Journalism Education

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Journalism Education

Journalism Education is the journal of the Association for Journalism Education a body representing educators in HE in the UK and Ireland. The aim of the journal is to promote and develop analysis and understanding of journalism education and of journalism, particularly when that is related to journalism education.

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Proceedings

All papers in the proceedings section were presented by the authors at the Association's summer conference in June 2017 in London. The papers have been re-edited following discussion at the conference and are intended to inform, educate and spark debate and discussion. Please join in this debate by going to www.journalism-education.org to have your say and find out what others think.

Turning the wheels on journalism's monster truck of change

Sue Greenwood, Senior Lecturer Journalism, Staffordshire University

This paper is a brief outline of the work I have been doing over the past year to research and write my book on Future Journalism ('Future Journalism: Where we are and where we're going', Routledge: 2018). Brief because, while the book looks at a great many things from why change happens, to what happened to the business of journalism, to who are the new journalists, this paper will highlight two areas – "non-human" journalism and some of the more interesting new ways we might engage younger audiences in news stories.

I am not sure I could have picked a crazier year to be writing about the future of journalism. When I started work on the book in January 2016, in the UK we had not yet voted on "Brexit" and in the US Trump was just one of a dozen Presidential candidates - at 6/1 odds of winning. So-called "fake news" wasn't yet a "thing". And the Obamas were still in the White House – albeit not at home when I visited Washington as part of the research for the book.

By the time I finished writing, in January 2017, 17.4 million Brits had voted to leave the EU and 63 million Americans had voted to elect Donald Trump their President. Facebook and "filter bubbles" had become part of (almost) everyday discourse, and Theresa May had replaced David Cameron as UK Prime Minister.

Yes, it was an interesting year to be writing about journalism's future.

One of the things I focus on in the book is change and why it happens, and I use the analogy in the book, and in my teaching, of the big truck of change.

Think of it as a front-wheel-drive truck with technology and behaviour pushing the speed, and markets and

regulation chugging along behind, attempting to stabilising the load.

When you get a monster truck of change, like Facebook or Google, those wheels are even bigger; the traction even faster. Technology and behaviour pushing things forward, but the bigger and faster the change, the more likely you are to get market slow-down or government regulation drag.

We have seen that happen for Google, in terms of increased legal challenges and calls for regulation, and we started to see that last year for Facebook, not least in relation to that developing "fake news" discourse.

As part of the research for the book, I interviewed editors or founders at a number of media organisations to get a sense of how things have changed in both traditional news companies and with the new media kids on the block.

There isn't time in this presentation to detail that work, but to give you a flavour of the changes I saw, here is my (tongue-in-cheek) summary:

The Washington Post: Bezos saved us!

The Guardian: No-one can save us

Buzzfeed UK: We rock! (Especially in metrics)

Vice UK: We rock in an old school way

Circa: We tried

Bellingcat: Citizens rock

Narrative Science: Algorithms rock

Visiting both *The Washington Post* and *the Guardian* a few weeks apart was a sobering experience. Jeff Bezos' investment in *The Post* had turned the media company around from one that, according to my interview with Deputy Editor Tracy Grant had been in decline and expecting closure, to one that was now able to ramp up its journalism output and invest in more than 200 new editorial jobs.

Over at *the Guardian,* I arrived the day after management had just discovered the business' deficit for the year was £10 million higher than they had expected. There was no shining Knight of Amazon for t*he Guardian,* just a £69 million black hole.

Buzzfeed has been doing some interesting stuff. Not just claiming the listicle as a valid storytelling method, but their focus on getting their stories seen, regardless of whether the stories are seen on their own website, is lightyears ahead of traditional media's territorial obsessions.

Vice is also interesting. It began as a sort-of community magazine back in 1984, and has grown into a mega-multi-media company operating in 30 countries and with its own TV news shows on HBO and YouTube. And if you have never seen their stuff – good, you're not their audience. Like *Buzzfeed,* they're focused on getting to the people they want to reach.

A lot of my focus was on the use of new technology in journalism, including artificial intelligence (AI), algorithmic news writing and robots.

You may have seen news features about "robot journalists" but you will probably already know that most of the time when journalists write about robots they are talking about AI or algorithms. We don't have any robot journalists, at least not yet. Probably because there isn't the money in journalism that there is in defence.

However, in 2010 one lab did experiment with a robot journalist.

Put Intelligent Systems Informatics Lab's "journalist robot" in a room and it would work out what was going on by exploring its environment – gathering data to assess what's unusual – the anomalies that all journalists look for in determining whether something is a news story.

The robot could question people in the room and search the internet to gather more information. If something seemed newsworthy (against its pre-programmed ideas of what is news), the robot could write a basic story and publish it to the web.

What it couldn't do was open the door of the room afterwards and leave it.

We can teach a robot or AI to mimic curiosity using techniques of discovery or interrogation to find out what's going on, but can we teach it to be curious?

We can teach it to use those journalism tropes – the five Ws, the inverted pyramid, to construct a readable story, but what about a drop intro?

As journalism educators, we should be asking ourselves whether the way we teach journalism is making it

easier for robots and algorithms to "do" journalism.

News is what's happening, journalism is discovering what might be happening. It is pretty easy to get non-humans doing the news bit, but we have to consider what the journalism bit is.

Media outlets are already using "robot journalists" in the form of algorithmic software or AIs to produce stories.

I interviewed Kris Hammond, co-founder of Narrative Science. In 2013, Narrative Science's algorithms produced and published around 1.5 million amateur sports stories. In 2015, it was over four million. Mostly Little League reports read by a few families.

Automated Insights produced 1.5 billion stories in 2016. Mostly internal information for companies and individuals rather than broader business news.

The Washington Post used its in-house AI software to produce thousands of real-time news reports about the 2016 Olympics.

Syllabs automatically produced 150,000 web pages for Le Monde in four hours during France's 2015 election, reporting results from 36,000 municipalities.

Hammond told me how his work, with fellow professor at Northwestern University Larry Birnbaum, brought together students from computer science and journalism in a series of prototypes (StatsMonkey, News at Seven) linking news narratives and AI natural language generation. The link with journalism was almost incidental:

> *"It was less we're going to 'do journalism' and more we're going to build systems that can look at what [data] is available to the machine, figure out what's true, and then explain it to people."*

I would argue that, as journalists and journalism educators, we should not see AI, algorithms and bots as technologies that will take jobs from journalists, but as tools that could help journalists report more of what is happening; to perhaps concentrate a bit more on the "why", rather than the "what" or the "who" in news.

I mentioned earlier about the way new media companies such as Vice and Buzzfeed are trying to engage a younger audience in news.

We know from talking to the young people we teach or meet that they may not read newspapers but that does not mean that they do not read news. Most 18-year-olds today see more news than 1950s teenagers did because the world is constantly interrupting them; constantly pricking their social bubble via their smartphone.

The issue is not whether young people see what is going on in the world, but what they choose to take notice of.

So how do journalists get their attention?

