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From ad-man to digital manager Professionalization through Swedish job advertisements 1960-2010

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Purpose – The purpose of this paper is to describe and analyze changes in the descriptions and requirements of professional communicators in Swedish job advertisements between 1960 and 2010.

Design/methodology/approach – Through a quantitative content analysis, this study approaches organizational requirement information in order to better understand changes in the description of the ideal candidate and professionalization.

Findings – The results show that job titles have gradually become more specified and strategically orientated. Tactical qualifications dominated the first decades but operational and strategic skills were increasingly required in the material over the last two decades.

Research limitations/implications – Even if job advertisements could expose the historical changes in expectations and demands on communicational professional practitioners, further studies could entail complementary material such as interviews with senior communications managers and headhunters.

Practical implications – In order to be legitimized as a field of profession, scholars, teachers and practitioners need to create ideals and ideologies that can justify and defend business and education. This paper stimulates practitioners to reflect critically on such issues.

Originality/value – The key contribution of this paper is to explicate how the image of communication practice and the demands on communication practitioners have changed during the last 50 years.

Keywords Strategic communication, Historical study, Job advertisements, Professional communicators

Paper type – Case study

Abstract

The purpose of this paper is to describe and analyze changes in the descriptions and requirements of professional communicators in Swedish job advertisements between 1960 and 2010. This study highlights three variables in the interface between the ideal candidate and the professionalization: job title, educational background, and professional qualifications and experiences. The key contribution of this paper is to explicate how the image of communication practice and the demands on communication practitioners have changed during the last fifty years. The results show that job titles have gradually become more specified and strategically orientated. Most organizations that recruited during the first two decades requested engineers or economists, but in most cases did not require any specific academic education. In the 21st century, this has gradually changed with a majority requiring a college degree in communications or journalism. Tactical qualifications dominated the first decades but operational and strategic skills were increasingly required in the material over the last two decades. This study shows that the professional communicator is, on one hand, a specialized expert contributing to the knowledge society within a small field of practice, and on the other hand, someone who must work on operational and tactical levels.

Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to describe and analyze changes in the descriptions and requirements of professional communicators in Swedish job advertisements between 1960 and 2010. This study contributes to current research in the professionalization of strategic communication by expanding our understanding of how the image of communication practice and the demands on communication practitioners have changed during the last fifty years.

Throughout the 20th century, the theory of professions has been debated, developed and used within social science and in communications management. This development should be understood in relation to the increasing specialization in working life and the acceleration of institutionalized expertise in society. Traditionally, the theory of professions focuses on the relations between occupational groups, academic knowledge and the possibility for practitioners to exclusively apply such knowledge in their occupational practice. For instance, until the 1970s, scholars within profession research were especially interested in the practitioner's authority within its domain, ethical codes and whether the intended professional body controlled its own training program (Sundin & Hedman, 2005) This direction has been characterized as essentialistic, as it searches for the essence within a profession (MacDonald, 1995). Since the 1970s the motivations of professionalization have been understood through the concept of *professional project*. The term professional project was first presented by S. Larson (1977, s. VII) as an attempt to translate specific knowledge and skills into social and economic rewards. The term served to establish the concrete, historically bounded character of a profession as "an empirical entity about which there is little ground for generalizing" (Freidson, 1983, s. 33). Both the essentialistic perspective and the concept of professional project could be criticized for approaching practice and society as rationalistic entities free from conflict. In this paper, professionalization is not a fixed entity or a goal but rather a process that is constantly negotiated through expressions of norms, values and activity. This paper follows L'Etang (2008), who stresses that in order to be legitimized as a profession, scholars, teachers and practitioners need to create and recreate ideals, ideologies, values and norms that can justify and defend business and education. While practitioners

perform their working tasks, they learn to not only master a set of intellectual and practical skills but to also become part of a community with specific norms, values and expectations concerning professional and personal conduct. Further, professionalization is to be understood as a rhetorical process where the identity and status of a job is not given or determined but rather precariously negotiated through discursive activity (Witz, 1990).

Most studies concerning the professionalization of strategic communications use conventional surveys or interviews with communication practitioners. In this paper, however, images of communication practice and the demands on communication practitioners are illustrated through texts produced by hiring organizations. Job advertisements aim to create an ideal applicant in order to attract the ideal candidates applying for a working position (Helgesson, 2011). The term ideal candidate profile means that hiring organizations describe the perfect co-worker in order to include some and exclude others (Buzzanell, 1999). The ideal applicant is a social construction that responds to institutionalized conceptions about a profession and recreates its meaning in different contexts. This paper follows Frandsen's (kommande) Danish study on job advertisements by examining the same period of time, 1960 – 2010, and applying the same overall structure with three categories (job titles, educational background and professional experience) and three levels of analysis (operational, tactical and strategic). While Frandsen built his arguments on fifty job advertisements, this study includes nearly two hundred job advertisements. With a larger sample of data, this paper has good prospects for investigating the inventing or coding of the work and the worker, indexing and interpreting occupational ideals and norms and provides a historical overview within the field (Cheney & Ashcraft, 2007).

The purpose of this paper is to describe and analyze the changes in the descriptions and requirements of professional communicators in Swedish job advertisements between 1960 and 2010. By looking at job titles, required educational background and professional qualities and experiences, this study contributes to current research in the professionalization of strategic communication.

RQ1: How has the image of professional communicators changed from 1960 to

2010 in terms of job titles, education and required experiences?

RQ2: How can the changes be explained as a process of professionalization?

Literature Review

In this literature review, the term strategic communication and previous professional research will be presented shortly. In addition, some perspective on strategic communication history writing and previous studies on job advertisements will also be briefly discussed.

