, at the editors in the press and broadcasting, the chance of being an editor is higher for journalists from the more socially privileged strata, and higher for the more privileged positions of city editors than for district editors. A similar pattern is seen in the publications: the chance of working in the most prestigious

<sup>277</sup> Aarebrot (2003).

<sup>278</sup> Champagne ([1995] 2005:57).

<sup>279</sup> It should be noted that such comparisons of social recruitment between journalists should be made with great caution and only as a very general indicator of differences. This is partly because differences in social background are linked to differences in other properties – e.g. different age and gender structure at the various publications, but also because the educational system, in its capacity of being a *system of rigorous social selection* has a tendency to produce statistical categories which understate social differences, as described by Bourdieu & Passeron in *Reproduction*: “... at every stage in their school career, individuals of the same social class who survived in the system exhibit less and less the characteristics which have eliminated the other members of their category, depending on the severity of the selection to which their class is subject and the level of education ...” (1990:82).

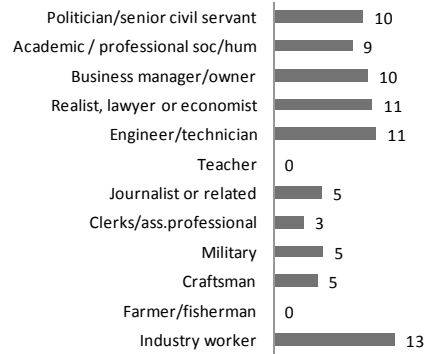
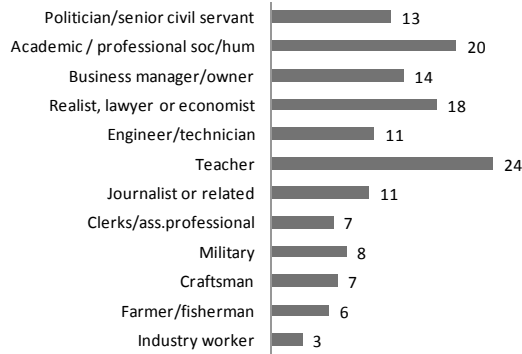
publications increases as one moves from the lower to the upper part of the social hierarchy, but decreases as one moves to the smaller, local publications, so that a child of a regular teacher is nine times as likely to work in NRK Oslo as the child of an industrial worker, but 5 times *less* likely to work in a small local newspaper. Such differences are also reflected in the subjects they work with – working with culture, for example, is more often a specialization of journalists with a father with high cultural capital.

**TABLE 2 RELATIVE ODDS FOR EDITORSHIP, PLACE OF WORK AND JOURNALISTIC SPECIALIZATION ACCORDING TO FATHER’S OCCUPATION. JOURNALISTS AND EDITORS (2005), AGE 30-50 (FATHER INDUSTRIAL WORKER=1).**

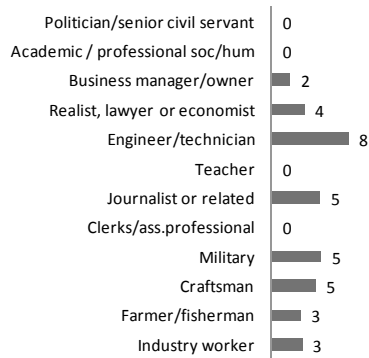
	FATHER’S OCCUPATION											
	Politician or senior civil servant	Academic or professional social or human. sciences	Business manager or owner	Realist, lawyer or economist	Engineer or technician	Teacher in primary or middle school	Journalist or related work	Clerks and associated professionals	Military	Craft and related trades	Agriculture/fishing	Industrial worker
N=	41	44	67	38	43	31	31	32	48	58	39	80
	<b>Editors (NR)</b>											
City press/ broadcasting	4,5	2,3	2,7	3,3	3,3	5,7	6,0	0,0	8,9	0,7	0,0	1,0
District press/ broadcasting	2,2	1,8	2,4	0,0	1,6	0,7	0,0	3,1	0,0	2,3	1,8	1,0
	<b>Current place of work (NJ+NR)</b>											
NRK National	4,4	7,4*	4,9*	6,4*	3,7	9,3*	3,5	2,1	2,6	2,3	2,0	1,0
NRK District	0,7	0,6	0,8	0,8	0,8	0,0	0,4	0,2	0,4	0,3	0,0	1,0
Com. Broadcast.	0,0	0,0	0,6	1,1	2,7	0,0	1,6	0,0	1,7	1,5	1,0	1,0
VG or Dagbladet	2,1	0,6	1,3	0,7	1,1	0,8	2,3	1,4	1,7	2,0	2,8	1,0
Other City Press	0,6	1,8	1,7	0,7	2,4	4,8*	3,6	3,0	0,5	2,6	0,6	1,0
Large reg. newsp.	2,9	1,8	2,2	0,7	1,8	1,7	3,6	1,4	0,5	0,0	0,0	1,0
Medium newsp.	1,7	2,3	1,3	1,3	2,2	2,8	2,1	2,8	1,8	2,2	3,1	1,0
Small newspaper	0,2*	0,1*	0,3*	0,2*	0,0	0,2*	0,1*	0,3*	0,5*	0,3*	0,6	1,0
Magazine	0,6	2,5	0,8	1,5	0,0	0,0	0,0	1,4	1,1	1,5	0,6	1,0
Specialist press	0,6	0,6	1,7	1,5	1,1	0,0	0,0	0,7	2,3	0,5	1,3	1,0
	<b>Journalistic specialization (NJ+NR)</b>											
Culture	0,9	1,8	0,8	0,7	1,4	2,7*	3,1*	1,7	0,5	1,7	0,9	1,0
Sport	0,6	0,8	0,6	0,0	0,3	1,7	1,6	1,0	1,1	0,0	1,2	1,0
Economy	0,6	1,1	1,6	0,0	0,5	0,8	2,2	0,0	2,9	1,4	0,6	1,0

Odds ratios marked with an asterisk (\*) are statistically significant where  $p < 0.05$ .

**FIGURE 5 INHERITED CAPITAL AND JOURNALISTS' PLACE OF WORK. JOURNALISTS 2005 (AGE 30-50). PERCT.**  
**NRK, national** **NRK, district**



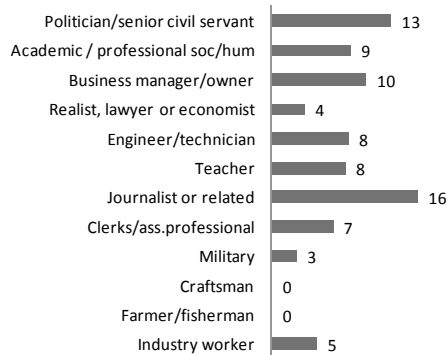
**National commercial broadcasting**



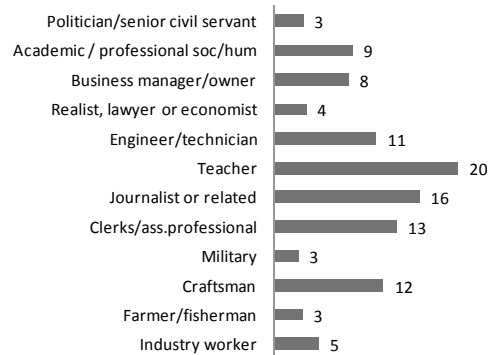
**National tabloids (VG, Dagbladet)**



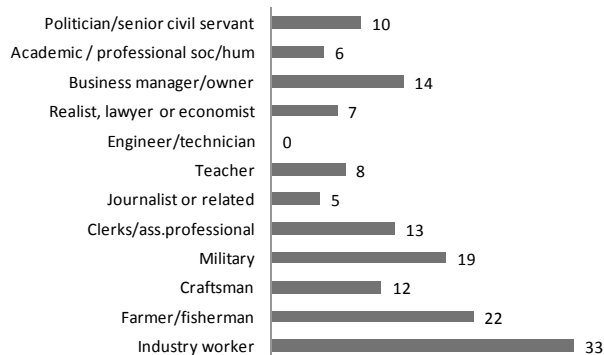
**Large regional newspaper (Aftenposten, BT, BA, SA, Adresseavisen)**



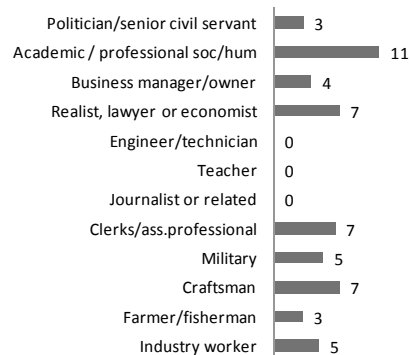
**Other city press**



**Small newspaper**



**Magazine**



\* Note that in this figure, the percentages show the relative distribution of fathers with a particular occupation in one type of media versus other types of media (e.g. that 24% of all journalists with a father who was a teacher are located in the national branch of NRK, 0% in NRK's district branch etc.). If initially somewhat confusing, this presentation gives a good picture of the relative over- and under-representation of a specific social background internally in each media type unrelated to the number of journalists in each social group or media type.

In short, *the journalistic hierarchy is also a social hierarchy and to a certain degree recreates the logic of class differences in the national social space*<sup>280</sup>. This is particularly true if we look at the “traditional” press and broadcasting, whereas journalists in magazines and the specialist press (especially the former) breaks somewhat with this logic by combining relatively low internal journalistic prestige (cf. section 5.3) with somewhat more privileged social backgrounds than those in the smallest local press’ publications. Note also that second-generation journalists are much more likely to be (city) editors, work in NRK Oslo and large-medium newspapers than their fathers’ social position alone should account for, foreshadowing the argument (in the subsequent analysis of the Norwegian journalistic field in chapter 5) that internal positions of power and status are linked to a form of reproduction via inherited journalistic capital.

### ***4.3 Journalists in the Norwegian field of power***

#### **The Norwegian field of power**

Even if journalists *en masse* can be said to occupy a privileged position in society through their quasi-monopoly of controlling access to a mass audience<sup>281</sup>, they have their fair share of plebeians for every patrician. Even if it thus would clearly be wrong to consider all Norwegian journalists a social elite, the elite of journalists no doubt qualifies for a position in what Bourdieu terms the *field of power*<sup>282</sup>, a conceptual national “meta-field”<sup>283</sup> where the elites of various social fields (the political, the economic, the cultural, the academic etc.) fight for the dominance of their particular form of power in the division of labour of domination.

“The field of power is a field of forces structurally determined by the state of the relations of power among forms of power, or different forms of capital. It is also, and inseparably, a field of power struggles among the holders of different forms of power, a gaming space in which those agents and institutions possessing enough specific capital (economic or cultural capital in particular) to be able to occupy the dominant positions within their respective fields confront each other using strategies aimed at preserving or transforming these relations of power.”<sup>284</sup>

<sup>280</sup> Note that similar patterns are present in the 1974 survey of journalists, which for example finds that journalists in radio and large newspapers compared to smaller newspapers less often have fathers who were farmers or industrial workers, and radio workers in the districts were more likely to have such fathers than radio workers in the capital (Lorentzen and Høyer 1976:22).

<sup>281</sup> Bourdieu ([1996] 1998a:10).

<sup>282</sup> The field of power <champ de pouvoir> was a concept first suggested by Bourdieu in the early seventies Bourdieu (1971) and developed further in the late eighties in *The State Nobility* ([1989] 1996). An extension of Bourdieu’s reworking of traditional Marxist- and stratification theory into a relational theory of social class demonstrated in *Distinction* ([1979] 1984), the field of power is for Bourdieu preferable to the terminology of “bourgeoisie” and “ruling class” by its terminological and conceptual break with earlier theories and their realist conceptions of power, in favour of a relational construct which highlights the plurality of elites and their conflictual relations.

<sup>283</sup> Wacquant (1992:18).

<sup>284</sup> Bourdieu ([1989] 1996:264).

In the case of journalistic elites in Norway, one can find many examples of struggles with other social elites. Two important struggles historically have been vis-à-vis the political field (e.g. the discussions of the appointment of the head of NRK - which is still a governmental affair<sup>285</sup> and in the relation between the political parties and the press in more general) and the economic field (e.g. in discussions of the state press subsidies<sup>286</sup> and ownership regulations<sup>287</sup> which directly regulate economic and journalistic competition between publications).

Compared to other national fields of power, the Norwegian field of power appears to have some particular features<sup>288</sup>: early capitalist development in Norway was strongly regulated by the state playing an active (“compensatory”) role in industrial development, and economic capital has been little concentrated in family dynasties. As a consequence, the main axis of conflict in Norway in the 19<sup>th</sup> century was not between industrialists and the state, but between centre and periphery where “counter-cultures”<sup>289</sup> (teachers, farmers, workers, urban liberals, religious leaders) struggled against the dominant political, cultural and academic elites in the capital. In later times, the state has continued to play an active role in a type of socioeconomic regulation termed by Gudmund Hernes as “negotiated economics and mixed administration”<sup>290</sup>.

### Journalists in the field of power

In the current Norwegian field of power, Norwegian media elites appear to be situated in a partly dominated position. As suggested in studies by Johs. Hjellbrekke, Olav Korsnes and others<sup>291</sup>, the Norwegian field of power appears to have somewhat of a tri-polar structure (figure 6), separating positions in the political system (bottom left) from industry and commerce (right) and judicial, educational and cultural elites (upper left)<sup>292</sup>. The media elites<sup>293</sup>, occupying a position close to the political elites, are in a

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<sup>285</sup> Traditionally, this position has been held by former politicians with often little journalistic experience. A notable exception to this happened in 2007, when Hans-Tore Bjerkaas – a journalist with little political experience but with a long career in NRK – was appointed to the position.

<sup>286</sup> The modern press subsidies in Norway were introduced in 1969 and have been largely successful in upholding the country’s particular press structure, which has one of the largest numbers of newspapers per capita in the world (in 2005, Norway had 226 newspapers). In 2005 294 million NOK (approx. 58 million Euros) were given by the state in subsidies, most of it production grants to daily newspapers eligible for subsidies (=leading newspapers with a circulation lower than 6000, and number 2-newspapers with a circulation below 80 000). Source: The Norwegian Media Authority.

<sup>287</sup> In Norway, ownership of media publications is currently regulated by the *Media Ownership Act* (1997), which restricts the possibilities for ownership concentration. For example, no one can own/control more than 1/3 of the national circulation (daily circulation, viewing and listening figures) of newspapers, radio and television respectively (section 10), or 60% of the newspapers in one media region (section 11).

<sup>288</sup> Hjellbrekke, Korsnes, Roux, Rouanet, Lebaron and Rosenlund (2007).

<sup>289</sup> Rokkan (1987).

<sup>290</sup> Hernes (1978b).

<sup>291</sup> Hjellbrekke and Korsnes (2002, 2006), Hjellbrekke, Korsnes, Roux, Rouanet, Lebaron and Rosenlund (2007).

<sup>292</sup> Note that Hjellbrekke et al also introduce a third dimension in their analysis, which separates judicial positions from culture, organizations and politics (Ibid. 260)

position of relatively *high social mobility*, having lower entrance barriers for the field's top positions as indicated by their relatively *low inherited social capital*, *young age* and *low educational capital*<sup>294</sup> compared to the academic, judicial and ecclesial elites. At the same time, the media elites are opposed to the business elites through relatively *low economic capital*, which puts them closer to the public pole of the field. Some characteristics of the various elites are given in table 3A.

Compared to other Norwegian elites, the media elites are also relatively male-dominated – only 19% are women (only the judicial, church, economic and military elites are less open to women). Especially stark is the contrast with the political elites, where 39% are women. Compared with the political elites, the media elites also have a somewhat lower proportion of members recruited from the working classes and a higher proportion from the dominant classes (23% and 35% respectively)<sup>295</sup>.

The similarities between journalistic and political elites, both in terms of their habitus and position in the field of power should be noted. Following Bourdieu's theories, we should in this see a strong potential for personal affinities, similar mental schemes and similar relations to other elites. At the same time, the closeness in position would, following the logic of *Distinction* ([1979] 1984), seem to offer a rationale for some of the journalistic struggles to distance themselves from the political elites<sup>296</sup>.

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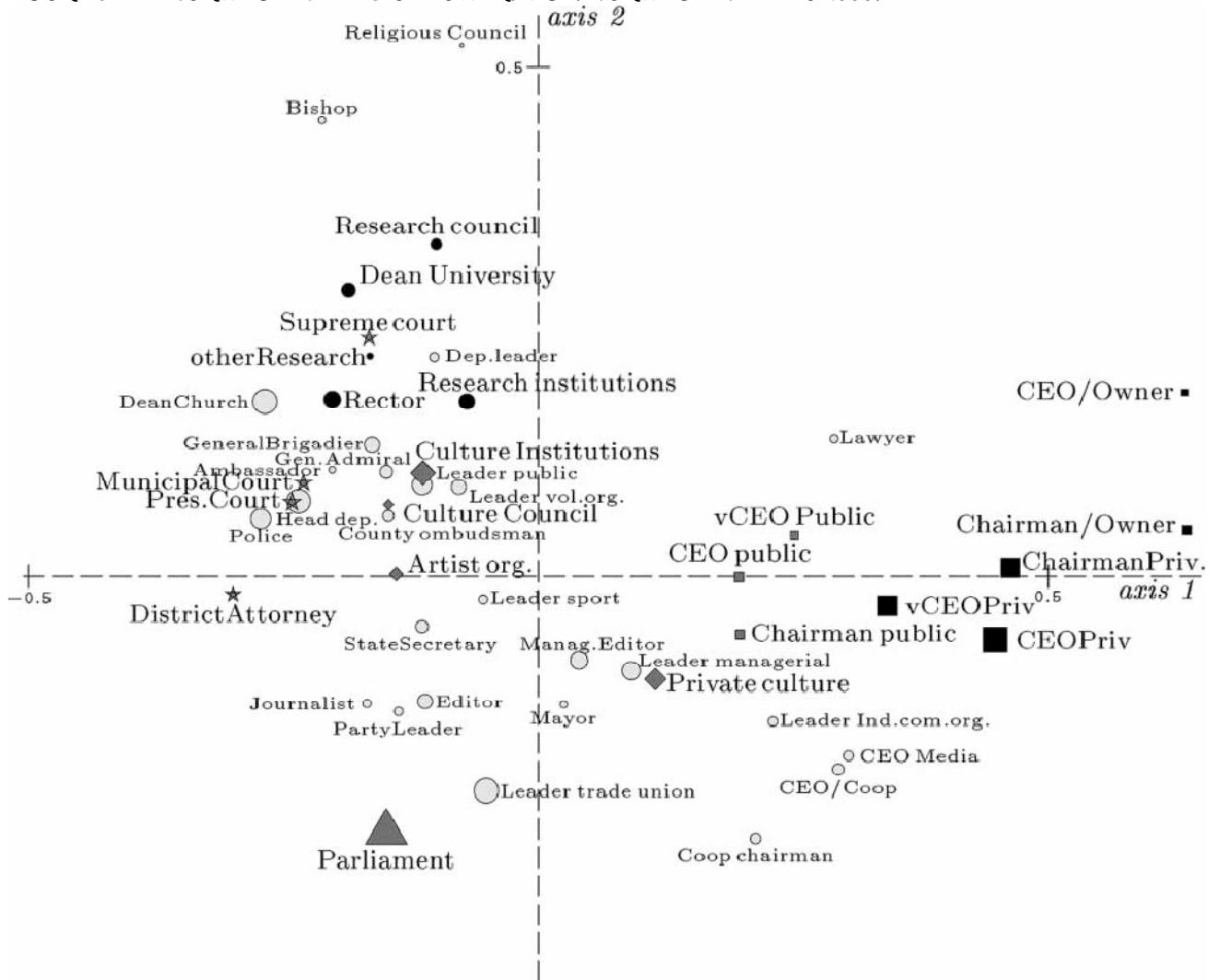
<sup>293</sup> The data used are from the Norwegian Leadership survey 2000 <Lederskapsundersøkelsen> (Holth and Prangerød 2001). The “media” sample consists of 134 chief editors, sub-editors and managing directors in the largest national and regional journalistic publications (press, broadcasting, news bureaus, specialist and weekly press), and managing directors and chairmen of the boards in the largest media companies, cf. Gulbrandsen, Engelstad, Klausen, Skjeie, Teigen and Østerud (2002:285). Even if my later analyses suggests a strong correlation between journalistic capital and editorial control in the largest national/regional publications, it should be noted that the selection in the above survey is – though its exclusive focus on formal positions - somewhat biased towards editorial and managerial forms of power at the expense of positions related more to symbolic power.

<sup>294</sup> 60% of the media elites had a lower university degree, 15% at master level <embedsstudie/hovedfag>, compared to 53% average of the elites with this latter level – of course, this is still considerably more than the 5% of the population of comparable age with a master level degree (Gulbrandsen, Engelstad, Klausen, Skjeie, Teigen and Østerud 2002:54). 21% of the political elite had a master level degree, only 46% had a lower university degree.

<sup>295</sup> Gulbrandsen, Engelstad, Klausen, Skjeie, Teigen and Østerud (2002:49,79)

<sup>296</sup> For another discussion of recent changes in the Norwegian field of power and the journalistic field, see Tore Slaatta (2003:114-140).

FIGURE 6 THE NORWEGIAN FIELD OF POWER. MCA. NORWEGIAN ELITES 2000.



Source: Hjellbrekke, Korsnes, Roux et al. (2007)

### Extra-field trajectories

Another interesting aspect of the media elites is their low occupational mobility compared to other elites (in Bourdieuan terms, their *low intra-field mobility*). When looking at how many of them who have worked in other sectors, media leaders are clearly below average for the elites in their recruitment from most sectors except politics, church, law and commerce, where they are about average. The only sector where they are clearly above average is culture. Compared to what is common for other elites, very few of the media elites have experience from public management, research and defence (table 3B). The relatively low inflow from other fields probably suggests that the accumulation of internal forms of capital are very important for the most prestigious positions in the journalistic field.



**TABLE 3A CHARACTERISTICS OF SOME NORWEGIAN ELITES AND THE PUBLIC<sup>297</sup>. PERCENTAGES.**

	Media	Politics	Culture	Research / higher educ.	National public administration	Law / police	Church	Business	ELITES 2000	18-75 yr. 2001 PUBLIC
<b>N=</b>	<b>133</b>	<b>238</b>	<b>159</b>	<b>152</b>	<b>216</b>	<b>153</b>	<b>118</b>	<b>502</b>	<b>1978</b>	<b>2297</b>
<b>Mean age</b>	48	48	52	55*	55*	55	56	52	52	44
<b>% women</b>	17	39	33	19	19	10	7	4	17	50
<b>5+ years higher education</b>	15	21	34	89	73	88	94	42	53	5
<b>1-4 years higher education</b>	60	46	46	6	23	6	1	41	31	18
<b>No higher education</b>	26	33	20	5	4	6	5	17	16	77
<b>Yearly income (thousands)<sup>298</sup></b>	897	498*	498*	581*	581*	752	383	2.400	932	284
<b>Working class-background</b>	23	35	15	22	16	15	20	19	22	58
<b>Middle class-background</b>	43	41	42	41	45	32	43	39	41	32
<b>Upper class-background</b>	35	24	43	37	39	53	37	42	37	10

Source: Gulbrandsen, Engelstad, Klausen et al. (2002).

**TABLE 3B MOBILITY OF NORWEGIAN ELITES. PERCENTAGES OF EACH ELITE WHO HAVE PREVIOUSLY WORKED AT LEAST ONE YEAR IN ANOTHER SECTOR.**

ELITE:	HAVE PREVIOUSLY WORKED WITH:										N
	Church	Publ. manag.	Culture	Media	Trade/comm.	Org.	Re-search	Law	De-fence	Politics	
<b>Church</b>	--	19	5	0	9	31	26	1	46	3	107
<b>Publ. manag.</b>	0	--	6	5	34	15	36	17	13	16	197
<b>Culture</b>	3	23	--	21	48	18	27	1	6	8	143
<b>Media</b>	2	16	6	--	29	9	11	6	4	9	116
<b>Trade/commerce</b>	1	22	2	6	--	9	15	5	17	9	390
<b>Organizations</b>	5	36	6	7	59	--	17	5	14	12	215
<b>Research</b>	2	33	3	1	31	8	--	1	8	3	146
<b>Law</b>	0	64	0	0	26	4	12	--	18	2	138
<b>Defence</b>	0	21	0	2	12	4	25	2	--	2	68
<b>Politics</b>	2	35	3	12	52	29	18	3	7	--	191
<b>TOTAL</b>	2	30	3	6	37	14	20	5	14	8	1711

Source: Gulbrandsen, Engelstad, Klausen et al. (2002:61).

The fact that a previous career in journalism is most common among cultural and political elites (and uncommon for most other elites), could either suggest favourable rates of conversion of journalistic capital for positions in these fields or that they appeal to similar dispositions and investments (a logic which also seems probable by their close

<sup>297</sup> “University education 1” is higher education at the level of master’s degree or more (5+ years), “University education 2” is shorter higher education. “Working-class” fathers are skilled and unskilled workers and lower clerks. “Middle class” are officials in public and private sector, leaders of small businesses and foremen in the primary industries. “Upper class” are leaders in industry and commerce, politicians, higher public servants, senior officials, and academics (Gulbrandsen, Engelstad, Klausen et al 2002:49,79). Military and organizational elites are included in the source table, but excluded here.

<sup>298</sup> In the source, the exact numbers are not always given for each elite, but only as a smaller interval for several elites. In these cases I have taken the median and marked the numbers with an asterisk (\*).

position in the national field of power, cf. figure 6). Even if a career in journalism for most elites appears to be only a brief moment and relatively unimportant for the following successful trajectory in another field<sup>299</sup>, there are examples of successful moves from top journalistic positions to high positions in other trades, first and foremost it appears, to the job as PR-executives<sup>300</sup>. One example of such a trajectory is that of Audun Tjomsland, former news anchor of NRK Dagsrevyen and editor of *Sandefjords Blad*, who left journalism for a job as a PR executive in the airline Braathens (and later in The Norwegian State Railways NSB). In contrast to the heyday of the party press in Norway, where the career in a political party and in the press was often closely linked (cf. section 5.2), there appear today to be very few examples of successful movement between higher political and higher journalistic positions, with the possible exception of the traditional appointment of a former politician as the head of NRK<sup>301</sup>. In contrast to top journalists, Norwegian top politicians appear to much more easily be able to move to top positions in organizations and in trade/industry. Such relative low exchange rates for journalistic capital versus other forms of capital in the field of power can probably be read as indicative for a relative dominated position of the journalistic field in the Norwegian field of power.

#### ***4.4 Journalism students, habitus and journalism***

So far, we have seen that journalists tend to be recruited from the middle classes in Norway, and that this social bias is also to some degree imprinted in the journalistic hierarchy with recruitment varying with positions, publications and specializations. To conclude that journalism offers a middle class view of the world, if probably quite correct, is unsatisfyingly vague. What we would like to know more about is how differences in journalists' habitus in practice influence not only their attraction to particular publications, but also in their journalistic day-to-day activities: in the preference of one story over another for tomorrow's newspaper, in their journalistic ideals and role models, their view of the public and of journalism's role in society, and so forth.

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<sup>299</sup> An example of this is Marit Arnstad, former Minister of Oil and Energy (1997-2000), who in her younger years combined law studies and leadership of the youth section of the Centre Party <Senterpartiet> with working as a journalist in *VG*, and later has been a lawyer and held several highboard posts, including being the chairman of the board of the Norwegian University of Science and Technology and StatoilHydro (the biggest offshore oil and gas company in the world), and board member of *Adresseavisen*.

<sup>300</sup> For a discussion of the relation between the PR industry and journalists in Norway, see Allern (2001d).

<sup>301</sup> A possible exception to this is Terje Svabø: a former leader of the Young Conservatives, Svabø worked in both *VG* and as a news anchor in *NRK Dagsrevyen* for many years before he became head of the liberal "think tank" Civita (he has later returned to journalism in a job as news anchor on TV2).

**JOURNALISM EDUCATION IN NORWAY.** Not every journalist in Norway comes to the profession via a vocational education in journalism – but it is increasingly common. In the Norwegian Union of Journalists (NJ), the share of members who had studied journalism increased from 19% in 1992 to 30% in 1999<sup>302</sup>, and in 2005 this is even higher<sup>303</sup>. Even if there are still many who come to the profession through other forms of education (varying with the publication and the subject matter, for example, becoming an economic journalist in a business newspaper via a degree in economics, or starting as an apprentice at a local newspaper with only secondary schooling), the study of journalism seems to have become an increasingly important pathway to the profession, in particular for the national and regional media<sup>304</sup>

The first state-governed school for journalists, Norsk Journalistkole, was founded in Oslo in 1965 when the state took over the press organizations' own school for journalists founded in 1951, Journalistakademiet (it changed its name to Norsk Journalisthøgskole in 1988 and was incorporated into Oslo University College in 1994). In 1971, a similar school for journalists was established at Volda District College, and after some time, also at the district colleges in Stavanger and Bodø (both 1987)<sup>305</sup>. Later on, many private colleges have established their own dedicated journalism studies (often an outgrowth of earlier, more general “media studies”). Gimlekollen School of Journalism and Communication (a private school, owned and run by the Norwegian Lutheran Mission) offered a full study of journalism in 1997, Bjørknes International College did the same in 2000 (a school for private candidates since the 1950s), in cooperation with The University of Queensland, Australia. Also, a 1-year journalism study established at Norwegian School of Creative Studies (earlier known as MI, a mercantile school) in the mid-nineties was extended into a 2-year study in 2003. In addition, a special study for “economic journalism” was founded 2002 at The Norwegian School of Management (BI). Finally, two new university-based journalism educations have recently appeared: a master program for journalism as a collaboration between Oslo University College and University of Oslo (2001), and a bachelor-program at the University of Bergen (2005).

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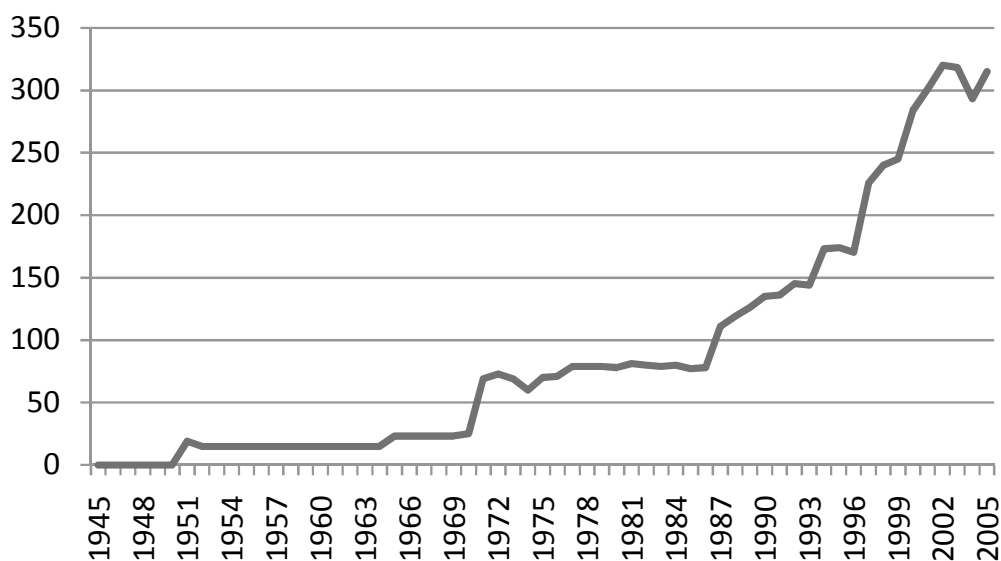
<sup>302</sup> Norsk journalistlag and Norsk redaktørforening (1999: appendix 1).

<sup>303</sup> A survey done by AFI in 2002 found that 40% of NJs members had a journalism education (Sørensen, Seierstad and Grimsmo 2005:26). This estimate, however, seems very high, and methodological problems of this survey do - as the authors themselves acknowledge – cast doubts on the representativeness of the sample (Ibid 14). In my survey of journalists in 2005, approx. 32% of NJs members said that they have a journalism education, but because I have used an open format for the question (Q34), a question type which typically leads to under-reporting, the real number is probably somewhat higher.

<sup>304</sup> For those journalists in the survey who entered journalism in the 1990s, the percentages having a journalism education tabulated against their current place of work in 2005 was as follows: VG/Dagbladet 57%, NRK (national) 50%, leading city newspapers 44%, other city press 50%, NRK (district) 42%, large local newspaper 40%, small local newspaper 37%, other national broadcasting 29%, magazines 27%, specialist press 18%.

<sup>305</sup> For more about the establishment of journalism education in Norway, see Ottosen (1996, 2000).

**FIGURE 7 THE RISE OF NORWEGIAN JOURNALISM STUDENTS (FIRST-YEAR STUDENTS PR. YEAR) 1945-2005.**



Sources: University Colleges of Oslo, Volda and Bodø, Universities of Bergen and Stavanger, Bjorknes College, Gimlekollen School of Journalism and Communication, Norwegian School of Creative Studies and Norwegian School of Management (BI).

Somewhat ironically, however, one of the effects of habitus on journalistic practice is that *it makes its influence hard to spot*. As argued, there is a clear link between social background and the publication/specialization journalists work in (later, similar correspondences with gender, education, work experience and journalistic specializations etc. will be shown), and because of this distributional social logic any differences between journalists in two types of publications – e.g. between those working in the national tabloids and local newspapers – can always be perceived in favour of explanations closer to the ideals of journalistic professionalism by explaining differences with reference to any correlating variable (“Naturally, working class journalists are less interested in foreign news – they work mainly in local newspapers.”).

In this context, journalism students appears to offer a particular promising research object for studying the relation between the two things that journalistic professionalism – like any professional ideology - prefer to keep separate ; on the one hand, the journalists’ profane, “non-professional” prehistory, their social upbringing, trajectory and human experiences, and on the other hand their sacred, “professional” life as journalists, or in other words, the link between their habitus and journalistic practice. In addition to giving us a glimpse of the journalistic aspirations and inclinations of the young inheritors of the field, polling new journalism students during their very first weeks at journalism schools give us a possibility to study this relation in a form that is relatively little influenced by journalistic working experience and position in a particular journalistic organization.

### **The Inheritors – The social recruitment of journalism students**

In the subsequent analyses of the relation between the social and journalistic dispositions of journalism students, I will use a dataset based on a series of questionnaires made and administered in 2000-2004 by Rune Ottosen, Gunn Bjørnsen

and myself to the 1999-2001 cohorts of Norwegian journalism students at Oslo University College and Volda University College. The cohorts were questioned at three different phases in their student careers: (1) at the start of their journalism courses; (2) at the end of the study (after two years); and (3) three years after graduation. The total dataset consists of 337 students (85% of the total population). Also, data from a study of first-year Nordic journalist students in 2005 will be used, which includes 133 Norwegian students (56% of the population)<sup>306</sup>.

As the data from the later study shows, the different journalist schools recruit somewhat different students and lead to different journalistic careers. The older state university colleges and the university-based programmes seem to recruit students with a somewhat higher social background than the private colleges and business schools, and the two oldest and largest state-governed schools – Oslo and Volda University College – also appear to provide a higher chance for access to the most prestigious national/city newspapers (for Oslo-students) and jobs in NRK (for Volda students)<sup>307</sup> not only compared to other journalism schools, but also compared to alternative paths into journalism, suggesting that having a prestigious journalism education is an important form of capital for new entrants in the journalistic field<sup>308</sup>, if less so for the higher positions (cf. section 5.3).

Keeping in mind that we are here dealing with a privileged subset of journalism schools, we can sum up some social characteristics of the journalism students from Volda and Oslo who started their studies in the years 1999-2001<sup>309</sup>: whereas journalistic education in Norway was male-dominated until the early 1980s, the proportion of women has been steadily rising, which seems to be in line with international trends<sup>310</sup>. In the 1970s, only one in three Norwegian journalism students was female whereas in the 1980s they were roughly equal in numbers, and in last 15 years the female students have been clearly in the majority. In 2001, they outnumbered the male students by two to

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<sup>306</sup> The methodology of this survey is discussed in Bjørnsen, G., J. F. Hovden, R. Ottosen, I. Schultz and H. Zilliacus-Tikkanen (2007).

<sup>307</sup> This is not very surprising, given the schools' traditional strong links with these journalistic institutions (for example, by having many trainee places there) and their journalistic specializations (newspaper journalism in Oslo, radio/TV-journalism in Volda).

<sup>308</sup> Thus we see, for example, among the journalists who started in their first job as a journalist in the 1990s that an exceptionally high ratio of the students from Volda are presently employed in NRK – 42%, which is much higher than for both former students from Bodø/Stavanger (because of small numbers, here considered as one group) (21%) and Oslo (12%) - and much higher than the average among NJ members entering journalism at the same time (10%). Former students from Oslo, however, more often work in national newspapers or large regional/city-newspapers (64%), whereas the same ratio is 21% for students from Volda and 42% for Bodø/Stavanger, all three of which also more often are found working in commercial broadcasting and the weekly press. Whereas only one in four former students from Oslo who work for a newspaper work in a small local newspaper, this is the case for 4 of 5 former students of Volda, and 1 in 3 from Bodø/Stavanger. Cf. Also Table 40 in the table appendix.

<sup>309</sup> The statistical results in this section are based on all three cohorts (1999-2000-2001) unless otherwise stated.

<sup>310</sup> Splichal and Sparks (1994:110).

one.<sup>311</sup> The mean age for new journalism students in 2000-2001 was 23-24 years<sup>312</sup> which is about average for students at universities and colleges. The students of journalism, however, appear particularly homogenous in respect to age, as more than two thirds of them were between 21-24 years.<sup>313</sup> Less than 3% say *both* their parents were born abroad – quite low, both compared to the 6% national average for Norwegian students<sup>314</sup> and the to the proportion with a non-western minority background in the population as a whole – 18% in Oslo and 8% nationally<sup>315</sup>. In the national perspective, the students of journalism appear to be fairly representative geographically, both regionally (by county) and in terms of city-peripheries, with a slight over-representation from the capital and the regions closest to the schools.<sup>316</sup>

Regarding the students' previous work experience, the findings demonstrate the problems with a clear division between "students" and "professionals". More than half of the students of journalism had done paid journalistic work before starting their studies<sup>317</sup> (predominantly in local and regional newspapers<sup>318</sup>), and close to one in three had worked for at least a year as a journalist before starting their studies<sup>319</sup>. Seventy-five per cent had completed some form of higher education. Of these, the large majority had completed only shorter studies (less than two years), mostly in the humanities (media and communication, history and languages being popular subjects) or – somewhat fewer – in the social sciences (political science or sociology) or psychology. Subjects from the natural sciences, or vocational subjects, are very rare.<sup>320</sup>

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<sup>311</sup> The estimates are based on data from 1971-2003 for students at Volda University College (Alme, Vestad et al. 1997), and data from 1993-2003 for Oslo University College (Bjørnsen 2003:30). Note, however, that a increasing female ratio is not particular to journalism studies, but follow quite closely the changing average male-female ratio in the Norwegian student population during the last 35 years. Source: SSB (2000: table 192).

<sup>312</sup> Bjørnsen (2003:31)

<sup>313</sup> Dæhlen (2001:18) found that no students of journalism were younger than 21 (whereas this was the case for only a quarter of the other student groups mentioned), and more than 70% of them were between 21-24 (compared to less than half of the other groups). Note that Dæhlen studied the 2000 cohort in Oslo only.

<sup>314</sup> 2001-cohort. The national figures are from Raabe (2003:24).

<sup>315</sup> SSB (2004).

<sup>316</sup> 29% of the students of journalism (2000-cohort) grew up in Oslo or Akershus, which had only 20% of the population. Then again, only 19% said they grew up in a large city (Oslo, Bergen, Stavanger or Trondheim), whereas 23% of the population resides there (Source SSB). In addition, we can see a slight over-representation from the counties where the schools of journalism are located.

<sup>317</sup> In addition, 10% have had unpaid journalistic experience (typically in the form of student or pupil publications), so that that only 36% of the new journalism students had no former experience from journalism.

<sup>318</sup> Data for 2000 cohort only.

<sup>319</sup> Note that more journalism students today have some form of work experience in journalism than before, but the average length has declined (Bjørnsen 2003:40).

<sup>320</sup> 2001 cohort only.

**CULTURAL GENERALISTS.** Journalism students, when polled at the beginning of their studies, appear very motivated by, and dedicated to, their choice of a journalistic education. Not only did they all have journalism as their primary study choice when applying, but they also appear to have been fascinated with journalism relatively early (68% said that they wanted to become journalists during their childhood or adolescence). Furthermore, they report having received strong encouragement in their choice of a journalistic education, not only from their parents (51% from their father, 62% from their mother), but also their friends (61%), their colleagues (56%) and their teachers/study advisors (45%). Such simple statistics, however, do not help us much in understanding the 'attraction' of a journalistic education. For this purpose, the students of journalism were asked to judge themselves 'well suited' or 'not suited' to a list of 18 study programmes.<sup>321</sup> Their answers were then compared with those of other students who had responded to a similar question in 1998<sup>322</sup>. The results are shown in table 35 in appendix 2.

Not surprisingly, given their habitus, we find that the students of journalism's answers are quite similar to those given by students of teaching, social science and art, with whom they share a rejection of all forms of 'technical' and 'naturalist' subjects like engineering or physics. They do, however, exhibit a markedly stronger preference for the most 'cultural' of the educational programmes. On average, both male and female students of journalism are two to three times more likely than university students in general (and twice as likely as students of social sciences and arts) to say that they are well suited to studying drama, fine art, psychology, philosophy and social anthropology. The male students seem particularly open to the most 'artistic' studies (they are four times as likely to say they are suited to art or drama school), whereas the female students seem to be more relatively more inclined towards cultural exoticism (social anthropology) and psychology.<sup>323</sup> Regarding the prospect of studying journalism, the arts and science faculty students are somewhat more likely to see themselves suited to this than the average university student, and the social science students most of all. Female students of social sciences and male students of teaching are most likely to see themselves as suitable for studying journalism. The generally high percentages for journalism students in the table give a hint that they differ exceptionally in another respect: not only are they one of the student groups who regards themselves 'suited' to most study programmes (five on average), but they also report themselves to be 'unsuitable' for far fewer studies than any other student group – only 5-6 of the 18, whereas most other groups mention 8-11.<sup>324</sup> If somewhat ambiguous, a possible explanation is to see this as a combination of scholastic self-confidence (which one would expect to accompany a group with such exceptionally high success rates at secondary school), and a "generalist" disposition (which can be explained in various ways, e.g. as reflecting a wide range of interests, or an aversion towards specialization). Given that students of teaching are a close second to the students of journalism in the number of 'ayes', this is perhaps related to important similarities in the occupations: both are professions of cultural generalists, intermediaries who need to have basic knowledge in a wide range of subjects and who transmit it (downwards) to non-specialised readers. It is perhaps not surprising that this should appeal to similar social dispositions.

<sup>321</sup> The programmes were: medicine, social anthropology, civil engineering (NTH), the Norwegian School of Economy and Business Administration (NHH), social work, teaching, engineering, psychology, literature, physics, philosophy, classical languages, history, film school, theatre school, art school, law, and nursing.

<sup>322</sup> Gripsrud and Hovden (2000).

<sup>323</sup> Relative odds, computed separately for each gender.

<sup>324</sup> On average, the students of Bergen reported themselves suitable for 3 and unsuitable for 10 of the 18 study programmes on the list. (the average was the same for men and women). The students of journalism, however reported themselves on average suitable for 5 and unsuitable for 6 study programmes. For comparative purposes, some means of suitable/unsuitable programmes for other student groups are: medicine (4/12), social sciences and arts (3/11), natural sciences (3/10) and teachers (4/10).

Given the established link between school grades and social background<sup>325</sup>, we should not be surprised that students of journalism in Norway - which for many years have been among the most popular study programmes in Norway, and with grade requirements rivalling medicine as the highest - display the markings of rather privileged social backgrounds. To suggest the class positions of the parents of the journalism students in the Norwegian social space, I have looked at indicators of general capital volume, educational capital, political capital, economic capital and cultural capital (Table 4). To interpret these statistics in a sociologically meaningful way (that is to say, relationally), we have compared them with seven other student groups from a survey from 1998<sup>326</sup>. Furthermore, to reflect the fact that female and male students with similar backgrounds make different educational “choices”<sup>327</sup>, the table is split into female and male students. Even if having to resort to a somewhat simple analysis for the sake of comparison, some tendencies can be observed.

Not unexpectedly, the social recruitment of journalism students to a some degree reflect the more general recruitment patterns observed for journalists earlier, as very few of the journalism students appear to come from lower social backgrounds. If less a social elite than students of medicine and the Norwegian School of Economics and Business Administration (NHH), their backgrounds are markedly more privileged than other student groups at the university colleges (teaching, engineering, health/social studies), and are in most respects close to the average for university students (who are, of course, themselves a selection of socially privileged individuals).

Journalist students do, however, stand out by the high percentage of their parents who have completed some form of higher education – in particular their mothers (where less than one in three university students has a mother who had completed higher education, this is true for two out of three journalism students). Mothers of journalism students more often have completed a long higher education (5+ years) and work in the more prestigious occupations (classified in ISCO-group 1 or 2). This tendency can probably be explained partly – but not totally – by the relatively low median age of journalism students, as a higher education (especially for women) is much more common in the younger cohorts<sup>328</sup>. Disregarding the question of whether or not the

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<sup>325</sup> For Norway, see for example Hægeland, Kirkebøen et al. (2005)

<sup>326</sup> Gripsrud and Hovden (2000), Hovden (2002). Note that this survey is of students in Bergen (the second largest town in Norway) only, and not for Norway as a whole. I do not, however, expect that the main patterns will be significantly different from what would be the result of a national survey.

<sup>327</sup> Ibid.

<sup>328</sup> Compared to students of the social sciences and arts faculties, two groups to which the journalism students appear quite close in their social background (and thus also probably their habitus), journalism students appear to have parents with somewhat more economic capital but less political capital. Here, however, there are important differences between the male and female students. The females generally have more resourceful parents than the males (this is not particular to journalism, but reflects a more general law of educational mobility: the less ‘traditional’ the educational subject for their gender, the more resourceful the parents, cf. Gripsrud and Hovden (2000), particularly in regard to their educational capital and cultural capital. Compared with students of the same gender at the faculty of arts and social sciences, however, more of the male journalist students have backgrounds characterised by high economic capital, whereas the backgrounds of the female students are characterised more often by high cultural capital. If we study their parents’ occupations more closely, concentrating on the fathers, journalism students differ from the social science and arts students by



students of journalism are a social elite (as such delimitation must always have a partly arbitrary nature, in the same way as determining who is 'rich' or 'old'), it seems reasonable to say that they appear predominantly to be recruited from the Norwegian middle and upper-middle classes.

Also worthy of note is that 18% of the students of journalism have a father or mother 'with journalistic experience' (2% have both parents in this category, 11% only their father and 5% only their mother). Compared to other student groups (1% of university students had a father who was a journalist) and to the 6% of the journalists in the 1960 cohort who had a journalist parent<sup>329</sup> – even allowing for the great increase in the number of journalists in the later years, this percentage appears very high, and suggest a tendency of generational reproduction of the journalistic field via journalism studies.

### **An arbitrary school culture**

Through the fact that culture and habitus are, essentially, relational constructs, related to the morphology of social space, the idea of a "general culture" of schools is, as Bourdieu and Passeron attack in *Reproduction* ([1970] 1990), an impossibility. In France, they argued, the school culture was predominantly the culture of the dominant classes: not only through the selection of skills and knowledge it imposes on its pupils, but also by the skills, the ways of thought and being that the school system and the dominant pedagogic reward and presuppose<sup>330</sup> (note that "culture" here is used in the broadest possible anthropological sense, including general dispositions in form of tastes and distastes, stylistic preferences and abilities, ways of using language etc).

By analogue reasoning, the culture of the state journalism schools is not – and cannot be – a "general culture", but is necessarily an *arbitrary culture* which is very unequally distanced from the dispositions of the various students encountering it. Even if the educational system, through its selective mechanisms, tends to bring together students which are relatively similar in social background and with a habitus probably favourably disposed towards the schools' explicit and implicit demands<sup>331</sup>, attending journalism schools will for some students (with a habitus close to the ideal "journalistic

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having fewer fathers in traditional 'working class' occupations (ISCO 7-9 – craft workers, plant and machine operators and elementary manual occupations), and fewer fathers in the intermediate occupations (ISCO 4-5 – clerks, service workers), but more fathers in the higher and lower professions (ISCO 2-3). Regarding the latter, they in particular have more often fathers in the top health professions (e.g. physicians, psychologists) and less often fathers teaching in secondary education (but more often in primary education). The percentage of fathers working in farming or fishery (ISCO 6) is higher than for arts students, but comparable to social science students.

<sup>329</sup> SSB Generasjonsdatabasen.

<sup>330</sup> A similar, if more narrow argument is found in Basil Bernstein's sociolinguistic theories about the relation between class and language: the working class expression, he argues, depends mainly on what he calls the "restricted code", whereas the middle classes also master the "elaborate code", where the school primarily rewards and transmits the code of the middle classes (Bernstein 1971).

<sup>331</sup> For the relation between social inequality and educational access in France, see in particular *Inheritors* (Bourdieu and Passeron [1964] 1979), *Academic Discourse* (Bourdieu, Vincent, Baudelot, Passeron and de Saint Martin 1994) and *The State Nobility* ([1989] 1996). For a discussion of these questions for the Norwegian educational system, see Hansen (1999), Gripsrud and Hovden (2000) and Hjellbrekke and Korsnes (2006).

habitus”, born to the journalistic game) necessarily feel like a homecoming and they will take to it like fish to water. Others will find themselves maladjusted in a multitude of small ways, both socially (having trouble “fitting in” with the dominant student culture, having problems in making friends, finding their tastes and personal manners little valued), in forms of skills and competences (being, for example, too little or too much interested in the practical technology or the academic lectures, or finding the social role of reporter personally uncomfortable, or having problems with reconciling their notions of creativity with the demands of speed and efficiency), and gradually realising that their initial journalistic preferences and ideals (for example an interest in sport or fashion, or having a strong personal political commitment for which they felt journalism would be a good outlet) are judged unfavourably in the journalistic hierarchy.

### **Male and female journalism**

The division between male and female is the most fundamental aspect of the formation of habitus<sup>332</sup> because this division features so strongly in our earliest experiences of the world, which form the basis for all our later experiences and trajectories<sup>333</sup>. Given this, it is not unexpected to find that female and male first-year students of journalism differ in almost every conceivable aspect in their relation to journalism by a general logic which very often appears as little more than traditional gender roles euphemized into journalistic preferences, and that female students who enters this very male-dominated field more often displays signs of being out of sync with the most traditional journalistic ideals and less sure of their future within journalism.

Thus we find, for example, that female students are less sure that they want to work as journalists in the future (and more often plan on taking further education instead) and less often say they have been attracted to journalism since their youth. We also find classical male/female differences in their preferred subjects and future workplaces (culture, health and relationships for the females, sport, crime, politics for men, internet newspapers for men, magazines for women etc.), and that the females more often idealize non-confronting, neutral and beneficial journalism for ordinary people (table 5).

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<sup>332</sup> Bourdieu ([1980] 1990:70-79).

<sup>333</sup> Mannheim ([1927] 1992:264-266).

TABLE 4: INDICATORS OF PARENTS' CLASS POSITION. STUDENTS OF JOURNALISM AND OTHER SELECTED STUDENT GROUPS. PERCENTAGES.

	Mean age	Parent's occupation in ISCO-88 group 1 or 2 <sup>334</sup>		Parent has completed at least 5 years of higher education		One or two parents with some form of higher education		Parent has been elected for public office <folkevalgt>		Parents earn at least 500 000 NOK a year		Number of books in parental home <sup>335</sup>	
		Father	Mother <sup>336</sup>	Father	Mother	None	Both	Father	Mother	Father	Mother	<250	>500
<b>Female</b>	<b>Journalism</b>	<b>52</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>52</b>
	School of Econ.	64	13	34	5	24	37	18	15	32	3	62	38
	Medicine	71	32	44	26	20	60	29	12	15	10	41	28
	Social Sciences*	50	10	22	3	40	24	16	25	23	0	29	28
	Arts*	40	10	21	2	31	26	11	17	12	0	27	35
	Natural Science*	46	16	22	7	30	32	27	5	26	4	31	29
	Social studies†	39	3	16	0	52	19	17	23	11	0	44	16
	27	39	4	12	2	57	23	12	14	21	0	51	19
<b>Male</b>	<b>Journalism</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>45</b>
	School of Econ.	56	16	29	8	38	38	5	5	35	2	65	29
	Medicine*	66	24	28	13	25	31	18	25	50	14	8	69
	Social Sciences*	40	4	18	5	40	24	13	9	13	2	29	25
	Arts*	52	11	19	3	36	32	10	13	14	4	28	39
	Natural Science*	40	14	22	7	40	28	18	12	19	0	38	22
	Education†	33	0	20	0	29	50	4	8	0	0	43	21
Engineering†	47	9	18	11	40	40	0	18	13	3	31	28	

Faculties marked with an asterisk (\*) are faculties at the University of Bergen (N=750), where faculties marked with a cross (†) are faculties at Bergen University College (N=205). "School of Econ" is The Norwegian School of Economics and Business Administration (NHH, N=140). Journalism students are from Volda and Oslo 1999-2001 cohorts (N=337).

<sup>334</sup> ISCO-88 is the Norwegian version of the European ESCO-88(COM) standard for classifying occupations. The major groups are: 1) Legislators, senior officials and managers. 2) Professionals. 3) Technicians and associate professionals. 4) Clerks. 5) Service workers and shop and market sales workers. 6) Skilled agricultural and fishery workers. 7) Craft and related trades workers. 8) Plant and machine operators and assemblers. 9) Elementary occupations. o) Armed forces and unspecified. Occupations in groups 1 and 2 have in common that they are rich in various forms of capital (educational, political, economical and cultural capital - although to varying degrees and in different combinations). The percentage of parents residing in categories 1 and 2 can thus be taken as a very general indicator of a high social position. For more information on Isco-88, see SSB (1998).

<sup>335</sup> 2000 and 2001 cohorts only.

<sup>336</sup> 1999 and 2001 cohorts only.

To observe how these differences are related to practical journalism, we can look at how male and female students do in what ought to be a basic, everyday journalistic task given them in the questionnaire, that is, to prioritize between different news stories in terms of their “journalistic importance” in a hypothetical city newspaper confronted with a list of 11 possible “leads” for tomorrow’s issue<sup>337</sup> (table 6). This form of practical news prioritizing is one of the earliest skills learned by journalism students, and in journalism textbooks often presented in the form of a simple list of criteria – e.g. “importance, identification, sensation, actuality and conflict”<sup>338</sup>. Also here journalistic preferences echo traditional gender differences: the male students give stories of Playboy models and soccer players higher priority than female students do, who believe the theatre’s financial troubles are more worthy of attention (the female journalism students are more interested in legitimate culture than boys). We also see the male students are attracted to scandals where other social elites are involved (lawyers and politicians in this case), which is the hallmark of much of traditional “critical journalism”, and feel more often that cases involving suffering on individual and collective level are of less journalistic importance.

### **Students’ habituses and journalistic dispositions**

To analyse the “pure” relationship between the student’s gender and journalistic preferences is, as earlier said of the relationship between habitus and journalism, not possible, but would be, as Bourdieu expresses it, to attempt to separate the yellow colour of the lemon from its characteristic sour taste<sup>339</sup>. The social world is multidimensional and should ideally be analyzed as such.

To explore further the relationship between habitus and journalism, I have constructed a very simple approximation of the main differences in the students’ habitus by their original position in the social space (that is, using the capital volume- and composition of their fathers)<sup>340</sup> and projected various journalistic preferences onto this structure (figure 8). The logic of the structure is very similar to our previous map of the Norwegian social space earlier in this chapter: one vertical volume axis for capital, and a horizontal separation between cultural capital/public sector and economic capital/private sector. We should here note that the female journalism students more often have fathers with the markings of cultural capital, and have less often journalistic experience than the male students. Note also the relationship between social class and age, as the youngest students are also those who have gained entrance because of good grades in secondary school (whereas other students often have got additional credits in the competition for entrance because of age and/or journalistic practice). Given these correlations, which obscure somewhat the relation between social class and journalistic preferences, it is still possible to offer suggestions of some basic structures.

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<sup>337</sup> Question 71 in the survey.

<sup>338</sup> Østlyngen and Øvrebø (1998:103-106).

<sup>339</sup> Bourdieu ([1979] 1984:119).

<sup>340</sup> It must be stressed that the space of class positions and the space of habitus are of course not interchangeable. Rather, the later must be thought of as “a theoretical space” which, to quote Bourdieu ([1979] 1984:126), must be inserted “between” the space of social positions and the space of social practices/preferences.

**TABLE 5 MALE AND FEMALE JOURNALISM. SELECTED PREFERENCES, FIRST-YEAR JOURNALISM STUDENTS 2000-01, VOLDA AND OSLO UNIVERSITY COLLEGE.**

	<b>Female N=119</b>	<b>Male N=82</b>	<b>Total N=201</b>
<b>Completely sure they want to work as a journalist</b>	30	42	34
<b>“Very important” to learn in journalism school</b>			
Technical editing	41	30	37
Interview technique	83	64	76
(use of) Norwegian language and spelling	59	45	54
Press ethics	80	63	73
<b>“Very important” motivation for becoming a journalist</b>			
Secure work	16	6	13
High status	5	11	7
Be creative	80	68	76
Expose the powerful	15	24	18
Help persons, combat injustice	41	30	37
Have a varied and lively job	91	78	87
Meet interesting persons	67	39	57
The possibility for much travelling	42	16	33
The joy of writing	62	46	56
Self-realization	43	25	37
<b>Would like to work in... (if they could choose freely)</b>			
Internet newspaper	2	20	9
Local newspaper	9	20	13
Regional newspaper	28	40	33
National newspaper	50	57	53
Weekly press	17	5	12
NRK radio	27	22	25
NRK television	50	30	42
Other national television	33	21	28
<b>“Very” or “somewhat” interested in working with these journalistic subjects</b>			
Economy and commerce	20	42	28
Feature/Magazine	95	85	91
Health / relationships	46	11	34
Sport	25	45	32
Crime	43	54	47
Consumer affairs	42	29	37
General news journalism	76	93	82
Multicultural affairs	82	50	72
<b>A good journalist needs (“very important”)</b>			
Practical skills	53	28	43
Specialist knowledge	53	45	50
Values	58	38	50
Innate abilities	56	48	53

**Table 5 (continued)**

	<b>Female N=119</b>	<b>Male N=82</b>	<b>Total N=201</b>
<b>Important responsibilities for journalism in society ("very important")</b>			
Speak on behalf of weak groups, defend individuals against injustice	75	70	73
Contribute to inter-cultural understanding	61	33	51
Contribute to / facilitate public debate	75	50	66
Be as neutral as possible	30	13	24
<b>Important qualities for a news journalist ("very important")</b>			
A certain "cheek"	11	19	14
A sense of justice	62	52	58
Knowledge of society	79	67	75
Sympathy with individuals and the weak	24	20	22
Thoroughness and accuracy	83	74	79
Has been interested in journalism since their youth years	58	75	64
"Very interested in politics"	8	24	13
"Journalists do not respect people's right to privacy" (agree)	67	45	59

**TABLE 6 MALE AND FEMALE JOURNALISM. PRIORITIZING OF NEWS STORIES, FIRST-YEAR JOURNALISM STUDENTS 2001, VOLDA AND OSLO UNIVERSITY COLLEGE. PERCENTAGE WHO HAVE CHOSEN A STORY AMONG THE TOP FIVE FOR TOMORROW'S NEWSPAPER.**

	<b>Female N=62</b>	<b>Male N=39</b>
A major factory in the city fires 120 because of financial problems following a low order intake.	98	76
Neo-Nazis plan a national rally in the city during the next month.	89	79
Oline Hansen (85 years), resident of Long road, has waited four years for a place at the nursing home, even if her physician thinks this is long overdue.	79	41
The city's only theatre has to cancel all plays next year, due to bad financial performance this year.	73	56
Political horse-trading in the city council: the Conservative party has done a U-turn and now supports the motion of building of a new town hall, which was proposed by the Labour party. In return, the Labour party shelve a proposal for property tax.	52	64
A new inquiry shows that the region you work in has the highest price for fish in the country. In addition, the newspaper has revealed that a certain wholesaler of foodstuffs has a monopoly on selling fish in the district.	47	46
Surprisingly, the top player on the city's premier league soccer team has been sold for 5 mill NOK, a move which will considerably impair the team.	26	46
The actress Demi Moore is spending three days of her holiday in the district.	13	21
The German shepherd "Pelle" is alive and well after having been rescued from a mountain ledge where he has been stuck for six days. The owner cries from happiness.	11	21
A 22-year old local girl will be posing nude in the next American edition of Playboy. She is paid 500.000 NOK.	8	21
A well-known local lawyer is arrested for drunken behaviour and harassment of guests at a restaurant.	6	28

One opposition which follows the social hierarchy given in the vertical dimension of the map (which also separates those wanting to work in the national versus in the local media), is the relation between on the one hand, a belief in personal talents, in the charismatic ideology (which Bourdieu has suggested is a common disposition in groups with success in the school system<sup>341</sup>), and on the other hand, in the belief in journalism as basically a set of practical skills, which can be learned through practice, a belief (or hope) which is more common in those recruited from the lower classes. Along the same axis, we see that students with the most privileged social backgrounds tend to conceptualise the public as a distant mass, placed below the journalist, which provides them with information but otherwise feels little connection, students from the (relatively) lower classes are more bound to see themselves as a part of the public, and feel stronger the obligation to facilitate public debate and contribute to mutual understanding. In a somewhat middle position in this space, we find those students who feel more comfortable with a role of representing the public (a position which Martin Eide and Olof Petersson have shown is related to the peculiar journalistic ideology of defending the people against social elites without considering themselves an elite<sup>342</sup>). This basic opposition, between identifying and not identifying with the public, is related to another difference, of on the one hand feeling the need to have compassion with ordinary people, on the other hand, the felt need to have “a certain cynicism with people”, the necessity of breaking some eggs when making the journalistic omelette. As this opposition follows the same vertical dimension of higher and lower social backgrounds, this forms an interesting parallel to Bourdieu’s distinction between pure and barbaric taste<sup>343</sup>. Whereas the former type of taste, in Bourdieu’s case (most often found in the French dominant classes) is characterized by a neutralizing and distanced relation to works of art, the barbaric type of taste (most common in the working classes) is characterized by empathy and the lack of distance to the depicted people and their sufferings, which Bourdieu explains with reference to their different upbringings; the habitus of the dominating classes is formed in a milieu rich of capital, and thus per definition less characterized by experiences of scarcity and limitations, of the world as a “field of scarcity” as Sartre described it<sup>344</sup>. It seems not unreasonable to suggest that the relations of a journalist to their sources is similarly related to in their habituses, as a taste for a “barbaric journalism” versus a “pure journalism”, the latter a journalism for its own sake, disregarding the consequences, and which seems to suggest a link between sharing the *illusio* of a social field (which will, by definition be a defence of its internal values vis-à-vis other social logics) and privileged social upbringing. In this context, we should also note the working classes’ greater adherence to an ideology of journalistic neutralism.

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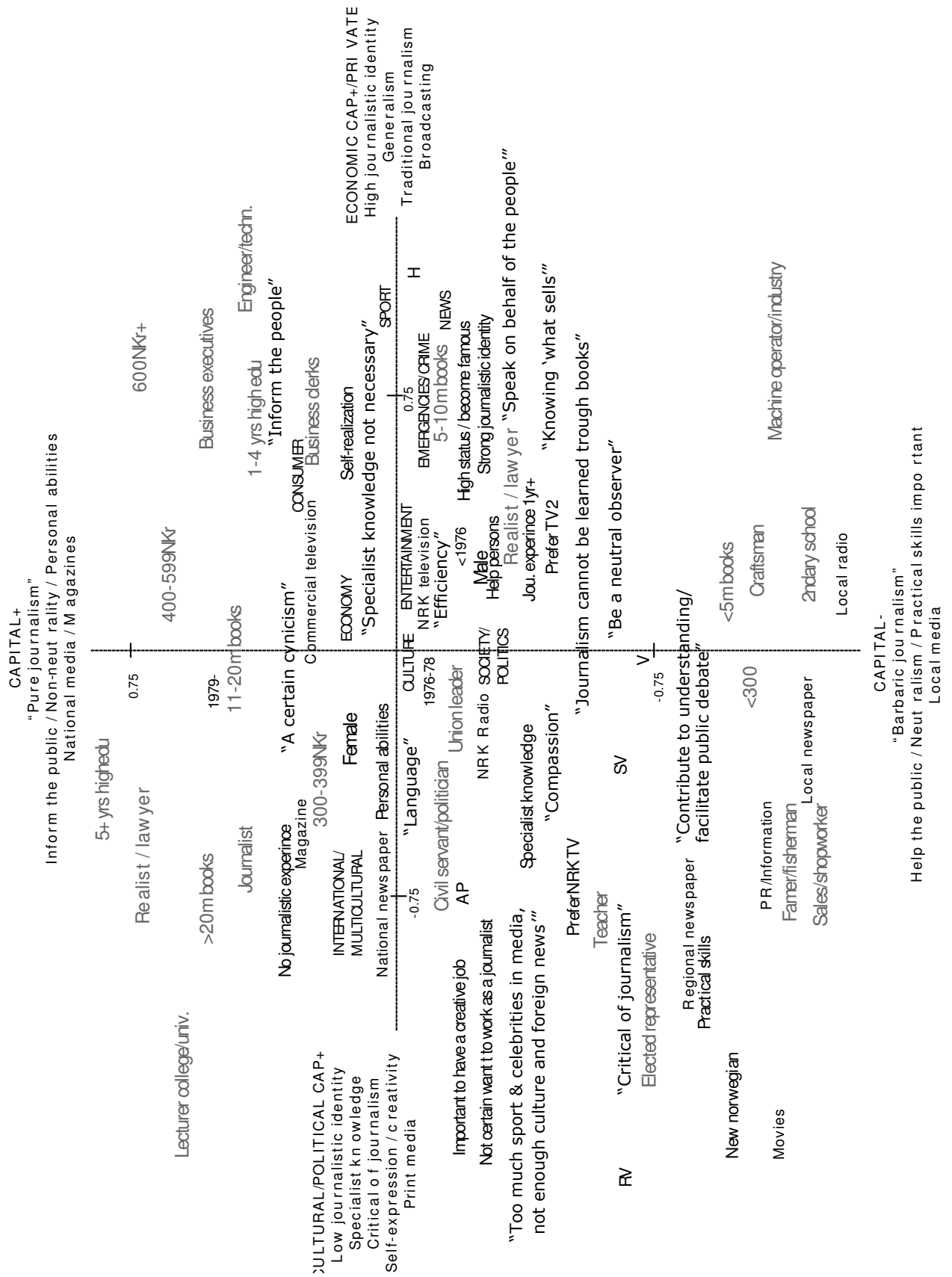
<sup>341</sup> Cf. Bourdieu and Passeron ([1970] 1990).

<sup>342</sup> Petersson (1994) and Eide (1998a).

<sup>343</sup> Bourdieu ([1979] 1984).

<sup>344</sup> Sartre (1976:320).

**FIGURE 8 JOURNALISTIC PREFERENCES AND POSITION-TAKINGS, BY FATHER'S POSITION IN THE SOCIAL SPACE. JOURNALISM STUDENTS VOLDA/OSLO, 1999-2001 COHORTS.**





### Note on the analysis of correspondences (Habitus and journalistic position-takings)

The statistical model of the Norwegian social space in figure 8 is based on a multiple correspondence analysis on 337 journalism students from Oslo and Volda, surveyed at the start of their studies in the years 1999-2001. To indicate the respondent's habitus through the father's composition of capital (and thus their initial position in the Norwegian social space), six active variables and 29 modalities (or categories) were used: Father's occupation (12 modalities), father's income (4 modalities), father political office or union leader (3 modalities), metres of book in parents home (4 modalities), father's educational level (3 modalities), father interested in classical Norwegian literature (3 modalities). The eigenvalues for the first six axes are as follows: 0.3822, 0.3244, 0.2502, 0.2436, 0.2209, 0.2125, suggesting that only the first two axes should be interpreted, as the third axis appears unstable according to Greenacre's criteria for internal stability (1984:213). Absolute and relative contributions for the construction are given in table 33 in the table appendix. The logic of the analysis is quite similar to the construction earlier in this chapter (figure 3): indicators for the father (who here are used to represent both parents<sup>345</sup>) are used to build a model of the basic oppositions in the Norwegian social space and by that, exploring the correspondence between the student's different habituses, and various indicators of journalistic preferences and positions (including where they would like to work, preferred journalistic specializations, their images of the audience, ideals for a good journalists), which are projected onto this structure as passive points.

