

Can Women Become Cowboys?

The Importance of Journalist Education
for the Professional Ideal Among Swedish
Journalists

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"Woman, as the frailer vessel, is not capable of the same sustained effort, for Nature never fashioned her to take part in the rough and tumble of life like the male journalist....But women will make far greater headway in the profession when they realise that their real bent lies in the direction of what is recognized as purely woman's work. They can never hope...to compete on level terms with men as newspaper workers, and they will be wise to recognize that fact" (Warren in Steiner, 1992:12).

Low Warren continues his advice to woman journalists in his textbook *Journalism* from 1922 by explaining that there are "thou-sands" of subjects that suit women's natural abilities and taste, like marriage, home, fashion and gardening. Reading this, most of us surely react quite strongly. "What an appalling view of women they had *in those days!*"

What is it like today? Can we still find the same kind of norms in modern journalistic textbook? Surely not... Journalism is now not solely a male profession. Women have entered journalism in quite a big way¹ in the Western world the past decades, and that ought to be reflected in the textbooks – or? Let me take an example from a book about the journalist role, published by the Swedish journalist union and used as a textbook in journalist colleges. One of three ideal types of journalists is described as "the Gunman" or "the Pro[fessional]":

"He feels sometimes like a Cowboy, that rides in to the small town, exposes all the corrupt politicians, brings down all the crooks, and then rides towards the sunset. /.../ He is no gentleman, but he is honest" (Thurén, 1988:325 - my translation).

There is no direct degrading remark about women journalists in the quote, but the ideal journalist is portrayed as a man, and as a Cowboy, i.e. a very masculine phenomenon. There is no negative women ideal, but certainly no positive either. It is hard to believe that women journalist could see themselves as a second Clint Eastwood or John Wayne. *So, is it possible, that, although journalism is no longer a solely male profession, masculine norms are still dominant in journalist education and course literature?*

When I said that the journalism is not solely a male world, I was referring to the number of women journalists – 34 percent,² of the Swedish journalists are women, and

¹ The number of women journalists has increased, but varies between different countries. According to Van Zoonen and Donsbach (1988) the number of women working in journalism does not exceed 18 percent. In Norway the rate is 27 percent (Eide, 1993), and in Finland the number has risen from 16 percent in 1954 to 47 percent in 1988 (Zilliakus-Tikkanen, 1990). In Sweden the number of women journalists have doubled from 1969 till today, from 20 to just above 40 percent (Löfgren-Nilsson, 1994).

² The number 40 percent is the rate of women members of the Journalist union (that covers almost every journalist), but in a survey of *active* journalists only 34 percent were found (Weibull et al, 1990) and if only *news reporters* are taken into account, the number has not risen far over that in 1969, when there were 20 percent women journalists (Löfgren-Nilsson, 1994). This, i.e. differences in the definition of journalist that is used, could be one reason why the number of women journalists varies

in the youngest group (under 30) about 50 percent are women. There is though a tendency that women students often end up on the side of journalism and not in the traditional newspaper newsroom, whereas men go straight into the profession (Löfgren, 1991; Löfgren-Nilsson, 1994). When women do get a job as a journalist it is often in low status media like the popular-press or organisational magazines (Weibull, 1991) and mostly as reporters, deputy editors and proof-readers, or freelancers. Men are to a much higher extent in a managing position. Also, the ridiculing smile over Low Warren's advice to women journalists in 1922, fades away when we realise that nothing much has happened with gender division in reportage. 36 percent is written by women, and mostly in the areas of culture, school, spare-time, the labour market, and social affairs (Hultén, 1990). Similar patterns appear if we look at what special areas they work with. Women work more than men with culture, family and feature, whereas men are far more some kind of social or government correspondent, (political, defence, economy, etc.) (Weibull, 1991; Melin, forthcoming).

With other words, men dominate the media both in quantitative and qualitative (status) terms. Lana Rakow (1988) discuss the danger of women playing along men's rules, by only using the technique men have constructed, which shapes aesthetics and norms. Women are tool-users, and men are tool-makers. This means that men create the models and norms that shape news values and journalistic way of working, and women are forced to use them (in most cases probably unconsciously). It can be seen in work-conditions. Those and media organisations are male constructions, and men like them better than women. Among other things women feel that no one takes their ideas and thoughts seriously (Lindberg, 1990; Löfgren-Nilsson, 1992; Melin, forthcoming). The journalist Ami Lönnroth expresses this in a more concrete way:

"When I later came to Stockholm and ended up in the news-room of *Veckans Affärer* amongst only guys, I tried to be a guy myself – but that was difficult. I didn't feel very well there" (Boëtius, Lönnroth, 1991:21 – my translation).

The consequences are that a lot of women journalists leave the media. Freelancing is one alternative, which gives freedom from the news-room culture, and an opportunity to continue within the profession - despite children and family. This could be one of the reasons why freelancing is more common among women than men (Löfgren, 1991; see also Zilliakus-Tikkanen, 1990).