Strategic Communication

Over the years, a variety of definitions have been used to describe communication in organizations. Swerling och Sen (2009) note that strategic communication and public relations are often used interchangeably in both academic and professional circles. Some scholars define public relations more narrowly as concerning publicity and media relations, while strategic communication is an holistic concept. In this paper, strategic communication is used as an umbrella term for all the subdisciplines that are generally included (organizational communication, public relations, corporate communication, marketing communications).

The use of the term "strategic communication" has emerged since Hallahan, Holtzhausen, van Ruler, Verčič, och Sriramesh (2007) developed and conceptualized strategic communication. Hallahan m.fl. (2007) define strategic communication as "the purposeful use of communication by an organization to fulfill its mission" (p. 4). The organization-centered view has been challenged by scholars who claim that it is too instrumental and assumes that all communication is intentional. For instance, King (2010) argues against the notion of planned communication as a powerful tool in organizations. Instead, she stresses that communication strategies emerge through interaction between reader/hearer response, situated context and discursive patterns. Similarly, D.R. Holtzhausen och Zerfass (2011) see strategy as an emerging phenomenon. The concept of emergent strategy brings operational, tactical and strategic dimensions of communication together – dimensions important for understanding the legitimization of the communication practice (Hallahan m.fl.,

2007). From such a perspective, the strategic turn (Torp, forthcoming, 2014) and the practice turn blends as researchers attempt to understand what people *do* by studying strategy making. In recent years, as social constructive and post-modernistic perspectives contribute to the discourse, participation and activism will more often be associated with strategic communication. Falkheimer och Heide (forthcoming, 2014) follow a co-creation tradition (Hatch & Schultz, 2009, 2010), claiming that participation through social media will probably cause changes in the practice of communication professionals.. Similarly, Heide och Simonsson (2011) stress that coworkers should be seen as "active communicators," and Derina R. Holtzhausen (2012) explores the practice of public relations as a form of activism.

Strategic communication and its neighboring research disciplines tend to reflect different social structures in different European countries and in the United States (Bentele, 2004). Corporate communication is more closely related to markets in the US while in Europe the term relates to holistic communication in an organizational environment (Hallahan m.fl., 2007). Within public relations, Bentele (2004) notes that in Europe the sociological and critical perspectives and approaches seem to be more traditional and perhaps more developed. Communication science blends more easily with more general social theories in Europe than in the US. Within the professional circle, communication practitioners in Europe, especially in Northern and Eastern Europe, are considerably strategic oriented (Verhoeven, Zerfass, & Tench, 2011) while in the US the fragmentation of practice is crucial: practitioners are multi-skilled and perform many different roles simultaneously (Werder & Holtzhausen, 2011).

Professionalization

Traditionally, foremost sociology scholars have contributed to the understanding of professionalization, but there is a need for a robust and theoretically sound framework for discussing profession, professionalization and professional power (Faber, 2002). Studies of professionalization are dominated by two sociological theory-constructions: the functionalist traditions and the Neo-Weberian alternative. In his classic article, Brante (1988) outlines how Parsons (1964) and his followers regard professions as transmitters of rational values related to the modernization of

society. According to those who have analyzed professional occupation traits, some of the key elements are: use of skills based on theoretical knowledge; high academic education; a code of conduct; the articulation of a domain of expertise; a monopoly in the market for a service based on that expertise (Abbott, 1988; Brante, 1988; L'Etang, 1999; Larsson, 2005).

Professionalization is highly debated within strategic communication and its neighboring disciplines. According to the Excellence Study, *excellent* public relations are equivalent to professional public relations (Dozier, Grunig, & Grunig, 1995; Grunig, Grunig, & Dozier, 2002). Also, a special issue of the *Journal of Strategic Communication* has touched upon the institutionalization of various organizational functions and their relevance for practice in the US (Swerling & Sen, 2009), Europe (Tench, Verhoeven, & Zerfass, 2009) and Italy (Internizzi & Romenti, 2009). In 2011, the special issue in the aforementioned journal was titled "The Status of Strategic Communication in 48 Countries on Three Continents." As the editors note, structure, roles, leadership and strategic intent create a pattern in the state of strategic communication practice (D.R. Holtzhausen & Zerfass, 2011). Traditions within the practical field and in academic research in different countries and regions reflect diverse social, economical and political structures and systems (Bentele, 2004). Professional communicators in Europe have developed a structure that links communication to strategic planning and decision-making in organizations (Tench m.fl., 2009) and, especially in Northern European countries such as Sweden, have a strong strategic orientation in professional communication (Verhoeven m.fl., 2011). These insights contribute to important clues about communicators today but say little about *how* and *when* the communication practice became more strategically oriented and professionalized.

Writing strategic communication history

Strategic communication as both a research field and practice is highly interesting from a historical and social theoretical context and should be viewed both as a driving force and a consequence of historical changes (Falkheimer & Heide, forthcoming, 2014). In 2008 and 2011, the *Journal of Communication Management* devoted an entire issue to historical perspectives of public relations

and how to conduct research within this framework by researching post-war Italy (Bini, Fasce, & Falconi, 2011), US corporate communications in the progressive era (Gower, 2008) and comparing British, German and US public relations (Raaz & Wehmeier, 2011). Jacquie L'Etang has contributed to the historical insights of strategic communication by studying the PR-educational development in Britain (1999) and by outlining a meta-understanding of writing PR history (2008). Historical perspectives on professions as research inquiry can also be found within a Swedish context. For instance, Larsåke Larsson (2005) has outlined the historical development of the communication professionals. In his studies he focuses on macro-factors such as impact from business associations and changes in media society.