There are two basic answers to that question. The first is report on the subjects that a younger audience is more likely to be interested in. The second is to report on subjects in an interesting way.

For example, both *BuzzFeed* and *Vice* target that millennial audience and both told me that a massive subject area for them is mental health. It is not that traditional, legacy media is not covering mental health issues, but coverage is focused on mental illness and disability – the experience their older audience may have of autism among their children, or dementia among their parents.

Whereas for *Buzzfeed* and *Vice's* audience, mental illness is something they suffer or their friends or classmates. The experience is more personal and also more political – the lack of NHS mental health services; the lower percentage of young people with access to a GP or health care.

That second route - engaging an audience by covering issues in a different way, may mean a funny or irreverent headline, or delivering a story through a quiz, a "listicle", or a video. Stuart Millar, *Buzzfeed* UK's Head of News, told me:

> *"All the data shows that people will engage with stories and share them if they have that emotional reaction to them. There's a second language of Buzzfeed where you understand how to make a headline fly with a funny line but actually it's a serious story, or different ways of treating a serious story in a fun way."*

These all help to engage an audience but the core – as with all journalism - is to make people care about that story; that lived human experience.

Immersive journalism pioneer Nonny de la Peña creates virtual reality (VR) projects to give people first-

person experiences of a situation. One of her award-winning VR pieces, Project Syria (2015), puts you in the middle of a rocket attack and a refugee camp. Another, Hunger in LA (2012) places you with homeless people on the virtual streets of San Francisco.

Inside the Haiti Earthquake (2011), by Andrea Nemtin and Ian Dunbar, places us in the role of aid worker or journalist or survivor caught up in the 2010 disaster, and lets us make narrative choices "playing" as that character. It's a favourite with my students when I deliver sessions on games in news – and they always choose to be the journalist first.

One area that particularly interests me is the integration of games and news (it is my next research focus). But real game mechanics, as opposed to a quiz or bit of a puzzle, are not yet being used in news delivery. Juliana Ruhfus, at *Al Jazeera*, is one of a tiny handful of journalists using actual games in news, with work such as #Hacked and Pirate Fishing.

But it is the work being done by independent game creators such as Lucas Pope (*Republica Times*, Papers Please) and 11-Bit Studios (This War of Mine) in tackling news issues, or gamemakers such as Camp Santo (Firewatch) or Chinese Room (Dear Esther, Everybody's Gone to The Rapture) in building emotionally-immersive worlds, that interests me. They show how we might create empathic journalism using games as the medium.

So this is where we are in 2017 – a new journalism matrix of reporters and journalists and bloggers and citizens and algorithms and a whole bunch of people and things that can gather the news. And another whole bunch of things that deliver the news. And another bunch of things that help the news get to where the audience is spending its time.

The new journalism matrix uses more than words to deliver stories; is often a partnership with citizens, and may not even be produced by humans. The new journalism explains and informs, engages and entertains, interacts and responds. Our new journalists will, as well as determining and delivering news, verify and fact-check it, SEO and AMP it, make it shareable and social.

I said it had been a difficult year to write about the future of journalism. It was but it was also tremendously exciting and interesting. Throughout the year I thought about and worried about the profession and the role of journalists and the media itself in undermining the value of journalism.

I came up with five predictions – or perhaps hopes and aspirations – for the future of journalism

Firstly, that the news industry has lost the trust of much of its audience, and unless we can rebuild that trust, we will lose more of our audience. The starting point for recovering that trust will be to define journalism so that our audience will be able to recognise and value it.

We – as journalists, academics and educators - have to come up with clear descriptions of what journalism actually is, and the standards that journalists have to meet in order to earn the title. We must redefine what journalism is and what it is capable of in order to re-establish why journalism is necessary.

If we define a journalist only by who employs them, rather than by what they produce, we undermine journalism's importance. Content is not journalism. By defining what a journalist *must* do, we can define journalism and consequently its place in society.

Secondly – and my particular favourite - legacy news media that choose to only reflect the protectionist, nationalist views of older people are fighting over a generation which will die out. This was the year I stopped worrying about the *Daily Mail* and its version of journalism. Or at least stopped worrying quite so much.

However, newer media such as *BuzzFeed* and *Vice*, who are trying to reach that younger generation by reporting news that matters to them, will have to win the battle to win over that follow-on audience for news before that audience loses faith in journalism.

A re-assessment of journalism as being fundamentally about discovering and reporting truth, with a commitment to avoid bias, will make it easier for an audience tired of "news lies" to find real journalism. And make it easier for journalism to defend its purpose against governments and agencies increasingly using so-called "fake" news as a call to further regulate all news.

Third, we could argue that there have always been news "want-nots" and, from the early 20th century, a majority public swayed by the bias of majority media. But the issue now is two-fold: a majority media that has become more biased, more skewed towards directing rather than informing public opinion; and publics spending more of their time within filtered news bubbles.

The challenge for journalism will become less about filtering out fake news and more about how to reach people with real news.

My fourth prediction, or hope, is that journalism will benefit from having AI "helpers". Journalists are never first to new technology, what we do well is integrate new technology that has become, or is on the way to becoming ubiquitous, into newsgathering and delivery.

Mobile phones became a tool of the trade as well as an extension of the personal. Similarly, when personal AIs become mobile (instead of stay-at-home devices such as Amazon's Echo) and more developed (as opposed to the still clunky Siri, Cortana and Google Assistant) they'll become personalised assistants we not only use, but become emotionally attached to – just as we have become attached to our phones.

Journalists will be able to use their personal AI to help research and deliver stories. But more importantly than that, AIs could do the heavy lifting in grading and delivering news. Rather than stop the signal by imposing legal responsibilities on news carriers such as Google and Facebook, we should use the processing opportunity of AI to grade the signal.

Journalism needs to be around the table as AI is developed in order to be part of the institutions that will determine and control the values that will be built into AI as the technology becomes the next big shift in communications.

My fifth and final point, that Google and Facebook will have to take their roles as news publishers more seriously, is a given.

Even back in 2004, Page and Brin talked about Google's responsibility to provide the "right" information: "We view ourselves like a newspaper or a magazine - that we should provide very objective information". In that 2004 TED lecture Page also spoke about Adsense and how it would deliver a new income stream, "a livelihood" for content producers (he showcased Adsense adverts running on *The Washington Post's* website). Google had already positioned to disintermediate the business of journalism.

Mark Zuckerberg, in a filmed discussion with Facebook COO Sheryl Sandberg in 2016, said that his company is a technology company and a media company – but not a traditional one.:

> *"Facebook is a new kind of platform. It's not a traditional technology company. It's not a traditional media company…. We don't write the news that people read on the platform. But at the same time, we also know that we do a lot more than just distribute news, we're an important part of the public discourse."*

I argue that accepting their role as news publishers means accepting responsibility for news' role in influencing democratic societies.

The web is being corralled by big tech companies while news businesses compete with each other for the public's attention. For journalism to deliver on its higher democratic purpose it needs to be seen outside of the business of news as non-competitive; a product necessary to a society advancing, rather than just functioning.