So if journalists' values, norms and ideals (whether they are connected to the profession per se or news) are seen as socially constructed tools, they are important to study. Linked with gender, that I see as a social, political and cultural construction (Cf.

between countries, but I also have no doubt that the differences are caused by the different cultural and socio-political structures. I

Van Zoonen, 1988; 1992; Zilliakus Tikkanen, 1990), the study is even more interesting if we want to understand the politics of the media. The purpose of this paper is not primarily to discuss the values and ideals of journalists, but to discuss the influence of journalist education on the values, norms and ideals of the future journalists. I am basing the discussion on mainly two studies. One is a study of Swedish journalists work conditions, roles and ethics. An extensive questionnaire was sent to 1500 Swedish journalists in 1989 (59 percent replied) (Weibull et al, 1990; Melin, forthcoming). The other is a literary analysis, from a gender perspective, of the course literature on the journalist School at the University of Göteborg (Melin, 1993).

Journalist schools in universities, are now the primary way into journalism in Sweden, and with the increased importance for recruitment, comes an increased importance for socialising students into the profession. That does not only imply technical know-how, but also ideals, roles, and norms (Boyd-Barret, 1980). Since ideals and norms are important in understanding the socialising role of journalist schools, I will start this paper by giving a brief background into the professional ideals and norms of Swedish journalists, and then discuss journalist schools as socialisation agent by describing the picture of journalists given in the course literature.

Women's and men's approach to the profession

I have discussed the media and journalist schools as male worlds, where men construct the normative tools, the models for journalism. So, what are these norms, and do men and women have different sets of values?

In the discussion below I will not use the term "journalist role" that is the more common concept used in these kinds of studies. I prefer the term "professional ideal" (in this case "journalist ideal"), meaning an ideal image of the profession. In this case it means how journalists perceive that themselves and what they think their profession ought to be. It is not how they actually are. Quite the contrary, there is evidence of a gap between the perceived ideal and reality (Furhoff, 1986; Melin, 1991).

A typology of journalist ideals

My starting point is a typology of the journalist ideal, derived from previous studies on the subject³. Most studies have used typologies in their descriptions, but as

³ I analysed and compared the descriptions of ideals (roles) found in different studies. See for example Fjaestad et al, 19775; Klausen, 1986; Köcher, 1985, 1986; Lichter, 1986; Thurén, 1988; Windahl, 1975.

Weaver and Wilhoit (1986) argues, journalist roles (or ideals) are too "deep" and complicated to be over-simplified into a dichotomy. I would argue that the journalist ideal encompasses different approaches to the profession, which creates two dimensions. There is a *participant-neutral*, i.e. the traditional approaches to objectivity and neutrality. It concerns journalists' relation to the news-content. In one end of the scale, the journalist is committed to the message, and tries to influence the audience in different ways. The opposite, is journalists that consider themselves neutral, and therefore can pass on information and mirror events, without interpreting or changing the content in any way. The other dimension, an *active-passive dimension* concerning the news-gathering process. Journalists could actively create news-products by personally searching for, and working on information (e.g. interviews), or passively receive it from sources and only pass it on, or channel it to the audience (e.g. using press releases). From these two dimensions springs four ideal ideals (figure 1).

Figure 1. The two dimensions of journalist ideal,

		Relation to the news gathering process	
		Active	Passive
Relation to the message	Participant	Educator	Spokesman
	Neutral	Bloodhound	Craftsman

One ideal is *the Bloodhound*: Choosing to be a journalist to enlighten unsatisfactory conditions in society, and thinking that a journalist should critically scrutinise injustices, and the elite in society. The Bloodhound is often portrayed as a tough, unafraid and rather ruthless in his (it is often a man) search for the Truth. This is the modern Cowboy. Another ideal is *the Educator*, choosing the profession to express him/herself, and/or to be able to influence others, and thinking journalists should give the audience new experiences, thoughts and ideas, by explaining events simply. Although showing concern, the Educator is quite distant to his/her audience. Teachers and advocates have been used to illustrate this ideal, and they are portrayed as know-

ledgeable, empathetic, and very active. The third ideal is *The Craftsman*, whose motive for becoming a journalist was a wish to work with news. He (he is also mostly a man) thinks that journalists should be neutral reporters, and simply mirror events and opinions. He has a good view of his audience, and regards his colleagues highly. This is a very stressed journalist, because his high ethics does not go well with short time-limits. Therefore an article should be "hammered" together as quick as possible, e.g. by using telegrams, press-releases, and press-conferences as the main source. The fourth ideal is *The Spokesperson*, which means being a spokesperson and a mirror for opinions. As every one else he/she became a journalist to have an exciting and free job, but also to avoid a theoretical education. The Spokesperson wants to influence the audience, at the same time as he/she is part of it - possibly more avant-garde and therefore able to enlighten the path for others. This is a journalist who listens to his/her superior, and is used as a tool by, mainly, political parties.

It is important to remember that there is no pure ideal type, a journalist can have parts of all four, but has to a *higher degree* a certain approach (Cf. Melin, 1991; forthcoming).

Feminine Educators and Masculine Bloodhounds

To get a tool for my text analysis, I have tried to look at the gender construction of the four ideals. This has been difficult, since with only a couple of exemption (van Zoonen, Donsbach, 1988, Zilliakus-Tikkanen, 1990) no study has looked at roles/ideals from a gender perspective. In the sense that these ideals are constructs of a male dominated profession in a patriarchic society they are all masculine (Cf. Rakow, 1988; Hirdman, 1990). Thinking of the traditional view of femininity as subordinate and passive, the two active ideals should be masculine, and the two passive should be feminine. I do not think that either of these explanations would be sufficient. Instead I have (aware of the vagueness of the concepts) simply looked at the way the ideals have been described in the previous studies, and looked at the description of "female journalism" as discussed by Zilliakus-Tikkanen (1990).