This paper is based on archival material - job advertisements taken from newspapers. The process of collecting such material is rather time consuming, but the process offers a sense of an overall historical context that encompasses societal levels. In relation to the social scientific nature of history, this study does not strive to tell a single "true" history but a series of interpretations of interpretations (L'Etang, 2008). And by relating the history of strategic communication to the history of ideas (professionalization) and a history of actual activities (portraying the ideal candidate through job advertisements), this study can examine what Cutlip (1994, s. xvii) calls "the interrelationship between ideas and action" (xvii).

Job Advertisements
Although millions of job advertisements are published every week in print-media or on job portals on the Internet, these apparently small and trivial texts have, so far, not created much interest within social science. However, Scandinavia seems to have a strong representation, for instance Askehave (2010) uses discourse analysis to address the linguistic aspect of Danish job advertisements for a bank office and focuses on the use of "you" in the construction of the ideal candidate. Furthermore, in a recent dissertation, Helgesson (2011) examines Swedish job advertisements and how they have changed as text genre from 1955 to 2005. In relation to social and economical perspectives, job advertisements have become not just a reflection of typical language use but rather a starting point on how to

understand values and norms in society and how these have changed historically. In the aforementioned study on Danish job advertisements (between 1960 and 2010), Frandsen (kommande) analyzes how job titles, professional qualifications and educational background reflect the shift of understanding within communication practice, from tactical and operational to a strategic orientation. Frandsen also mentions another Danish study (Dahler-Larsen, 1997), identifying a gap between the requirements of CEOs as they are described in job advertisements, and the most important tasks and functions carried out by CEOs on a daily basis. The Danish study is a reminder that job advertisements are foremost meta-texts that reproduce ideals and norms about the ideal practitioner and job functions in an organization. Job advertisements are therefore a social construction of reality.

Methodology

This paper examines historical patterns through a content analysis, therefore this section presents how and when the material was collected and discusses the coding variables and the selected categories.

Content Analysis

Organizations have a multitude of information to convey when portraying the ideal candidate. Through a quantitative content analysis, this study approaches organizational requirement information in order to better understand changes in the description of the ideal candidate and professionalization. Content analysis is an important research technique within the study of communication messages (Gao, 2008) and can be managed on different levels of structure and content.

Selection of Material

In this study, 196 job advertisements from 1960 to 2010 were collected with ten-year intervals (1960, 1970, 1980, 1990, 2000 and 2010). The texts were gathered from the largest morning newspapers in Sweden (*Dagens Nyheter, Svenska Dagbladet* and *Sydsvenska Dagbladet*) in order to get both national and regional perspectives. Covering all thirty-one days in August (traditionally an intense recruiting period in Sweden), employment advertisements relating to information, communication, marketing and consultancy were collected. Through the initial

material collection, the coder (the author) gathered 222 job advertisements but after reducing duplicates and discussing the collected samples with colleagues, 196 job advertisements were left for analysis. The primary results have been presented to different audiences two times, and the feedback has refined the process of analysis.

Coding Variables

The information was coded in SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences) so that the data could be systematically ordered and compared. On a macro level, there were three main components: 1) *the job* 2) *the applicant* and 3) *the hiring organization*. The overall structure was influenced by Frandsen's similar study (forthcoming) in order to make comparisons among Scandinavian countries in a future study.

A coding scheme (see Exhibit 7) was developed, covering 17 major requirement aspects, including, for example, headline job title, field of occupation, function/role (operational, tactic, strategic), educational background, specific experience, professional qualifications and experiences (operational, tactic, strategic), personal qualifications, pronouns and line of business. The requirement aspects were heavily discussed amongst the coder and colleagues, especially with regard to what specifically categorizes professional quantities and experiences on an operational, tactic and strategic level.

Selection of Categories

In this paper, three variables were analyzed to capture the description of the ideal applicant and job functions: job title, educational background, and professional qualifications and experiences. These categories will be briefly presented below.

Job Title

As an introduction to the results and analysis, a brief overview of the job titles illustrates the construction of the ideal candidate and job functions. Here, the job title is both a headline and a label of the job description and is supposed to appeal to the ideal candidate.

Educational Background

Since requirements for higher education are usually identified as an indicator of professional stature, this study examines patterns in levels of education (not required/mentioned education. high school degree only, college degree) and orientation (finance, technology, communications, journalism, other).

Professional Qualifications and Experiences

In the construction of the ideal candidate, former experiences and other qualifications are highly important to hiring organizations. Organizations and associations must maintain a high standard in order to be legitimized as professional institutions (Alvesson, 2013). The variable "professional qualifications and experiences" covers requirements that the applicant has developed in previous jobs. In following Frandsen (kommande), this variable is structured into three levels of operational, tactical and strategic qualifications. Each of these has, in their turn, been split into subcategories (the overall results are shown in Exhibit 6). Depending on the requirements articulated in the text, each job advertisement got either a "yes" (*ja*) or a "no" (*nej*) for each defined qualification. For example, in order for the question "Does the employer ask for strategic qualifications?" to get a "yes," only one of the specific strategic qualifications had to be asked.

Operational level contains qualifications and experiences in working with production and implementation. Experience on an operational level includes stylistics and editing, working with computers, web and intranet, graphic design, and specific language skills.

Tactical qualifications are about making goal-oriented actions within a near-time perspective. Experience on a tactical level includes tactical planning, evaluation work, working with media contacts, and having responsibility over mid-sized projects.

Strategic level contains long-term planning and decision-making. Experience on a strategic level includes previous work experience in policy, analysis and strategy, leadership and development, and business administration responsibilities.

Results

The results are presented in four sections: the general trends of development, followed by the content analysis of the three selected categories.