Regarding the horizontal dimension, between students with different capital compositions, we find on the left-hand side (which has a majority of women), who are characterized by relatively more cultural and political capital. They also appear to have a weaker journalistic identity, are more unsure whether they really want to be journalists (in other words, sharing less the journalistic *illusio*, a tendency also shown in the fact that they more often say they plan to work outside the traditional journalistic publications, like the movie business). They are also generally critical of journalism, and adhere more to intellectual/academic ideals of the need for specialist knowledge, and express a preference for creative expression, of the use of language, and less taste for the common staple of journalistic subjects (with an exception for international and multicultural subjects). On the other hand, on what is both the male and the economic pole, we find students more often identify with the journalistic profession, are less critical and more sure of their choice of profession, and want to work on the subjects which the norms of traditional journalism and the journalistic labour market demands, dismissing the need for specialist knowledge and slow work (in other words,

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<sup>345</sup> Because the social mechanisms of love and partnership mean that spouses are often closely matched in terms of capital volume and –composition, the capital indicators for one spouse usually – as they do in this case - at an aggregate level correlate statistically quite strongly with the other. As should be obvious from the previous discussion of the social recruitment of journalist students and journalists, this presumption of course involves a fair amount of simplification. In this particular analysis, however, the high correlation between the indicators of the father's and mother's capital tended (when both were included as active points) to totally dominate the statistical construction, obscuring the goal of this analysis to reconstruct the main differences between the students' inherited capital (and thus habitus). For this reason, the indicators of the students' mothers were excluded (a reverse solution, excluding the fathers instead, would of course also have been possible). In addition to some loss in accuracy, the most important problem with this solution is probably that the use of indicators from only one parent are very likely to be more accurate (as an indicator for *both* parents capital volume and –composition) for same-sex children (cf. also footnote 272).

intellectual and academic ideals) in favour of the ideals of the efficient generalist journalist.

All in all, the map should serve as a good demonstration of the permeability between “journalistic” and “personal” (i.e. social/class-based) preferences and dispositions.

### **Professional learning**

The importance of habitus for journalistic practice is even easier to see when we look at the supposed *effect* of professional socialization. In the state-based journalism schools, the proclaimed goals of journalism education have traditionally been a mixture of vocational training and democratic-Habermasian ideals, “... preparing students for media work, with emphasis on enlightenment and information, watching over society and social critique.”<sup>346</sup> On the one hand, to fulfil the industry’s “requirements” in the form of a skilled workforce with emphasis on production (where basic journalistic skills, proficiency with the technical equipment and the ability to quickly “pull one’s weight” – doing basic journalistic tasks without a fuzz, with a minimum of in-house training – are valued highly), on the other hand, to produce journalists according to various journalistic-political-intellectual ideals; part “watchdog”, part caretaker and overseer of public debate, part intellectual and creative author.

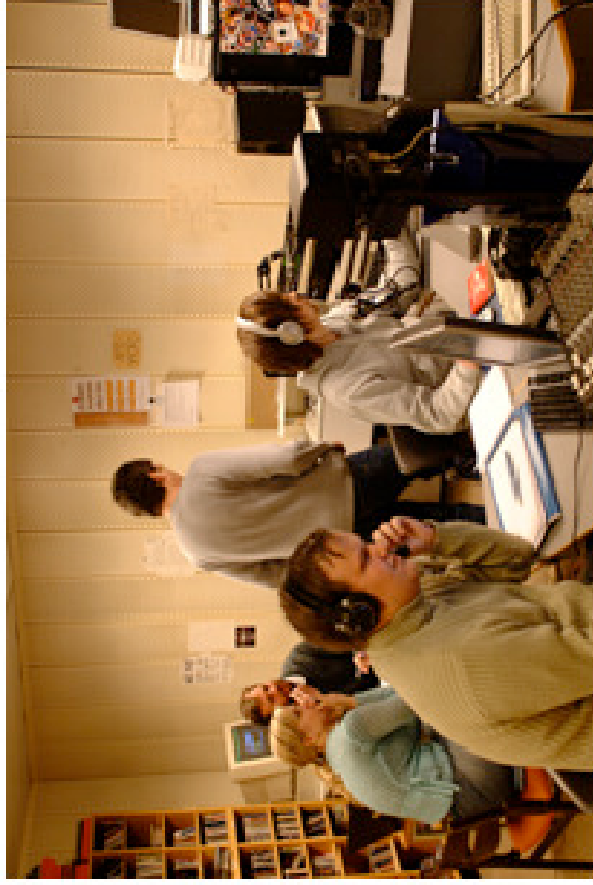
In the *folk theories* of professional teaching, the student/apprentice is seen as coming to the profession almost *tabula rasa*, where the school system and the profession over time *transmits* not only a set of professional skills, but also a professional set of values, attitudes etc. This image, however, runs counter to the fact that the experience of journalism school and the subsequent socialization into the journalistic profession appear to have very little influence on the students’ basic journalistic preferences, attitudes and ideals, which on the contrary appear relatively *unchanged* from their first weeks in journalism school (before the institution and its teachers have had much time to “transmit” its values) to their early working years as professional journalists (table 7). For example, “critical ideals” – like the press’s role as a “watchdog” over the powerful in society, facilitating public debate, to speak on behalf of weak groups, to not be a “microphone” for the government etc. – are present in the students from their first days in school. Even given the well-known methodological problems with attitude-questions<sup>347</sup> and the fact that many students have some form of prior experience with journalism, it seems again plausible to look for an explanation on this strong durability of professional attitudes in the non-professional *durable* dispositions of *habitus*, that is, that many of the basic “journalistic” beliefs, desires and ideals are chiefly a specialized application of more general dispositions in the habitus.

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<sup>346</sup> From the presentation of the journalism programme at Volda media department [www.hivolda.no/amf](http://www.hivolda.no/amf).

<sup>347</sup> In a review of survey research literature, William Foddy (1993:3-4), suggests two main problems with standard attitude questions: first, that there appears to be a weak link between answering such questions and actual behaviour, and secondly, that several survey research studies indicate a great instability in the respondents’ attitudes when re-measured over time. In this case, however, there is a high correlation between the students’ answer to the different questions over time, indicating a strong stability of dispositions.

## The newsroom



## The auditorium



FIGURE 9 A SIMPLE COSMOLOGY.

Through the practical organization of the journalism schools' programmes, journalism students typically meet the academic culture and journalist culture and their ideals in different places and times, which helps reinforce the inclination of everybody involved to think of them as opposites and thus as the basis of a local cosmology and mental classifications. The *auditorium* and the *news room* of the school thus not only separate theory and practice, but also the more "theoretical" teachers from the less theoretically inclined (often ex-journalist) teachers, the traditional role of student versus the apprentice, the calm, formal-authoritative-passive atmosphere of the lecture hall versus the informal and hectic atmosphere of the newsroom, the more distant traditional student-teacher relation from a more intimate, almost patrimonial relationship where the teachers take great interest in their students' success and personal life, or more simply, between sacred and profane journalism, the academic and the journalistic profession, intellectual ideals and criticism of journalism from the practical ideals of journalism. This logic is reinforced by the cycle of the academic year being markedly separated into times of practical journalism and times for academia, in particular the "practice periods" (often 6-8 weeks of realistic newsroom work and daily deadlines) and the months used to write their thesis. For both teachers and students, both affected by this logic and structurally inclined to think of journalism and academia as antitheses, or to quite commonplace student rhetoric, as a division between "the real world" and an "irrelevant", or at best, hopelessly "old-fashioned" world, institutional schizophrenia reigns, where teachers find themselves giving a lecture in media science to journalism students on the subject of the banalising and overly black-white nature of modern news, well knowing that later that day, when producing tomorrow's newspaper, colleagues (or even themselves) will tell the same students to "simplify" and "look for heroes and villains" in the stories they produce, an irony which are bound to enforce a kind of structural lack of faith in intellectual ideals for journalism in both teachers and students.

Photos: Sverre Liestøl 2005/Erling Sivertsen 2007

The aspiring journalists in the beginning of their studies appear to have a relatively clear picture of the journalistic hierarchy, probably because so many of them have had some contact with the professional culture beforehand. Even so, we find in the first-year students a tendency to allodoxia, as they often adhere to ideals which they believe are more common than they really are, for example the importance of “cheek” as a journalistic characteristic, or mistaking the most well-known journalists for the most well-thought-of journalists, for example, naming Fredrik Skavlan (TV host for the largest talk show in Norway, *Først og sist* on NRK) or Davy Wathne as a journalistic role model (Sports anchor, TV 2), which almost no “real” journalists do (cf. table 24). During their first and supposedly formative school and work years, as shown in Table 7 (the same table, split for female and male students is found in table 36 in the table appendix), some changes do, however, occur. Most of these changes can probably be explained as a slight gradual readjustment to internal demands of the field, where the students change their initial preferences and attitudes parallel to their improved understanding of the journalistic hierarchy.

Thus we see, for example, that when asked about what kind of journalistic subjects they would like to work with, subjects of relative low internal status in the journalistic field – culture and entertainment in particular, but also accidents and crime – generally decline in popularity during all phases<sup>348</sup>. The fact that the interest in multicultural issues falls sharply from journalism school to working life (phase 2->phase 3) is, on the other hand, probably due to the distance between the subject’s sanctioned status in journalism school, where it is close to intellectual ideals of journalism, and the experienced lack of prestige and low demand for this subject in the news rooms, where the reverse probably explains the simultaneous rise of interest in sport journalism (for men) and health (for women)<sup>349</sup>, and the increased belief in the importance of “educating consumers” after 3 years in their working life<sup>350</sup>. Also, there is a marked tendency towards specialization: with each phase, the students of journalism rate

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<sup>348</sup> The rising relative popularity of consumer affairs is probably partly due to the ambiguousness of the category which makes it appeal to two opposite groups: on the one hand, those attracted to consumer-oriented journalism (e.g. simple product reviews) and a career in magazines and light news in press and television, on the other hand, those attracted to the newer, critical and confronting types of consumer-rights journalism associated with e.g. NRKs *Forbrukerinspektørene*. Looking at their preference of work places in their last semester (phase II), the students interested in consumer affairs have a slightly higher preference for working in television (e.g. 36% want to work for NRK, opposed to 25% of those who say they are not interested) and for magazines (23% vs. 11%).

<sup>349</sup> Also, students become more interested in subjects they have worked with, cf. Bjørnsen, Hovden and Ottosen (2007).

<sup>350</sup> A simple correspondence analysis (CA) - not shown here – on the same preference data (recoded into the binary form of “interested and “not interested”) crossed with 12 categories of individuals according to their combinations of the three variables gender (male/female), place of study (Oslo / Volda) and phase (1, 2 or 3) suggest a three-axis solution to explain the differences: the first axis ( $\lambda_1=45\%$ ) separates the most male and female preferences. The second axis ( $\lambda_2=28\%$ ) is a time axis, which separates the preferences of first-semester students (phase I) and students three years after graduation (phase III). The third axis ( $\lambda_3=14\%$ ) separates the students of Volda and Oslo, whereas the former more often have preferences for entertainment and more seldom preferences for hard news (politics, economy), and the students of Oslo less so.

themselves interested in fewer and fewer subjects, and this tendency is particularly strong between graduation and three years afterwards (a feature which means that one should be careful to look at the relative ranking of the answers, and not just the raw percentages<sup>351</sup>). As illustrated in table 7, however, the relative popularity of the subjects is relatively stable: Feature, culture, society/politics and international conflicts are the five most popular subjects in all three phases, and accidents, sport and economy are among the least popular. In a similar way, the students' judgements of the most important qualities in a good journalist – curious, through and accurate, knowledgeable of society and with a mastery of written language - are roughly the same in all phases.

In addition to the dwindling belief in the importance of “a sense of justice” as an important quality for journalists during journalism school (a question which unfortunately was not repeated in phase 3), we see also during all phases an decrease in belief in the importance of political neutrality, a quality which on the surface appears close to the journalistic ideals, but in reality goes counter to the dominant *illusio* of the journalistic field, namely that journalism should be an active agent in society, and fight with agents of other fields (political, scientific, state etc.) for dominance, or at least, for a certain independency (cf. section 6.3).

The subjects which change most in their relative attraction over time are also the most clearly gendered (with the largest differences between male and female journalists in term of attraction, and also the subjects conforming most closely to traditional gender roles and interests), which is probably reflecting the fact that the readjustment to the hierarchies of the journalistic field will be greatest for the students' attitudes which were most closely linked to their personal interests, that is to say, their initial *habitus* (which will be in various sync with the demands of the social field). Also, because of the strong gendering of the hierarchy of the journalistic field (where the most prestigious forms of journalism – hard news, politics, economy etc. – are also the most male dominated (cf. section 5.3), the mismatch between the initial taste of their *habitus* and the journalistic *habitus*, that is, the taste for the most prestigious forms of journalism, is much stronger for the female students, and demands greater degree of adjustment for the acquirement of journalistic capital and prestige<sup>352</sup>.

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<sup>351</sup> On average, the students are interested in 7.6 of the 15 subjects in phase 1, 6.6 subjects in phase 2 and 4.3 subjects in phase 3. On average, the female students are interested in more subjects than male students.

<sup>352</sup> Cf. also the discussion of the socialization of female journalists in journalism education and news organizations by Zoonen (1994:55-60).

**TABLE 7 PREFERRED JOURNALISTIC SUBJECTS, IMPORTANT QUALITIES OF JOURNALISTS AND IMPORTANT DUTIES OF THE PRESS. JOURNALISM STUDENTS ACCORDING TO PHASE. PERCENTAGES. JOURNALIST STUDENTS (1999/2000-KOHORTS), OSLO AND Volda UNI. COLL<sup>353</sup>.**

	2000			1999	
	PHASE I (N=102) START OF STUDY 2000-I	PHASE II (N=78) END OF STUDY 2000-II	PHASE III (N=78) 3 YEARS LATER 2000-III	PHASE II (N=78) END OF STUDY 1999-II	PHASE III (N=78) 3 YEARS LATER 1999-III
<b>Subjects would like to work with as a journalist ("Very interested" or "somewhat interested")</b>					
Feature / magazine content	89	88		90	77
Culture	83	73		79	64
Society and politics	78	74		72	68
International conflicts	73	68		66	57
Entertainment	59	42		46	38
North/south-questions	55	53		49	41
Popular science	51	59		49	49
Crime	42	46		37	29
Health / human relations	35	46		42	41
Emergencies / accidents	33	22		26	25
Consumer affairs	33	53		41	42
Sport	25	18		22	35
Economy and commerce	21	27		45	30
News journalism	(not asked)	67		68	66
Multicultural questions	(not asked)	51		62	38
<b>Important qualities for a good journalist ("Very important")</b>	2000-I	2000-II	2000-III	1999-II	1999-III
Knowledge of society	77	73	82	77	85
Thoroughness and accuracy	77	71	81	81	90
Curiosity	76	73	79	82	83
Good sense of language and fluency	74	71	63	61	75
A sense of justice	66	47	(not asked)	51	(not asked)
Knowledge of human nature	64	56	45	59	51
Speed and efficiency	31	36	32	33	38
Good conduct in front of the camera / on the radio	29	19	24	28	27
Compassion with individuals and weak groups	26	27	31	19	24
Broad life experience	23	28	29	28	14
A certain "cheek"	13	14	10	14	11
Political neutrality	12	5	5	18	11
Know what subjects "sell well"	12	8	6	6	9
Higher education in one's subject matter	9	13	11	19	16
Respect for authorities	4	0	2	0	0
A certain cynicism when writing about individuals	2	0	5	2	0

<sup>353</sup> Because there are some differences between the journalistic cohorts in their composition (at each stage) – for example the 1999-cohort has a slightly higher proportion of females and fewer with prior paid experiences from journalism than the 2000-cohort - I did not want to merge the cohorts as this would obfuscate patterns in the data.

**Table 7 (continued)**

<b>Important duties for the press (“Very important”)</b>	2000-I	2000-II	2000-III	1999-II	1999-III
Inform of political happenings and consequences	88	85	92	86	90
Inform of accidents and dramatic happenings	41	31	35	27	37
Educate consumers	13	17	26	15	28
Watch over the powerful, unveil misuse of power	84	86	94	88	87
Speak on behalf of weak groups, defend individuals	70	76	81	75	65
Ensure media firms do well	4	1	2	9	6
Contribute to inter-cultural understanding	48	51	48	62	50
Entertain	26	27	10	20	23
Facilitate public debate	67	74	63	64	61
Spread new thoughts, work for change and renewal	40	53	42	48	45
Pass on our cultural heritage, defend our culture	13	9	15	15	9
Stimulate audience to think new thoughts	27	38	26	39	23
Be a neutral observer	17	4	13	16	13
Speak on behalf of people	13	10	11	8	16
Transmit information from the governing	6	6	2	8	10

Phase I = in the beginning of the first semester in journalism school, phase II = at the end of the last semester in journalism school (almost two years later), phase III = 3 years after completing journalism school.

#### **4.5 The logic of journalistic judgements**

If journalism is, as most appear to believe, a practice mainly learned in journalism school and in-service training, the strong correlations between the students’ social backgrounds and their journalistic preferences and ideals, and the observed lack of change in these preferences and ideals during journalism school and their first years of working life are indeed puzzling.

No doubt, journalism students learn a lot in school and in their first years of practice. As anyone with experience from the training of journalism students will attest, the students’ skill in producing journalistic work increases greatly in many areas during their education, in the mastery of the technical equipment, the ability to meet deadlines and their mastery of the journalistic genres etc. I am not arguing that these observations are illusory, merely that many of the key elements of a journalistic praxis in Bourdieu’s sense are pre- and extra-journalistic, acquired outside and before applied to journalism. When older journalists claim that good journalism is a result of life-experience, they are probably closer to the truth than they would feel comfortable with.

By this logic, the informal socialization of new journalists in the news rooms on which many researchers place much emphasis when explaining the homogenization of journalistic products (the classical study is Warren Breed’s 1955-article “Social control in the news room”) is perhaps less important than the silent orchestration of habitus, as journalists, following their own dispositions, are attracted to journalistic publications and specializations which “suit” them, that is, correspond with their habitus, and are perceived by the editors as “suitable”. The low formalization of job specifications and the relative absence of specific criteria in journalistic job adverts (asking instead for “a nose for news”, of being “hungry”, having “determination” and “energy” etc.)<sup>354</sup> one would believe contributes to this social homogenization, as those hiring new journalists are thus relatively free to follow their own inclinations and thereby their habitus.

<sup>354</sup> Høyer and Ihlen (1998:102).

Summing up, the effect of habitus appear as clearly important for both the recruitment to the field of journalism and one's place in it. Even if the journalistic elite appears to have a relatively high social mobility and low inherited capital compared to other Norwegian elites, journalists are clearly, as seen, a selected social group recruiting primarily from the middle classes, with a clear tendency to self-recruitment. Finally, through the structuring effect of habitus, the journalistic order (which we shall analyse in greater depth in the next chapter) is also to some degree a reflection of the social order, as journalistic power and prestige is also linked to inherited capital.





Norge er partert i tre parter, som består av tre ulike folk eller folkeslag, som vi kaller tre partier, som har tre ulike styresett ... I Ennerka taler menneskene forskjellige språk alle sammen og det er grunnen til at dette landet holder seg så lite. Kongen deres heter Kring, og hans krigere kalles kringkastere. Kringkasterne går til kamp uten å høre eller se verken fiender eller venner. Noen sier at kringkasterne har speil i stedet for øyne og at disse speilene vender innover, slik at de verken skal frykte sine fiender eller elske sine venner. Andre sier at hver kringkaster må lage sitteget språk som ingen andre forstår og at det er derfor dette landet hittil har vært oss lydige i alle spørsmål. Hovedstaden deres kalles Marienlyst eller Marienborg og ligger i samme land som vårt...<sup>355</sup>

Georg Johannesen, *Romanen om Mongstad*(1989)

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<sup>355</sup> "The state of Norway is carved into three parts, which are populated by three different peoples, which we call three parties, which have three different systems of government.... in Ennerka everyone speaks different languages and that is the reason the country remains so small. Their king is named Kring, and his warriors are called <kringkastere> ("broadcasters"). The <kringkasterne> go to battle without listening or seeing friends or enemies. Some say the <kringkasterne> have mirrors instead of eyes, and that these mirrors turn inward, so that they should neither fear their enemies nor love their friends. Others say that every <kringkaster> must make his own language that no one else understands and that is why this country so far has been obedient to us in all questions. Their capital is named Marienlyst or Marienborg and is located in our country."

## Chapter 5: The Norwegian journalistic field and its transformations

In this chapter, after a short discussion of the sociological idea of social autonomy (in particular in regard to Bourdieu's concept of social field), I will propose a short history of Norwegian journalism read from this latter perspective. As I will suggest, many historical developments – in particular the increased specialization and differentiation in journalistic products and practitioners (both in the sense of internal variation and their difference vis-à-vis other areas of practice, like printing) and the rise of a distinct forms of internal legitimation – seem to imply a rising social autonomy and an increasingly internal logic of journalistic practice, and thus, the feasibility using Bourdieu's theory of social fields as a framework to understand journalistic practice in Norway today. Following this I will offer a statistical model of the Norwegian journalistic space based on survey data of members of the Norwegian unions of journalists and editors, and explore the basic structure of this model in relation to the journalists' habitus and their accumulated capital, their place of work, mobility patterns, differences between generations and more. Details for the construction and the questionnaire and methodological aspects of these data are discussed in more detail in appendix 1.

### 5.1 *The idea of social autonomy*

As Bourdieu points out, the concept of *social fields* can be seen as a theory of social differentiation in modern societies, continuing classical sociological concerns with the changes brought on by the industrial revolution<sup>356</sup>. This theme – of which Herbert Spencer's idea of “an advance from the homogeneous to the heterogeneous” being “the law of all progress”, including society, as well as nature<sup>357</sup> - is perhaps the most general example, can be divided into several sub-concerns: the effects of *modern work specialization* (which we can see, for example, in both Adam Smith's interest in the efficiency of specialization in modern industrial work organization and in Max Weber's concerns for bureaucracy's inevitable spread because of its inherent efficiency), *role differentiation* (the most well-known theoretical examples are Émile Durkheim's analysis of the historical movement from mechanical to organic solidarity and Ferdinand Tönnies's concept of *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft*), *social inequality* (Marx's classes and its conflicts, his concept of alienation etc. and in Weber's development of these themes), and – in which we are especially interested here: *the differentiation into social subsystems*, the growth of art, of science, of politics and other areas with a certain autonomy and a unique logic. Among the sociological classics, it is perhaps Max Weber's concept of *value spheres* which is closest to Bourdieu's concept of social fields,

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<sup>356</sup> Bourdieu ([1989] 1996:433).

<sup>357</sup> Spencer (1857).

and Bourdieu's first attempts to formulate and use this concept were in fact based on a structural re-interpretation of Weber's descriptions of struggles for dominance between various religious ideal-typical agents in the religious value sphere (prophets, priests, sorcerers, laity etc.)<sup>358</sup>.

Max Weber's work can be read as dominated by an interest in the particular modern *rationality* of modern occidental society (as in his analysis of the differences between occidental and non-western economic rationality<sup>359</sup>). Marked with elements of German cultural pessimism (e.g. the inevitable spread of rationalism as an "iron cage"), the full force of which would come later in the works of the Frankfurt School<sup>360</sup>, Weber saw modern society as characterized by increasing *rationalization* – a complex of processes which include the displacement of traditional and value-rational (*Wertrational*) for instrumental (*Zweckrational*) action orientations, the increase of technical specialization and technical-bureaucratic rational means of control over man and nature, a disenchantment of the world, and a depersonalization of politics, law and economics which lead to improved calculability in these domains<sup>361</sup>. This Western rationalization is for Weber inextricably linked to processes of social differentiation (in particular of capitalist economy and the state), where social-subsystems – art, law, religion, politics, science, erotic life etc. - which he terms value spheres (*Wertsphären*) develop their own, distinct forms of rationality and increased consciousness of their own *Eigenwerte*<sup>362</sup>, their own unique legitimacy (rationalization) and an inner logic or law (*Eigengesetzlichkeit*), a particular morality and a relative autonomy from their traditional origins and other value spheres (some examples are the idea of an *l'art pour l'art*, the replacement of Kadi justiz - traditional law - by formal law<sup>363</sup> and the development of modern economic, scientific and political values separate from religious values<sup>364</sup>). These spheres are, in Weber's words, "strangers to each other" and in a state of "irreconcilable tension"<sup>365</sup> – a tension which increases the more developed they become.

Like Weber's value spheres, Bourdieu's social fields have a relative autonomy and a specific legality (a belief in the intrinsic value of a particular type of symbolic capital – artistic capital in the artistic field, scientific capital in the scientific field etc. – and a particular *illusio*, an identification with and belief in the importance of the struggles of the field). Weber's analysis by ideal-types and his emphasis on conscious aspects of this legality is however very far from Bourdieu's relational sociology. Weber, however, is

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<sup>358</sup> A more detailed discussion of this particular link between Bourdieu and Weber is given in part 6.2.

<sup>359</sup> Weber ([1904] 1988:1).

<sup>360</sup> Horkheimer and Adorno ([1944] 1997).

<sup>361</sup> Brubaker (1995).

<sup>362</sup> Cf. for example Weber ([1920] 1988:555) when he says of art that it "constitutes itself as a cosmos more and more conscious of its own intrinsic values [Eigenwerte]".

<sup>363</sup> Weber ([1956] 1978:812).

<sup>364</sup> Ibid, Weber ([1904] 1988).

<sup>365</sup> Weber ([1920] 1988:548,564).

only one (if important) inspiration for Bourdieu's concept of fields. Among others, one should probably in particular mention the idea of "relative autonomy" of economic, political, ideological, and theoretical practices in Louis Althusser's reinterpretation of Marxism<sup>366</sup>, and Durkheim's writings on social differentiation, professions and anthropology. Of the latter, Durkheim's ideas of the *conscience collective* and his analysis of the growth of the professions, which he sees as developing their internal organic solidarity, morality and goals ("The soldier seeks military glory, the priest moral authority, the statesman power, the industrialist wealth, the scientist professional fame"<sup>367</sup>), following a logic of role differentiation<sup>368</sup> and characterized by internal competition, with "fiercer rivalry the more alike they are"<sup>369</sup> appear of particular importance<sup>370</sup>. Similar ideas of differentiation into social subsystems can be found in a myriad of sociological works – many of which appear as at least partly inspired by Weber: in Karl Marx and Georg Simmel's writings on the historical rise of a specific economic logic<sup>371</sup>, Talcott Parson's analyses of society as consisting of "functional subsystems" (economy, politics, culture etc.)<sup>372</sup>, in Jürgen Habermas' concept of the rise of a "public sphere"<sup>373</sup>, in Norbert Elias' writings of historical "figurations"<sup>374</sup>, Niklas Luhmann's concept of "social systems"<sup>375</sup>, in the historical studies of state formation by Charles Tilly and Michael Mann<sup>376</sup>, in the "new institutionalism"<sup>377</sup> and many others<sup>378</sup>.

### **A Norwegian field of journalism?**

Does there exist a Norwegian journalistic field today in Bourdieu's sense? The question needs some clarifications. First, one must understand the double nature

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<sup>366</sup> Althusser ([1970] 1971).

<sup>367</sup> Durkheim ([1893] 1997:409).

<sup>368</sup> Ibid.(284), Durkheim ([1957] 1992:15). Note that Durkheim developed and partly changed many of these ideas in later works, cf. Lukes (1973:166-7).

<sup>369</sup> Durkheim ([1893] 1997:210).

<sup>370</sup> For a further discussion of the history of the concept of field and its links to other theoretical traditions, see Broady ([1991] 1991:275-303).

<sup>371</sup> Marx (1976), Simmel ([1900] 2004).

<sup>372</sup> Parsons (1991).

<sup>373</sup> Habermas (2002).

<sup>374</sup> Elias ([1939] 2000:316).

<sup>375</sup> Luhmann (1995).

<sup>376</sup> Tilly (1992), Mann (1993).

<sup>377</sup> As pointed out by many, there are also clear parallels between the "new institutionalism" (DiMaggio and Powell 1991) and Bourdieu's theories of fields, e.g. in the works of Don DiMaggio who talks of "organizational fields" (1991). The affinities between the two approaches in regard to the analysis of journalism is discussed by Benson (2006).

<sup>378</sup> An introduction to sociological theories of social differentiation is provided by Schimank (2000).

Bourdieu assigns to the concept of social fields: on the one hand, it is a *research programme* – a methodological and theoretical tool for ensuring a relational and scientific construction of the research object - "a conceptual shorthand of a mode of construction of the object that will command, or orient, all the practical choices of research"<sup>379</sup>. In this sense of the concept, journalistic practice in Norway, like any practice, can be studied using the sociology of social fields. Usually, however, the concept of social field is used by Bourdieu to refer to a particular "*social microcosm* in the social macrocosm"<sup>380</sup>, based on his belief that during historical processes of social differentiation, certain areas of practice have achieved a large degree of autonomy, and developed an internal logic and a structure, where the participants are more dependent on each other than on the "outside world" (e.g. the social space and other social fields). It is in this sense he speaks of, for example, "the French academic field in the late sixties", or "the French field of artists in the 19<sup>th</sup> century". In this sense, the question of the existence of a Norwegian journalistic field is question of a *social fact*, namely whether journalistic practice in Norway today is subject to a social logic and a structure analogous with how Bourdieu conceives social fields. Even if fields necessarily "reveal themselves only in the form of highly abstract, objective relations" - they cannot be touched or seen – Bourdieu sees fields nevertheless as *rea*<sup>381</sup> (and much more so than the folk concepts usually used by individuals to describe themselves as a group, as the concept of a "profession", or in my case, "journalists"). At the same time, this is no either-or question: because social fields are historical objects, they have no fixed existence or structure, but wax and wane according to historical processes and struggles (and thus have an autonomy which varies considerably according to periods and national traditions, to the point that it is no longer meaningful to speak of a social field). In this way, a Norwegian journalistic field today can be said to exist only if there is a sufficient degree of autonomy, and it is always possible that a sociological study will have to conclude that journalistic practice is better understood with reference to other factors (for example, as being mainly subject to the laws of the economic or the political field). Such questions, however, are empirical questions, and cannot be answered conclusively beforehand<sup>382</sup>. In line with Bachelard's "applied rationalism", a study of a social field – like any sociological research - is necessarily a long dialectical process of theory and experiment, of errors made and errors corrected.

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<sup>379</sup> Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992:228). The concept of field is in this way closer to Herbert Bluhmer's (1954:147-8) idea of a *sensitising concept* ("suggesting directions along which to look") than a *definitive concept* ("...by the aid of a clear definition of attributes or fixed benchmarks ... providing prescriptions to what to see...").

<sup>380</sup> Not that the term "social field" is in some instances used by Bourdieu as designating the overarching social reality (or if one prefers, the class structure) of a geographical delimited society, what Bourdieu usually terms the *social space*, as the whole of France in *Distinction* ([1979] 1984).

<sup>381</sup> Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992:231). Bourdieu thus shares with Durkheim a position of what Roy Bhaskar calls "scientific realism", a belief in real social objects / structures / relations which influence human behaviour, thoughts and classifications regardless of their knowledge of this fact, cf. Bhaskar (1994) and Gilje (1987:158).

<sup>382</sup> Quoting Marcell Mauss ([1968] 1991:97): "There is, of course, no question of defining straightaway the very substance of the facts. Such a definition can only come at the end of the scientific investigation; the definition we have to make at the outset can only be provisional. It is simply intended to start up the research, to determine the thing to be studied."

The answer is also complicated by the fact that Bourdieu uses the concept of fields on very *different levels of aggregation and scope*<sup>383</sup>. For example, he says that the French cultural field (which in itself can be seen as a *subfield* of the French field of power<sup>384</sup>), can also be studied in more detail, e.g. in a subfield of literary works, or in an even more specialized subfield of the novel<sup>385</sup>. In one analysis of French construction companies, the concept of field is used about a single firm<sup>386</sup>. Subfields analyzed by Bourdieu tend to be structured according to the same oppositions as those in the overarching field, but with some variations<sup>387</sup>. The difference between field and subfield is primarily one of analytical level – requiring, as he says, “a genuine qualitative leap”<sup>388</sup> when moving between them - and not one of sharp boundaries, reflecting the interweavedness of these in real life. Regarding the study of journalists, Bourdieu similarly suggests several analytical levels. In one and the same speech he thus talks not only of a French “journalistic field”, but also of subfields (“the subfield of television”) and supra-fields (or meta-fields), e.g. when saying that “the journalistic field is part of the political field” and that one, to do a complete analysis of the journalistic field, also would have to analyse “the position of the national media field within the global media field”<sup>389</sup>. Regarding subfields, Bourdieu writes that large organizations of cultural production, e.g. a large newspaper (he mentions *Le Monde* as an example) with a rational management of competition within the production unit “functions as a field”, and can be studied as a form of social (sub)field of the field of cultural production<sup>390</sup>.

One could, in the same way, analyze Norwegian journalistic distinctions and position-takings in a variety of sub-field configurations, e.g. according to medium type (e.g. newspapers), in a single business (e.g. NRK), only “local” or “national” media, or, alternatively, focusing on different sub-fields of journalistic specializations – e.g. a “field of sports journalism”<sup>391</sup> etc. dependent on the research question in mind.

This pluralism of possible field configurations for studying journalism, should, however, not be interpreted as an invitation to analytic relativism. If fields can be studied on different levels, it seems clear that Bourdieu in his various analyses puts

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<sup>383</sup> In some cases, Bourdieu’s use of the concept seems to border on the metaphorical, for example when he in “À propos de la famille comme catégorie réalisée” (1993:34-35) writes of a “field of the family” <champ domestique> where the members of the family struggle against each other “by physical, economic and in, particular, by symbolic force (given by the volume and structure of capital possessed by the different members of the family)”.

<sup>384</sup> Bourdieu ([1989] 1996:270).

<sup>385</sup> Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992:104).

<sup>386</sup> Bourdieu (2003:217-219).

<sup>387</sup> See for example *Homo Academicus* ([1984] 1988), where Bourdieu finds similar opposition both in his analysis of the Paris universities as a whole and in his analysis of the faculty of the human sciences

<sup>388</sup> Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992:104).

<sup>389</sup> Bourdieu ([1995] 2005).

<sup>390</sup> Bourdieu ([1979] 1984:442).

<sup>391</sup> A good discussion of the importance of journalistic specializations in the logic of journalistic fields is given by Dominique Marchetti ([2002] 2005:64).

analytical primacy on 1) *the elites of the field* (e.g. the Parisian professors of *Homo Academicus*) and 2) the *national level*<sup>392</sup> of fields. The focus on elites can be explained by Bourdieu's belief that it is the struggles among the fields' elites which over-determine the value of the different forms of capital in the field (and thus the structure of the field). The focus on a national level follows a similar argument, as he sees the growth of fields and the development of their logic linked both to the rise of a *national field of power* during modern state formation (where the various major subfields – the university field, the artistic field, the economic field etc. – arise and evolve in relation to each other in a national context<sup>393</sup>) and, for similar reasons, a *national social space*. In my case, I will argue along similar lines that studying the journalistic field in Norway as a national field not only makes sense from a historical point of view, but also that this national focus makes it easier to grasp the fundamental logic which also, I will expect, permeates the various subfields of journalism.

This leads to the final question, namely, how can one know that one are dealing with a social field? Even if the concept was continuously developed and rephrased by Bourdieu, it is possible to identify some *common properties* from his later analyses of various social fields. If such an approach seems to run counter to Bourdieu's insistence on the empirical nature of his theoretical concepts (not to say his usual emphasis on the changing historical nature of the social world), such "heuristic" use of the concept is encouraged by Bourdieu<sup>394</sup>. The reason he gives, besides a characteristic proclaimed desire to move beyond "the deadly autonomy of monographic ideography and formal, empty theory"<sup>395</sup> and as a "conceptual shorthand" for ensuring a correct (that is, relational) construction of the research object<sup>396</sup> is based on a very bold claim about the nature of the social world: that areas of social practice as different as academia, the art world, the world of politics and the world of religious debates – to name but a few - in modern (western) societies usually take the form of social fields, and these sociological entities have similar histories, structures and mechanisms. One can thus, in Bourdieu's own words, talk of "general laws of fields"<sup>397</sup> or even a "general theory", as fields have "invariant laws" and "universal mechanisms", which are specified in each particular empirical field<sup>398</sup>.

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<sup>392</sup> Note that every social field do not necessarily follow national borders. Bourdieu (1985a) has for example suggested that there exist no separate fields of literature in Belgium and the French-speaking parts of Canada and Switzerland, as they are all subordinate to the logic of the French field of literature.

<sup>393</sup> Bourdieu ([1989] 1996:264-272).

<sup>394</sup> Cf. Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992:227-235).

<sup>395</sup> Bourdieu ([1980] 1993c:72).

<sup>396</sup> Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992:228).

<sup>397</sup> Bourdieu ([1980] 1993c:72).

<sup>398</sup> *Ibid.* See also Bourdieu (1985b:18-20).



## 5.2 *The historical rise of a Norwegian journalistic field*

There appear to be a general consensus among press historians that the history of journalism in Norway can be read as one of increasing independence for the press, both in the long-term and short-term (post-war) perspective<sup>399</sup>. As I will propose, this history can also be read as one of the formation of a national *social field of journalism* in Bourdieu's sense, where the practices which we now think of as journalism have gradually separated and gained a certain autonomy from other practices, with a corresponding specialization and differentiation in practitioners, public and products. As also suggested by Martin Eide<sup>400</sup>, I will argue that this rising autonomy has been accompanied by the gradual constitution of a specific form of symbolic capital, *journalistic capital*, a rising recognition of journalism as being important and justified *in its own right* by both journalistic peers and other social elites, or to use a Weberian terminology, of journalism having been successful in cultivating a belief in its particular claims to legitimacy<sup>401</sup> and a particular *charismatic authority* (a concept to which Bourdieu's idea of symbolic capital is closely related – I will return to this in the next chapter).

Charismatic rulership, says Weber, “always result from unusual, especially political or economic situations, or from extraordinary psychic, particularly religious states, or from both together. It arises from collective excitement produced by extraordinary events and from surrender to heroism of any kind.”<sup>402</sup> True or not, the formative years of the press in Norway offered just such an historical situation.

### **The early Norwegian press**

Just as Asa Briggs and Peter Burke say that there is no real beginning to media history because one can always find precursors and social parallels (for example in the way the pulpits of the Catholic church was a very real “mass media” in the Middle Ages<sup>403</sup>), the history of journalism in Norway can be traced back as far as one would like, for example to view the Viking *skalds* as the first journalists. Such historical ambition, however, which one can occasionally find in journalists' treatises of their own profession, comes at great cost, as most terms we attribute to these activities today (“newspaper”, “journalist”, “editor”, “story” etc.) are themselves products of this long history of gradual differentiation and specialization, and gradually become more and more anachronistic as one goes backwards in history to a point that they are no longer meaningful<sup>404</sup>.

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<sup>399</sup> For a long-term history of journalism in Norway, see in particular Eide (2000b), Høyer (1995), Ottosen (1996) and Bastiansen and Dahl (2003). For the post-war period, three instructive books are Raaum (1999) and Ottosen (1996, 2004).

<sup>400</sup> Eide (2000b). Similar suggestions have also been made by myself (2001) and Slaatta (2003:49-113, 135-138).

<sup>401</sup> Weber ([1956] 1978:213).

<sup>402</sup> Ibid.(1121).

<sup>403</sup> Briggs and Burke (2002:28).

<sup>404</sup> This point has been very well demonstrated by the historical works of Schudson (1978) and Chalaby (1998).

From 1530 to 1905, the region of Norway was subject to foreign rule, first as a province of Denmark-Norway from 1530-1814, and then – as a consequence of taking Napoleon’s side in the Napoleonic wars – lost to Sweden, with which it entered a personal union which lasted until 1905. Also, it must be noted, Norway was not industrialized until very late, in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The rise of the press and journalism in Norway is intrinsically linked with and characterized by this particular historical situation of political subjugation and societal transformation.

Two evident consequences were the strong regionalization and the late appearance of the press compared to other countries: the absence of a national capital and national institutions (the University of Oslo was not established until 1811, and a national assembly was established first in 1814) meant that the press in Norway did not achieve a national character until the 19<sup>th</sup> century, instead developing in five different regions with their own parallel press centres<sup>405</sup>. And partly because of the dominance of Copenhagen as the undisputed centre of the twin kingdom Denmark-Norway, partly because of the lack of a national bourgeoisie, partly because of a lack of required royal privileges, the Norwegian press was established almost one hundred years after Denmark<sup>406</sup>.

Before 1830, in what Sverre Høyer has termed “the time of many beginnings” for the Norwegian press<sup>407</sup>, there are many precursors of modern newspapers. In the 17<sup>th</sup> and early 18<sup>th</sup> century, handwritten news of battles and court intrigues were regularly sent between officials, and handwritten (and later printed) newsletters of foreign news and *kuriosa* assembled and distributed by postmasters (transcribed from foreign newspapers which passed their way). With the appearance in the last quarter of the 18<sup>th</sup> century of Norwegian advertiser newspapers <adresseaviser> and papers in the German *Intelligenzblatt*-tradition (*Norske Intelligenz-Seddler*, an example of the latter type, was established in Christiania in 1763) there appear the first kindlings of a national press: printed periodical publications, offering advertisements (often an extension of the advertising offices <adressekontorene>) and articles submitted by anyone willing to pay. The first Norwegian papers oriented towards current affairs<sup>408</sup> do not appear until the last years of the Napoleonic wars, helped by this turbulent period which not only increased the interest in knowledge of recent events on a national and international scale, but also by an English-Swedish embargo which halted the distribution of Danish and foreign newspapers to Norway and created favourable conditions for a national market.

After losing the war in 1814, Norway entered a union with Sweden which upgraded its status from that of province to a semi-independent state. A national assembly was

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<sup>405</sup> Bergen, Christiania (named Oslo in 1925), Trondheim, Christiansand and Stavanger (Bastiansen and Dahl 2003:51).

<sup>406</sup> Ibid.(47).

<sup>407</sup> Høyer (1995:116).

<sup>408</sup> These papers are better described as *opinion*papers than *news*papers, because their contents were mainly one of debate and opinions on current affairs with little “news” in the modern sense, which did not become a dominating feature of the papers until the expansion of the telegraph in Norway in the 1850-70s and the establishment of the first Norwegian wire service, *Det norske telegrambureau (NTB)* in 1867.

formed, and a new constitution was passed which gradually ended the system of royal privileges and gave the press relatively large freedom, putting an end to advance censure and legalizing anonymous writings, explicitly allowing “candid statements, on the State and Government, and whatever other subjects”<sup>409</sup>. Even if the judicial status of the press’s freedom was initially unclear and regularly contested, the period was one of strong expansion of the press. In 1814 only six “papers” existed. In the period from 1814-1850, seventy-two new papers were established<sup>410</sup>.

The printing office in the 1830s – which combined the publication of newsletters and periodicals with publishing business and other kinds of printing work (e.g. calendars) – however illustrates the *very low degree of specialization and weak differentiation from other areas of practice* which “news work” had at this time. The publication was usually assembled by the printer (often in cooperation with someone with the free time to do this kind of work on a part-time basis, usually a public servant), and the contents of the leaflets were often mainly written by outsiders – before 1830 usually for a fee paid by the contributors to the printer<sup>411</sup>. There was little difference between books, newsletters, magazines and periodicals, not only in printing technique, but also in the forms of presentation<sup>412</sup> and contents. Newspaper layout in the modern sense, with a clear distinction between stories and advertising, typographic marking of sentences of different importance and separate headlines for each story did not appear until around 1900<sup>413</sup> - the same period in which journalists and editors in the modern sense first appear, as a distinct social group<sup>414</sup>.

During the 19<sup>th</sup> century in Norway, the numbers of newspapers and their circulation increased sharply. Many historical processes contributed to this – including population increase, improved communications, strong economic development, the reduction of illiteracy and the decreasing cost of newspapers relative to income (partly made possible by technological advances in printing technology, like the rotating press first used in 1886 by *Aftenposten*)<sup>415</sup>. This had important structural consequences. One of the consequences of the increased circulation was that it became more common to hire full-time employees for the largest publications (the first full-time editor for a newspaper appears in 1841, but part-time editors were still common at the turn of the century<sup>416</sup>). This not only *increased the social variety of press workers* (many of the new editors at this time were civil servants in part-time position and students)<sup>417</sup>, but also

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<sup>409</sup> The Norwegian Constitution of 1814, §100.

<sup>410</sup> Bastiansen and Dahl (2003:113).

<sup>411</sup> Høyer (1995:157).

<sup>412</sup> Bastiansen and Dahl (2003:113).

<sup>413</sup> Høyer (1995:315).

<sup>414</sup> Eide (2000b:230).

<sup>415</sup> For a more detailed account of the structural development of the Norwegian press in this period, see Høyer (1995).

<sup>416</sup> Eide (2000b:66).

<sup>417</sup> Ottosen, Østbye and Røssland (2002:34).

resulted in greater *independency* from other areas of practice (in particular from the state, as combining the role of state servant and editor – very often a problematic position - at this time was quite common<sup>418</sup>) but also for a *greater differentiation of journalistic roles* - at its most basic, a separation between owner and editor, a role which had formerly usually been combined in one person, later in *an increasingly nuanced division of the journalistic labour*. These factors also contributed to a *greater social variety in readers*. Whereas in the first part of the 19<sup>th</sup> century civil servants, the bourgeoisie and the intellectual petit bourgeoisie were the main readership of newspapers<sup>419</sup> in the second half newspaper reading became a regular activity for almost every social group, and newspapers were established in every major population centre<sup>420</sup>.

The broadening of the newspapers readership, with their corresponding variety in implicit and explicit demands was also conducive to the *increasing differentiation in the journalistic products*. On the level of publications, this is seen in the appearance of new types of papers, including the first daily papers (*Morgenbladet*, 1819), the first local newspapers (*Drammens Tidende* was established in 1816) – a form of publications which multiplied following after the establishment of local governments in 1837 (<*formannskapslovene*>) - and a variety of illustrated magazines and comic papers <*vittighetsblad*>, and more specialized publications for new sectors of the reading public (e.g. *For arbeiderklassen* <For the working class> in 1839). Another expression of this process of differentiation is the introduction of many new newspaper genres, including letters to the editor, reviews, various types of news notices, reports from parliamentary debates, dialogues and editorial comments<sup>421</sup>. Between 1830 and 1870 one also finds the first real examples of *competition* between newspapers, in particular in Christiania. The newspapers now had to relate to other newspapers, a fact which appears to have contributed to a further increase in the differentiation of the journalistic products, probably making them less a result of the demands of advertisers and the publicist's personal interests (and thus, very probably, their writers' habituses)<sup>422</sup>.

At the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, one can observe many indicators of an increased journalistic autonomy – if still in embryonic form – where journalistic areas of practice was been separated more clearly from other activities and practices, with their own specialized institutions, agents and beliefs. That this happens at the time of constitutional struggles and the introduction of parliamentarism in Norway in 1884 is not accidental. Rather than just a growing autonomy of the journalistic field, this appears to be *a formative period for many Norwegian social fields*, including the literary field<sup>423</sup> and the political field<sup>424</sup>, and simultaneously, *a Norwegian field of power*. At the

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<sup>418</sup> Eide (2000b:48)

<sup>419</sup> Ottosen, Østbye and Røssland (2002:36).

<sup>420</sup> Ibid.(40).

<sup>421</sup> Roksvold (1997:51).

<sup>422</sup> An example of this is the founding of *Den Constitutionelle* to counterbalance *Morgenbladet* in 1835. When the former was launched with a larger format in 1836, both *Morgenbladet* and *Statsborgeren* changed their formats the year after (Eide 2000b:214).

<sup>423</sup> Ibid.(229).

same time, the period appears as a critical moment in the history of the journalistic field, where participants struggled for the right to themselves define the *principles for their own legitimacy*. When Ola Thommesen, the editor of VG in 1894 wrote that his newspaper was not “an agency for anyone, except its own convictions of what best serves national and democratic progress”<sup>425</sup>, this can be read as an early declaration of independence for journalism versus both the economic and political field (even if we should of course not mistake this for a sign of real independency, a situation in which such an act would be meaningless<sup>426</sup>).

During the Danish reign, Norwegian papers had taken a cautious patriotic role as spokesmen for commerce and the development of the Norwegian region. With the transfer of the region to Sweden in 1814 – a bitter disappointment as full independence was expected - it was followed by “feelings of discontent and suspicion directed towards everyone and everything ... the king, Sweden, the vice-regent, the government...”<sup>427</sup>. In the first decades after 1814, only one newspaper (*Det norske Rigstidende*) supported the government, all others were *oppositional papers* which continued and intensified the patriotic-critical role by defending the original constitution of 1814 (in particular the freedom of the press) and criticizing the government. Being a newspaper editor in this period was synonymous with being a patriot and a political oppositional.

As Martin Eide has shown, the oppositional press marks the dawn of a professional editorial role, where editors started to identify with modern ideas of democracy and debate<sup>428</sup> (often with English newspapers as an ideal)<sup>429</sup>. Whereas the editors at the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> century were relatively anonymous figures who usually found their legitimacy in the paper’s contribution by the enlightenment and (economic) development of society, as exemplified with the manifesto of *Tiden* in 1808 to “... pull into the light many useful ideas, that otherwise would be hidden in the dark; increase communications for the benefit of countrymen; to advance by encouragement every beneficial and noble cause”<sup>430</sup>, the mid-nineteenth century is a time where we can see

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<sup>424</sup> Danielsen (1998).

<sup>425</sup> Eide (2000b:65).

<sup>426</sup> When this saying is quoted, it is often forgotten that both *VG* and *Tidens Tegn* (the latter est. 1910 by Thommesen) later became closely affiliated with *Verstre/Frisinnede Venstre* <The liberal party>.

<sup>427</sup> Bastiansen and Dahl (2003:99).

<sup>428</sup> Eide (2000b:51).

<sup>429</sup> The rise of an editorial role is also linked to the emergence of a Norwegian *öffentlichkeit*. Even if, as Jostein Fet (1995), has shown, a reading, interested public had risen during the early 18<sup>th</sup> century in even the most rural parts of the country, a public sphere along the lines of Habermas’ famous argument (Habermas 2002) did not appear until much later. According to the historian Francis Sejersted, it is first in the 1840s the separation between private and the public is introduced in Norway, partly by the flourishing of new institutions for social life outside the home – theatres, cafes, restaurants etc., but also with corresponding norms for private and public behaviour - including those governing public debate (Sejersted 1978 in Bastiansen and Dahl (2003:147). In this context, the newspapers not only became central places for public debate, but also “Norwegian coffeehouses” where topical questions were debated face-to-face by social elites (Hauge 1963 in Eide (2000b:41).

<sup>430</sup> Giverholt 1984 cited in Bastiansen and Dahl (2003:77).

examples of a new and more public role for the editor. During this period, writes Martin Eide, the editor “is on the verge of establishing his position as a mediator of public debate. He wants to be a porter in the emerging public arena, guaranteeing the quality and the existence of the public exchange of arguments”<sup>431</sup>. At the same time, a stronger ideal of independence is emerging, together with a more adversary role for the press (vis-à-vis the state and public officials in particular), which can be observed not only in the newspapers’ new manifestos but also in practice, e.g. in *Statsborgerens* (1831-34) campaigns to expose the misuse of power by public officials, and the appearance of editorials from the 1830s onwards.

### **Modern press, party press, routinization**

Towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, which had seen a sharply increasing number of editors and journalists, the first attempts at establishing a national journalist organization took place in 1883. It was, however, to be short-lived. When parliamentarism was introduced in 1884, the first Norwegian political parties were formed and quickly established their own press organizations<sup>432</sup>. Some newspapers remained “colourless papers” for some time, but most sympathized publically with a party and actively worked for cooperation with one<sup>433</sup>. This in turn contributed to the quintupling of the number of newspapers from 1870 to the 1920s to two hundred and fifty, as every political party wanted its own press organ represented in the major population centres<sup>434</sup>. Until the 1980s<sup>435</sup>, the party press system was dominant in Norway<sup>436</sup>. In this period, the budding journalistic field became fused with the emerging political field and subjected to a logic dominated by the latter, reducing the influence from the intellectual and economic fields. The party newspapers became press organs and part of the local party organization, committed to transmitting the party’s vision of the world and messages from the political leaders to the electorate. Editors and newspapers were often tightly controlled from the national party

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<sup>431</sup> Eide (2000b:43).

<sup>432</sup> The three political parties (The Conservative Party, The Liberal Party and The Labour Party) all established their own press organizations during 1892-4.

<sup>433</sup> Svernik Høyér (1995:333) estimates that more than four fifths of the Norwegian press was committed to a political party in the period 1885-1939. The participation of the press was largely a voluntary process, which Høyér (Ibid.295) argues was a result of congruent interests: the newspapers wanted to increase their circulation, the parties their strength to mobilise the masses.

<sup>434</sup> Bastiansen and Dahl (2003:240).

<sup>435</sup> The exact time of death of the party press is much debated. *Dagbladet* declared themselves “a Liberal Party newspaper with a small letter ‘l’” <”en Venstre-avis med liten v”> in 1977, but several newspapers did not break with their political parties until much later. For the Conservative press, this break happened mostly in the mid-eighties, and in the early nineties for the Labour press. The radical left newspaper *Klassekampen* was the official party newspaper of AKP <The Worker’s Communist Party> until 1991.

<sup>436</sup> A short intermission took place during the Nazi occupation of Norway 1940-45, where the press and broadcasting was heavily censored and mostly Nazified, leading to a large illegal press (300 illegal newspapers and 12-15000 persons involved in their production). The party press system, however, re-established itself very quickly, cf. Bastiansen and Dahl (2003:278).

headquarters; partly through recruitment (loyal party members were often handpicked for the role as editors, a position which was often combined with leadership of the local party organization)<sup>437</sup> and partly by sanctions. Regarding the latter, of particular importance were the economic subsidies and advertisement privileges (of which a majority of party newspapers were completely dependent), which could be withdrawn to keep the editor in line<sup>438</sup>. For the most part, the editors had a subservient role to the national political party, but examples exist of editors and newspapers who resisted or even inverted this logic of domination, like Martin Tranmæl (editor of *Arbeiderbladet* 1921-49), of which it is said that he “led the [Labour] party as much as being led by it”<sup>439</sup>. Rather than the press being merely a part of the political field in this period, this complex interweavedness of the press and political institutions make it probably more correct to describe this structure as *a political-journalistic field*<sup>440</sup>.

As Weber points out, charismatic authority quickly loses its force in normal times<sup>441</sup>. But from the first kindling of a modern press towards the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century and for the next one hundred years, normal times were scarce: Norwegian society – like many other European societies - was in a semi-permanent state of rapid change and upheaval, experiencing the birth of political parties (1884) and strong political antagonism, national independence (1905), rapid modernization and industrialization, economic depression and two world wars. It is thus perhaps not strange that these are the times of the “great editors”, the time of the *editor-as-prophet* in a Weberian sense, as the bearer of original charismatic authority, challenging the orthodoxy of powerful elites (primarily that of the state and government, later also that of economic and political restrictions on journalism), whereas the interwar years become the time of the gradual *routinization of this charisma* with all its familiar challenges. The charismatic authority of the great editors had, by a similar process as described by Weber of religious routinization, to be transformed “from a unique transitory gift of grace of extraordinary times and persons into a permanent possession of everyday life”<sup>442</sup>. In this period,

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<sup>437</sup> And in some cases, even formally elected: the editor of the largest Labour newspaper (*Arbeiderbladet*) was formally elected at the Annual Conference of the Labour party until 1975 (Eide 2000b:225).

<sup>438</sup> Cf. Ibid.(chapter 9).

<sup>439</sup> Ibid.(208). Cf. also Slagstad (1993), who argues for a similar relation between *Dagbladet* and Venstre <The Liberal party> in 1930-50.

<sup>440</sup> If seemingly abhorred by most present-day journalists, one might also ask if the party press system in some sense was something of a *Felix culpa* for the autonomy of the Norwegian press in the long perspective, as it gave time for the press to hold on to the idea of a specific “mission for society” and associated ideals of good journalism in a situation relatively shielded from the most naked logic of the economic field and not too different from its previous situation: the press was political before the political party system existed, and political involvement was a dominant ideal in the oppositional newspapers. Newspapers under the party press system were also very motivated to scrutinize and criticize writings of newspapers associated with the political opposition which probably also helped found a relation of competition and rivalry not merely reflecting conflicting economic interests, and hold on to the ideal of a “watchdog” on behalf of its readers. Cf. Wale (1972) and Raalum (1999).

<sup>441</sup> Weber ([1956] 1978:1121).

<sup>442</sup> Ibid.

journalistic charisma was by various struggles gradually turned into journalistic capital, charismatic authority into authority by tradition, and the practice of journalism was formalized and hierarchized, codified into rules of conduct, laws and norms<sup>443</sup>.

Important outcomes of this process were the establishment of various journalistic institutions and various work to formalise codes and ideals for professional conduct. The Norwegian Press Association was established in 1910, and Oslo Association of Editors in 1930 (1950 as a national association). A professional committee (PFU) was formed in 1929, and a code of ethics of the Norwegian Press was approved by NP in 1936: *Vær-varsom-plakaten* (literally: “the be-careful-bill”), which called for general carefulness in reporting and listed more detailed restrictions in the coverage of suicide, mental illness, crime reporting and warned against spreading “unfounded rumours about Norwegian companies”<sup>444</sup>. Another important bill – described by the editors’ associations as their *Magna Carta*<sup>445</sup> – “The rights and duties of the editor” (<Redaktørplakaten>) was signed by the association of editors (NR) and the association of newspaper owners (NAL) in 1953<sup>446</sup>.

#### “THE RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF THE EDITOR (1953)

The editor shall always keep in mind the ideal purpose of the press, and be true to the inviolable principles of freedom of expression while working to the best of his abilities for what he believes best serves society.

He must respect the principles of objective, truth-searching reporting, uphold a clear distinction between fact and commentary, and avoid covert propaganda. The opinions of the newspaper shall be clearly visible as such both by its contents and presentation.

The editor is expected to share the political views and aims of his publication. But within this framework the editor is entitled to freedom of his opinions, even if they are not shared by the owner or the board of directors. If the editor finds himself/herself in irreconcilable conflict with the fundamental principles of the publication, he is obliged to resign from his post.

In newspapers without a party political purpose it is expected that the editor accepts the program which sets the framework for the publication.

The editor carries the personal and full responsibility for the editorial contents of the paper, and must not allow himself to be influenced to advocate opinions that are not in accordance with the editor’s own conscience and convictions. He directs and is responsible for the conduct of his co-workers.”

By this agreement, the editors were formally guaranteed a certain freedom from their owners in the daily editorial production of the newspaper. In other words, the

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<sup>443</sup> One particularly illuminating collection of texts in this regard is the writings of Carl Just, who wrote the first correspondence courses in journalism in Norway in 1940s (some of these are collected in *96 brev om journalistikk: en bok for vordende journalister* Just (1949). By his position as the first – and for many years the only – teacher at the first Norwegian Academy of Journalism (where he taught 1951-65), Just contributed greatly to the systematization of the ideology and establishment of an *opus operandum* for Norwegian journalism. Cf. also Bastiansen and Dahl (2005).

<sup>444</sup> This bill was revised in 1956, 1966, 1975, 1987, 1989, 1990, 1994, 2001 and 2005.

<sup>445</sup> Eide (2000b:79).

<sup>446</sup> To the list of important journalistic institutions established in this period, one should also add the establishment of the parliament’s press box <Stortingets presselosje> in 1921, which was a cooperation between journalists ranging from ultra conservative to communists (Allern 2001a).



symbolic capital of the editorial role was formalized and eventually legalised<sup>447</sup>, and the role of the editor formally provided with a specific legitimacy, a “sacred canopy”<sup>448</sup> by explicitly linking journalism to freedom of expression and a mission for the good of society. One can also in the 1950s see the appearance of the first major prizes for journalism, which – in addition to the many journalist organizations and social meeting places for journalists – provided important sources of peer-based journalistic recognition<sup>449</sup>.

### **New journalism, new entrants**

During the fifties and sixties, the press experienced a steady growth<sup>450</sup>. Newspapers’ content changed, partly to accommodate to new groups of readers and the competition from television, a move which included more content directed towards women and young people, and a movement away from high culture towards popular culture<sup>451</sup>, and a decline in “views” in favour of “news” and popular journalism<sup>452</sup>. The two tabloids spearheading this trend, *VG* and *Dagbladet*, have gradually increased their circulation the last fifty years<sup>453</sup>, and in the seventies and eighties firmly established themselves (judging by their readership) as “national dailies” and not primarily daily newspapers for Oslo and Eastern Norway<sup>454</sup>. In the same period, some less popular but important new publications and new forms of journalism have appeared, including *Klassekampen* (a Maoist newspaper established in the seventies) which became a daily newspaper in 1977, the rebirth of *Morgenbladet* as a high-brow intellectual newspaper in the style of *Le Monde Diplomatique* in 1993, the emergence of two modern financial newspapers (*Norges Sjøfartstidende* – a “shipping” newspaper since 1890 - was transformed into the *Financial Times*-inspired *Dagens Næringsliv* in 1980 and a similar newspaper, *Finansavisen*, was established in 1992) and one Internet-only newspaper (*Nettavisen*, established 1996).

Also, broadcasting in Norway has seen many changes: from the first official broadcast by NRK television in 1960 and until 1981, there existed only one television channel and one radio channel in Norway (both of them NRK, owned by the state). Local radio broadcasting outside NRK was legalized in 1981, and resulted in a myriad of

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<sup>447</sup> In practice, it took several decades for the agreement to be accepted. When it was given legal status in a court ruling in 1972, only two thirds of Norwegian newspaper owners had adopted the bill. The autonomy of the editor was strengthened in later revisions (Eide 200b:80).

<sup>448</sup> Berger (1967).

<sup>449</sup> The first *Narvesen*-prize (1954-1990) was awarded to Anders Buraas, the first *Hirschfeld*-prize (1957-1990) to Tor Frette and Kristian Olsen.

<sup>450</sup> Ottosen, Østbye and Røssland (2002:135).

<sup>451</sup> An indicator of this change is that the “Culture”-sections in *VG* and *Dagbladet* after the advent of television were renamed to respectively “Rampelys” <Limelight> and “Signaler” <Signals> Ibid.(140).

<sup>452</sup> Ibid.(134-151).

<sup>453</sup> *Dagbladet* and *VG* increased their percentage of the total newspaper circulation in Norway from 7% in 1952 to 12% in 1978 and 18% in 1999 Ibid.(175).

<sup>454</sup> Eide (1995a) and Dahl (1993).

radio stations (mostly owned by various associations and organizations). Local television broadcasting outside NRK was legalized in 1988. The first major national challengers to NRK were the private commercial radio channel P4 (which started broadcasting in 1994) and the TV channel TV2 (1992). In the last twenty-five years, NRK has also increased its number of television and radio channels.

In addition to the increase in the number of broadcast journalists (and the many new forms of journalistic specializations and work tasks associated with this form of journalism), other new entrants have also arrived in the form of journalists from the fast-growing specialist press and magazine press<sup>455</sup>, where professional journalists have become both common and numerous. In effect, these changes mean that journalists working in newspapers and news agencies (i.e. the most “traditional” mediums and types of work for journalists) today are on the verge of becoming a minority among NJs members<sup>456</sup>.

### **The decline of the party press**

From the sixties and onwards, the party press system was in decline for a variety of reasons, including “newspaper death” (which meant that many newspapers now became the only newspaper in a town, and had to serve more heterogeneous groups of readers and advertisers than before), the new radio and television journalism (which because of their monopoly situation and their perceived great impact had to strive for political neutrality in reporting)<sup>457</sup>, the establishment of a general state system of subsidies for struggling newspapers in 1969 (which made the financial support from political parties less necessary) and in changing roles for the traditional “oppositional” parts of the press, as labour governments from the mid-sixties and onwards were periodically replaced by other governments (often coalitions)<sup>458</sup>. This process can be observed in a number of ways, for example in reduction in the number of party

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<sup>455</sup> The Union of Editors of The Specialist Press <Fagpressens redaktørforening> was established 1973 with its own version of “Rights and duties for the editor”, and The Union of Specialist Press <Den Norske Fagpresses Forening> became a member of the Norwegian Press Association <Norsk Presseforbund> in 1996 (which also meant a formal commitment to its code of ethics and the “Rights and duties of the editor”. The Union of the Weekly and Magazine Press <Magasin og Ukepresse-føringen> became a member of the press association in 2005. Unfortunately, no good overviews of historical changes in the number of journalists in the specialist press and the magazine press are available.

<sup>456</sup> In my survey from 2005, less than half of the NJ journalists who answered were newspaper journalists (46%), 17% worked in NRK, 7% in commercial broadcasting, 4% in the specialist press and 6% in the magazine press.

<sup>457</sup> NRK from the 1930s - partly because of its monopoly on television and radio broadcasts until the 1980s – was from early on explicitly subject to a BBC-inspired code of “reliable, objective and impartial journalism” and inspired by a special national mission which differed from the ideals of the press (Halse 2000). The journalistic ideals of NRK appear to have become gradually less dissimilar to those of the press since the seventies, cf. Ottosen (1996:378, 496-515).

<sup>458</sup> Cf. Bastiansen and Dahl (2003:445-53). Similar political “shocks” to the traditional role of the oppositional press have been observed with the election of socialist François Mitterrand to the French presidency in 1981 and the election of Bill Clinton in 1993 (Benson 2006:192).

newspapers<sup>459</sup>, the appearance of a more offensive political reporting<sup>460</sup>, the success of the non-party press organizations (in particular NJ) at the expense of the party press organizations<sup>461</sup>, the decline of the number of politicians with backgrounds from the press (and vice versa)<sup>462</sup>, and in the way the press appeared to become less responsive to external criticism and pressure in the seventies and eighties, e.g. in their successful struggles against most forms of political and state pressures, such as the proposal for a governmental *ombudsman* for the press in the early 1990s, the reduced possibilities of legal sanctions against journalists' conduct and other forms of advantageous legalization (in particular, the "open files act" <Offentlighetsloven> of 1970 which gives anyone a right to insight into public/governmental documents)<sup>463</sup>. A specific legality of the press has also been increasingly recognized by the state and politicians, an example being that in the White Paper on press policies in 2001, the Labour government states that "... the mass media [has] a variety of functions and responsibilities in modern societies, among them to transmit information and supervise critically the use of public power. *For this reason, the government should not be the one to define or judge whether these responsibilities are met.*"<sup>464</sup>

### **A journalism for journalism's sake?**

The press in the post-war period, says Odd Raaum, if having become more entrenched in an economic logic<sup>465</sup>, have also become more and more dominated by a specific *journalistic* logic:

"As the bonds of loyalty between newspapers and political parties were relaxed, the situation changed fundamentally. The press soon declared itself independent from every form of special interest, and with this independence followed a sovereign right to themselves decide what the most interesting issues of the day were. Journalists and editors felt free to decide both issues and news angle, and the criteria should not be political relevance, defined by politicians, but *journalistic interest*, defined by journalists. The press declared themselves, in other words, as *libero* – in principle independent of anything outside their own journalistic judgement."<sup>466</sup>

One expression of this rising independence of the press and the appeal to an internal logic can be seen in the historical changes in the code of press ethics (where this theme has been a very explicit component since the 1975-version<sup>467</sup>), a process

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<sup>459</sup> During the period 1966 to 1990, the number of newspapers with a proclaimed political affiliation was reduced from 59% to 31% (from 64% to 32% of the total circulation). Source: Kulturdepartementet (1992:38).

<sup>460</sup> Raaum (1999:59-62).

<sup>461</sup> The party press organizations all transferred their collective bargaining rights to NJ during the early seventies.

<sup>462</sup> Bastiansen and Dahl (2003:448).

<sup>463</sup> Raaum (1999).

<sup>464</sup> Kulturdepartementet (2001:2.3.3), my emphasis.

<sup>465</sup> A similar conclusion is reached by Slaatta (2003:121).

<sup>466</sup> Raaum (1999:56), my emphasis.