Those big tech companies need to do more than take their role as news publishers seriously, they need to take responsibility for helping journalism step up to that higher purpose.

Sue Greenwood (2018) 'Future Journalism: Where we are and where we're going',London: Routledge

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The existentialist journalist

Philip Cowan, University of Hertfordshire

ABSTRACT

Ernst Gombrich famously began The Story of Art: "There really is no such thing as art. There are only artists." Similarly, we could write that there really is no such thing as journalism, only journalists. Journalism is a human endeavour in the face of limited knowledge, unreasonable demands and legal constraints. At every point in the creation of journalism, there are philosophical issues to be resolved. This paper explores existentialist responses to some of the challenges facing journalist. It argues that an appreciation of philosophy in general – and existentialism in particular – is necessary for the understanding and practice of journalism.

GRIFF: *Ah, Pritchard. I, er. I understand the 8.45 to Basingstoke was late again. Pritchard?...Very, very, very late. Three days late. Pritchard!*
JON: *Yes, well, we were having a tea break in the signal box, sir, and that kettle does take an unconscionable long time to boil.*
GRIFF: *What did you say, Pritchard?*
JON: *I said 'an unconscionable long time'. Sir.*
GRIFF: *And what should you have said?*
JON: *'A bloody long time'.*
GRIFF: *That's better.*
JON: *I've been meaning to see you about that sir. I want to put in for a vocabulary rise…I want to use words like 'existentialism' on duty, sir!*
GRIFF: *Existentialism? In a signal box? It hardly seems relevant, Pritchard.*
JON: *Existentialism informs all areas of life sir!*
GRIFF: *Yes, but does it explain why the 8.45 to Basingstoke was three days late?*

Signalman Pritchard sketch from Oh No, It Isn't, BBC Radio 4, 30 August 1974, script reprinted in The Frood: The Authorised and Very Official History of Douglas Adams and the Hitchhikers Guide to the Galaxy (p.45).

Introduction

That philosophy has much to inform other subject areas in education is perhaps one of the least contentious of propositions. There are tomes on the philosophy of history, language,

psychology, film, science and many more subjects besides. Further, that it has much to inform a variety of professions is perhaps only marginally more contentious.

Jurisprudence is at the heart of law, and lawyers face philosophical questions of justice — as well as the nature of knowledge — on a daily basis. Political philosophy and politics are similarly bedfellows, and there are a wide range of professions that can be categorised as 'political' — elected politicians, political party activists, union employees and elected officials, the whole of the civil service, local authority employees, those working for non-government organisations, and so forth.

In civil and commercial professions, across national boundaries as well as political systems, there seems to be a role for philosophy. Just as a small example of the work philosophers can do in the modern world, Professor John Lippitt of the University of Hertfordshire — who has written extensively on Kierkegaard — serves as an external consultant to Hertfordshire Constabulary's Ethics, Equality and Integrity Board and Ethics Committee, advising on the Police Code of Ethics (University of Hertfordshire, 2017).

Nevertheless, there seems a degree of resistance to the concept of philosophy — indeed of any reflective or critical thinking — being applied to the profession of journalism. At its starkest, this can be seen in the comments of one of the UK's most prominent former editors, Kelvin MacKenzie, when asked about education in journalism by Harriet Thurley of the City University Student Journalism magazine, Xcity (2011, p.14):

> *'Print journalism is not a profession, it's a job, and there's nothing you can learn at university that you can't learn in one week on a local or regional paper. You cover a car crash, what's there to know? University may be enjoyable: you make friends, drink a lot and occasionally turn up to lectures but you don't need any of those things to be a journalist. You're meant to be the nasty boy in the corner throwing the bread rolls. You're there to discover a world that people won't tell you about. So why not leave school at 18 and go straight in? Steve Jobs dropped out of university, as did Bill Gates. If you've got anything about you don't bother with it, unless you want to get into the hedge fund business. Then by all means, go.'*

And just for good measure, Mackenzie added:

> *'I would shut down all the journalism colleges. There are over 80 schools in the UK teaching journalism but these courses are make-work projects for retired journalists, some of whom have been successful in the past and have chosen the academic route to give something back. But some of what they give back isn't worth it. There is no merit whatsoever in going to university if you want to be a print journalist. It's a complete waste of time and money. You should go straight from school and start working on a local newspaper. Just like I did.'(Thurley, 2011, p.15)*

Such scepticism of the value of higher education in Journalism is unlikely to be universal, given that it flies so forcibly in the face of reality. A 2016 study of Journalism in the UK by the Reuters Institute found: 'Journalism is now fully "academised". Of those journalists who began their careers in 2013, 2014, and 2015, 98% have a bachelor's degree and 36% a master's.

Thurman *et al*, 2016, p.6)

However, there are other signs that among publishers there is scepticism of reflective and critical thinking — never mind specifically philosophical enquiry — and that it is not vital to journalists in the workplace. For example, the National Council for the Training of Journalists (NCTJ) still holds its Diploma in Journalism at level 3 in the UK Qualifications Framework — the same level as BTEC and A levels. Since the charity is basically overseen by the publishing industry — regional and local press in particular — we can infer that a graduate level of inquiry is not seen as an essential part of journalism by these employers (NCTJ, 2017).

This paper seeks to demonstrate that key philosophical issues have a direct bearing on journalism, and that existentialism in particular has meaningful contributions to make to the understanding of the work of journalists. Not all philosophical insights which might have an impact on the work of the journalist are listed — that is hardly practicable — but some connections are made in the hope of demonstrating that the journalism educator will see a connection as to how philosophical insights can be meaningful for journalism. Through a series of 'vignettes', each briefly outlining some key insights by major thinkers, and relating them to journalism, this paper aims to demonstrate that there are clear and important lessons to be gained for journalism students from the study of philosophy and that journalism is more than a form of transcription or glorified gossip, but is, instead, a philosophical inquiry, requiring reflection and insight.O***bjections***

Challenges to the notion of a comparison between philosophy and journalism, and to philosophy being on a journalism curriculum, may include the following:

The curriculum is already too crowded, what with social media, mobile journalism, law, politics possibly page layout, sub-editing, and so forth. Indeed, the list is endless, do we really need another subject to add?

Philosophy is not about the day-to-day, but 'eternal truths' which do not concern journalists, except per-

haps on a slow news day and in some more esoteric comment sections.

Philosophy is written in an obscure, inaccessible fashion, which is antithetical to journalistic writing.

Philosophy leads to inaction — we need trained journalists who can produce content, not muse endlessly on what that content should be.

Not a single publisher has ever insisted that their journalists have philosophy as part of their training.

Show me the great journalists who studied philosophy?

It is not a new idea.