General Trends of Development

In four out of the six years of study, between twenty and thirty job advertisements were found in the three selected newspapers (1960: 22; 1970: 23; 1990: 24 and 2010: 28) (See Exhibit 1). In 1980, the number rose to fifty-one and was dominated by jobs related to advertisement and marketing. In this paper, all job advertisements related to communications were included in the corpus, whilst Frandsen (kommande) choose only to include job advertisements directed to people within advertisement and marketing for the first two decades. In 2000, the communications field matured and the need for professional communicators rose again: 48 jobs were advertised. The reduction between 2000 and 2010 is probably a result of the expansion of online job portals: newspapers became less attractive to hiring organizations (Frandsen, kommande). The visual expression of employment advertisements has changed dramatically from text-based messages in the first two decades to advertisements dominated by colorful headlines and images from 1990 onwards. Information about the job, the applicant and the hiring organization were most detailed in 1990. In 2000 and especially in 2010, the amount of information was reduced and instead more information could be found on a webpage. To follow the overall coding scheme, see Exhibit 7.

Content Analysis

The content analysis is divided into three parts: job title, educational level and orientation, and the development of required professional qualities and experiences.

Job Title

The material exposes a rich variety of job titles both within and between the years of study. In general, the titles indicate that jobs have become increasingly

advanced and specialized. In 1960 there was a significant variation, from market oriented titles (advertising, market research) and language (language worker, copyman) to media focus (head of advertising, contact and media worker). In 1960, the titles addressed a significant reader, using "*man,*" the Swedish word for male, in 14 out of 21 titles. This year, the term "public relations" is used only once in the combined title and headline *PR-man eller kvinna* ("PR-man or woman").

The job titles indicate that marketing and market-oriented activities became increasingly important between 1970 and 1990. In 1980, the word "market" is used (marketer, market research worker, market advisor, head of marketing) in 28 out of 51 titles,. Marketing dominates the whole period until 2010 when there is a dramatic shift towards information and internal communication. In 1990, the word "information" is commonly used, and judging by the titles, the communication practice is being more specialized towards technology. Even if the majority of the job descriptions are written in Swedish, job titles in English are commonly used in 2000 (international product manager, brand manager, relationship marketing executive). In 2000 and 2010, the job titles indicate a higher level of specialization, for example, working with media contact (press information clerk, information clerk towards media contacts). Exhibit 2 shows the full list in Swedish, and Exhibit 3 illustrates some patterns of development, written in both Swedish and English.

Educational Background – Level and Orientation

Between 1960 and 2010, the requirement that practitioners should have a college degree increased from 22% to 96% (see Exhibit 4). A business degree (finance) was most commonly required in 1960 and 1970 (see Exhibit 5). In 1980, a college degree in technology or communications (or a combination) was more commonly requested. The requirement for a technical background reflects the fact that a great number of employers are companies working in construction, technology, production or the automotive industry, and correspond to 40 % of job advertisements in 1970 and 1980. In 1990 and thereafter, hiring organizations more often expressed a need for people with a college degree in communications, marketing, advertising or public relations. In 2010, 70 % of the hiring

organizations required a degree in communications, and 10 % requested a degree in journalism.

Professional Qualifications and Experiences

During the study period, requirements for professional experience have gradually increased on all levels. In 1970, approximately 35% of the job advertisements contained demands for operative qualifications (see Exhibit 6). The demand for operative qualifications increased to 58% in 1990 and to 75% in 2010. Language and stylistic skills were requested in every other advertisement for the entire period. English was the most commonly requested language (besides Swedish), but during the first two decades German was required more often. In the 2000s, there was a change in phrasing to "other language skills are valued" without further specification. Computer skills (internal/external web) were not mentioned in the first two decades, but in 2010 nearly 55% of the advertisements required this qualification.

Between 1960 and 1980, one in two advertised jobs required some kind of qualification on a tactical level. In the last two testing years, the number rose to around 90%. Experience in evaluation work was requested in 9% of the advertisements in 1960 and rose every year to 68% in 2010. The most surprising results on a tactical level were how experience in media contact had increased, from 13% in 1960, 19% in 1980, 39% in 2000 and 85% in 2010. This trend is also reflected in both job titles and the educational background requirements mentioned above.

During the first four decades, strategic qualifications were only stated in 20-30% of the job advertisements. In 2010, however, the number increased to 70%. Previous experience in management and development and qualifications in policy, analysis and strategy work were the most required strategic skills in 2010 (in 65% of the collected job advertisements from that year).

Analysis

By describing job functions, the ideal applicant and by presenting organizational features in job advertisements, hiring organizations reflect on and contribute to the construction of the strategic communication practice. Job advertisements reveal norms, values and expectations of both activities and the group of people that carries out an activity - the professional communicators. In job advertisements, job titles function both as a snapshot of the job itself and as a headline in order to attract a reader's eye. Results from this study show that some titles reappear within and over the years, for example, those related to "market" from 1980 and onwards and "information," starting in 1990. A possible explanation is that in 1980 private companies dominated the hiring organizations and in 1990 the request for communicators in the public sector increased. Throughout the study, most titles indicate positions on a strategic level, using concepts such as "manager" and "head of department." Results also show that job titles gradually seem to be more specified. This tendency mirrors an increased specialization in working life and the acceleration of institutionalized expertise in society. However, specified job titles and descriptions could also function as a non-transparency strategy (Levay & Waks, 2009). Hiring organizations that use job titles in English even though the job description is written in Swedish could exclude non-professionals. Most English titles were found in the year 2000. The *Englishization* (B. E. Larson, 1990) illustrates how organizations use concepts as a strategy of closure (Brante, 1988). The phenomenon in English job titles in job advertisements could also be explained in utilitarian manners According to B. E. Larson (1990), one reason is practicality - multinational companies can stick similar labels to similar jobs. On the other hand, the use of English in advertising in non-English speaking countries has a "symbolic value" of being associated with modernization and internationalism (van Meurs, Korzilius, Planken, & Fairley, 2007). Mundane jobs appear to be less mundane with an English title (B. E. Larson, 1990). According to Alvesson (2013), modern organizations are trying to create an illusion of grandiosity by stimulating professional groups to gain a higher social status. Professional groups try to be unique in order to gain a monopoly on specific skills and competences. According to this study, jobs in communications have gradually become specified and advanced but the reason behind this could be as much about