<sup>467</sup> The relevant part of the 2005-version of this code, which is slightly expanded compared with the 1975-version is cited on page 186.

which Kathrine Sørum describes as a change from a focus on the press's *responsibilities* to the press's *rights*, and where the earlier stress on *carefulness* (in reporting) and the need for a *balance* between the press's need to inform and the consequences for the individuals concerned (e.g. a consequentialist ethical perspective) have been replaced by a stress on the *credibility* of the press, the press's *right to inform* and its role as a *protector of the freedom of speech*<sup>468</sup>.

Summing up: Even if still having a clearly troubled autonomy, the history of the press in Norway read from a field perspective seems to support a claim of a historical process where journalistic practice has moved towards that of a national social field as described by Bourdieu, as “the site of a logic and a necessity that are specific and irreducible to those that regulate other fields”<sup>469</sup>. The word “journalism” in Norway today not only denotes a specific occupational specialization, but also points to a social microcosm with many elements of what Bourdieu sees as constitutive of a social field: *specialized agents* (news journalists, sports journalists, culture journalists, editors, photographers etc.) and *specialized institutions* (the different publications, the different workers unions for journalists, smaller unions for journalistic specialization – like the associations of freelancers <Frilansforeningen> and sports journalists, the journalism schools, the Institute of Journalism, the conferences, the prizes for journalism etc.), and a considerable degree of *self-reflexivity*, “... a sort of critical turning in on itself, on its own principle, on its own premises.”<sup>470</sup>. Some examples of this latter is how recognition from outside (e.g. a prize from a business firm or by politicians) appears for most journalists often to be far less important than recognition by one's peers, the tendencies to reverse existing social hierarchies (for example in the way a conviction in court for refusing to name one's sources or struggles with politicians can give a journalist a certain status among colleges), or in the way the internal status hierarchy of journalists is quite different from what “outsiders” would probably guess if asked<sup>471</sup>.

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<sup>468</sup> Sørum (2006:115).

<sup>469</sup> Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992:97).

<sup>470</sup> Bourdieu ([1992] 1996:242).

<sup>471</sup> One should also note the way the individual journalist have become more visible, e.g. with their own *by-lines* (later, also for the photographer) becoming more common (Ottosen, Østbye and Røssland 2002:145).

**TABLE 8 MORPHOLOGICAL CHANGES IN THE NORWEGIAN JOURNALISTIC BODY, 1920-2005<sup>472</sup>**

Year	Number of newspapers	Number of weekly magazines	Number of national TV channels <sup>f</sup>	Number of national radio channels	Number of journalists (national census, SSB)	Members of unions of journalists (NJ) and editors (NR)	Percentage of female journalists NJ
1920	244	22	0	0	620	400	
1930	249	36	0	4	864	470	
1940	201	<sup>b</sup>	0	1	1321	540	
1950	207	<sup>b</sup>	0	1	1444	981	6%
1960	190	22	1	1	1811	1326	13%
1970	158	19	1	1	3008	1965	
1980	211 <sup>a</sup>	<sup>b</sup>	1	2	5536	3614 <sup>f</sup>	20%
1990	202	27 <sup>cd</sup>	3	2	8238	5932 <sup>g</sup>	30%
2000	218	43 <sup>c</sup>	5	4	<sup>e</sup>	9179 <sup>h</sup>	38%
2005	226	66 <sup>c</sup>	10	5	<sup>e</sup>	9419	41%

### The changing morphology of a profession

The post-war period in Norway saw a major growth in the number of journalists. In NJ, the largest professional union for journalists, the number of members tripled in the 70s to a little over three thousand in 1980, and nearly doubled again during the 80s to almost six thousand in 1990. In 2005, NJ had almost nine thousand members<sup>473</sup>. This growth, however, has been accompanied by a series of structural changes in the profession of which the projected map of the correspondence analysis of journalists is only a frozen moment.

Another very notable change is the *increasing number of female journalists*. Among NJs members, the proportion of females rose from 13% in 1960 to 41% in 2005. From being a small minority, females today outnumber men among the youngest journalists. However, as noted earlier, the Leadership survey of 2000 found that only 19% of the media elite were women<sup>474</sup>, and as we shall return to in more detail shortly, female journalists do more often occupy inferior positions and in the field and work in publications and specializations traditionally occupied by women (which, by the present geography of the journalistic field, amounts to much the same thing). Even so, there can be little doubt that this particular change has entailed an important social

<sup>472</sup> Sources 1920-1970: Lorentzen and Høyer (1976) and Werner (1966). Sources 1980-2005: Numbers of newspapers: Medienorge/Sigurd Høst. Numbers of magazines: MedieNorge. Number of journalists 1980 and 1990 from the national population censuses SSB (1981), SSB (1990). Notes: a= year 1978. b= no information. c = Members in The Union of the Weekly and Magazine Press (<Magasin- og ukepresseforeningen>). Note that this association only organize a limited number of Norway's weekly magazines. d= year 1991. e= a national census was done in 2001, but this survey did not include the question of occupation. Also, SSB have changed their occupational classification from NYK to ISCO-88, which makes the occupational statistics in 2000 and 2005 not comparable with earlier years. f= A national television channel is here defined as one which is accessible in the whole country (including satellite/cable transmission) and transmits in Norwegian. g= year 1991. h= year 2001. Percentage of female NJ members for 1950: Werner (1966), for 1960- 2005: NJ.

<sup>473</sup> It should be noted that the growth in the number of registered journalists is not exceptional, but appears comparable to a more general rise of professions in Norway in this period. The number of physicians, for example, rose from 2645 in 1945 to 18089 in 2005 (Source: NMA/Den Norske Legeforening).

<sup>474</sup> Gulbrandsen, Engelstad, Klausen, Skjeie, Teigen and Østerud (2002:49).

heterogenization of the journalistic field both generally and for more specific positions in it, with new types of habitus (and thus dispositions) entering and, in this way, bringing about a myriad of miniature symbolic (journalistic) revolutions<sup>475</sup>.

From table 42 (in the table appendix) we can also identify some other changes between the journalistic generations. First, journalists are also on average *becoming increasingly older when they enter the field*: the mean age for the first journalistic job held (full- or part-time) has increased by seven years since the sixties<sup>476</sup>. Second, the percentage with some form of *journalism education has been steadily rising* – from one in ten for those entering journalism in the sixties, to half of those who entered journalism in the last decade. Third, *the educational level has risen dramatically*, from the sixties when a journalist entering the profession was just as likely to not have any higher education as to have one, whereas today only one in twenty who enters the profession has not finished some form of higher education, and three out of four have studied for at least three years.

We can also observe some *changes in the types of education common for each journalistic generation*, in particular the rise of social sciences in the seventies vis-à-vis the humanities (since when they have been equally likely to figure in a journalist's background) and the much lower frequency of journalists with backgrounds from teaching from the eighties to the nineties<sup>477</sup>. Some changes have also taken place between the subjects internal to each discipline, for example the falling relative frequency of sociology and social anthropology vis-à-vis political science and media science, and the relative decline of language studies versus other studies in the humanities, in particular history<sup>478</sup>.

Finally, one should also note that the post-war years in Norway has also been a gradual *de-editorialising* of the journalistic body. Whereas in 1950 almost one in seven journalists was a member of The Norwegian Union of Editors, this figure has decreased to one in nine in 1970 and to one in fifteen in 2005. This increasing *journalistic proletarianization* has very likely had a range of important consequences, changing the journalistic majority's relationship to traditional ideals both journalistic and businesswise, contributing to an increased status and increased competition for

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<sup>475</sup> Cf. also footnote 667 and Bourdieu's discussion of the link between social recruitment and symbolic changes in the French academic field ([1984] 1988:143-147), a discussion which also have been partly referred to in section 3.4.

<sup>476</sup> Cf. table 42.

<sup>477</sup> Note that these – and similar discussions of changes between generations using these data from 2005 have a pronounced element of uncertainty, as we here do not allow for bias in defection. It is e.g. very difficult to judge to what degree the journalists who today are members in NJ/NR and started their first journalistic job in the seventies are representative of the same journalistic generation (of which many no doubt have left, for various reasons). Regarding the discussion of educational trends, there is also an additional uncertainty in that the journalists – to simplify the filling out the questionnaire - were not asked to specify at what time in their careers they completed the education (Q33-35). In some cases, journalists will no doubt have fulfilled higher education after their initial entrance to the profession. Even given these uncertainties, I believe that the major tendencies suggested are indicative of general changes in the recruitment between the different generations.

<sup>478</sup> For further discussion of the changing morphology of the Norwegian journalistic profession using biographical data (which also includes data for the pre-war period) see Høyer and Ihlen (1998).

editorial posts and minor and major crises of succession as an editorial job “in the future” become less and less probable in the eyes of the average journalist etc.

### **5.3 The Norwegian journalistic space, anno 2005**

For Bourdieu, the social world – including the social microcosms which he terms social fields - is fundamentally structured by objectively valuable, scarce resources (which he terms *capital*), which simultaneously function as forms of power, being “a force inscribed in the objectivity of things so that everything is not equally possible or impossible”<sup>479</sup> (a definition quite close to the classic definition by Weber of power as the probability that an actor is in a position to carry out his own will regardless of resistance<sup>480</sup>). Capital, for Bourdieu as for Marx, is a product of accumulated labour (by oneself or others)<sup>481</sup>, but to a greater extent than Marx, Bourdieu sees the possibilities for power in many different forms of labour outside the economic-industrial system, e.g. educational capital as the result of investments of time and resources in the educational system, social capital through time used at socialising, political capital gained through the use of time in the political system etc. Furthermore, Bourdieu sees each field as structured by the relation of various forms of capital which often will have little value in other fields (e.g. a journalistic prize may contribute to high symbolic capital in the journalistic field, but probably not in the scientific or political field, and vice versa).

To introduce the concept of *capital* in the understanding of journalistic practice means to see journalism as a micro-world of conflictual relations between journalists (as noted in chapter 2, one should always use the word “journalist” reluctantly, reminding oneself constantly of the problematic delimitations of agents inherent in the commonsensical use of the word) with different strengths and resources (which make it meaningful to speak of *journalistic classes* analogous to classes in the social space). As will be seen shortly, positions of prestige and internal recognition – for example to be a columnist in a national newspaper or winning the *Great prize for journalism* - are far from equally distributed, but vary with both the journalists’ social starting point and their social trajectory (their career in a broad sense, including also non-journalistic jobs held, education completed etc.), which have given them very unequal chances to accumulate capital in its various internal forms. The concept of capital thus applied means breaking with naive and native conceptions of “talent” and “determination”, and seeing journalism as a world where everything is not equally possible for everyone, and that this inequality is also linked to social inequality on a larger scale.

#### **Data and the statistical analysis**

The statistical analyses which are presented below are based on a random sample of members in the Norwegian Union of Journalists (NJ) and a complete sample of the Norwegian Union of Editors (NR). The data was produced by a mail survey in

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<sup>479</sup> Bourdieu ([1983] 1986:241).

<sup>480</sup> Weber ([1956] 1978:53).

<sup>481</sup> Bourdieu ([1983] 1986).

spring/summer 2005, where 45% responded (N=1203). A more detailed discussion of this survey and the methodology used in this project is provided in an appendix 1.

The technique used, multiple correspondence analysis (MCA) is a statistical technique which Bourdieu has used many times in his analysis of social spaces and fields, most famously in *Distinction* ([1979] 1984). It is a specific form of Geometric data analysis (GDA), closely related to principal component analysis, and aims to optimally represent a large set of categorical variables (*modalities*) and individuals as two superimposed *clouds of points* in a low-dimensional space. The distances are computed on the basis of the chi<sup>2</sup>-differences between attributes of the total set of modalities which form the basis of the statistical construction (in my case, their answers to selected questions in the questionnaire). As this procedure results in a high dimensional cloud of points which are unfit for viewing with human eyes, the distances in-between individuals (and modalities) are usually represented as a Cartesian system in two dimensions<sup>482</sup>, organized around the two principal axes which explain most of the variance (or, to use the terminology of French data analysis, its *inertia*) in the modalities<sup>483</sup>.

As Bourdieu often pointed out, he saw a close affinity between his theory of social fields and the use of correspondence analysis, describing it as a form of data analysis which was in close accordance with both his methodology and his theories of the nature of the social world<sup>484</sup>. Being a high-multivariate method which thinks in terms of relations and oppositions, he found correspondence analysis to be a very effective instrument of knowledge, helping to establish an epistemological break with traditional substantialist and realist reasoning traditionally dominant in discussions of power and social class<sup>485</sup> in favour of a more objectified - that is, a more scientific - object: "Although inaccessible to the unarmed intuition of ordinary experience, this space of invisible relations is more real than even the most obvious of the immediate facts that constitute commonsense knowledge..."<sup>486</sup>.

Note that correspondence analysis has, by its mathematical peculiarities, some particular properties. First, it is an *exploratory technique*, intended to reveal features and relationships in complex categorical data rather than to test hypotheses about causal relationships. Complying with prime inventor Jean-Paul Benzécri's well-known dictum that "The method must follow the data, and not the other way around."<sup>487</sup>, it is a

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<sup>482</sup> As this map is only the best approximation given the limitations of two dimensions, caution must be used when interpreting distances in the map: it is true that modalities close in the map *in general* (on average) tend to have a higher correlation than modalities with greater distance between them, but this is not necessarily true for two *particular* points. Thus, the map of MCA requires a form of interpretation where one looks at all the modalities simultaneously and tries to understand the basic principles of division which are at work.

<sup>483</sup> For an introduction to MCA and GDA, see *Geometric Data Analysis* (Le Roux and Rouanet 2004).

<sup>484</sup> Cf. Bourdieu and Krais ([1988] 1991) and Le Roux, Rouanet and Ackermann (2000).

<sup>485</sup> Cf. also footnote 282.

<sup>486</sup> Bourdieu ([1989] 1996:264).

<sup>487</sup> Benzécri (1973:6).



method which makes very few assumptions on the underlying structures of the data<sup>488</sup>, and – even more importantly – it is a *structural technique*: like other scaling techniques and cluster analysis, it looks for unobserved “latent” variables/dimensions which “explain” the observed interrelationships between the analysed variables<sup>489</sup>. So for example, rather than aiming to produce an optimal two-dimensional map of the correlations between the categories (which are the usual aim of MDS), correspondence analysis is a technique which are primarily “interested” in the major, latent bipolar oppositions in the data which best explain the overall distribution of the data in the cross-tables.

### The space of Norwegian journalists 2005

The analysis suggests that the space of Norwegian journalists in 2005 (Fig. II) was principally organized around two hierarchical principles of division; a first division of *seniority* and the *volume of field-specific capital*, and a second *internal division* which separates journalists according to their volume of *journalistic* (symbolic) *capital*. To these oppositions, however, there are many concurrent oppositions which together help establish the specific logic and cosmology of the Norwegian journalistic field.

The first principle of division (north-south in the map) is one of *seniority*, as it opposes the older journalists to the younger journalists. Not unexpectedly, as capital takes time to accumulate<sup>490</sup>, this is also to a large degree a division in the *field-specific volume of capital*, where the younger journalists are defined most of all negatively, that is to say, by their general lack of it. It is also an opposition of *male vs. female*, partly reflecting the historically increasing proportion of female journalists (which makes them on average four years younger than the males), but, as we shall shortly see, also reflects their generally subordinate position in the field.

If we examine how these differences in age, gender, habitus and capital volume are related to positions in the journalistic universe, we see some interesting features. First, the axis opposes the (older) journalists working in *newspapers* (local and regional newspapers in particular) to those working in *broadcasting* (in this way, also reflecting an opposition of seniority at the institutional level, separating “older” and “traditional” publications and types of mediums from younger), and those working in the *most traditional subjects of journalism* (politics, foreign, national and local news, sports and crime) to *subjects which are less compliant with reigning journalistic ideals*, like lifestyles, consumer affairs and entertainment, which are commonly dealt with by younger journalists. Culture journalism is also located at the lower rung of this

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<sup>488</sup> In contrast to, for example, classical simple factor analysis, which assumes that the data are normally distributed and a linear relationship between the variables (which MCA does not). It goes, however, without saying that CA/MCA necessarily do, like every other statistical method, impose some kind of structure on the data, cf. Greenacre (1994), for example in the choice of the  $\chi^2$ -metric for measuring distances between categories (opposed to, say, Pearson’s R).

<sup>489</sup> Functional methods, by contrast, like traditional types of regression analysis and classification (e.g. discriminant analysis) try to explain observed response by other variables in the dataset (Lecture by Michael Greenacre March 2002 at the spring seminar of Zentralarchiv für Empirische Sozialforschung, Universität zu Köln).

<sup>490</sup> Bourdieu ([1983] 1986:241).

hierarchy, being more often the affairs of young and female journalists, whereas politics, foreign news, crime and sports are located higher according to an inverse logic.

It almost goes without saying that the younger, dominated pole of this axis is also characterized not only by *very different lifestyles and cultural dispositions* (they are more often single, without children, they read more literature, they are less interested in reading about sports but more in the subjects of culture, trends and health etc.), but also by *inferior wages and working conditions* (they more often report high levels of stress, being unsatisfied with work, having only temporary contracts, finding the working environment unfriendly etc.).

The second principle of division (left-right in the map) appears predominantly as *a volume axis of journalistic capital*, as almost every indicator for journalistic power and prestige is situated on the left of the axis. Placed towards the left dominant pole we find those who have won or been in the juries for the most prestigious journalistic prizes (the SKUP-prize and The Grand prize for Journalism <Den store journalistprisen>), those who have occupied the most important positions in both the union of journalists (NJ) and editors (NR), and the ones being selected for important committee work. In this way, they are in a very privileged position to influence journalistic ideals and norms – and thus the nature of journalistic capital - according to their own inclinations. They are more likely to have published a scientific article on the subject of journalism and to have a master's degree, which means that they are able to bring a certain *scientific capital* as a weapon in journalistic struggles. They also more often participate directly in the *reproduction of the corps* by lecturing and censoring the next generation of journalists (at IJ<sup>491</sup> and academic institutions). And unlike more specialized social fields (e.g. the mathematical field), the position of internal status in the journalistic field is also linked with *public notoriety* (for example, they are much more likely to have had their picture in a national paper in the last year or appeared on television<sup>492</sup>).

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<sup>491</sup> The Institute of Journalism (IJ) is a centre of journalism education and research founded in 1975, financed by the principal press organizations. It is the most important centre for journalistic in-service training in Norway outside the media firms themselves, offering many shorter (usually practical) courses for working journalists.

<sup>492</sup> Note that the question in the questionnaire (Q19d) stressed that one should not count by-line-photos.

## THE ANALYSIS OF CORRESPONDENCES (The Norwegian journalistic space 2005)

THE SELECTION OF ACTIVE MODALITIES AND INDIVIDUALS. To reconstruct the main oppositions of the Norwegian journalistic field, the relative distribution of the journalist's habituses and their position in the relative distribution of various forms of power (capital) in the journalistic universe, that is, trying to follow the sociological and methodological programme for a field analysis exemplified by Bourdieu's analyses of other social fields, a series of multiple correspondence analyses (MCA<sup>493</sup>) was done on a statistical sample of Norwegian journalists and editors. In the end, a solution was chosen where the following 12 questions and 49 modalities<sup>494</sup> were chosen as active categories, which for purposes of presentation can be roughly grouped into three (not mutually exclusive) categories:

**Indicators of inherited capital (3 variables, 9 modalities):** *fathers occupation* (3 modalities: public sector, education, culture / private sector, technician, clerk / agriculture, fishing, manual work), *mothers occupation* (3 modalities, like father), *father or mother having held political office* (3 modalities: father or mother held national or regional political office / local political office / no political office).

**Indicators of educational capital and educational career (2 variables, 7 modalities):** *educational level* (4 modalities: no higher education / 1-2 years of higher education / 3-4 years / 5 or more years), *type of journalism education* (3 modalities: journalism education at one of the university colleges of Oslo, Volda, Stavanger or Bodø / other journalistic education / no formal journalistic education).

**Indicators of various forms of specific capital and professional career (7 variables, 33 modalities):** *number of years having worked as a journalist* (3 modalities: < 10 years / 10-20 years / >20 years), *having received a major journalistic prize* (3 modalities: SKUP or The Great Prize for Journalism <Den store journalistprisen> / other prize for journalism / no prize), *having been on a jury for a journalistic prize* (2 modalities: yes / no), *office in the press organizations* (3 modalities: national function / local/regional function / no function), *being (now or earlier) in the top management of a media firm/publication* (3 modalities: large publication / smaller publication / no)<sup>495</sup>, *being (now or earlier) in the middle management of a media firm/publication* (3 modalities: large publication / smaller publication / no), *current employer* (14 modalities: NRK / NRK regional-district / TV2, other national commercial broadcaster or television production company / VG or Dagbladet / leading regional newspapers (Stavanger Aftenblad, Bergens Tidende, Adresseavisen, Aftenposten) / other national- or large city-newspaper / large local newspaper / medium local newspaper / small local newspaper / non-daily local newspaper / weekly press / specialist press / freelancer / unknown).

A meticulous discussion of all the considerations which went into the choice of active variables and their final coding would be very extensive. In addition to the limitations inherent in the design of the questionnaire, it was the result of a long series of correspondence analyses where different analytical strategies, each with its own set of variables and coding were tried out. As will be apparent to anyone who studies the questionnaire, the coding of the active variables in the final analysis is very simple compared to the information available (especially since many of the central variables were open questions). There are several reasons for this. First, capital is by definition a scarce resource, and in practice many important distinctions – for example between

<sup>493</sup> More precisely, this is a variant of MCA termed "specific MCA" (Le Roux and Rouanet 2004:203).

<sup>494</sup> The original 12 variables included 54 modalities, but 5 modalities (all "missing/no answer") were eliminated from the list of active modalities because of their low frequency, as recommended by Le Roux and Rouanet (2004:216).

<sup>495</sup> Rather than trying to measure "economic strength" of a publication directly, I have chosen instead to use the number of registered NJ members (indicating of the total number of editorial staff) as a general indicator of both the economic and symbolic "weight" of a publication. Local newspapers with less than 20 registered NJ members are in this analysis classified as "small", 20-44 as "medium" and those with more as "large". A similar logic is used to distinguish between "small" (<25 NJ members) and "large" (25+) media firms.

winning a SKUP prize (which are given for concrete examples of “investigating journalism”) and “the Great prize for journalism” (which is a more general “honour prize”) – had to be merged into the same category to avoid categories with very small frequencies. This because of the “five-percent rule”, as recommended by Le Roux and Rouanet (2004:216), as small categories have a tendency to introduce a large amount of variance and thus strongly the determination of the axes (Ibid.203). Second, for similar reasons, many interesting variables – for example if the respondent had written a scientific book or article (indicating possible scientific capital) – were so rare that they had to be excluded. Third, because the contribution of a variable to the variance of the cloud is also a function of its coding (the greater the number of modalities, the more variance), Le Roux and Rouanet advise that the number of modalities for each variable should ideally be roughly equal (Ibid.193,214). As most of the indicators of capital were – for reasons discussed above - in the form of 3-4 modalities pr. variable, this suggested a similar simple coding also for the indicators of inherited capital and educational career. An exception was made for the respondent’s current place of work, which was coded in 14 categories<sup>496</sup>. Finally, several interesting indicators were not included because they correlated too strongly with already included variables, and thereby destabilized the construction (a Guttman-effect)<sup>497</sup>. Note that the decision to make a variable a passive point in the construction for statistical reasons must of course not be confused with a lesser analytical importance when interpreting the structure of the space.<sup>498</sup>

This statistical model of the space of Norwegian journalists and editors is based on data from a survey of members of the Norwegian Union of Journalists (NJ) and the Norwegian Union of Editors (NR) in the summer of 2005. 958 of the 1203 respondents were included as *active individuals* (who influence the statistical construction). 245 respondents were given the status of *passive individuals* (who do not). 217 of the excluded were NJ members with no current journalistic employment, like students of journalism and retired journalists

<sup>496</sup> Because the analysis aims to construct the main structure of a social field, which according to Bourdieu equals the distribution of capital, I tried to use only indicators of capital to build the model. Indicators of current position (for example being an editor, or a sport photographer) were seen as variables which should be “explained” by the distribution of capital, and were therefore given the status as passive (supplementary) variables which were later projected onto the map. But as position and capital are, so to speak, two sides of the same coin (the former also being an expression of the latter), a clean separation between capital and current position proved extremely difficult to implement. Many of the indicators of capital in the questionnaire do not separate between current and previous positions (e.g. holding an office in a press organization, or winning a journalistic award). Also, even if the inclusion of the current type of publication as an active variable was done to include residual types of capital not covered by the other indicators, this variable clearly also contain information of current position. Note however, that this indicator has a relatively small influence on the total statistical construction (5% of the orientation of axis 1 and 26% of axis 2 are due to its contribution).

<sup>497</sup> For example, the question whether the father or mother was a journalist is analytically a clearly important indicator of inherited capital in the field, which can be thought important both for the formation of a journalistic habitus and as a form of social capital which probably will make it easier to get a job in a prestigious publication. The inclusion of this variable in the construction, however, only fortified the existing construction and added little new information. In the same way, an index of parents’ cultural capital paralleled very closely the existing indicators of parent’s occupation and was therefore dropped.

<sup>498</sup> Even if the many methodological problems discussed easily can give the impression of an unstable and thus unreliable construction, the problems discussed here are quite normal for the use of correspondence analysis on this type of data. Note also that unlike many statistical techniques where small changes in the variables used often make dramatic changes in the resulting model (e.g. hierarchical cluster analysis), correspondence analysis is, in contrast, a *complexity-reducing* technique which aims to unveil fundamental structures in the data (e.g. the axes). In this analysis, the same two oppositions (axes) turned up again and again with only minor variations while using very different configuration of variables. For an example of an alternative statistical construction of the space which gives nearly identical axes, see Hovden (2006).

who still retained their memberships<sup>499</sup>. The exclusion of non-working members of NJ from the analysis is not without its problems, as one by this operation very probably do exclude some persons who are likely to be active agents in the field (sharing the *illusio* and participating in various journalistic struggles)<sup>500</sup>. The goal of this particular analysis, however, is not to faithfully include all “members” and exclude “non-members” (a task which would in any case be extremely difficult because such an operation in reality requires intricate knowledge of the persons far extending the anonymous information provided in a questionnaire, e.g. it is perfectly possible that of two press researchers, working at the same academic institution, only one is an active participant in the field): it is *to reconstruct the main oppositions of the field* the general distribution of the important forms of capital and habituses. In this way, for example, excluding the students from the analysis probably results in little loss of information, as most of them will have the lowest possible score on all indicators of capital.

When doing the initial correspondence analyses with all respondents as active points, the result was usually a variant – of varying strength – of what in MCA is termed a “Guttman effect” (or “horseshoe effect”): the modalities took on a parabolic shape in the factorplane with the oldest (retired) journalists and the youngest (student) journalists sited on opposite ends, suggesting an underlying quasi-functional relationship in the data (Ibid.220). In other words, the differences between the youngest (the students) and the oldest (the retired) journalists – not only in terms of capital, but also in the educational and social indicators<sup>501</sup> – tended to influence the orientation of the principal axes so strongly that all other differences in the data were obscured. Even if this is a “correct” result from a purely statistical point of view (given the data and its coding), it is not very interesting sociologically, because the analysis is unable to bring out the finer interrelationships between the agents as a whole<sup>502</sup>. Because of these factors, the students and retired journalists were reclassified into passive individuals. Also, because I wanted to include a question on the current place of work as an active variable, all journalists with no current place of work were omitted.

Because the members of the journalists and the editors unions (NJ and NR) constitute two samples with very unequal chances of being selected for participation in the survey (an editor was approximately four times as likely as a journalist to receive the survey, cf. appendix 1), the analysis was weighted accordingly.

GEOMETRIC ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF AXES. We have 12 active questions (Q) and 49 active modalities (K), and the total variance of the cloud is given by  $(K-Q)/Q = (49-12)/12=3.08$ . The number of nontrivial principal axes are  $K-Q = 37$ , and the mean of the eigenvalues  $\bar{\lambda} = 3.08 / 37 = .0833$ . 17 eigenvalues exceeds  $\bar{\lambda}$ . The variances (eigenvalues) and percentage of the total inertia (raw and modified inertia) for the first six principal axes are shown below:

<sup>499</sup> 65 “pensioners”, 63 “service members”, 79 “journalism students”, and 10 persons “continuing education” in NJs membership categories. In addition, 28 persons were excluded from the analysis because they gave incomplete answers to many of the questions used in the analysis.

<sup>500</sup> For example, more than one third of Norwegian journalism students who started their studies in 2005 have previously held paid jobs in journalism, 15% of them full-time (Bjørnsen, Hovden, Ottosen et al. 2007). Also, many combine part-time journalistic jobs with their studies. As regards the retired journalists, some of them retain close ties with the world of journalism, staying on as regular columnists, sitting on various committees of the press organizations etc.

<sup>501</sup> Not only do all students by definition have a formal journalism education and higher education, something which is true for a minority of the retired journalists (where 12% had a formal journalism education, and 42% a higher education), but the students were also twice as likely as the retired journalists to be female, 12 times as likely to have a mother which worked outside the home etc.

<sup>502</sup> Also, the differences in habitus between the older and younger journalists are very probably also somewhat exaggerated in this analysis, because the same statistical categories (e.g. having a father who were a common teacher) will refer to very different positions in the social space if one were born in the 1940s or the 1980s.

Axes	1	2	3	4	5	6
Variance ( $\lambda$ )	.1810	.1296	.1140	.1131	.1109	.1079
Inertia Rates	5.86%	4.20%	3.69%	3.66%	3.59%	3.49%
Modified Rates	59%	13%	6%	6%	5%	4%
Cumulative modified Rates	59%	72%	78%	84%	88%	92%

Because in MCA the number of active variables influences the maximum percentage of the total variance a principal axis can explain, the raw inertia rates understate the explanatory power of the model. I have therefore added Benzécri's modified rates, which are considered to give a more realistic estimate (Ibid.200). The first axis explains 59% and the second 13% of the inertia in the tables – 72% combined, whereas axis 3-6 each explain between 6-4%. The combination of a clear “drop” in the explained inertia after the second axis and the finding that the third axis is unstable vis-à-vis the fourth axis according to Michael Greenacre's (1984:213) criteria for internal stability suggests that the interpretation should be restricted to only the first two axes of the solution.

To interpret an axis in correspondence analysis, says Benzecri, amounts to studying the internal similarities between the modalities that are grouped on each pole of the axis, and then try to understand the underlying opposition underlying the two extremes (cited in Le Roux and Rouanet 2004:49). For this purpose, one will usually use a threshold value for deciding which modalities are most important. Here I will follow the suggestions of Michael Jambu (1991:286), that all modalities that contribute as much as the average or more to the orientation of the axis (given by 1/Q) are considered as the *explicative categories* for this axis, and those modalities which have an explained variance above average are considered as *explained categories*. Following the advice of Le Roux and Rouanet (2004:49), both types of categories will be used in the interpretation of the model, which are given for axis 1 and 2 in the table below. The weight, inertia, coordinates, absolute and relative contributions for axis 1-2 are given in table 41, and the localisation of the active categories in the plane of axis 1 and 2 are shown in figure 17 (both in appendix 2).

**TABLE 9 THE JOURNALISTIC SPACE. EXPLICATIVE (ITALICS) AND EXPLAINED CATEGORIES. ABSOLUTE CONTRIBUTIONS.**

-----Axis 1-----		-----Axis 2-----	
-	+	-	+
<i>Mother in public sector/edu/culture .115</i>	<i>&gt;20 years of journalistic experience .132</i>	<i>Mother manual worker .083</i>	<i>Middle management for a large media firm .139</i>
<i>&lt;10 years of journalistic experience .101</i>	<i>No higher education .115</i>	Magazine .061	Office in national press organization .081
Jour. education at state school .050	<i>Mother no occupation .105</i>	Father manual worker .055	NRK .048
Father in public sector/edu/culture .039	Father manual worker .055	Small, non-daily newspaper .029	Mother in public sector/edu/culture .042
3-4 years of higher education 0.39	No journalism education .041	<10 years of journ. experience .025	Father or mother political office on national level .040
Journalism education, other .037	Top management for a large media firm/publ. .023	Father or mother no political office .009	Father in public sector/edu/culture .036
		No journalistic prize .006	Top management for a large media firm/publ. .036
		No middle management of a media firm/publ .001	Jury for journalistic prize .036
		No top management of a media firm/publ .001	Small national / non-leading city press .034
			VG / Dagbladet .022

**Interpretation of Axis 1 ( $\lambda_1 = .1810$ ):** Looking first at the explicative and explained categories, we find that most of the contributions to this axis are related to having long (>20 years) vs. short (<10 years) journalistic experience (23% of the total contribution to the axis orientation come from this opposition), no higher education (or journalism education) vs. 3-4 years of higher education and a journalism education (23%), and

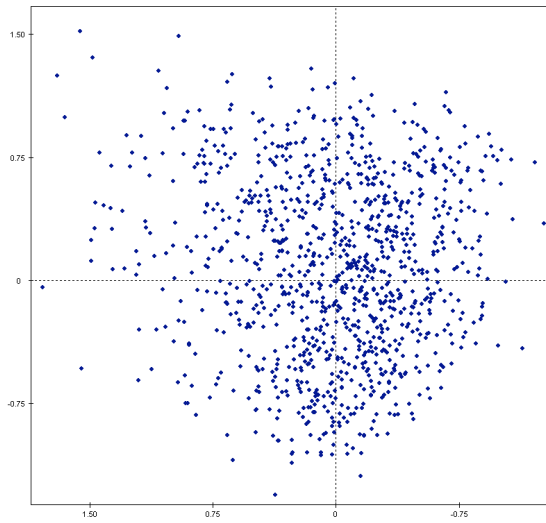
having a father who was a manual worker and a mother who had no occupation vs. having a father or mother working in the public sector, education or culture vs. (31%). The first axis thus separates the older journalists from the younger ones, who differ in both in the indicators of inherited social capital and educational career. Also, we find that being in the top management of a large media firm is an explicative point located on the top pole of the axis, indicating that the axis is also related to internal capital and prestige. By inspecting at the location of all active categories on the map (figure 17), we see that all the indicators of various forms of internal capital (receiving a journalistic prize, being a jury member, having been an editor or in the middle management, holding an office in the press organisations etc.) are all located towards the upper pole, strengthening the interpretation that the first axis is also, not unexpectedly, one of capital volume.

Interpretation of Axis 2 ( $\lambda_2 = .1296$ ): The second axis is more complex than the first one, its orientation being determined by several kinds of coordinated oppositions: first, it separates journalists with experience from the top- and middle management of large media firms (editors, sub-editors, producers etc.) from those without such experience (18%), and also those with various forms of journalistic distinction (national office in a press organisation, jury for journalistic prize) from those without (13%). Furthermore, it opposes those working in the weekly press and the smallest, non-daily newspapers from NRK, the largest tabloids and the smaller national/city press (19%). Finally, it appears to separate out those with parents having held a national political office from those with no political office at all (5%) and also those with parents working in the public sector, education and culture (8%). The second axis in this way appears to distinguish between those with high vs. low indicators of internal prestige, both personally and on an institutional level, which is linked to a social opposition. Looking closer at the dispersion of the remaining categories, we also see that this opposition simultaneously opposes publications located in Oslo, one of the largest cities versus local media.

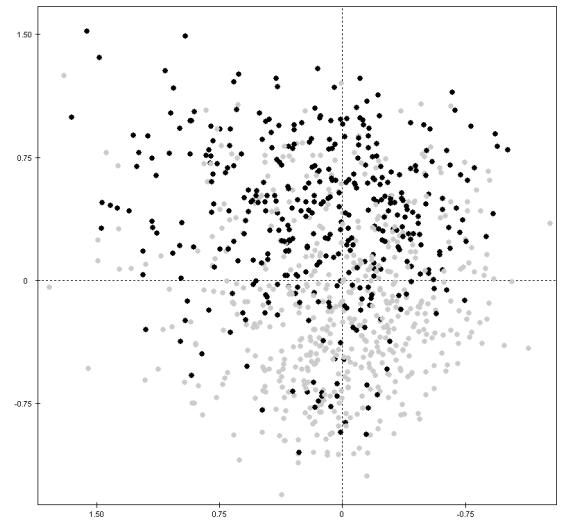
**THE CLOUD OF INDIVIDUALS.** To further the interpretation, it is also recommended to look at the cloud of individuals, how the individual respondents are dispersed in the plane (Le Roux and Rouanet 2004:531). This distribution is shown in figure 10 (top left figure). The cloud of individuals appears to have a roughly ellipsoid shape with a hint of triangularity (with the points of the triangle located in the lower middle, upper left and upper right part of the map), indicating that the variables selected for the analysis separate better among the older individuals than the younger ones (who are placed in the lower part of the map), which is not surprising given that the younger journalists, who are characterised by their general lack of capital, will have a greater tendency to homogenous answers on the variables (we can note some outliers in particular on the left side of the map, who are individuals who have high values on most or all indicators of journalistic capital). Also, the relative lower density in the far left part of the cloud can probably be attributed to the fact that individuals who combine many indicators of high internal capital are rare.

To illustrate the general distributional logic of this space, figure 10 also shows the distribution of some selected properties: older and younger journalists (top right), females vs. males (middle left), recipients of journalistic prizes (middle right), having held an office in NJ or NR (lower left) and working in a national publication/broadcasting vs. a local one (lower right). In addition to the general tendency of journalists endowed with journalistic power and status to be placed on the left/upper left section, one should also here note the condensation of the female journalists towards the lower right section of the map, a region of those doubly dominated by their low age and lack of internal journalistic prestige.

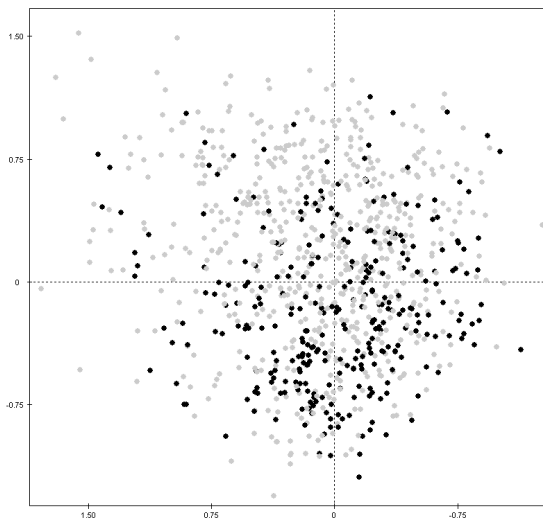
**FIGURE 10 THE NORWEGIAN JOURNALISTIC SPACE. MCA. THE CLOUD OF INDIVIDUALS. JOURNALISTS AND EDITORS 2005.**



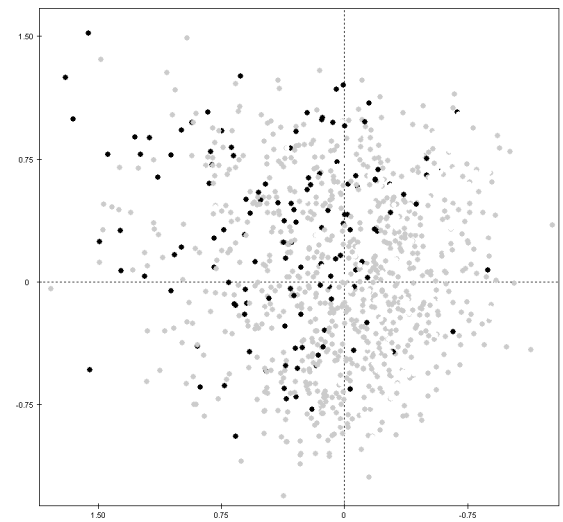
All active individuals



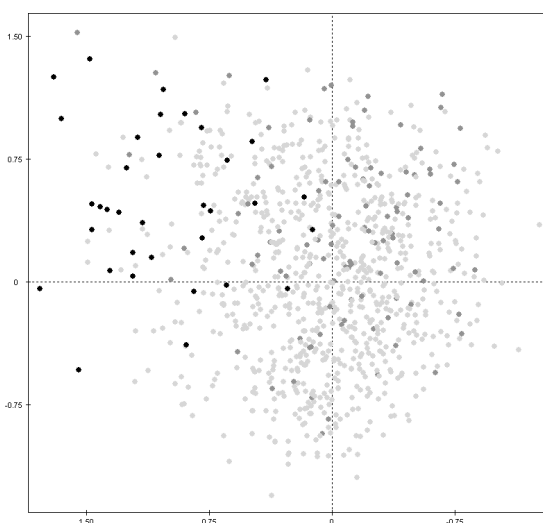
Born < 1960 (black) vs. born 1960- (grey)



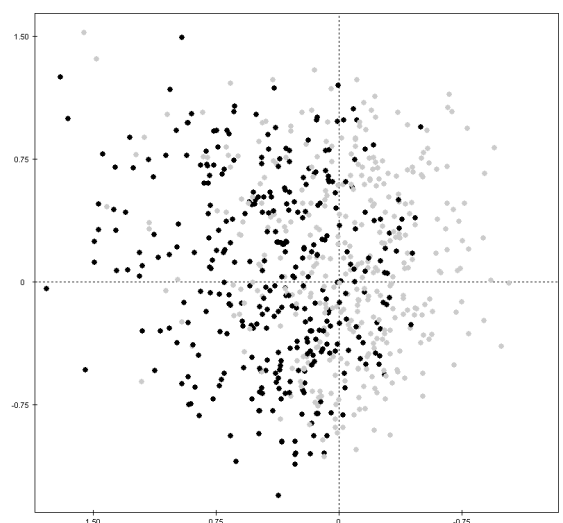
Females (black) vs. males (grey)



Have received a journalistic prize (black)



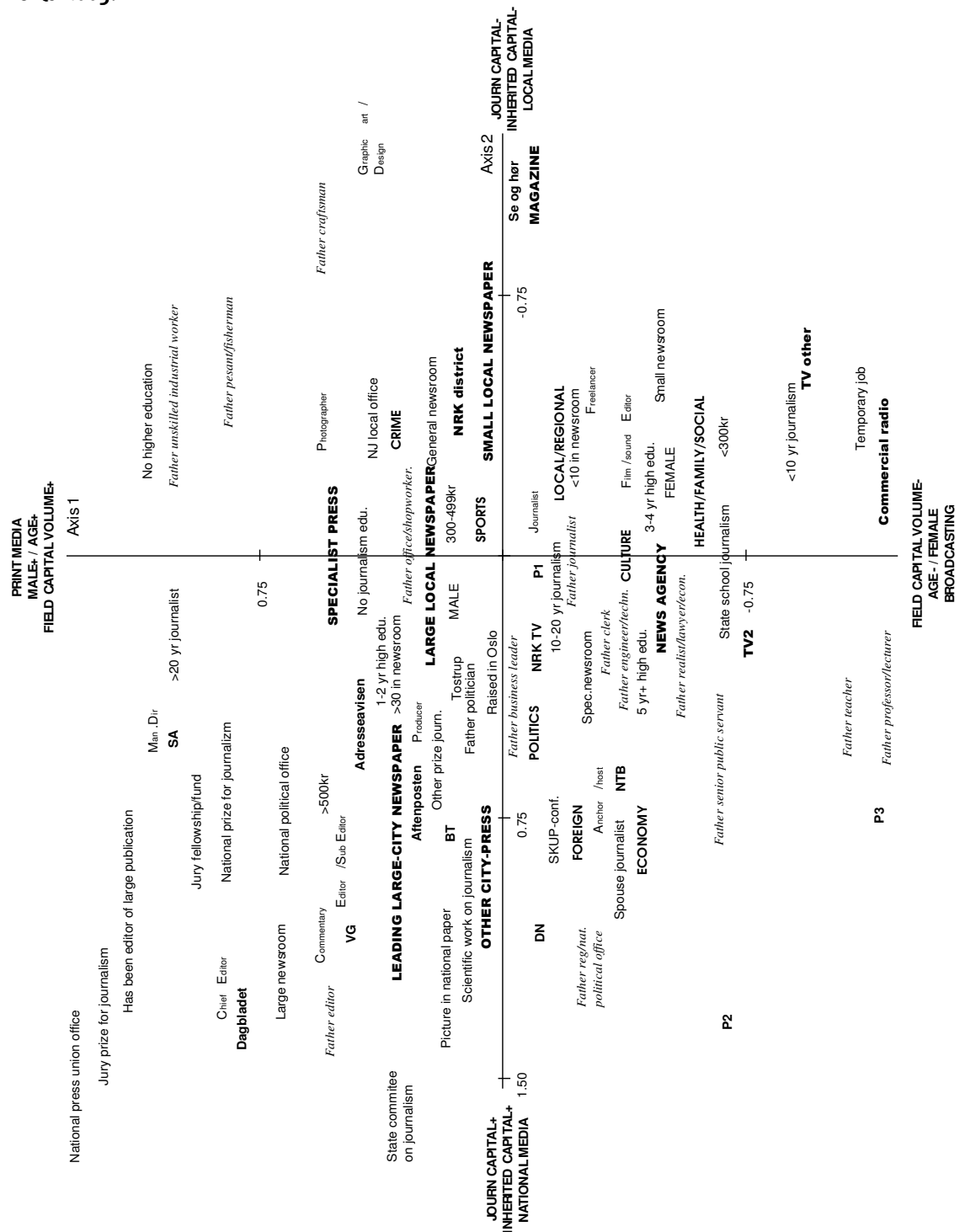
National journalistic office (black), local office (dark grey), no office (light grey).



Major city publication (black) vs. local (grey)



FIGURE 11 THE NORWEGIAN JOURNALISTIC SPACE. MCA. AXIS 1-2<sup>503</sup>. JOURNALISTS AND EDITORS 2005.



<sup>503</sup> Only modalities with a statistically significant (95%) distance to one of the axes are shown in the map. The test used is the one described in Lebart, Morineau and Piron (1995:181-4). Note also that the map has been somewhat manipulated. To improve readability, the placement of some categories has been moved slightly to avoid superimposition. This applies first and foremost to the most crowded sections of the map (in particular in the middle). Also, the most outlying categories on the map have been moved slightly towards the centre (they are now placed on the margins of the map). These changes should, however, not change the overall interpretation of the map.

The accumulation of journalistic capital is not distributed evenly, but tends to proliferate around certain journalistic specializations and publications. Not surprisingly, the axis follows an *organizational hierarchy in news organizations*, with editors, sub-editors and various types of foremen on the left and basic journalists and non-journalistic specialists (including graphic designers and video editors) located on the right. Secondly, we find that the same axis divides journalists in the *large national newspapers* and (to some lesser degree) the state-owned public broadcaster *NRK* from those working in *magazines* and *local newspapers*. Simultaneously, the axis separates some of *the most prestigious journalistic subjects* (foreign news, political news and economy) against the beats of medium (sports, crime) and low journalistic prestige (celebrities, lifestyle, health, and consumer)<sup>504</sup>. Note also that the propensity to deal with national political subjects is related to higher indicators of *political capital*, not only for the journalists (who are more likely to have held a position in a national political party), but also by (more often than other journalists) having fathers with political experience from local and national politics.

Journalistic status and power are not independent of social chances. The closer to the pole of status and power you are in this universe, the more likely it is that your father was an editor rather than a regular journalist, a headmaster or a secondary teacher rather than a primary school teacher, or a managing director rather than an industrial worker. This specific journalistic hierarchy is thus also a *social hierarchy*, separating those raised in families with more capital (in particular, educational capital and cultural capital) from those with less privileged backgrounds. Finally, the second axis is also a principle of individual *seniority in the field*, as second-generation journalists are much more likely than first-generation journalists to gather towards the dominant pole, indicating thus a tendency to a *direct social reproduction of the journalistic corps*.

Summing up, we can identify some different regions in the constructed space. In the sector of great journalistic prestige (the region combining seniority and journalistic capital, north-west in the map) we find the largest newspapers and specialist press, the great editors, columnists and almost every sign of journalistic capital: editorial control, prizes, juries, control over unions, public notoriety etc. They are opposed to both the journalists who combine seniority with less journalistic capital, usually working in regional or local newspapers (north-east) and the younger masters (in the double sense), the inheritors in the south-west region, many of them in public broadcasting and in somewhat smaller but prestigious newspapers like *Klassekampen* and *Dagens Næringsliv*. In the region of the lowest journalistic prestige (south-east), we find the young journalists – often women and in temporary jobs – who find themselves working

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<sup>504</sup> An seemingly contradictory finding is that those who have written “entertainment” as their main specialization are located on the left and thus at the dominant pole. A closer look, however, reveals that the members in this category are relatively old (mean age is 42), have long journalistic experience (16 years on average) and work mainly in national television. Knowing that many of the most well-known television “entertainers” in Norway have long successful journalistic careers behind them, this placement seems less puzzling. Just two examples are Nils Gunnar Lie (a breakfast television host on TV2, who for many years worked in *NRK Dagsnytt* and *Dagsrevyen* – probably the two most prestigious news programs in radio and television) and Anne Grosvold (hosting various popular talk shows on NRK, who also has worked in *Dagsrevyen* and been the foreign correspondent in Asia for NRK).

with subjects and in publications which are farthest from the hegemonic ideals of what a journalist ought to be or do. This is also the most feminized region of the field<sup>505</sup>.

### **Some further properties of the journalistic space**

To further our understanding of the constructed journalistic space, and offer the reader a better opportunity to verify some of my interpretations, I have divided the first two dimensions of the map in figure 11 into nine regions. The vertical dimension is divided into three regions – labelled “upper”, “middle” and “lower” region to remind us of the axis’ hierarchical nature (of field-specific capital volume), and crossed it with a similar division of the horizontal dimension, which we for the sake of simplicity will label “High journalistic capital”, “medium journalistic capital” and “low journalistic capital”. Together, they combine to make the 9 regions of the journalistic space illustrated in figure 12, with roughly the same size both spatially and in terms of individuals. Furthermore, I have constructed two tables – one with a selection of demographic indicators and indicators of inherited capital (table 10), and one with indicators of journalistic capital (table 11)<sup>506</sup>.

As one should expect, the distribution of capital - inherited and otherwise – in general supports the interpretation suggested above, but offers some nuances. First, being somewhat obscured in the former analysis, we see that female journalists, relatively regardless of age, more often than men are regulated to the dominated pole of journalistic capital (towards the right), suggesting a systematic male bias in the logic of the field. This bias is related not only to the low status of the journalistic publications and specializations where women are numerous, but also very probably to more general inequalities related to the sexual division of labour in society (especially with regards to childcare<sup>507</sup>), which makes it more likely for a female journalist to make sacrifices and career adjustments which are less likely to accumulate capital in the field (one woman I interviewed quit a prestigious position in a major city newspaper for a job in a celebrity

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<sup>505</sup> This dominated position of female journalists in Norwegian journalism appears to be quite similar to the situation in most other western countries, cf. Zooren (1994:49-65). Cf. also the comprehensive discussions of gender patterns in Swedish journalism by Monika Djærf-Pierre (2005, 2007) which appear to strongly parallel both the history and current situation in Norway, arguing for a similarly strongly gendered nature of the journalistic field in Sweden. For a more general discussion of female journalist’s position in Norway, cf. Eide (2000a, 2001a). Note that if it is generally correct to say that the Norwegian journalistic field is “gendered”, such simple descriptions may easily lend themselves to a form of essentialist conception of gender (cf Bourdieu 1999). One must expect, in the journalistic field as in the overall social space, that “gender differences” vary much with social background and position in the field, cf. Bourdieu ([1979] 1984:107)

<sup>506</sup> Except for a wish to make the segments roughly similar in terms of their spatial dimensions and number of active individuals, the segmentation into 3x3 classes is just for simplicity. One could just as well have made a 4x4 or a 8x8 partition of the same space – the point is to look at the relative differences underlying the logic of this space, not to try to construct “journalistic classes”. The logic of this presentation of regions in the journalistic space I have borrowed from Lennard Rosenlund, who uses a similar strategy in his presentation of the social space of Stavanger (Rosenlund 2000:113).

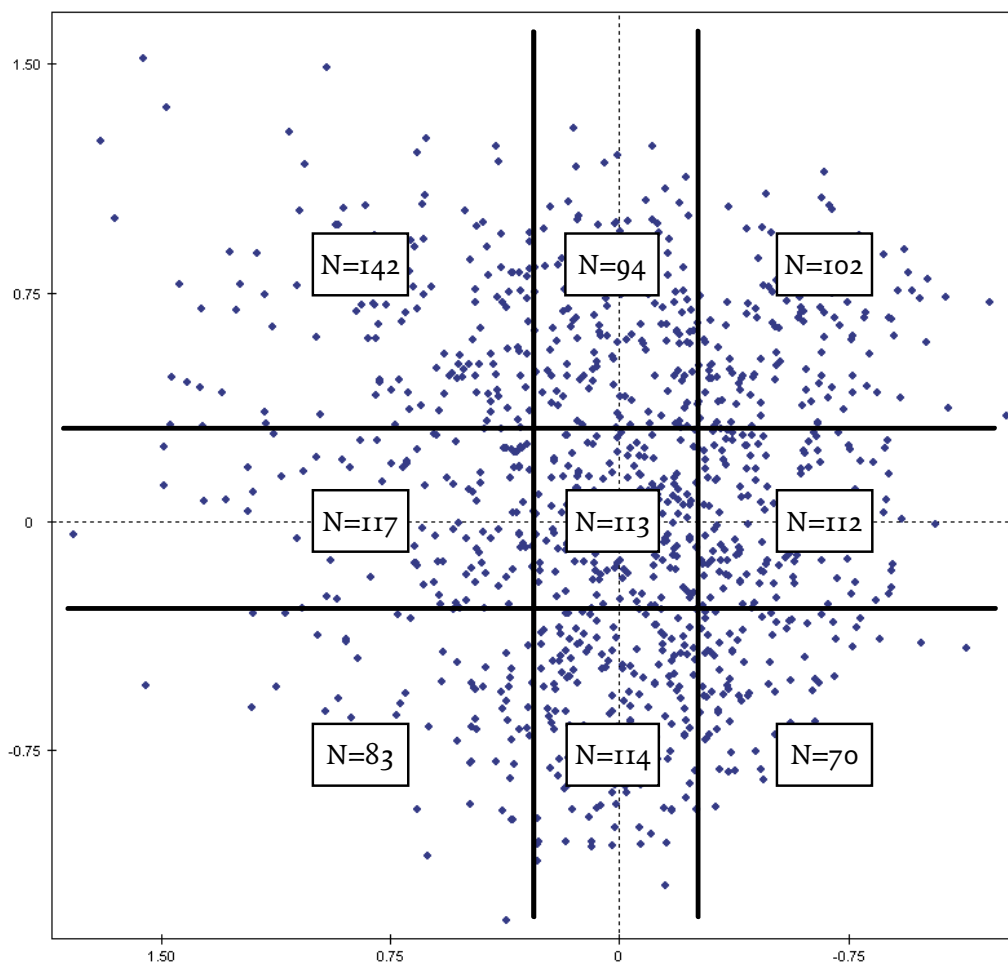
<sup>507</sup> E.g. Randi Hege Kitterød (2003), analyzing time studies-data from 2000/1, found that Norwegian mothers with children spend twice as much time on housework and childcare as their spouses.

magazine, mainly, she said, because a weekly deadline is much more compatible with caring for small children than a daily deadline<sup>508</sup>).

Notable is also the relatively low share of journalists in the upper left part of the map (the section of maximum journalistic capital and prestige) who are or have been chief editors (8%) in favour of positions of sub-editor and columnist, which suggests a division between what we could term editorial capital (administrative, formal control over a publication and its reproduction) and journalistic capital (related to prestige, prizes etc.).

Finally, we can see some differences in the various assets' relation to general and specific forms of accumulation and the time required. For example, the chance of having held an office in NJ is relatively evenly distributed in the field and rises slowly with age, but having received a major prize for journalism is related to the volume of journalistic capital much more strongly than to age.

**FIGURE 12 THE JOURNALISTIC SPACE. ACTIVE INDIVIDUALS (DOTS) WITH 9 REGIONS DELINEATED BY THE CONTINUOUS LINES.**



<sup>508</sup> Cf. Zoonen (1994:52-53).

TABLE 10 THE JOURNALISTIC SPACE. ACTIVE INDIVIDUALS BY 9 REGIONS. SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS. PERCENTAGES.

Indicators		Axis 2: LEFT Journalistic capital +	Axis 2: MIDDLE	Axis 2: RIGHT Journalistic capital -
<b>AXIS 1 UPPER REGION + CAPITAL VOLUME + AGE</b>	<b>N=</b>	<b>142</b>	<b>94</b>	<b>102</b>
	Female	14	18	29
	Born <1950	37	45	40
	Raised in Oslo/Akershus	24	17	13
	Father no higher education	63	88	92
	Father 5 years+ higher education	12	0	2
	Father political office <verv>	30	14	14
	Father interested in classical literature	45	24	26
	Father public sector, education or culture	24	9	2
	Father private sector, technician or clerk	9	28	57
	Father manual worker/fishing/agriculture	2	14	77
	<b>AXIS 1 MIDDLE REGION</b>	<b>N=</b>	<b>117</b>	<b>113</b>
Female		38	32	47
Born <1950		18	14	12
Raised in Oslo/Akershus		19	21	22
Father no higher education		41	53	71
Father 5 years+ higher education		20	16	6
Father political office <verv>		31	15	13
Father interested in class. literature		44	34	32
Father public sector, education or culture		38	56	6
Father private sector, technician or clerk		26	61	12
Father manual worker/fishing/agriculture		11	35	46
<b>AXIS 1 LOWER REGION - CAPITAL VOLUME - AGE</b>		<b>N=</b>	<b>83</b>	<b>114</b>
	Female	43	57	56
	Born <1950	0	4	2
	Raised in Oslo/Akershus	28	24	15
	Father no higher education	13	20	46
	Father 5 years+ higher education	40	31	10
	Father political office <verv>	28	23	9
	Father interested in class. literature	63	49	28
	Father public sector, education or culture	60	37	2
	Father private sector, technician or clerk	53	39	7
	Father manual worker/fishing/agriculture	21	51	24

**TABLE 11 THE JOURNALISTIC SPACE. ACTIVE INDIVIDUALS BY 9 REGIONS. INDICATORS OF CAPITAL. PERCENTAGES.**

Indicators		Axis 2: LEFT Journalistic capital +	Axis 2: MIDDLE	Axis 2: RIGHT Journalistic capital -
<b>AXIS 1 UPPER REGION</b> + CAPITAL VOLUME + AGE	<b>N=</b>	<b>142</b>	<b>94</b>	<b>102</b>
	Permanent position	96	85	84
	<10 years jour exp.	1	3	4
	5+ years higher education	10	10	4
	No higher education	36	52	73
	Prize for journalism	31	28	9
	Jury member journalistic prize	18	5	2
	Office NJ	58	46	51
	National press office NJ NP NR	24	5	0
	Income >500 000 NOK	61	30	15
	Guest lecturer journalism school	17	11	4
	Pictured in nat. newspaper last 2 years	38	21	10
	Father journalist or editor	8	5	1
	Father editor	6	3	0
	Partner journalist	12	7	5
	Scientific work on journalism <sup>509</sup>	6	4	3
	Are/have been chief editor	8	29	0
	Are/have been sub-editor or other middle editorial management <sup>510</sup>	46	29	0
<b>AXIS 1 MIDDLE REGION</b>	<b>N=</b>	<b>117</b>	<b>113</b>	<b>112</b>
	Permanent position	95	77	64
	<10 years jour exp	8	16	49
	5+ years higher education	25	15	13
	No higher education	6	13	18
	Prize for journalism	26	13	1
	Jury member journalistic prize	3	1	0
	Office NJ	51	43	37
	National press office NJ NP NR	8	3	0
	Income >500 000 NOK	45	20	8
	Guest lecturer journalism school	17	8	4
	Pictured in national newspaper last 2 years	30	13	15
	Father journalist or editor	9	6	3
	Father editor	7	0	1
	Partner journalist	15	13	10
	Scientific work on journalism	7	3	2
	Are/have been chief editor	30	5	0
	Are/have been sub-editor or other middle editorial management	30	19	4

<sup>509</sup> Does not include works written as a natural part of one's education (e.g. term paper or master thesis).

<sup>510</sup> Includes every position of editorial management below chief editor, including for example sub-editors, producers, editorial secretary <redaksjonssjef> and duty editor <vaktsjef>.

Table 11 (continued)

	N=	83	114	70
	Permanent position	82	60	57
	<10 years jour exp	42	67	90
AXIS 1	5+ years higher education	39	27	25
LOWER	No higher education	0	1	0
REGION	Prize for journalism	17	5	2
- CAPITAL	Jury member journalistic prize	1	0	0
VOLUME	Office NJ	40	30	25
- AGE	National press office NJ NP NR	3	0	0
	Income >500 000 NOK	27	16	6
	Guest lecturer journalism school	14	6	8
	Pictured in national newspaper last 2 years	22	20	19
	Father journalist or editor	4	4	4
	Father editor	2	2	1
	Partner journalist	25	11	9
	Scientific work on journalism	3	2	2
	Are/have been chief editor	1	0	2
	Are/have been sub-editor or other middle editorial management	2	3	0

### The space of Publications

As the analysis so far has indicated, the various journalistic publications in this space attract journalists with very different volume and composition of capital (including inherited capital, and thus also habitus). This becomes clearer if we look more directly at the properties of the working journalists according to their place of work, which are given in tables 12-16 on the following pages.

Whereas, for example, a journalist in the major tabloids (*Dagbladet* and *VG*) thus has roughly the same age and gender ratio as those in the small local newspapers, the indicators for the former journalists suggest not only a somewhat higher social background (for example, by having twice as often a father with a master degree, and more often listing their father as interested in Norwegian literature or having a regional or national political office etc.) but also higher journalistic prestige, shown for example by the fact that they are more than twice as likely to have won a major journalistic prize, and almost eight times as likely to have been on a jury for such a prize. Similarly, we note that magazines and small local newspapers, which are united in their general relative lack of journalistic capital, differ greatly in central properties: the journalists in magazines not only include a far greater proportion of women, they are much more often raised in Oslo and by parents with more educational and cultural capital, but are much less likely to have won a journalistic prize or to have held office in the press organization. More generally we see that it is indeed true, as Bourdieu points out in *The Weight of the World*, that the capital city is the site of capital<sup>511</sup>: not only is nearly every newspaper and broadcasting company close to the journalistic pole of power located in Oslo, but also we see that they much more often are staffed by journalists raised in Oslo.

<sup>511</sup> "... the site in physical space where the positive poles of all the fields are concentrated along with most of the agents occupying these dominant positions: which means that the capital cannot be adequately analyzed except in relation to the provinces (and 'provincialness'), which is nothing other than being deprived (in entirely relative terms) of the capital and capital" Bourdieu ([1993] 1999a:125).

These groupings naturally contain many uncertainties. Should, for example, journalists working in the smallest local radio or television stations have been classified as local press rather than being grouped together with larger commercial broadcasters like *TV Norge* or radio *P4*? Ought *Aftenposten* to be classified with *VG* and *Dagbladet* rather than with the major regional newspapers? Should one have left out the members of NJ with working tasks which adhere least to the hegemonic ideals of journalism (for example, film editors or those working in a newspaper's archives?) or journalist students and retired journalists who work part-time as journalists? Perhaps, given the very different mix of occupational specializations in different types of mediums and according to the size of the organization, would it perhaps not be better to compare journalists in terms of occupational classification (editor, sub-editor, journalist, graphic designer etc.) or specialization (news, culture, sport, crime etc.)? Such questions, if relevant, seem however to often be motivated by a commonsensical desire to compare a simple set of categories (here: the publications) *directly* and thus disregard the multivariate nature of the social world and the field as a *relational* construct. E.g. one cannot understand the proportion of journalists who have received a journalistic prize in a newspaper without taking into account all the social characteristics (above all, age distribution) and various journalistic characteristics (the proportion of freelancers and temps, the percentage of journalists who work outside the subjects which are usually given such distinctions - news, crime, economy (which for example discriminates women, who more seldom work with these kinds of journalism than men do), the economic resources of publication (e.g. the chance to work in a dedicated newsroom on a single case for weeks rather than the day-to-day-schedule in which regular journalists work) etc. Rather than offering a typology (with maximum ingroup-homogeneity and minimum between-group homogeneity) of journalistic publications or journalistic working conditions<sup>512</sup>, these tables aim only to illustrate some very general differences and oppositions in overall structure of the Norwegian journalistic field, in the form of the distribution of individuals according to their social characteristics and capital composition. A focus on differences according to place of work is only one of many possible ways of doing this, and should of course in no way be read to mean that such "institutional" differences have a primary importance in structuring the field (they are better thought of as *expressions* of the underlying field's structure)<sup>513</sup>.

By their position in the suggested space of Norwegian journalists, the various publications receive one of their chief characteristics, namely the publications'

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<sup>512</sup> For an attempt at a typology of journalistic publications, see Charon (1993).

<sup>513</sup> It would, for example, be interesting to do a similar comparison of journalists working in different specializations (e.g. sports, culture, national news etc.). When I have not done this, this is due to several reasons. When asked about their journalistic specializations in the survey (Q23, Q27), only half of the journalists stated they had a specialization (reflecting the "generalist" nature of most journalists' work). Also, the open nature of this question (being designed to grasp finer distinctions than those available in offering e.g. a heteronymous concept like "culture journalism") also demonstrates very clearly the problems of such simple categorizations, given the enormous differences between the publications (cf. for example the difference between a journalist stating "politics" as a specialty in a small local newspaper versus a journalist in a large national newspaper or television channel).



composition of the journalists' habituses and their capital composition (relative to other publications). In a dialectical process, a prestigious publication (with prestigious journalists and a prestigious audience, and a prestigious history) attracts journalists with high prestige and young journalists with an advantageous journalistic habitus (which is not only likely to help them attain a job, but also, by having dispositions leaning towards the most prestigious journalistic subjects and forms of work, is also more likely to help them accumulate journalistic capital in the long run, and thus bestow prestige on their publication etc.).

This demonstrates the arbitrary distinction which is often made between the analysis of individuals and institutions: just as the composition of the journalistic staff is a fundamental aspect of an institution's weight in the journalistic field (in particular the staff's combined journalistic capital), the history and power of the institution in the field reversely pervade its journalists in a myriad of ways: symbolically they offer a possible source of journalistic capital by association, its economic strength determines not only the wages but also the degree of specialization possible (where more specialization leaves individuals with better opportunities to accumulate symbolic capital, as in the difference between an all-round-reporter in a local newspaper and a political columnist in a national newspaper) etc. In this way, the foregoing correspondence analysis, which is based on individuals is also simultaneously – if more indirectly - an analysis of differences between the various institutions (the publications), and also, by similar logic, the Norwegian journalistic field more generally<sup>514</sup>.

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<sup>514</sup> It is thus perfectly possible to analyze the journalistic field by going in the opposite direction, by compiling attributes of the various institutions (publications). Two examples of this analytic strategy are Mardetti ([2002] 2005) and Duval ([2000] 2005).

TABLE 12 THE SPACE OF PUBLICATIONS I. DEMOGRAPHIC INDICATORS. PERCENTAGES.

	NRK national	NRK District	TV2	Other commercial broad-casters	VG Dagbladet	Other national press <sup>a</sup>	Large regional news-paper <sup>b</sup>	Large local news-paper <sup>c</sup>	Small local news-paper	Magazine	Specialist press
<b>% Females</b>	99	74	40	40	82	94	56	105	236	73	43
<b>Year of birth</b>											
N=	52	35	43	48	32	37	30	33	30	51	43
<1950	14	14	9	1	6	14	25	21	12	19	19
1950-59	23	20	15	13	30	23	31	23	23	17	39
1960-69	37	35	23	15	29	24	29	22	26	26	33
1970-	27	30	52	71	35	39	15	33	39	38	9
<b>Place where one grew up</b>											
Oslo	27	3	6	4	21	23	2	8	4	16	20
Bergen, Trondheim, Stavanger	10	10	27	16	12	7	19	4	6	5	3
Other city >19000	19	29	22	35	25	22	22	22	23	34	11
Smaller place	45	57	46	46	42	49	56	66	68	45	66
<b>Marital status</b>											
Married	40	48	34	25	45	56	59	54	50	44	49
Cohabitant	30	30	33	37	23	15	30	29	24	15	19
Single	30	22	33	38	32	28	11	16	27	40	32
<b>Children</b>											
Yes, small children	16	19	6	1	10	23	29	33	18	23	28
Yes, only older children (>18)	50	48	44	31	55	44	44	34	44	39	57
No children	34	33	50	68	36	33	27	33	38	37	15

a) Includes news agencies and other newspapers with national if often medium-size audiences, including e.g. Klassekampen (a radical leftist/ intellectual newspaper), Morgenbladet (intellectual), Dagen and Vårt Land (both with a Christian profile). An exception in size is the financial newspaper Dagens Næringsliv, which in 2005 was among the ten biggest newspapers in Norway with a yearly circulation of 74000 (Høst 2006). b) Aftenposten, Stavanger Aftenblad, Adresseavisen and Bergens Tidende. c) Local newspapers with <6 registered members in NJ are listed as "small", otherwise as "large".