Starting with the last of these, it is true that a relationship between the disciplines has been suggested before, most notably by Carlin Romano, who has taught a blend of the two subjects for decades. In 2009, he wrote in the *Chronicle of Higher Education*:

> *'Having now seen students in those seminars become journalists or philosophy professors themselves, I feel one of my core beliefs has panned out. I've always insisted to the philosophy students that journalistic thinking enhances philosophical work by connecting it to a less artificial method of establishing truth claims than exists in philosophical literature. I've always stressed to journalism students that a philosophical angle of mind—strictness in relating evidence and argument to claims, respectful skepticism toward tradition and belief, sensitivity to tautology, synoptic judgment—makes one a better reporter. Judging by reports from the field, it appears to be true.'*
>
> *(Romano, 2011)*

Unfortunately, such a programme has not been repeated and replicated extensively in higher education, at least not in the English-speaking world.

However, Romano is far from alone in his attempts to fuse philosophy with journalism education. Kim Pearson of The College of New Jersey, commenting on Romano's piece in *The Chronicle*, wrote: '

Indeed, much of my own journalism teaching is an attempt to engage students in philosophical reflection on the ethics, aesthetics, epistemology, and rhetoric of journalism as it is practiced currently and historically in the United States.'

(Pearson, 2009)

This paper is designed to argue, not through empirical evidence, but by the philosophical, didactical method, providing a few short argumentations, each suggesting the value of philosophy in journalism education.

However, the goal is to go further than previous arguments in the field of linking philosophy with journalism. This paper advocates that existentialism in particular as a partial remedy to a fundamental issue facing journalism — that of the challenge by some that the role of the journalist is less that of a serious professional with a significant public interest role in society, but rather a functionary within the publishing industry, whose overarching purpose is to sell advertising.

The significance of public interest journalism and its need within society has been well-rehearsed, but it is worth noting that not everyone is convinced of its worth or necessity. Famously, Sam Zell gave a very direct response when questioned by staff at the *Herald Tribune* in 2008, just after he took over the newspaper group. The exchange between proprietor and staff was reported by many newspapers, including the *New Times Broward-Palm Beach,* which included a heated exchange between a member of the editorial staff and Zell:

> *"I hear you guys talking a lot about revenues and the bottom line and all that, but I'm a journalist, and I kind of want to know what your viewpoints are on journalism and its role in the community, because we're not the Pennysaver; we're a newspaper."*
>
> *Good, tough question.*
>
> *Zell, who stood behind a podium, said all he wanted to do was make enough money to be able to afford the journalists who make up the "heart and soul" of the business.*
>
> *"You need to in effect help me do that by being a journalist that focuses on what our readers want and therefore generates more revenue," he said.*
>
> *"Readers want puppy dogs, but we also need to inform the community," Fajardo interjected.*
>
> *Zell shifted behind the podium.*
>
> *"I'm sorry, I'm sorry," he began, "but you're giving me the classic, what I would call journalistic arrogance by deciding that puppies don't count. I don't know anything about puppies. What I'm interested in is how can we generate additional interest in our product and additional revenue so we can make our product better and better and hopefully we get to the point where our revenue is so significant that we can do puppies and Iraq, OK?"*
>
> *(Norman, 2008)*

One could argue that this is leaping from the particular to the general. Zell made his money in real estate and his tenure as owner of the Tribune group ended in bankruptcy for the company. Surely, the counter-argument may go, more thoughtful proprietors would recognise that such a shallow view of journalism would inevitably result in financial failure?

It is true that publishers vary in their approach to editorial, but not every publisher who has taken the basest — whatever-it-takes-to-get-money — approach to journalism has failed. The Express group is considered to be among the most contemptuous of fundamental journalistic values (*Telegraph*, 2011) but has proven resilient in terms of profitability (Sweney, 2017)

Nevertheless, the financial failure of publishing that has emerged in the wake of the digital disruption of the industry suggests that pressure on journalists to produce the sort of journalism that is attractive for advertisers is a challenge to the *raison d'etre* of journalists and that journalism educators need to consider their response: do we solely seek to produce more skilled journalists to compete more effectively and perform more productively in the new environment, or do we also equip our charges with the self-knowledge, confidence and reflection to navigate an even more challenging work environment? Publishers may be demanding the former, but our paymasters are, ultimately, our students and it is to them we are answerable.

Furthermore the question is not one or the other — skills or philosophical insight — it is both. The former is a challenge to the very concept of higher education itself, while the latter is more in keeping with the traditional role of a university.

Journalism is produced by journalists, and the self-perception of their role is fundamental to the product they will create.

Einstein and the Problem of Knowledge

A major branch (if not, arguably, the whole focus) of philosophy concerns how we can know anything and what, if anything, is true. Such questions have occupied Western philosophy from its inception and the responses have charted its history, from Greek thinking onward.

But can such considerations — often abstract, complex, even esoteric — be of any consequence to journalism students? Granted that the journalist is a 'seeker after truth', but — it may be argued — the truth sought by a journalist's quest is a simple and plain one — just the facts. Yet to hold such a view is to take a radical, philosophical epistemological position, open to challenge. Are there, indeed, such things as plain facts? How can one know what constitutes sufficient proof to establish such facts? Is the summary of the facts — as can be found in a news story — inevitably a distorting simplification of the truth.

Certainly a grasp of philosophical issues has been regarded as an aid to understanding and discovery in other fields. For example, Albert Einstein was a strong proponent of philosophy in general and epistemology in particular, in the study and understanding of physics:

> *'When I think about the ablest students whom I have encountered in my teaching, that is, those who distinguish themselves by their independence of judgement and not merely their quick-wittedness, I can affirm that they had a vigorous interest in epistemology. They happily began discussions about the goals and methods of science, and they showed unequivocally, through their tenacity in defending their views, that the subject seemed important to them. Indeed, one should not be surprised at this.'*
>
> *Einstein (1916 cited by Janssen and Lehner, 2014, p.356)*

If journalism has any role in protecting the public interest or holding the powerful to account, the cultivation of 'independence of judgement' in journalism students is surely something all journalism educators should strive for.

To rephrase the objection: science and philosophy seek eternal truths about metaphysical subjects — the nature of the universe, how we know anything is true and indeed, what is meant, if anything, as 'true'. A mind tuned to such questions may be of little value to the journalistic quest for the truth of the latest political poll or local government announcement.

In answer, firstly, someone schooled in tackling larger propositions of truth may well find less grandiose, but nevertheless insidious, claims to truth easier to question. That is, a mind used to tackling the deepest questions known to humankind will not be intimidated by press officers, politicians and the leaders of our major institutions. In short, training on the big questions will give confidence and strength in tackling smaller, more day-to-day ones.

Secondly, the apparently esoteric questions of 'Big Philosophy', have everyday implications to our lives.