complexity in the overall society as about organizations striving towards grandiosity. However, following changes in job titles, communicators seem to have become increasingly professional.

Turning to educational requirements, this study shows that much has happened in fifty years. In 1960, college degrees were phrased in only 23% of the collected material, and communications studies were not mentioned at all. In those cases where higher education was explicitly valued, the ideal candidate was expected to have a degree in business or engineering.

In a modern society, education reflects prescribed norms and values. In the early 60s, the Swedish welfare state (characterized by universal healthcare and a robustly funded social security system) called for educated engineers and economists. This was also the required educational background.in communications. However, according to this study, only 22% in 1960 and 30% in 1970 of the hiring organizations required a college degree. This indicates that the professional communicator was not yet established in the job market. In 1980, the economy began to strengthen and so did the need for educated communicators. However, it was not until 1990 that communications became a dominant requirement (38%) over business or technology. However, almost 30% of the job advertisements did not require any specific educational orientation. At this time, Sweden was still an industrial country with a less developed education system. In the 21st century, demands on professional communicators gradually became more homogenous. In this study 77% (2000) or 96% (2010) of the hiring organizations required a college degree, mainly in communications.

In relation to the above-mentioned, DiMaggio och Powell (1983) stress that isomorphism is related to professionalization in two ways. First, through formal education and legitimization produced by university specialists and secondly in the rise of professional networks. In these environments, organizational norms develop heavily among professional managers and their co-workers. Following Perrow (1974), DiMaggio and Powell stress that "such mechanisms create a pool of almost

interchangeable individuals who occupy similar positions across a range of organizations and possess a similarity of orientation and disposition that may override variations in tradition and control that might otherwise shape organizational behavior" (1983: 152). Gradually, the idea of the professional communicator transforms into an ideology that brings specialists together in organizations and in society, and becomes more associate-oriented than client-oriented (S. Larson, 1977). Sweden could be an early adopter of the professional approach to practice, not only for being one of the most strategic oriented markets for communication practitioners in Europe (Verhoeven m.fl., 2011). In most other European countries and in the US, the associations for communicators are called the Public Relations Institute or the Association of Public Relations. However, in 2012, the Swedish Public Relations Association (*Informationsföreningen*) changed its name to the Association of Swedish Communication Professionals (*Sveriges kommunikatörer*) in order to emphasize the professional communicator. A strong professional association could, as much as a strong educational system, contribute to the professionalism of communications management by, for example,, enlarging the body of knowledge, stimulating continuing education and creating codes of conduct and ethics.

Looking into required professional qualifications and experience, this study shows interesting results in relation to three different levels: operational, tactical and strategic. Between 1960 and 1980, around 60% of the hiring organizations required tactical qualifications such as planning, evaluation work and working with media contacts. In 1990 and onwards operational qualifications became increasingly demanded and professional communicators were expected to have previous work experience in graphic design and writing. In the last two decades, hiring organizations have begun asking for tactical skills. Strategic qualifications rose dramatically, from around 30% in 2000 to 70% in the following year of study. According to this study, strategic orientated positions are characterized by policy, strategy, and analysis work, but these positions also require operational and tactical skills. Therefore, in the 21st century, a professional communicator in Sweden is required to work on all levels and still be able to contribute to a special field. The

ideal candidate in job advertisements is portrayed as an expert within a specific area. In the creation of experts, organizations and other public actors actuate the process of professionalization within a field: a specialist is someone that can contribute to the knowledge society. In this study, specialized and strategically oriented positions are described as operational and more administrative. Especially in the last two decades, job advertisements have been oriented towards media relations, evident in titles, required educational background and required previous experiences. Journalism and strategic communication have mostly been seen as a territorial completion of social roles and legitimacy (L'Etang, 2008; Selznick, 1957). Judging by the collected job advertisements in this study, these fields of practice have become more intertwined in the 21st century and reflect an integrated multidisciplinary perspective on the communication of organizations that includes insights from corporate communications, public relations, advertising and marketing (Hallahan m.fl., 2007).

Discussion and Concluding Remarks

During the last half-century, strategic communication has gradually become more professionalized since communicators are excepted to be members of business associations, hold an academic degree in communications and share a similar background in work experience (Fredriksson & Pallas, 2011). As one of the most strategic oriented markets for communication practitioners in Europe (Verhoeven m.fl., 2011), Sweden may be an early adopter of the professional approach to the practice. In order to describe and analyze the changes in the descriptions and requirements of professional communicators historically, Sweden is a particularly good case to follow.

By studying nearly 200 job advertisements published between 1960 and 2010, the purpose of this paper was to describe and analyze changes in the descriptions and requirements of professional communicators in Sweden. This study strives to contribute to current research in the professionalization of strategic communication by expanding our understanding of how the image of communications and the demands on communication practitioners have changed during the last fifty years.