TABLE 13 THE SPACE OF PUBLICATIONS II. INDICATORS OF INHERITED CAPITAL. PERCENTAGES.

	NRK national	NRK District	TV2	Other broad-casters	Dag-bladet	Other national press	Large region. news-paper	Large local news-paper	Small local news-paper	Magazine	Specialist press
<b>Fathers' educational level</b>											
5+ years	24	15	17	10	21	17	7	10	9	21	12
1-4 years	47	33	32	44	37	28	36	24	30	29	22
No higher education	29	52	51	46	42	55	57	66	61	50	66
<b>Father's occupation (isco-88)</b>											
1-2 (Senior politicians/administrators, business managers and academics)	50	35	37	29	43	35	31	26	30	38	26
3-5 (minor professionals, clerks, sales)	35	26	39	47	41	34	37	39	33	31	32
6-8 (manual workers)	15	40	25	24	17	31	32	34	38	32	42
<b>Father's occupation, detailed</b>											
Politician/senior public servant	12	5	9	0	9	4	12	4	8	4	3
Business manager/ small enterprises	13	15	7	12	15	12	13	13	11	10	13
Natural scientist, economist or lawyer	11	7	18	7	7	10	2	3	6	15	6
Teachers/lecturer in sixth form or higher	14	8	3	11	11	8	4	7	5	9	4
Engineer or technician	9	9	6	18	10	6	8	13	3	11	12
Schoolteacher	8	8	12	11	6	3	2	4	10	0	3
Clerk	9	3	3	13	12	7	7	8	8	4	6
Journalists and related trades	6	2	3	0	6	11	13	6	3	9	4
Primary occupation	3	5	15	4	7	6	7	9	8	7	8
Craftsman	1	15	7	3	9	13	7	10	11	12	15
Machine worker or unskilled labourer	7	17	12	15	6	11	12	11	15	11	12
Military	7	8	6	6	2	7	13	13	11	9	14
<b>Father political office</b>											
Local political office	8	15	12	14	17	14	9	12	16	15	19
Regional / national political office	4	4	4	3	9	7	11	3	5	4	4
<b>Father office in workers union</b>	14	6	18	21	25	22	18	17	15	5	6
<b>Father interested in class. Norw. literature</b>	49	40	32	28	42	39	35	31	30	50	40

TABLE 14 THE SPACE OF PUBLICATIONS III. INDICATORS OF EDUCATIONAL TRAJECTORY AND EDUCATIONAL CAPITAL. PERCENTAGES.

	NRK national	NRK District	TV2	Other broad-casters	Dag-bladet	Other national press	Large region. news-paper	Large local news-paper	Small local news-paper	Magazine	Specialist press
N=	99	74	40	40	82	94	56	105	236	73	43
<b>Educational level</b>											
No higher education	11	8	10	5	21	14	27	23	31	33	19
1-2 years	17	24	9	17	27	13	16	23	21	12	24
3-4 years	48	50	53	55	38	44	34	40	35	48	22
5+ years	23	18	28	24	14	29	23	14	13	7	35
<b>Subjects, higher education<sup>d</sup></b>											
<b>1) Humanistic</b>	33 (4)	32 (3)	39 (3)	31	27	26 (7)	27 (5)	25 (2)	22 (2)	42	20 (9)
Nordic / literature	10	5	11	7	8	12	11	10	8	13	10
History	10	9	12	10	13	11	12	4	6	12	1
Other language	12	14	25	7	4	10	14	13	7	10	12
Other specified	15	13	11	14	7	9	2	7	8	15	4
<b>2) Social science</b>	62 (5)	70 (3)	60 (8)	81 (6)	57 (6)	57 (2)	36 (9)	56 (2)	42 (1)	35 (2)	50 (2)
Journalism	45	31	23	50	39	37	22	36	27	26	31
Political science	25	10	19	21	16	16	16	15	10	3	12
Sociology/anthropology	7	14	11	21	6	11	7	10	5	7	9
Media science	6	8	11	7	2	3	7	10	3	2	6
Film/TV-production	5	12	12	23	0	1	0	1	2	0	0
Other specified	7	3	8	6	3	5	1	4	2	5	12
<b>3) Teaching/pedagogy</b>	8	8	6	1	2	5	15	6	10	8	11
<b>4) Economy/law/admin.</b>	2	0	3	4	3	11 (2)	3	3	4	3	7
<b>5) Natural sciences</b>	1 (1)	7 (2)	6	0	2	0	2	0	3 (1)	2	6
<b>6) Other<sup>d</sup></b>	0	2	0	0	0	1	0	2	2	2	0

a) Form of higher education completed was an open question (encouraging details). If probably gaining more accurate answers overall than we would in a closed question format, the details given about their studies varied greatly. 10% of those claiming a higher education did not specify it. b) The classification of occupations broadly follows the Norwegian standard for classification of education (SSB 2001), which is based on the ISCED97-standard. In this table however, economy, law and administration have been merged into one category. The category "other" includes various study programs from agricultural, marine, health, welfare and various service-related educations (transport, police, military etc.). c) Only given at discipline level and not for each particular discipline. d) Includes health/social studies.

TABLE 15 THE SPACE OF PUBLICATIONS IV. INDICATORS OF FIELD-SPECIFIC CAPITAL. PERCENTAGES.

	NRK national	NRK District	TV2	Other com. broad-casters	Dag-bladet	Other national press	Large region. news-paper	Large local news-paper	Small local news-paper	Magazine	Specialist press
<b>Years of experience from journalistic work</b>											
N=	99	74	40	40	82	94	56	105	236	73	43
>20 years	22	30	16	8	42	30	56	41	25	29	39
10-20 years	46	36	41	20	37	36	28	32	40	38	38
<10 years	32	34	43	72	21	34	16	26	35	33	23
<b>Journalistic prize, received</b>											
Norwegian Great Prize for Journalism, Natvesen-, Hirschfeld- or SKUP-prize	2	2	3	0	12	6	2	7	5	3	4
Other prize for journalism	13	11	6	10	10	8	10	6	7	7	14
No prize	84	87	91	90	78	86	88	87	88	90	82
<b>Journalistic prize, jury for</b>	4	4	1	2	7	2	1	2	2	3	4
<b>Office in press unions (now or earlier)</b>											
NJ	37	58	26	18	37	39	41	55	52	29	55
National office in NJ, NR or NP	1	2	6	1	7	7	6	7	3	2	0
<b>Have discussed journ. quality</b> (last 12 months)											
..in interviews in national media	9	2	17	3	9	12	7	2	3	6	0
..in written chronicle/comment	5	2	4	1	4	11	2	0	3	2	10
<b>Pictured in nat. newspaper</b> (last 12 months)	33	16	35	28	30	25	17	12	10	16	11
<b>Spoken on nat. television</b> (last 12 months)	46	53	63	54	27	23	30	22	20	19	14
<b>Guest lecturer at journalism school</b>	18	11	6	15	14	10	6	6	5	1	4
<b>Has written....</b>											
... scientific work (book/article/report) on journalistic issues	1	0	0	1	1	7	7	1	1	2	6
... (non-scientific) book on journalistic issues	4	0	0	0	2	10	2	1	2	0	4
... novel	1	2	3	4	0	5	0	0	0	0	3

Table 15 (continued)

	NRK national	NRK District	TV2	Other com. broad-casters	VG Dag-bladet	Other national press	Large region. news-paper	Large local news-paper	Small local news-paper	Magazine	Specialist press
N=	99	74	40	40	82	94	56	105	236	73	43
<b>Yearly income (thousands)</b>											
<300 NOK	12	9	14	30	10	4	0	20	22	16	17
300-500 NOK	69	85	31	54	23	62	46	65	63	52	72
>500 NOK	19	6	54	16	67	33	54	14	15	32	11
<b>Journalist relatives</b>											
Father editor	3	0	0	0	5	2	9	2	1	2	4
Father journalist or editor	7	2	3	0	5	8	11	6	3	5	4
Mother journalist	4	2	11	0	0	8	3	1	1	8	1
Spouse journalist	19	20	16	18	19	13	7	9	8	5	9

TABLE 16 THE SPACE OF PUBLICATIONS IV. JOURNALISM EDUCATION. PERCENTAGES.

	NRK national	NRK District	TV2	Other com. broad-casters	VG Dag-bladet	Other national press	Large region. news-paper	Large local news-paper	Small local news-paper	Magazine	Specialist press
N=	99	74	40	40	82	94	56	105	236	73	43
<b>Journalism education</b>											
State (district college) <sup>a</sup>	37	28	12	37	33	34	22	32	23	20	25
Other Norwegian	4	2	6	6	5	3	0	5	2	5	3
Abroad	5	2	6	6	3	1	0	0	2	0	6
None	55	69	77	50	59	63	78	64	73	74	66

a) The distinctions between the various colleges are not included in this table because a large number of respondents say they have a university college education in journalism, but do not list the specific college (this was an open question).

## Journalistic generations

As noted, age and capital for journalists are closely correlated: journalistic prizes, editorships, board membership in journalist unions and a job in prestigious publication etc. – and thus the form of honour that is honoured in this particular social universe – are more common among the older than the younger journalists. As suggested, age is also a fundamental element pervading most divisions in the field of journalism, including gender differences (44% of the working journalists below 35 years of age are female, but only 15% of those over 50) and medium differences (the younger journalists more often work in broadcasting, and less often in newspapers and specialist press etc. – cf.). For the latter, cf. figure 13, which shows age differences for some types of journalistic publications).

Biological age, as Karl Mannheim argues, is however a very imprecise criteria when speaking of generations in a sociological framework. Individuals born the same year, i.e. belonging to the same cohort, he says, are endowed with “a common location in the historical dimension of the social process”, that is, that they are exposed for “to a specific range of potential experience, predisposing them for a certain characteristic mode of thought and experience” only in so far as they have a “similar location”, that is, that they are living in a similar social context, which makes possible common experience of the historical processes<sup>515</sup>. In this way, Norwegian journalists born in 1945 and in 1975 will have very different collective memories<sup>516</sup> and personal trajectories because of general changes in society (for example, the increasing importance of the educational system, and the very different chances of having been raised by parents with a manual occupation etc.). For Mannheim, a generation in this sense is, like social class, a form of *social location*<sup>517</sup>, which one in a Bourdieuan framework will expect to make its mark on one’s habitus in a similar way as one parent’s position in the social space<sup>518</sup>.

In a more localized way, thus, one would expect the historical changes in the Norwegian journalistic field – the gradual decline of the party press, the introduction of new technology and techniques, the rising importance of broadcast journalism etc. – to be experiences which in a similar way will give rise to differences in the journalistic habitus of the journalistic generations. We should here make a distinction between *generations in society* (e.g. biological age) and *field generations* (the time of entrance to the field), in our case journalistic generations. Two journalists of the same “field age”, however, will still have different positions in this social universe at the time of an event, which means that they will very often experience the same happenings differently (e.g.

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<sup>515</sup> Mannheim ([1927] 1992:260).

<sup>516</sup> Halbwachs ([1941] 1992).

<sup>517</sup> Mannheim ([1927] 1992:260).

<sup>518</sup> One should also note that Mannheim, like Bourdieu, places a great importance on early experiences as formative because of the process he terms *Erlebnisschichtung*, the stratification of meaning: “Early impressions tend to coalesce into a natural view of the world. All later experiences then tend to receive their meaning from this original set, whether they appear as that set’s verification and fulfilment or as its negation and antithesis.” Ibid.(266).

the weakening of the party press)<sup>519</sup>. In this manner, Mannheim subdivides generations into *generation units*<sup>520</sup> according to more specific differences in their social context. In this perspective, some of the differences in the expressed opinions between the older and younger journalists appear more understandable (table 19).

In general, the older journalists appear more satisfied with their position and current type of work, and they also appear in their answers in the questionnaire to have a stronger identification with the journalistic profession, but are simultaneously less likely to say that they are personally engaged by debates on who are "real journalists or not", which can be interpreted as a possible sign of a weaker *illusio*, of a weaker engagement in the field and its struggles. However, this can just as likely be the effect of being in a orthodox/dominant position and thus less likely to have one's personal worth threatened by such discussions, which often take form of the condemnation of practices which are more likely to be done by the younger – and also often female journalists (e.g. "free newspapers", "consumer journalism", "celebrity journalism" etc).

We also find very different relations to the educational system between the older and younger journalists, where the latter are more likely to adhere less to a generalist model of journalism in favour of a more academic model, seeing journalism more often as a practice requiring specialist knowledge more than "broad life experience" and feeling common ideals to be less important (both groups in this way fighting for their own value and positions in this particular world). Also interestingly, we can see that the taboo attributed to combining political activity with a job as a journalist appears to be weakening in the youngest generation of journalists, who have little personal experience of working as journalists in the party press period.

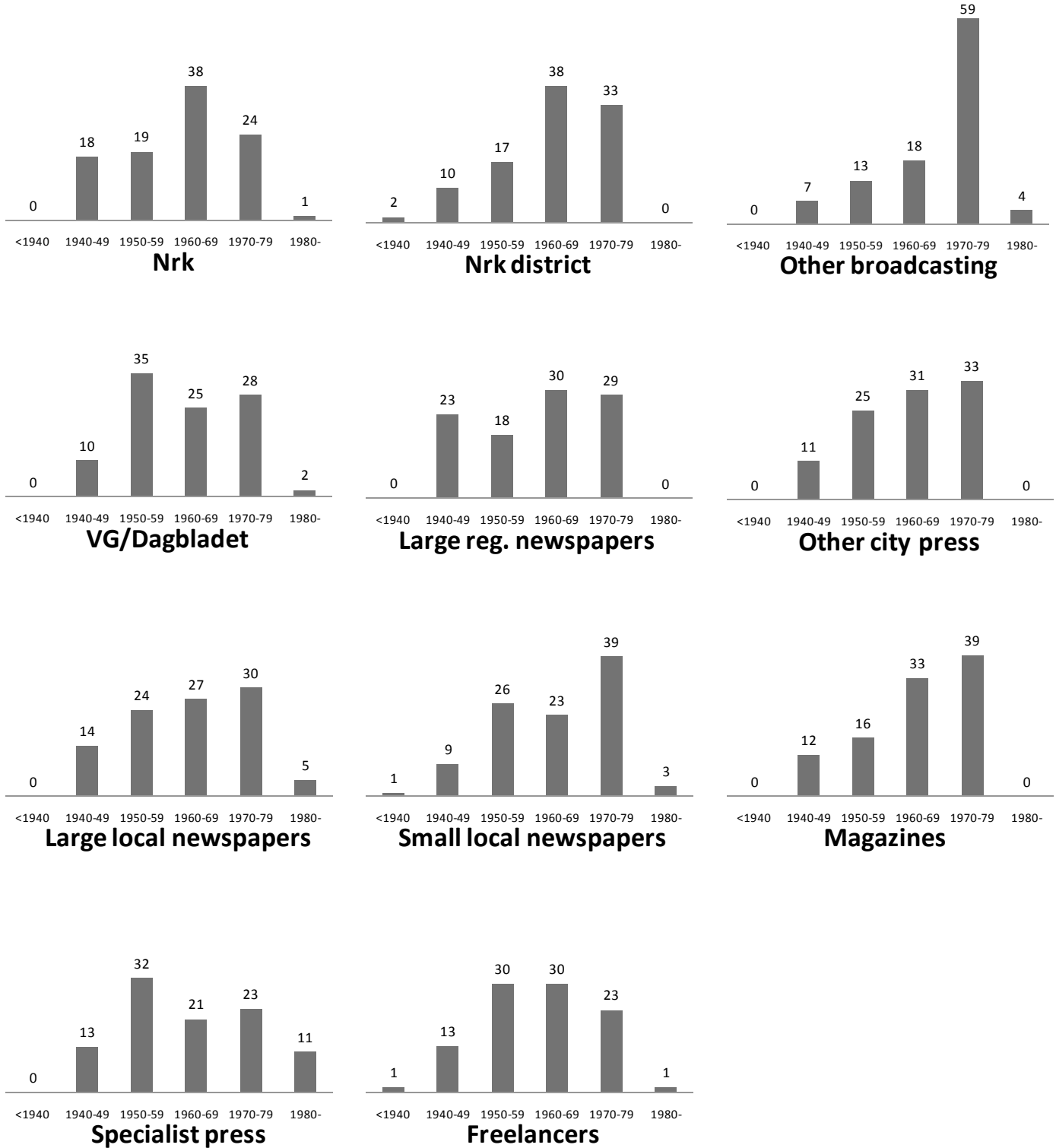
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<sup>519</sup> Ibid., see also Bourdieu ([1984] 1988:147) and Hjdlibrekke and Korsnes (2006:56-58).

<sup>520</sup> Mannheim ([1927] 1992:266).



**FIGURE 13 AGE DISTRIBUTION FOR VARIOUS TYPES OF PUBLICATIONS. PERCENTAGES.**



**TABLE 17 JOURNALISTIC GENERATIONS I. INDICATORS OF INHERITED CAPITAL, BY YEAR OF FIRST JOURNALISTIC JOB.**

Year of entrance (first journalistic job)	1960-69	1970-79	1980-89	1990-99	2000-	Total
N=	88	188	298	352	93	1057
<b>Father's educational level</b>						
5+ years	10	12	13	18	19	14
1-4 years	3	19	29	36	44	29
No higher education	88	69	58	46	37	57
<b>Father's occupation (ISCO-88)</b>						
1-2 (Senior politicians and administrators, business managers and academics)	26	30	29	39	49	34
3-5 (minor professionals, clerks, sales)	28	32	36	33	30	33
6-8 (manual workers)	46	38	35	27	21	33
<b>Father's occupation, detailed</b>						
Politician/senior public servant	2	7	5	8	10	6
Business manager/ small enterprises	15	14	9	11	16	12
Natural scientist, economist or lawyer	6	4	9	9	11	8
Teachers/lecturer in sixth form or higher education	3	5	6	11	13	8
Engineer or technician	3	7	8	7	11	8
Schoolteacher	3	5	4	7	9	6
Clerk	3	8	8	7	6	7
Journalists and related trades	7	6	8	3	1	5
Primary occupation	11	6	8	8	2	7
Craftsman	16	15	11	7	5	10
Machine worker or unskilled labourer	15	11	16	11	10	13
Military	15	12	9	9	6	10
<b>Father political office</b>						
Local political office	21	14	13	13	12	14
Regional / national political office	4	7	4	5	6	5
<b>Father office in workers union</b>						
	17	14	15	17	13	15
<b>Father interested in classical Norwegian literature</b>	49	62	56	60	59	58

**TABLE 18 JOURNALISTIC GENERATIONS II. OTHER SELECTED PROPERTIES, BY YEAR OF FIRST JOURNALISTIC JOB.**

Year of entrance (first journalistic job)	1960-69	1970-79	1980-89	1990-99	2000-	Total
N=	88	188	298	352	93	1057
<b>% Females</b>	14	23	24	37	45	47
<b>Age first journalistic job</b>	22	22	25	26	26	30
<b>Place where one grew up</b>						
Oslo	13	11	11	10	7	10
Bergen, Trondheim, Stavanger	12	8	7	11	11	9
Other city >19000	21	20	22	25	26	23
Smaller place	54	60	59	54	56	57
<b>Single</b>	24	19	25	25	44	26
<b>Permanent position</b>	94	87	83	78	54	79
<b>Educational level</b>						
No higher education	60	30	17	16	6	20
1-2 yrs higher education	18	28	22	14	18	19
3-4 yrs higher education	13	30	43	48	52	42
5 yrs+ higher education	9	12	18	22	24	18
<b>Current place of work</b>						
NRK national	10	12	13	11	11	11
NRK district	8	10	6	9	10	9
TV2 / other national broadcast.	6	4	3	10	11	7
VG/Dagbladet	5	11	9	5	3	7
Other national press	6	10	10	8	6	8
Large regional newspaper	15	8	9	6	4	8
Large local newspaper	20	14	16	15	13	15
Small local newspaper	14	9	15	18	21	16
Magazine	5	5	4	7	12	6
Specialist press	0	10	10	9	8	9

TABLE 19 JOURNALISTIC GENERATIONS III. SELECTED POSITION-TAKINGS. PERCENTAGES.

	N=	Year of entrance (first journalistic job)					Total
		1960-69	1970-79	1980-89	1990-99	2000-	
Position of "district councillor" is compatible with a job as a journalist	51	19	13	9	10	15	
Membership in a political party is compatible with a job as a journalist	20	11	11	10	18	13	
"Broad life experience more important than education for becoming a good journalist"	79	57	50	58	38	55	
"A good journalist ought to be able to comment upon almost any subject at short notice"	45	36	32	35	32	36	
"All journalist ought to have the same ideals"	52	52	39	38	36	41	
"Journalist by nature"	62	42	39	30	21	36	
"Not engaged" by discussions of who are real journalists	71	62	65	58	54	61	
Would like to work with other subjects	46	51	58	65	81	61	
"Totally satisfied" with current job	59	46	48	39	41	44	
"Disagree" that crime journalism shows too little consideration for the involved	21	22	29	31	37	29	

TABLE 20 EDUCATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS OF JOURNALISTS BORN 1970 OR LATER, ACCORDING TO PLACE OF WORK. PERCENTAGES.

	NRK national	NRK District	TV2	Other com. broad-casters	VG Dag-bladet	Other national press	Large region. news-paper	Large local news-paper	Small local news-paper	Magazine	Specialist press
Journalism education	71	55	37	48	47	30	40	40	42	53	54
State school	62	45	21	30	40	30	33	25	29	47	46
<b>Educational level</b>											
No higher education	5	5	5	9	15	17	14	22	13	13	27
1-2 years	10	10	5	18	15	6	14	11	20	6	9
3-4 years	50	55	68	50	54	50	36	53	42	56	36
5 years+	35	30	21	23	15	28	36	14	24	25	27

## Educational and scientific capital

The historical increase in the number of Norwegian journalists who have some form of previous higher education suggests a general increase in the importance of educational capital as an *entrance fee* to this field. Whereas the lowest and most general positions in the journalistic hierarchy (e.g. desk work and journalism in small local newspapers in general) earlier were often reachable without the need for higher education or vocational training, today even these positions in practice often require a minimum of 2- or 3-year journalism education as minimum. As can be seen from table 20, which include only journalists born 1970 or later, the importance of education for entrance varies with position in the field. For young journalists, a journalism education appears particularly important for entrance to NRK, whereas a non-journalistic specialization at master level is most common in NRK and the largest regional newspapers, and less common in commercial broadcasters and the tabloids.

The higher the position in the field, however, the more likely a position is to require a longer higher education. For editors and sub-editors born 1950-69, the percentage with a master's degree rises gradually when we move from editorships in smaller local newspapers (16%) to larger local newspapers (27%) and regional newspapers (33%), and similarly when one moves from local commercial broadcasters (0%) towards NRK (19%). Also, the more specialized positions usually require substantial investments in educational capital, for example, a business degree for a job as a financial journalist in *Dagens Næringsliv* or a master's degree in political science for a job as a foreign correspondent.

To see educational capital as only a *qualification*, however, would be to ignore the role of educational capital as a symbolic force and a part of the struggles in the field, for example in the discussions on the relative merits of life experience versus formal education, or broad experience versus specialization, i.e. of the *nomos* of the field, which we have seen vary according to one's own investments and therefore interests in the value of educational capital. Very likely, educational capital often functions as a form symbolic capital being linked to the dual charisma of "talent" and "science", and by this symbolically distances its wielder quasi-magically from the "petty struggles" among journalists, an act which makes them able to fight the very same struggles much more effectively, because their interest in the struggles appears disinterested and objective under the veil of symbolic capital both to others and themselves.

## Field trajectories

Positions in the journalistic field, like any social field, are not fixed. *Field trajectories*, the movement in time through positions in social spaces by an individual<sup>521</sup> can have many forms and also be applied on different analytical levels. On the level of the national social space, one can discern between *internal trajectories* (movement from one social position to another, i.e. between different social classes) and *inter-field trajectories* (from one national social space to another). Similarly, the concept can be applied in the smaller context of a social field, differentiating between *extra-field trajectories*, the movement from one field to another (a type of movement which I have discussed in

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<sup>521</sup> Cf. Bourdieu ([1979] 1984:131-132).

section 4.3) and *inter-field trajectories*, the movement between positions inside a specific social field, in our case, the journalistic field.

INTER-FIELD TRAJECTORY. An example of a very successful journalistic career and somewhat of an exemplary trajectory in the field is the rise of Harald Stanghelle to the prestigious position of chief editor in *Dagbladet* in 1995 and political editor in *Aftenposten* in 2000. Born the son of a farmer/village shopkeeper in 1956 in the small fjord community of Stanghelle on the western coast of Norway, he started out in various temporary journalistic jobs and freelance work in smaller newspapers. At the exceptionally low age of nineteen he became editor of the small local newspaper *Vaksdal-posten*, and after an interim for a few years of various other work (including one year as a fisherman on Greenland and a job as assistant press officer in the Norwegian UN Force in Lebanon), he moved to Oslo in his mid-twenties to become a journalist in the national semi-prestigious newspapers *Dag og Tid* (a Nynorsk newspaper in the tradition of *Le Monde*) and Labour Party-affiliated newspaper *Arbeiderbladet*. After four years in *Arbeiderbladet*, he became editor of reportages <reportasjesjef>, and moved on to the position of journalist in the crime department of *Aftenposten* at the age of 35. The same year he won the first SKUP-prize for investigative journalism for his unveiling of the “Mossad-case”, documenting that the surveillance department of Norwegian police had given Israeli Mossad agents permission to interrogate former PLO-members who applied for political asylum in Norway. Three years after, he became news editor in *Aftenposten*. Two years later, at the age of 39 he became the chief editor of *Dagbladet*, a position he held until he left for the post of political editor in *Aftenposten* after five years<sup>522</sup>.

The internal trajectories in the journalistic field are very instructive, as they can tell us something not only about the capital requirements for specific positions, but also of the hierarchy of the field. The case of Harald Stanghelle (discussed in the box above) exemplifies the importance of internal forms of capital and the very often slow and laborious process of accumulation of these which in practice appear to be required for the most prestigious positions in the journalistic field. His career also gives clues to the general topology of this space, in this case how the position of editor of the smallest newspaper is often lower than that of a common journalist in the more prestigious national newspapers, and the high status of political journalism versus general journalism and most other specialized forms of journalism.

The career of any single individual in the field will, however, often be in some form unique and exceptional, and can thus only be indicative or illustrative of general mobility patterns. Ideally, the analysis of such patterns should be in the form of a comprehensive study of journalists' biographies. Because of the lack of available and updated biographical data on journalists in Norway<sup>523</sup>, I will here only sketch some very general patterns of internal trajectories to some prestigious positions in the field (that of the position of editor), using data from the survey of journalists and editors in 2005. Some indicators of mobility patterns are presented in table 21 on the next page.

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<sup>522</sup> Source: Øy (1998).

<sup>523</sup> Cf. appendix 1 where these problems are discussed in more detail.

**TABLE 21 INDICATORS OF SOCIAL MOBILITY AND FIELD TRAJECTORY, EDITORS 2005. PERCENTAGES.**

	<i>NRK, national</i>	<i>NRK, district</i>	<i>Other broadcasting</i>	<i>VG / Dagbladet</i>	<i>Large regional newspaper</i>	<i>Other large city press</i>	<i>Large local newspaper</i>	<i>Small local newspaper</i>	<i>Weekly press</i>	<i>Specialist press</i>
<b>N=</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>71</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>17</b>
Age (mean)	49	49	40	52	49	46	47	47	46	48
Grew up in Oslo/Akershus	33	8	11	33	8	30	5	15	31	6
Female	28	29	40	21	31	21	18	14	69	18
Father higher education	66	43	50	43	50	52	50	35	46	35
Father ISCO-88 group 1-3*	33	46	40	50	43	37	36	28	50	47
Father ISCO-88 group 4-5*	50	23	30	17	36	29	33	31	33	29
Father ISCO-88 group 6-9*	17	31	30	33	21	34	31	42	17	24
Journalism education	22	36	20	21	0	25	17	26	46	24
Higher education	100	100	90	86	66	82	85	75	92	82
Higher education, 5+ yrs	17	21	0	21	33	11	27	16	23	41
<i>Type of higher education ...</i>										
Humanistic	50	42	40	50	31	30	26	23	54	29
Pedagogic	6	0	10	21	6	10	11	7	15	12
Social science (excl. Journalism school)	39	29	30	29	38	35	37	28	38	18
Law/economy	11	0	10	21	13	10	20	7	8	29
Technical, health and other	11	14	10	0	0	5	7	4	0	0
Number of years worked as a journalist	18	17	19	27	24	19	19	18	16	21
Number of years worked in current publication	15	14	10	21	16	12	13	11	8	10
Number of years worked in non-media work	3	4	1	2	2	3	4	5	3	3
Held party-political office at national level	0	21	10	8	22	11	0	1	0	6
Held party-political office at local/reg. level	6	29	30	15	36	23	21	14	8	12
Held national office in voluntary/ideal organizat.	0	14	10	23	36	21	26	14	0	24
<i>Have previously worked in ...</i>										
NRK	--	--	20	14	0	18	11	3	8	29
TV2	6	7	--	7	0	5	0	3	8	0
VG/Dagbladet	6	7	0	--	0	18	9	9	8	0
Large regional newspaper	11	14	20	0	--	10	2	10	8	12
Other city newspaper	0	7	7	0	18	--	0	7	15	6
Press agency	6	7	0	7	6	35	2	3	15	12
Local newspaper	22	43	50	50	31	33	--	--	46	53
Local non-NRK radio/television station	16	29	70	0	0	3	7	14	0	0
Magazine	6	0	0	7	6	8	9	4	--	6
Specialist press	28	21	0	0	6	0	9	4	15	--

\*ISCO-88 Social group 1-3: Administrative leaders, politicians, academic occupations, technical occupations and occupations requiring shorter higher education. Group 4-5: Clerks, service, sales and care-taking. Group 6-9: Farming, fishing, crafts, industrial- and unskilled work.

The differences between the editors of various types of media/publications appear to quite closely follow the general differences previously found using the properties of all journalists and editors (figure 11): the most prestigious media in the field are generally also those who require most capital for a position of editor. At the same time, the table indicates important nuances in how the various trajectories and forms of capital are valued differently for the various positions. Note, for example, the low volume of inherited and educational capital required of the editors of small local newspapers compared to editors in NRK and the largest newspapers, or the very long journalistic careers of the latter (in the case of the two national tabloids, almost twice as long as the one required in practice for an editorship in the magazine/weekly press), indicating the much higher requirements of accumulated internal capital. Conversely, journalistic education is a very common (and in this case, probably also valuable) part of the trajectory of editors in the regional/local press and broadcasting media (and also, the magazine press), but appears less important for an editorship in the more journalistically prestigious publications. Similarly, a journalist education appears relatively unimportant for an editorial position in the specialist press compared to a master's degree on a university, which suggests the particular importance of educational capital for positions in this type of publications.<sup>524</sup>

Editors in the larger and most journalistically prestigious publications often have had very long careers in their current publication (e.g. on average, almost three times longer for editors in *VG/Dagbladet* than in the magazine press). If this is probably partly related to the publications' relative high internal positions (which means that a move to most other publications will be a downward trajectory) and high internal competition, this very probably also suggest the importance of an *internal* career in these publication for an editorial position (or, put in a more Bourdieuan terms, such a position requires the accumulation of sub-species of symbolic and other forms of capital in the context of the subspace of a single publication<sup>525</sup>).

Finally, looking at the movement patterns between different types of media, we can identify by the directions of trajectories not only various levels in the journalistic hierarchy (e.g. the movement from local newspapers to NRK district offices, but not the other way), but also important barriers to mobility (e.g. from commercial broadcasting to public broadcasting) and important "stepping stones" (e.g. the common trajectory of working in a local newspaper for most journalistic careers), and the common two-way flow between certain pairs of publications – e.g. between NRK national and the specialist press, the latter probably indicating the value of both educational capital and special knowledge for positions in both mediums. Similar circuits of exchange can be observed in the common movement of freelancers between mediums which are quite close in their requirements and style (and therefore also often close in the journalistic space), for example the smaller cultural/intellectual newspapers *Klassekampen*, *Dag og Tid* and *Morgenbladet*.

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<sup>524</sup> It is also interesting to note that editorial positions are very often occupied by journalists whose trajectories involve a certain amount of political capital or a high office in national organizations. 6% of members of NR say they have held office in a political party on a national level, but only 2% of the members of NJ. 19% of the editors say they have held a national office in a voluntary/ideal organization, 13% of the members of NJ.

<sup>525</sup> Cf. the previous discussion of the various possible analytic levels in field analysis in 5.1.



#### ***5.4 A dualist structure***

As argued by the short sketch of the history of Norwegian journalism in this chapter, the last century has been not only one of increased social differentiation of journalists and the journalistic products, but also one of increased autonomy and the accumulation of a specific symbolic capital for journalism, suggesting the presence of a social structure with a logic close to how Bourdieu describes a social field. This idea has then been tested out in a statistical reconstruction of the Norwegian journalistic field by a multiple correspondence analysis on data from a survey of 1203 journalists and editors done in mid-2005. The analysis suggests that the Norwegian journalistic field is characterized by two fundamental oppositions (fundamental in the sense that they explain most of the differences in capital observed among the field's participants): first, along a volume scale of field-specific capital, which is simultaneously an opposition between the old and the young, the male and the female, print media and broadcasting etc., and secondly, a volume scale of a whole range of resources and positions that one can collectively term journalistic capital, for example having won a national journalistic prize, being a columnist in a large newspaper, being on the jury of a renowned journalistic prize, having national office in the press organizations etc. which are linked to internal recognition, status and domination in the field. The structure of this space suggests some important parallels and differences with the French journalistic field (as suggested by Bourdieu), which I will return to in the final chapter.

By suggesting how important journalistic resources (capital) are related to social backgrounds (habitus), we have found that journalistic inequality (different positions in the space of journalists) is related to the larger system of social inequality and in some way reproduces and valorises it. By looking at how capital and habitus correspond with various forms of journalistic occupations, publications and specializations, the dominant journalistic ideals appear somewhat clearer (for example, in the way that the least legitimate journalistic subjects are usually the ones associated with the most dominated agents in the field, practiced by women and young people).

To explore further this normative aspect of the journalistic universe – the relation between its social cosmos and its sacred cosmos - I will in the next chapter turn our attention to the question of the nature and role of *journalistic capital*, a form of symbolic capital which we so far have only briefly discussed and used as a collective term for all forms of internal honour and internal prestige in the field. By studying – via the journalists' role models and the logic in the distribution of journalistic prizes - what in reality is a specific form of charismatic belief, it will help us understand better the cosmology of this social group, and way in which the dominant ideas - of the journalistically sacred and profane, of good and bad journalism, of the journalist's role and responsibilities in society, the view of the audience, the journalists' relation with other social elites etc. – are related to the journalistic field suggested in this chapter, and also social inequality in more general.

Magic has such authority that a contrary experience does not, on the whole, destroy a person's belief ... Even the most unfavourable facts can be turned to magic's advantage, since they can always be held to be the work of counter-magic or to result from an error in performance of the ritual ... But how is it possible for a sorcerer to believe in magic, when he must constantly come face to face with the true nature of his methods and their results? ... While the sorcerer may have only a mitigated confidence in his own rites and is doubtless aware that the so-called magical poisoned arrows, which he removes from the bodies of people suffering from rheumatism, are only pebbles taken from his mouth, the same sorcerer still has recourse to another medicine man when he himself falls ill ... The minimal sincerity which the magician can be accredited with is, at any rate, that he does believe in the magic of others ... In cases such as these, we are not dealing with simple matters of fraud ... Even when it starts off as a self-imposed state, the simulation recedes into the background and we end up with perfectly hallucinatory states ... The magician pretends because pretence is demanded of him, because people seek him out and beseech him to act. He is not a free agent. He is forced to play either a role demanded by tradition or one who comes up to his client's expectations .. What a magician believes and what the public believes are two sides of the same coin. The former is a reflection of the latter, since the pretences of the magician would not be possible without public credulity. It is this belief which the magician shares with the rest, which means that neither his sleights of hand nor his failures will raise any doubts as to the genuineness of magic itself... It is the nature of this belief that permits magicians to cross the gulf which separates facts from their conclusions ... Society is willing to be hypnotized by any kind of simulation performed by the magician, and he may himself fall the first victim.

Marcel Mauss, *A General Theory of Magic* (1902)

The 'supreme' sacred values ... have not necessarily been the most universal ones. Not everybody had entree to Nirvana, to the contemplative union with the divine, the orgiastic or the ascetic possession of God. In a weakened form, the transposition of persons into religious states of frenzy or into the trance may become the object of a universal cult of the people. But even in this form such psychic states have not been elements of everyday life. The empirical fact, important for us, that men are differently qualified in a religious way stands at the beginning of the history of religion. This fact had been dogmatized in the sharpest rationalist form in the 'particularism of grace,' embodied in the doctrine of predestination by the Calvinists. The sacred values that have been most cherished, the ecstatic and visionary capacities of shamans, sorcerers, ascetics, and pneumatics of all sorts, could not be attained by everyone. The possession of such faculties is a 'charisma,' which, to be sure, might be awakened in some but not in all. It follows from this that all intensive religiosity has a tendency toward a sort of status stratification, in accordance with differences in the charismatic qualifications. 'Heroic' or 'virtuoso' religiosity is opposed to mass religiosity.

Max Weber, *The sociology of World Religions* (1920)

## Chapter 6: The Production of Journalistic Belief

“Every civilization tends to overestimate the objective orientation of its thought.”<sup>526</sup>, says Claude Lévi-Strauss. Rather than seeing mythic thought as restricted to traditional societies, he sees this as related to a practical mode of acquiring knowledge, which, if different than that of modern science<sup>527</sup>, has little trouble in coexisting with it<sup>528</sup>. When I now want to point to the mythic aspects of journalism, journalism as a practice with magical beliefs and rituals of performative magic, with its own set of myths and cosmologies, totems and pantheons, and its own particular form of charisma (or mana), it is thus not in order to delegate journalism to a pre-scientific, irrational sphere of human activity opposed to some old-fashioned scientific ideal, but rather an acknowledgement of this pervasiveness of mythic, analogical and metaphorical thought in journalism as in *all* modern thought, as argued by many modern exponents of the sociology of knowledge<sup>529</sup>. More precisely, the argument is for the existence of a specific *journalistic cosmology*, linked to the structure of the field presented in the previous chapter. Similarly, when later speaking of journalistic charisma and journalistic theodicies, this is in order to better explore the question of Bourdieu’s concept of symbolic capital, in my case *journalistic capital*, as a particular belief with powerful effects, which the previous chapter argued has assumed its form and importance through an historical process of the autonomisation of Norwegian journalism.

Even if unlikely to diminish the criticism of those offended, it must be stressed that I am here primarily concerned with the belief in journalism as a *system of belief* and not to what degree such a belief system might conform to practical realities<sup>530</sup>, for example in the sense to what degree Norwegian journalists meet a specific deliberative-democratic ideal, which is an empirical question requiring a specific and strict operationalization. Here, on the other hand, I am primarily concerned with the *production of journalistic belief* (a belief in journalistic capital among the fields’ members): what is the nature of this belief, and how is upheld and produced on a collective scale, so even those with types of journalistic work far from the journalistic ideals identify with it? How does this faith vary among the fields members? What legitimational effects does this belief have? And how is sacred success linked to profane success, e.g. other forms of inequality in the field?

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<sup>526</sup> Lévi-Strauss ([1962] 1966:3).

<sup>527</sup> Ibid.(15).

<sup>528</sup> Ibid.(219). The untroubled co-presence of magical beliefs and scientific beliefs is particularly well demonstrated by Evans-Pritchard (1976) in his discussions of causation in traditional societies.

<sup>529</sup> Some examples are Douglas ([1966] 1996), Bourdieu([1979] 1984, [1984] 1988), Lakoff and Johnson (1988) and Kuhn (1974).

<sup>530</sup> Note however, as argued by Durkheim (2001:171-173) that beliefs can be “well-founded” even if they do not conform to physical reality, as even the most extreme cases of religious delirium are related to the social reality in which they are expressed.

For this purpose, I have found it natural to draw on the sociology of religion, and in particular on Max Weber's concepts of charisma and theodicy. This is partly in recognition of the applicability of Weber's ideas and analyses also to non-religious communities and societies, but also a natural course of action as both Bourdieu's ideas of symbolic capital and more general ideas of the functioning of fields are heavily influenced by Weber's sociology of religion.

## ***6.1 Journalistic nomos***

### **A sacred canopy for journalism**

Journalistic *ideals* have a high legitimacy in the Norwegian society<sup>531</sup>, but as a *practice* its legitimacy is highly contested. Journalism is constantly under criticism from other social elites, in particular by participants in the fields of social science and politics. One reason for this is no doubt that these elites are in direct competition with the journalist to tell the truth about the social world<sup>532</sup>. Another reason – as suggested by Bourdieu – is probably that modern journalism is dependent on a large-scale production system (which means it can surround itself with little of the charismatic aura surrounding other intellectual work) and a mass market (which usually means being dependent on an economic logic) which gives it low intellectual legitimacy<sup>533</sup>. Journalists also appear little trusted by the public: In studies of Norwegians occupations in this regard, journalists are constantly placed at bottom, along with car salesmen and telephone marketers<sup>534</sup>. This crisis of legitimacy for journalism in Norway appears to be a semi-permanent state<sup>535</sup>.

As suggested in the previous chapter, the idea of having a “mission for society” <samfunnsoppdraget>, which includes keeping other social elites “in check” and facilitating public debate on important issues for the general good of society – has in Norway (as in many other countries) been a central argument in legitimating journalistic practice and freedom vis-à-vis other social elites<sup>536</sup>, and has gradually become more

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<sup>531</sup> Eide (2001b).

<sup>532</sup> Cf. Bourdieu ([1995] 2005:36).

<sup>533</sup> Bourdieu ([1971] 1985:130).

<sup>534</sup> “Norges mest utskjulte yrker”, Dagbladet 26.11.05.

<sup>535</sup> Of course, low trust in a social group does not equal low legitimacy or low social status/prestige. Low trust in journalists is not incompatible with seeing them as a powerful and enviable social group, as lack of trust can also be based in a view of journalists as unpredictable and potentially dangerous. For a discussion of the complicated relationship between these different forms of judgement of occupational groups, see Svensson (2006). Regarding judgements of the occupational status of journalists, I am not aware of the existence of such studies for Norway, but in Sweden, which one would believe would be quite similar to Norway because of its similar social structure and journalistic system, journalists are perceived by the public as an occupational group with upper-medium prestige: lower than for traditional professions (medical doctors, judges, lawyers) and other social elites (e.g. professors, chief executives, director of ministry), on a par with minor elites and professions (e.g. actors, police officers, sociologists, psychologists, authors), but higher than upper secondary school teachers and most forms of secondary professions (e.g. nurses) and much higher than most forms of service- and industrial/manual work (Svensson 2006:24-26).

<sup>536</sup> For a more detailed discussion of the particularities of this perceived role/mission of the Norwegian press and similar legitimization of the press in other countries, see Allern (1997:80-106).

accepted and codified in law (a strengthening of journalistic capital in the field of power, in particular against political capital). The idea of such a special “mission” for journalists is perhaps most explicitly stated in part one of the journalists’ code of press ethics, *Vær-varsom-plakaten* (excerpt from the 2005 edition below).

“The Role of the Press in Society

1.1. Freedom of Speech, Freedom of Information and Freedom of the Press are basic elements of a democracy. A free, independent press is among the most important institutions in a democratic society.

1.2. The press has important functions in that it carries information, debates and critical comments on current affairs. The press is particularly responsible for allowing different views to be expressed.

1.3. The press shall protect the freedom of speech, the freedom of the press and the principle of access to official documents. It cannot yield to any pressure from anybody who might want to prevent open debates, the free flow of information and free access to sources.

1.4. It is the right of the press to carry information on what goes on in society and to uncover and disclose matters which ought to be subjected to criticism. It is a press obligation to shed critical light on how the media themselves exercise their role.

1.5. It is the task of the press to protect individuals and groups against injustices or neglect committed by public authorities and institutions, private concerns, or others.”

Humans, sociologist of religion Peter L. Berger argues, have a basic anthropological need for meaning and order to their lives. Every community, through intense meaning-building activity constructs a world-view – its *nomos*<sup>537</sup>. Approximately translated as “law” in Greek<sup>538</sup>, Berger uses the concept as somewhat of an antithesis to Durkheim’s concept of *anomia* (“society’s insufficient presence in individuals”<sup>539</sup>), *nomos* referring to the normative order of the universe, a socially established and internalised worldview, or cosmos, in which a community makes the world appear meaningful, coherent and stable to us, transposed over our experience of the world<sup>540</sup>. In Norway, I will argue, the idea of journalism having a “mission for society” provides journalism with just such a *nomos*.

Given the difficult conditions most journalists work under (which in some aspects, like high tempo and demands for profitability, appear to have become even worse in recent years)<sup>541</sup>, and also the high specialization and routinized nature of many

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<sup>537</sup> Berger (1967:19-20).

<sup>538</sup> Note that the word *nomos* has many connotations in Greek apart from the more judicial one. When Paul in his *Letters* in the Bible speaks of *nomos* (or *nomoi* in plural), *nomos* also has a strong normative dimension, as a “guide to conduct” and “a standard of judgement” linked to a particular people, cf. Winger (1992).

<sup>539</sup> Durkheim ([1897] 1979:258).

<sup>540</sup> Berger (1967:chapter 1).

<sup>541</sup> These tendencies in journalists’ work environment have in Norway been well documented in several comprehensive studies (Sørensen and Grimsmo 1993, Sørensen, Seierstad and Grimsmo 2005). In the last study (done 2002), 87% reported their work situation as stressful. When asked to compare their job situation with that of two years earlier, 69% reported experiences of increasing work tempo and 75% of higher demands for economic profitability (Sørensen, Seierstad and Grimsmo 2005:131). An increased dependence on an economic logic is also noted by many researchers, see for example Raaum (1999), Roppen (2003) and Allén (2001b).

journalistic tasks (in particular in the larger publications), the higher ideals of journalism must for many journalists seem very remote from their daily work. Not only externally, but also internally, journalistic legitimacy is threatened by *theodicy*<sup>542</sup> analogous to the classical problem of Christian apologists: how can the belief in journalistic ideals be reconciled with the imperfection of the world?<sup>543</sup> No doubt this can partly be explained by Marcel Mauss' arguments that belief systems and *mana* are extremely resistant to contrary evidence: the minimum requirement for the sorcerer, he points out, is not a belief in his own powers, but a belief in the magic capacity of *other* sorcerers<sup>544</sup>. Regarding journalists, journalistic role models, journalistic prizes, and national columnists are some cases which provide opportunities for the display of apparently uncorrupted journalistic charisma. The idea that someone, somewhere, is working for the "mission for society" is perhaps enough for the dominated journalist. Faith, as noted by St. Paul, is "...the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen"<sup>545</sup>, give meaning to their profane activities by making them meaningful and sacred on a cosmic scale, if not on a mundane scale. The idea of "A mission for society" thus not only has a *totemic* element (where the clan of this particular social universe worship not only an ideal but also itself<sup>546</sup>), but it also, to use the concept of Peter L. Berger, provides journalism with a *sacred canopy*:

"Religion legitimates social institutions by bestowing upon them an ultimately valid ontological status, that is, by locating them within a sacred and cosmic frame of reference. The historical constructions of human activity are viewed from a vantage point that, in its own self-definition, transcends both history and man ... the institutional order [is conceived] as directly reflecting or manifesting the divine structure of the cosmos ... the pain becomes more tolerable, the terror less overwhelming, as the sheltering canopy of the nomos extends to cover even those experiences that may reduce the individual to howling animality."<sup>547</sup>

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<sup>542</sup> Weber ([1956] 1978:519).

<sup>543</sup> As Weber makes clear, the problem of theodicy is not primarily one of religion, but of meaning (Ibid.). This extra-religious potential in Weber's discussion of this concept is made apparent in Bourdieu's concept of *sociodicy*, the justification of society and its inequalities, e.g. through the imposition of an ideology of individual "merit" and "intelligence" by the school system (Bourdieu and Passeron [1970] 1990:206-208). See also Bourdieu ([1989] 1996), in particular "Forms of Power and their Reproduction".

<sup>544</sup> Mauss ([1902] 2001:119).

<sup>545</sup> Hebrews 11:1.

<sup>546</sup> "The totem is the clan's flag. It is therefore natural that the feelings the clan awakens in individual consciousness – feelings of dependence and increased vitality – are much more attached to the idea of the totem than to that of the clan ... All he feels is that he is raised above himself and is living a different life from the one he ordinarily leads ... Repeated everywhere and in all forms, this image is bound to take on an exceptional importance in people's minds. Placed centre stage, it becomes their representative ... And the totemic symbol continues to recall those feelings even when the assembly is dissolved; for it survives, engraved on the instruments of the cult ... Through it the emotions felt on these occasions are perpetually sustained and reviewed, as though it inspired them directly ... Generations may change but it remains the same; it is the permanent element in social life. The mysterious forces with which men feel in communion seem to emanate from it ..." (Durkheim 2001: 166).

<sup>547</sup> Berger (1967:33-34,55).

## Journalistic legitimation and theodicies

Such a general nomos, however, does not solve all the problems of journalists theodicies, which appears both on a general level (journalism's general imperfection) and internally in the field (as a justification of the fortunes of the privileged, and giving meaning to the suffering of the unfortunate<sup>548</sup>).

For the former problem of theodicy, of general imperfection, one solution adopted in the journalistic field appears to be a common solution to this problem in religion, in a form of journalistic *dualism*, the idea of the original purity of good being threatened by forces of darkness working through humans, in individual journalistic *sin*. As Weber notes, religious ethics when confronted with the realities of the world often has a tendency to change to an inner-worldly form, making salvation a personal responsibility (with the prize that the whole complex of problems becomes intensified and internalized in each individual<sup>549</sup>), and in the Norwegian journalistic field a highly individualized journalistic ethic<sup>550</sup> has developed, offering a strongly individualized ideology of salvation and soteriology, ignoring Brecht's reminder in *Der Gute Mensch Von Sezuan* that "No one can be good for long if goodness is not in demand"<sup>551</sup>. For Bourdieu, such a logic of personal responsibility and moralism in the journalistic context is deeply mistaken, as it ignores the fact that "individual corruption only masks the structural corruption"<sup>552</sup> (e.g. the pressures from economic competition, the problem that "... the journalistic practices that best conform to journalists' ethical codes are very often simply not profitable"<sup>553</sup>). Such ethical ideals and demands are usually easiest to realise for its most strict proponents, which in claiming the universality of this ethic ignores the different circumstances which hinder an ethical life for those less fortunate than themselves (and in this way, contributes to their own symbolic capital).

The second problem, of internal legitimation, is particularly acute in the Norwegian journalistic field: the most journalistically prestigious publications in Norway, which most often win the national prizes, are also the largest and most commercially successfully press publications. This effect of scale - both in terms of the number of employees and circulation of a publication - appears initially somewhat ambiguous from looking at the structure of the journalistic space suggested in the previous chapter (figure 11). On the one hand, the largest magazine (*Se og Hør*, weekly circulation of 226000 in 2005) is at the opposite pole from the largest national newspapers (*VG*, *Dagbladet*, *Aftenposten*, all with a daily circulation between 150-350000). Also, when looking closer at just the newspapers, we find several very small intellectual newspapers

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<sup>548</sup> Weber ([1956] 1978:491).

<sup>549</sup> Ibid.(578).

<sup>550</sup> Formally, of course, the responsibility of a publication is the editor's, and PFUs judgements are bestowed upon the whole publication and not the individual journalist. Even so, I will argue that Norwegian press ethics is "individualized" in the sense that there is a wide-spread blindness to the role of any extra-individual structures on ethical behaviour (a form of methodological individualism).

<sup>551</sup> Brecht (1967:172).

<sup>552</sup> Bourdieu ([1996] 1998a:17, [1995] 2005:42).

<sup>553</sup> Champagne ([1995] 2005:51).

like *Klassekampen* (daily, 9000), *Dag og Tid* (weekly, 7000) and *Morgenbladet* (weekly, 14000) situated to the left towards the pole of journalistic capital, close to the large daily newspapers, whereas a relatively large regional newspaper like *Sunnmørsposten* (daily, 34000) is positioned towards the right in our model of the journalistic field in the previous chapter<sup>554</sup>. In general, however, there is a general tendency that the largest publications are also the most endowed in symbolic capital, seen in the general opposition between large regional and national newspapers on the left-hand side, on the side of journalist prizes, jury duty, important positions in the press organizations etc. (in other words, located towards the pole of journalistic capital) and the smaller, local newspapers on the right-hand side. The same is largely true for broadcasting, where the smaller local television- and radio stations are located in the lower right-hand corner. This parallelism of economic and symbolic power, which appears to be a particular important property of the journalistic field in Norway<sup>555</sup>, means that the largest publications also (with some notable exceptions) tend to be the most admired among journalists, cf. table 22.

**TABLE 22 “BEST NEWSROOMS”, CHOSEN BY NORWEGIAN JOURNALISTS AND EDITORS (2005). PERCENTAGES OF TOTAL<sup>556</sup>.**

PUBLICATION/FIRM	%	AVERAGE NEWSPAPER CIRCULATION PER ISSUE <sup>557</sup>	
		Rank (1=highest circulation)	Circulation pr. issue
Aftenposten	35	2	252.716 <sup>558</sup>
Dagens Næringsliv	32	6	74.248
NRK <sup>559</sup>	26	(television, state)	-
VG	19	1	343.793
Dagbladet	5	3	162.069
Klassekampen	5	67	8.759
TV 2	3	(television, commercial)	-
Bergens Tidende	3	5	88.054
Dagsavisen	2	13	33.830
Adresseavisa	1	4	79.070
Dag og tid	1	84	(weekly newspaper, 7.054)
Nationen	1	32	17.061
NTB	1	(news wire)	-
Stavanger Aftenblad	1	7	68.186
Vårt land	1	17	29.158

Even if the editors can, to paraphrase the advice given to protestants when producing children, make an effort to “soberly produce newspapers”, without displaying any signs of economically motivated enthusiasm, the patricians of this world (in particular, VG,

<sup>554</sup> Circulation estimates: MedieNorge.

<sup>555</sup> And also in France, cf. Bourdieu ([1983] 1993)

<sup>556</sup> The question was: “Which two newsrooms in Norway do you think are most skilled, journalistically? (your own newsroom excluded)” (Q9).

<sup>557</sup> Source: MedieNorge.

<sup>558</sup> Morning edition. Evening edition: 141.612.

<sup>559</sup> Many listed specific programs in NRK: 5% listed “Brennpunkt”, 4% “Dagsrevyen”, 3% “Dagsnytt” or “Dagsnytt 18”.



Dagbladet and the great regional papers and national broadcasting) need to reconcile and explain their own journalistic dominance and possession of journalistic, charismatic authority with their worldly economic success, a coupling which Bourdieu suggests is an antithesis in all intellectual fields<sup>560</sup>. Whereas editors of small intellectual newspapers (*Klassekampen, Dag og Tid, Morgenbladet*) can interpret their lack of commercial success as a sign of their uncorrupted status and thus in line along the traditional opposition between intellectual/artistic success and worldly success (the ascetic myth), this form of justification is not possible for the larger publications. One solution to this “good fortune”-theodicy appears to be the historical development of an emic theory of the public in *popular journalism*<sup>561</sup> which confuses and equals public (i.e. economic), democratic and journalistic success – a secular version of the Calvinist belief in economic success as a symptom of one’s own state of religious grace<sup>562</sup>. Another way this problem appears to be resolved is by the distributional logic and symbolic functions of the major journalistic prizes, to which I will shortly return.

### The Space of Journalistic Nomos

In the sociology of Bourdieu, the idea of a shared, normative cosmos is reflected in his concepts of habitus and doxa, where the social structures of the world are internalized in a habitus with perceptory and classificatory schemes adjusted to these, which makes the social world appear natural and ordered<sup>563</sup>. But similar to Weber’s dismissal of Marx’s ideas of the historical development of modern society being linked to a single, homogenous logic (that of capitalism) in favour of different cultural factors producing not one but several kind of rationality / types of action each linked to their own particular *Wertsphären* (the search for truth in science, power in politics, right/law in the judicial system etc.)<sup>564</sup>, Bourdieu sees each social field being characterised by a particular *nomos*. For Bourdieu, *nomos* refers not only to “the law of the field”, its “functioning according to its own rules” (the meaning which is etymologically implied in the very concept of autonomy)<sup>565</sup>. He also stresses the *contestational* nature of *nomos* and its role in domination, it being “a principle of vision of division”<sup>566</sup>, a fundamental classificatory struggle<sup>567</sup> to define who are the “worthy” and the “unworthy” participants in the social field.

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<sup>560</sup> Cf. Bourdieu ([1992] 1996:214-223).

<sup>561</sup> In Norway, this historical process have been studied by Martin Eide (1995b, 1998b).

<sup>562</sup> Weber ([1956] 1978:523).

<sup>563</sup> Bourdieu (1977:164-171).

<sup>564</sup> Weber ([1920] 1988).

<sup>565</sup> Cf. Bourdieu ([1999] 2001:41).

<sup>566</sup> Bourdieu ([1992] 1996:223-7, [1997] 2000:96).

<sup>567</sup> Bourdieu ([1992] 1996:223-7).

*A MAGAZINE OR A NEWSPAPER?* In September 2003 Odd J. Nelvik, the editor-publisher of the largest (celebrity) magazine in Norway, *Se og Hør*, proclaimed that “Se og Hør is no longer a magazine. We are a modern newspaper.”<sup>568</sup> The reason given for this was the planned changes in the very successful publication to publish bi-weekly (instead of weekly) and include news sections, a political editor, and news commentaries – where the leaders of all the four biggest political parties (SV, Frp, H and Ap) had agreed to appear as columnists. Many commentators – including Nelvik himself – were quick to point out the obvious economic profits this could mean for *Se og Hør*: In Norway, newspapers (but not magazines) are exempted from VAT, and a governmental reclassification from magazine to newspaper would result in tax savings of 140 million NOK every year (17 mill. Euro)<sup>569</sup>. The response of the newspaper editors before the launch was overall negative. Some, like Thor Gjermund Eriksen (*Dagbladet*), were in favour of VAT exemption for all printed publications, but strongly denied any similarities between *Se og Hør* and *Dagbladet*: “There’s a big difference. I do not think that any readers have any difficulty in understanding that there are miles of difference between our news coverage, commentaries and traditions and a magazine like *Se og Hør*.”<sup>570</sup> Einar Hanseid (*Aftenposten*) conceded: “... *Se og Hør* is not a newspaper, but a news magazine in its own very particular field.”<sup>571</sup> The editor of *Klassekampen* was more dismissive, being “... doubtful that a glossy magazine which principally writes about celebrities should be considered a newspaper even if it doubles its publication rate. There are still decisive fundamental differences between newspapers and celebrity magazines, and it would be somewhat stupid to deny this. In spite of celebrities and nonsense in the tabloids, they are still central in the democratic constitution of opinions ...”<sup>572</sup>. Many journalists blamed the two largest tabloids (*VG* and *Dagbladet*) for the situation, for having become too similar to magazines in content and expression (being “Akersgata’s two daily magazines”, as one commentator put it<sup>573</sup>). A journalist in the northern regional newspaper *Nordlys* wrote: “What is the difference between the story that the beer-loving Cowboy-Laila and Svenn O. Høyby [the Norwegian crown princess’ father] are friends, and the advice to the crown princess that she ought to reconcile with her father? The difference is *Se og Hør* and *VG*... the newspapers and their owners should of course blame themselves, and their irresolute, schizophrenic waver between stock exchange and cathedral<sup>574</sup>. When the stock exchange reigns, one fumbles feverishly to seize the popular zeitgeist, that which sells.”<sup>575</sup> The magazine editors were, not unexpectedly, generally more positive. Kjersti Løken Stavrum (editor of *Kvinner og Klær*, a modern woman’s magazine), called *Se og Hør*’s move “a challenge to the attitudes of the [journalistic] establishment”, and expressed the hope that *Se og Hør*’s case would discredit this establishment<sup>576</sup>. Even if the published result was hard to distinguish from the original *Se og Hør* (only a few pages of news were added, with an almost identical layout and similar celebrity-heavy content as the rest of the magazine) and its attempts to be reclassified as a newspaper were unsuccessful, the episode was instructive. It can illustrate how, through the presence of a social field of journalism, seemingly purely legal and economic questions (newspaper or not newspaper?) are instantly retranslated into battles of *nomos* and thus a cosmological event, fought with bipolar concepts – “information” vs. “entertainment”, “democratic obligations” vs. “profit-seeking”,

<sup>568</sup> “Se og Hør to ganger i uka”, *NTBtekst* 08.09.2003.

<sup>569</sup> “Sparer 140 mill. på å bli avis”, *Dagens Næringsliv* 09.09.2003.

<sup>570</sup> “- Momsfritak må skape presedens”, *Aftenposten* 09.09.2003.

<sup>571</sup> “Avventende konkurrenter”, *Dagens Næringsliv* 09.09.2003.

<sup>572</sup> “Se og Hør”, *Klassekampen* 10.09.2003.

<sup>573</sup> “Dobbel dose Sven O. Høyby”, *Adresseavisen* 13.09.2003.

<sup>574</sup> “Stock exchange or cathedral” <“Børs eller katedral”> is a vernacular in the Norwegian press, with many historical antecedents, cf. Eide (2000b:84-5).

<sup>575</sup> “Momsfritt sladder”, *Nordlys* 12.09.2003.

<sup>576</sup> “Avventende konkurrenter”, *Dagens Næringsliv* 09.09.2003.

“newspapers” vs. “magazines”, that is to say, the question of worthy and unworthy, pure and impure, the sacred and the profane (in a manner quite close to what anthropologists call “pollution control”<sup>577</sup>), or to use Bourdieu’s terms, as part of a continuous struggle of the legitimate definition of journalistic capital<sup>578</sup>.

To explore the question of journalistic *nomos*<sup>579</sup> further – and simultaneously investigate the explanatory power of the statistical model of the journalistic field in chapter 5, I will now turn to a small analysis of *the space of journalistic nomos*. To look for such basic classificatory struggles in the field, the questionnaire to journalists and editors asked a variety of questions regarding this issue of “worthy” and “unworthy” participants, from the more explicit (e.g. Q29, “To what degree do you think so-and-so’s work in these television programs is journalism?”) to more specialized and indirect - e.g. asking for journalistic ideals and role models (Q8-9, Q30-31), if a local politician or the leader of a sports club can be a journalist (Q16) etc.

For this particular analysis, two sets of questions were selected for a simple correspondence analysis (CA): current place of work (Q20) and 19 selected questions where the respondent was asked to judge various journalistic institutions and publications in regard “to what degree they are qualified to judge what is good journalism” (Q7). It was hoped that these latter questions would be used by the journalists as an opportunity for an act of classification close to what was believed were the central question regarding the *nomos* of this field, namely of saying who are “not really journalists” and “not really doing journalism”<sup>580</sup>.

The table of responses by current place of work for all 27 questions is listed in table 23 according to their percentage of received *negative* judgements. As we will see, the overall ranking tends to follow the overall distribution of journalistic capital, but also offers a view of some interesting nuances in the antagonisms of the field.

The publications of the weekly press (above all *Se og Hør*) and the specialist press are the categories both receiving most negative value judgements (76-40% of the total) and being the most controversial of the active categories. Also quite negative (31-20%) are the judgements on the two largest national tabloids (*Dagbladet* and *VG*), *Morgenbladet* (an intellectual weekly newspaper in the style of *Le Monde Diplomatique*), TV2 (the largest commercial broadcaster) and *Klassekampen* (the only national daily newspaper with a Marxist past and a strong leftist profile). Also, one sees that NRKs *Broadcasting*

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<sup>577</sup> “...the reaction which condemns any object or idea likely to confuse or contradict cherished classifications.” Douglas ([1966] 1996:37).

<sup>578</sup> For a more formal discussion of the VAT-debate, see Høst (2004). A similar debate followed the launch of the confessional book *En helt vanlig dag på jobben* <*An ordinary day at work*> by former *Se og Hør*-journalist Håvard Melnæs (2007): what is the real difference between paying celebrities (or their friends) for stories (which *Se og Hør* does) and the practice in many larger newspapers of giving tip-money (e.g. for the use of private pictures)?

<sup>579</sup> In a cross-theoretical perspective, one should note that Bourdieu’s concern with the fields’ *nomos* has some resonance with the focus on occupations’ boundary construction and -maintenance in the post-Parsonian sociology of professions, see for example the discussion of discursive boundary formations by Zelizer (1992:196) and of struggles over jurisdiction by Abbott (1988:19).

<sup>580</sup> Cf. Bourdieu ([1992] 1996:223).

*Council* <Kringkastingrådet> are judged negatively by many, particularly by those working in broadcasting (including also those working in NRK). Most positively judged are PFU (the press organizations' interior court of justice), *Aftenposten* (the largest regional newspaper, based in Oslo), *Dagens Næringsliv* (the largest financial newspaper), NRK and the unions of Journalists and Editors.

**Note on the analysis of correspondences** (The space of journalistic nomos)

The statistical model of the journalistic space of nomos in figure 14 is based on a simple correspondence analysis (CA) of a selection of 660 individuals (out of a total of 990, which included every NJ-member (921) and a random sample of 25% of NRs members in the dataset (69 out of 275) to compensate for different sampling (so that journalists and editors were weighted equally according to the size of their respective populations). Excluded from the analysis were all respondents who 1) did not give an answer to the current place of work, or were not working (mostly students and retired journalists) or 2) did not answer at least half of the attitude questions.

The first set of selected categories (the rows) consists of a simple 10-item coding of the respondents' current place of work (NRK national, NRK district, TV2/national commercial broadcasting and TV-production, VG/Dagbladet, the four largest regional newspapers (Aftenposten, Stavanger Aftenblad, Bergens Tidende and Adresseavisen), other national/large city-newspapers, large local papers, small local papers, weekly press, specialist press). The second set (the columns) was 19 judgements of institutions and publications in regard to their journalistic competence on a 5-point Likert-scale. For simplicity, each attitude question was recoded into a dummy variable (positive/neutral or negative), making in all 38 categories.

Excluded from the alternatives listed in table 23 was a series of categories which was seen as more external to the journalistic field and/or having a very different ontological status: *the public, national politicians, media researchers and journalism educations*. Also, the judgement of *Journalisten* – NJs paper for members - was excluded from the analysis because the opinions of this magazine had a very high correlation (.45) with the union of journalists (NJ). Finally, *PFU* was excluded from the analysis because less than 5% gave a negative judgment of it - in accordance with Rouanet & le Roux's "5-percent rule" (2004:216).

The analysis thus consists of a 10 x 38 table which yields a highly significant chi-square value of 357.5. The explained variance of the first axes in the correspondence analysis is somewhat low. The first two axes accounts for only 49% of the total inertia of the table (which is 0.0177), three axes for 66%. The raw inertia rates for the first five axes are .0052, .0035, .0029, .0023 and .0015. There is no clear "drop" in the explained inertia until after the fourth axis, but an interpretation of the axes suggests retaining the first three, as the fourth axis appears analytically less interesting, as it mainly concerns oppositions between only a few categories

Further details on the analysis, including weight, inertia, coordinates, absolute and relative contributions for axis 1-4 are provided in table 43 in the table appendix.