Seen from that perspective the Bloodhound and the Craftsman ideals seem to be very masculine constructions. They are almost without exemption portrayed as men. The approach to work and news gathering also seems more masculine than feminine, whether it is the macho-ness and ruthlessness in exploiting sources, or the detachment and only seeing the job as a source of income. Also, the allegories used are masculine. A hammering craftsman is *traditionally* a male occupation, and a Cowboy... The only woman cowboy I am aware of is Annie in the Musical *Annie Get Your Gun*.

The ideal that seems to be the most feminine is the Educator. Although men dominate the examples, there are women portrayed as Educators. In terms of the approach to the job, participation, caring for and protection of sources and audience, seem to fit the traditional female gender role. There are also clear similarities between the Educator ideal and the description of "female journalism" as given by Finnish journalists (Zilliakus-Tikkanen, 1990). The Spokesperson ideal, is harder to analyse, since it is rare, and little has been written about it in previous studies. I am though inclined to describe it as more feminine than masculine, mostly because of the participation and missionary approach. Elisabeth Eide (1993) argues that the traditional norm of objectivity is partly to blame for the invisibility of women in the media (taking gender consideration e.g. in choosing interviewees were seen as subjective and interfering with the truth). That could be interpreted as the norm of objectivity being a masculine norm.

The Professional Ideal among Swedish Journalists

The picture is different if the perceived ideals are considered. In a study of Swedish journalists' view of their professional ideal (Melin, 1991; forthcoming) it is shown that all four ideals are represented to various degrees. Swedish journalists is a very homogeneous group and a vast majority has an active approach, they see their ideal as that of the Bloodhound or the Educator. Only less than a third has a passive approach, and the majority of those see their ideal as a Craftsman. Previous studies have though shown that the majority at that time had a passive/neutral ideal (Windahl, 1975; Fjaestad, Holmlöv, 1974). So it seems like Swedish journalists have changed their ideal since the seventies. This change coincides with a number of events, or processes. The first is a strive for independence, away from ideological bonds, along with the start of a pro-professionalisation among journalists (Puijk, 1990; Klausen, 1986). One sign of this is journalist schools, that started in 1962, were transformed into "högskolor" (Polytechnics) in 1967, and incorporated into universities in 1977 (Cf. Holtz-Bacha, Frölich, 1994). These schools are now the major way into the profession. There is a possibility that Swedish journalists are homogeneous in their values because of the approach to journalism that is taught at these schools. This could also explain the change of values. The educational goals of the journalist schools have changed, from incorporating both information dissemination and critical scrutiny to only emphasising an ideal that is similar to what I have called the Bloodhound ideal. On the other hand, the professionalisation and the journalist schools, increased the status of the profession, and a new group of people --already with their own set of values - became journalists. This upper-middle class group is increasing, and is today shaping the profession. Another factor is the increased number of women. More women means that female

values is brought into the profession (Zilliakus-Tikkanen, 1990). Though this is also tied to journalist schools, since it is mostly through those that women enter journalism.

Journalist students do not differ very much from journalists with other academic educations in terms of their motives for choosing the profession. They mostly want a free and exciting job where they can express themselves. They do differ from other groups, though, in that they much more than others wanted to enlighten injustices in society. So although journalist students are driven by the same motives as students in general, they seem to have a stronger social commitment. There are also gender differences. Women wanted most of all, and far more than men, to become journalists because they wanted to express themselves, enlighten injustices in society and influence other people. Men wanted far more than women to "work with news". These differences reflect their different approaches to the profession; men have a more neutral approach and women a more participant (Melin, 1991; forthcoming, Löfgren, 1991b).

The same pattern can be found in both news-values and the journalists view of their professional values. Women see an event as newsworthy, far more than men, if it has consequences for people's everyday-life, if it increase their insight and knowledge of the world, and make them conscious of injustices in society – and they are far more critical than their male colleagues towards prevailing news-values. Men stresses, on the other hand, that the event should be sensational and interest many people (Löfgren, 1991a, 1991b; Löfgren-Nilsson, 1992).

Despite the homogenous journalist ideal, there are clear differences between the ideals of men and women journalists. Of the four ideal ideals, the Educator is the strongest ideal amongst women. They want to a higher degree than men stimulate new thoughts and ideas, and give people experiences. The opposite ideal, the Craftsman, a neutral reporter, that only mirror events in society, are relatively the strongest amongst men. Seen from this perspective, it seems like women have had a large impact on the collective professional ideal among Swedish journalists. It is "their" view that is now the dominating view. The situation is not as simple as that, though, since it is both gender *and* education that are the factors that more than other influence journalists role perception, and they interact. To simplify, we could say that journalists with higher education have an active approach, whilst those with lower education have a passive approach. Men has a neutral approach, and women a more participant. The princip of neutrality does seem to be a gender issue (Melin, 1991; forthcoming).

Women dominate (in relative and not quantitative terms) three of the ideals, but differ depending on education. The Educator ideal is strongest among women with an academic degree (not in journalism), whereas it is women with lower education that has

the Spokesperson ideal to a higher extent than others, i.e. have a participant approach, but think it is okay to be more passive when gathering news. Men have a Craftsman ideal to a higher extent than women regardless of education, but it is more common among men with lower education.