This study highlights three variables in the interface between the ideal candidate and the professionalization: job title, educational background and professional qualifications and experiences. The results show that job titles have gradually become more specified and strategic orientated. In the first two decades, hiring organizations asked for engineers or economists, but in most cases they did not require any academic education. This gradually changed in the 21st century with most hiring organizations requiring a college degree in communications or journalism. Tactical qualifications dominated the first decades but operational and strategic skills were increasingly required in the material over the last two decades. This study shows that the professional communicator is both a specialized expert contributing to the knowledge society within a small field of practice, and someone who must work on operational and tactical levels.

Since it is a rather young field of practice, strategic communication needs to create and recreate legitimacy through norms, values and activity. In job advertisements, hiring organizations construct an image of the ideal candidate by creating a job title and describing requirements of educational background and previous job experiences. Job advertisements are understood as both reflective on strategic communication as a field of practice and as a creator of values and norms within the field. Norms and values constitute organizations (Røvik, 2008) and working life reflects ideals and ideologies on a societal level.

It has been stressed that studying job advertisements is like looking at an organization through a keyhole: you can never get closer than seeing glimpses of actors, structures and processes (Frandsen, kommande). With a small sample that may be true, but a strong corpus reveals a flow of events. The quantitative analysis has given an overview of the collected data, but there are some limitations: the content analysis only focused on specific parts of the job advertisements. To get a richer understanding of the data, it could be relevant to examine a larger number of categories or subcategories. In addition to this, a comparative study with data from other European countries would give perspective to the results.. Previous research (Bentele, 2004) shows the diversity in Europe in historical aspects and structures

of the professional fields of strategic communication. The same can be seen if a comparison is made between the United States, Asia or Africa in an global context (Bentele, 2004).

Even if job advertisements could expose the historical changes in expectations and demands on communicational professional practitioners, further studies could entail complementary material such as interviews with senior communications managers and headhunters. This could provide a richer understanding of the process of the professional project, the implementations of ideals and norms that become embedded in an occupational or professional setting.

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Appendix

Exhibit 1: Job Advertisements Per Year

Year of Study	Frequency	Percent
1960	22	11.2
1970	23	11.7
1980	51	26.0
1990	24	12.2
2000	48	24.5
2010	28	14.3
Total	196	100.0

Exhibit 2: Job Titles, - Complete List in Swedish

Year		Job Title
1960	1	*Språkman*
	2	*Reklamchef*
	3	*Marknadsanalytiker*
	4	*Marknadsinriktad reklamman*
	5	*Marknads- och mediaman*
	6	*Sales Promotion-man*
	7	*Yngre reklamman*
	8	*Kontaktman*
	9	*PR-man eller kvinna*
	10	*Annonschef*
	11	*Kvalificerad SP-chef*
	12	*Copyman*
	13	*Utbildningsman*
	14	*Personalman*
	15	*Kontakt- och mediaman*
	16	*Reklamman*
	17	*Reklamman*

	18	*Reklamchef*
	19	*Informationschef*
	20	*Reklamman*
	21	*Reklamman*
	22	*Försäljningschef*
	Total	*22*
	1	*Medarbetare*
	2	*Medarbetare*
	3	*Marknadsförare*
	4	*Marknadsdirektör*
	5	*Marknadsföringsassistent*
	6	*Journalist*
	7	*Medarbetare*
	8	*Fil. kand. eller fil. mag i moderna språk*
	9	*Försäljningsingenjör/Marknadsanalytiker/reklamman*
	10	*Redaktionssekreterare*
	11	*Marknadsanalytiker*
	12	*PR-konsult*
1970	13	*Marknadschef*
	14	*Kontaktman*
	15	*Marknadsförare*
	16	*Produktchef*
	17	*Marknadsman*
	18	*Medarbetare*
	19	*Tekniker med marknadsinriktning*
	20	*Copy/kontaktperson*
	21	*Marknadsdirektör*
	22	*Manlig tjänsteman*
	23	*Marknadskonsulent*
	Total	*23*
	1	*Marknadsförare*
	2	*Informationschef*
	3	*Marknadsföringschef Norden*
	4	*Journalist*
1980	5	*Marknadsföringsansvarig*
	6	*Marknadsförare*
	7	*Marknadskoordinator*
	8	*Journalist*
	9	*Reklamman*

10	Marknadsdirektör
11	Reklam och SP-specialist
12	Marknadschef
13	Marknadsledare
14	Chef för studie- och informationsavdelningen
15	Informationschef
16	Informationssekreterare
17	Projektledarassistent
18	Medarbetare till informations- och utbildningsavdelningen (med personalutbildning som huvuduppgift)
19	Marknadschef
20	Chef marknadskommunikation
21	Marknadsförare
22	Chef för informationsavdelningen
23	Marknadschef verktyg
24	Marknadsföring/försäljning
25	Reklamansvarig
26	Marknadschef
27	Försäljningschef
28	Marknadsstöd
29	Marknadsförare
30	Förlagsfaktor/marknadsassistent
31	Amanuens/byrådirektör
32	Internationell marknadsförare
33	Teknisk marknadsförare
34	Marknadsinformatör
35	Vikarierande reklamkonsulent
36	Förlagsredaktör
37	Marknadsdirektör för elektronikkomponenter och systemprodukter
38	Marknadsförare
39	Marknadsadministratör
40	Marknadsplanerare
41	Marknadsanalytiker
42	Medarbetare
43	Marknadsförare
44	Marknadsförare
45	Kontaktman
46	Redaktör
47	Informationsredaktör/konsult
48	Utbildningsledare