**TABLE 23** **NOMIC JUDGEMENTS. INSTITUTIONS AND PUBLICATIONS JUDGED BY THEIR “JOURNALISTIC COMPETENCE” BY RESPONDENTS’ PLACE OF WORK. PERCENTAGE OF NEGATIVE JUDGEMENTS.**

	CURRENT PLACE OF WORK										Total
	,NRK national	NRK, district	TV2 / com. broadcasting	Dagbladet VG /	Large regional	Other national	Large local newspapers	Small local newspapers	Weekly press	Specialist press	
<b>Se og Hør</b>	83	78	77	84	62	78	73	81	57	79	<b>76</b>
<b>Politicians*</b>	78	72	80	75	65	76	79	75	61	71	<b>75</b>
<b>Vi Menn</b>	65	49	63	59	43	62	52	68	52	68	<b>58</b>
<b>Kvinner og Klær</b>	52	42	53	33	35	52	44	55	41	56	<b>47</b>
<b>The general public*</b>	46	44	44	40	39	35	54	46	48	60	<b>46</b>
<b>Sykepleien</b>	43	39	49	34	26	43	43	49	48	29	<b>42</b>
<b>Teknisk Ukeblad</b>	40	36	45	34	24	40	40	48	46	32	<b>40</b>
<b>NRK Broadcast Council*</b>	45	34	46	34	28	38	39	25	24	31	<b>35</b>
<b>Dagbladet VG</b>	29	32	25	22	39	45	31	27	32	38	<b>31</b>
<b>Morgenbladet</b>	24	14	24	32	30	30	27	21	35	21	<b>25</b>
<b>Local newspapers</b>	20	35	17	26	27	24	22	20	37	17	<b>24</b>
<b>TV2</b>	27	26	08	18	20	31	17	20	30	32	<b>22</b>
<b>Media researchers*</b>	22	13	25	37	24	26	22	15	13	06	<b>21</b>
<b>Klassekampen</b>	19	17	20	24	19	18	18	22	26	12	<b>20</b>
<b>Journ. educations*</b>	17	12	29	27	15	14	18	15	15	09	<b>17</b>
<b>Journalisten*</b>	20	08	19	20	16	26	17	13	15	06	<b>16</b>
<b>Union of Editors</b>	18	15	12	14	15	13	16	10	16	09	<b>14</b>
<b>Region. Newspapers</b>	08	18	13	12	13	15	11	16	13	11	<b>13</b>
<b>Instit. for Journalism*</b>	11	10	15	12	13	16	11	08	09	03	<b>11</b>
<b>SKUP-jury</b>	06	08	17	08	15	12	09	11	09	03	<b>10</b>
<b>Norw. Press Union</b>	09	05	10	16	14	06	09	05	09	06	<b>09</b>
<b>Union of Journalists</b>	09	07	04	24	07	15	05	06	07	03	<b>08</b>
<b>NRK</b>	06	03	10	12	09	14	09	04	05	00	<b>07</b>
<b>Dagens Næringsliv</b>	04	03	06	08	06	03	05	08	14	09	<b>06</b>
<b>Aftenposten</b>	06	02	08	08	05	09	04	04	14	00	<b>06</b>
<b>PFU*</b>	04	05	06	06	02	03	04	05	02	03	<b>05</b>

Categories marked with an asterisk (\*) were not included in the correspondence analysis.

Judged by the absolute and relative contributions, the first axis of the analysis of correspondences (top-down in the map in figure 14) appears to mainly *concern the question of the status of the most recent entrants in the journalistic field* (magazines, specialist press), and opposes mainly individuals working in smaller local newspapers with those working in one of the four largest regional newspapers (*Aftenposten, Bergens Tidende, Stavanger Aftenblad, Adresseavisen*), the two largest national tabloids (*VG, Dagbladet*) and – to a somewhat lesser degree - in the weekly press (top region). Whereas the former are particularly negative towards the publications from the weekly and specialist press (*Se og Hør, Kvinner og klær, Sykepleien, Teknisk ukeblad*), the latter are more positive to these.

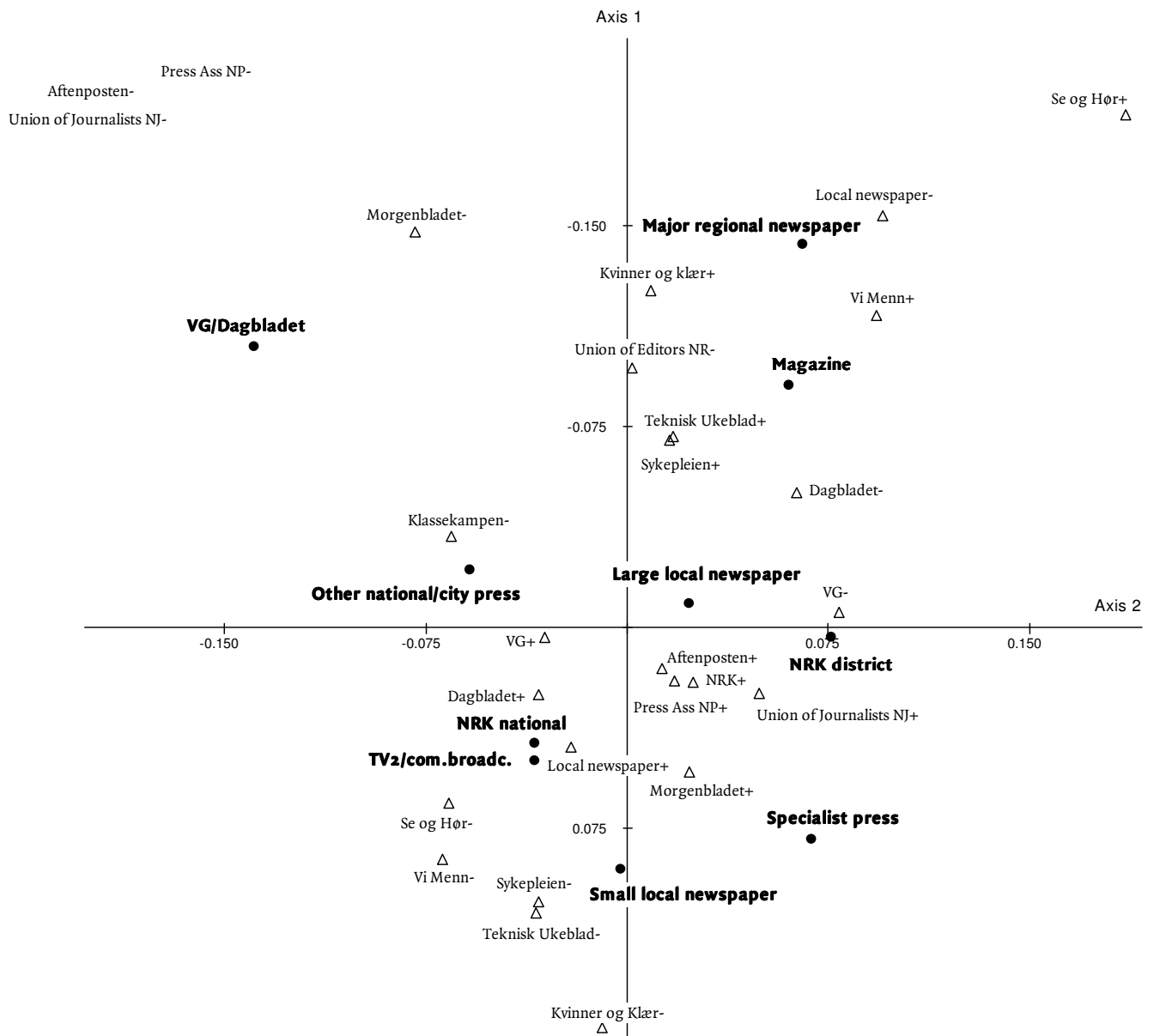
The second axis (left-right) *follows a logic of centre-periphery both geographically and journalistically* (that is, following the logic of high contra low volume of journalistic and field-specific capital by opposing those working in the largest tabloids - and also to some degree those working other large city press - with journalists in the larger local press publications (NRK district, large regional newspapers), the weekly and specialist press. The “national/city newspaper press” pole on the left in the map – which is simultaneously a “negativity pole” by being characterized primarily by more negative judgements than the right pole - are distinguished from the latter pole first and foremost by stronger negative judgements of the union of journalists (NJ) and publications from the weekly press (*Vi Menn* and *Se og Hør*), whereas those on the right are more positive to the same and also more negative to the tabloids (*VG* in particular) and more positive to NRK.

The third axis<sup>581</sup> opposes the journalists working in commercial broadcasting and in the weekly press with other journalists, in particular those working in the specialist press and NRK (on the left). The latter are directly opposed to the former primarily by their more often negative judgement of the most successfully commercial publications (*TV2, Se og hør, Dagbladet, VG*) in favour of publications with often lower circulation, but higher journalistic and intellectual reputation (*Aftenposten, Dagens Næringsliv, Morgenbladet, Klassekampen*), the “investigative journalism” rewarded by SKUP and publications from the specialist press. The axis thus appears to oppose more autonomous/intellectual ideals of journalism with those who sees popularity (and thus, commercial success) as a less problematic criterion for journalistic success.

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<sup>581</sup> This axis is shown as the horizontal opposition in figure 18 in the table appendix.

FIGURE 14 THE SPACE OF JOURNALISTIC NOMOS. CA, AXIS 1-2. JOURNALISTS/EDITORS 2005.



Bold font = current place of work. Regular font = publication / institution judged, unfavourly (-) or neutral/positive (+). Only column categories with a quality >.20 for the first two axes are displayed in the factor plane.

Inspecting the plane made by the first two principal axes of the analysis (figure 14), which explains 49% of the variance in the tables, we can see clear parallels to the space of journalists constructed in the previous chapter. The first axis in this space of nomos is not surprisingly a *generation* axis (and to some extent, a *medium axis*) as it opposes older/male journalists in the national and top regional newspapers vs. the younger journalists working in small local newspapers and other types of

publications/broadcasting<sup>582</sup>. The second axis opposes *VG/Dagbladet* and other national/big city press vs. various categories of local press, weekly and specialist press, which represents, as we remember, also a difference in journalistic capital. The third axis appears to modify these oppositions by introducing a third division which opposes different attitudes to the most openly commercial publications.

The broad similarities between this independent statistical construction of *the symbolic space of nomos* and the previously constructed *social field of journalism* is an argument for the sociological reality of both, suggesting that one's position in this field and one's vision of it are closely linked: oppositional judgements of journalistic worth largely follow the distribution of capital (and therefore power) in this field.

The oppositions in nomos identified above are also very interesting in the light of the fact that research and thinking on the relationships between different journalistic publications in Norway have usually been dominated by a focus on competition in a quite restricted sense (mainly economic and/or on an institutional level), in particular along the commercial-state dimension (especially the competition between private *TV2* and state-owned *NRK*<sup>583</sup>), on the political dimension (for example, competition between traditional labour press newspapers and conservative press papers)<sup>584</sup> or local competition between newspapers in one city or local region<sup>585</sup>. Given these traditional concerns, it is not surprising that Bjørgulv Braanen's move from being a journalist in *Klassekampen* – a political leftist, critical daily newspaper – to *Dagens Næringsliv*, a successful private-owned, business-driven business daily newspaper based on the *Financial Times* – and back to the editorship of *Klassekampen* in 2000 for many was seen as an exceptional, even a scandalous trajectory. In terms of the proposed field model, however, the movement between *Dagens Næringsliv* and its close neighbour *Klassekampen* (in terms of capital volume and composition of their journalists) is far less surprising and barely a move at all, given the geography of the field.

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<sup>582</sup> One possible explanation for this logic is to see this as an expression of a struggle where that most dominated members of the press through the logic of orthodoxia fight against a conception of journalism which includes the new competition, supporting instead a traditional classification (seeing in traditional press work the normative model for all journalistic work) and thus their claims to a superior state of grace.

<sup>583</sup> See for example Sand and Helland (1998) and Syversen (1997).

<sup>584</sup> Høst (1996a).

<sup>585</sup> Høst (1996b).



## 6.2 Journalistic charisma and its variations

### Journalistic capital and journalistic charisma

Bourdieu's concept of capital can be thought of as types of power effective in a particular social universe, whether in the whole social space (e.g. economic capital) or restricted to a smaller, relative autonomous microcosm, as in our case, that of the Norwegian journalistic field. The structure of a field equals in the Bourdieuan framework the unequal distribution of *capital* among the field's members, and as argued in the previous chapter, the basic structure of the Norwegian journalistic field was characterized by two fundamental oppositions (fundamental in the sense that they explain most of the differences in capital observed among the fields participants): first, along a *volume scale of total field-specific capital*, which is simultaneously an opposition between the old and the young, the male and the female, print media and broadcasting etc., and secondly, a volume scale of a whole range of resources and positions that we collectively termed *journalistic capital*, for example having won a national journalistic prize, being a columnist in a large newspaper, being on the jury on a renowned journalistic prize, holding a national office in the press organizations etc.<sup>586</sup>.

The family-resemblance of these latter resources and positions is that they are central to *domination* in the journalistic universe. They give their bearers a privileged ability to influence the fundamental belief-system of the field, its *nomos*, including an ability to influence (to a greater degree than those without similar resources) what is commonly believed to be "good journalism" and "good journalists". By this they are not only dividing the journalistic world into legitimate and illegitimate agents and practices (and thus, the borders of the field), but also influence the value of a given type of capital in the journalistic world (usually more favourable to their own capacities). Examples of such struggles and their outcomes is the value of education in the journalistic labour market (in general, as a minimum requisite for entrance, or more specifically for a particular position), the "importance" of foreign news versus celebrity news in a newspaper, the "worth" of an academic writing style versus a more literary one etc., and by effect, the different worth (including self-worth) of the individuals in this field.

*Journalistic capital*, in this sense, is a type (or several types) of what Bourdieu terms *symbolic capital*. Symbolic capital is not a distinct species of capital (a common misunderstanding of Bourdieu's work) in the way cultural or economic capital is: it is a *form* that capital takes when it is misrecognized as capital<sup>587</sup>. The concept has much in common with Weber's concept of *Herrschaft/domination* – they both focus on the active complicity of agents in their own coercion<sup>588</sup>. An important difference is, however, that

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<sup>586</sup> Rather than speaking of journalistic capital in the singular sense, it is thus probably more correct to think of it in plural form, i.e. as a *collection* of various forms of resources which are loosely related to similar (if not necessarily identical) conceptions of journalistic excellence.

<sup>587</sup> Bourdieu ([1977] 1991:170). A good example of this is the traditional Calvinist belief in economic success as a sign of divine election, a misrecognition of the true nature of economic capital which made it possible for it to function as symbolic capital among believers. Cf. Weber ([1956] 1978:523)

<sup>588</sup> *Herrschaft* is coercion with the consent of others (as opposed to *Macht*, defined by Weber as the ability to coerce regardless of consent). Weber defines the former as "the probability that a command with a given

where compliance to domination for Weber can be the result of many possible factors spanning from simple habituation to rational calculation of advantages<sup>589</sup>, symbolic capital is for Bourdieu inextricably linked to symbolic violence<sup>590</sup> and *misrecognition*, it is “that invisible power which can be exercised only with the complicity of those who do not want to know that they are subject to it or even that they themselves exercise it.”<sup>591</sup>. An example of this is the value of a journalistic prize: it only has value for the agent as long as this is perceived as the expression of exceptional, personal journalistic gifts. If, on the other hand, the prize is seen (more realistically) as partly unfair and/or impersonal – e.g. because it rewards a relatively narrow set of journalistic competences, or because it greatly favours journalists in economically successful publications – the symbolic value of the prize is reduced accordingly.

The “natural” authority which springs from the possession of symbolic capital – as in the example above – is close to Weber’s concept of a *charismatic authority*, “a rule over men, whether predominantly external or predominantly internal, to which the governed submit because of their belief in the extraordinary quality of the specific person.”<sup>592</sup>. For those favourably disposed, complicity is based on a feeling of duty and devotion to the leaders, “arising out of enthusiasm, or of despair and hope.”<sup>593</sup>

The similarities between Bourdieu’s concepts and Weber’s sociology of religion are all but accidental. Bourdieu’s first works on the nature of social fields were two papers written in 1971 reinterpreting Weber’s sociology of religion in a structural perspective, where he argues that Weber’s relation between prophets, sorcerers and priests ought to be seen in a *relational* perspective, as a specific relation of competition over religious capital in the religious field. This model of the religious field was in turn transferred, generalized and developed for studies of the French intellectual and cultural field, and later to other fields. In Bourdieu’s view, the religious struggles described by Weber, between orthodoxy and heterodoxy, the established and newcomers, using strategies of conservation and strategies of subversion etc. are fought in a similar manner in every social microcosm<sup>594</sup>. Weber’s ‘charisma’ can be thus thought of as a *particular* case of symbolic capital, the one effective in a religious field, and conversely, because a social field by definition is built upon the accumulation of a specific symbolic capital, that is, a specific idea of excellence and merit which is not comparable with those reigning in other fields (compare for example, the highly conflicting ideals of the personal qualities

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content will be obeyed by a given groups of persons”, the latter as “the probability that one actor within a social relationship will be in a position to carry out his own will despite resistance” (Weber [1956] 1978:53).

<sup>589</sup> Ibid.(212).

<sup>590</sup> Cf. Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992:167).

<sup>591</sup> Bourdieu ([1977] 1991:164). Cf. also the earlier discussion in section 3.2 of the concept of symbolic power in Bourdieu’s sociology.

<sup>592</sup> Weber ([1920] 1988:268).

<sup>593</sup> Weber ([1956] 1978:241-2).

<sup>594</sup> “Legitimation and structured interest in Weber’s sociology of religion” (Bourdieu [1971] 1987) and “Genesis and structure of the religious field.” ([1971] 1991). For more on this connection between Weber and Bourdieu, see Egger, Pfeuffer and Schultheis (2000), Bourdieu(2000) and Engler (2003).

which make a “good” businessman, writer or scientist), each field produces its own particular type of charisma<sup>595</sup>.

In the Norwegian context, one example of the presence of such charismatic beliefs among journalists is Svennik Høyer and Øyvind Ihlen’s study of job adverts for journalists, which found that instead of formal requirements (e.g. a journalism education or specific journalistic skills) such adverts typically called for informal and vague qualities like “a nose for news”<sup>596</sup> – classical shamanistic characteristics<sup>597</sup> in addition to requests for people who were “hungry” for journalism, had “strong opinions on journalism”, or “a will for “innovative thinking”. Similar charismatic ideas can be identified in the questionnaires given to journalists and journalist students regarding necessary qualities for a good journalist, where “curiosity” and “a sense of justice” are usually ranked among the highest qualities<sup>598</sup>.

The particularity of the charismatic ideals of journalists is not only a good indicator of the specificity of symbolic capital in this universe, but also – by its similarity or dissimilarity to ideals in other, competing social fields – an indicator of the strength of this particular symbolic capital and thus of the autonomy of this social universe. What then, is the nature of these charismatic ideals?

There is probably no data which could better give us a picture of the mix of social and mental structures which underlie journalistic capital than the statistical distribution of role models and journalistic prize-winners.

### **Charismatic ideals: journalistic role models**

When journalists are asked to name good role models for journalists in the survey, they do not do so randomly, but follow distinct classificatory principles, as can be gathered from table 24. The first is that the role models chosen are predominantly Norwegian, with the exception of a few references to international journalistic classics (Woodward & Bernstein, Günter Walraff), world-famous war correspondents (Ryszard Kapucinski, John Pilger, Robert Fisk) and masters of journalistic irreverence (Hunter S. Thompson and Michael Moore). Only one role model among the top fifty, Jan Guillou, is from another Nordic country (Sweden). This relative dominance of Norwegian role models can probably be seen as supporting the previous argument of the particular importance of a *national* journalistic field in Norway.

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<sup>595</sup> Weber ([1956] 1978:483) notes that religious charisma may even be the original form of artistic charisma and its source.

<sup>596</sup> Høyer and Ihlen (1998).

<sup>597</sup> Cf. Fredrik Barth’s ([1966] 1994:42) description of the master seiner on a Norwegian trawler, which exhibits similar qualities “... he is spontaneous, discusses and tell jokes, he provides inspired guesswork, has a “good nose” and acute senses. He is well known for being unafraid of the consequences of his actions, and he lives according to his reputation; boasting of gambling feats and drunken brawls.”

<sup>598</sup> In my survey (Q30-31), 92% of the journalists and editor said that curiosity was a “very important” characteristic for a journalist, 69% “a sense of justice”. For Norwegian journalism students who started in 2005, curiosity was the top ranked characteristic (93% “very important”) from a list of twelve qualities, beating “knowledge of society” (82%). Interestingly, Norwegian students scored curiosity much higher than students in other Nordic countries, indicating different national traditions (Bjørnsen, Hovden, Ottosen, Schultz and Zilliacus-Tikknanen 2007).

**TABLE 24 JOURNALISTIC ROLE MODELS. PERCENTAGES OF TOTAL, RANKED BY POPULARITY<sup>599</sup>**

Hegge, Per Egil (Aftenposten)	7,4 %	Geelmuyden, Nils C. (DN)	0,8 %	Johansen, Jahn Otto (NRK)	0,5 %
Osvold, Sissel B. (Dagbladet)	5,1 %	Hafstad, Anne (Aftenp.)	0,8 %	Kapuscinski, Ryszard	0,5 %
Valebrokk, Kåre (TV2)	3,0 %	Bye, Erik (NRK)	0,7 %	Mannes, Siri Lill (TV2)	0,5 %
Grosvold, Anne (NRK)	2,7 %	Fisk, Robert	0,7 %	Olufsen, Bernt (VG)	0,5 %
Stanghelle, Harald (Aftenp.)	2,7 %	Woodward/Bernstein	0,7 %	Østlie, Kjetil (Aftenp.)	0,5 %
Steinfeld, Hans-W (NRK)	2,5 %	Borch, Christian (NRK)	0,7 %	Botnen, Bjarte (Vårt Land)	0,4 %
Kristansen, Tømm (NRK)	2,1 %	Engdal, Eskil (DN)	0,7 %	Børde, Håkon (NRK)	0,4 %
Holm, Arne O. (NRK)	1,5 %	Jacobsen, Alf R (NRK)	0,7 %	Egeland, John Olav (Dagbl.)	0,4 %
Skouen, Arne (Dagbladet)	1,4 %	Pilger, Jon	0,7 %	Guillou, Jan	0,4 %
Sørbo, Kari (NRK)	1,3 %	Borgen, Erling (NRK)	0,6 %	Hansson, Steinar (Dagsavisen)	0,4 %
Seierstad, Åsne (freelancer)	1,2 %	Braanen, Bjørgulv (Klassek.)	0,6 %	Helskog, Gerhard (TV2)	0,4 %
Simonsen, Marie (Dagbladet)	1,2 %	Duckert, Hege (Dagbladet)	0,6 %	Lægred, Erling (NRK)	0,4 %
Wallraff, Günther	1,2 %	Olsen, Inger Anne (Aftenp.)	0,6 %	Moore, Michael	0,4 %
Forr, Gudleiv (Dagbl.)	1,0 %	Steinsland, Tonje (TV2)	0,6 %	Nilsen, Fritz (NRK)	0,4 %
Hansen, Bjørn (NRK)	1,0 %	Thompson, Hunter S	0,6 %	Nordahl, Bjørn Olav (DN)	0,4 %
Kokkvold, Per Edgar (NP)	1,0 %	Tønset, Arne Egil (NRK)	0,6 %	Olsen, Knut (NRK)	0,4 %
Omdal, Sven Egil (SA)	0,9 %	Hegnar, Trygve (Kapital)	0,5 %		

The second principle underlying the journalists' selections is a preference for older journalists, which is understandable since capital - in addition to a socially constituted *libido* (or *illusio*), an interest in the journalistic game and its stakes - first and foremost requires *time* to accumulate<sup>600</sup>. This can be easily be observed in the age distribution of the most prestigious positions, for example seeing that a chief editor on average is 8 years older than the average journalist, the columnist 10 years older, or in the case of this list, the fact that the top ten role models had an average age of 59 years, 15 years higher than the average journalist.

Old age, however, is subordinate to the symbolic capital accumulated, which can be seen in the exceptions to the rule, where young journalists doing journalistic work of exceptional symbolic value are introduced into this roll of heroes<sup>601</sup>. More generally, one find that almost every journalistic role model is characterized by specific journalistic distinctions and honours. Among the top ten on this list, five have received the *The grand prize for journalism* (Osvold, Grosvold, Stanghelle, Kristiansen, Holm), three the prize's earlier incarnations, the *Narvesen*- and the *Hirschfeld-prize* (Hegge, Steinfeld, Skouen), and two the *Skup-prize* for investigative journalism (Stanghelle, Holm)<sup>602</sup>.

<sup>599</sup> In the questionnaire, journalists were asked to list two persons they thought were good role models for journalists (Q8). 54% listed at least one name, 10% did not answer the question, 22% said they had no journalistic role models, 13% that they could not remember anyone. The percentages in the table are calculated from the total number of respondents and not only from those who have named a role model.

<sup>600</sup> Bourdieu ([1983] 1986).

<sup>601</sup> An example is Åsne Seierstad (b. 1970), who worked as a foreign correspondent in Russia and China before becoming war correspondent in Kosovo, Afghanistan and Iraq. In Iraq in 2003, she was the only Norwegian war correspondent (working freelance), a role for which she became the youngest journalist to ever receive the Norwegian Grand prize for journalism in 2003. The year before, she had published a factual-literary book, later translated as *The Bookseller of Kabul* (2002), which became an international bestseller.

<sup>602</sup> We could also add *Gullpennen* (Hegge, Osvold, Valebrokk, Stanghelle), the Bokmålprize for good writing, and *Kringkastingsprisen* (Sørbo) for best use of Nynorsk in broadcasting.

Another factor common to the role models on the list is that most of them for years have held high-profile positions in one (and often several) of the leading national (that is to say, Oslo-based) media publications, in particular the news- and political departments of Dagbladet, Aftenposten and NRK television. They mainly work in traditional, high-status news genres. In particular there are many who are or have been foreign correspondents and news anchors (there are no sports reporters in the Norwegian journalistic pantheon), often as columnists and editors of political news, or more general columnists in societal/cultural themes.

That the clear majority of role models are working in national media is also not unexpected: a large national newspaper can because of its often large numbers of readers and thus high income – in contrast to a small local newspaper - afford more staff (which opens for more specialist skills and knowledge), a higher degree of journalistic specialization (for example, having a dedicated political columnist instead of this being the part-time responsibility of an all-round journalist), offer better wages and working conditions, and through its access to a large audience, offer the possibility of a kind of public recognition. This also –very important in the field - offers the opportunity for the journalist of having a presence among peers, of being read and seen by other, important journalists, and thus providing the basis of a *social capital* of great importance when important positions and rewards are to be distributed (living in Oslo, with the many possibilities for socializing with and meeting other journalists are also a great advantage). Thus we see for example that general prizes for journalism are systematically awarded journalists with a public presence on a national level, or (which is often the same), in Oslo (only 3 of 14 “Grand prize of journalism” have gone to journalists in a publication outside Oslo, and one of them was a tie).

### **Charismatic variations**

As known from the sociology of religion, social differentiation usually leads to the establishment of alternative versions of the sacral cosmos in different social groups<sup>603</sup>. Weber notes that the characteristics of a religion often dramatically change character according to the social class and corresponding needs of its believers: whereas the intellectual classes tend to emphasise the intellectual aspect of salvation and the middle- and petit bourgeois the quiet contemplation mirroring their domestic life, the more disprivileged strata tend to embrace the idea of a saviour as bearer of salvation<sup>604</sup>.

Similarly, in the list of role models above, we can glimpse the existence of several and in many cases *competing* ideal-types: the journalist-intellectual, the investigative reporter, the sharp and observant columnist, the fearless war correspondent, the charming and witty TV host, the journalist-author etc. No doubt, one important characteristic of many of the journalists on the top of the list is their successful incorporation of several of these charismatic ideals simultaneously, making them “all things to all men”<sup>605</sup>.

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<sup>603</sup> Luckmann ([1963] 2004:80).

<sup>604</sup> See for example Weber ([1956] 1978:486-8).

<sup>605</sup> Corinthians 9:22.

In the view of Bourdieu's view of social fields as fundamentally characterised by struggle, one should not be surprised that these charismatic ideals are subject to variations according to journalists' (both the role models and the respondents) positions in the field of Norwegian journalism. When looking at figure 15, which plots the most popular role models given by the journalists as passive points (that is to say, as points which do not influence the given structure) into the model of the field suggested in the previous chapter<sup>606</sup>, one is first struck by a logic which one may term the Anaximander-effect<sup>607</sup>, as the journalist's exemplarians are strongly correlated to their own characteristics.

Moving upward along the first (vertical) axis, which separates the older, male journalists from their counterparts, one thus finds that the role models become older and are less often female. The relative chances (odds ratio) of a journalist mentioning Per Egil Hegge as a good role model for journalists are almost twice as high for a male as for a female journalist, and three times higher for a journalist born before 1960 than for one after. When the characteristics are combined, the differences become even more dramatic: a male journalist in his sixties is 15 times more likely to name Per Egil Hegge (born 1940) as a journalistic role model than a female journalist in their thirties (and 4 times more likely than a male journalist of a similar age)<sup>608</sup>.

One could easily have made these numbers much more dramatic by adding other characteristics, as the tendency to admire alter egos is seen everywhere, for example in the journalists admiration of journalists with similar specialities and working in similar mediums/publications as themselves (in other words, with a similar capital composition and -volume). But if the idolization of a role model similar to oneself (in the present or in an ideal future) to some degree has an element of self-admiration, this relative variation of role models according to position in the field is also one of somewhat different – and competing - charismatic ideals.

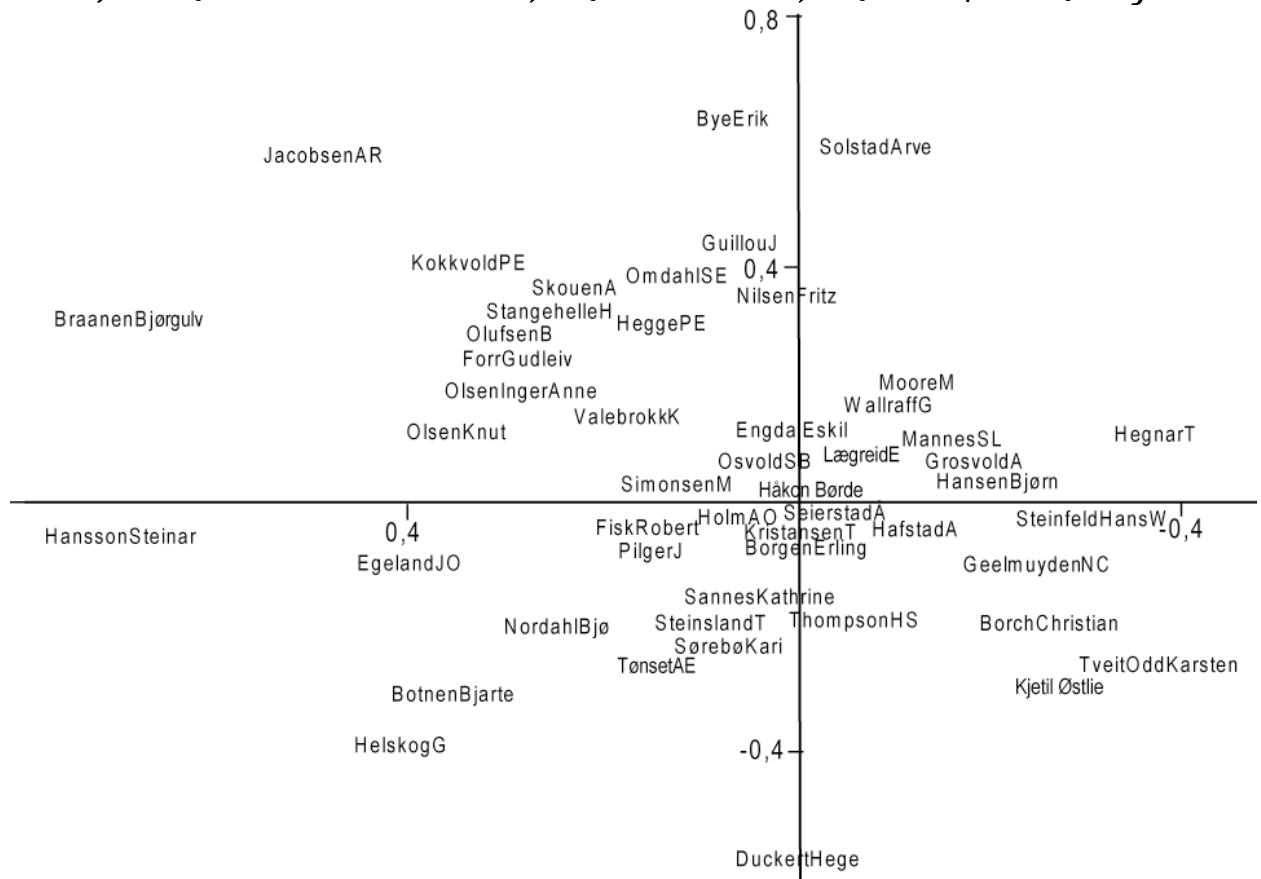
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<sup>606</sup> Note that the popularity of the top role models has to be understood not so much on the basis of their individual characteristics as on the relative distinction and scarcity of these properties in the journalistic universe of possible role models (in effect, the few percentages of journalists with a national presence), for example the fact that there are far fewer female journalists to choose from than men.

<sup>607</sup> Anaximander (ca. 600 BC) once wrote that if oxen, horses and lions were able to draw, they would picture God as an ox, a horse and lion respectively.

<sup>608</sup> Similarly, a female journalist in her sixties is twice as likely to name Sissel Benneche Osvold (b. 1945) as a role model than a female in her thirties, and 20 times more likely than a male journalist in her thirties (and three times more likely than their similarly-aged male colleagues).

**FIGURE 15 CHARISMATIC VARIATIONS. PREFERENCE FOR JOURNALISTIC ROLE MODELS (PASSIVE POINTS) ACCORDING TO POSITION IN THE JOURNALISTIC FIELD. JOURNALISTS/EDITORS 2005.**



This becomes clearer if we look at the second, horizontal axis, which separates those with high indicators of journalistic success and power (left) from those without (on the right). Noting first that the axis opposes two different forms of notoriety, on the right agents with a high *public notoriety* – national news TV-anchors (Mannes, Borch) and other television workers with a high visibility, including three foreign reporters (Hansen, Steinfeld, Tveit) and a chat show host (Grosvold) from NRK. To this external notoriety are opposed a mixture of journalists who combine *internal recognition*, to be well-known and admired among journalistic peers, with various degrees of external recognition and fame, ranging from well-known figures from television – like Kåre Valebrokk, head of TV2 and Knut Olsen, TV host for political debate programs in NRK – to journalists whose names have little resonance among the general public, like Alf R Jacobsen (at that time head of NRK’s documentary division) and Steinar Hansson (late editor of *Dagsavisen*). To this opposition – which is never total in this field, because the positions which are the most visible to the public also in many cases have high internal status (e.g. columnists in national papers and foreign correspondents in television) – between recognition by peers (internal recognition) versus recognition by the public (external recognition) there is a separation between different journalistic roles and positions.

In the upper left of the map, the sector of great internal prestige, we find a preference for the “religious virtuosos”<sup>609</sup> of the field, the great editors and – in particular – columnists (Omdal, Forr, Stanghelle, Hegge, Skouen etc.) and other journalists who are regular, but also by virtue of their position, powerful voices in the national journalistic debates, like Per Edgar Kokkvold, who was the leader of PFU 1994-96 and has been the leader of the Norwegian Press Society since 1996.

The position of the columnists is an interesting one: elevated over their peers by a permanent visible presence with their own pictures and place in the newspaper they are in a more or less “permanent state of charisma”<sup>610</sup>, signalling not only extraordinary freedom from ordinary constraints for ordinary journalists (e.g. being able to choose their own subjects, little “meddling” of superiors, a less hectic routine, being guaranteed publication every day)<sup>611</sup>, but these aristocratic ascetics also embody and perform a symbolic function for the newspaper by providing a daily symbolic denial of journalism as an industrial product, a mystification of the regular constraints inherent in the industrial and collective nature of modern journalism in favour of the aura<sup>612</sup> of journalism closer to charismatic ideals in the field of “great journalism” as the product of “great journalists” working in relative isolation, according to their own wishes and inclinations. In other words, an ideal closer to the classical charismatic ideal of the writer/intellectual for whom the collective nature of journalistic work gives little room, a role which is also implied in the columnists’ (and editors’) greater freedom of stylistic expression (usually being more literary in style - note that the top three journalists have all won the “Golden Pen”-prize) and not least their licence from “journalistic objectivity” in favour of views/opinions.

Also of note in the list of role models is the comparatively low presence of chief editors in relation to other types of editors, which conforms to the previous finding that columnists in general have higher indicators of capital than chief editors (columnists are often former chief editors, and last longer). This is probably because the editor, if holding a form of power one could term *editorial capital* (administrative, formal control over a publication and its reproduction – e.g. through appointments or redistribution of founding to different specializations in the paper - is, like the dean in an academic department, in a position which in most cases provides few opportunities for the accumulation of symbolic capital (e.g. prize-winning journalistic work for the editor, scientific work for the dean) in favour of time-consuming administrative affairs and worries<sup>613</sup>.

We also see that journalists with much journalistic capital tend to be disposed to the admiration of journalists associated with struggles for journalistic freedom and heroic confrontations with competing fields, in particular the political field and the state. The late Steinar Hansson, for example, is well-known among journalists for his part in the

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<sup>609</sup> Weber ([1956] 1978:542).

<sup>610</sup> Ibid.(536).

<sup>611</sup> Note that “withdrawal from the ‘world’” is for Weber a common characteristic of the ascetic (Ibid.).

<sup>612</sup> Benjamin (1936).

<sup>613</sup> Cf. Bourdieu ([1984] 1988:78).



successful struggles to change the Labour press's largest national daily newspaper *Arbeiderbladet* (<The Worker's newspaper>) into a modern, relatively independent newspaper (with a name change to *Dagsavisen* <The Daily newspaper> in 1997). His saying "I have one goal for my life as a journalist: to die without friends", a beloved and often cited quotation among Norwegian journalists, also sums up perfectly the ideals of purity which appear to accompany the ideals of the sacred also in the journalistic field. A somewhat similar functional position can perhaps be attributed to the famously outspoken liberalist *Kåre Valebrokk*, which is associated both with his editorship of *Dagens Næringsliv*, the newspaper which consolidated the role of modern "critical" business journalism in Norway and with his later leadership of TV2, the first national commercial (advertisement-based) TV station in Norway (and the first real challenge to NRK's state monopoly in national television), thus being associated with an adversary role both against the economic field and the field of the state/the political field.

This link between high internal capital in a field and a preference for an adversary journalistic role are not surprising. Historically, as now, the great figures in Norwegian press history have often represented a journalistic variant of the classical Weberian role of the emissary prophet, a bearer of individual charisma who challenges the powerful by claiming a higher authority outside the established authorities<sup>614</sup> ("It is written ... but I say to you" is for Weber characteristic of this fundamental part of the role of the prophet: he rejects the orthodoxies of the elites and subjects them to an alternative, higher truth<sup>615</sup>), a role of which in Norwegian journalism the paradigmatic figure is the editor with a troubled relationship to his owners and state authorities, or in Bourdieuan terms, one who resists the imposing of the logic of competing social fields (political, economic, state) in favour of an internal logic<sup>616</sup>. That a journalist are said to be "journalistically dead" after public displays of breaking the caste taboo put on having too close relations with their sources – for example having close friends in the police, or mixing their roles as investors and economic journalists<sup>617</sup> - is just the flip side of this role, a fall from journalistic grace.

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<sup>614</sup> Weber ([1956] 1978).

<sup>615</sup> Ibid. (243, 439-450)

<sup>616</sup> Two examples from the relation with the political field are *Reidar Hirsti's* getting the political sack from his position as editor in *Arbeiderbladet* (<Labour newspaper>) from the Labour party in 1974. In the economic field, such struggles often appear as conflicts between the editor and the board or managing director, as with Audun Tjomsland, who quit his job as editor in protest against the attempt to subordinate his position to that of the managing director in *Sandefjords blad* in 1987. Regarding the field of the state and judicial field, there are numerous cases where journalists have refused to name their sources, or been in trouble with the police, as in the famous "Listesaka" ("The 'List' episode") in 1977 where several journalists in the newspaper *Ny Tid* were charged and convicted of having collected information on the Norwegian secret services regarding a military radar. For more historical examples of the paradigmatic role of editor-as-struggler, see Eide (2000b), in particular chapter 11.

<sup>617</sup> "Vormedal er journalistisk død", *Dagens Næringsliv* 21.09.2000.

## EXPERIENCES OF THE SACRED

Excerpts from journalists' interviews with three journalistic role models.

### *WHEN THE WILD MAN AWAKENS*<sup>618</sup> (Dagbladet Magasinet 17.10.2005)

- IT IS A BIT WEIRD. But I will tell you the story.

The coming "Brennpunkt"-editor Arne Oscar Holm leans forward in the leather sofa on Min Plass Café in Bodø. He is tired. As usual, his appearance is dishevelled. The big hair, all the beard, his teeth scattered helter-skelter, ragged pants. Holm tells the story of the last few days. Days which have been characterized by travelling between his family cabin at Hamarøy outside Bodø and his office at NRK Oslo.... ARNE O. HOLM is among Norway's most experienced investigative journalists. He has worked 15 years in Dagbladet, six years in Dagens Næringsliv, and three years in Svalbardposten. The last three years he has made TV-documentaries for NRK "Brennpunkt". Holm has won several prizes for journalism. In 1995 he collaborated on a series of reportages about racism in Norway, which exposed Fp-politician Øystein Hedstrøm's connection with extreme right-wing circles. When Hedstrøm left the so-called Godlia-meeting, Holm and the photographer from Dagbladet were sitting in a car outside, waiting. "When I saw Hedstrøm come out of the meeting, I came in my pants" was Holm's later comment to the scoop.



Holm winning the Great prize for journalism in 1992, Holm in the middle. Photo: Dagbladet.

Three years later he uncovered the closed system of salaries in NHO. The disclosure resulted in a thunderous downfall for managing director Pål Kravby and NHO-president Ragnar Halvorsen. A night some time after the news was out, Holm was drinking at the Theatercafé in Oslo.

- At that time I believed the story was over, that there was nothing more to write about. It was the first evening out on the town with good friends, and we were drinking an insane amount of schnapps. Then came the phone call where I learned that the NHO-president had resigned. I was asked to participate in a news broadcast where he told me why he resigned. So I went straight to the television studio. It was real nice. He actually thanked me for the work I had done.

- How much alcohol did you have in your system at that time?

- Quite a lot.

- Do you think it could have been noticed by the viewers?

- At least they were not able to smell it...

THERE ARE MORE stories which built on to the myth of Arne O. Holm, or Arne "Zero" as Trygve Hegnar named him after a dispute they had in the nineties ... BUT USUALLY THEY CONCERN Arne O. Holm the news hunter.

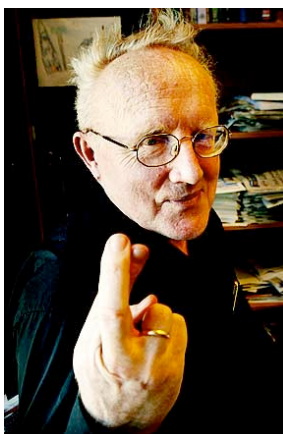
<sup>618</sup> A pun simultaneously referring to the Norwegian title of Jack London's book *Når villdyret våkner* <"Call of The Wild">, literally translated as "When the wild beast awakes" and Holm's as a "wild man" both in terms of his reputation for critical journalism, his general appearance and his enthusiasm for wild nature (and recent position as editor of the newspaper of Svalbard).

*The uncompromising, rock-hard journalist with a strong sense of justice and a creative mind. Who takes up so much room that there is little room for others. Who can be stubborn, have a grand self-image and be a demanding colleague ...*

*Arne Oscar Holm gets up from the sofa and leaves. The people at the cafe witness his exit with a mixture of admiration and awe. He enters the Caravell and stuffs his pipe with Danish rolling tobacco. Drives towards Bodø airport with the car which three days ago mowed down a moose. At the airport are his wife Berit and his children Sigri (18) and Eirik (16), on their way home to Oslo. He barely gets to say goodbye. He enters the car. Smokes his pipe. Drives for four hours to his cabin. He does not meet a moose this evening. He does not meet anyone at all. After all, he prefers it that way.*

***IN THE HEGGECUTTER***<sup>619</sup> (Dagbladet Magasinet 11.09.2005)

*... But who is this Hegge? According to colleagues, we know he is "really something". One calls him "a role model". Another uses the word "genius". We also know that he is fluent in ten languages, Russian and Danish included. His daily column "Our language" is among the most popular features of Aftenposten. We know that he collects clippings from everything he has written, and glues them into large binders. And every day for lunch, Per Egil Hegge drinks Kenyan tea from an English porcelain pot. Such things we do know ...*



*Per Egil Hegge. Photo: Dagbladet/Scanpix.*

*FOR 42 YEARS Hegge has been employed by Aftenposten. He has been a reporter, a columnist, editor and a critic. If anything has been constant these years, it is his unique ability to fall out with people. In 1982 he got the nick-name "The axe-murderer" after slaughtering Knut Faldbakken's novel "Bryllupsreisen".*

*- This was after Faldbakken, being a critic in Dagbladet, had severely criticized other authors. Now he got a taste of his own medicine, and screamed like a baby says Hegge.*

*Also recently he has been fighting in the newspaper columns, most recently when writing about sports journalists.*

*- You called Arne Scheie an orangutang?*

*- No, I did not call him an orangutan. I wrote that I thought one ought to demand more from sports journalists than orangutans.*

*- Did Arne Scheie become angry?*

*- He seemed a tad displeased in a debate we had afterwards.*

*But what had Hegge written? "There are good reasons why one should fight against soccer journalism. It is an excrescence in our media world, space-requiring, exacting and verbose. And even worse: It has no contact with reality."*

<sup>619</sup> "I Heggesaksa" is a pun combining the journalist's surname "Hegge" (its closeness to "hekk", meaning "hedge") with the figure of speech "to be in a (scissor) pinch" <å være i saksa> and the word "Hekkesaks" <hedge cutter>.

After this, sports journalist Ernst A. Lersveen called Hege an arrogant fool.

- Yes he did. What I did not know, was that he had already lost his job as a soccer commentator in TV2 "EXTRAORDINARILY WELL-INFORMED". "Memory like a recording tape". In such a way Per Egil Hegge is referred to by his friends. Media mogul Tinius Nagell-Erichsen called him "our only genius" in an interview in *Dagens Næringsliv*...

IT HAS BEEN SAID THAT HEGGE is like the badger. When he bites, he does not let go until something crumbles. Or as the former foreign minister Knut Frydenlund put it: "When that man has closed his jaws on somebody's leg, he does not let go."...

**READY FOR ANOTHER LIFE** (*Dagbladet Magasinet* 26.02.2005)

She has been a successful photo model, local politician and hard-hitting columnist in *Dagbladet*. But Sissel Benneche Osvold, soon 62 years old, struggles to convince us that she is retiring...

SHARP, WITTY AND WITH A STRONG PRESENCE in her column. Committed and insightful. More reserved in the corridors, because she is going somewhere and is thinking about something. Wary of letting people get too close, but generous towards colleagues who ask her advice. Fearless and matter-of-factly, without regard for a person's status when things heat up in *Dagbladet*. Praised by her female friends for her consideration and kindheartedness. Never at loss for a pertinent remark. Always elegant ...

It feels almost unreal that one of the most distinguished co-workers from the modern *Dagbladet*, long ago declared the "first lady" of Akersgata [the Norwegian newspaper street], is choosing an early retirement. It is somewhat of a sign of the Last Days for our exposed industry, as there remain fewer and fewer writers of her stature to defend the physical newspaper.



Sissel Benneche Osvold. Photo: *Dagbladet*<sup>620</sup>

Former chief editor Arve Solstad summarizes her expertise in this way: she combines wittiness with a learned, objective penetration of serious and complex issues. In addition, she is exceptionally hard-working ..

HER COLUMN was titled "Sidesprang" <Digression> and was published Fridays. With that she entered the upper elite among Norwegian columnists. In 1993 she won the Grand prize for journalism, 19 years after her mother had gotten the same award, which at that time was called the Narvesen prize. "Innovative" was one of the words used by the jury. The same year she was awarded the Conscience Objectors Peace Prize for her reportages from the wars in Bosnia and Croatia. In turn, an avalanche of prizes followed: the Norwegian Language Council's award Norwegian Language Prize in 1994, which placed her in the league with columnists like Helge Krog, Paul Gjesdahl and Arne Skouen. Then followed the Riksmål Organizations award, The Golden Pen in 1996. The same year: The Jonas Award for her insightful writings on children and young people's disabilities, and in 2003 the Pavement Stone Award from Kirkens Bymisjon for "convincingly providing people with words, perspectives and attitudes as a defence against injustice and social exclusion.

<sup>620</sup> The photo is a slightly cropped version of the original.

**TABLE 25 EIGHT JOURNALISTIC ROLE MODELS.**

	<b>Per Egil Hegge (1940-)</b>	<b>Sissel B. Osvold (1945-)</b>	<b>Kåre Valebrokk (1940-)</b>	<b>Anne Grosvold (1951-)</b>	<b>Harald Stanghelle (1956-)</b>	<b>Hans-Wil. Steinfeld (1951-)</b>	<b>Tomm Kristiansen (1950-)</b>	<b>Arne O Holm (1956-)</b>
Journalism awards	Narvesen 1968 Golden Pen 1993 St. Olav, 1 class 2003	Grand prize 1993 Golden Pen 1996	Golden Pen 1997	Grand prize 1998 Riksmålsprize TV 2007	SKUP 1991 Grand prize 2001 The Golden Pen 2006	Scandinavian prize for journalism 1989 Narvesen 1990	Grand prize 1995	SKUP 1992 Grand prize 1992 Gullruten 2003
Other awards / positions	Norsk språkråd <Norwegian Academy of language and literature>			TV name of the year 1996 Name of the year 1996-7	Board member World Editors Forum 1997- Board member Union of Editors 2003-	Cappelen 1990 Per Gynt 1991 Lithuanian freedom medal 1992	Nominated for Brage Award (literature) 94	
Education	BSc. Russian, English, Political science Russian course at Joint Staff College	Studies in psychology and criminology Journalism School, Oslo	Diploma in economy	Journalism school, Oslo		Master's degree in History Studies in Russian, social science		
Career (>2 years)	Trønder-avisa 59, NTB 61-62 Aftenposten 62-05 (editor A-magazine, foreign correspondent London 63-4, Moscow 69-71 (expelled), Washington 77-81, 88-92, culture editor 92-98, columnist)	NRK, various entertainment and youth programs, Dagbladet 1973- (columnist 1989-)	Various work in firms renting out construction machinery 68-80, Dagens Næringsliv 80-88 (chief editor 88-99) TV 2, managing director and chief editor 99-	NRK 70-, except Dir. of information, Department of Justice 87-91. NRK foreign corr. Asia NRK TV hostess in various programs, chat shows / breakfast TV, political debate, news (incl. Dagsrevyen) and culture shows.	Various temporary positions 71-81, incl. Dagen 71-3, Fisherman Greenland 77, Ass. Press Officer Unifil/Lebanon 79-80, Dag og Tid 80-1, Arbeiderbladet 1982-91 Aftenposten 91-5 (incl. news editor), Dagbladet (chief editor) 1995-00, Aftenposten (political editor) 00-	NRK Dagsrevyen 76-80, 94-9, 03- (incl. news editor, editor Dagsrevyen and Dagsnytt 18) NRK Foreign correspondent Moscow 80-4, 88-94, 00-3 East. Europe 84-8, Balkan 99-	Dagen 67-71, Folkets Fremtid 71-2, Aftenposten 72-7, Vi Menn 77-9 NRK 79-87, Dir. of information Storebrand 87-90 (insurance), NRK 90-06, foreign correspondent Denmark, Zimbabwe 90-4, Africa 02-6	Dagbladet 79-86, 92-99 (political editor 95-99) Dagens Næringsliv 86-92 (reportage editor), Svalbard-posten 99-02 (editor) editor NRK Brennpunkt 06-
Writings	18 non-fiction books, mostly concerned with USA/Soviet, Norwegian history and language, one biography of king Harald V.	Joint editor of 2 non-fiction books on women's issues	2 non-fiction books on popular economy issues	Joint editor of a book of portraits of five female members of the Norwegian royal family	Joint editor one debate book for Supreme Court Advocate Alf Nordhus	1 novel 7 non-fiction books, mostly of political nature on Eastern Europe	9 non-fiction books/travelogues on African life and politics, editor of one book on journalistic coverage of national elections	3 nonfiction books, two travelogues from Tibet and Svalbard, editor one collection of interviews with youths
Specialities	Foreign news Courtroom Norwegian language Culture	Feminist issues Social issues	Economic news	TV hosting/debate Foreign news	Crime and judicial system National political news Foreign news, Middle East	Foreign news, Eastern Europe War correspondent	National politics	Political news
Other notes		Daughter of Gerd Benneche, Dagbladet (winner Narvesen-prize 1974)	Established Dagens Næringsliv as the most important financial newspaper in Norway					

## Prizes and prize-winners

A general analytic problem with journalistic prizes is their ubiquity: looking at the latest collection of Norwegian press biographies, *Pressefolk 1997*<sup>621</sup> there are dozens and dozens of prizes and distinctions awarded to journalists.

JOURNALISTIC PRIZES. A few examples are *The grand prize for journalism* <Den store journalistprisen>, *The Conservative party's prize for prominent achievements in the service of the Conservative press* <Høyres Pressebyrås pris for fremragende innsats i den konservative presses tjeneste>, *Finnøy municipal's press prize* <Finnøy kommunes pressepris>, *The specialist press's prize for journalism* <Fagpressens journalistpris>, *The SKUP-prize*, *Society of Christian broadcaster's prize for local radio journalism* <Kristelig Kringkastingslags nærradiopris>, *The federation of company sport's press prize* <Bedriftsidrettsforbundets pressepris>, *The Hirschfeldt-prize*, *Farming week's press prize* <Landbruksvekas Pressepris>, *Society of listeners prize of honour* <Lytterforeningens Årespris>, *Norwegian institute of productivity's prize for journalism* <Norsk Produktivitetsinstitutt's journalistpris>, *IOC's prize for best television sport program* <IOC's pris for sportsprogram TV>, *Federation of Norwegian Industries press prize* <Norges Industriforbunds pressepris>, *Scandinavian prize for journalism* <Skandinaviske Journalistpriset>, *Østfold county journalist society's prize of honour* <Østfold Journalistlags hederspris>, *Photograph of the year* <Årets Bilde>, *Finnmark county's athletic association press prize* <Finnmark Idrettskrets Pressepris>, medals in *Society of Newspaper Design*, and *The broadcasting prize for the use of Nynorsk*<sup>622</sup> language <Kringkastingsprisen for nynorsk språkbruk>. In addition, journalists receive many prizes which are not exclusive to journalists, like i <Brageprisen>, a literary prize, *The City of Oslo's Prize for culture* <Oslo Bys kulturpris> and *Norwegian People's Aid's humanitarian prize* <Norsk Folkehjelps Medmenneskepris><sup>623</sup>.

When interviewing journalists, however, it quickly became apparent that these prizes were assessed very differently: the status of a journalistic prize is seen as higher for a national than a local prize, higher for a general prize than a prize for a journalistic speciality, and higher if it is a prize given by peers than one given by “outsiders” (in particular, prizes awarded by industry and commerce were often seen as suspect, or “jarring” as one informant put it). In this hierarchy of distinctions the insurance company *Vital's prize for best biathlon journalist* appears of little internal value, whereas in particular two prizes of today appear almost universally acclaimed: *The great prize for journalism* and the *SKUP-prize*. The first prize has been awarded annually by the Norwegian Press Association since 1991, combining two earlier prizes, the *Narvesen prize* (founded by a chain of newspaper kiosks) and the *Hirschfeld-prize* (“The Hirschfeld prize for increased understanding and solidarity between the groups in

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<sup>621</sup> Øy (1998).

<sup>622</sup> The Norwegian language has two officially sanctioned orthographic standards, Nynorsk (literally: “new Norwegian” which is closer to older Norwegian dialects) and Bokmål (“book-speech” which is more influenced by the Danish language).

<sup>623</sup> Not also that the Norwegian press awards a multitude of prizes and recognitions to non-journalists, including the many prizes to good (i.e. cooperative) sources - e.g. the press photographers' Snill gutt/Snill pke <Nice boy/nice girl> award - and the more indirect “man of the year”-type elections (“Politician of the year”, “Media name of the year”, “Athlete of the year” etc.). Cf. “Til Fordragelighetens pris” og “Til Prisens Fordragelighet” in Eide, Gripsrud, Johansen and Larsen (1991).

society”). The second prize, SKUP, is awarded by the Association for a free and critical press (SKUP), an independent organization established by journalists in 1991.

The two prizes are somewhat different. SKUP, which aims to “inspire to investigative journalism in Norwegian newsrooms”<sup>624</sup> rewards a recent, specific journalistic work of investigative journalism. A journalist can nominate him/herself or be nominated by others, but in any case it must be accompanied by a written documentation including information of the time spent on the project, how the work was done (methods and type of sources used etc), what started the investigation etc.<sup>625</sup>, in other words, a *positio* to provide the evidence of heroic virtues and a journalistic miracle which are the basis of the jury’s decision. Because of this specificity the SKUP have in many cases given distinction and recognition to relatively unknown journalists. The grand prize for journalism, by contrast (and also the Narvesen-prize, which preceded it), is a general prize based solely on nominations and need not be grounded in a specific journalistic work. In practice this means that the latter prize’s traditionally has had a stronger celebratory logic, rewarding the accumulation of a high volume of symbolic capital or a performance with high symbolic value. In both cases, however, the overlap of journalistic prize-winners (table 26) with the previous list of journalistic role models (table 24) does not mean that these prizes should be seen so much as the “source” of symbolic capital as variations of the same mythic set<sup>626</sup>, as the expression of a similar underlying classificatory scheme underlying both the awards of prizes and journalistic ideals.

Largely independent of the conscious intentions of the instigators, journalistic prizes fill important functions in the journalistic field. Similar to the functional role of the columnist, the major journalistic prizes reward as a rule *exceptions* to common (vulgar) journalistic work, or as Ida Schultz writes of the Danish Cavling prize, rewarding “not every day journalism, not typical journalism, not the common ... it is the journalistic professions ‘best clothes’.”<sup>627</sup> As Bourdieu points out, such prizes are a *rite of institution*<sup>628</sup> which not only assure the recipient of his or her legitimacy and elevated member status of the group, and in this way, an increased social and symbolic capital which follows a recognized journalistic prize, but also help to reassure the group of its own existence as a consecrated group capable of consecration<sup>629</sup>. As Weber notes, privileged groups are never content with power alone, but “wish to see their positions transformed from purely factual power relations into a cosmos of acquired rights, and to

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<sup>624</sup> SKUP article §2.

<sup>625</sup> Rules for the SKUP-prize, <http://www.skup.no/SKUP-prisen/Regler>.

<sup>626</sup> Cf. Lévi-Strauss ([1964] 1994:26-27).

<sup>627</sup> Schultz (2005:156-8).

<sup>628</sup> Bourdieu ([1997] 2000:243).

<sup>629</sup> Ibid. p243. Cf. also when Bourdieu says that symbolic capital is at its most fundamental a form of *social energy*, it “rescues agents from insignificance, the absence of importance and meaning”, and gives them a feeling of purpose. The zero point of symbolic capital is the complete disenchantment of the world, unbearable feelings of lack of meaning in one’s activities and self-disgust, and Durkheim’s anomic suicide ([1997] 2000:240-2). In this sense, a field’s nomos and its dominant symbolic capital are two sides of the same coin.

know that they are thus sanctified”<sup>630</sup>, or in other words, they want to cultivate belief in their own legitimacy, in this case, in the naturalness (and thus authority) of a view of journalistic excellence which must always be particular and arbitrary, that is, *a point of view* from a position in the journalistic field. This is demonstrated by the fact that the general journalistic prizes in practice only reward a quite narrow selection of journalistic publications, specializations and experience. In the combined total list of prize-winners of the Narvesen prize and The grand prize for journalism (53 prizes in total) we thus find a dominance of columnists, editors and foreign reporters of the largest national publications, in particular NRK (10 prizes), Dagbladet (8 prizes) and Aftenposten (8 prizes)<sup>631</sup>. Only one journalist from the specialist press<sup>632</sup> is represented, no journalists from magazines, no sport journalists etc.

Some of the underlying reasons for this basic unfairness of the prizes are better understood if they are considered as opportunities for the *conversion of capital*. The SKUP-prize is a good example: as a national prize for “critical and investigative journalism”, it typically rewards a kind of journalistic work which is very resource- and time-consuming, often assigned to a whole newsroom, where people have been working for weeks and months on a single story. This must necessarily be a reward which favours publications which can offer these kind of working conditions which are very difficult, if not impossible, to obtain in a small newspaper. In this way, by the social magic of capital conversion, a rich newspaper can invest its economic capital in the persuasion of a particular journalistic story and – with some luck – transform it into symbolic capital, making a “big” newspaper also an “important” newspaper. The prize in this way helps mask the relationship between economic and symbolic capital in the field and gives the successful journalists a “theodicy of their own privilege”<sup>633</sup>, translating institutional economic advantages into the personal gift of grace that Weber terms *charisma*, “a certain quality of an individual personality by virtue of which he is considered extraordinary and treated as endowed with supernatural, superhuman, or at least specifically exceptional powers ... not accessible to the ordinary person.”<sup>634</sup>.

By claiming and successfully convincing others that these prizes are *general* journalistic awards (The Grand Journalistic prize aims to “encourage and honour journalistic quality” and is awarded to those “who have made a particular valuable contribution to Norwegian journalism”<sup>635</sup>), the juries in effect work to naturalise a particular, arbitrary symbolic hierarchy of participants and disciplines, usually very favourable to the jury members’ own journalistic dispositions and investments simply because they are generally sampled from most prestigious regions of the field (often

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<sup>630</sup> Weber (1946) .

<sup>631</sup> Other publications with many prizes are *Bergens Tidende* (large regional newspaper, 4 prizes), *Dagsavisen* (national newspaper, 4), *VG* (national tabloid, 3) and *Stavanger Aftenblad* (large regional newspaper, 2).

<sup>632</sup> Terje Gammelsrud, *Sinnets helse* (Narvesen-prize 1977).

<sup>633</sup> Cf. Bourdieu ([1980] 1990:133).

<sup>634</sup> Weber ([1956] 1978:241).

<sup>635</sup> Jury foreman Thor Viksveen, in his speech at the 2000 award.



former prize-winners themselves<sup>636</sup>). By the effect of harmony of habitus and similarity of journalistic dispositions and positions they are able to fulfil this act of gross symbolic violence with total sincerity. And by awarding a prize every year, this journalistic sacred cosmos – which must always be particular - is again and again confirmed against perceived chaos from competing views<sup>637</sup>.

**TABLE 26 PRIZEWINNERS THE GRAND PRIZE FOR JOURNALISM 1992-2007**

<b>Year of award</b>	<b>Year born</b>	<b>Journalist / news room</b>
2007	1968	Knut Olav Åmås, editor of debate section <i>Aftenposten</i>
2006	--	The staff of <i>Typisk Norsk</i> , (NRK, television series)
2005	--	The Magazine section of <i>Dagens Næringsliv</i>
	1955	Roar Christensen, photographer <i>Bergens Tidende</i>
2004	1960	Harald Henden, photographer <i>VG</i>
2003	1970	Åsne Seierstad, freelancer
2002	--	(no prize rewarded)
2001	1956	Harald Stanghelle, political editor <i>Dagbladet</i>
2000	1948	Inge Sellevåg, <i>Bergens Tidende</i>
1999	1947	Steinar Hansson, chief editor <i>Dagsavisen</i>
1998	1951	Anne Grosvold, TV host <i>NRK</i>
1997	--	The financial section of <i>Dagens Næringsliv</i>
1996	--	The editorial staff of <i>VG</i>
1995	1950	Tomm Kristiansen, foreign correspondent NRK
1994	1952	Fritz Breivik, <i>Nordlands Framtid</i>
1993	1945	Sissel Benneche Osvold, <i>Dagbladet</i>
1992	1956	Arne O. Holm, <i>Dagbladet</i>

<sup>636</sup> “To be known and recognized also means possessing the power to recognize, to consecrate, to state, with success, what merits are known and recognized, and, more generally to say what is, or rather what is to be thought about what is, through a performative act of speech (or prediction) ....” (Bourdieu [1997] 2000:242).

<sup>637</sup> For the relation between sacred cosmos and chaos, see Berger ([1967] 1993) .

## EXEMPLARY JOURNALISM

### Excerpts from jury and press releases for the Grand Prize of Journalism

“... a long line of sensational and fearless reportages, which together shone a glaring and penetrating light into the hidden and dim reality in the Norwegian foodstuff business. By scrupulous source work and great patience the newspaper uncovered anti-competitive agreements, a culture of greed, bribery and where the money in this business really ends up.”  
(*Dagens Næringsliv*, 2005)

“... close-up journalism on the powerless demands a completely different form than that used on the powerful. Here one should not be unafraid but afraid. Afraid to fall into sentimentality or social pornography – at the same time as one must touch the reader’s feelings ... during 15 years the prize-winner has followed this story, this lot given to Wenche Bogdanovski. She was addicted to gambling and drugs. She was a diva and a human wreck, a meticulous person who sorted her bills, a junkie who fell asleep across the table with her cigarette in her hand, and she was a wife and mother, in her own way.” (Roar Christensen, *Bergens Tidende* 2005)

“... this year’s prize-winner writes in the tradition of the critical commentary ... he has evaluated and analysed the prosecution, the defence council and judges – with respect for their positions, but with a critical distance to their performances and the way they exercise these positions. He has portrayed the defendants and character witnesses ... He has commented on and explained the outbursts of the judge in the court of law ... the award is not given to the court genre, but to someone who has avoided the many common mistakes of this journalistic genre.” (Harald Stanghelle, *Aftenposten* 2001).

“He receives the award for his struggles on behalf of the independent and unrestrained role of the editor, free from party-political games and commercial interests ... Through his hard work and determination, Hansson has turned *Dagsavisen* into a central newspaper for news and commentaries. By his editorials he has put his personal mark on the newspaper, and contributed to the agenda for public debate.” (Steinar Hansson, *Dagsavisen* 1999).

“Grosvold makes complicated issues easy to understand with her easygoing manner and plain language ... Grosvold has revitalized the role of the TV host ... and moved vital social issues into the Norwegian homes”. (Anne Grosvold, *NRK* 1998).

“... has by his intimate and fervent reportages let listeners and viewers become acquainted with another Africa. With journalistic curiosity he has entered new social milieus and thus expanded the public image of Africa. At the same time he has portrayed African societies in transformation in a manner which proves his communicative abilities. Many have enjoyed his radio travelogues, an expression of high narrative art and in the best radio traditions. His book “Mor Afrika” <Mother Africa> further demonstrates his journalistic abilities.”  
(Tomm Kristiansen, *NRK* 1995)

“... her commentaries to vital issues in the Norwegian society are top-class journalism. She has also demonstrated her ability for seeing problems in a larger picture, and she has a critical gaze in keeping with the best journalistic traditions. Also in her reporting has she shown her ability to describe problems with great compassion and in a very readable form.”  
(Sissel Benneche Osvold, *Dagbladet* 1993).

### 6.3 Elements of a journalistic cosmology

As noted many times, a central argument in this thesis – which follows from Bourdieu's theories of social fields – is the correspondence between the *positions* in the journalistic field (their capital) and *journalistic position takings* – in this previous case their different charismatic ideals and nomic judgements. Before proceeding, we should look briefly at how Bourdieu explains such correspondences.

In the same way as Saussure, language is for Bourdieu fundamentally based in establishing differences and distinctions, which he extends to *all* symbolic forms – practices, consumption, manners etc.<sup>638</sup>. Furthermore, in the tradition of French structuralism<sup>639</sup>, he sees mental classifications as basically organized in binary oppositions along traditional anthropological lines (high/low, pure/impure, good/bad, distinguished/ vulgar, aesthetic/useful etc.)<sup>640</sup>. Finally, by extending the idea of Durkheim and Mauss that mental schema are related to social structure<sup>641</sup> from primitive to modern societies<sup>642</sup>, Bourdieu sees the space of positions (capital) in the social space as largely coexistent with a space of *position-takings*, mediated through his concept of *habitus*, in which the social structures are retranslated into mental schemas (e.g. in the relationship between dominant/ dominated and the distinction between pure and functional aesthetics<sup>643</sup>). As the structures of a social field, like that of the social space, are not neutral but are linked to differences in power and domination and to the varying ability of social agents to translate their own views of the field into common law, a social field will form the basis of its own cosmology, even if it is always, in some sense, a *second* space: one is not born into a journalistic position, and the fundamental schema of one's habitus is formed before one has a chance to do much journalistic work. In our case, it seems viable to use the model of the field in the previous chapter as the basis for suggesting some elements of a Norwegian *journalistic cosmology*.