It is journalist education that is the strongest explanatory factor. Those with a journalist degree have a much stronger view of most matters, including news values (Löfgren, 1991a), and their professional ideal. It seems like a particular ideology and value system is taught at the journalist schools. The students are socialised into a professional role even *before* they enter the journalist profession. Judging on what is the dominant ideal among those that have been to journalist schools, it is the Bloodhound, the active and neutral ideal, that seems to be dominating in those schools. More men than woman have a Bloodhound ideal, which is not very surprising, since the archetype of the ideal often is a Cowboy. In relative terms though, the ideal is stronger among women than men, and particularly among women with journalist education. This is more surprising. Not only have these women accepted what seems to be a masculine ideology, it is also stronger with them than with their male colleagues.

The conclusion of this is that journalist education has become central to the ideology among Swedish journalists. This brings up the question of what is actually taught there, since such a large majority, and almost all those with a degree in journalism, have a Bloodhound ideal. From a gender perspective, the question-mark grows even bigger. Why is it that women, that have dominated the education, to such a high extent have accepted this masculine ideal? Lars Furhoff (1986) argues that it is not the media that forces the young journalists to socialise, it is the other way around. They are more than willing to adapt to the profession and the media, because they want to be accepted as journalists. Journalist students can be viewed in a similar way. They want to be journalists. Therefore they work hard to learn journalism. Which means that they learn how a journalist should act and think, i.e. they learn a certain approach to journalism, a system of news-values, norms and ideal. That means that they are extra open to what is taught. So what is taught at Swedish journalist schools?

Journalist Schools – A Masculine World?⁴

In a study of gender division in journalist schools and mass communication departments in Germany, Romy Frölich and Christina Holtz-Bacha (1992) show that the percentage of female students continuously increase, whereas the women teachers remain a minority (a fifth of all teachers). The situation in Sweden is similar. For quite a few years women students have been in majority⁵. This is though not reflected in the structure among the teachers. In the journalist school in Göteborg there is (in 1992/93) one woman of four senior lecturers, and two out of eight lecturers. Two women and one man are temporary lectures, and of the 370 hours taught by visiting lecturers on an hourly basis, 55 percent was done by women. As Frölich and Holtz-Bacha concludes, this shows that men do not only dominate in quantitative terms, but also qualitatively. They have the lectureships whilst women's positions are more or less temporary. The media world is reflected the educational world.

This imbalance has substantial consequences. According to Frölich and Holtz-Bacha (1992), the "picture of the worlds" that is presented in the media remains male dominated, since journalist students are taught male criteria for news selection and writing. Women have to keep to the male norms and rules in their profession. Their conclusion is that women students needs more women teachers as role models. But is really an increased number of women enough? Female teachers that lacks the social security that comes with an employment, probably have a hard time bringing forth their ideas, and being able to steer the courses - and the department - in the direction they want. What is needed is not only a balance in number, but also in status and power.

Male Lecturers Chose Male Authors

If you guess that male dominans among lecturers will be reflected in a male dominans amongst the authors of the course literature, it is enough with a quick glance on the course literary lists to confirm your fear. Not a single book is written by women alone, but books by men only are plentiful. Women are either editors or co-authors.

This is not totally true. All in all, there are 46 women authors/ editors, a forth of all authors. They have participated in producing 28 books/articles, which is also about a

⁴ The discussion in these section is based on a text analysis of masculinity and femininity in the course literature at the Journalist school in Göteborg. See Melin, M (1993) *Var finns kvinnorna?* Institutionen för journalistik och masskommunikation, Göteborgs universitet.

⁵ There is though a tendency of increased number of male students. 1991 was the first time in several years that men were in majority among the first year students. The situation is similar in other disciplines. The reason is commonly argued to be a new recruitment-system, an exam that is said to be male biased. The questions have though been changed and more thought has been given to prevent gender biased questions.

fourth of all books. It is among the non-obligatory, so called reference-literature, that women authors can be found. Of 87 authors 32 are women and 55 are men (37 and 63 percent). Women have helped produce 19 books and men 40. The reason that there is more of a gender balance among reference literature compared to the obligatory literature, is mainly one: a lecture on women in journalism history. A list of ten references are given to the students, all of which have women authors. If that list is excluded, there are 19 percent women authors among the reference literature, and 12 percent in total.

Table 1. Overview of Authors of the Course Literature at the Journalist School in Göteborg (percent).

Authors, editors	Journalist literature	Other obligatory literature	Reference literature	Total
By/with women Authors and editors	14	6	37	22
By/with men Authors and editors	72	88	63	71
Authors not named	14	6	-	7
Number of authors/editors of books, articles or chapters in books plus not named authors	100	100	100	100
	78	48	87	213

With one exemption, all women authors are used in modules during the final (third) year when the students already have had their basic education, and – more importantly – have been out on a placement for a semester. The works of the women are furthermore concentrated to only three courses. This becomes problematic from a gender perspective, if the assumption is that students are socialised into the profession and professional norms before they actually are journalists, and that journalist schools are a major factor in this socialisation process. That would imply that during the larger part of this process, and the beginning of it, the students do not read a single (course) book written or produced by a woman. Of course, this does not mean that the students are not taught about male and female ideals and journalism. Male authors can discuss the subjects, and lecturers can bring the topics up regardless of the course literature. During

some modules (in semester one, three and five) the lecturer deliberately discuss male and female perspectives on journalism.