	49	*Marknadssekreterare*
	50	*Medarbetare*
	51	*Internationell marknadsförare*
	Total	*51*
	1	*Informatör/redaktionssekreterare*
	2	*Utbildningsplanerare*
	3	*Informatör*
	4	*Marknadsförare*
	5	*Informationssekreterare*
	6	*Marknadsdirektör*
	7	*Informations- och planläggningschef*
	8	*Informationssekreterare*
	9	*Affärsområdeschef*
	10	*Marknadsassistent*
	11	*Marknadsdokumentatör*
	12	*Marknadschef*
1990	13	*Journalist*
	14	*Marknadsförare VA-produkter*
	15	*Informatör*
	16	*MediaProjektledare*
	17	*Projektledare*
	18	*Information specialist financial institutions*
	19	*Marknadschef*
	20	*Marknadsundersökare*
	21	*Marketing manager*
	22	*Teknikinformatör*
	23	*Marknadsassistent*
	24	*Marknadsinriktade tekniker eller ekonomer*
	Total	*24*
	1	*Evenemangsutvecklare/landskampsadministratör*
	2	*International product manager*
	3	*Costumer and market communication manager*
	4	*Relationship marketing executive*
2000	5	*Informatör*
	6	*Marknadsassistent Desktop publisher/webbmaster*
	7	*Product manager*
	8	*Informatör*
	9	*Media and advertising specialist*
	10	*Marknadsanalytiker*

11	*Marknadskommunikatör*
12	*Press- och informationschef*
13	*Journalist*
14	*Informationsansvarig - intern information*
15	*Marknadsförare*
16	*Gruppchef Marknadskommunikation*
17	*Informationsdirekör med ansvar för information och kommunikation*
18	*Marknadsförare*
19	*Brand manager*
20	*Marketing communicator*
21	*Assistant brand manager*
22	*Marknadsassistent*
23	*Marknadsstöd*
24	*Informatör*
25	*Marknadschef*
26	*Marknadsassistent*
27	*Marknadsundersökare/projektledare*
28	*Informatör/webbredaktör*
29	*Reklamchef*
30	*Marknadschef*
31	*Infomaster*
32	*Presschef*
33	*Marknad/försäljningschef*
34	*Försäljningschef*
35	*Marknadscontroller*
36	*Manager, product marketing*
37	*Internationell marknadsdirektör*
38	*Projektledare*
39	*Produktchef för internettjänsten*
40	*Reklamansvarig*
41	*Marknadsförare*
42	*Senior marketing specialist*
43	*Market communications manager*
44	*Medarbetare*
45	*Webb-informatör*
46	*Project manager*
47	*Marknadsassistent*
48	*Brand manager*
Total	*48*

	1	*Informatör*
	2	*Seniorrådgivare till kommunikationsavdelningen*
	3	*Kommunikationschef*
	4	*Informatör*
	5	*Pressinformatör*
	6	*Pressekreterare*
	7	*Kommunikatör*
	8	*Pressekreterare*
	9	*Externkommunikatör*
	10	*Kommunikationsprojektledare*
	11	*Utspelsansvarig*
	12	*Skrivande informatör*
	13	*Projektledare för företagskommunikation*
	14	*Informatör*
2010	15	*Kommunikationschef*
	16	*Pressinformatör*
	17	*Informatör med inriktning mot mediekontakter*
	18	*Kommunikationsansvarig*
	19	*Digital manager*
	20	*Avdelningschef till kommunikationsavdelningen*
	21	*Utvecklingsstrateg Omvärldsanalys*
	22	*Marketing and communications professional*
	23	*Presschef*
	24	*Vice VD/marknadschef*
	25	*Marknadschef*
	26	*Senior projektledare*
	27	*Informatör*
	28	*Informatör*
	Total	*28*

Exhibit 3: Selected Job Titles in Swedish and English

Year	Job Title – Swedish	Job Title – English
1960	*Reklamman, Språkman, Annonschef, Kontakt- och mediaman, informationschef, copyman,marknadsanalytiker*	Adman, language-man, head of advertisement, contact and media man, head of

		information, copy-man, market research worker
1970	*Medarbetare, marknadsförare, marknadsanalytiker, journalist, manlig tjänsteman, marknadskonsulent*	Co-worker, marketeer, market research worker, journalist, male official, market adviser
1980	*Marknadsförare, marknadschef, marknadsföringsansvarig, marknadsanalytiker, internationell marknadsförare, informationschef, projektledarassistent, (28 with the prefix "market")*	Marketeer, head of marketing, market analyzer, international marketeer, head of information department, project assistant
1990	*Informatör, marknadsförare, informationssekreterare, Teknikinformatör, mediaprojektledare (more specialized titles such as Information specialist financial institutions and marketeer VA-products)*	Information clerk, marketeer, information officer, media project leader.
2000	*Informatör, International product manager, marknadsanalytiker, marknadsförare, brand manager, reklamchef, Informationsdirektör med ansvar för information och kommunikation, relationship marketing executive*	Information clerk, International product manager, market analyzer, marketeer, brand manager, head of advertising, information director with charge of information and communications, relationship marketing executive
2010	*Informatör, pressinformatör, Kommunikationsprojektledare, Digital manager, informatör med inriktning mot mediekontakter, kommunikationschef*	Information clerk, press information clerk, project leader within communication, digital manager, information clerk towards media contacts, head of communications

Exhibit 4: Educational Level

Year			Frequency	Percent
1960		Not required/mentioned education	14	63.6
		Only high school degree	3	13.6
		College degree	5	22.7
		Total	22	100.0
1970		Not required/mentioned education	14	60.9
		Only high school degree	2	8.7
		College degree	7	30.4
		Total	23	100.0