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<sup>638</sup> Cf. Schinkel and Tacq (2004) and Bourdieu ([1991] 1998:8-9) when he says that "Differences associated with different positions, that is, goods, practices and especially manners, function, in each society, in the same way as differences which constitute symbolic systems, such as the set of phonetics of a language or the set of distinctive features and of differential "écarts" that constitute a mythical system, that is, as distinctive signs."

<sup>639</sup> See for example Lévi-Strauss ([1962] 1966).

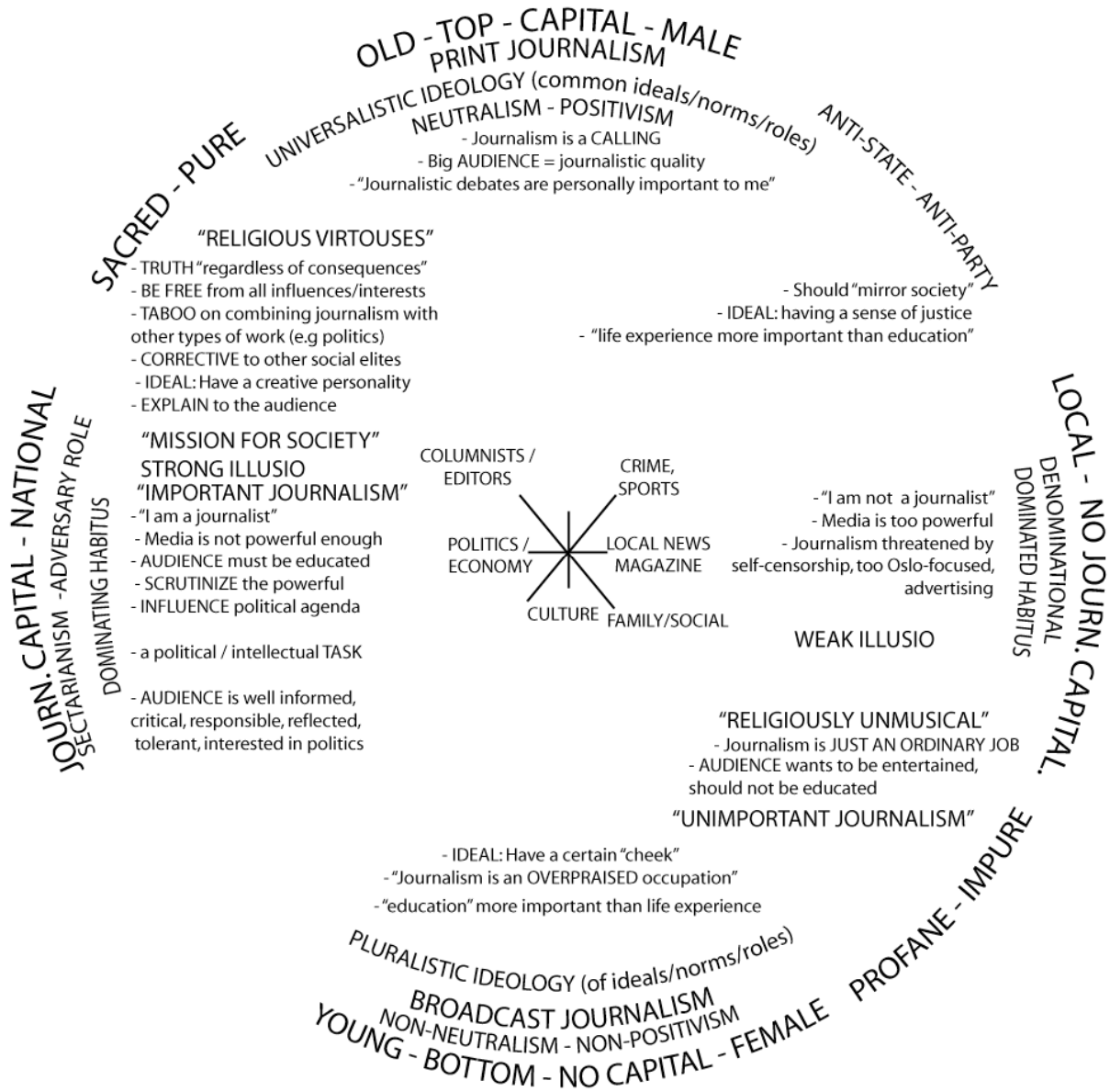
<sup>640</sup> "A vision of the world is a division of the world, based on a fundamental principle of division which distributes all the things of the world into two complementary classes. To bring order is to bring division, to divide the universe into opposing entities..." (Bourdieu [1980] 1990:210).

<sup>641</sup> Durkheim and Mauss (1963).

<sup>642</sup> For a further discussion, cf. Loïc Wacquant's introduction in Bourdieu (1990:12). It should be noted, however, that link between mental and social structures is a controversial issue in anthropology and often criticized, cf. Kapferer (1997) and Sahlins (1996).

<sup>643</sup> Bourdieu ([1979] 1984).

FIGURE 16 ELEMENTS OF A JOURNALISTIC COSMOLOGY<sup>644</sup>.



<sup>644</sup> This figure is based on the statistical model of the journalistic field made in chapter 5. Using this model of the positions in the journalistic space (given by the respondents' capital), various variables indicating position-takings were projected onto this space (as passive points which do not influence the underlying model) in a similar manner to the distribution of journalistic role models in figure 15. The figure above is a very simplified version of a much more complex map, used to illustrate some main opposition-taking in a manner well-known in anthropological literature, cf. for example Bourdieu ([1970] 1990).

TABLE 27 SELECTED POSITION-TAKINGS IN THE JOURNALISTIC SPACE. ACTIVE INDIVIDUALS BY 9 DIVISIONS<sup>645</sup>. JOURNALISTS AND EDITORS 2005. PERCENTAGES.

Indicators		Axis 2: LEFT Journalistic capital +	Axis 2: MIDDLE	Axis 2: RIGHT Journalistic capital -
	N=	142	94	102
<b>AXIS 1 UPPER REGION</b> + CAPITAL VOLUME + AGE	<b>A job as a journalist can NOT be combined with ...</b>			
	... membership in a political party	92	82	80
	... leader of a sports club	59	61	50
	<b>I am "journalist by nature"</b>	84	71	71
	<b>A journalist ought to consider it a personal task to...</b>			
	... scrutinize the powerful of society	95	85	70
	... be free from all external influences	77	62	53
	... tell truth without regard for the consequences	44	34	33
	...be a corrective to claims of politicians	76	60	47
	... be a corrective to the claims of business leaders	74	63	47
	... be a corrective to the claim of scientists	65	50	39
	<b>Media's influence on society should be strong</b>	89	81	71
	<b>Journalism is "just a job"</b>	14	23	29
	N=	117	113	112
<b>AXIS 1 MIDDLE REGION</b>	<b>A job as a journalist can NOT be combined with ...</b>			
	... membership in a political party	90	80	88
	... leader of a sports club	73	56	55
	<b>I am "journalist by nature"</b>	76	70	61
	<b>A journalist ought to consider it a personal task to...</b>			
	... scrutinize the powerful of society	88	92	83
	... be free from all external influences	70	42	66
	... tell truth without regard for the consequences	42	28	24
	...be a corrective to claims of politicians	65	61	41
	... be a corrective to the claims of business leaders	67	59	41
	... be a corrective to the claim of scientists	63	49	28
	<b>Media's influence on society should be strong</b>	83	79	71
	<b>Journalism is "just a job"</b>	18	25	19
	N=	83	114	70
<b>AXIS 1 LOWER REGION</b> - CAPITAL VOLUME - AGE	<b>A job as a journalist can NOT be combined with ...</b>			
	... membership in a political party	92	88	84
	... leader of a sports club	53	58	53
	<b>I am "journalist by nature"</b>	61	64	57
	<b>A journalist ought to consider it a personal task to...</b>			
	... scrutinize the powerful of society	85	83	85
	... be free from all external influences	52	43	40
	... tell truth without regard for the consequences	29	27	26
	...be a corrective to claims of politicians	62	52	48
	... be a corrective to the claims of business leaders	66	52	48
	... be a corrective to the claim of scientists	53	45	42
	<b>Media's influence on society should be strong</b>	81	71	74
	<b>Journalism is "just a job"</b>	13	13	21

<sup>645</sup> The presentation of the table here follows the logic of previous presentations of properties of the journalistic field, cf. "Some further properties of the journalistic space" in chapter 5.

As previous discussions indicate, one can in the Norwegian field of journalism identify a relatively small but powerful “religious status group” to use Weber’s term<sup>646</sup>, a charismatic elite (often columnists or editors in the largest national publications, or leaders for central journalistic institutions) in the north-west sector of the structure of the field (figure 11) which are central interpreters of the sacred journalistic tradition and its canonical texts (above all, *Redaktørplakaten* and *Vær-varsom-plakaten*). These pundits of the press are by their position able to wield great symbolic power and influence the symbolic hierarchies and the field’s borders (who is a journalist or not) through their presence in national media, on juries and in central organizations, and everywhere else the journalistic nomos are debated. Together with the upper-middle classes of journalistic charisma (middle left), they appear to be characterized by a relatively intense and intellectualized journalistic-religious life, a personal ethic of journalistic salvation<sup>647</sup>, with a strong *illusio*, having a strong feeling of “being a journalist” and identifying with a “journalistic mission for society” <samfunnsoppdraget>. They more often have charismatic ideals of creativity, and are very willing to fight other social elites for supremacy when the journalistic field’s autonomy is threatened, with strong, in some cases almost Brahmanistic pollution/caste taboos concerning contact with sources and other social elites. They are contrasted with the “mass religiosity” of the journalistic masses, who, if in need of sacred legitimation of their mundane activities, appear to be less moved by the intellectual side of the journalistic-religious ideas. In particular this goes for the symbolically most dominated journalists, who appear, in Weber’s term, “religiously unmusical”<sup>648</sup> or in some cases even sacrilegious in their views (e.g. disagreeing with the importance of free journalism), displaying a weaker personal sense of “being a journalist” and often have work which makes it hard to identify with the status elites’ proclamation of general ideals of journalism. One should here also note the parallelism between internal symbolic power and external social power (and thus, between less and more dominated habituses), which probably provides these differences with much of their logic.

To this left-right opposition, between the journalistically sacred and profane, journalistic purity and impurity, there appears a top-town opposition (in both the spatial sense and as a reflection of position in the field, being related to the axis of volume of field specific capital), which opposes the younger and the older journalists, the males and the (more often) females, which also opposes ideals of journalistic universalism vs. pluralism. This is for example seen in their opposed views to the questions of whether all journalists ought to have a “shared ideal for their practice” or “the same basic competence”<sup>649</sup>, a difference which can probably partly be explained as an effect of younger journalists’ more heterogeneous background (not only are they more often women, and more often have an education at university level), and work in a more diverse range of journalistic mediums and departments. The younger journalists are also

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<sup>646</sup> Weber ([1956] 1978:539).

<sup>647</sup> Cf. *Ibid.*(540).

<sup>648</sup> Weber ([1920] 1988).

<sup>649</sup> Question 63 in the questionnaire.

less concerned with political neutralism, which might be an effect of their lack of personal experience with the party press and the related journalistic debates concerning this, but is perhaps also related to a more realistic understanding of journalistic practice as necessarily providing political effects and less belief in the idea of journalism as a simple reporting of “facts” (e.g. through their journalist studies or other academic studies). One also sees that older journalists are more likely than the younger ones to say that they feel that debates about “who are journalists and not” are personally important to them, indicating that a journalistic *illusio*, a taste for journalistic struggles, not only takes time to accumulate, but probably more importantly, is linked to one’s relative weight (capital) in this universe. If we look at the journalists’ likeliness to check the “no opinion” alternative in the questions which one would believe are closest to the journalistic *nomos*<sup>650</sup> (e.g. the list of judgements of various journalistic institution discussed earlier in this chapter) – which can be considered a more practical test of their *illusio* – this tendency decreases strongly with their volume of symbolic capital. These acts of self-classification are, no doubt, in many cases done without shame (as in the case of many specialists, like art critics hired to do work for a journalistic publication, which very probably has their *illusio* primarily in the field of art or the academic field). For many, however, who work in conditions and themes far from the ideals of what a journalist ought to do, this self-classification is very likely an effect of symbolic violence, a self-declassification accepted by having internalized the hegemonic classifications of the symbolically dominant journalists<sup>651</sup>.

We also see this in the fact that whereas journalists on the dominant (left) pole are more likely to say that “the media has little influence on public opinion” and that “the media’s influence should be strong”, the opposite is true for the dominated (right) pole. If apparently unsatisfied about the extent of their influence, the journalistic elites are nevertheless more likely to agree to journalists being a social elite, and exhibit far stronger ambitions for the profession to compete directly with rival elites (politicians, business and scientists) by keeping them under scrutiny and control. As every field is by definition in a state of competition with other fields for the legitimacy of the specific form of symbolic capital – in this case, e.g. that a journalistic description of a political process is *more true (or at least “close enough” to the truth)* than the one given by politicians or social scientists, it is perhaps not surprising that the bearers with most symbolic capital should also be the most likely to support an active adversary (or

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<sup>650</sup> Writing about the field of art, Bourdieu ([1992] 1996:230) says of *nomos* that it is “... [the] principle of legitimate vision and division permitting the separation between art and non-art, between the ‘true’ artists, worthy of being publicly and officially exhibited, and the others...”.

<sup>651</sup> Interestingly, seniority in combination with such capital also seems to make one less receptive to the *internal* sanctions in the journalistic field, as they are more likely to express little respect for PFU and say that they would not be embarrassed by a conviction by PFU for “violating good press conduct”. This is probably partly because, as Bourdieu says, symbolic capital in a field, just like in larger society, “rescues agents from insignificance, the absence of importance and meaning” and infuse them with a social importance and feeling of self-worth (a belief in the worth of their particular social trajectory, holdings and opinions), which one would believe make them less submissive to other’s judgements, especially the judgements of someone not regarded their true peers (that is, with less journalistic capital – not only because PFU includes several representatives of “the public” which are not journalists, but also because the majority of its journalistic members are recruited outside of the top positions in the journalistic field).

prophetic) role for the journalistic field vis-à-vis other elites (and thus, other social fields)<sup>652</sup>.

In this way, one can probably see both elements of a journalistic “*l’art pour l’art*” – *Weltanschauung*<sup>653</sup> linked to the accumulation of journalistic capital<sup>654</sup> and the belief in a unique legitimacy versus the recognition of a pluralistic legitimacy<sup>655</sup>, or, to put it in religious terms, a sectarian vs. a denominational inclination, which also is accompanied with strong pollution-like taboos on any “mixing” of journalistic work with other kinds of work (being a politician, working for voluntary organization, offering “media training” etc.). For the native agent in a social field with a strong *illusio* – an adherence to the upholding of the social field and its basic values (in this case, journalism as a deeply felt personally important affair) – the field of journalism seems to appear in a way, as Durkheim says of the world of “natives”, that “Things are above all sacred or profane, pure or impure, friends or enemies, favourable or unfavourable”<sup>656</sup>.

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<sup>652</sup> A similar link between journalistic (symbolic) capital and journalistic autonomy is suggested by Ida Schultz (2005:148), who in her interviews with Danish journalists identifies autonomous, outreaching and agenda-setting journalism as the one with the highest internal prestige.

<sup>653</sup> When asked a series of questions of their evaluation of various threats “against a free and critical Norwegian press” – e.g. state or political ownership of mediapublications, cross-ownership, commercial-financed media etc.(Q68), the journalists on the left pole were, somewhat puzzlingly, much more likely to answer “little” or “no threat”. However, rather than seeing this as an indicator of a lack of opposition against external regulation (which seem to contradict their wish to restrain the political elite), it is possible that such answers should be read as an indicator of a feeling of invincibility in the face of such forces.

<sup>654</sup> It also makes one wonder whether the link between symbolic capital and a dominating habitus of a field is a more general phenomena (one thinks here of the middle- and upper-class origins of the most successful bohemians). One can think of two reasons: first, one would expect the propensity to break with the norms of the social space and particular fields (for example, a disdain for politics and money-making in the early Norwegian journalists) – as an act of social transgression - is much easier to bear with a dominating habitus, by definition a state of above-average self confidence. Secondly, we should expect that the social charisma attributed to a dominating habitus (in particularly cultural capital) and its mannerisms will help infuse their judgements and practices with a certain charismatic aura which makes it easier to accept for outsiders

<sup>655</sup> Gustafsson (1991).

<sup>656</sup> Durkheim and Mauss (1963:86).





Knowledge of reality is a light that always casts a shadow in some nook or cranny.

Gaston Bachelard, *The Formation of The Scientific Mind*(1938)

## Chapter 7: Concluding remarks

### Free and independent journalism

For journalists, a free and independent journalism, “free from bounds” – political, the state, economic etc. - has been a long-established and cherished ideal, seen e.g. in Montesquieuan ideals of the press as the “fourth estate” of society controlling the *trias politica*. Even if this ideal is extremely vague in its eventual consequences (is not, for example, “truthfulness in reporting” a form of compliance to pressure from scientific ideals? Does not “independent journalism” *in extremis* necessary also equal the abandonment of all aspirations of political importance and by this, also the idea of a democratic “mission of society”?<sup>657</sup>) and probably seen as a very distant ideal even by its fiercest advocates and thus something of a myth, the idea of an increasing journalistic freedom in Norway is a *well-founded* myth, if only in a very specific sense. Clearly, journalists in Norway have in the last decades become less susceptible to some types of outside influence (in particular from political parties and the State, whose power and control over journalism has been steadily weakening). Many have also commented on the increasing *inner logic* of Norwegian journalism, saying that issues and news angles more and more are being selected not by public interest, but by a “journalistic interest”<sup>658</sup>, which for outsiders can appear often difficult to understand. The important question, here, as pointed out by Odd Raaum, is not so much what journalism is freed *from*, but what it frees itself *to*<sup>659</sup>.

An interesting answer to this question was provided by Pierre Bourdieu in a series of writings from the mid-eighties onwards, where he proposed that French journalism could be understood as having assumed the form of a distinct *social field*, thus suggesting that journalistic autonomy could be analysed through similar theoretical-methodological approaches as to those he himself had used to study various other fields, like the field of art and the academic field. At the same time, Bourdieu’s polemical writings on the subject offered a contrastingly stark and sombre view of this development: rather than being a boon for society and democracy, increased journalistic autonomy, as Bourdieu saw it, came at the cost of reduced autonomy for every other intellectual field (including political, academic and cultural fields): increased journalistic freedom, in the sense of greater autonomy, must necessarily mean a new form of *subordination* of journalism to the internal logic and power relations which he saw as characterising all social fields, and thus a form of “egoistic” closing-in on the specific interests of the people engaged in the field.”<sup>660</sup>.

In this thesis, using Bourdieu’s sociology of fields on survey data of Norwegian journalists, editors and students of journalism, I have argued that journalistic practice in

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<sup>657</sup> See also Schudson (2005), which gives a brief critical discussion of the idea of journalistic autonomy.

<sup>658</sup> Raaum (1999:56).

<sup>659</sup> Ibid.(10).

<sup>660</sup> Bourdieu ([1995] 2005: 45).

Norway can be studied fruitfully as located in a relatively recent social field (a Norwegian field of journalism), a particular space structured by the distribution of different forms of power (capital), where the journalists' (and institutions') position in this structure, together with the journalists' habitus (their socially acquired dispositions to think and act in certain ways) structure their practice and opinions in a myriad of ways: in their ideas of what constitutes important or unimportant journalism or a good (or bad) journalist, the role of journalism in society vis-à-vis other major institutions in society, in their view of the audience, in their different attractions to various forms of journalistic work and so forth.

At its most basic, the structure of the Norwegian journalistic field appears to have a chiasmic structure<sup>661</sup>: a *first principle* of differentiation related to volume of field-specific capital, of occupying a dominated versus a dominant position in the field, which is, as shown, critically linked not only to social characteristics (age and gender in particular) but also journalistic characteristics (e.g. working in print journalism versus broadcast journalism), and a *second principle* which differentiates the agents according to symbolic (journalistic) capital, different levels of internal charisma and prestige, which is linked to differences between national and local media, between traditional news media and the magazine press, between men and women etc. Fundamentally, having high symbolic capital (in daily life manifested as different forms of respect and recognition from fellow journalists), also corresponds with sharing the *illusio* of the field, a belief in journalism for journalism's sake, and an antagonistic relation towards other social elites.

This particular topology of power, where journalists are located at various degrees of a dominating or dominated relation (or "journalistic classes"), *valorises* the journalistic symbolic space. The structure of the journalistic *social* cosmos is, to some extent, reproduced by journalistic struggles into a *sacred* cosmos, a symbolic order, where various forms of journalism and journalists are hierarchally ordered according to internal worth (e.g. the difference between the low status of the forms of "cultural journalism" associated with the magazine press and young women, versus the higher status of national political journalism). This particular structuration of the journalistic field appears "in the last instance" as being largely overdetermined by the overarching logic characterising the Norwegian social space (the relations between the various social classes and between the sexes). This is indicated not only in the way the symbolic hierarchy of the journalistic field is also a social hierarchy, where the symbolically dominating journalists are characterised more often by a dominating habitus (even if being a relative open field in terms of social recruitment, if we do not count the absence of the lowest classes), but also by the homology of the positions of various publications and journalistic specializations in the social space (figure 3) and in the journalistic space (figure 11).

These similarities between the field of producers (journalists) and the field of consumers – and also, as I have suggested, the journalist's sources - seem most likely to

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<sup>661</sup> Note that by referring here to the two first axes of the correspondence analysis presented in chapter 5 I do of course not argue that the field is structured *only* by these two axes: they are merely the two most important principles of differentiation (explaining most of the inertia of the analyzed variables used to describe the space).

have to be explained with reference to *habitus*, to similarity in dispositions between journalists, audiences and sources, and thus in mental classifications for understanding and perceiving the social world. In a Bourdieuan perspective, this appears to constitute a recipe for *doxa*, of supporting and naturalizing the dominant classifications and presentation of the social world. In contrast to the "subversive" and "critical" force that journalists often present themselves as, modern Norwegian journalism, if only by virtue of this feature, appears as a potentially very powerful conservative social force<sup>662</sup>.

### ***The journalistic field; the cultural world reversed?***

At its most fundamental, the space of Norwegian journalists has the "classic" structure of a social field as envisioned by Bourdieu in many studies: a first separation according to seniority which is also one of *volume of field-specific capital*, and a second separation according to the field's dominant form of *symbolic capital* (what I have termed journalistic capital). Even if the journalistic field apparently differs from the traditional cultural fields as described by Bourdieu by its lack of a "restricted scale" subfield (where the production is primarily for peers) as all journalism is in effect "large scale"-oriented (directed towards an audience which is not agents in the field), this second organising principle of the Norwegian field – being related to symbolic capital – by definition divides individuals according to different levels of peer recognition<sup>663</sup>, and as we have seen in the last chapter, this opposition is also related to different adherence to an internal logic of the field, to a "journalism for journalism's sake". In this way, the structural logic of the Norwegian journalistic field appears to contain elements of a struggle between an autonomous vs. heteronomous principle similar to that which Bourdieu sees as common to all cultural fields<sup>664</sup>.

A more detailed comparison of the proposed structure of Norwegian journalistic field and the French journalistic field as suggested by Bourdieu must however, unfortunately, be very tentative, because of the nature of his writings on journalism (discussed briefly in chapter 2): they were mainly delivered in popular genres, not based on a dedicated empirical analysis of the French journalistic field, combining (often implicit) references to research done by others and analytical insights from his analyses of other social fields. The lack of empirical precision in these texts, in particular when it comes to the analytical level and selection of individuals and institutions, makes it easy in a comparison to mistake dissimilarities for similarities and vice versa (e.g. is Bourdieu in *On Television* speaking mainly of a Parisian journalistic field, of internal relations between dominant agents and institutions similar to his analysis in *Homo Academicus*,

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<sup>662</sup> It must be stressed that this homology in the Norwegian case is far from perfect: a publication or journalist's position in this field is not just a reflection of their audiences and their class backgrounds (if it was so, the concept of a journalistic field would be superfluous, as the concept of field implicates a certain autonomy from the social space), but in spite of all the individuals who seemingly contradict this claim (sons of physicians doing sports journalism in small local newspapers, farmers reading theatre reviews in intellectual newspapers etc.) the total effect is one of structure rather than chaos.

<sup>663</sup> Bourdieu seems to imply this is also to be the case with French journalism, cf. Bourdieu ([1996] 1998a:53), and also Champagne ([1995] 2005:55).

<sup>664</sup> Bourdieu ([1992] 1996:216).

or is he speaking of a more general national field? Which selection of publications and journalists were in his mind? Were e.g. journalists in magazines or the specialist press part of the picture?). This problem is not only related to discussions of structure, but also to other features of the two journalistic fields, which, as in the case of autonomy or *illusio*, one must expect to vary much with the sample and level of analysis of the field (e.g. an “elite” analysis of editors- and subeditors in large newspapers versus my more general and heterogeneous sample of the field’s agents). Keeping these uncertainties in mind, I will risk pointing out some apparent disparities between my analysis of the Norwegian journalistic field and Bourdieu’s analysis.

Bourdieu describes the French journalistic field as fundamentally divided between newspapers that give *news* (stories and events) and newspapers that give *views* (opinions and analysis), contrasting mass circulation newspapers like *France Soir* and smaller intellectual newspapers like *Le Monde Diplomatique*<sup>665</sup> - an opposition which seems to echo his earlier writings claiming that cultural fields, like the social world, tend to be organised around a basic opposition between (an internal form of) cultural capital and economic capital<sup>666</sup>. Even if there is evidence of marked antagonisms between journalists in the larger commercial and the smaller intellectual media in Norway (cf. “The space of *nomos*” in chapter 6) which might be important for an analytic sublevel (a space of Norwegian national newspapers), this opposition appears to be of secondary importance for the logic of the Norwegian journalistic field on a national level. Rather than an opposition between news and views, intellectual and commercial (in relation to the field’s symbolic capital), the Norwegian field appear to primarily follow a centre-periphery logic (opposing larger national and smaller regional media), of varying distance to traditional (or hegemonic) notions of journalism, and seniority in the field, both institutional (e.g. journalists in the traditional press and NRK vs. journalists in the magazine press and commercial broadcasting) and on an individual level (e.g. between different generations in the field)<sup>667</sup>.

If these apparent dissimilarities do reflect real differences between the two fields, it seems reasonable that some of the explanation is related to the very different newspaper traditions: In contrast to both France and England<sup>668</sup>, Norway has for decades been dominated by omnibus newspapers, a situation which Martin Eide termed *newspaper schizophrænia*<sup>669</sup>, where the most base forms of tabloid journalism - daily melodramas, advice on how to achieve orgasms, daily coverage of reality shows and their stars - alternate with the peaks of journalistic achievement in the form of analytical

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<sup>665</sup> Bourdieu ([1996] 1998a:42).

<sup>666</sup> Bourdieu ([1979] 1984).

<sup>667</sup> If necessarily being somewhat speculative, it is tempting to point out these correlations between position in the field (dominating-dominated), field generation (age), various social characteristics (in particular gender and educational level) together with journalistic specialization and medium working in (e.g. broadcasting vs. regional newspapers) as the basis for a potential “crisis of succession” and major changes in the symbolic order of the Norwegian journalistic field in the coming decades, cf. Bourdieu ([1984] 1988:143-147) analysis of the crisis in the French university system in the sixties.

<sup>668</sup> Curran, Douglas and Whannel (1980), Sparks (1988).

<sup>669</sup> Eide (1998b), Eide (2001b).

commentaries and critical journalism in the same newspapers (*Dagbladet* and *VG* are prime examples of this)<sup>670</sup>. Rather than developing a distinct “pure” popular press similar to *The Sun* in England or *Bild Zeitung* in Germany<sup>671</sup>, positioned largely outside the national public debate, the Norwegian mediums which most clearly represent this form of journalism (*VG*, *Dagbladet*, *TV2*) are in contrast central to public debate in Norway<sup>672</sup>. Intellectual newspapers, on the other hand, are very marginal in Norway: the weekly publications *Morgenbladet* (14000 per issue) and *Dag og Tid* (7000)<sup>673</sup> are probably the two closest candidates. Instead, semi-popular journals (with a monthly or less frequent publication) – in particular *Samtiden* - seem to fill some of this niche in Norway (the late rhetoric Georg Johannesen’s description of the journal *Nytt Norsk Tidsskrift* as “*Dagbladet* wearing a cravat” is in this context quite apt<sup>674</sup>).

Another pronounced feature of the Norwegian journalistic field as it appears in this analysis is the *concurrence* (or lack of separation) of almost every major form of capital both internal and external to the field – political, economic, scientific, intellectual/academic – in a veritable *amalgam* of power. For example the journalists in *Dagbladet* and *Aftenposten* combine a high journalistic prestige (a placement towards the upper left in the map) with high salaries and a large company (economic capital, total journalistic “weight”), with a relatively large proportion of journalists with political experience through themselves or their parents holding a political office, relatively many with an education on a bachelor’s or master’s degree level (educational capital / intellectual capital / scientific capital), having more often parents who have been journalists (which is partly a form of journalistic capital, but also a social capital as a well-regarded journalistic surname can make it easier to get recognized and a job in prestigious publications) and/or in relatively high social positions (a dominating habitus) etc.

It is, however, difficult to say whether this lack of differentiation of journalistic products and in distribution of capital first and foremost reflects that the journalistic field have had much less time to develop in Norway (as noted in chapter 5, the press had a very late start). It could also be an effect of possibly greater social homogeneity (both of the Norwegian society in general, and of journalists as a group). It might also be a kind of general “limiting effect” on heterogeneity effected by a very small market (even if having a very high rate of newspaper reading and newspapers per. capita<sup>675</sup>, the

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<sup>670</sup> Note that neither *VG* or *Dagbladet* were originally established as popular papers, but were rooted in projects to enlighten the public from above, and later underwent extensive processes of popularization (cf. Eide 2007).

<sup>671</sup> Similar exponents for this form of journalism can be observed in both Sweden (*Expressen*, *Aftonbladet*) and Denmark (*Extra Bladet*, *BT*).

<sup>672</sup> Cf. Eide (2001b:24).

<sup>673</sup> Circulation figures for 2005. Source: *MedieNorge*.

<sup>674</sup> Johannesen (2000:191).

<sup>675</sup> 226 newspapers were published in Norway in 2005 (Høst 2006). In an international comparison in 2003, Norway was narrowly beaten by Luxembourg as the country with the most daily newspapers per capita (22.6 per mill), compared to 2.3 per mil. in UK and 1.8 in France. 63% of Norwegians read a newspaper for minimum 0.5 hours an average day in 2006, compared to 40% of average Europeans (UK 45%, France 28%).

population of Norway is still small - 4.7 millions)<sup>676</sup> or a relative small body of journalists (remembering that for Durkheim, social differentiation was an effect of competition following social concentration)<sup>677</sup>. Cross-national studies are probably needed to shed light on the importance of such factors on the formation of social fields.

Internal symbolic capital in the Norwegian journalistic field is perhaps, as Bourdieu seems to suggest for the French field, historically constructed “against the commercial”, but at the same time it appears to have a co-existence with its commercial side which in the eyes of the majority of the agents in the field appears legitimate and largely unproblematic (this is likely a common feature for heteronomous fields). Such absence of a clear opposition between *an autonomous and a heteronomous principle* is for Bourdieu, however, by definition a sign of a weak autonomy<sup>678</sup>. Following his reasoning we should at least expect, as suggested in chapter 6, that this particular configuration makes the field ripe for allodoxia, for mistaking one thing for another. At its most basic, this appears to be a deep-rooted structural confusion where economic success (large circulation/audience) is mixed, and thus confused, with symbolic success (internal prestige), and democratic success (e.g. a “major scoop” being mistaken for a real contribution to democracy). One would expect this makes the Norwegian journalistic field extremely vulnerable to external pressure (especially economic pressure) as these often relatively easily can be reconciled and justified within the dominant logic of the field.

### ***Limitations, criticism, anti-criticism***

As mentioned earlier, the concept of social field is very flexible and can be applied on different levels of aggregation and analysis. When I have chosen to do a field analysis of Norwegian journalism on a national level, this must of course not be mistaken for an ambition to do a “total analysis” (whatever that means) of the field, but rather as the consequence of my research questions being related to this particular analytical level, motivated both by a belief that these national struggles are to a large degree over-determinating for the struggles observed in its sub-fields, and by my wish to link the description of these struggles to relations of dominance *outside* the field, e.g. in the classificatory struggles between social elites and classes in the Norwegian society. Such

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Only 6% say they do not read any politics/current affairs in a newspaper daily, whereas 28% of Europeans say the same (UK 30%, France 40%). Source: European Social Survey 2006.

<sup>676</sup>Another apparent difference is the role of television, which Bourdieu says “now dominates the field both economically and symbolically” ([1996] 1998a:42), which appear to contrast with a more subordinate position in the Norwegian field (figure 11). Note however, that whereas e.g. NRKs position in my constructed space is relatively subordinate (mainly due to the relatively large presence of young journalists) in the national space, this analysis does not accurately analyse the role of single programs (e.g. *Dagsrevyen* or *Dagsnytt 18*) or separate news departments from other departments in a publication. Comparison is made even more difficult by the fact that Bourdieu is often unclear as to what aspects of television he targets in this claim (is he mainly speaking of the major news programs, or television in more general?) and to what degree “the symbolic power of television” designates symbolic capital in the journalistic field, or – as often seems to be the case, its more general symbolic power over other social fields and over collective representations in the social space.

<sup>677</sup> Durkheim ([1893] 1997:210).

<sup>678</sup> See Bourdieu ([1996] 1998a) and Champagne (2007).



a focus has meant that many of the finer analytical differences – e.g. between VG and Dagbladet, or between the smaller local newspapers and the major newspapers – have been analysed only superficially, if at all. To grasp these finer distinctions, more focused analyses will have to be made than those presented here<sup>679</sup>.

The same goes for the question of field autonomy (which only has meaning in a comparative sense): even if I think the analyses in this thesis suggest a relative autonomy of journalism which makes the concept of “field” applicable and justified for the study of Norwegian journalism, it is very likely that this autonomy varies much in different forms (or subfields) of journalism (e.g. consider the differences between culture or sports journalism vs. national political journalism). To assess this journalistic autonomy in each particular case, dedicated detailed studies will have to be made of the relations between concrete subfields of journalism and the subfields of professionals with whom they tend to associate (e.g. crime journalists, police, judges, criminals and barristers in crime journalism).

Some readers who are primarily interested in concrete agents and publications in Norwegian journalism will probably also feel that in this thesis, as Bruno Latour criticise Bourdieu for, “... texts, and the contents of activities disappear”<sup>680</sup>, or in the words of Bernad Lahire, that the theory of fields “... does not permit one to understand the nature and specificity of the activities in different social universes” and sees every action as merely an expression of relations of power “as if agents were transparent and without shape”<sup>681</sup>. Or alternatively, one might feel that the thesis presents the world of journalism as meaningless or farcical, like art historian Paul Crowther’s criticism that Bourdieu’s model of the autonomous field of artistic production “... approximates a circus of bourgeois buffoons manically pursuing the achievement of original nonsense, so as to achieve distinction from another.”<sup>682</sup>.

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<sup>679</sup> In particular, I would have liked to include some analyses of subspaces, which would have been valuable not only to point out important distinctions subsumed in a larger analysis, but also to study to what degree the oppositions identified in the larger space are *reproduced* in the subspaces. When I have not done so, this is mainly because the survey data in most cases do not provide adequate data to construct detailed subfields (which would require both a larger sample and a greater differentiation in the questions asked in the questionnaire). To give just a short example of such an analysis, I repeated the main MCA (on the journalistic space) on only those individuals working in a newspaper (constructing a “space of newspapers”). The result was that the structure of the national space was almost perfectly reproduced in this subfield (which is not surprising, given that newspaper journalists make up almost 60% of the individuals in the sample), and that the axis of symbolic capital (the horizontal dimension in the national map) also here separates between the largest national and regional newspapers (located towards the most prestigious pole), and the smaller local newspapers (towards the less prestigious right side of the map). What this sub-analysis does bring out however, is a more marked differentiation between some newspapers, e.g. Dagbladet and VG: The latter are placed much closer to the centre of the map (if still retaining a position on the left of origo), indicating a somewhat lower position in the field of newspapers than the national map would suggest, and that Dagbladet conversely is placed further towards the upper left in this space of newspapers, indicating a more prestigious position than appears in the map of the national space in chapter 5.

<sup>680</sup> Latour (1993:6).

<sup>681</sup> Lahire (2001:40-46). Similar criticism has been expressed by others, e.g. art historian Paul Crowther (1994:164), who in his review of *The Field of Cultural Production* criticizes Bourdieu’s producers and consumers for being only “disembodied transmission points, through which the field of forces passes”.

<sup>682</sup> Crowther (1994:164-8).

If certainly understandable, such criticism of Bourdieu's work appears to me often unjustified. At least in the texts cited, such criticism appears to confuse Bourdieu's analytic *fócus* (which always has to be limited, a limitation without which the world would, as Max Weber says, appear to the researcher as "a chaos of 'existential judgements' about countless individual events"<sup>683</sup>) with deficiencies and limitations in the *theoretical framework* (a criticism which needs to be justified in distinct empirical analyses). Bourdieu's usual focus on fundamental structures of differences, on statistical regularities of practice, on the link between internal relations of inequality/power and symbolic struggles, on social reproduction and on the link between the logic of the field and the wider social space (e.g. relations between classes and elites in society) are not incompatible with exceptions to these structures and irregularities.

Whereas I similarly have focused on the structure of the journalistic field, the positions of agents in these struggles and homologies with the social space etc., one must thus not mistake such focus for a mechanical or apparatus-like<sup>684</sup> model where agents are, in Paul Crowther's words again, "dupes of forces in a market for symbolic goods": fields are, after all, fundamentally defined as sites of *struggles*, which means resistance, deviation and opposition. Also, Bourdieu's theory of practice insists on the importance of habitus as a generative, improvising structure. The structures I point to are far from perfect statistical correspondences, but *probabilities*, describing relatively permanent and stable social relations, which, if far from describing the "total social reality" of the world of journalism, I believe are important and largely constitutive for the general logic and struggles which can be observed in the field precisely *because* of their regularity. And rather than making texts and agents disappear, as Bourdieu argues against in "The Historical Genesis of the Pure Aesthetic", it is the knowledge of the history and structure of a field (including the distribution of habituses) which makes the texts and practices meaningful and rational, seen in the light of the particular logic of a field. Similarly, I hope that the structure and logic which I have sketched here only very generally can help make the journalistic microcosm, its agents, the struggles and its products both more understandable and rational than they are likely to appear without this knowledge, in spite of the fact that I have not provided much of in-depth analyses of the journalistic texts myself (I can certainly relate to Bernard Lahire's remark that the extensive tasks demanded by of a field analysis by Bourdieu tend to leave the researcher to "arrive exhausted at the doors of the discursive palace, content to describe some major features on the architectural style"<sup>685</sup>).

For those wanting a more detailed analysis of the positions of concrete publications or individuals (a request to which I can hardly disagree), one must however remind the reader that the main focus of this analysis has been the Norwegian journalistic *field*, a space of relations and a particular logic, and that an "appetite for [concrete] objects", to

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<sup>683</sup> Weber ([1949] 1993:128).

<sup>684</sup> Bourdieu often contrasted his vision of the field as one of struggle with the concept of apparatus where such struggles are dead, "being totally dominated by one hegemonic vision with little resistance" (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992:102).

<sup>685</sup> Lahire (2001:48).

quote Bachelard<sup>686</sup>, is something at odds with the idea of a social field as a *relational* construct<sup>687</sup> and social fact, invisible but real, and can be criticized for being motivated in a form of naturalistic epistemology. One should also not forget that a primary focus on concrete individuals is also a methodological demand which complies with the charismatic ideals of professionalism, which in the same way as Bourdieu says of the charismatic ideology in cultural field, “directs the gaze towards the apparent producer ... [and] prevents us from asking who has created this ‘creator’ and the magic power of transubstantiation with which the ‘creator’ is endowed”<sup>688</sup>.

### **News sociology, field sociology**

The concept of a journalistic field, I believe, adds an important analytic level to the understanding of all forms of “media logic”, institutional differences between publications and journalistic struggles. An ample account of journalistic practice in Norway today has to take into account not only the traditional constraints as studied in the sociology of news, e.g. in the effect of the organisation of journalistic work or economic pressures, but also the constraining (and enabling) effect of a *social field of journalism*, a partly autonomous microcosm with its own logic. Put differently, the journalistic field can be seen as the primary sociological context of journalistic production<sup>689</sup> and an important (hidden) factor of news production (or “news criteria”, to use the journalists’ own language).

What, then, are the analytical strengths of field sociology compared to other news-sociological traditions? Michael Schudson identifies three dominating traditions in news sociology<sup>690</sup>: 1) the political economy of news, the role of political and economic structures on news production (John McManus’ concerns about market-driven journalism and Peter Golding and Graham Murdoch’s work on political economy would be two examples of this<sup>691</sup>), 2) the social organization of news production (e.g. Warren Breed’s study of informal socialization in the newsroom, Philip Schlesinger’s analysis of the effect of time constraints in his study of the BBC, David Manning White’s study of gatekeepers, Jeremy Tunstall’s and Gaye Tuchman’s studies of news work<sup>692</sup>), and a third theme which he terms 3) “Culturological approaches” where “the cultural given” in a society and its relation to journalism is analyzed (examples of this are Herbert Gans’s studies of cultural values in American journalism, Todd Gitlin and Daniel

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<sup>686</sup> Bachelard ([1938] 2002:238).

<sup>687</sup> “...the real is the relational: what exists in the social world are relations - not interactions between agents or intersubjective ties between individuals, but objective relations which exist ‘independently of individual consciousness and will’” (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992:97).

<sup>688</sup> Bourdieu ([1992] 1996:167).

<sup>689</sup> Bourdieu ([1987] 1993)

<sup>690</sup> Schudson (1989). For a discussion of this classification from a methodological perspective, see Tuchman (2002).

<sup>691</sup> McManus (1994); Golding and Murdoch (1991).

<sup>692</sup> Breed (1955), Schlesinger (1978), White (1950), Tunstall (1971) and Tuchman (1980).

Hallin's work on hegemony in reporting and various works in the British Cultural Studies tradition<sup>693</sup>).

The most valuable aspects of a field analysis, in my view, are its insistence on what Marcel Mauss called *total social facts*, an analysis "...that preserves the fundamental unity of human practice across the mutilating scissures of disciplines, empirical domains, and techniques of observation and analysis."<sup>694</sup> In a field study of journalism, many concerns which are usually kept separate in both journalistic self-accounts and in the tradition of news sociology – or even more generally between “media” sociology and other sociology<sup>695</sup>, and sociology and anthropology (class struggles and journalistic struggles, “professional” opinions and habitus, economic and symbolic competition, social and mental cosmos) are combined, providing a challenge to all forms of analytic reductionism, for example sensitising us to the fact that economic struggles between journalistic institutions are simultaneously symbolic struggles and class struggles (and vice versa). Field theory also provides a focus on the differences and internal struggles of journalism which too often is lacking in studies of journalism (e.g. in traditional accounts of journalistic “professionalization”), and points to the plural nature of this world and the problems inherent in all simple generalisations of “journalists” and “journalism”. The field sociology also draws attention to the fact that conflicts which on the surface appear purely “journalistic” (e.g. the “quality” of tabloid journalism, the “importance” of economic journalism in a newspaper or the “ethics” of naming alleged criminals etc.) are also always *political* conflicts in a double sense, first in the field as a struggle to impose a definition of legitimate practices and agents in the journalistic field, and also in a wider context, as part of struggles over the dominant definition of social reality vis-à-vis other fields in the field of power<sup>696</sup>. Finally, with the concept of habitus and the underlying anthropological theory of practice (insisting on the same underlying factors regulating all areas of social practice), field sociology also brings journalists and journalistic practice into the same social world and under the same constraints as the rest of us.

For example, in the case of the concept of “journalism” which Olof Petersson has suggested to be a common ideology for journalists (where journalists divide the world into power brokers, common people and journalists – with themselves located in between, with a mission to serve the people and challenge the powerful)<sup>697</sup> the concept of field can help sensitise the researcher not only to the fact that such ideology is *very unequally distributed* in the field, being most dominant among the elites of the field, but also that these classifications are not only directed towards competing elites, but also *internally*, towards rival factions in the journalistic field in the perpetual struggle for the field's nomos and thus their own positions in this space.

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<sup>693</sup> Gans (1980), Gitlin (1980), Hallin (1986) and Hall (1973, 1978).

<sup>694</sup> Loïc Wacquant in Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992:26-7)

<sup>695</sup> Cf. also Philip Schlesinger's (1990) criticism of journalism research of being “media centric”.

<sup>696</sup> Cf. Bourdieu ([1977] 1993:101-2).

<sup>697</sup> Petersson (1994).

## *Grand theories, major problems*

There can be little doubt that Bourdieu's theory of social fields has proved itself as a successful research programme, inspiring a myriad of applications and having become an important new paradigm for research in many theoretical specialities (e.g. art and culture production and use, and in our case, in the sociology of the media and journalism).

It is perhaps inevitable that great theories also represent great epistemological obstacles, for a variety of reasons. By giving us conceptual tools which make us see the world differently than before, changing our perception often in a dramatic gestalt-like fashion (most people will remember this feeling after their first reading of Geoffman's *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* or Bourdieu's *Distinction*) theories also, as Barry Barnes argues, tend to *remain with us*, gradually shifting from theories to categories, becoming "natural" and thus invincible to us<sup>698</sup>. Being infatuated with a social theory – particularly when we are students – is probably only to some extent related to its scientific qualities (its 'heuristic power'<sup>699</sup>), but also follows a logic of *taste* much in common with the love of art as Bourdieu sees it: as a meeting between a habitus with certain disposition and a symbolic space of social scientists and their works, which through their many distinctions – a specific type of intellectual model (real or imaged), dominant methodologies, references and themes which appear more or less attractive and attainable to us (for example, between an intellectual figure like Sartre opposed to, say, Parson, or the "grand theory" of the former versus a more empirical and thematically specialized social scientist, or in the way the research themes are linked to traditional divisions of labour in society (the "sociology of the family" versus "sociology of industrial relations") and aesthetic and social hierarchies (the sociology of art versus the sociology of youth culture), their varying degree of compliance with a traditional model of science (Lazarsfeld versus Deluze) etc<sup>700</sup>.

In other words, we have an interest in a specific theory and methodology which is not purely academic, but is part of our habitus, and for this reason makes it hard to evaluate or refute "logically"<sup>701</sup>. Such refutation also becomes additionally difficult given the complex "hard core" of Bourdieu's sociological programme (e.g. his theory of practice,

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<sup>698</sup> Barnes (1984).

<sup>699</sup> Lakatos (1970:158).

<sup>700</sup> It is also probably the case that the wider a scientific corpus is, the more ambiguous the figure is as everyone can feel attracted to it for quite different reasons, as in Bourdieu's case: as the most powerful public intellectual of Paris and a "man of culture" with extensive knowledge of the Parisian art world and aesthetic theory versus the "paysan", the outsider of humble origins from the French countryside, or his detached intellectual dissection of the French educational system in *Reproduction* versus the political interventionist talking at the French train workers strike, the remorseless – almost brutal - critic of intellectual opponents (like Boudon or Bernard-Henri Lévy) versus the emphatic sociologist of social suffering in *The Weight of the World*. In Bourdieu's case, such oppositions were manifested often in one and the same work: in *Distinction* between the anthropologist with his meticulous phenomenological observations of our games of taste, versus the meticulous quantitative sociologist, etc.

<sup>701</sup> For a more comprehensive discussion of the relation between habitus and sociological practice see Brubaker (1993). Brubaker in my view, however, goes too far in reducing Bourdieu's theoretical and sociological choices to dispositions and relates them too little to his position in and the status of the French academic field.

in his theory of the habitus as primarily formed by power relations in society, the relational nature of the social world etc.) and the complexity and interrelated nature of his open concepts (habitus, field, capital). This, combined with their heuristic nature, very probably make other scientists' use of these concepts very susceptible to a confirmatory logic of research, of following what Imre Lakatos calls the "positive heuristic" of the research program (or what Thomas S. Kuhn's term "puzzle solving" research<sup>702</sup>). I myself have to concur with similar criticism towards my work, even if I do believe such empirical exercises are invaluable for the testing and development of a theory.

Personally, one of the features of the concept of social fields I have found most interesting, is the apparent mismatch between Bourdieu's use of the concept of fields on a wide variety of contexts and aggregate levels, and his ambitions to find "general laws" of fields, and Gaston Bachelard's insistence on science progressing by greater *specialization* of scientific concepts, warning that "... the very worst [scientific] mistakes occur in the area of maximum extension."<sup>703</sup> If Bachelard is correct, this begs the question of the "limits" of field sociology: to which universes is it most – and least - appropriate? Ought one to differentiate more clearly between different *subtypes* of social fields? It seems clear that a routinized use of the field sociology of Bourdieu (which he himself strongly warned against) easily can turn into what Gaston Bachelard calls "intellectual sclerosis"<sup>704</sup>, or the "loss of problems" that Wittgenstein accuses Russel and H.G. Wells of, "... everything appears clear and simple to them, there are no deep problems, the world becomes lucid and shallow, and loses all depth."<sup>705</sup> In this context, a major challenge for the further development of field theory appears to be its very flexibility: its applicability on a large range of analytic levels and scope makes comparison (and thus criticism) of fields from one analysis to another extremely difficult. Here, it seems that carefully constructed parallel analyses (e.g. studying the journalistic field in two countries with a similar sample- and analytical procedures) could be a fruitful analytic strategy.

If not providing a good answer to these more fundamental challenges in field theory, I do think that applying the sociology of field on Norwegian journalism at least has offered one test of the applicability of field analysis also for heteronymous social universes far from the Parisian cultural/intellectual scene: being a more heteronymous cultural universe than those commonly analysed by Bourdieu (both with regard to its strong dependence on an economic market, the strongly collective nature of the journalistic products, and the relatively low level of education) in a country where cultural, educational and political capital appear to traditionally have been more separated than in France. Also, of course, I think that this analysis has shed some light on the nature of the microcosm of the journalistic world – both for Norway and in a larger context.

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<sup>702</sup> Lakatos (1970:127), Kuhn ([1962] 1996:36-39).

<sup>703</sup> Bachelard ([1938] 2002:71).

<sup>704</sup> Ibid.(70).

<sup>705</sup> Wittgenstein ([1967] 2001:#456)

### **Final remarks**

It is probably inevitable that sociological analyses of the journalistic field – this preset one included - are bound to be seen as something of an assault by those studied, given that we are talking of two fields which are, almost by definition (by their conflicting claims to tell the truth about the social world), locked in conflict. In such situations, which are probably bound to awaken stereotypical, ritual engagements between the fields, it is important that one does not confuse an analysis with a demolition-attempt. As always, as Bourdieu so often warned, one must avoid false alternatives and false dilemmas. An analysis of journalistic beliefs and legitimisation is in no way incompatible with a belief in the importance of good journalism for a democratic society, just as an analysis of constraints inherent in the structure of the journalistic field is not to say that the journalistic field is unchangeable. As Bourdieu said of his own analyses of journalists, journalists' awareness of the structures they live under has an emancipatory potential, "helping the [dominated] journalists to understand that it is the structure that suppresses them, and that this knowledge can help them better endure the pressures and to organize themselves ... and provide instruments for collective understanding."<sup>706</sup> Knowing that the journalistic field, like any field (and not only the political) has its particular "correctness" which is a historical construct and the result of social struggles can hopefully provide journalists with an increased critical awareness of some of the less obvious but very real obstacles to realising the unattainable ideals of a free and independent journalism.

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<sup>706</sup> Bourdieu (1995).





## Appendix I:

# On method and sources of data

### *I. Pre-studies*

To get an initial feeling of the structure of the field and its major forms of capital (and indeed, to assess whether the notion of field and capital could be an appropriate theory for understanding journalistic practice), some preliminary investigations were undertaken.

First, in 1999-2001 I conducted extensive interviews with 12 journalists, mostly focused on the question of symbolic capital (ideals of journalism and journalists, the best journalists and why, the importance of prizes etc.), their social trajectories and their view of important oppositions and distinctions in the profession. Based on my preliminary ideas of the field, the principle of their selection was that they should represent as different positions in the journalistic space as possible. This meant that interviews with well-known journalists in the biggest national newspapers and TV-stations were alternated with interviews with journalists whom I regarded as likely to hold more dominated positions in the field (in this case, young journalists working as freelancers or in small local newspapers). Also, the respondents were chosen from various types of journalistic specialisations (not only news journalists were included, but also journalists of culture and sport). Also, some care was taken to include respondents who conformed less well to the native ideas of who were “real” journalists and who not – like journalists in the weekly press (here, an interview with a woman from one of the biggest sensationalist magazines in Norway turned out to be the most rewarding).

Second, to get a better understanding of the systematic differences among the dominating agents of the field, I compiled statistical biographies of the editors of the 30 largest newspapers and broadcasting institutions in Norway. Press biographies from *Pressefolk 1997*<sup>707</sup> were checked and supplemented with other sources for biographical data, including other series of Norwegian biographical collections – *Hvem er hvem* <Who is who>- and *Norsk biografisk leksikon*<sup>708</sup>, interviews with editors and their autobiographical works, and various lists of holders of important journalistic offices and journalistic prizes. Although very incomplete – especially concerning their social background and thence their habitus – and not fit for publication, this combination of biographies and properties made it possible to make more nuanced empirical judgements of important forms of capital and positions in the field.

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<sup>707</sup> The *Pressefolk*-collections of biographies were published in 1930, 1938, 1955, 1967, 1979, 1990 and 1997, and are no doubt the most important source of biographical data on journalists in Norway. The latest edition from 1997 includes 5000 short biographies, including a little less than 70% of the population (Øy 1998).

<sup>708</sup> *Hvem er hvem?* (1994), Arntzen (1999).

## *II. Surveys of journalism students*

An unforeseen opportunity appeared in spring 1999 when I was asked to participate in a quantitative longitudinal study of Norwegian journalism students together with professor Rune Ottosen and Gunn Bjørnsen (both then at Oslo University College) as a part of the StudData project<sup>709</sup>. In 2000-2006 we made and administered a series of questionnaires to the journalism students at Oslo and Volda University College. Even if this was initially a separate research project, it proved very valuable to the field study in several ways. As I came to realise that students of journalism could be considered full (if dominated) agents in the journalistic field, this project made it possible to test out research questions and some of the basic assumptions of a Bourdieuan field approach (for example, how journalistic ideals and interests are distributed according to the students habitus), and how these changed (or not) during their education and after working a few years.

The cohorts were questioned at three different phases in their student careers: (1) at the start of their journalism courses; (2) at the end of the study (after two years); and (3) three years after graduation.<sup>710</sup> The total dataset consists of 337 students (85% of the total population)<sup>711</sup> who participated in one or more of the phases. The questionnaires at the beginning and at the end of the study (phases 1 and 2) were administered by the authors in classroom situations, whereas the follow-up questionnaire three years after graduation was administered by mail<sup>712</sup>.

These studies were taken a step further in 2005, when I directed a similar survey to first-year students at 19 schools of journalism in Norway, Sweden, Denmark and Finland (“Project Hovdabrekka”). With a questionnaire largely based on the previous StudData-project, this later survey included all of the major Norwegian journalist educations - ten in total (in addition to nine in Finland, Sweden and Denmark)<sup>713</sup>. With its wider sample of institutions and a larger number of respondents, this project provided good data on the recruitment to the Norwegian field through this part of the educational system. The survey was distributed by a web questionnaire administered to every first year student at the selected schools within three weeks after they started their education in the fall

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<sup>709</sup> StudData is a comparative research project based at the Centre for the study of the Professions at Oslo University College.

<sup>710</sup> Note that the longitudinal aspect of the study was not the same for all cohorts. One educational cohort (2000) answered questions from all three phases. One cohort (1999) answered questions from phases 2 and 3, and one cohort (2001) answered phase 1 only.

<sup>711</sup> The response rate varies from cohort to cohort, and generally declines in the later phases. The complete response rates were (by cohort, phase number in parenthesis): 1999: 75%(2), 57%(3). 2000: 86%(1), 65%(2), 53%(3). 2001: 90%(1). The combined response rate and number of respondents for each phase were 88% (234) in phase 1, 69% (178) in phase 2 and 55% (136) in phase 3.

<sup>712</sup> For more details of this study, see Bjørnsen, Hovden and Ottosen (2007).

<sup>713</sup> The following institutions participated in the survey: Jyväskylä, Tampere, Helsinki (Finland), IMG Göteborg, MKV Mitthögskolan, Södertörn (Sweden), DJH Århus, Roskilde, Odense (Denmark), the university colleges of Oslo, Volda, Bodø and Kautokeino, the universities of Stavanger and Bergen, Gimlekollen School of Journalism and Communication (GSJC), Norwegian School of Management BI, Bjorknes International College and Norwegian School of Creative Studies.

semester 2005. Of the total sample, 51% (474) responded, 56% (133) of the Norwegian students. The questionnaire was offered in Norwegian, Swedish, Danish and Finnish translations<sup>74</sup>.

### ***III. The survey of journalists and editors 2005***

#### **Sources of data on journalists and editors**

To study journalistic practice as located in a social field in Bourdieu's sense offers a range of methodological options to the researcher. A mainly qualitative approach to the field, e.g. an ethnographic "newsroom study" or an interview-based research design – was early on dismissed in favour of a large-scale prosopography and the ambition to reconstruct statistically the major structures of the journalistic space. The choice then appeared to be principally between using anonymous or non-anonymous data to generate the relevant indicators of the field's agents.

The first approach would simply be to make a representative sample of journalists/editors, and distribute an anonymous questionnaire to obtain the data. The second approach – and the one usually chosen by Bourdieu, for example in *Homo Academicus* – was to build a dataset on the relevant properties of journalists (age, position, prizes won, union offices etc.) based on *secondary* data on known individuals. In practice, this would mean using the information available in the aforementioned press biographies as a starting point, and then trying to complement this information through other means – direct inquiries to the people concerned, regular biographies, reading lists of committee members in the journalists' unions, lists of prize-winners etc. This second type of approach has many obvious merits. First, a biographical approach is clearly the only one possible in studies of earlier historic situations of a social field, where respondents or adequate statistical data are not available. Secondly, this approach makes it possible to obtain many types of indicators with very high validity and precision. Whereas the genre of the questionnaire does not encourage requests for detailed information – partly because of anonymity, partly because the peddlers of public opinion have long since accustomed us to read and complete them quickly – the biographical approach makes it possible – if labour-intensive – to code, for example, a journalist's professional trajectory with much higher precision than he or she would probably willingly disclose in a questionnaire. Also, one is much less at the mercy of the respondent's willingness to divulge specific kinds of information – a particularly important consideration in the study of social elites.

The biographical approach has, however, its share of difficulties. First, obviously many indicators will be very difficult to obtain in this way. Also, because of the labour-intensive task of amassing and completing the relevant indicators<sup>75</sup> one will usually limit oneself to reconstructing a smaller sub-sample of the participants of a social field

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<sup>74</sup> For more details, see Bjørnsen, Hovden, Ottosen, Schultz and Zilliacus-Tikknenen (2007).

<sup>75</sup> For two exemplary overviews of the variety of sources and problems in this kind of approach see the appendix "The sources used" in *Homo Academicus* (Bourdieu [1984] 1988) and the reconstruction of the French literary field during the German occupation by Gisela Sapiro (2002).

and thus construct a subspace of the field rather than a more “complete”<sup>716</sup> social field. In *Homo Academicus* for example, Bourdieu’s analysis of “the French academic field” is based on a random sample of 405 (ca. 50%) tenured university professors in the Paris faculties in 1968<sup>717</sup>, thus excluding many probable agents in the French academic field, for example professors at universities outside Paris and lecturers who had not attained professorships. In practice, this study – like many of Bourdieu’s empirical analyses of social fields - is primarily an analysis of the dominating agents in the field – literally the elite of the elite. Bourdieu’s usual focus on dominating agents in a field is, however, very understandable: not only are the struggles between the dominating agents of particular interest to a field study as these usually to a large degree will determine the overall structure of the field (by determining the relevant forms of capital and their relative value), but one would also expect that the oppositions that divide the dominating agents to be very similar to those that divide the wider field (as the dominated, by definition, have less of the capital which is the basis for the oppositions that divide the field). In contrast, a “survey-approach” with its reduced labour-cost per individual makes it feasible to include larger samples and thus also a wider sample of positions in the social field under scrutiny. This was an attractive prospect as it seemed to provide an opportunity to investigate some of Bourdieu’s concepts in a wider sample than usual – for example: how are *illusio* (statistically) distributed in the field? To what degree do the dominated resist the judgements of the dominating - do they share the same ideals and role models? A second problem with the biographical method concerns position-takings in the field: Even if it is possible with this approach to investigate quite precisely the opinions of the agents through their work and writings (continuing the example of *Homo Academicus*, Bourdieu here studied French professors’ opinions on the 1968 riots), the scope must necessarily be more modest. In contrast, in a survey one can investigate a much wider range of position-takings in a field (although with lower validity). The biographical approach and survey approach thus both have their merits and limitations for the study of a social field.

Having first considered a combination of the two approaches (starting with the press biographies and then supplying them with a short, non-anonymous survey), this was later rejected in favour of a single anonymous survey. Partly this was because the information in the press biographies was seen as very insufficient, being quite old (the last published collection of press biographies was collected in 1996/7) and lacking crucial indicators for a field analysis (they give for example no information on the parents – and thus the habitus – of the journalists), and partly because the above mentioned opportunity of widening the sample and investigating more closely the position-takings in the field is greater than a biographical approach usually allows room for.

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<sup>716</sup> I am of course aware that to speak of a “full” or “complete” social field is very problematic, as the boundaries of such social institutions are vague, cf. Bourdieu ([1989] 1996:316).

<sup>717</sup> Bourdieu ([1984] 1988:38).

### The questionnaire

Being primarily interested in producing data which would make it possible to separate individuals and (and by aggregate – institutions) regarding the fundamental principles of division at work in this journalistic microcosm based on Pierre Bourdieu's theory of social fields, three types of indicators had to be given priority.

First, to reconstruct the main differences in the *habitus*, the individual's system of perception and classification of the social world, which according to Bourdieu is the product mainly of objective conditions of life chances (operationalised as the sum and distribution of capital of the family where one was raised), questions were given regarding the parents' occupation, their level and type of education, and various more specific indicators of different types of capital (for example, if their parents held a public office or were interested in "classical" Norwegian literature – the first one (of several) indicators of political capital, the second of cultural capital). Other relevant indicators included gender, whether the respondent (or their parents) had immigrated to Norway, which part of the country they were raised in, and (to see tendencies of reproduction of the profession), whether their parents, siblings or other relatives have had careers in journalism.

Second, to reconstruct the main structure of a possible journalistic field – a structure which according to Bourdieu is given by the unequal distribution of different (internal) forms of *capital* - the objective position occupied by the various agents in the field, given their unequal access to these fundamental forms of power, had to be sketched. To reduce the questionnaire to a more acceptable length, an early methodological choice was made to prioritise indicators of the agent's position in the field as a *whole* over indicators which would have been conducive for studies of sub-fields in more detail (for example, a subfield of cultural journalism or foreign reporters). Given the potentially enormous variation in assets / resources available to agents in the journalistic field, the research problem was still how to – at this stage in the research process - distinguish the most fundamental forms of power (which were likely to be most effective in the main struggles of the field) from the less important, while trying to avoid the loss of any of the former. First, emphasis was given to the *current type of work* (including position in the publication, job specification, themes and specialization) *institution/publication working for* (category of publication, and, if possible, its name) and one's *work history* – as these were deemed the best general indicators of capital in the field. Given the enormous variation of institutions, job types, organizational positions in the journalistic profession, and being well aware of the inadequateness of simple statistical categories like "culture journalist" or "editor" for establishing the relevant distinctions, respondents were urged to elaborate on their choices of statistical categories, and in many cases the questions chosen were purely qualitative (e.g. the themes they were working with, offices having held and prizes related to journalism). This of course came at a greatly added cost to the labour of coding the questionnaires and the statistical treatment of the data, but hopefully increasing its validity and giving some room for forms of capital and distinctions which were not clear to me at that time. For more specific (probable) forms of capital, a wide range of specific questions were asked, including (the types of "capitals" listed here reflecting my somewhat immature notions of active capital forms at this time) *control over institutionalised legitimation of symbolic capital* – participation in state or other national committees dealing with

journalistic questions (eg. PFU, a NOU, Kringkastingsrådet) or juries for journalistic prizes (e.g. SKUP), *trade-union/political capital* (eg. having an office in the trade unions), *symbolic capital* (e.g. receiving a journalistic prize), *scientific capital* (eg. the number of publications in journalism/media-research or a post as lecturer at a media/journalist-education, doctoral degree etc.), *educational capital* (eg. a masters degree in a subject), *editorial capital* (a high post in the internal organizational structure of a publication), *control over the reproduction of the labour force* (e.g. lecturer at a journalist education), and *social capital* (appearing on national television, radio or having ones' photograph in a national newspaper) etc.

Third, to study how the journalistic field was related to *the field of power* (the space of competition between various national elites) and *the social field* (the Norwegian space of social groupings or classes) some further additions had to be made (although much relevant information was of course already present, for example in the questions on education). Regarding the field of power, a question on previous held jobs of at least two years' length (outside journalism) was added, and also some questions regarding their holding of political office (which would not necessarily turn up in the previous question). To make possible a comparison between the journalistic field as a *field of producers* and a related *field of consumers*, some general indicators of their position in the social space (e.g. income, economic value of car and house, and whether their parents owned an encyclopaedia or subscribed to foreign newspapers) and questions regarding their media use (e.g. what categories of media content they themselves were interested in reading) were added from a national survey on media consumption<sup>718</sup>.

To study how these various positions in the field (based on capital) were related to various forms of preferences, practices and attitudes (e.g. *position-takings in the field*), further questions were asked on a wide variety of subjects. As I suspected that the field's *nomos* – the debates of “worthy” and “unworthy” participants (“not really journalists”, “not really journalism” etc.) - was a fundamental struggle in the field, much emphasis was given to questions of this type – for example asking the respondents to name outstanding journalists and publications, ideal personal characteristics and skills for a journalist, to what degree named publications and institutions were “qualified to judge what is good journalism”, what kind of conduct/office they thought incompatible with holding a job as a journalist etc., hopefully making it possible not only to sketch the basic attributes of symbolic capital (in the field as a whole), but also see how different positions in such struggles were linked to their objective (capital) positions, and their own involvement in such debates (in Bourdieu's terms, their adherence to the fields *illusio*). Other types of questions concerned *lifestyles and cultural preferences* (e.g. living alone or with someone, having children, exercising, going to art exhibitions, favourite literary authors), *media use* (which newspapers and magazines did they read, which (news)programmes on radio and television did they attend to), *political preferences* (party voted for in the last general election), *working conditions* (stressful work, irregular working hours, relations with colleagues, part time or full time job etc.), *social integration and participation in various social settings for journalists* (e.g. having visited Tostrupkjelleren – a famous (closed) club for journalists in Oslo, having met with

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<sup>718</sup> *Forbruk og media* <Consumption and media> Gallup (2004).

colleagues after work or visited various national and local conferences for journalists, participation in journalistic forums like Stortingets presselosje <The Parliaments press box> or the Normedia discussion list on the Internet), their *views held on journalistic autonomy and the relation to other social fields* (e.g. attitudes to the regulation of journalism by the scientific, the political-bureaucratic and economic field – e.g. if the state should own media publications or pursue an active media policy – and the perceived need for journalism to regulate other fields – for example, whether politicians should be prevented from speaking directly to people through the media), their *relation to their audience* (how strong they think the media’s influence on public opinion should be, and how do they view their audience in terms of their interest in politics, their scepticism to media messages, their need to be entertained etc.), in addition to various questions concerning *press ethics, culture journalism* and *crime journalism*.

If probably not very successful in practice, particular care was taken when writing the questionnaire and invitation letters to avoid the use of formulations and concepts which were too journalistocentric, that is, wording which could alienate those with job types outside the most ideal-typical / traditional forms of journalism (e.g. video editors, producers, PR workers, graphic designers, researchers etc.). Some of the measures were to give the survey a general name (“Media people 2005” <Mediefolk 2005>), explicitly state in the invitation letter that I was interested in *all* members of NJ and NR regardless of their type of job, and using a wide range of occupational categories in the questionnaire.