What is surprising is that everything that has to do with gender is done *informally*. Gender-perspectives are discussed during classes, but do not appear on the module descriptors. Books and articles by women that are considered very good, are not made obligatory, but in the best of cases put on a reference list, or possibly end up on "inspiration list" informally distributed by lecturers. Handouts written by women lecturers are not put down on literature lists – they are also handed out informally, "from the back of the drawer", as wome woman lecturer put it. Students do not have to read this literature for any assignment, and the consequence is of course that the subject and the literature is not considered as important as the obligatory literature by the students.

Women and Men in the Course Literature

Textbooks in journalism reflect the norms and structure of the newsroom. They are therefore not only a document of the dominant news-values that is described and advocated to the students, but also of whom should be doing this and how the reporter should be. Linda Steiner argues that:

"Textbooks socialize students by articulating and re-producing disciplinary paradigms. They emphasize rather than challenge prevailing definitions; they dramatize, not undermine, conventional practices and relations of power. Conversely, the issues they do not engage do not exist as issues" (Steiner, 1992:1).

Since textbooks are mirrors of the power-system in society - in this case the media - it is important to analyse them. Steiner (1992) did an analysis of how, where, and in what context women were discussed as journalists in 150 British and American textbooks from 1890-1990. Her conclusion is that textbooks have shifted from declaring that gender is everything, and thereby disqualifying women from being journalists of any status, to saying that gender means nothing. The past fifteen years the books have been gender-neutral.

Also Swedish journalist textbooks are in that respect gender neutral. Pro-noun like *he* or *she* is very rarely used. The few times pro-noun is used it is mostly combined, like *he/she* or *his/hers*. The most common form used is plural like *journalists* or *the journalist corp.* Yet another way is to speak directly to the reader by using *you*. Which form that is used depends on the level of abstraction in the language – the more abstract the language is, the more gender neutral it is. My impression is that most authors have been very conscientious in trying to make their language as gender neutral as possible. There are only a few exemptions, and my guess is that in most cases it is a matter of negli-

gence. In some books though, this has been done deliberately: in three books *he* has been used, and in two books *she* has been used when referring to journalists.

Steiner (1992) chooses to analyse only the occurrence of women in the text, and not the masculine because it is often implicit and therefore "problematic". I would argue that is why she reaches the conclusion that textbooks today are gender-neutral. Implicit assumptions about journalist ideal, and of men and women as journalists, are interesting and important *because* they are implicit (Cf. Hirdman, 1990; Jónasdóttir, 1991). It is though actually enough to go just a bit below the surface to see that the Swedish journalist text books are far from gender neutral. The most obvious example of this is in the two books where the journalist all the time is referred to as "she" (Löwenberg, 1992; Hansén et al, 1990). Wanting to emphasise women journalists by using the feminine pro-noun is of course a good thought, but the way it is done gives a very unfortunate result. In both books the anonymous reporter or the journalist is referred to as a woman, and it is to her that the books are directed. It is she that should learn *To Write Reportage* (Hansén, et al, 1990) and *Investigative Journalism* (Löwenberg, 1991). Both books are what I would call "handbooks in journalism", i.e. their purpose is to tell the reader how good journalism ought to be done. To do this, the authors gives the readers examples of "good journalists", historic and contemporary, Swedish and foreign. More than 90 per cent of the named and idealised journalists are men. So, men are held up as models, ideals, whereas women are anonymous and is told to learn from these skilful men. This is further emphasised by only mentioning the women journalists when they do appear in the texts, and very rarely quoting them. If a woman and a man are mentioned for a reportage they have done together, it is the male reporter that is quoted (e.g. Löwenberg, 1992:48). In one of the books women journalists get their own section, as the answer to the question "Don't you move in a typical male reporter world?". A list of women journalists are mentioned (15 of the 47 that are mentioned in the book) in this two page section (Hansén et al, 1990). So the few women that are rewarded with a mentioning are not quoted, and placed in a special corner as exemptions. This is also achieved in other ways, e.g. the way the women journalists are described. Let me take one of these women as an example, Ester Blenda Nordström. Hansén and Thor (1990:169) describe her as "our first Swedish female Walraff". Why emphasise *female*? By underlining that she is a woman, and by placing her in "the female corner", she becomes a special case, and not a role model young journalists - whether men or women. Löwenberg (1992:106) also describes Nordström's reportage, when she worked "under-cover" as a maid on a farm. The description is nine lines long under the heading "Social Reportage", followed by a description of Jack London's reportage (25 lines). Löwenberg do though mention Nordström's series of reportage as a "breakthrough for reportage as a genre in the daily press". It is a nice praise to a great journalist, but surprisingly short. Even more surprising is that Löwenberg does not mention Nordström in the introductory chapter,

where a history of investigative journalism is told. Armas Sastamoinen is mentioned for his reportage of Nazism during the second world war. If the beginning of Swedish investigative journalism should be told, Nordström did her reportage 20 years before Sastamoinen.

There are even several women that are held up as *negative ideal*, because of their investigative journalism. One example is Ann Marie Åsheden, reporter on *Dagens Nyheter (DN)*, that is criticised for her co-operation with Hans Holmér, the chief investigator of the Palme murder inquiry.

"A bad example is the DN-journalist Ann-Marie Åsheden's, or rather the news paper's, agreement with Hans Holmér" (Löwenberg, 1992:75).

So, in the very few examples of women's investigative journalism, described outside of "female corners", it is being criticised, and mentioned as a bad example. No man is criticised that way.