1980		Not required/mentioned education	18	35.3
		Only high school degree	3	5.9
		College degree	30	58.8
		Total	51	100.0
1990		Not required/mentioned education	7	29.2
		College degree	17	70.8
		Total	24	100.0
2000		Not required/mentioned education	11	22.9
		College degree	37	77.1
		Total	48	100.0
2010		Not required/mentioned education	1	3.6
		College degree	27	96.4
		Total	28	100.0

Exhibit 5: Academic Education Orientation

Academic Education Orientation			Frequency	Percent
1960		Not required/mentioned education	14	63.6
		Finance	3	13.6
		Technology	2	9.1
		No educational specialization required	3	13.6
		Total	22	100.0
1970		Not required/mentioned higher education	13	59.1
		Communications	1	4.3
		Finance	4	17.4
		Technology	2	8.7
		No educational specialization required	1	4.3

		Journalism	2	8,7
		Total	23	100
1980		Not required/mentioned higher education	17	33.4
		Communications	8	15.7
		Finance	9	17.6
		Technology	8	15.7
		No educational specialization required	2	3.9
		Journalism	5	9.8
		Other	2	3.9
		Total	51	100
1990		Not required/mentioned higher education	7	29.2
		Communications	9	37.5
		Finance	3	12.5
		Technology	4	16.7
		No educational specialization required	1	4.2
		Total	24	100.0
2000		Not required/mentioned higher education	11	22.9
		Communications	18	37.5
		Finance	9	18.8
		Technology	1	2.1
		No educational specialization required	4	8.3
		Journalism	1	2.1
		Other	4	8.3
		Total	48	100
2010		Communications	19	67.9
		Finance	2	7.1
		No educational specialization required	4	14.3

		Journalism	3	10.7
		Total	28	100

Exhibit 6: Professional Qualifications and Experiences

			Operative level		Tactical level		Strategic level	
Professional qualifications and experiences			Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
1960		Nej	10	45,5	8	36,4	16	72,7
		Ja	12	54,5	14	63,6	6	27,3
		Total	22	100,0	22	100,0	22	100,0
1970		Nej	15	65,2	9	39,1	18	78,3
		Ja	8	34,8	14	60,9	5	21,7
		Total	23	100,0	23	100,0	23	100,0
1980		Nej	31	60,8	18	35,3	38	74,5
		Ja	20	39,2	33	64,7	13	25,5
		Total	51	100,0	51	100,0	51	100,0
1990		Nej	10	41,7	12	50,0	19	79,2
		Ja	14	58,3	12	50,0	5	20,8
		Total	24	100,0	24	100,0	24	100,0
2000		Nej	15	31,3	6	12,5	32	66,7
		Ja	33	68,8	42	87,5	16	33,3
		Total	48	100,0	48	100,0	48	100,0
2010		Nej	7	25	2	7,1	8	28,6
		Ja	21	75	26	92,9	20	71,4
		Total	28	100,0	28	100,0	28	100,0

Exhibit 7: Coding Scheme (selected variables, marked in gray)

Year		1960; 1970; 1980; 1990; 2000; 2010	
Newspaper		*Dagens Nyheter* *Svenska Dagbladet* *Sydsvenska Dagbladet*	
Headline			
Job title			
Field of occupation		Information/Communications Marketing/Marketing communications Advertising Consultancy	
Function/Role	Strategic focus	Head of Communications and Administration Operating budget Human Resources Policy issues, analysis and strategic work Management Control Strategic Counseling Part of the management team Additional strategic responsibilities	Does the position cover strategic responsibility? y/n
	Tactical focus	Planning Follow-up/Evaluation Department or project budget Communications support Medial contacts Additional tactical responsibilities	Does the position cover tactical responsibility? y/n
	Operational focus	Research/Collecting data Typing and editing Graphics editing Customer contacts Professional contacts Data/Web/Intranet Additional operational duties	Does the position cover operational duties? y/n
Collaborations	Other employees or departments		
Future perspectives	Future possibilities/ challenges/		

		career possibilities We offer...	
Educational background	Level of education	Not required/mentioned education Only high school degree College degree	
	Area of higher education Area of education, other	Not required/mentioned higher education Information/Communications/Marketing Finance Technology No specific area (just higher education) Journalism	
Specific experience/knowledge	Specific experience/knowledge (see list) Specific experience, other (what)	No specific experience/knowledge mentioned Information/Communication/Marketing Graphic knowledge Technology/Engineering Economics/Sales Journalism	
Professional qualifications and experiences	Strategic	Policy/Analysis/Strategy Management and Development Overall financial responsibility Other strategic qualifications	Strategic experience/ qualificatio ns? Yes/no
	Tactical	Planning Evaluation/Follow-up Medial Contacts Project Responsibilities Other tactical experience	Tactical experience/ qualificatio ns? Yes/no
	Operative	Stylistics and Editing	Operative

		Computing qualifications in web/Intranet Graphic design Linguistic knowledge Languages skills (what) Other operative qualifications	experience/ qualifications? Yes/no
Personal qualifications		Independent/Enterprising Collaboration skills Thorough/Structured Creative General knowledge Sociable/Outgoing Service minded/Customer oriented Communication skills Dedicated Organizational Other, what	
Pronouns		N/A Man/he Woman/she Man/woman You	Comment
Organization as a whole	Line of business	Banking/Finance Software/IT Real estate/Estate Agent Construction/Technology/ Production Consumer products Management/Consultancy Paper- & Forest industry Media/Marketing/PR Accounting Public sector Business association/ Non-profit association Transportation/Distribution/Logistics Law Insurance Medical products Telecommunications Research/education Automotive Industry No data Hotel/restaurant	
Organization	Name Size		

		Vision/culture/values		
Department	Name Size Position			
Other	Reflections Keyword			