Many of the questions – in particular the more traditional questions regarding various attitudes to journalistic issues - were borrowed (in a modified form) from other surveys<sup>719</sup>. Also, some questions were inserted at the request of other media researchers after my invitation to contribute<sup>720</sup>, several of whom also read and commented on the numerous drafts of the questionnaire. This collective aspect of the creation of the questionnaire was deliberate, not only because of the expertise other researchers could bring to the process of improving the survey instrument, but also because I wanted the dataset to be available and relevant for other researchers ongoing projects afterwards, as long as this did not compromise my own data needs.

### **Sampling, the organisation of the survey and bias**

The original sample included 2705 persons, who again consisted of two sub-samples: 1) a random sample of 23% of the Norwegian union of journalists (NJ) members (2019 of total 8743 registered members) and 2) every member of the Norwegian union of editors (NR) - 676 members. The inclusion of the complete population of NR-members was motivated by the observation that the title of editor in a publication very often goes together with high indices of resources which could be

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<sup>719</sup> Some important sources and inspirations were the surveys by Bjørnsen, Hovden and Ottosen (2007), IJM/Göteborg (2000), Scholl and Weischenberg (1998), Weaver and Wilhoit (1996), Sørensen and Grimsmo (1993), Petersson and Carlberg (1989) and Delano and Henningham (1995).

<sup>720</sup> The questions regarding press ethics (Q11-15) werethe result of a collaboration with Svein Brurås. In addition, requested questions from Gunn Bjørnsen, Rune Ottosøn, Leif Ove Larsen, Karl Knapskog and Paul Bjerke were included in the final version of the questionnaire.

expected to function – or at least correlate strongly with - capital in the field<sup>721</sup>. Expecting the dominating positions in the field to be – at least to some degree - occupied by members of NR and fearing the risk of missing important (elite) positions in the field which were occupied by only a few persons (or possibly only one<sup>722</sup>) – a risk accentuated by the relative small size of its members – it was decided to include the whole population in the sample.

The choice of these two populations for the construction of the journalistic space in Norway is not without its problems, as will be obvious from the discussion in section 2.4. Disregarding the somewhat indistinct borders between NJ and NR<sup>723</sup>, there is on the one hand the problem of over-sampling; the inclusion of non-agents, that is to say, those who are not engaged in the struggles of the field, which for example one would expect will be the case for some of those working with very specialized tasks, like full-time sub-titlers and translators. On the other hand, and a more serious issue, is the problem of under-sampling, of excluding active agents, a problem which is particularly acute in a type of work without formal restrictions on training or union membership for its work. Even if NJ organize a very high percentage of those working in traditional publications for journalism (their claim of organizing “approximately 100% of all Norwegian journalists” by NJ are wildly over-optimistic, though<sup>724</sup>), there still exist some unions which directly compete with NJ for members, including *Kringkasternes landsforening* <The National Union of Broadcasters> and *NRKs tverrfaglige forbund* <NRKs interdisciplinary trade union federation> - both internal to NRK, which together organize 1800 workers (mainly staff with technical or producing-related work), including – according to the union’s own estimates – of these approx. 270 “journalists” (researchers, TV- and radio hosts, producers etc.)<sup>725</sup>. Also noteworthy is *Kommunikasjonsforeningen* <The Union of Communicators>, which organizes many PR- and public information workers<sup>726</sup>, and *Norsk filmforbund* <The Norwegian Union of Film workers>, which organizes many documentary-filmmakers outside NRK. Also, even though journalist unions like *The Labour Movements Press Union* (APF) have allowed dual memberships with NJ, there will probably be some journalists who for

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<sup>721</sup> For example, a member of NR (which includes both chief editors and sub-editors) is four times more likely than a NJ-member to have been on a jury for a journalistic prize and three times more likely to have appeared in a state committee on a journalism-related subject.

<sup>722</sup> This possibility is mentioned by Bourdieu in several analyses; see for example Bourdieu ([1989] 1996:234).

<sup>723</sup> Whereas membership for a chief editor in NR is linked to his/her formal control of a publication, NR membership is also possible for those at sub-editor level, and these are included as members more or less automatically if they are recommended by another NR member (usually their editor). In this way, it is perfectly possible for two journalists in different newspapers with comparable tasks and responsibility to be members of different unions (NR and NJ), dependent on the formal organization of the newspaper organization and the wishes of the editor and sub-editors.

<sup>724</sup> NJ’s homepage ([www.nj.no](http://www.nj.no)).

<sup>725</sup> Source: KL/TF.

<sup>726</sup> According to the secretariat of *Kommunikasjonsforeningen*, 900 of their members were journalists. On closer inspection of the classifications in the database, this included 288 “information managers”, 306 “information advisors”, 275 “information consultants”, 20 “journalists” and 42 “web editors/webmasters”.



various reasons have not bothered or wished to apply for a dual NJ membership. Also, of course, there is always the possibility that some journalists want to be organized in a non-media union – a choice one would believe will be not uncommon among those where the identification with another profession is stronger than their journalistic illusion.

Particular note should also be made of the fact that membership in NJ is currently limited to those who “have their main financial income from journalistic work”<sup>727</sup>. Not only is NJ thus in a position to work a not inconsiderable amount of classificatory violence by excluding all forms of work and publications which are not in line with their view of what is “journalistic work” (which means, among other things, the denial of press cards for PR/public information workers), but this also means that those who work less than 50% with what NJ currently deems journalistic work are not eligible for membership - for example, someone who works 60% as a PR-worker for a musical company and 40% as a music critic for a newspaper.

Even if there were many problems given the heterogeneity of the other unions in terms of non-journalistic work, there were clearly good arguments for a broader sample of unions than just NJ and NR. On the other hand, if following the estimates of the four unions mentioned above, one would end up with less than 100 extra journalists in the sample (is using the same sample portion as for NJ). A plan was made to include these unions in a follow-up survey the year after, but after inspecting the data from NR and NJ and doing the initial correspondence analyses this plan was abandoned, as I concluded that it was unlikely that the inclusion of this sample would significantly alter the basic oppositions identified by the correspondence analyses (especially as most of the occupations in these excluded unions appeared to already be present in the NJ data – e.g. documentary film producers, producers in NRK, public information workers) which was, as stated previously, the main analytical purpose of this study.

The survey was carried out first as a postal survey<sup>728</sup> in May-July 2005. Beforehand, a short presentation of the survey project appeared in the journalist union’s magazine *Journalisten*<sup>729</sup>. To maximize the response rate, a modified version of the “Total Design Method” proposed by Don A. Dillman was used as a general guideline<sup>730</sup>. For most

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<sup>727</sup> NJ membership statutes (www.nj.no).

<sup>728</sup> This survey was originally planned to be a web survey with invitations via e-mail, a prospect which would have made the process of distribution, collecting and coding a lot faster and at much lower cost, but this was abandoned in favour of a regular postal survey at the very last moment. Initially, the profession of journalists and editors seemed to offer a promising population for a web survey, as one should expect a very high degree of computer literacy and a very active use of email as part of their work. There were, however, contraindications. The questionnaire was rather long, and web surveys need to be shorter than a mail survey (Sax, Gilman and Bryand 2003). Second, I became decreasingly confident about the average recipient’s enthusiasm for answering the questionnaire. This, combined with a working environment which for most respondents is characterized by a great many incoming emails and a hectic routine (with daily or weekly deadlines), asking them to fill out a long web-based survey did not seem like a methodological procedure likely to give a good response rate or thorough answers.

<sup>729</sup> “Han spør 2000 journalister”, *Journalisten* 06.05.05.

<sup>730</sup> The “Total Design Method” was proposed by Don A. Dillman in the late seventies, as a set of recommendations for maximising survey response based on social exchange theory by 1) reduction of perceived costs (e.g. making the questionnaire seem easier to complete and return), 2) increasing perceived rewards (like varying

respondents, the initial questionnaire was mailed to their work address with a return envelope 6-7 May<sup>731</sup>. A reminder was sent out to the respondent's e-mail address (or postcard for those whose e-mail address was not found) one week later. Two weeks later again a new questionnaire was sent to the home address of everyone that had not returned the first questionnaire. As I did not have the funds to send out a third questionnaire by mail, the respondents who still had not responded by July were invited via email to fill out the survey via the web<sup>732</sup>. In the end, the overall response rate was 44% (46% of NJs members and 41% of NRs members responded).

Of the gross sample of 2705 persons, 1502 did not respond to the questionnaire. The various forms of non-response are given in table 28.

**TABLE 28 NON-RESPONSE IN THE SURVEY TO JOURNALISTS AND EDITORS 2005.**

a) gross sample			2705
b) illness, death	7		
c) no address found	52	=	59
d) returned an incomplete questionnaire	17		
e) active refusal	26		
f) no longer a member of NJ or NR	7	=	
g) did not return the questionnaire (no contact)	1393		1443
h) Returned and completed questionnaires			1203
Response rate based on gross sample (h/a)			44,5%
Response rate adjusted for natural causes (h/a-(b+c))			45,5%

The response rate appears to be somewhat low<sup>733</sup>. Some factors which probably influenced this result were the initial use of the work address for the distribution of the

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the questions to keep the questionnaire interesting) and 3) increasing thrust (e.g. through use of official stationary and sponsorship) - see Dillman (1991). Dillman's recommendations could of course only function as general advice, as the survey process had to be regulated according to the (assumed) attributes of the respondents and Bourdieu's field theory.

<sup>731</sup>For journalists working in *NRK*, *TV2*, *Aftenposten*, *VG* and *Dagbladet* financial considerations compelled me to send the questionnaire by bulk for internal distribution in the publication. In the latter case, I had also made arrangements with the organisations so that the finished questionnaires (in a sealed envelope) could be returned via the internal post system.

<sup>732</sup>130 responded to the web questionnaire. Note that 30% of the non-respondents (at that time) did not receive an email-invitation, as no working email address could be found for them. NJ did not have a functional list of email-addresses for its members, so each email address had to be searched for by using various search engines on the net, visiting the websites of the institutions they were known to have been working and various professional dictionaries, sending email to (presumed) co-workers, sending SMS to persons with that name found in telephone dictionaries etc. In particular, freelance members – who were usually not registered with an employer in NJs database – proved often difficult to find.

<sup>733</sup>Comparison with non-response in surveys to the general population is not directly applicable here, as one must expect the factors related to non-response here to vary considerably with those of a specialized population. Compared to other surveys to journalists in Norway, the response rate appears low. In a survey in 2001, 65% responded (Olaussen and Arstein 2001), and in 1999, 66% (Norsk journalistlag and Norsk redaktørforening 1999). Sørensen, Seierstad and Grimsmo's (2005:15) survey to Norwegian journalists in 2004 is not comparable as it was both web based and not based on a representative sample. Studies of journalists in other countries shows more variable response rates, e.g. Germany 1993 56% (Scholl and Weischenberg 1998:355), USA 1982 80% (Weaver and Wilhoit 1986:171), Britain (U.K) 1995 81%, Finland 1993 58%, France 1988 70%

survey, disparity between sample list and the “real” sample, the strong work/geographical mobility of the profession combined with the timing of the reminders, and the length of the questionnaire.

First, it was probably a mistake that the first dispatch was sent (for financial reasons) to the work address of the respondent, as many of those who did not visit the central office in this period would probably not receive the questionnaire – including those with a leave of absence (for example, a maternity leave), those who recently had quit their jobs, or employees who for various reasons seldom visited the central office (free-lancers are the obvious example). Even if this problem was partly corrected by dispatching the first and second reminders to the respondents’ home address, many of these were returned because of a wrong address. This was probably partly due to the time gap between the data provided by the journalists and editors to their unions (their lists of addresses which were the basis for the distribution) and the distribution of the survey itself<sup>734</sup>. This problem was probably intensified as the survey reminders took place in May-July, which is probably the time of year when most people take their vacations, change jobs and move. Finally, the questionnaire was probably too extensive, even considering the perceived high pertinence for the respondents<sup>735</sup>.

Does the somewhat low response rate indicate a biased sample? To control for this, the data fields available in the original lists of members provided by NJ and NR were compared for three samples: the total population (all members), the gross sample (who received the survey) and the net sample (who actually responded). This comparison was done with full anonymity for the members in the lists, replacing name and e-mail fields with a serial number. A short comparison is given in the following tables.

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(Weaver and Wu 1998). Note, however, that the surveys listed usually used some form of “screening tactic” which very likely greatly increases the final response rate (e.g. removing all freelancers, as in the example of Weavers study discussed in section 2.4).

<sup>734</sup> It should also be noted that for many members in NJ no home or work address was listed in NJ’s lists of members. This information was then collected through various search engines on the Internet. Often this proved difficult, especially if the respondent had a very common name. In such instances, e-mails and SMS were sent to the persons on the list in an attempt to certify their membership in NJ.

<sup>735</sup> The questionnaire included over 400 items, which is much more than the 250 recommended by Dillman as the maximal optimal length (Dillman in de Vaus de Vaus 1996:109). This advice, however, is given for general public surveys. For specialist populations, where the topic feels relevant, research in response rates indicate that the length of the questionnaire is far less important (Dillman 1991:232, de Vaus 1996:109).

TABLE 29 NJ'S POPULATION, GROSS- AND NET SAMPLE. SELECTED PROPERTIES. PERCENTAGES.

		Population (total list of members)	Gross sample	Net sample (responded)
	<b>N=</b>	8743	2019	927
	%population	100	23	11
	%gross sample			46
<b>Gender</b>	Male	60	61	61
	Female	40	39	39
<b>Section</b>	Oslo	41	40	40
	Bergen	8	8	7
	Trondheim	4	4	4
	Stavanger	4	4	4
	Other	43	44	45
<b>Membership category</b>	Regular	71	69	68
	Freelancer	7	8	8
	Retired	8	8	8
	Service member	6	7	6
	Further education	1	1	1
	Other	7	7	9
<b>Year born</b>	<1940	7	8	7
	1940-49	13	12	13
	1950-59	21	20	19
	1960-69	25	25	25
	1970-79	29	30	31
	1980-	6	5	6

TABLE 30 NJ'S POPULATION, GROSS- AND NET SAMPLE. THE 20 LARGEST EMPLOYERS. PERCENTAGES.

	Population (full list of members)	Gross sample	Net sample (responded)
NRK	7,6	8,2	9,0
Freelancer	7,5	7,9	8,9
TV2	3,8	3,9	3,6
Student	3,3	3,6	4,4
Aftenposten	2,8	2,3	1,9
VG	2,8	3,0	2,0
Dagbladet	2,1	2,3	2,5
Bergens Tidende	1,7	1,4	1,5
Adresseavisen	1,4	1,3	1,6
Oslo University College	1,4	1,3	1,5
Stavanger Aftenblad	1,3	1,1	1,0
Volda University College	1,3	1,2	1,9
Dagens Næringsliv	1,0	1,1	1,6
Se og Hør	0,9	0,9	1,1
NTB	0,8	0,8	1,1
NRK Hordaland	0,8	0,8	0,6
Fædrelandsvennen	0,8	0,6	0,9
NRK Tyholt	0,8	0,7	0,9
Allers	0,6	0,5	0,4
NRK Østlandssendingen	0,6	0,7	0,6

**TABLE 31 NR'S POPULATION AND NET SAMPLE. SELECTED PROPERTIES. PERCENTAGES.**

		<b>Population / Gross sample (total list)</b>	<b>Net sample (responded)</b>
<b>Gender</b>	Male	81	77
	Female	19	23
<b>Title</b>	Chief editor or managing director	27	30
	Editor	17	16
	Managing editor	15	17
	News editor	11	10
	Other	31	29
<b>Type of publication</b>	Newspaper	66	66
	Bureau	2	4
	Specialist press	3	4
	Television	3	3
	Internet	2	2
	Broadcasting	11	10
	Local-TV	2	2
	Organization	2	2
	Radio	2	2
	Weekly press	7	6
<b>Year born</b>	<1940	2	1
	1940-49	20	19
	1950-59	38	38
	1960-69	30	30
	1970-79	10	11
	1980-	0	0

As can be seen, the tables indicate only small disparities between the respondents and the population. For NJs members, the respondents in the dataset appear to be representative in terms of gender, age, geographical location and membership category. A closer reading of lists of employers - of which I here show only the 20 largest – does however disclose some differences. Those working in public broadcasting (NRK), higher education (a mix of students, journalists teachers and journalists in internal publications) and the largest regional newspapers appear to have a somewhat higher response rate than the average, whereas those employed in VG and Aftenposten – two of the largest national newspapers – seem somewhat lower than average. For NRs members, the sample appears to be representative in terms of age, job title and type of publication, but female members responded somewhat more often than male members (the population consists of 19% women, the dataset has 24%). Closer readings of the names of media organizations (not enclosed here for reasons of anonymity) does not suggest further major differences. In sum, the final data appear to be adequately representative for the form of statistical analysis chosen.

## Appendix 2: Additional Tables and Figures

### - CHAPTER 4: JOURNALISTIC HABITUS AND JOURNALISTIC HABITS -

**TABLE 32 MEDIA USE IN THE NORWEGIAN SOCIAL SPACE. MCA. STATISTICAL PROPERTIES.**

ACTIVE MODALITIES (CATEGORIES)			COORDINATES			ABS. CONTRIB.			REL. CONTRIBUT.		
IDEN - LIBELLE	P.REL	DISTO	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3
DO YOU WORK IN PRIVATE OR PUBLIC SECTOR?											
private sector	6.20	1.30	0.09	0.89	0.22	0.1	15.1	1.1	0.01	0.60	0.04
public sector	5.67	1.52	-0.48	-0.84	0.16	3.6	12.5	0.5	0.15	0.47	0.02
CONTRIBU=						3.8	27.6	1.7			
WHAT WAS YOUR FATHER'S OCCUPATION/POSITION WHEN YOU GREW UP?											
worker, unskilled	3.18	3.49	0.56	-0.08	0.38	2.8	0.1	1.8	0.09	0.00	0.04
worker, skilled	3.92	2.65	0.14	-0.10	0.37	0.2	0.1	2.0	0.01	0.00	0.05
manager, leading	2.27	5.30	-0.86	0.23	-0.34	4.6	0.4	1.0	0.14	0.01	0.02
manager, other	0.82	16.33	-0.87	-0.07	-0.25	1.7	0.0	0.2	0.05	0.00	0.00
self-employed, professions	0.48	0.00	-1.63	-0.18	-2.20	3.5	0.0	8.8	0.00	0.00	0.00
selfemp, ind leader 5+ empl.	0.51	0.00	-0.48	0.45	-0.10	0.3	0.3	0.0	0.00	0.00	0.00
selfemp, ind leader <5 empl.	0.94	14.13	-0.11	0.26	0.24	0.0	0.2	0.2	0.00	0.00	0.00
farmer/fisherman	2.25	5.34	0.47	-0.10	0.15	1.4	0.1	0.2	0.04	0.00	0.00
no answer/do not know	1.07	12.34	1.05	-0.16	-1.84	3.2	0.1	13.7	0.09	0.00	0.27
CONTRIBU=						17.7	1.3	28.0			
CAR VALUE											
car <75000/no car	3.38	3.23	0.29	-0.28	-0.10	0.8	0.8	0.1	0.03	0.02	0.00
car 75000-149999	5.05	1.83	0.03	-0.09	0.06	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.00	0.00	0.00
car 150000-299999	4.03	2.54	-0.18	0.21	0.09	0.4	0.6	0.1	0.01	0.02	0.00
car > 300000	0.97	13.67	-0.39	0.66	-0.22	0.4	1.3	0.2	0.01	0.03	0.00
CONTRIBU=						1.6	2.8	0.5			
TYPE OF EDUCATION											
primary school	1.34	9.70	1.36	-0.16	-0.82	6.8	0.1	3.4	0.19	0.00	0.07
middle school	1.77	7.09	0.79	0.07	0.14	3.0	0.0	0.1	0.09	0.00	0.00
6th frm college, health/care	0.66	0.00	0.37	-1.40	0.50	0.3	4.0	0.6	0.00	0.00	0.00
6th frm college, technical	2.49	4.75	0.55	0.34	0.06	2.1	0.9	0.0	0.06	0.02	0.00
6th frm college, mercantile	1.08	12.23	0.06	0.47	0.46	0.0	0.7	0.9	0.00	0.02	0.02
6th frm college, general	2.17	5.58	0.29	0.16	0.11	0.5	0.2	0.1	0.02	0.00	0.00
1-4 yrs high edu, other	0.46	0.00	-0.16	0.14	-0.82	0.0	0.0	1.2	0.00	0.00	0.00
1-4 yrs high edu, merc/jur	0.66	0.00	-0.66	0.92	0.18	0.8	1.7	0.1	0.00	0.00	0.00
1-4 yrs high edu, health/care	0.63	0.00	-0.44	-1.18	0.36	0.3	2.7	0.3	0.00	0.00	0.00
1-4 yrs high edu, nat.science	0.74	18.36	-0.60	0.83	0.09	0.7	1.6	0.0	0.02	0.04	0.00
1-4 yrs high edu, human/soci	0.28	0.00	-0.60	0.38	-0.52	0.3	0.1	0.3	0.00	0.00	0.00
1-4 yrs high edu, pedagogical	0.78	17.43	-0.77	-1.29	0.26	1.3	4.0	0.2	0.03	0.09	0.00
5+ yrs high edu, other	0.15	0.00	-0.30	-0.04	-2.16	0.0	0.0	2.7	0.00	0.00	0.00
5+ yrs high edu, medc/jur	0.24	0.00	-1.37	1.16	-0.77	1.2	1.0	0.5	0.00	0.00	0.00
5+ yrs high edu, health/care	0.33	0.00	-1.26	-0.66	-0.51	1.4	0.4	0.3	0.00	0.00	0.00
5+ yrs high edu, nat.science	0.50	0.00	-1.05	0.96	-0.54	1.5	1.4	0.5	0.00	0.00	0.00
5+ yrs high edu, human/soci	0.30	0.00	-1.47	-0.40	-1.07	1.8	0.1	1.3	0.00	0.00	0.00
5+ yrs high edu, pedagogical	0.81	16.61	-1.19	-1.16	-0.14	3.1	3.4	0.1	0.08	0.08	0.00
CONTRIBU=						25.2	22.4	12.8			
OCCUPATION/POSITION											
worker, unskilled private	0.95	14.11	0.78	0.65	0.54	1.6	1.2	1.0	0.04	0.03	0.02
worker, unskilled public	0.60	0.00	0.71	-0.91	0.15	0.8	1.5	0.0	0.00	0.00	0.00
worker, skilled industr/prod	0.84	15.96	0.45	0.76	0.74	0.5	1.5	1.7	0.01	0.04	0.03
worker, skilled service	1.28	10.20	0.24	0.24	0.46	0.2	0.2	1.0	0.01	0.01	0.02
worker, skilled teaching	0.52	0.00	-0.75	-1.45	0.43	0.8	3.4	0.4	0.00	0.00	0.00
worker, skilled health/care	1.09	12.07	-0.05	-1.39	0.71	0.0	6.6	2.1	0.00	0.16	0.04
manager, leading industr/prod	0.51	0.00	-0.66	1.67	-0.21	0.6	4.4	0.1	0.00	0.00	0.00
manager, leading service	1.05	12.58	-0.74	1.14	-0.22	1.6	4.2	0.2	0.04	0.10	0.00
manager, leading teaching	0.52	0.00	-1.45	-1.12	-0.23	3.0	2.0	0.1	0.00	0.00	0.00
manager, leading health/care	0.39	0.00	-1.36	-0.49	-0.55	2.0	0.3	0.5	0.00	0.00	0.00
manager, leading publ.adm	0.43	0.00	-1.04	-0.14	0.00	1.3	0.0	0.0	0.00	0.00	0.00
manager, leading other prod.	0.32	0.00	-0.19	1.14	0.43	0.0	1.3	0.2	0.00	0.00	0.00
manager, service	0.91	14.63	-0.29	0.69	0.32	0.2	1.3	0.4	0.01	0.03	0.01
manager, teaching	0.42	0.00	-1.37	-1.24	-0.05	2.2	2.0	0.0	0.00	0.00	0.00
manager, health/care	0.69	19.85	-0.67	-0.66	0.29	0.8	0.9	0.2	0.02	0.02	0.00
self-employed <5 empl.	0.43	0.00	-0.06	1.19	0.15	0.0	1.9	0.0	0.00	0.00	0.00
farmer/fisherman	0.34	0.00	0.97	0.56	0.13	0.9	0.3	0.0	0.00	0.00	0.00
pension	1.47	8.69	1.07	-0.36	-0.79	4.7	0.6	3.5	0.13	0.02	0.07
at home	0.29	0.00	1.00	-0.20	-0.71	0.8	0.0	0.6	0.00	0.00	0.00
student	0.60	0.00	0.20	-0.24	-1.23	0.1	0.1	3.5	0.00	0.00	0.00

job-seeking	0.25	0.00	0.56	0.06	-0.25	0.2	0.0	0.1	0.00	0.00	0.00	
-----												
CONTRIBU= 22.2 33.9 15.6 +-----												
FATHERS EDUCATIONAL LEVEL (MOTHER'S EDU. LEVEL IF NOT STATED/UNKNOWN)												
secondary school	11.79	0.21	0.23	-0.04	0.29	1.7	0.0	3.8	0.24	0.01	0.40	
college	0.53	0.00	-0.69	0.43	-0.25	0.7	0.3	0.1	0.00	0.00	0.00	
1-4yrs higher edu	1.34	9.66	-0.92	0.11	-0.39	3.1	0.1	0.8	0.09	0.00	0.02	
5+ yrs higher edu	1.09	12.11	-1.43	-0.08	-1.58	6.2	0.0	10.3	0.17	0.00	0.21	
not stated/unknown	0.80	16.91	1.53	-0.13	-2.31	5.1	0.0	16.2	0.14	0.00	0.32	
-----												
CONTRIBU= 16.8 0.5 31.1 +-----												
YEARLY INCOME												
<200000	3.71	2.85	0.86	-0.29	-0.69	7.5	1.0	6.6	0.26	0.03	0.17	
200000-299999	5.05	1.83	0.08	-0.32	0.40	0.1	1.6	3.1	0.00	0.06	0.09	
300000-399999	3.57	3.00	-0.51	0.05	0.12	2.6	0.0	0.2	0.09	0.00	0.00	
400000-499999	1.15	11.47	-0.59	0.85	-0.08	1.1	2.5	0.0	0.03	0.06	0.00	
500000+	0.96	13.94	-0.78	1.47	-0.33	1.6	6.4	0.4	0.04	0.16	0.01	
-----												
CONTRIBU= 12.9 11.6 10.4 +-----												

**TABLE 33 HABITUS AND JOURNALISTIC PREFERENCES. MCA. STATISTICAL PROPERTIES.**

ACTIVE MODALITIES (CATEGORIES)			COORDINATES			ABS. CONTRIB.			REL. CONTRIBUT.			
IDEN - LIBELLE	P.REL	DISTO	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	
-----												
FATHER INTERESTED IN CLASSICAL NORWEGIAN LITERATURE												
very interested	1.97	7.44	0.38	-1.31	-0.34	0.7	10.4	0.9	0.02	0.23	0.02	
somewhat interested	5.61	1.97	0.04	-0.24	0.51	0.0	1.0	5.8	0.00	0.03	0.13	
not interested	4.85	2.44	-0.42	0.45	0.02	2.3	3.1	0.0	0.07	0.08	0.00	
-----												
CONTRIBU= 3.0 14.5 6.7 +-----												
FATHER'S EDUCATIONAL LEVEL												
Secondary school	2.46	5.77	-1.31	0.22	0.27	11.0	0.4	0.7	0.30	0.01	0.01	
1-4 yrs higher edu	3.99	3.18	0.37	0.58	-1.00	1.4	4.2	15.9	0.04	0.11	0.31	
5+yrs higher edu	2.54	5.56	1.12	-0.48	0.49	8.3	1.8	2.4	0.22	0.04	0.04	
-----												
CONTRIBU= 20.7 6.4 19.1 +-----												
FATHER'S OCCUPATION												
Politicians and senior publ.	1.60	9.40	0.02	-0.24	-1.67	0.0	0.3	17.8	0.00	0.01	0.30	
Industrial leaders private	3.66	3.56	0.52	0.81	0.01	2.5	7.4	0.0	0.07	0.19	0.00	
Realists, lawyers, commerce	3.07	4.43	0.95	-0.53	0.68	7.2	2.7	5.6	0.20	0.06	0.10	
Academics and 6th form teac.	2.81	4.92	0.59	-1.15	-0.33	2.5	11.5	1.3	0.07	0.27	0.02	
Engineers and technicians	1.52	9.93	0.39	1.27	0.63	0.6	7.6	2.4	0.02	0.16	0.04	
Teachers prim/second. school	2.31	6.23	-0.54	-0.56	-0.35	1.7	2.2	1.1	0.05	0.05	0.02	
Lower managers	0.94	16.76	0.19	0.77	-0.52	0.1	1.7	1.0	0.00	0.04	0.02	
Journalists and related	0.68	23.36	-0.06	0.18	1.11	0.0	0.1	3.4	0.00	0.00	0.05	
Clerks and service workers	0.76	20.86	-1.47	-0.46	0.12	4.3	0.5	0.0	0.10	0.01	0.00	
Farmer/fisherman	1.49	10.22	-1.30	-0.53	0.64	6.6	1.3	2.4	0.17	0.03	0.04	
Craftsmen	1.33	11.54	-1.16	0.32	0.32	4.7	0.4	0.5	0.12	0.01	0.01	
Ind. operators and unskill.	1.37	11.18	-1.11	0.85	0.06	4.4	3.1	0.0	0.11	0.07	0.00	
-----												
CONTRIBU= 34.7 38.8 35.6 +-----												
FATHER'S YEARLY INCOME												
<300000	7.47	1.23	-0.88	-0.15	0.12	15.3	0.6	0.4	0.64	0.02	0.01	
300000-399999	5.81	1.87	0.14	-0.39	-0.58	0.3	2.7	7.7	0.01	0.08	0.18	
400000-599999	4.81	2.47	0.73	0.19	-0.15	6.8	0.5	0.4	0.22	0.01	0.01	
600000+	2.66	5.27	0.71	0.83	1.31	3.5	5.6	18.2	0.10	0.13	0.33	
-----												
CONTRIBU= 25.9 9.5 26.8 +-----												
BOOKS (METERS) IN PARENTAL HOME WHEN GREW UP												
<5 meters	3.77	3.42	-0.83	0.13	-0.32	6.8	0.2	1.5	0.20	0.00	0.03	
5-10 meters	4.18	2.98	0.09	0.81	-0.12	0.1	8.4	0.2	0.00	0.22	0.00	
11-20 meters	3.85	3.33	0.43	-0.09	-0.46	1.9	0.1	3.3	0.06	0.00	0.06	
>20 meters	3.93	3.24	0.51	-0.80	0.46	2.7	7.7	3.3	0.08	0.19	0.06	
-----												
CONTRIBU= 11.5 16.4 8.3 +-----												
POLITICAL CAPITAL, FATHER												
Father elected represent.	2.87	4.80	-0.68	-1.15	0.28	3.5	11.7	0.9	0.10	0.27	0.02	
Office in labor union	3.32	4.02	-0.09	-0.01	0.40	0.1	0.0	2.1	0.00	0.00	0.04	
Neither	14.37	0.16	0.13	0.25	-0.10	0.6	2.8	0.5	0.10	0.40	0.06	
-----												
CONTRIBU= 4.2 14.5 3.5 +-----												



**TABLE 34 HYPOTHETICAL PRIORITIZING OF 12 NEWS STORIES. PERCENTAGE WHO HAVE PRIORITIZED A STORY AMONG THE TOP FIVE. NJ/NR 2005.**

	NRK national	NRK District	TV2 and other com. broadc.	VG Dag-bladet	Other national press	Large regional newspaper	Large local newspaper	Small local newspaper	Magazine	Specialist press
<b>N=</b>	<b>99</b>	<b>74</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>82</b>	<b>94</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>105</b>	<b>236</b>	<b>73</b>	<b>43</b>
A major factory in the city fires 120	91	93	89	76	86	85	90	91	86	86
Political horse-trading in the city council	74	61	53	54	54	57	66	61	74	68
The city's theatre has to cancel all plays next year	74	68	57	48	75	62	57	52	69	43
Number of tramps in city doubled in the last five years	56	54	55	37	51	57	48	44	50	70
Neo-nazis plan rally in the city	54	58	51	39	40	42	50	57	48	59
Top player on the city's soccer team sold for 5 mill crowns	34	56	38	72	40	60	51	39	45	38
Local fish grossist monopoly gives high prices on fish	51	46	43	43	47	30	35	44	31	59
Oline Hansen has waited four years for place at nursing home	25	32	32	28	28	23	38	41	31	32
The dog "Pelle" is rescued from a mountain ledge	10	10	30	33	21	21	24	27	26	30
Local girl poses in Playboy	10	10	15	26	19	21	13	18	14	5
Well-known local lawyer arrested for drunken behaviour	11	7	13	17	14	17	18	13	12	0
Demi Moore in city on holiday	8	3	17	26	19	13	9	13	10	3

**TABLE 35 SCHOLASTIC SELF-CONFIDENCE, STUDENTS WHO SAY THEY ARE 'WELL SUITED' TO THE LISTED STUDY PROGRAMMES. HVO/HIO 1999-2001 AND SELECTED STUDENTS IN BERGEN 1998. PERCENTAGES.**

	Journalism students		Faculty of Social Science		Faculty of Arts		Faculty of Natural Science		Faculty of Education		University students (average)	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
...are suited for												
Journalism	-	-	39	40	31	37	8	11	15	47	26	31
Teaching	40	43	24	40	22	31	20	19	23	40	23	25
Art school	27	20	14	4	22	7	14	6	21	13	18	6
Theatre school	29	28	13	6	16	12	10	8	20	33	13	9
Psychology	54	40	40	28	27	21	10	17	38	60	26	21
Social Anthropology	52	35	31	21	21	28	16	9	29	13	24	18
Philosophy	25	38	16	26	18	33	10	19	8	27	14	25
Medicine	21	20	11	6	6	1	40	25	12	7	17	13
Engineering	2	18	7	4	3	1	28	44	5	7	9	15

TABLE 36 PREFERRED JOURNALISTIC SUBJECTS, IMPORTANT QUALITIES OF JOURNALISTS AND IMPORTANT DUTIES OF THE PRESS. JOURNALISM STUDENTS ACCORDING TO PHASE AND GENDER. PERCENTAGES. VOLD/OSLO 1999 AND 2000-COHORTS.

	FEMALE						MALE						
	2000			1999			2000			1999			
	I	II	III	II	III	I	II	III	I	II	III		
Student phase													
N=	63	44	36	55	36	38	25	33	42	33			
<b>Subjects would like to work with as a journalist ("Very interested" or "Somewhat inter.")</b>													
Society and politics	77	80		71	69	80	68		74	67			
Economy and commerce	9	23		35	24	40	28		60	36			
Feature / magazine content	95	93		96	86	80	76		81	67			
Health / human relations	48	59		56	69	13	20		24	9			
Sport	16	9		16	27	40	28		29	42			
Entertainment	58	36		47	42	60	44		45	33			
Culture	91	82		85	69	70	60		71	58			
Popular science	48	59		55	60	55	48		43	36			
North/south-questions	63	59		60	50	43	40		36	30			
Emergencies / accidents	23	20		20	24	48	20		33	27			
Crime	38	52		38	31	50	36		36	27			
Consumer affairs	41	52		47	50	20	44		33	33			
International conflicts	73	70		67	57	73	60		64	56			
News journalism		70		65	64		60		71	58			
Multicultural questions		64		71	47		32		50	27			
<b>Important qualities for a good journalist ("Very important")</b>													
Curiosity	72	77	79	85	86	83	64	78	78	79			
A certain "cheek"	11	11	8	5	11	15	12	13	24	12			
A sense of justice	69	55		55		63	28		46				
Knowledge of society	81	82	82	87	89	70	56	83	63	79			
Political neutrality	13	7	5	16	14	10	4	4	20	9			
Compassion with individ. and weak groups	31	27	28	16	22	18	12	35	22	27			
A cert. cynicism when writ. abo. individuals	2	0	8	0	0	3	0	0	5	0			
Higher education in one's subject matter	8	16	18	20	11	10	4	0	17	21			
Good conduct on camera / on radio	30	25	26	33	34	28	8	22	22	19			

Speed and efficiency	34	41	31	33	41	25	28	35	34	35
Thoroughness and accuracy	78	77	79	87	97	75	56	83	73	82
Broad life experience	19	30	33	29	22	30	24	22	27	6
Good sense of language and fluency	73	73	69	69	83	75	64	52	51	65
Know what subjects "sell well"	8	7	5	7	14	18	8	9	5	3
Knowledge of human nature	66	57	54	62	65	63	52	30	56	35
<b>Important duties for the press ("Very important")</b>										
Inform of political events and consequences	89	86	95	93	97	85	76	87	76	82
Inform of accidents and dramatic events	42	30	38	31	43	40	32	30	21	29
Educate consumers	14	18	28	15	41	10	12	22	17	15
Watch over the powerful, unveil misuse of power	84	95	97	96	89	83	64	87	76	85
Speak on behalf of weak groups, defend individuals	73	82	82	91	70	65	60	78	55	59
Ensure media firms do well	2	0	3	5	5	8	4	0	14	6
Contribute to inter-cultural understanding	53	64	54	78	58	40	28	39	40	41
Entertain	25	20	13	27	32	28	32	4	10	12
Facilitate public debate	75	82	69	84	75	55	56	52	38	44
Spread new thoughts, work for change and renewal	45	52	41	62	51	33	48	43	31	38
Pass on our cultural heritage, defend our culture	17	9	21	22	11	8	8	4	7	6
Stimulate audience to think new thoughts	30	43	31	53	28	23	28	17	21	18
Be a neutral observer	25	7	18	20	11	5	0	4	12	15
Speak on behalf of people	17	16	13	11	22	8	0	9	5	9
Transmit information from the governing	6	5	0	13	16	5	4	4	2	3

**TABLE 37 PREFERRED JOURNALISTIC SPECIALIZATIONS, JOURNALISM STUDENTS. PERCENTAGES. VOLDA/OSLO 1999 AND 2000-COHORTS.**

PHASE	FEMALE									MALE									ALL		
	VOLDA			OSLO			VOLDA			OSLO			VOLDA			OSLO			I	II	III
	I	II	III	I	II	III	I	II	III	I	II	III	I	II	III	I	II	III			
Society/politics	69	72	75	86	77	65	75	57	50	88	80	76	81	74	68						
Feature	93	92	88	95	97	85	87	82	67	83	78	67	91	89	77						
Culture	97	92	69	83	78	70	78	64	58	71	69	57	83	77	64						
Economy/commerce	16	26	7	23	32	35	38	41	17	46	51	48	28	37	30						
Health	45	64	81	47	54	60	9	32	0	13	18	14	34	44	41						
Sport	29	5	25	23	19	28	50	27	50	42	29	38	32	19	34						
Entertainment	71	51	63	57	37	25	78	59	58	56	38	19	64	43	38						
Popular science	51	62	60	55	53	60	59	41	58	44	47	24	52	52	49						
North/south-probl.	62	49	44	76	67	55	38	18	8	51	47	43	62	51	41						
Accidents/Dramat.	25	21	13	36	20	32	41	27	25	46	29	29	36	23	25						
Crime	37	33	19	47	52	40	50	36	25	56	36	29	47	41	29						
Consumer affairs	47	51	50	38	48	50	31	50	42	27	31	29	37	45	42						
International conflicts	80	59	56	80	75	58	56	50	55	71	69	57	75	66	57						
News	81	74	75	73	64	74	93	59	50	92	71	62	81	68	66						
Multicultural affairs	72	67	56	89	68	40	40	23	17	56	53	33	72	58	38						

**TABLE 38 RELATIVE ODDS OF BEING A JOURNALIST AT 30-35 YEARS AGE, BY FATHER'S AND MOTHER'S EDUCATIONAL LEVEL COMBINED (INTERACTION MODEL). FATHER AND MOTHER SHORTER PRIMARY SCHOOL = 1. 1950,1955 AND 1960-COHORTS, NORWEGIAN POPULATION.**

		Father's educational level			
		Higher edu	Long secondary	Short Secondary	Primary
Mother's educational level	Higher edu	0,0	0,0	6,1	0,0
	Long secondary	3,9	3,6	4,5	1,3
	Short secondary	3,5	2,7	2,4	1,3
	Primary	1,6	1,7	1,7	1,0

Source: SSB Generasjonsdatabasen.

**TABLE 39 RELATIVE ODDS OF BEING A JOURNALIST AT 30-35 YEARS OF AGE, BY FATHER'S AND MOTHER'S OCCUPATION. PARENT INDUSTRY WORKER = 1. 1950,1955 AND 1960-COHORTS, NORWEGIAN POPULATION.**

FATHER'S OCCUPATION	N	All	Sons	Daughters
		<b>297</b>	<b>214</b>	<b>82</b>
Academic	98	4,0	0	18,0
Physician, dentist, pharmacist	282	2,8	1,8	7,5
Legal profession	108	0	0	0
Business manager	1961	3,4	3,3	4,4
Public administration	1010	1,2	1,0	2,1
Teacher	1148	2,4	1,3	7,1
Engineer	1112	1,7	1,4	3,7
Clerk / trade	4070	2,0	1,8	3,1
Journalist	97	12,4	17,4	0
Industry / service	18244	1	1	1
Farmer / fisherman	6378	0,6	0,5	1,0
Other	12569	1,7	1,5	1,9

MOTHER'S OCCUPATION	N	All	Sons	Daughters
		<b>297</b>	<b>214</b>	<b>82</b>
Academic	26	0	0	0
Physician, dentist, pharmacist	61	0	0	0
Legal profession	5	0	0	0
Business manager	159	0	0	0
Public administration	418	1,0	0	15,6
Teacher	998	5,3	3,6	31,3
Engineer	35	0	0	0
Clerk / trade	8014	1,8	1,4	8,3
Journalist	33	13,5	0	223,8
Industry / service	13876	1	1	1
Farmer / fisherman	3226	0,9	0,9	2,1
Other	26202	1,7	1,4	6,1

Source: SSB Generasjonsdatabasen.

**TABLE 40 CURRENT PLACE OF EMPLOYMENT, BY JOURNALISM SCHOOL AND DECADE FOR FIRST JOURNALISM JOB 1980-2000. NJ MEMBERS 2005. PERCENTAGES.**

<i>Current place of work / School of journalism-year entered journalism</i>	<i>NRK nation.</i>	<i>NRK district</i>	<i>TV2 / comm. broad-cast.</i>	<i>VG / Dag-bladet</i>	<i>Large region. news-papers</i>	<i>Other city press</i>	<i>Large local papers</i>	<i>Small local papers</i>	<i>Weekly press</i>	<i>Specialist press</i>	<i>Freelancers</i>
Oslo 1980s (N=23)	32	0	0	16	0	11	16	11	5	5	5
Volda 1980s (N=18)	14	21	7	0	7	0	14	7	7	0	21
All NJ members 1980s (N=202)	14	6	2	10	9	9	17	14	5	3	11
Oslo 1990s (N=35)	8	4	4	8	8	20	28	16	0	0	4
Volda 1990s (N=27)	25	17	13	13	8	0	0	17	4	4	0
Bodø/Stavanger 1990s (N=19)	14	7	14	7	0	21	14	14	7	0	0
All NJ members 1990s (N=203)	10	10	11	5	6	7	14	17	6	4	9

**- CHAPTER 5: THE NORWEGIAN JOURNALISTIC FIELD AND ITS TRANSFORMATIONS -**

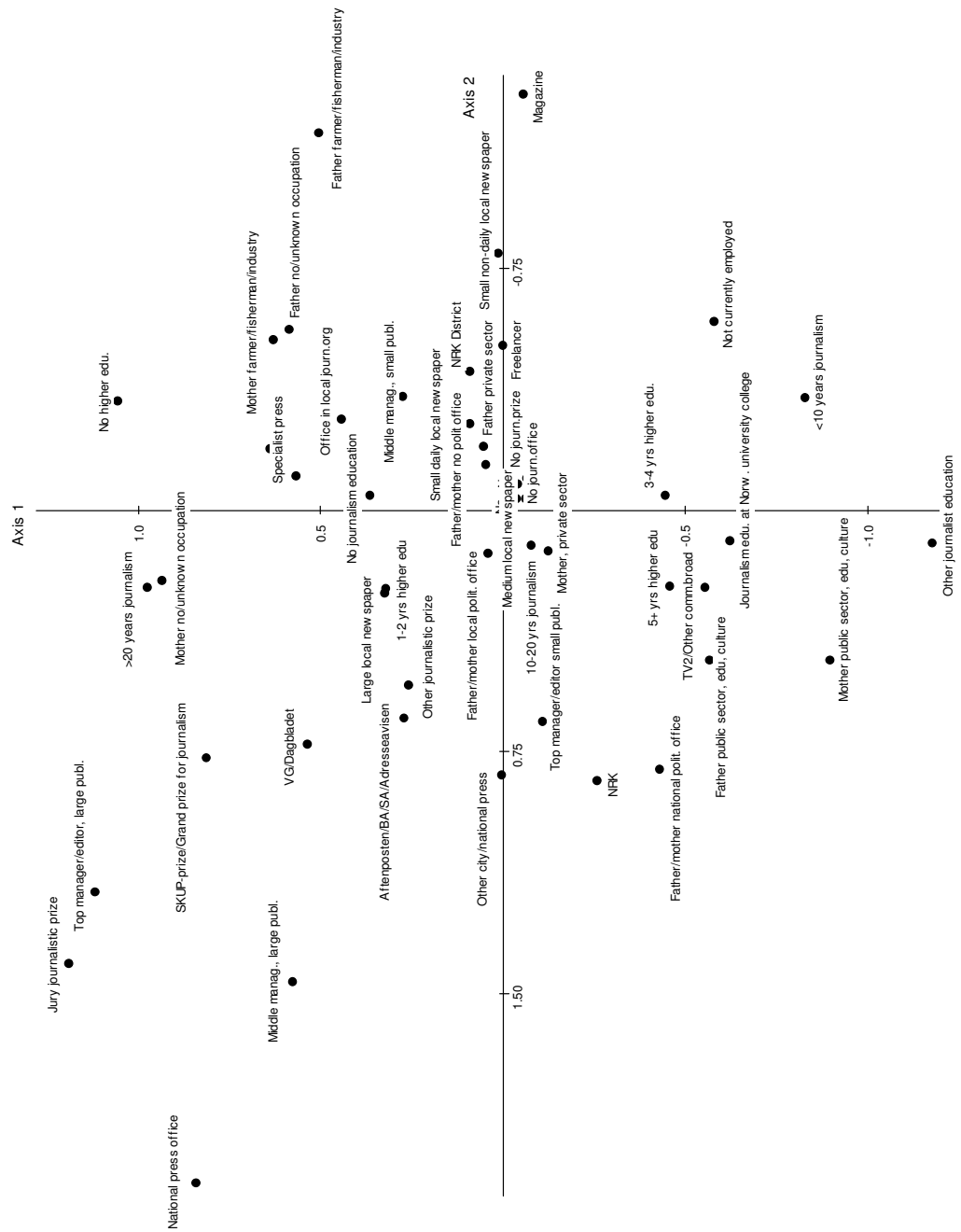
**TABLE 41 THE NORWEGIAN JOURNALISTIC SPACE. MCA. STATISTICAL PROPERTIES.**

ACTIVE MODALITIES (CATEGORIES)	COORDINATES			ABS. CONTRIB.			REL. CONTRIBUT.					
	P.REL	DISTO		1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3
POLITICAL OFFICE, PARENTS (one/both or none)												
National or reg. pol.office	0.82	9.17	-0.43	0.80	-0.10		0.8	4.0	0.1	0.02	0.07	0.00
Local political office	1.54	4.40	0.04	0.13	0.29		0.0	0.2	1.2	0.00	0.00	0.02
Neither	5.93	0.41	0.05	-0.14	-0.07		0.1	0.9	0.2	0.01	0.05	0.01
							CONTRIBU=			0.9 5.2 1.5		
JURY MEMBER JOURNALISTIC PRIZE												
Yes	0.24	34.10	1.19	1.41	1.95		1.9	3.6	7.9	0.04	0.06	0.11
No	8.03	0.04	-0.04	-0.04	-0.06		0.1	0.1	0.3	0.04	0.04	0.11
							CONTRIBU=			1.9 3.7 8.2		
JOURNALISTIC PRIZE												
SKUP/Grand Prize Journalism	0.40	19.91	0.81	0.77	0.37		1.5	1.8	0.5	0.03	0.03	0.01
Other journalistic prize	0.76	9.95	0.26	0.54	-0.69		0.3	1.7	3.2	0.01	0.03	0.05
No journalistic prize	7.22	0.15	-0.07	-0.10	0.05		0.2	0.6	0.2	0.03	0.07	0.02
							CONTRIBU=			1.9 4.1 3.8		
EDUCATIONAL LEVEL												
No higher education	1.71	3.88	1.06	-0.34	-0.75		10.5	1.5	8.5	0.29	0.03	0.15
1-2 years of higher edu.	1.59	4.25	0.32	0.24	0.54		0.9	0.7	4.1	0.02	0.01	0.07
3-4 years of higher edu.	3.54	1.36	-0.45	-0.05	0.09		3.9	0.1	0.2	0.15	0.00	0.01
5 years or more higher edu.	1.55	4.37	-0.46	0.23	0.08		1.8	0.7	0.1	0.05	0.01	0.00
							CONTRIBU=			17.1 2.9 12.9		
ARE/HAVE BEEN MIDDLE MANAGER IN MEDIA FIRM/PUBLICATION (e.g. sub-editor)												
Yes, firm<25 journalists	0.58	13.47	0.27	-0.36	1.52		0.2	0.6	11.7	0.01	0.01	0.17
Yes, firm 25+ journalists	0.84	8.93	0.58	1.46	0.35		1.5	13.8	0.9	0.04	0.24	0.01
No	6.97	0.20	-0.09	-0.15	-0.17		0.3	1.2	1.7	0.04	0.11	0.14
							CONTRIBU=			2.1 15.6 14.3		
ARE/HAVE BEEN TOP MANAGER IN MEDIA FIRM/PUBLICATION (e.g. chief editor)												
Yes, firm<25 journalists	0.36	22.34	-0.11	0.65	0.72		0.0	1.2	1.6	0.00	0.02	0.02
Yes, firm 25+ journalists	0.34	23.72	1.12	1.18	0.47		2.3	3.6	0.6	0.05	0.06	0.01
No	7.69	0.08	-0.04	-0.08	-0.05		0.1	0.4	0.2	0.02	0.08	0.03
							CONTRIBU=			2.4 5.2 2.5		
TYPE OF JOURNALISTIC (HIGHER) EDUCATION												
University college Norway	2.31	2.61	-0.62	0.09	0.70		5.0	0.2	9.9	0.15	0.00	0.19
Other education	0.48	16.46	-1.18	0.10	-0.37		3.7	0.0	0.6	0.08	0.00	0.01
None	5.59	0.49	0.36	-0.05	-0.26		4.1	0.1	3.2	0.27	0.01	0.13
							CONTRIBU=			12.7 0.3 13.7		
YEARS OF JOURNALISTIC EXPERIENCE												
<10 years	2.65	2.15	-0.83	-0.35	-0.12		10.1	2.5	0.4	0.32	0.06	0.01
10-20 years	3.19	1.61	-0.08	0.11	0.15		0.1	0.3	0.6	0.00	0.01	0.01
>20 years	2.52	2.31	0.97	0.24	-0.05		13.2	1.1	0.0	0.41	0.02	0.00

-----+----- CONTRIBUTU= 23.3 3.9 1.0 +-----+-----											
CURRENT PLACE OF WORK											
NRK (National)	0.89	8.35	-0.26	0.84	-0.05	0.3	4.8	0.0	0.01	0.08	0.00
NRK (District)	0.66	11.56	0.09	-0.43	1.02	0.0	1.0	6.0	0.00	0.02	0.09
TV2/Other large com.broadc.	0.50	15.65	-0.55	0.24	-0.03	0.9	0.2	0.0	0.02	0.00	0.00
Aftenposten/BT/SA/Adressa	0.58	13.29	0.27	0.64	-0.72	0.2	1.9	2.6	0.01	0.03	0.04
VG/Dagbladet	0.54	14.36	0.53	0.72	-0.07	0.9	2.2	0.0	0.02	0.04	0.00
Other city press	0.65	11.87	0.00	0.82	-0.13	0.0	3.4	0.1	0.00	0.06	0.00
Small non-daily local newsp.	0.65	11.90	0.09	-0.27	0.27	0.0	0.4	0.4	0.00	0.01	0.01
Small local newsp./broadcast.	0.60	13.00	0.01	-0.80	-0.29	0.0	2.9	0.5	0.00	0.05	0.01
Medium-size local newspaper	0.58	13.26	-0.06	-0.04	-0.28	0.0	0.0	0.4	0.00	0.00	0.01
Large local newspaper	0.61	12.77	0.32	0.25	-0.13	0.4	0.3	0.1	0.01	0.01	0.00
Magazine	0.48	16.53	-0.06	-1.29	-0.01	0.0	6.1	0.0	0.00	0.10	0.00
Specialist press	0.34	23.16	0.57	-0.11	1.83	0.6	0.0	10.2	0.01	0.00	0.15
Freelancer/unspecified	0.68	11.32	0.00	-0.51	-1.02	0.0	1.4	6.2	0.00	0.02	0.09
Not working	0.63	12.32	-0.58	-0.59	0.37	1.2	1.7	0.7	0.03	0.03	0.01
-----+----- CONTRIBUTU= 4.5 26.2 27.3 +-----+-----											
OFFICE IN JOURNALISTIC ORGANIZATION											
National	0.24	33.52	0.84	2.09	-0.51	0.9	8.1	0.6	0.02	0.13	0.01
Local	0.92	8.10	0.44	-0.28	0.95	1.0	0.6	7.2	0.02	0.01	0.11
None	7.22	0.15	-0.08	-0.04	-0.10	0.3	0.1	0.7	0.04	0.01	0.07
-----+----- CONTRIBUTU= 2.2 8.8 8.4 +-----+-----											
FATHER'S OCCUPATION											
PublicSect/school/edu/cultur.	2.20	2.78	-0.57	0.46	-0.16	3.9	3.6	0.5	0.12	0.08	0.01
PrivateSect/technical/clerk	3.45	1.42	-0.13	0.12	-0.05	0.3	0.4	0.1	0.01	0.01	0.00
Farmer/fisherman/ind.worker	2.52	2.31	0.63	-0.53	0.19	5.5	5.5	0.8	0.17	0.12	0.02
None/not stated	0.21	38.18	0.58	-0.56	0.30	0.4	0.5	0.2	0.01	0.01	0.00
-----+----- CONTRIBUTU= 10.1 10.0 1.5 +-----+-----											
MOTHER'S OCCUPATION											
PublicSect/school/edu/cultur.	2.57	2.24	-0.90	0.46	-0.04	11.5	4.2	0.0	0.36	0.10	0.00
PrivateSect/technical/clerk	2.98	1.79	0.05	-0.20	-0.08	0.0	0.9	0.2	0.00	0.02	0.00
Farmer/fisherman/ind.worker	0.78	9.65	0.50	-1.17	0.79	1.1	8.3	4.3	0.03	0.14	0.06
None/not stated	1.71	3.88	0.93	0.22	-0.14	8.2	0.6	0.3	0.23	0.01	0.01
-----+----- CONTRIBUTU= 20.8 14.0 4.8 +-----+-----											



FIGURE 17 THE JOURNALISTIC FIELD. MCA. AXIS 1-2. ACTIVE POINTS.



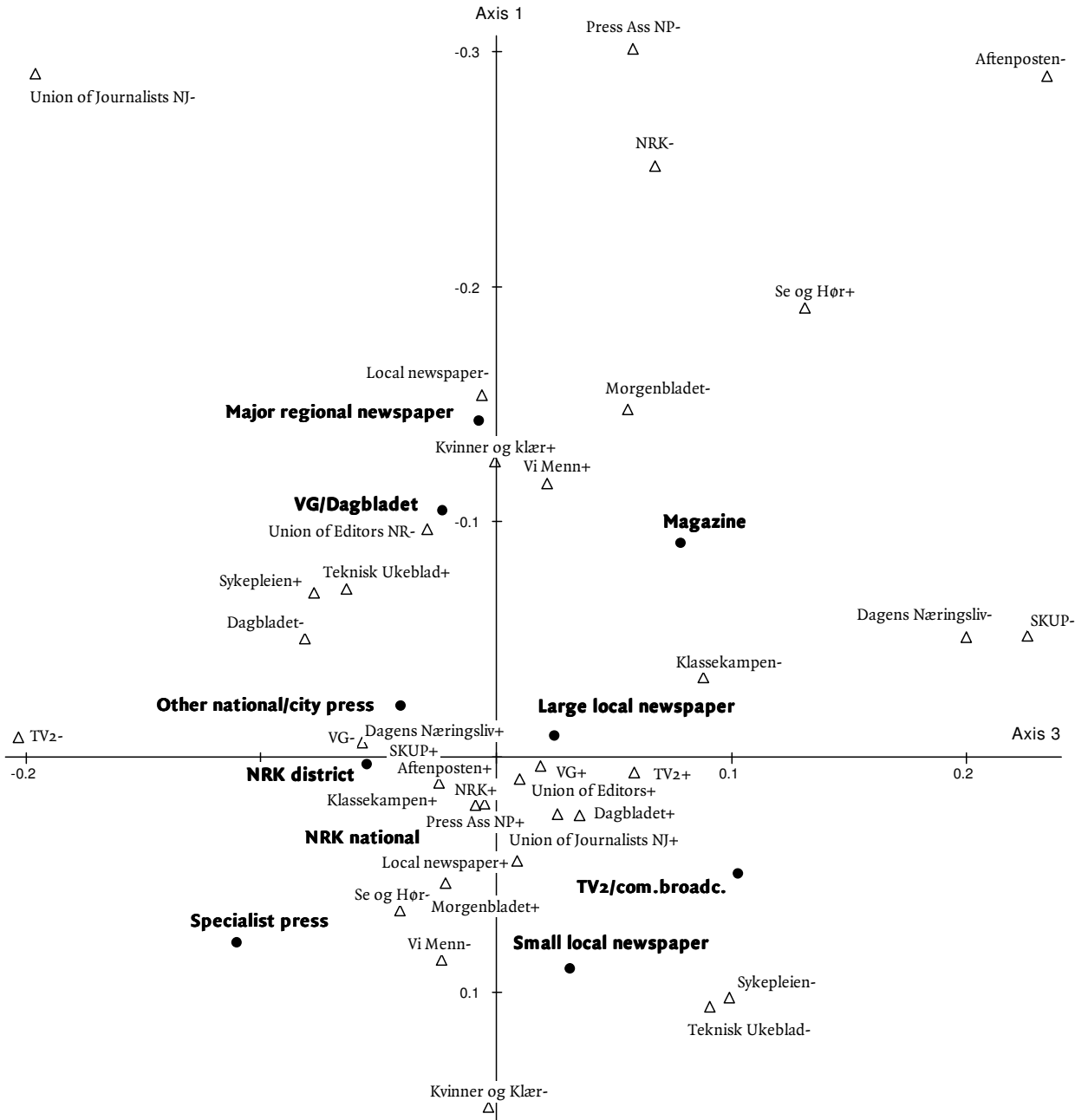
**TABLE 42 JOURNALISTIC GENERATIONS. MEAN AGE, EDUCATIONAL LEVEL AND TYPE OF EDUCATION BY YEAR OF FIRST JOURNALISTIC JOB. NJ/NR 2005.**

Year of entrance (first journalistic job)	1960-69	1970-79	1980-89	1990-99	2000-	Total
<b>N=</b>	88	188	298	352	93	1057
<b>Mean age for first journalistic job</b> (part- or full-time job)	23	25	26	26	30	26
<b>Educational level</b>						
No higher education	60	30	17	16	6	20
1-2 yrs higher education	18	28	22	14	18	19
3-4 yrs higher education	13	30	43	48	52	42
5 yrs+ higher education	9	12	18	22	24	18
<b>Type of education</b>						
<b>1) Humanistic</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>32</b>
Nordic / literature	8	8	10	11	11	10
History	4	9	9	12	16	10
Other language	6	11	8	10	3	8
Other specified	3	6	7	12	13	9
<b>2a) Journalism</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>32</b>
<b>2b) Other social science</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>31</b>
Political science	4	10	13	17	15	13
Sociology/anthropology	3	5	4	7	4	5
Media science	0	5	6	13	9	7
Film/TV-production	0	3	1	7	3	3
Other specified	0	6	3	5	9	4
<b>3) Teaching/pedagogy</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>7</b>
<b>4) Economy/law/admin.</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>5) Natural sciences</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>4</b>

\* Journalism students are excluded from the table.

- CHAPTER 6: THE PRODUCTION OF JOURNALISTIC BELIEF -

FIGURE 18 THE SPACE OF JOURNALISTIC NOMOS. CA, AXIS 1 AND 3.



Bold type = current place of work. Regular type = publication / institution judged, unfavourably (-) or neutral/positive (+). Only column categories with a combined quality >.20 for axis 1 and 3 are displayed in the factor plane.

TABLE 43 THE SPACE OF JOURNALISTIC NOMOS. CA. STATISTICAL PROPERTIES.

COLUMNS	COORDINATES				ABS. CONTRIBUTIONS				REL. CONTRIBUTIONS					
	P.REL	DISTO	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
Union of journalists NJ+	4.93	0.00	0.02	0.05	0.03	0.01	0.6	3.4	1.2	0.1	0.14	0.56	0.16	0.01
Union of journalists NJ-	0.45	0.40	-0.29	-0.49	-0.20	-0.08	7.3	31.6	6.0	1.2	0.21	0.61	0.10	0.02
Norw. Press Associat NP+	4.87	0.00	0.02	0.02	0.00	-0.01	0.4	0.4	0.0	0.1	0.27	0.20	0.02	0.02
Norw. Press Associat NP-	0.46	0.15	-0.30	-0.11	0.06	0.16	8.0	1.7	0.5	5.4	0.59	0.08	0.02	0.17
Union of Editors NR+	4.59	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.1	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.11	0.00	0.13	0.00
Union of Editors NR-	0.73	0.04	-0.10	0.00	-0.03	-0.01	1.3	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.22	0.00	0.02	0.00
Skup-prize jury+	4.87	0.00	0.01	0.01	-0.02	-0.01	0.3	0.1	1.0	0.2	0.02	0.04	0.30	0.05
Skup-prize jury-	0.53	0.12	-0.05	-0.02	0.23	0.07	0.3	0.1	9.4	1.3	0.02	0.00	0.42	0.04
Local newspapers+	4.05	0.01	0.04	-0.02	0.01	0.03	1.5	0.5	0.1	1.4	0.36	0.08	0.01	0.14
Local newspapers-	1.28	0.06	-0.15	0.10	-0.01	-0.09	5.8	3.3	0.0	4.9	0.38	0.15	0.00	0.14
Regional newspapers+	4.64	0.00	-0.01	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.04	0.01	0.00	0.01
Regional newspapers-	0.70	0.04	0.02	0.06	0.02	-0.02	0.1	0.6	0.2	0.1	0.01	0.07	0.01	0.01
VG+	3.88	0.00	0.00	-0.03	0.02	0.02	0.0	1.0	0.5	0.5	0.01	0.52	0.20	0.16
VG-	1.36	0.01	-0.01	0.08	-0.06	-0.05	0.0	2.4	1.5	1.3	0.00	0.45	0.24	0.16
Dagbladet+	3.59	0.01	0.03	-0.03	0.04	0.03	0.4	1.1	1.6	1.2	0.08	0.13	0.15	0.09
Dagbladet-	1.65	0.04	-0.05	0.06	-0.08	-0.06	0.8	1.9	3.8	2.8	0.07	0.11	0.18	0.10
Se og Hør+	1.25	0.10	-0.19	0.19	0.13	-0.07	8.7	12.4	7.5	2.9	0.38	0.36	0.18	0.05
Se og Hør-	3.98	0.01	0.07	-0.07	-0.04	0.02	3.3	5.1	2.3	0.6	0.39	0.40	0.15	0.03
NRK+	4.84	0.00	0.02	0.02	-0.01	0.00	0.4	0.9	0.1	0.0	0.21	0.31	0.04	0.01
NRK-	0.38	0.25	-0.25	-0.32	0.07	0.04	4.6	11.2	0.6	0.3	0.25	0.41	0.02	0.01
TV2+	4.06	0.01	0.01	-0.02	0.06	0.06	0.0	0.3	4.9	6.0	0.01	0.03	0.49	0.47
TV2-	1.16	0.09	-0.01	0.05	-0.20	-0.21	0.0	0.8	16.7	23.2	0.00	0.03	0.46	0.50
Dagens Næringsliv+	4.92	0.00	0.00	-0.01	-0.01	0.01	0.0	0.1	0.3	0.3	0.02	0.05	0.22	0.13
Dagens Næringsliv-	0.32	0.19	-0.05	0.07	0.20	-0.16	0.2	0.4	4.5	3.6	0.01	0.02	0.21	0.13
Morgenbladet+	3.90	0.01	0.05	0.02	-0.02	0.03	2.1	0.6	0.6	1.3	0.46	0.09	0.07	0.12
Morgenbladet-	1.31	0.05	-0.15	-0.08	0.06	-0.06	5.5	2.4	1.4	2.3	0.48	0.14	0.07	0.09
Kvinner og Klær+	2.76	0.02	-0.13	0.01	0.00	0.03	8.3	0.1	0.0	1.4	0.82	0.00	0.00	0.06
Kvinner og Klær-	2.46	0.03	0.15	-0.01	0.00	-0.04	10.4	0.1	0.0	2.1	0.80	0.00	0.00	0.07
Vi Menn+	2.21	0.03	-0.12	0.09	0.02	0.04	5.7	5.5	0.4	1.4	0.49	0.32	0.02	0.05
Vi Menn-	2.99	0.02	0.09	-0.07	-0.02	-0.03	4.3	4.1	0.6	1.6	0.45	0.29	0.03	0.07
Aftenposten+	4.96	0.00	0.02	0.01	-0.01	0.02	0.2	0.2	0.4	1.2	0.18	0.13	0.18	0.43
Aftenposten-	0.29	0.35	-0.29	-0.23	0.23	-0.36	4.7	4.4	5.6	16.3	0.24	0.15	0.16	0.37
Klassekampen+	4.20	0.00	0.01	0.01	-0.02	0.02	0.1	0.2	0.9	0.5	0.08	0.09	0.39	0.18
Klassekampen-	1.03	0.02	-0.03	0.07	0.09	-0.05	0.2	1.3	2.8	1.0	0.05	0.19	0.34	0.10
Sykepleien+	3.04	0.02	-0.07	0.02	-0.08	0.04	2.8	0.2	6.3	2.3	0.32	0.02	0.39	0.11
Sykepleien-	2.18	0.03	0.10	-0.03	0.10	-0.07	4.4	0.7	7.4	4.3	0.36	0.04	0.34	0.16
Teknisk Ukeblad+	3.15	0.01	-0.07	0.02	-0.06	0.04	3.1	0.3	4.4	2.3	0.42	0.02	0.33	0.14
Teknisk Ukeblad-	2.06	0.03	0.11	-0.03	0.09	-0.07	4.4	0.7	5.9	4.3	0.42	0.04	0.31	0.18
ROWS	P.REL	DISTO	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
NRK national	12.55	0.01	0.04	-0.03	-0.05	-0.02	4.5	4.3	9.6	1.4	0.21	0.14	0.25	0.03
NRK District	8.88	0.02	0.00	0.08	-0.06	0.02	0.0	14.8	9.4	1.1	0.00	0.35	0.18	0.02
TV2/Comm.broadcasting	7.67	0.02	0.05	-0.03	0.10	0.05	3.6	2.6	28.5	7.0	0.13	0.06	0.56	0.11
VG/Dagbladet	7.48	0.04	-0.10	-0.14	-0.02	0.03	15.7	41.7	1.3	3.7	0.30	0.52	0.01	0.03
Large regional newspaper	8.15	0.03	-0.14	0.07	-0.01	0.05	31.8	10.1	0.1	10.5	0.67	0.14	0.00	0.10
Other national/city press	9.80	0.02	-0.02	-0.06	-0.04	-0.07	0.9	9.7	5.6	18.8	0.03	0.19	0.09	0.24
Large local newspaper	16.58	0.00	-0.01	0.02	0.02	0.03	0.2	2.6	3.6	9.0	0.02	0.12	0.14	0.28
Small local newspaper	17.11	0.01	0.09	0.00	0.03	0.00	26.6	0.0	5.9	0.1	0.78	0.00	0.10	0.00
Magazine	6.65	0.04	-0.09	0.06	0.08	-0.13	10.4	7.0	14.2	48.5	0.22	0.10	0.17	0.45
Specialist press	5.13	0.03	0.08	0.07	-0.11	0.00	6.1	7.0	21.7	0.0	0.20	0.15	0.38	0.00

## Appendix 3: The Questionnaire

English translation, followed by the original Norwegian version.