Granted, however, this is not a universally held view. For instance, it is rejected by Stanley Fish of the *New York Times*:

> *'What exactly will have changed when one set of philosophical views has been swapped for another? Almost nothing. To be sure you will now give different answers than you once would have when you are asked about moral facts, objective truths, irrefutable evidence and so on; but when you are engaged in trying to decide what is the right thing to do in a particular situation, none of the answers you might give to these deep questions will have any bearing on your decision. You won't say, "Because I believe in moral absolutes, I'll take this new job or divorce my husband or vote for the Democrat." Nor will you say, "Because I deny moral absolutes I have no basis for deciding since any decision I make is as good or bad as any other." What you will say, if only to yourself, is "Given what is at stake, and the likely outcomes of taking this or that action, I think I'll do this." Neither "I believe in moral absolutes" nor "I don't" will be a reason in the course of ordinary, non-philosophical, deliberation.'*
>
> *(Fish,2015, p.110)*

But then refuted by Paul Boghossian of New York University:

> *"It is rationally inconceivable that one's meta-ethical attitudes about moral correctness and truth won't influence one's first-order views about how to deal with cultures that practice female genital mutilation. Indeed, it is precisely because they were expected to have such influence – because they were expected to foster greater tolerance for those with whom one might disagree – that people were attracted to moral relativism in the first place'*
>
> *(Boghossian, 2011,p4)*

The reader will at least concede that there is an argument for the philosophy of the every day. Setting aside that we seem to have left epistemology and slipped into moral philosophy, the question remains whether philosophy may not have day-to-day implications, and while it remains, there is good reason to have philosophy on the journalism curriculum.

But the situation we have before us is more akin to a plea for a right of appeal than a direct argument of innocence. Just as the QC must lay before the judge grounds for appeal – not prove their client has been unfairly convicted – so the argument here is that there are grounds for debate, consideration, experimentation, and further research, to establish the value of philosophy in journalism education.

Central to good journalism there is a whole series of questions journalists need to ask themselves:

How do I know this is true?

Is Journalism entertainment or public interest?

How should we govern ourselves?

What should we report?

How should we report it?

How should we research it?

How do I know this is true?

Who should I interview?

Where should it go in the publication?

Is this story important?

Should we use that photograph?

Who is this for?

The question then is: can philosophy help students resolve these issues better? To argue that philosophical discussion is moribund from the ebb and flow of human society and our everyday moral dilemmas is surely a restrictive and peculiar view of an important and profound subject.

No matter the issues to be resolved in some departments of philosophy, there are undoubtedly other philosophical traditions that regard matters of everyday living as central to philosophy. Chief among them is the school of existentialism.

Sartre, bad faith and the freedom to define Journalism

Broadly speaking, existentialist thought asks us, as moral agents, to look to ourselves and develop our

own moral perspective in order to answer ethical challenges — that to seek the comfort of an external moral framework is deadening or inauthentic (mauvaise foi — bad faith). This gives rise to our anxiety and sense of separateness from the crowd.

This can sound like someone mentally unhinged and at odds with society, but is more a criticism of blind conformity - a much more dangerous phenomenon. A parallel, but somewhat distinct point, was developed by Camus (1942) in his novel, *L'estranger*, in which an Algerian is condemned to death for killing a man on a beach. The jury in his trial loses sympathy (and hence, the protagonist loses his life) with the accused after hearing how little demonstrative sympathy he showed on the death of his mother.

Societal expectations, employment roles and indeed the expectations of friends and family, can, from an existentialist perspective, seem to lock us in to a pre-determined course of action, or even a whole life of set expectations.

Feminism, black liberation and the fight for homosexual rights can all been seen as acts of 'good faith' — alternatives to living a life that is expected of us. Sartre's point, however, is more that we lock ourselves into these roles and that failing to challenge them is a personal defeat, a course of action taken out of fear. The inauthentic life, no matter the external pressure, is a failure of courage on our own part.

Hence, we have a debate within existentialism — societal demands v personal courage. The role demanded of us, and our reaction to the challenge.

It is no coincidence, surely, that that most famous example Sartre gives of bad faith is that of a waiter who does his best to conform over diligently to his job role — his true self subjected to the role assigned to him by society. Not only is this an example of employment, but is also one of servility. Bullying is notoriously rife within British journalism (John, 2013), so the point of expected servility will not be lost on the reader. Besides, the profession is also very competitive, and the feeling one needs to project an exterior of hard work and focus on the job is no doubt strong in many junior — indeed senior — journalists.

Such choices bring philosophy directly into the everyday working life that we take up each morning — and which for which we are preparing our students.

But Sartre's point is precisely that to divide ourselves between our work-self, with all its corporate expectations, and who we feel ourselves to genuinely be, is to participate in our own destruction.

This directly impacts on our work as journalism educators, raising the questions: is it our duty to show students they are free? Are we teaching young people to produce something entertaining that will attract an audience, or are we doing something much more vital — helping people see the world with greater clarity?

If the latter, then they need to be able to free themselves from established powers, which attempt to propagate their own vision of the world to their own ends. Are we simply to create diligent workers who will not question their role?

Sartre's point is that we need to look to ourselves to answer some of the moral questions we are faced with, but simply taking on the role — wearing the suit and walking the walk of the executive — is willingly participate in our own destruction; to be subsumed by an other's expectations.

The lesson here for journalism educators is significant — on one level we need to educate our students that there is indeed a choice to be made between our own interpretation of what is journalism and that given to us by our employee. Furthermore, we need to teach a subtler Sartrean lesson — that we must choose between courage and self-fulfilment, or conformity and partial self-destruction.

The gaze and being summed up in a 300-word news story

Another significant concept of Sartre's was that of *le regard*, 'the look', or more commonly referred now to as 'the gaze', particularly after its adaptation and evolution by other thinkers. Here, again, its exact meaning becomes lost, both in interpretation and in its development by others, especially the psychoanalyst, Lacan. Film studies has mined Sartre and Lacan's notions of the gaze to great depths and wide application, but its contribution to the field of journalism has not been significant. Nevertheless, the notion of the perception of others being a controlling influence on us is important. For Sartre, as a free, undefined subject, we are able to act as we will and hence define ourselves through our own choices. But the gaze of others, their perceptions and judgments, can have a limiting affect on us. This can be disturbing and distressing, as we sense our loss

of self-definition and are forced into the guise of another's perceptions; our subjectivity is challenged when we become the object of another's subjectivity — our limitless subjective self comes into conflict with the limited, defined objective being imposed by another. We become the perceived.

> *'The appearance of the Other, on the contrary, causes the appearance in the situation of an aspect which I did not wish, of which I am not master, and which on principle escapes me since it is for the Other. This is what Gide has appropriately called "the devil's part." It is the unpredictable but still real reverse side.'*
> *(Sartre, 1943, p.265)*

This strikes one as of significance to journalism. The court report, summing up a trial in a few hundred words, creating a simple, truncated account of someone — a person of complexity and possibility. The defendant's perception of their own situation and its depth will be at great variance to the simple news story, tucked away on the inside pages, with only a few lines summing up their whole existence, as far as the reader is concerned. It is at least arguable that Sartre's notion of the look — the objectification of the subject — could go part of the way to explaining the indignation felt by those in the media spotlight. The inevitable limiting of their perspective and voice to a soundbite not only distorts what they are saying, but objectifies them — the rebellious backbench MP, the outraged neighbour, the wicked criminal. They, in turn — while being unable to refute to themselves the image of them displayed in the report (since, as far as it goes, it is accurate) — objectify the press, narrowing them to mere mudrakers, voyeurs and exploiters of tragedy. The judgements and counter-judgements inevitably result in hostility and conflict, just what Sartre's analysis sought to predict and to explain; violence emerges through objectification and counter-objectification.