The reason I have in detail described the two books *Investigative Journalism* and *To Write Reportage*, is because they so very clearly show the differences between gender neutrality on the surface, and a deeper discrimination against women. Unfortunately the main impression is the same in all books. The journalists that are mentioned by names are almost all men. Egon Erwin Kisch, Ernest Hemingway, Carl Bernstein, Bob Woodward, Günter Walraff, Wilhelm Moberg, Ivar Lo-Johansson, Peter Bratt, Jan Guillou, Per Wendell, Jan Mosander, Dieter Strand are the most common of the named journalists. Among the women it is almost only Barbro "Bang" Alving, Ester Blenda Nordström and Sara Lidman that are mentioned more than once.

My main impression of the course literature at the journalist school, is that women reporters should learn journalism from their more skilful male colleagues, but also that there are hardly any women reporters worth mentioning, and definitely not with being held up as an ideal for future journalists.

It is though not only journalists that are referred to. Other professional and social groups are also described, in the role as sources, audience or in general examples. The difference is that the surface-like gender neutrality, that the authors seem to have been very conscious about when referring to journalists, does not exist regarding the other groups. The male dominance is even greater. It is a quantitative dominance: men are written about and referred to more than women. It is also a qualitative dominance. A clear link between men and the elite in society are obvious in the books. Men are active, professional, and powerful. Only a few of the politicians that are mentioned are women, and none of the company executives, lawyers or doctors. Women are mothers, secretaries or whores. They are also victims of male violence. The few times women are por-

trayed as having a profession, it is in examples where they are passive, and often victims. Male dominance is also almost total among research references. If I would believe the journalist textbooks, there are hardly any women that do research in mass communication, journalism, linguistics or any other subject for that matter. At least not worth referring to. Gender perspective is almost none existent in the text books. This is where the biggest difference between male and female authors can be found. Women discuss gender, whilst men very rarely touch upon the topic. And if they do, it is short and on the surface (for a more detailed description and discussion see Melin, 1993).

The Bloodhound – the Text Book Ideal

There are other ways of giving journalist models and ideals, than listing names of good journalists. The obvious way is to describe how a good journalist should behave. And the "prescription" to "good journalism" is very similar throughout the textbooks. There is one ideal, the same in all the books. The ideal journalist is portrayed as active, knowledgeable, scrutinising, revealing, truth seeking, and powerful person, representing the third (fourth) estate, but also honest and professional. Tying this to my previous discussion of the two dimensions of journalist ideals, it is easy to spot that the ideal is a very active way of working and gathering news. The reader is more or less directly told not to sit and wait for news to fall down on the desk, but to go out and look for news her/himself. Several of the course books are methodology books and tell us about the art of finding news. It is definitely the active ideal that lies behind these "manuals". Actually, the active ideal is taken for granted, and is almost never openly discussed. Instead, the reader is given suggestions of tools to live up to the ideal. Even "check-lists" of what to do and with what means to do it are given.

The media, and hence journalists, are seen as the third (fourth) estate. It is the knowledge, freedom, and critical scrutiny that creates the basis for this function.

"Mass media is sometimes called "the third estate". The expression refers to its critically scrutinising function. Mass media is expected to scrutinise government institutions, and other elite in power, to reveal injustices, and see to that they are abolished. The scrutiny should naturally be impartial. No political party, no organisation, no private company should be able to get off the hook easier than others. Mass media should look in every corner, turn every stone, and hit in all directions. Mass media should, in other words, be a controlling institution, a kind of auditor for society" (Thurén, 1988:20, also Thurén in Carlsson, 1988 – my translation).

The link between the "third estate" and a critical, scrutinising, or even poking and muck-raking, journalism is very obvious. To qualify to be a "third estate", media has to undertake scrutinising journalism:

"It is a journalistic method that has to be used to a larger extent. In any case if we claim without blushing, to be a critical scrutinising estate" (Löwenberg, 1992:9 – my translation).

Almost as obvious as the ideal of an active journalism, is that of neutrality and impartiality. It is The Truth and nothing but The Truth, that should be described, after having been dug up. It is what Thurén (1988) calls "the classical Principe" that is the basis for this ideal. The Principe can be summarised into three key-words: objectivity (that journalists do not deliberately give a false picture of the world), versatility (the audience should have as full a picture as possible), and neutrality. Thurén is definitely not alone in holding this view. Löwenberg and Boman et al have very clear views of what journalism and journalists ought to be like:

"Journalism has to rest on the fact that the reporter deliver what is the truth" (Löwenberg, 1992:126 – my translation).

"An investigator or journalist shall describe the reality, whilst the job of the company executive is to influence the reality for the benefit of the company or part of it. The journalist lives in a more open world, the company executive in a more closed world" (Boman et al, 1989:107 – my translation).

So, according to the course literature, the reporter should not only be active, but also neutral. With other words, it is the Bloodhound ideal that is advocated. And it has no competition from other ideals. In all cases where a journalist ideal is advocated, it is the Bloodhound ideal. Seen in this light, it is not strange that journalist education is the factor that the strongest explains what professional ideal the journalist has. Most of those that have been to journalist schools, have a Bloodhound ideal, and this ideal is stronger in that group than in any other. If they, as students, are taught the Bloodhound ideal in every course book they have read, it is not surprising that the values are accepted, and remain even when they work as journalists.