### ===== FIRST SOME INTRODUCTORY QUESTIONS =====

1. Are you **female or male**? (Female/male)
2. What year were you **born**? (15 categories)
3. Are your parents, your partner or yourself **immigrants**? (Yes/no for each)
- 4a. Which **county** were you raised in? (List of all 19 Norwegian counties)
- 4b. What **type of place** were you raised in?  
(Big city >100000, big city 20000- 99999, smaller city/village 2000-19999, small village 200-1999, smaller <200)
5. Are you **married, living with someone or single**?  
(Married/partner, living with someone, single)
6. Do you have **children**, and if yes, are any of them below 18 years of age?  
(No, yes <18, yes 18+)
7. To what degree do you believe that the following agents **are qualified to judge what good journalism is**?  
(Well-qualified, reasonably qualified, neutral, poorly qualified, very poorly qualified, no opinion)  
  
a)Norwegian journalist association <NJ>, b)PFU, c)the journalist educations, d)members of the parliament e)the public, f)Norwegian press association <NP>, g)The national board of broadcasting <Kringkastingsrådet>, h)Norwegian association of editors <NR>, i)Media researchers, j)Institute of journalism <IJ>, k)SKUP jury, l)Journalisten [the magazine for the trade union of journalists], m)small regional newspapers, n)big regional newspapers, o)VG, p)Dagbladet, q)Se og Hør, r)NRK, s)TV2, t)Dagens Næringsliv, u)Morgenbladet, v)Kvinner og klær, w)Vi menn, x)Aftenposten, y)Klassekampen, z)Sykepleien, æ)Teknisk ukeblad
8. Name two persons you think are **good role models <forbilder> for journalists**.  
(Name: \_\_\_\_\_ Name:\_\_\_\_\_ alternatively: a) have no role models b) Do not remember any)
9. Name two **newsrooms<sup>736</sup>** you think are the **best in Norway – journalistically speaking**.  
(Newsroom: \_\_\_\_\_ Newsroom:\_\_\_\_\_ alternatively: a) no opinion b) Do not remember any)

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<sup>736</sup> Note that the Norwegian term used in this question “redaksjon” is broader than the English “newsroom”, as it incorporates all forms of editorial staff, not only news-oriented staff.

10. Have you during the last two years (24 months) done any of the following? (check all relevant alternatives)

a) Attended the national congress for Norwegian Journalists (NJ) b) Attended a local meeting for NJ members c) Attended the national congress for Norwegian Editors (NR) d) Attended the spring- or autumn conference for NR members e) Attended the SKUP conference f) Attended the Norwegian Media Festival in Bergen (previously: Media 2000 / Nordic TV Days) g) Held guest lecture / been a guest teacher in a journalism education h) Been an external examiner in a journalism education i) L lectured at the Institute for Journalism (IJ) j) Visited Tostrupkjelleren.

===== THEN SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT JOURNALISM =====

11. Have you ever been made or been responsible for a journalistic piece <sak> which has been subpoenaed for the PFU board? (Mark only one alternative. If you have made/been responsible for several, mark the alternative according to the last published piece)  
(No, yes was convicted, yes was criticised, yes was acquitted, yes but the case was rejected)

12. How would you have felt if a journalistic piece you made was convicted in PFU for not following good journalistic standards? (If you have been convicted, how did you feel this?)  
(Very embarrassing, somewhat embarrassing, not very embarrassing, it would almost be an honour, not sure)

13. How great is the influence of the following devolvement of ethical standards in the Norwegian press? (One mark for each alternative).  
(Great influence, some influence, somewhat little influence, very little influence, not sure)

a) Norwegian journalist association <NJ>, b) PFU, c) the journalist educations, d) members of the parliament e) the public, f) Norwegian press association <NP>, g) The national board of broadcasting <Kringkastingsrådet>, h) Norwegian association of editors <NR>, i) Media researchers, j) International news media, k) The individual journalist, l) VG, m) Dagbladet n) Se og hør.

14. Here are some claims about crime journalism in the Norwegian news media. Do you agree or disagree with these claims?  
(Agree completely, agree somewhat, neither agree or disagree, disagree somewhat, disagree completely, no opinion)

a) The press's coverage of crime subjects is too extensive b) The press fulfils its obligations to society <samfunnsoppdraget> by extensive coverage of crime subjects c) Today's crime journalism is primarily entertainment d) Crime journalists are too close to their sources in the police and among lawyers e) Crime journalism is not considerate enough with regard to the involved, the victims and the next of kin f) The press is too cautious when it comes to naming those involved in crime stories.

15. Envisage yourself working in a local newspaper, which has verified that someone in town is **under investigation** for embezzlement of 150.000 crowns from a voluntary organization. Do you think it is **justifiable to name the suspect** if this person is ...  
(Yes certainly, yes probably, probably not, certainly not, no opinion)

a)A politician in the city council b)A director of a large corporation c)A union official in a large corporation d)A cabinet minister e)A bus driver f)A shop-owner g)A chairman in the sports club h)A TV host i)A well-known author j)A well-known athlete.

16. Do you think, in principle, that the following assignments/positions **are compatible with a job as a journalist in the same location?**  
(Yes certainly, yes probably, probably not, certainly not, no opinion)

a)Active politician in a local political party b)A seat in the city council c)Board member in a environmental organisation d)Editing the internal newspaper in a local business firm e)Training businesses/officials on how to deal with the press f)Board member in a local sports club.

17. How do you judge **the state of the Norwegian press** concerning the following subjects?  
(Agree completely, agree somewhat, neither agree or disagree, disagree somewhat, disagree completely, no opinion)

a)There is too much use of anonymous sources in the news media b)There is too much use of covert methods (hidden identity, hidden camera, hidden microphone) c)Many journalists are too inaccurate with facts and quotations d) framing of stories often go too far, making them inaccurate e)The press ethics are improving f) The press fulfil their obligation to society <samfunnsrollen> g) Journalists are too easily led by their sources h) Journalists are too easily led by their personal convictions i) Journalists neglect their role as a critic and watchdog of also the press j) The professional demands of journalists are greater now than two years ago.

18. Which of the following alternatives best describe **your own relation to journalism?**  
(A trade, a form of art, a calling, a political task, an intellectual activity, a common occupation, other (specify): \_\_\_\_\_, not relevant [have never worked as a journalist]).

19. How **often** have you done the following during the last twelve months?  
(5+ times a week, 1-4 times a week, 1-3 times a month, 2-5 times in six months, 2-3 times in one year, 1 time a year, none)

a)Worked overtime b)Spent time with colleagues after work c)Spoken on national television d)Been pictured in national newspaper (not by-line-image) e)Spoken on national radio f)Read "The journalist" (paper or Internet) g)evaluated a self-produced journalistic piece in terms of the VVV-regulation.

===== YOUR CURRENT WORK SITUATION =====

**20. What is your main activity at present?**

a) Work for a media outlet (newspaper, radio, television, media firm etc.) full or part-time -> which type mainly?

**a)NRK -> which channel? P1, P2, P3, other radio channel, NRK 1/NRK 2, NRK Interactive, NRK Other b)TV2 c)TV Norge d)Other TV channel e)TV production company f)P4 g)Kanal 24 h)Newspaper: VG, Aftenposten, Dagbladet, Dagens Næringsliv i)Newspaper: Other national j)Newspaper: large regional newspaper k)Local newspaper l)Magazine/Weekly press m)Specialist press n)News agency o)Internal newspaper / intranet p)Internet news o)other or difficult to place -> what? \_\_\_\_\_.**

b) Work for another type of firm or authority (e.g. Journalism school, state department, voluntary organization etc.) -> what? (please state your place of work and your position/work tasks).

Answer: \_\_\_\_\_

c) Continuing education

d) Student at journalism education

e) Out of work

f) Retired / welfare

g) Other, what? \_\_\_\_\_

**21. Which best describes your occupational status?**

(Permanent employee, permanent employee with leave of absence, temporarily employed, freelancer, random watches, not sure)

**22. What are the your current position/work tasks where you work?**

(Managing director, Chief editor, Editor, managing editor, head of news or similar, Producer, Other supervising work, Lead columnist / analyst, Journalist / reporter, anchor-man/woman/TV host, Technical editor, Photographer, Researcher, Graphic/ design, Internal information/PR, Editorial assistant, Production assistant, Other/difficult to place/elaboration - please specify).)

**23. What type of news room / section / department do you mainly work for?**

(General news room, specialized news room / section - please specify: \_\_\_\_\_, do not work in a newsroom)

**24. How many people work in your news room / section? (how many are at work on a normal day?) Ca. \_\_\_\_\_ persons**

**25. Below are listed some claims regarding your work and personal life. Please check all that often or daily characterize your present work-, family- or personal life.**

Work and free time: a)Irregular working hours b)Very stressful work conditions

Present work tasks: c)Have little influence on my tasks d)My tasks are not very journalistic

e)My tasks are uninteresting

Colleagues/working environment: f)Good work environment g)Fierce competition between

individuals h)Common judgements in important professional questions i)Strong

competition with other publications for stories j)Focus on readership/audience numbers

k)none of these alternatives fit my situation



**26. Here are some claims. Do you feel these accurately reflect your views?**

(Completely reflect, somewhat reflect, neither reflect or not reflect, to some degree reflect, do not reflect at all, no opinion)

a)I am satisfied with my current job b)I wish to remain in this occupation the rest of my working life c)I wish to continue working for my current employer as long as possible d)I am journalist “by nature” e)Debates about who are “real journalists” do not affect me personally f)I would like if my son or daughter wanted to become a journalist.

**27. What themes/subjects do you usually work with? Please be accurate (maximum two themes/subjects). For example “critic, contemporary literature”, “parliament/government”, “fisheries policy”**

(not relevant question (e.g. work mainly in administration), generalist, my main theme(s) are)

Main theme/subject:\_\_\_\_\_ Secondary theme/subject, if any: \_\_\_\_\_

**28. Regardless of the current themes/subjects you work with, which journalistic themes/subjects would you like to work with (do not need to be in your current place of work).**

(I do not want to work with other themes/subjects than I do today, I would like to work with \_\_\_\_\_/ not sure)

**===== SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT JOURNALISTIC IDEALS AND IMPORTANT JOURNALISTIC QUALITIES AND SKILLS =====**

**29. What should be reckoned as “journalistic” tasks or not is often debated. To what degree do you think that the work of the following persons in these television programs should be considered to be journalism?**

(Yes, is clearly journalism, yes, is to some degree journalism, no, is journalism only in a small degree, no, is clearly not journalism)

a)Fredrik Skavlan in *Først and sist* b)“Mini” Jacobsen (Soccer commentator TV2) c)Brita M. Engeseth in *Big Brother* d)Jan Erik Larsen in *Autofil* e)Dorte Skappel in *God Kveld Norge* f)Anne Grosvold in *Bokbadet*.

**30. A journalist should think of himself/herself as one who should ....**

(Agree completely, agree somewhat, neither agree or disagree, disagree somewhat, disagree completely, no opinion)

a)criticize injustice b)provide experiences for people c)stimulate people to think new thoughts and ideas d)be a neutral transmitter of happenings e)mirror common opinions in society f)scrutinize the powerful g)explain complicated happenings in a simple way h)be free from all external interests i)provide recreation j)help forth the viewpoints of various groups/agents k)be an unbiased provider of news and information l)influence public opinion m)tell truth regardless of consequences n)correct the statements of politicians o)correct the statements of industry and commerce p)correct the statements of scientists q)influence the political agenda r)educate the audience s)help ordinary people be heard in public debates t)contribute to the financial well-being of the media firm.

31. Below are listed some personal qualities which some people would think that journalists ought to have. How important do you think these are for a good journalist?

(Very important, somewhat important, neither important or not imp., somewhat unimportant, very unimportant, not sure)

a)curiosity b)a certain “cheek” c)a sense of justice d)political neutrality e)compassion with individuals and weak groups f)efficiency and speed g)thoroughness and precision h)a feeling for language i)a creative personality j)a charming personality k)the soul of an artist.

32. How strong do you think the media’s influence on the public opinion in Norway is today, and how strong should it be? (two crosses)

a) ... is today (very strong, somewhat strong, neither strong nor weak, somewhat weak, very weak, not sure)

b) ... should be (very strong, somewhat strong, neither strong nor weak, somewhat weak, very weak, not sure)

===== YOUR EDUCATION AND WORK CAREER =====

33. What educational level have you completed? (Standardized time)

(Primary school, secondary school 1 year, secondary school 2-3 years, higher education 1-2 years, higher education 3-4 years, higher education 5-6 years (master level), higher education 7 years or more (PhD-level))

34. What type(s) of higher education have you completed? (give as detailed information as possible, including the name of the course, the level / length educational and institution. Examples: “Teacher’s college 3 years (Bergen) and intermediate subject in history (UiB)” “Graduate engineer, NTH”, “Journalism education 2 years (Volda University College).)

Answer: \_\_\_\_\_

35. Do you have any type of education not taken at university college or university, of at least 3 month’s length? (Examples: “Media course at county college”, “Correspondence course in journalism”, “Apprenticeship certificate, carpenter”, “Nordic journalism course”)

(No, yes -> what? \_\_\_\_\_)

36. What kind of employment have you had? (please answer all questions, do not count interruptions)

a) In 2005 I have worked for this firm/enterprise for \_\_\_ years in total

b) I have worked for other media firms/enterprises for \_\_\_ years in total

c) I have done other types of work for \_\_\_ years in total.

37. Which year did you have your first job as a journalist (full- or part-time)?

Year: \_\_\_\_\_, alternatively: have never worked as a journalist.

38. How many years have you been working as a journalist in total? Years in total: \_\_\_ years.

FOR THOSE WHO HAVE WORKED FOR OTHER MEDIA FIRMS/ENTERPRISES EARLIER  
(others go to next question)

39. Which media publications/channels/newspapers etc. have you worked for previously? Only mention places where you have been working continuously for at least one year in minimum 25% position.

Name of employer (name of channel/newspaper/publ.)	Ca. time period (e.g. 1997-2001)	Type of tasks and newsroom (if not an all-round journalist in a general newsroom) E.g. foreign correspond., sports journ., culture editor
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____

(etc)

40. Have you previously worked with anything else besides journalism / media work? Only mention types of work where you have been working continuously for at least one year. (No, yes -> what? \_\_\_\_\_)

===== MEDIA USE =====

41. Which newspapers do you read regularly (= at least every third issue?)

Answer: \_\_\_\_\_ alternatively: read seldom newspapers.

42. Which magazines and periodicals do you regularly read (= at least every third issue?)

Answer: \_\_\_\_\_ alternatively: read seldom newspapers.

43. How personally interested are you in reading about the following subjects in a newspaper? (Very interested, somewhat interested, somewhat uninterested, very uninterested)

- a) Foreign news b) National news c) Local news d) National politics e) Local politics
- f) Editorials g) Feature articles h) Readers letters i) Sport j) Accidents and disasters k) Crime
- l) Health/family m) Food and drink n) Fashion/trends o) Product tests and consumer affairs
- p) Personal finance q) Commerce and economy r) Dieting, exercise and body care s) Religion
- t) Celebrities u) Culture v) Media politics/media-related questions w) Multicultural subjects.

44. Have you publicly expressed your opinions in the media on questions of journalistic quality during the last 12 months? If yes, how and where? [E.g. commented on the coverage of specific news stories, consequences of changes in the media structure, what is to be considered good journalism etc.] [check of all that apply]

(In national media, in local or regional media, in internal publications of the press (e.g. Journalisten or in-house organ)

- a) Been interviewed b) Have written feature article, commentary, readers letter

45. Please name some of your favourite authors (of fiction or other literature) [max 3]

Answer: \_\_\_\_\_ alternatively: have no favourites / do not remember

46. Which of these television and radio programmes do you listen to when you have the opportunity? [check off all that apply]

NRK TV: Dagsrevyen, Redaksjon En, Brennpunkt, Brød og Sirkus, Standpunkt, Først og sist, Urix, Norge Rundt, Migrapolis

TV2/TV Norge: TV2-nyhetene, Holmgang, Tabloid, Dokument 2, God Kveld Norge, Senkveld, Abs. underholdning, 60 Minutes, Aktuelt (TVN)

NRK Radio: Dagsnytt, Dagsnytt 18, Nitimen, Kulturnytt, Riodokumentaren, Norgesglasset, Sånn er livet, Verden på lørdag, P2-kommentaren.

P4: P4-nyhetene, Sytten tretti, Colloseum Kanal 24: Nyhetspuls, Nyhetspuls 17, Kulturmix.

47. Do you feel that these claims describe your regular audience accurately? My ordinary audience are ...

(Completely fits, somewhat fits, neither fits or do not fits, to some degree does not fit, does not fit at all, no opinion)

a)... is interested in politics b)... is well-informed about society c)... is critical to media's claims d) ... is responsible e)... is tolerant f)...is reflective/thoughtful g)... primarily wants to be entertained

Alternatively: not relevant question for me / do not produce for an audience

48. What are your views on the following statements about Norwegian culture journalism?

(Agree completely, agree somewhat, neither agree or disagree, disagree somewhat, disagree completely, no opinion)

a)Norwegian press place too little emphasis on cultural issues b)Culture journalism devotes too much space/airtime to popular culture c)Coverage of culture in the press is celebrity-oriented and superficial d)Coverage of popular culture is on the expense of serious culture e)Culture journalism is not critical enough of high culture f)The task of culture journalism is not to criticize, but to communicate g)Cultural journalism is primarily entertainment h) Cultural criticism in the press is generally of high quality i)Cultural criticism is primarily consumer guidance j)Culture journalism is too close to its sources in the cultural sector k)Cultural journalism is not critical enough of the culture industry.

===== OFFICES, PRIZES AND PARTICIPATION IN PRESS ORGANIZATIONS =====

49. OFFICE: Have you now or earlier .... [One or more ticks. Also include deputy/substitute commissions]

a)... held office in a voluntary organization (sub-national level) b)...held office in a voluntary organization (national level) c)...held office in county council or local council d)...held office in a political party (sub-national level) e)...held office in a political party (national level) f)been a committee member on a state committee on journalistic questions (e.g. NOU) g)held office in Norwegian Union of Journalists h)held other types of journalistically related office? (e.g. Norwegian Union of Editors, Norwegian Press Association, PFU, Broadcasting Council)

50. If you have held office in the Norwegian Union of Journalists or other offices related to journalism: **What types of office have you held?** [E.g. club leader in Bergens Tidende, board member NR, Broadcasting Council, board member Oslo Journalist Club, NJ central board etc.]

Answer: \_\_\_\_\_

52. **PRIZES/GRANTS:** Have you now or earlier **received awards or grants**, or been a **jury member** for such?

**Received:** Prizes/awards for media/journalism (do not count academic titles or prizes given collectively to a newsroom), Grants or fund money given by IJ (e.g. STIP, STUP, The Ihlebæk fund), Other types of grants or funding given to journalists, Other prizes or awards given related to your work

**On jury for:** Prizes/awards for media/journalism (do not count academic titles or prizes given collectively to a newsroom), Grants or fund money given by IJ (e.g. STIP, STUP, The Ihlebæk fund), Other types of grants or funding given to journalists

52. Which **prizes/distinctions** have you received or been on jury for?

**Received:** SKUP-prize/diploma, The grand prize for journalism(NJ), Narvesen or Hirschfeld-prize, journalist prize awarded by local branch of NJ, Other prize -> which?

\_\_\_\_\_

**On jury for:** SKUP-prize/diploma, The grand prize for journalism(NJ), Narvesen or Hirschfeld-prize, journalist prize awarded by local branch of NJ.

53. Have you participated in other **journalistic associations** (of more or less formal type)? Now or earlier? [E.g. Parliament Press Box, Association of Foreign Correspondents, Kringkastingsringen, Normedia, Labour unions press association, Christian Broadcasting Association...]

(No, yes -> which? \_\_\_\_\_)

===== SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT YOUR PARENTS AND RELATIVES =====

54. Do you have any close **relatives or a spouse** who now or earlier have **worked as a journalist**? (Yes, no)

None, spouse/cohabitant, father, mother, brother or sister, son or daughter, other close relative

55. What kind of **occupation** do/did your **parents** have? [We would also appreciate if you can indicate their job tasks, if this is not clear from the name of their occupation]. For all questions about father/mother we are interested in the parents you grew up with, regardless of whether they are your biological parents or not. Examples: "small farmer", "Engineer in the municipality", "teacher in college", "journalist in NRK".

**Father/stepfather:** \_\_\_\_\_ Alternatively: grew up without a father

**Mother/stepmother:** \_\_\_\_\_ Alternatively: grew up without a mother

**56. What educational level do/did your parents have? [check for both]**

**Father:** Primary school, 1 year secondary school, 2-3 years secondary school, higher edu. 1-2 years, higher edu. 3-4 years, higher edu. 5-6 years, higher edu. 7 years or more (PhD or equivalent).

**Mother:** Primary school, 1 year secondary school, 2-3 years secondary school, higher edu. 1-2 years, higher edu. 3-4 years, higher edu. 5-6 years, higher edu. 7 years or more (PhD or equivalent).

**57. (IF YOUR PARENTS HAD SOME FORM OF HIGHER EDUCATION) Which type of higher education do/did your parents have? Examples: “law major”, “cand.mag with Norwegian and history”, “teaching school”, “civil engineer, NTH”.**

**Father/stepfather:** \_\_\_\_\_

**Mother/stepmother:** \_\_\_\_\_

**58. Did you have any of the following at home when you grew up? (one or more ticks)**

Chessboard, Foreign newspapers, Encyclopaedia, Piano, None

**59. Check all alternatives that apply to your mother and father.**

**Father:** held political office (municipal level), held political office (regional or national level), held office in labour union, had vocational training (e.g. certificate of apprenticeship), is/was interested in “classical” Norwegian literature

**Mother:** held political office (municipal level), held political office (regional or national level), held office in labour union, had vocational training (e.g. certificate of apprenticeship), is/was interested in “classical” Norwegian literature.

**===== VARIOUS QUESTIONS =====**

**60. Listed below are some activities. How often have you done them in the last 12 months?**

(5 or more times a week, 1-4 times a week, 1-3 times a month, 1-5 times in the last six months, less often, never)

a) Longer walks b) Walks in the mountains, forests or fields c) Jogging / health studio and similar d) Outdoor life (fishing, hunting, mountain hiking) e) Been to cafe/pub/bar f) Been at restaurant g) Art exhibition h) Sports event (as spectator) i) Religious meeting j) Theatre/opera k) Listened to classical music l) Read book (fiction).

**61. Have you yourself published fiction, non-fiction or scientific works?**

(No, I have not, Yes →how many works in each category?<sup>737</sup>)

**Fiction:** a) Novel b) Other fiction **Non-fiction:** c) about journalism d) other themes

**Scientific Works:** (not including works written as part of a study, e.g. master thesis)  
e) on journalism f) other themes

**62. If you have published any works on journalistic themes: Which journalistic themes have you written about? (mark all relevant themes)**

Media history, Media ethics, Media economy, Media law, Media use / reception, Journalistic work techniques, Journalistic genres, Language in media, The role of media in society, Media coverage of a case, Introductions for journalism (e.g. understanding accounts), Introductions to journalistic specializations (e.g. sports journalism).

**63. Do you agree or disagree to these claims about journalism?**

(Agree completely, agree somewhat, neither agree or disagree, disagree somewhat, disagree completely, no opinion)

a) A good journalist should be able to comment on almost any subject at short notice b) All journalists ought to have the same basic skills and knowledge, whatever their specialization and publication they work for c) All journalists ought to have the same journalistic ideals, whatever their specialization and publication d) General life experience is more important than formal education for becoming a good journalist e) Journalism is an overpraised occupation f) In the future, journalism ought to be a protected work title g) In the future, every journalist ought to have a journalism education h) In the future, all journalists ought to have a university degree in their specialization i) Journalists manufacture the news as much as they report them j) Increased use of new technology and Internet will weaken the possibilities for critical journalism and its role in society.

**64. Which political party did you vote for in the last general election?**

(Høyre, Fremskrittspartiet, Arbeiderpartiet, Senterpartiet, Kristelig folkeparti, Rød Valgallianse, Sosialistisk venstreparti, Venstre, Kystpartiet, other party, did not vote, not old enough to vote.)

**65. Do you own a car(s)? If yes, what is the total value of your cars?**

(No, I do not own a car, <75000, 75-149999, 150-224999, 225-399999, 400-499999, 500 000 or more)

**66. Do you own a house, an apartment or similar? If yes, how much do you estimate it is worth?**

(No, do not own a house/apartment or similar, <800000, 800-1999999, 1200-1999999, 2000-2999999, 3000000 or more)

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<sup>737</sup> For fiction and non-fiction categories (a-d) the respondent was asked to give the number of books. For scientific works, he/she was asked to give both 1) the number of books, 2) the number of articles in scientific publication and 3) reports, chapters in books etc.

**67. Here are some common claims about the media and major issues in society. Do you agree or disagree with them?**

(Agree completely, agree somewhat, disagree somewhat, disagree completely)

a) Because of global media developments, national media politics are relatively unimportant  
b) Media pluralism causes democratic debate  
c) A few publications/channels have the power to set the agenda for the debate on society  
d) Journalists are an elite in society  
e) The political parties are too weak  
f) The state is too powerful  
g) Important firms and financial institutions in Norway ought to have Norwegian owners  
h) In Norway, we have enough equality between the sexes  
i) In Norway, we have enough equality in financial income  
j) Letting politicians speak unopposed to the public through the media do not improve democracy  
k) When a journalist achieves a large audience, this is usually a sign of journalistic quality

**68. Listed are some possible threats against a free and critical press in Norway. How big a threat do you believe each of these poses? (mark one for each alternative)**

(Great danger, some danger, little danger, no danger, not sure)

a) Foreign ownership of Norwegian media firms  
b) State ownership of media firms  
c) Political party-ownership of media firms  
d) Cross-ownership of several media firms by the same owner  
e) The public's need for simplification  
f) The financing of media firms by advertising  
g) Journalists' self-censure (e.g. by not writing unfavourably about sources or owners)  
h) Too little knowledge about society among journalists  
i) Too Oslo-focused journalism  
j) The tendency among journalists to "hunt in packs"  
k) Increased knowledge of journalistic genres and -techniques among sources  
l) Weak professional ethics among journalists.

**69. What was your income (gross income before deductions and tax) last year?**

(No income, <100000, 100-199999, 200-249999, 250-299999 ... 750-799999, 800000 or more)

**70. Will you name the publication/firm you work for?** We ask because this information will give us far more nuanced data than the coarse categories in question 20 allow. Your anonymity is guaranteed. (if you work for more than one employer, we ask you to give name of the one you do most work for).

a) Not relevant (am not working), b) No, I do not want to give the name of my present employer  
c) My present employer is \_\_\_\_\_



71. Imagine this: You work as a news journalist in a newspaper in large town. The following 12 items are discussed for inclusion in tomorrow's paper. Mark those 5 which you think are the best, journalistically. [5 marks]

a) Political horse-trading in the city council: The Conservative party has done a U-turn and now supports the motion of building of a new town hall, which was proposed by the Labour party. In return, the Labour party shelves a proposal for property tax.

b) Oline Hansen (85 years), resident of Long road, has waited four years for a place at the nursing home, even if her physician thinks this is long overdue.

c) A well-known lawyer in the city is arrested for drunken behaviour and harassment of guests at a restaurant.

d) A 22-year old local girl will be posing nude in the next American edition of Playboy. She is being paid 500.000 crowns.

e) A major factory in the city fires 120 because of financial problems following a low order intake.

f) Surprisingly, the top player on the city's premier league soccer team has been sold for 5 mill crowns, a move which will considerably weaken the team.

g) The German shepherd "Pelle" is alive and well after having been rescued from a mountain ledge where he has been stuck for six days. The owner cries out of happiness.

h) A new inquiry shows that the region you work in has the highest price for fish in the country. In addition, the newspaper has revealed that a certain wholesaler of foodstuffs has a monopoly on selling fish in the district.

i) The actress Demi Moore is spending three days of her holiday in the district.

j) Neo-Nazis plan a national rally in the city during the next month.

k) The city's only theatre has to cancel all plays next year, due to bad financial performance this year.

l) A new inquiry shows that the number of homeless persons in the city has doubled during the last five years.



Takk for at du tar deg tid til å svare på undersøkelsen! Dine svar forblir selvsagt anonyme.

**Først noen innledende spørsmål**

**1. Er du kvinne eller mann?**

Kvinne  Mann

**2. Når er du født?**

før 1920  1930-34  1945-49  1960-64  1975-79  
 1920-24  1935-39  1950-54  1965-69  1980-84  
 1925-29  1940-44  1955-59  1970-74  1985 eller senere

**3. Har dine foreldre, din partner eller du selv innvandret til Norge? [ett eller flere kryss]**

Nei  Ja, min far  Ja, min mor  Ja, min samboer/ektefelle  Ja, jeg selv -> gå til spm 5

**4. Hvor vokste du opp (hovedsaklig)? [angi både fylke og type sted]**

**a) Fylke:**

Østfold  Telemark  Sør-Trøndelag  
 Akershus  Aust-Agder  Nord-Trøndelag  
 Oslo  Vest-Agder  Nordland  
 Hedemark  Rogaland  Troms  
 Oppland  Hordaland  Finnmark  
 Buskerud  Sogn og Fjordane  
 Vestfold  Møre og Romsdal

**b) Type sted:**

Storby: 100 000 eller flere bosatte  
 Annen større by/sted: 20 000 – 99 999 bosatte  
 Mindre by / tettsted: 2 000 – 19 999 bosatte  
 Lite tettsted: 200 - 1 999 bosatte  
 Spredtbygd strøk: under 200 bosatte

Vokste ikke opp i Norge

**5. Hva er din sivilstatus?**

Gift / registrert partner  
 Samboer  
 Enslig

**6. Har du barn, og i tilfelle ja, er noen av barna under 18 år? [ett kryss]**

Nei, har ikke barn  
 Ja, har barn, men ingen under 18 år  
 Ja, har barn under 18 år

**7. I hvilken grad mener du de følgende aktører er kvalifiserte til å vurdere hva som god journalistikk?**

[ett kryss for hver – svært stor grad, nokså stor grad, nokså liten grad, svært liten grad, ingen mening]

	Svært stor grad	Nokså stor grad	Nokså liten grad	Svært liten grad	Ingen mening
a) Norsk Journalistlag	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b) PFU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c) Journalistutdanningene	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d) Stortingspolitikere	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e) Publikum	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
f) Norsk Presseforbund	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
g) Kringkastingsrådet	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
h) Norsk Redaktørforening	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
i) Medieforskere	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
j) Institutt for journalistikk	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
k) SKUP-juryen	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
l) Fagbladet Journalisten	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
m) Lokalaviser	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
n) Regionaviser	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
o) VG	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
p) Dagbladet	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
q) Se og Hør	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
r) NRK	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
s) TV2	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
t) Dagens Næringsliv	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
u) Morgenbladet	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
v) Kvinner og klær	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
w) Vi Menn	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
x) Aftenposten	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
y) Klassekampen	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
z) Sykepleien	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
æ) Teknisk ukeblad	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

**8. Nevn to personer som du mener er gode journalistisk forbilder.**

Navn: .....

Navn: .....

Har ingen journalistiske forbilder  Kommer ikke på noen

**9. Hvilken to redaksjoner i Norge synes du er de journalistfaglig beste? (ikke regn med din egen redaksjon)**

Redaksjon: .....

Redaksjon: .....

Ingen mening  Kommer ikke på noen

**10. Har du i løpet av siste 2 år (24 mnd) gjort noe av følgende? [kryss av for alle aktuelle alternativ]**

Deltatt på NJs landsmøte  Deltatt på Den norske mediefestivalen i Bergen (tidligere: Media 2000 / Nordiske TV-dager)  
 Deltatt på NJs (by/fylkes)lokallagsmøte  Hatt gjesteforelesing / vært gjestelærer på journalistutdanning  
 Deltatt på NRS landsmøte  Vært sensor på journalisteksamen på journalistutdanning  
 Deltatt på NRS vårmøte/høstmøte  Undervist på Institutt for Journalistikk (IJ)  
 Deltatt på SKUP-konferanse  Vært på Tostrupkjelleren

**Så diverse spørsmål om journalistikk**

**11. Har du selv noen gang produsert eller hatt aktivt medansvar for saker som har vært innklaget for PFU?**

[Sett bare ett kryss. Dersom du har vært innklaget flere ganger, kryss av for siste innklagde sak]

- Nei  Ja, ble "felt" i PFU  Ja, fikk kritikk  Ja, ble "frikjent"  Ja, fikk sak innklaget for PFU, men den ble avvist behandlet

**12. Hvordan ville du følt det dersom en sak du har laget ble felt i PFU for brudd på god presseskikk?**

[Bvt. hvis du er blitt felt i PFU, hvordan følte du dette?]

- Svært pinlig  Litt pinlig  Ikke spesielt pinlig  Ville vært nærmest en ære  Usikker / vet ikke

**13. Hvor stor innflytelse på den pressetiske utviklingen i Norge mener du de følgende aktørene har?**

	Svært stor innflytelse	Nokså stor innflytelse	Nokså liten innflytelse	Svært liten innflytelse	Vet ikke/ingen mening
a) Norsk journalistlag	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b) PFU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c) Journalistutdanningene	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d) Stortingpolitikere	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e) Publikum	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
f) Presseforbundet	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
g) Kringkastingsrådet	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
h) Norsk redaktørforening	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
i) Medieforskere	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
j) Internasjonale nyhetsmedier	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
k) Den enkelte journalist	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
l) VG	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
m) Dagbladet	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
n) Se og Hør	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

**14. Her er noen påstander om krimstoffet i norske media. Er du enig eller uenig i disse påstandene?**

	Svært enig	Delvis enig	Verken enig eller uenig	Delvis uenig	Svært uenig	Vet ikke/ingen mening
a) Norsk presse generelt legger i dag for stor vekt på krim	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b) Pressen fyller sitt samfunnsoppdrag ved å legge stor vekt på krim.dekningen	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c) Dagens krim.journalistikk er først og fremst underholdning	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d) Krim.journalistene har et for nært forhold til sine kilder blant politi og advokater	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e) Krim.journalistikken tar for lite hensyn til de involverte, ofre og pårørende	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
ø) Nyhetsmediene i Norge er for tilbakeholdne med å navngi i kriminalsaker	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

**15. Tenk deg at en redaksjon i en regionavis får bekreftet at en person er under etterforskning for å ha underslått 150.000 kroner fra en frivillig organisasjon. Mener du det er riktig å publisere navnet på denne personen dersom vedkommende er... [ett kryss for hver]**

	Ja, klart	Ja, kanskje	Trolig ikke	Absolutt ikke	Ingen mening
a) Politiker, sitter i bystyret	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b) Administrerende direktør i en stor bedrift	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c) Tillitsvalgt i en stor bedrift	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d) Statsråd	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e) Bussjåfør	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
ø) Lokal næringsdrivende, butikkeier	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
ø) Leder i lokalt idrettslag	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
h) Programleder på tv	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
i) Kjent skjønnlitterær forfatter	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
j) Kjent idrettsutøver	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

**16. Mener du at følgende typer av oppdrag prinsipielt lar seg forene med en jobb som nyhetsjournalist på samme sted? [ett kryss for hvert alternativ]**

	Ja, absolutt	Ja, kanskje	Nei, neppe	Nei, absolutt ikke	Vet ikke / usikker
a) Oppdrag i politisk parti	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b) Medlem av kommunestyre	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c) Styreverv i miljøorganisasjon	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d) Redigering av lokal bedrifts internavis	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e) Medietrening av bedrifter / myndigheter	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
f) Styreverv i idrettsforening	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

### 17. Hvordan oppfatter du "tilstanden" i norsk presse med hensyn til de følgende temaene?

	Svært enig	Delvis enig	Verken enig eller uenig	Delvis uenig	Svært uenig	Vet ikke/ingen mening
a) Det er for mye bruk av anonyme kilder i nyhetsmediene	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b) Det er for mye bruk av skjulte metoder (skjult identitet, skjult kamera og mikrofon)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c) Mange journalister er for unøyaktige med fakta og sitater	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d) "Spissing" og vinkling av saker går ofte for langt, slik at saken blir upresis	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e) Presseetikken i norske medier blir stadig bedre	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
f) Pressen fyller sin samfunnsrolle på en god måte	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
g) Journalister blir for lett styrt av sine kilder	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
h) Journalister blir for lett styrt av sine personlige hjertesaker	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
i) Journalister forsømmer sin rolle som overvåker og kritiker av pressen selv	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
j) De faglige krav til journalister er større nå enn for 10 år siden	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

### 18. Hvilke av de følgende alternativ beskriver best hva journalistikken er for deg? [ett kryss]

- Et håndverk    En kunstform    Et kall    En politisk oppgave    En intellektuell virksomhet    Et helt vanlig yrke  
 Annet (spesifiser): .....    Ikke relevant spørsmål for meg (har aldri jobbet som journalist)

### 19. Hvor ofte har du de siste 12 måneder gjort følgende?

	5+ ganger i uken	1-4 ganger i uken	1-3 ganger i mnd	2-5 ganger i halvåret	2-3 ganger i året	1 gang i året	Ingen ganger
a) Arbeidet overtid	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b) Vært sammen med arbeidskamerater på fritiden	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c) Snakket på riksdekkende TV	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d) Vært avbildet i riksavis (ikke byline-bilde)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e) Snakket på riksdekkende radio	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
f) Lest fagbladet "Journalisten" (papir eller nett)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
g) Vurdert en egen sak opp mot Vær Varsom-plakaten	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

### Din nåværende yrkessituasjon og arbeidssted

#### 20. Hva er din hovedaktivitet for tiden?

- a) Jobber for medieforetak / mediebedrift (avis, radio, fjernsyn, mediehus etc.) på full- eller deltid -> hvor/hvilken type hovedsaklig?

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> NRK -> hvilken kanal jobber du mest for?<br><input type="checkbox"/> P1 <input type="checkbox"/> P2 <input type="checkbox"/> P3 <input type="checkbox"/> Annen radiokanal<br><input type="checkbox"/> NRK1/NRK2 <input type="checkbox"/> NRK Interaktiv<br><input type="checkbox"/> NRK Annet | <input type="checkbox"/> Avis: VG, Aftenposten, Dagbladet, Dagens Næringsliv<br><input type="checkbox"/> Avis: Annen landsdekkende avis<br><input type="checkbox"/> Avis: større regionsavis<br><input type="checkbox"/> Avis: lokalavis<br><input type="checkbox"/> Magasin / ukeblad<br><input type="checkbox"/> Fagpresse<br><input type="checkbox"/> Nyhetsbyrå<br><input type="checkbox"/> Internavis / intranett<br><input type="checkbox"/> Nettredaksjon / nyhetstjeneste på web<br><input type="checkbox"/> Annet eller vanskelig å plassere -> hva? |
|--|---|

- b) Jobber for annen type foretak eller myndighet (f. eks. høgskole, stadig medietilsyn, frivillig organisasjon etc.) -> hva?  
Skriv arbeidssted og type stilling / arbeidsoppgaver.

Svar: .....

- c) Under videreutdanning  
 d) Student på journalistutdanning -> gå til spm 28  
 e) For tiden arbeidsledig -> gå til spm 28  
 f) Pensjonist / trygdet -> gå til spm 28

- g) Annet, hva? .....

#### 21. Hva slags ansettelsesforhold har du? [kun ett kryss]

- Fast ansatt    Midlertidig ansatt (vikar)    Tilfeldige vakter / løsvakter  
 Fast ansatt, med permisjon    Frilans    Uklart/vet ikke

**22. Hva er din vanlige arbeidsoppgave der du nå jobber? (bare ett kryss)**

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Adm.dir  | <input type="checkbox"/> Redigerer             |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Sjefredaktør                                       | <input type="checkbox"/> Fotograf              |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Redaktør, redaksjonssjef, nyhetsleder el. lignende | <input type="checkbox"/> Researcher            |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Produsent  | <input type="checkbox"/> Grafikk / design      |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Annen type arbeidsleder (vaksjef etc.)             | <input type="checkbox"/> Intern informasjon    |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Lederskribent / kommentator                        | <input type="checkbox"/> Assistent, redaksjon  |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Journalist/reporter                                | <input type="checkbox"/> Assistent, produksjon |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Programleder                                       |  |

- Annet ikke nevnt / vanskelig å plassere .....  
(ev. utdyping av svaret) .....

**23. Hvilken type redaksjon/avdeling jobber du hovedsaklig for?**

- Allmenn (nyhets)redaksjon  
 Spesialisert redaksjon / avdeling -> hvilken type?  
 (f. eks distriktkontor, sportsredaksjon, nyheter, desk..)

**24. Hvor mange arbeider i redaksjonen din?**

Regn med de som er på jobb en vanlig dag.

Ca. antall personer i redaksjonen min:

- .....  
 .....  
 Jobber ikke i redaksjon -> gå til spm. 25

**25. Nedenfor finner du en liste over noen forhold i arbeid og fritid. Kryss av de påstandene som ofte eller daglig kjennetegner ditt nåværende arbeids-, familie- og fritidsliv. (kryss av alle aktuelle alternativ)**

**a) Arbeidstid og fritid**

- Uregelmessig arbeidstid  
 Svært stressende arbeidsforhold

**c) Kolleger/arbeidsmiljø**

- Generelt godt arbeidsmiljø  
 Hard konkurranse mellom enkeltpersoner  
 Har felles vurderinger i viktige yrkesspørsmål  
 Hard konkurranse med andre publikasjoner om saker  
 Fokus på lese-/lytte-/seertall

**b) Nåværende arbeidsoppgaver**

- Har liten innflytelse på mine arbeidsoppgaver  
 Mine arbeidsoppgaver er i liten grad journalistiske  
 Mine arbeidsoppgaver er lite interessante

- Ingen av de nevnte kategoriene passer på min situasjon

**26. I hvilken grad stemmer de følgende påstandene på deg? (ett kryss for hvert alternativ)**

	Stemmer helt	Stemmer delvis	Verken stemmer eller ikke stemmer	Stemmer delvis ikke	Stemmer ikke	Vet ikke / usikker
a) Jeg er godt fornøyd med min nåværende jobb	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b) Jeg ønsker å forbli i dette yrket resten av mitt yrkesaktive liv.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c) Jeg ønsker å fortsette ved mitt nåværende arbeidssted så lenge som mulig	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d) Jeg er journalist av legning	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e) Debatter om hvem som er "ekte journalister" engasjerer meg personlig lite	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
f) Jeg ville like om min sønn eller datter ville bli journalist	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

**27. Hvilke tema/saksfelt jobber du vanligvis med? Det er fint om du kan være spesifikk. (maks to tema/saksfelt)**

F.eks. "anmelder norsk samtidslitteratur", "storting og regjering", "fiskeripolitikk"

- Ikke relevant spørsmål for meg å svare på (f. eks jobber i all hovedsak med administrasjon)  
 Er allment rettet, har ingen spesialiteter

Hovedtema / område: .....

Ev. sekundært tema/område: .....

**28. Uavhengig av det du gjør nå: hvilke tema/saksfelt ville du aller helst ønsket å arbeide med?**

[kan gjerne være i en annen publikasjon enn der du nå eventuelt arbeider]

- Kunne ikke tenke meg å jobbe med andre tema/saksfelt enn det jeg gjør i dag  
 Jeg ville foretrukket å arbeide med: .....  
 Usikker / vet ikke

**Så noen spørsmål om journalistiske ideal, og viktige journalistiske egenskaper og ferdigheter**

**29. Det er ofte diskutert hvilke typer arbeidsoppgaver som bør regnes som "journalistiske" og ikke. I hvilken grad mener du at disse personenes arbeid i nevnte tv-program er å regne som journalistikk?**

	Ja, er helt klart journalistikk	Ja, er delvis journalistikk	Nei, er i liten grad journalistikk	Er helt klart IKKE journalistikk	Ingen mening
a) Fredrik Skavlan i <i>Først og Sist</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b) "Mini" Jacobsen (Fotballkommentator TV2)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c) Brita M Engeseth i <i>Big Brother</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d) Jan Erik Larsen i <i>Autofil</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e) Dorthe Skappel i <i>God Kveld Norge</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
f) "Nils og Ronny" i <i>Walkabout</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
g) Anne Grosvold i <i>Bokbadet</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

**30. En journalist bør betrakte seg som en person som skal....**

	Stemmer helt	Stemmer delvis	Stemmer delvis ikke	Stemmer ikke	Ingen mening
a) ... kritisere urettferdighet i samfunnet	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b) ... gi folk opplevelser	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c) ... stimulere til nye tanker og ideer	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d) ... formidle nøytralt det som skjer i samfunnet	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e) ... speile allmenne meninger	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
f) ... granske samfunnets makthavere	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
g) ... forklare kompliserte hendelser enkelt	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
h) ... stå helt fri mot alle interesser i samfunnet	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
i) ... gi folk adspredelse	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
j) ... la ulike grupper/aktørers synspunkt komme fram	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
k) ... objektivt formidle nyheter og informasjon	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
l) ... påvirke opinionsutviklingen i samfunnet	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
m) ... si sannheten uten hensyn til konsekvensene	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
n) ... være et korrektiv til politikeres påstander	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
o) ... være et korrektiv til næringslivsfolks påstander	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
p) ... være et korrektiv til vitenskapsfolks påstander	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
q) ... påvirke den politiske dagsorden	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
r) ... oppdra sitt publikum	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
s) ... hjelpe vanlige folk å komme til ordet i debatter	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
t) ... bidra til at bedriften en jobber for går økonomisk godt	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

**31. Nedenfor står en liste over ulike egenskaper som noen vil mene at journalister bør ha. Kryss av for hvor viktig du synes de ulike egenskapene er for en god journalist. [Ett kryss for hver egenskap]**

	Svært viktig	Litt viktig	Verken viktig eller uviktig	Litt uviktig	Svært uviktig	Vet ikke / usikker
a) Nysgjerrighet	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b) En viss porsjon frekthet	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c) Rettferdighetssans	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d) Politisk nøytralitet	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e) Medfølelse med enkeltpersoner og svake grupper	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
f) Effektivitet og hurtighet	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
g) Grundighet og nøyaktighet	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
h) God språkteft og formuleringsevne	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
i) En kreativ personlighet	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
j) En sjarmerende personlighet	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
k) Kunstnersjel	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

**32. Hvor sterk tror du medias innflytelse er på den offentlige opinionen i Norge, og hvor sterk bør den være? [to kryss]**

**Medias innflytelse på den offentlige opinionen....**

... er i dag  Svært sterk  Nokså sterk  Verken sterk eller svak  Nokså svak  Svært svak  Usikker

.... bør være  Svært sterk  Nokså sterk  Verken sterk eller svak  Nokså svak  Svært svak  Usikker





## Mediebruk

### 41. Hvilke aviser leser du regelmessig for tiden? (=minst hvert tredje nummer)

Svar: .....

leser sjelden / aldri aviser

### 42. Hvilke magasiner, ukeblad og tidsskrift leser du regelmessig for tiden? (= minst hvert tredje nummer).

Svar: .....

leser sjelden / aldri magasiner/ukeblad eller tidsskrift

### 43. Hvor personlig interessert er du i å lese om følgende typer stoff i aviser?

	Meget interessert	Litt interessert	Litt uinteressert	Meget uinteressert
a) Utenriksnyheter	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b) Innenriksnyheter	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c) Lokalnyheter	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d) Rikspolitikk	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e) Lokalpolitikk	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
f) Ledere og kommentarer	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
g) Kronikker	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
h) Debattstoff / leserinnlegg	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
i) Sport	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
j) Ulykker og naturkatastrofer	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
k) Kriminalstoff og forbrytelser	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
l) Helse og samliv	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
m) Mat og drikke	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
n) Møter og trender	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
o) Produkttester og forbrukerstoff	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
p) Personlig økonomi	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
q) Næringsliv og økonomi	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
r) Kosthold, mosjon og kroppspleie	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
s) Livssyn og religion	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
t) Kjente personer	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
u) Kulturstoff	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
v) Medierelaterte spørsmål/mediepolitikk	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
w) Flerkulturelle spørsmål	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

### 44. Har du selv ytret deg i media om journalistisk kvalitet siste 12 mnd? Dersom ja, hva og hvor?

[F. eks kommentert deknningen av enkeltsaker, konsekvenser av medieutvikling, hva som er å regne som god journalistikk osv.]

	I nasjonale media	I lokale eller regionale media	I presseinterne publikasjoner (f. eks Journalisten eller bedriftsavis)
a. Blitt intervjuet	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b. Skrevet kronikk, kommentar eller leserbrev	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Nei, har ikke ytret meg om slike ting i media siste 12 måneder.

### 45. Kan du nevne noen forfattere du synes er spesielt gode (av skjønnlitteratur eller annen litteratur)? [maks 3]

Svar: .....

Nei, har ingen spesielle favorittforfattere  Kommer ikke på noen akkurat nå

### 46. Hvilken av disse programmene på fjernsyn/radio prøver du å få med deg dersom du har anledning? [Kryss av]

#### NRK TV:

- Dagsrevyen
- Redaksjon En
- Brennpunkt
- Brød og sirkus
- Standpunkt
- Først og sist
- Urix
- Norge Rundt
- Migrapolis

#### TV2 / TV Norge:

- TV-2 Nyhetene
- Holmgang
- Tabloid
- Dokument 2
- God kveld Norge
- Senkveld
- Absolutt underholdning
- 60 minutes
- Aktuelt (TVN)

#### Radio NRK:

- Dagsnytt
- Dagsnytt atten
- Nitimen
- Kulturnytt
- Radiodokumentaren
- Norgesglasset
- Sånn er livet
- Verden på lørdag
- P2-kommentaren

#### P4:

- P4-nyhetene
- Sytten tretti
- Colloseum

#### Kanal 24:

- Nyhetspuls
- Nyhetspuls 17
- Kulturmix

## Noen flere spørsmål om journalistikk

### 47. I hvilken grad tror du de følgende påstandene stemmer for ditt vanlige publikum?

Produserer ikke for mediepublikum / ikke relevant spørsmål for meg å svare på -> gå til neste spørsmål

Mitt vanlige publikum....	Stemmer helt	Stemmer delvis	Stemmer delvis ikke	Stemmer ikke	Usikker
a) .... er interesserte i politikk	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b) .... er godt informerte om samfunnet	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c) .... er kritiske til påstander i media	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d) .... er ansvarlige	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e) .... er tolerante	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
f) .... er reflekterte	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
g) .... vil først og fremst underholdes	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

### 48. Ta stilling til følgende påstander om norsk kulturjournalistikk.

	Svært enig	Delvis enig	Verken enig eller uenig	Delvis uenig	Svært uenig	Ingen mening
a) Norsk presse generelt legger i dag for liten vekt på kulturstoff	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b) Kulturjournalistikken vier for mye plass til populærkultur	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c) Kulturdekningen i pressen er kjendisorientert og overfladisk	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d) Dekning av populærkultur går på bekostning av seriøs kultur	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e) Kulturjournalistikken er for ukritisk i sin dekning av finkultur	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
f) Kulturjournalistikkens oppgave er ikke å kritisere, men å formidle	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
g) Kulturjournalistikk er først og fremst underholdning	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
h) Anmelderiet i pressen holder generelt høy kvalitet	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
i) Anmelderi er først og fremst forbrukerveiledning	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
j) Kulturjournalistikken har et for nært forhold til sine kilder i kulturlivet	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
k) Kulturjournalistikken er for ukritisk til kulturindustrien	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

## Verv, utmerkelser og organisasjonsdeltakelse

### 49. YERV: Har du nå eller tidligere .... [Btt eller flere kryss. Tell også med verv/oppdrag der du har vært varamedlem]

- ... hatt verv i frivillig- eller ideell organisasjon på lokalplan  
 ... hatt verv i frivillig- eller ideell organisasjon på nasjonalt nivå  
 ... sittet i kommunestyre eller fylkesting  
 ... hatt verv i politisk parti på lokalplan  
 ... hatt verv i politisk parti på nasjonalt nivå  
 ... sittet i stadlig utvalg som har behandlet journalistrelevante spørsmål (f. eks NOU)  
 ... hatt verv i NJ (f. eks sittet i klubbstyre, styremedlem lokkallag, sittet i NJ-nedsatt utvalg etc.)  
 ... hatt andre typer journalist/media-relaterte verv? (f. eks i Norsk Redaktørforening, Norsk Presseforbund, PFU, Kringkastingrådet)

Nei, ingen av delene -> gå til spm 51.

### FOR DE SOM HAR HATT VERV I NJ ELLER ANDRE JOURNALIST/MEDIE-RELATERTE VERV:

#### 50. Hvilke verv har du hatt?

*F. eks: klubbstyret Bergens Tidende, styremedlem NR, PFU, Kringkastingrådet, styremedlem Oslo Journalistklubb, NJ sentralstyre etc.*

Svar:

.....  
.....  
.....

### 51. PRISER/STIPEND: Har du nå eller tidligere mottatt priser/stipend eller sittet i jury for slike?

Mottatt Jury-/komite-medlem

- Priser/utmerkelser knyttet til mediajournalistikk (ikke regn med akademiske titler/grader, eller priser gitt kollektivt til redaksjon)  
  Stipend eller fondmidler utdelt av Institutt for journalistikk (f. eks STIP, STUP, Ihlebæk-fondet)  
  Andre typer stipend / fond utdelt til utdelt til journalister  
 Andre priser eller utmerkelser relatert til ditt arbeid?

Nei, ingen av delene -> gå til spm 53.

**FOR DE SOM HAR MOTTATT PRISER/UTMERKELSER, ELLER SITTET I JURY FOR SLIKE**

**52. Hvilke priser/utmerkelse har du mottatt eller sittet i jury for? [ett eller flere kryss]**

**Mottatt Jury medlem**

- SKUP-pris/diplom  
  NJs store journalistpris, Narvesen- eller Hirschfeld-prisen  
  Journalistpris utdelt av et av NJs fylkes- eller lokallag.  
 Annen pris/-> hvilke(n)? .....  
andre priser

**53. Har du deltatt aktivt i noen andre journalistiske fora av mer eller mindre formell art? Nå eller tidligere?**

*F. eks: Stortingets presselosje, Utenlandskorrespondentenes forening, Kringkastingstingen, Normedia diskusjonsforum, Arbeiderbevegelsens presseforbund, Kristelig Kringkastingslag...*

- Nei  
 Ja -> hvilke(t)? .....  
.....  
.....

**Så noen spørsmål om dine foreldre og slektninger**

**54. Har du nære slektninger eller ektefelle/samb. som nå/tidligere har jobbet som journalist? (utover sommerjobb)**

- Nei, ingen  Ektefelle / samboer  Far  Mor  Bror / søster  Sønn / datter  Annen nær slektning

**55. Hvilken yrkestittel (i sitt hovedyrke) har/hadde dine foreldre?**

[det er fint om du også kan antyde deres arbeidsoppgaver, om dette ikke går klart fram av yrkestittelen]

*For alle spørsmål om far/mor er vi interessert i de foreldrene du vokste opp med, enten de er dine biologiske foreldre eller ikke.  
Eksempel: "Småbruker", "Ingeniør i kommunen", "lærer på videregående", "programsekretær i NRR"*

**FAR** (alternativt stefar): .....  
 Vokste opp uten far

**MOR** (alternativt stemor): .....  
 Vokste opp uten mor

**56. Hvilket utdanningsnivå har / hadde dine foreldre? [ett kryss for hver]**

**Far Mor**

- Folkeskole/ungdomsskole  
  Videregående skole 1 år  
  Videregående skole 2-3 år  
  Høgskole / universitet 1-2 år  
  Høgskole / universitet 3-4 år  
  Høgskole / universitet 5-6 år (hovedfag/embetsstudium eller tilsvarende)  
  Høgskole / universitet 7 år eller mer (Dr. grad/Ph.D eller tilsvarende)

**FOR DE SOM HAR KRYSSET AV EN FAR ELLER MOR MED HØYERE UTDANNELSE**

**57. Hvilken type høyere utdanning har/hadde din far/mor?**

*Eksempel: "jus embetsstudium", "cand. mag med norsk og historie", "allmenærerskole", "sivilingeniør NTH"*

**FAR** (alternativt stefar): .....

**MOR** (alternativt stemor): .....

**58. Hadde dere noe av følgende hjemme når du vokste opp? [ett eller flere kryss]**

- Sjakk  Utenlandske aviser  Leksikon  Piano  Nei, hadde ingen av delene

**59. Kryss av alle alternativ som stemmer for din far eller mor.**

**Far Mor**

- ...har/hadde politiske verv på kommunenivå (f. eks representant kommunestyre)  
  ... har/hadde politiske verv på fylkes- eller landsplan  
  ... har/hadde lederverv i fagforening  
  ... har/hadde yrkesbasert fagutdanning (f. eks. fagbrev)  
  ... er/var interessert i "klassisk" norsk skjønnlitteratur

## Diverse spørsmål

60. Hvor ofte har du foretatt deg disse **aktivitetene** i løpet av de siste 12 månedene? [ett kryss for hver aktivitet]

	5 eller flere ganger i uken	1-4 ganger i uken	1-3 ganger i mnd	1-5 ganger i halvåret	Sjeldnere	Aldri
a) Spaserturer	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b) Fotturer i fjell, skog og mark	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c) Løpeturer / trent i helsestudio / e.l.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d) Friluftsliv (jakt, fiske, fjelltur etc.)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e) Gått på kafé / pub / bar	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
f) Gått på restaurant	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
g) Gått og sett på idrettsarrangement	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
h) Gått på kunstutstilling	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
i) Gått til gudstjeneste / på religiøst møte	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
j) Gått på teater eller i opera	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
k) Hørt på klassisk musikk	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
l) Lest skjønnlitterær bok	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

61. Har du publisert **skjønnlitterære bøker, bøker innen sakprosa** eller noen form for **vitenskapelige arbeid**?

Nei, har ikke skrevet noe slikt -> gå til spørsmål 63

Ja -> hvor mange publikasjoner har du skrevet innen hver kategori, ca.? (fyll bare ut aktuelle kategorier)

### 1) SKJØNNLITTERATUR

Antall

a. Roman.....   bøker  
b. Annen type skjønnlitterær bok.....   bøker

### 2) SAKPROSA (AV POPULÆR ART)

Antall

c. ...om journalistfaglige tema .....   bøker  
d. ... om andre tema.....   bøker

### 3) VITENSKAPLIGE ARBEID (Ikke inkluder publikasjoner levert som del av utdanning, som semesteroppgave).

e. ... om journalistfaglige tema.....   bøker   artikler i vitenskaplige tidsskrift   rapporter, enkeltkapittel o.l.  
f. ... om andre tema .....   bøker   artikler i vitenskaplige tidsskrift   rapporter, enkeltkapittel o.l.

## FOR DE SOM HAR PUBLISERT SAKPROSA / VITENSKAPLIGE ARBEID INNEN JOURNALISTFAGLIGE TEMA

62. Hvilken **type journalistfaglige tema** har du skrevet om? [Kryss av alle aktuelle alternativ]

- |  |   |   |
|--|---|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Mediehistorie   | <input type="checkbox"/> Journalistisk arbeidsteknikk     | <input type="checkbox"/> Fagintroduksjoner for journalister (f. eks til analyse av regnskap)          |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Medieetikk      | <input type="checkbox"/> Journalistiske sjangrer          | <input type="checkbox"/> Introduksjoner til spesialfelt for journalister (f. eks sportsjournalistikk) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Medieøkonomi    | <input type="checkbox"/> Mediespråk                       |   |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Mediejus        | <input type="checkbox"/> Medienes samfunnsrolle           | <input type="checkbox"/> Annet: .....   |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Folks mediebruk | <input type="checkbox"/> Diskutert dekningen av enkeltsak | .....   |

63. I hvilken grad er du enig i følgende **påstander om journalistikk**?

	Svært enig	Litt enig	Verken enig eller uenig	Litt uenig	Svært uenig	Vet ikke / usikker
a) En god journalist bør kunne kommentere nær sagt ethvert tema på kort varsel	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b) Alle journalister bør ha samme grunnkompetanse, uansett arbeidsfelt/-sted	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c) Alle journalister bør ha samme ideal for sin virksomhet, uansett arbeidsfelt/-sted	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d) Bred livserfaring er viktigere enn formell utdanning for å bli en god journalist	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e) Journalistikk er et oppskrytt yrke	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
f) Journalist bør på sikt bli en beskyttet yrkestittel	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
g) I fremtiden bør alle journalister ha journalistutdannelse	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
h) I fremtiden bør de fleste journalister ha høyere utdanning innen sine saksfelt	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
i) Journalister bidrar minst like mye til å skape nyheter som å viderefremme dem	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
j) Økt bruk av ny teknologi og Internett vil svekke muligheten til å ivareta journalistens samfunnsoppdrag og utøve kritisk journalistikk	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

64. Hvilket **politisk parti** stemte du ved sist Stortingsvalg?

- |   |  |  |
|---|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Høyre              | <input type="checkbox"/> Kristelig Folkeparti      | <input type="checkbox"/> Kystpartiet                       |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Fremskrittspartiet | <input type="checkbox"/> Rød Valgallianse          | <input type="checkbox"/> Annet parti                       |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Arbeiderpartiet    | <input type="checkbox"/> Sosialistisk Venstreparti | <input type="checkbox"/> Hadde stemmerett, men stemte ikke |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Senterpartiet      | <input type="checkbox"/> Venstre                   | <input type="checkbox"/> Hadde ikke stemmerett             |

**65. Har du bil? Dersom ja, hva er den samlede verdien på dine biler?**

- Nei, har ikke bil -> gå til neste spørsmål  
 <75 000  
 75-149 999  
 150-224 999  
 225-399 999  
 400-499 999  
 500 000 eller mer

**66. Eier du hus / leilighet e.l.?**

Dersom ja, hva vil du anslå verdien på dette er? [ikke tell med eventuelle fritidsboliger]

- Nei, eier ikke hus/leilighet e.l.  
 <800 000  
 800-1 199 999  
 1 200-1 999 999  
 2 000-2 999 999  
 3 millioner eller mer

**67. Her er noen vanlige påstander om mediene og sentrale samfunnsspørsmål. Er du enig eller uenig i disse?**

	Helt enig	Nokså enig	Nokså uenig	Ikke enig i det hele tatt
a) Den nasjonale mediepolitikken har utspilt sin rolle i forhold til drivkreftene i den globale medieutviklingen	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b) Medi mangfold fører til en åpen og demokratisk mediedebatt	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c) Noen få medier har makt til å sette dagsorden for hele samfunnsdebatten	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d) Journalister er en elite i det norske samfunnet	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e) De politiske partiene er for svake	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
f) Staten har for mye makt	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
g) Viktige foretak og finansinstitusjoner i Norge bør ha norske eiere	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
h) I Norge har vi kommet langt nok i å redusere forskjeller mellom kjønnene	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
i) I Norge har vi kommet langt nok i å redusere økonomiske forskjeller	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
j) Å la politikere få snakke uimotsagt til folk gjennom media fremmer ikke demokratiet	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
k) Når en journalist oppnår et stort publikum, er dette vanligvis et tegn på journalistisk kvalitet	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

**68. Nedenfor listes opp noen mulige trusler mot en fri og kritisk presse i Norge. Hvor stor fare mener du hver av disse utgjør? [Btt kryss for hvert alternativ]**

	Stor fare	En viss fare	Liten fare	Ingen fare	Vet ikke
a) Utenlandsk eierskap av norske mediebedrifter	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b) Statlig eierskap av mediebedrifter	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c) Partibasert eierskap av mediebedrifter	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d) At flere mediebedrifter blir kontrollert av samme eier	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e) Publikums behov for forenkling	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
f) Reklamefinansierte medier	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
g) Journalisters selvsensur (f. eks unngår å skrive ubehagelig om eiere eller kilder)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
h) For liten kunnskap om samfunnet blant journalister	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
i) For Oslo-fokusert journalistikk	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
j) Journalister sin tendens til å "jage i flokk"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
k) Kildenes økte kunnskap om journalistisk genrer og -teknikker	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
l) Svakheter ved den allmenne profesjonsetikk	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

**69. Ca. omtrent hvor stor tror du din egen brutto inntekt (før fradrag og skatt) var for i fjor?**

[Regn med pensjon, trygd, biinntekter, renteinntekter o.l.]

- |  |                                      |                                      |                                      |                                      |  |
|--|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Ingen inntekt | <input type="checkbox"/> 200-249 999 | <input type="checkbox"/> 350-399 999 | <input type="checkbox"/> 500-549 999 | <input type="checkbox"/> 650-699 999 | <input type="checkbox"/> 800 000 eller mer |
| <input type="checkbox"/> <100 000      | <input type="checkbox"/> 250-299 999 | <input type="checkbox"/> 400-449 999 | <input type="checkbox"/> 550-599 999 | <input type="checkbox"/> 700-749 999 |  |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 100-199 999   | <input type="checkbox"/> 300-349 999 | <input type="checkbox"/> 450-499 999 | <input type="checkbox"/> 600-649 999 | <input type="checkbox"/> 750-799 999 |  |

**70. Vil du oppgi navnet til bedriften du jobber i? Vi spør fordi denne opplysningen gir langt mer nyanserte data enn de grove kategoriene i spørsmål 20 gir. Vi minner om at du er garantert anonymitet.**

[Dersom du har flere arbeidsgivere, ber vi deg oppgi navnet til den du arbeider mest for].

- Ikke relevant spørsmål (er ikke i arbeid for tiden)  
 Nei, ønsker ikke å oppgi navnet på min nåværende arbeidsgiver  
 Min nåværende arbeidsgiver / arbeidsgiveren jeg jobber mest for for tiden er: .....

## Helt til slutt

**71. Bt tenkt tilfelle: Du arbeider som nyhetsjournalist i en avis i en av våre større byer. De følgende tolv sakene er aktuelle til morgendagens utgave (det er en god nyhetsdag....). Kryss av de du mener er de 5 beste sakene etter en journalistisk vurdering. [5 kryss]**

- a) Hestehandel i bystyret. Høyres bystyregruppe gjør helomvending i spørsmålet om nytt rådhus, og slutter seg til APs forslag om dette. AP legger på sin side bort forslaget om økt eiendomsskatt.
- b) Oline Hansen(85) i Langeveien har ventet i fire år på sykehjemsplass, til tross for at hennes lege mener hun forlenget burde fått slik plass.
- c) En kjent advokat i byen er arrestert etter fyllebråk og forulemping av andre gjester på en restaurant.
- d) En 22-årig jente fra byen figurerer med nakenbilde i neste utgave av det amerikanske bladet Playboy. Hun får 500 000 kr. i honorar.
- e) En av byens industribedrifter har på grunn av dårlig ordretilgang fått økonomiske problemer, og går derfor til oppsigelse av 120 ansatte.
- f) Toppspilleren på byens eliteserielag i fotball er overraskende blitt solgt for 5.000.000 kroner. Laget blir betydelig svekket.
- g) Schæferen "Pelle" reddet og i god behold etter å ha sittet fast på en fjellhulle i fire døgn. Saken har vært omtalt i avisen i to dager allerede. Eieren gråter av glede.
- h) En ny undersøkelse viser at distriktet du arbeider i har Norges høyeste priser på fersk fisk. Avisen har i tillegg avdekket at en matvaregrossist faktisk har monopol på fiskesalg i distriktet.
- i) Skuespilleren Demi Moore ferierer i tre dager i avisens distrikt.
- j) Nynazister planlegger nasjonalt treff i byen i neste måned.
- k) Byens eneste teater må, på grunn av et dårlig økonomisk resultat så langt i år, avlyse alle oppsetningene neste år.
- l) En ny undersøkelse viser at antall uteliggere i byen har blitt doblet de siste fem årene.

***HJERTELIG TAKK FOR AT DU TOK DEG TID TIL Å SVARE!!!***

***Spørsmål om surveyen? Usikker på utfyllingen av skjemaet? Ønsker å gi en tilbakemelding?***

***Interessert i resultatene av undersøkelsen? Gå til: [www.hivolda.no/amf/mediefolk](http://www.hivolda.no/amf/mediefolk)***

***Du kan også skrive eventuelle kommentarer / utdypninger av dine svar her:***

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