> *'Shame, fear, and pride are my original reactions; they are only various ways by which I recognize the Other as a subject beyond reach, and they include within them a comprehension of my selfness which can and must serve as my motivation for constituting the Other as an object.'*
> *(Sartre,1943, p.291)*

It is important to note here that this is not discomfort at some factually 'false' notion of the self. Sartre uses the example of somebody being caught peeping through a keyhole and the sense of shame this brings in them (Sartre, 1943, p.259). The embarrassment is the result of the sense of a self which is a voyeur, although – in Sartre's phenomenology – this 'shameful self' is actually brought into being at the point when the peeping tom realises he has been caught and judged.

Sartre's notion of 'the look' has been picked up and transformed by other thinkers (becoming 'the gaze'), such as Foucault (1977), who emphasised its oppressive nature, and in psychoanalytical theory (most notably via Lacan), where scopofilia is then applied to film theory, most famously by Laura Mulvay (1999) in her 1975 essay, *Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema*.

Print journalism, traditionally, had limited scope for visual representation, although digital technology has somewhat broken down the silos between media. This has been profoundly shown in the cases of Max Mosley, when the *News of the World* put a short video of him cavorting with sex workers online, and again, when Gawker Media put a short video online of the wrestler Hulk Hogan having sex. Both media outlets lost their cases and the limits of visual portrayal were issues in both trials. In the case of Mosley, heard before Mr Justice Eady, there is a clear indication that the visual representation — had it formed part of the claim — would have merited legal disapproval of itself, over and above the revelation in text:

> *'In this case, the pleaded claim is confined to publication of the information; it does not include the intrusive method by which it was acquired. Yet obviously the nature and scale of the distress caused is in large measure due to the clandestine filming and the pictures acquired as a result.'*
> *(Mosley v News Group Newspapers Ltd, 2008)*

Nevertheless, the gaze need not be visual for the theory to be relevant. A vivid sketch or even accurate report of events is enough to induce the strong emotions and angst described by Sartre. Indeed, it is not the inaccuracy that is at issue, it is the degrading by categorisation, limitation and exposure that evinces the reaction (Martinot, 2005).

Hence the mirror the press holds up to its subjects — no matter how fair the reporting — inevitably oppresses the subject, if only by limiting their image. Perhaps at the root of many complaints to the Independent Press Standard Organisation (and even some civil cases for libel or privacy), lies an unease with the Sartrean objectification that can result from the attention of the press.

Kierkegaard, subjective truth and just the facts

Søren Kierkegaard is considered the father of existentialism (McDonald, 2016), with his focus on the meaning — or meanings — of existence. Some find his philosophy more akin to theology, given the extent

it is imbued with religious thought.

An important, and much discussed element of his thinking is the distinction between objective and subjective truth. The notion that truth can be subjective (i.e., dependant on the individual) seems contradictory and, for many, is an oxymoron. But Kierkegaard regarded our subjective interpretation of the objective world, not only valid, but necessary. The same facts may be presented to the rational scientist and the devout priest, and they will come to different conclusions as to their meaning —but each meaning will be valid (although the degree of passion and personal commitment to that interpretation will make one view more valid than that other), regardless of the objective facts themselves.

From the perspective of the journalist to the reader, this seems unimportant. The journalist gathers the facts and puts them to the reader for their own interpretation. The journalist, in this conceptualisation of their role, is free of any existential challenge — their role is simple, defined and objective. But if Kierkegaard is correct, there cannot be this passionless, uninvolved journalist, or at least, that is not what we ought to be, as human beings. Thus, the question is raised: does such a subjectivity have a place within journalism?

Firstly, Kierkegaard's notion of the subjective separates how something is said from what is said, with the question of something being true or false — at least its subjective truth or falsity depending on who is saying it. Therefore, one speaker might speak the (subjective) truth, and the other not, even if they say the same thing:

> *'Objectively the emphasis is on what is said; subjectively the emphasis is on how it is said. This distinction applies even aesthetically and is specifically expressed when we say that in the mouth of this or that person something that is truth can become untruth.'*
> *(Kierkegaard, 1846, p.206)*
> *That is, an objective truth said without authenticity or genuine belief, becomes a subjective falsehood. '*
> *...the crucial thing is to find a truth that is truth for me, to find the idea for which I am willing to live and die.'*
> *(Kierkegaard, 1846, p.8)*

Kierkegaard also seems to question the subjective truth of something which is not expressed with fidelity to one's own authentic aesthetic. The facts may be objectively true, but unless they chime with our inner convictions, they are false subjectively.

Does that matter? Well, again we come to the experience of the journalist in situ, enduring the requirements of their publication to produce something that is not in their voice, that is inauthentic to them and cuts across their own values. Such a denial of one's own inner subjective truth may well leave one with a sense a despair.

But whether the journalist is writing something they truly believe in or not is surely critical to the authenticity of their work. Indeed, the cynic might dismiss the need for any authenticity — so long as it sells. However, there is — or at least was — a basis in law for expecting a journalist to have a belief in what they were writing.

In most English-speaking jurisdictions, the defence of fair comment or honest opinion in a defamation case required the writer to genuinely hold the beliefs they were expressing (Kenyon, 2006). There might be the impression that the Defamation Act 2013 removed this requirement, in the mainland UK law, but the statute is quite clear — if the claimant can show the opinion was not the defendant's genuine belief, the defence falls (Defamation Act 2013).

I doubt there is much in the way of a lineage between a Danish philosophy and British jurisprudence, but it is interesting to note the role of the subjective in the tort of defamation, and how insincerity in the expression of an opinion can result in the failure of a defence; effectively a ruling that something may not be regarded as true if expressed by the one person, but might have been true if written by someone else.

Journalism: Art or Science?

If we take journalism back from the publisher, regarding it less as a product for sale and its producers mere interchangeable proletariat, but instead regard it as a the product of human activity – people with both agency and goals beside mere efficient production, we have a conceptualisation of journalism more akin to E. H. Gombrich's approach to aesthetics, summed up in the beginning of his seminal popular work, The Story of Art (1950) in which he writes in the introduction:

> *'There really is no such thing as Art. There are only artists.*

You may crush an artist by telling him that what he has just done may be quite good in its own way, only it is not "Art".

Actually, I do not think there are any wrong reasons for liking a statue or a picture.'

(Gombrich, 1950, p.16)

Substitute here, journalism for art:

'There really is no such thing as journalism. There are only journalists.

You may crush a journalist by telling him that what he has just done may be quite good in its own way, only it is not "journalism".

Actually, I do not think there are any wrong reasons for liking an article or a picture.'

We thus have quite an interesting, if contentious, notion of journalism. The practising journalist comes first – they are the subject – and the object is the product, the journalism. Furthermore, there is no predetermined notion of what is journalism – it for the journalist to decide, and even then not even their peers can insist that what they do is or is not journalism.