Direct links between gender and journalist ideals only occurs in a few places. "The Gunman", "the Agitator", "the Craftsman" (Thurén, 1988), "the Cowboy" (Löwenberg, 1992), and the independent, impartial journalist (Hadenius et al, 1989) are all portrayed as men. Any other direct link can not be found, but the ideal that is described and advocated, seems very masculine. First of all, the Bloodhound ideal dominates totally, and as I previously discussed, my impression of it is that it is predominately masculine. The masculinity of the Bloodhound ideal is further supported, if objectivity, and neutrality is seen as a masculine norm (Eide, 1993). Secondly, it is always men that are directly linked with different ideals, mostly the Bloodhound. Thirdly, almost every journalist that was mentioned (often held up as a model) stood for an active, investigative, critical, scrutinising and neutral journalism, i.e. a Bloodhound ideal. With only a couple of exemptions, they were all men. Female journalism, as discussed by Zilliakus-

Tikkanen (1990) has no place in the text books. And female ideal – real journalists or ideal types – are nowhere to be found either.

I would like to point out that the books in mass communication theory or media structure are not quite so gender discriminating. In several of them a number of ideals are described and none is enhanced more than others. One reason of this is the level of abstraction in the language, and generality of the topics discussed. They give an impression of being more "scientific" than the "hand books" in journalism. Another reason is the difference between male and female authors. Women do not emphasise *one* ideal over the other as male authors do. Though most of them seem to have an active approach, it is not a Bloodhound ideal that is spoken for. There are other differences. Women have a more gender neutral language. The examples they give are more gender neutral, and traditional gender roles do not occur in their text in the same way as in texts by men. Further more, they do not degrade women as a lot of the male authors seem to do. Women authors also refer to women authors, to a higher extent than men, and they discuss gender far more than male authors. Partly these differences are caused by the fact that women on the course literature lists, write about other subjects than men. There is only a couple of women that write about journalism – the primary subject for journalist students.

How Big Is the Influence of Journalist Education?

The studies I have summarised in this paper raise several questions. One is almost total male dominance among the lectures at the journalist school, among the authors of the course literature; and in the texts. A reason for this that I have often heard when discussing my results was that the real world is male dominated, and books should only reflect the real world. I have, though, no doubt that there are many more women qualified to be journalist lectures than are employed (many are already doing *temporary* lecturing). I am positive there are more (good and relevant) books written by women, especially in journalism than there are on the obligatory course lists (as is already shown on the reference lists and "inspiration lists"), and there are most definitely more journalists, company executives, doctors, lawyers, researchers, etc., than is shown in the books. If we *do* look into the *real* world, women are certainly not only mothers, secretaries or whores!

A better explanation is Yvonne Hirdmann's (1990) and Anna Jónasdóttir's (1991) discussions about the gender system, which is built on the dynamics (power based contracts) between men and women, that permeates the entire society, culturally and ideologically. Transferring this to the situation found in the Swedish world of jour-

nalism, it is clear that even if the so called mechanical segregation is broken (women enter men's world – women becomes journalists), there is still a normative segregation. The male norm is dominant, and is taken for granted – it is not even discussed. Female journalism – the few times it *is* discussed – is described as something new (which in one way it is) and something special, and it is compared to the commonly accepted (male) norm as an oddity.

This obviously leads into the pedagogical problems. How could the female norm be given more space in the journalist education, and how can women students be encouraged and supported to be “tool-users” in Rakow's (1988) words, as to diminish future frustration in their professional lives, and prevent them for leaving the profession to the same extent as now. One of the biggest problems is the lack of female ideals for the female students (Frölich, Holz-Bacha, 1992). The answer is not simple, but there are a few things that could be fairly simple to accomplish in the present system: to employ more women lecturers, to choose more books by women, to encourage women lecturers to write, to be more conscious in choice of language⁶, to more formally have gender perspectives as part of different modules and also to choose books with a gender perspective.

These measures becomes even more important to undertake if journalist schools are seen as an important socialisation agent. It does though seems unreasonable to think that an educational institution should be the single factor in socialising students into a certain journalist ideal, or gender role. It is more likely that the schools mirror the prevailing norms in the society. Another study of Swedish text books (Pflanz et al, 1992) show a very similar pattern to my study. Men are portrayed as active, dominant, adventurous, independent and have their identity in the professional role. Women, on the other hand are pictured as shy, quiet, passive, caring and pretty. They spend most of their time at home, and never work. The only difference is that in Pflanz study there were far more children – her study was of mathematics and Swedish books in fourth year of primary school. So, from the time children start school, into university, they are followed by the same descriptions of gender roles. The authors of the course literature at journalist schools simply follow the trend. The strong emphasis on the Bloodhound ideal, is probably also a mirror of how the society thinks the journalist should be.

⁶ One way of increasing the language consciousness is to publish these kinds of studies (CF Frölich, Holz-Bacha, 1992; Steiner, 1992; Pflanz et al, 1992; Melin, 1993). The following incident is an example of that. My original report was published in the autumn of 1993. Almost a year later, in August 1994, I received a long letter from one of the authors that I had criticised in the report. He said he was stunned by my conclusions, since he had always considered himself pretty gender conscious, and at first he was angry for the criticism. Though, when giving it a thought he realised there was a lot of truth in it, and consequently, he changed the language and the perspective in the new text book he was writing.

I would though still argue that journalist schools do act as socialising agents and lead students into certain ways of thinking. They do not create journalist ideals or gender roles, but reinforce them. Instead of criticising, traditional values are supported. In this perspective course books are important, since they are a power tool – they set the students agenda and act as an authority (Steiner, 1992). So, that traditional gender roles dominate the books, that female (and outspoken male) journalism is excluded from descriptions and discussions, that women hardly is given any space at all, that the Bloodhound ideal is the only one held up, ought to have implications for students values. Educational institutions, including journalist schools *shall* socialise students into ways of thinking. The question is which ways, what norms? Which ideal should journalist schools and their literature teach about? Shall the education support or challenge the prevalent norms of society?

To be able to see if journalist schools actually change students attitudes and values, I would have to follow students during several years. Such study is presently being done at the University of Göteborg, though I have only access to the result from the study done in 1991⁷. The pattern of ideals is basically the same among the students as between journalists (the active ideals are the dominant) (Melin, 1991; forthcoming). The difference between men and women are also the same, i.e. the Craftsman ideal is the only one that men dominate (in relative terms). The study does though show a significant difference between the first and final year students. The Bloodhound ideal is significantly stronger, and the Craftsman ideal significantly weaker among the final year students. This seem to indicate that there has been a change towards a Bloodhound ideal over the three year program, and this supports the assumption that journalist schools are strong socialising agents for journalist students.

Which are the consequences for the female students, baring in mind that have been in majority on journalist schools since the 80-ies? The almost total dominans of men among lecturers, authors and in the literature means that women do not have any role models – at least not in school. So do women lack professional ideals, because there are no "feminine" journalist ideal, and because they can not relate to the "masculine" Bloodhound ideal and its macho Cowboy? That does not seem to be the case. As have been shown in this paper, the Bloodhound ideal is relatively strongest among women with a journalist education. Also the study among journalist students show that the ideal is strongest amongst women, and it becomes stronger from first to their final year. These women have accepted and taken onboard a masculine ideal, and to

⁷ A survey has been annually distributed to every student at the three journalist schools in Sweden, and most of the questions are similar to the questions asked to journalist in a survey done in 1989 (Weibull et al, 1991).

an even higher degree than men. Why? They are taught a masculine value system, and to survive they have to adopt to it (Rakow, 1988). And when they start their work as journalists – in a masculine organisation – a lot of them do their best to be "guys" to fit into the news-room culture. But they realise they do not have the same opportunities as the "guys", and they start to feel frustrated and try to leave the situation in different ways, as previously discussed (Cf. Boëtius, Lönnroth, 1991; Löfgren, 1991b).

The conclusion to be drawn from the above discussion is that journalist schools are very good at socialising their students into the dominant (masculine) ideal. I do though not think it is that simple. As I have mentioned, the Bloodhound ideal is the prevailing journalist norm in society and journalist schools probably merely mirror those norms. Another way to see it is that journalist schools reflect and reinforce the *students* norms. People with already developed ideas and attitudes towards journalism, enter the profession via journalist schools, and their views are reinforced, not challenged. Lichter et al (1986) argues that the Watergate scandal boosted the status of the journalist profession, and therefor upper middle-class people with middle-class norms, entered journalism. Other studies show that also in Sweden journalist colleges are an attractive alter-native to more "profitable" education, e.g. Schools of Business and Economics, for young Swedish women from a cultural middle-class. They often chose journalism to develop their personalities, and as a cultural strategy (Palme, 1990). This indicates that it is the pre-existing (middle class) values that are a major factor in the developing of the journalist ideal. And Swedish journalist schools *are* dominated buy students from a middle class background⁸ - and the groups with the highest part of middle-class are women students, and women journalists with a journalist educations (Melin, forthcoming). Van Zoonen (1988) does though argue that the increased recruitment of women does not necessarily mean that women's cause is improved . It has actually often resulted privileged middle-class women entering the profession and whose sole objective is often merely to 'get on' in a man's world. From this perspective, that women journalist students seem to get a stronger Bloodhound ideal during the education, and that it is stronger among women than men, could be a strategy to enhance their career. They know that to get on in a man's world they have to be better than men, or at least to accept the male norms and behaviour.

I am aware that the picture I have presented is not very empowering for women. I do though want to point out that there are many women *and* men among the present

⁸ Together with medicine journalist schools are today the most popular program in Sweden, and almost straight "A's" are needed to be accepted.

and former journalist students that have a strong Educator ideal. Also, women journalist and students do not just accept the masculine Bloodhound ideal. A closer look at the responses (and using correlations for men and women) shows that although women think that journalists ought to be a scrutiniser and critics of injustices in society more than men do, they think less than men that they should be neutral reporters. The pattern is even clearer for women with journalist education. This seems to indicate that the Bloodhound ideal is more participant in its character for women, but neutral for men, and that women, although learning a masculine ideal, turn it into something that feels better for them. So, the system is not deterministic. Both among the students, the journalists – and the authors of the course literature – there are some that break the "gender system (Cf. Hirdman, 1990) and make their own paths.

The strong Blood-hound ideal among present and former journalist students, could be a result of a biased and male dominated education, i.e. a socialisation process. It could also be a result of a recruitment of a cultural middle class with specific values and strategies that have chosen journalism because the profession correspond to these values. Presently I can only tentatively discuss these explanations, since my existing data do not allow anything else, and not give a concrete answer. Whatever it will be though, it will have consequences for female students and journalists. So my view still remains that journalist education has to be changed. There has to be an increased consciousness of gender perspective, and the male dominance has to be broken, so that women can get female ideals and role models, and not just male Cowboys – however good journalists they may be.

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