In the final reiteration, the consumer is granted freedom to enjoy what they please – be it salacious celebrity gossip or penetrating political discussions. Gombrich might not usually be associated with existentialism, but his conceptualisation here of art in these introductory remarks to a wide audience on the subject, strikes me as a clear iteration of the freedom the individual has in their professional life, with a focus on the human participants rather than the objects themselves.

This refocus on the person rather than the product throws up a whole series of issues which must be addressed in terms of *who* is writing. For one thing, it brings journalism out of the world of science and into the world of the artist – that of the creative, human activity, not the seeker of a singular truth.

The dichotomy – art of science? – is perhaps summed up by Lewis Wolpert (1992) when he noted that each artistic creation could only have been produced by its artist, but all scientific activity will eventually arrive at the same conclusion, and the individual is irrelevant, a position he expressed in the *Unnatural Nature of Science*:

'In addition to being personal, artistic creations are about singular, often internal, experiences, whereas scientists strive for generality and are interested, for example, in ideas that apply to all cells rather than just to particular ones. Whatever the scientists' feelings, or style, while working, these are purged from the final work. Finally, there are objective and shared criteria for judging scientific work, whereas there are numerous interpretations for artistic creations and no sure way of judging them. Given all these differences, one should treat claims for similarity between scientific and artistic creativity with deep suspicion.'

(Wolpert, 1992, p.57)

We see, then, a clear delineation of territory between the arts and science. Indeed, Gombrich and Wolpert seem to agree on the fundamental differences to the two spheres. So, which one is journalism more akin to? My whole thrust in this paper has been the suggestion that – given that journalism can learn so much from the philosophy in general and existentialism in particular- it is more of an art than a science. Others clearly disagree.

An argument for critical thinking?

The need for citizens as clear thinkers, in the wake of decisions that seem to have been reached more by hubris than reason, is urgent, but even more so, are journalists who are able to reason well.

A study by Claudia María Álvarez Ortiz (2007) found – perhaps unsurprisingly – that the best way for students to learn critical thinking is to teach them critical thinking. Not quite as self-evident a conclusion as might first appear: it might be thought that teaching other subjects, such as philosophy, would have as good, or even better, a learning outcome.

Nevertheless, critical thinking is an important part of philosophy, but the argument of this paper is that teaching philosophy to Journalism students is not just a question of helping them to think more clearly, but also that the content of philosophy is of direct significance to their future lives as journalists.

The argument for all students to be taught critical thinking is persuasive, and some may regard the teaching of philosophy as an indirect way of doing this. The evidence for the indirect route suggests the direct route is more effective — if you wish to teach critical thinking, then students should specifically learn critical thinking per se, rather than philosophy. However, the point argued here is a different one. For all the virtues of critical thinking and its possible applications to Journalism, it is contended here that philosophy has a

specific application to journalism. Considerations of how one knows anything is true will help students address the problems of what we know and how we should conduct ourselves.

Discussion and conclusion

> *'There comes a point when you research a story too deeply.*
> *The story, as you keep on asking more and more questions about it, the story actually disappears.*
> *Before you know where you are, we are all sitting there, it is ten to five and we haven't got a front-page lead and the story's just collapsed.*
> *Kelvin MacKenzie on the BBC Radio 4 programme, Punt PI (2011)*

With such a vacuous approach to reporting, it was perhaps not surprising that, finally, the hollow men of Fleet Street, with the sort of inevitability of a flawed Othello or King Lear, landed with a noisy crash; some jailed, others with their reputations and careers ruined. Perhaps, in the end, there is no solution to moral failure other than censure. Still, do we not feel any unease at the memory of journalists on trial, some jailed and a torrent of unpleasant revelation of misdemeanour and a misapplied sense of entitlement that the phone hacking scandal presented to us?

In the final analysis, maybe it has become plain that journalism cannot be what we perhaps hoped it could be. It is, in its essence, rogue, untamed and offensive. To define and control journalism would be to turn it into something else: propaganda, rhetoric or simply something ill-defined, dull and unread. What passes for journalism is often these things, but just as often it is not. We trust it will survive through our natural instinct to know and understand the world around us in a manner that relates to the everyday.

As educators, in our efforts to be accredited and approved, we have too often given over journalism to the publishers and taken their perspective, their definition of what journalism is. Without employment skills and a sensitivity to the needs of employers, students will struggle in the job market, but we are failing them in their education if we fail to make them see that they too have a place in defining journalism.

At the beginning of the working day in many, if not most, professions, there is a clear vision of what needs to be achieved by the end of the day. Accounts accurately calculated and written up, an accused convicted or set free (depending on the brief), a wall painted, a class taught long division, and so on.

But what of journalism? A page filled with readable editorial? What editorial? What, exactly, is to be done? The journalist is faced with the blank page and somehow needs to fill it. Surely that is an existentialist challenge.

The distinction between practical and reflective work is not always a useful one, as the best practical work is reflective and the often the most insightful reflection is demonstrated in practical action. This proposition could be regarded as broadly in line with existentialist thinking. Indeed, the notion that morality is best summed by action rather than rules dates at least back to Hellenistic times, with St Paul stating that 'by their fruits you shall know them', meaning that actions give a true demonstration of virtue, rather than adherence to laws.

But still journalism is governed by rules-based thinking rather than inspiring journalists to behave to the highest of standards through the equivalent of the Hippocratic oath; instead they get the 'thou shalt not' of IPSO's editor's code of practice.

Publishers have sought to infantilise journalism education by keeping it limited to skills, partly to hold down wages, but perhaps also to control journalists, by defining their work, standards and lines of enquiry. Professionals elsewhere see their role much more broadly, and their impetus to act is often based on a profound sense of professionalism, rather than conformity. But doctors need medical ethics, lawyers need jurisprudence and journalists need their own, tailor-made philosophical investigation when training, to free them from a simplistic and oppressive notion of their role.

Even more fundamentally, we need independent, free-thinking and able journalists who are not only willing and able to understand the world around them as it is, and not as some would have us think it is, but also to enable the public to comprehend the world with some depth and clarity.

It is a challenge summed up by the Stanford History Education Group in its executive summary of a study in which they found a distinct lack of ability in students to distinguish between genuine and fake news:

> *'For every challenge facing this nation, there are scores of websites pretending to be something they are not. Ordinary people once relied on publishers, editors, and subject*

matter experts to vet the information they consumed. But on the unregulated Internet, all bets are off. Michael Lynch, a philosopher who studies technological change, observed that the Internet is "both the world's best fact-checker and the world's best bias confirmer — often at the same time."

Never have we had so much information at our fingertips. Whether this bounty will make us smarter and better informed or more ignorant and narrow-minded will depend on our awareness of this problem and our educational response to it. At present, we worry that democracy is threatened by the ease at which disinformation about civic issues is allowed to spread and flourish.'

(Stanford History Education Group, 2016, p. 4-5)

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Fake News and Fake Sheiks

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This provocation attempts to look at the current (2016-2018) phenomenon of Fake News and explore some of the challenges it poses to the well-worn classroom practice of analysing news values, stemming from the articles of Galtung and Ruge (1965) and subsequent revisions by Harcup and O'Neill (2001), O'Neill and Harcup (2009), O'Neill (2012) Harcup (2015) and Harcup and O'Neill (2016).

It is this paper's contention that adopting a narratological approach as Galtung and Ruge did, or in offering a quantitative analysis as Harcup and O'Neill do – most recently on Twitter (2016) – dodges key issues in the creation of news in 2018.

These issues fall under two headings – meta-frameworks such as those found in the works of Bourdieu (1996) or Habermas (1962, in ed of 1992); and intentionality and/or context. The latter is the new kid on the block. Educators need to look at the mechanisms whereby patently false stories (for example, that Hillary Clinton was running a paedophile ring out of a pizza restaurant in Washington [Beauchamp 2016]) not only dominate social media but also gain wide currency in the so-called mainstream media (MSM) and in the world of actual events (a man with a gun stormed the pizza restaurant aiming to confront the paedophiles, [Beaufort 2017]). These are not value-free influences on news.

Although Harcup and O'Neill comment (somewhat despairingly, quoting Brighton and Foy [2007]) sometimes news "just is" newsworthy, the manipulation of news media away from objective reporting and towards the imposition of "alternative facts" as cited by Presidential adviser Kellyanne Conway (Swaine 2017) is not innocent happenstance. Of course, there is nothing new in simple misrepresentation for political or commercial gain, as one might see in political campaigns like the Brexit claim of £350 million pounds a week for the NHS (Sculthorpe 2017) or offering instant beauty through advertising with primped-up models (Evans 2017). Scams like the fake sheikh and the dark arts of journalism have been around for a long time, too (Mahmood 2008, Horrie and Chippindale 2013). What is new, this essay contends, is the wholesale and deliberate mugging of the sphere of public discourse, so that "fake news" is both a descriptor and a term of abuse by those who peddle it (Trump, 2017, passim). Journalism educators, then, need not only to uphold the ethical imperative to transmit fair, balanced and accurate information, but also to teach students how to uncover and challenge these perversions of truth.

Post truth definition: frameworks

"What is truth? said jesting Pilate and did not stay for an answer," wrote Francis Bacon in the 17th century. He went on to write "But it is not only the difficulty and labour which men take in finding out of truth, nor again that when it is found it imposeth upon men's thoughts, that doth bring lies in favour; but a natural though corrupt love of the lie itself." (Bacon, nd)

Fake news is all over the news. On 15 May 2017 a discussion on R4 Today (BBC 2017) linked right-wing journalist Matthew d'Ancona's book *Post-Truth* with BBC presenter Evan Davis' book *Post Truth*, while James Ball of the centre-left *Guardian* weighed in with *Post-truth: How Bullshit conquered the World*. Post-truth is by these authors seen as a descendant of post-modernism, an intellectual movement loosely based on the works of Lyotard, Foucault, Derrida (Norris 2014) and Baudrillard. Key formulations include: "Reality is unrepresentable (Lyotard 1984)"; that information is never pure and isolated but always inscribed in structures of power (Foucault 1979); and that "The simulacrum is never that which conceals the truth--it is the truth which conceals that there is none. The simulacrum is true. (Baudrillard 1988)".

It is attractive to see such gnomic utterances as intellectual progenitors of fake news. But look at ambassador Hoekstra denying on camera that he had ever said that the Netherlands had no-go areas, and calling it fake news. He is then shown the clip of him saying it. Whereupon he says that he never said the phrase "fake news" -- only to be confronted by the TV clip of that very utterance (Belam 2017). Honestly, can such dunderheadedness be traced to Derrida's juggling with deconstructing truth within semantics (Norris 2014)? Can we blame French philosophers for Alex Jones of Infowars advocating that Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton are literally demons from hell (Beauchamp 2016)?

And do we need, along with the historian Jackson Lears (2018), to conclude despairingly that "a spreading confusion envelops everything"?

What constitutes fake news? And how does it affect our longstanding classroom commitment to teaching news values?

First of all, what is it not?

There are three common ways to dismiss the problem of fake news:

1 Fake news is no news at all

This is used to mean – nothing to see here, move along.

Such a dismissal may well be true in the sense that fake news conveys no reliable information. Trump's account of mass rapes in Sweden in February 2017 falls into this category (FactCheck 2017). But was Trump conveying information or doing something else? And how was his speech received?

The post-truth evangelists have prophesied correctly in that we now live in a post-modern world, where competing narratives and interpretations vie for legitimacy. It is not enough to say "it's on the news/BBC/Prime Minister says so". Many millions of consumers do believe in what we term fake news. An anecdote may show why.

One of our students was convinced that the "deep state" was actively interfering with his computer. This deep state was controlled by the Rothschilds (who else?). As a Jew, I found this particularly offensive. But the student was at pains to assure me that it was nothing to do with anti-Semitism, despite the hooknosed misers in the accompanying cartoons. It was very hard to unpick his commitment to this utter bullshit (pardon this expression, see below), since what really lay beneath it seemed to be his belief that he (and all of us) were mere miserable puppets in an evil game of world domination played by a scheming elite. I don't entirely disagree with this analysis – does anyone? I simply disagreed that the deep state had urged his dog to destroy his assignments.

One can dismiss such ideas as deluded bunkum. But, to quote Princeton philosopher Harry Frankfurt On Bullshit (2005), "As conscious beings, we exist only in response to other things, and we cannot know ourselves at all without knowing them." Fake news means something to many, many people, so I suggest that as educators we need to take it into account and counter it with the deadly slow work of unpicking facts. For example, present other competing theories and introduce real journalists who can talk about their news gathering processes, applying what Frankfurt (2005) calls "sceptical dissolution".

2 Fake news is not new

It is certainly no news that deliberate lies have long been the currency of some news organisations. A recent "unauthorised biography of the *Daily Mail*" (Addison 2017) not to mention screeds of submissions to Leveson (2011), from Richard Peppiatt's account of his work at the *Daily Star* right down to the measured responses of AJE's Professor Chris Frost, testify to the fact that some news organisations have consistently been, in Chris Horrie's phrase, "sticking it up their punters". *The Fake Sheikh* (Mahmood 2008, BBC 2016) and, infamously, Kelvin MacKenzie's editing of *the Sun* during the Hillsborough disaster (BBC 2012) are just notable examples of the blags, scams and fabrications which have characterised the "gutter press" ever since Sir Walter Scott said journalism was a suitable profession for a "thorough-going blackguard" – and even before (Aspinall 1945).

Propaganda from the state is not new either. There has been thorough going censorship and misinformation as in the Soviet Union: No pravda in *Izvestia,* no izvestia in *Pravda*, as the saying went (no truth in the news,

no news in the truth) (Amos 2017). Government press output in the lead up to the Iraq War has been shown to be propaganda by an analysis of the Chilcot Report (Robinson 2016).

Yes, indeed, fakery is NOT new.

What does seem different now is the defence. Not "No, I never, I didn't, guv" (The standard libel defence) or "It's a fair cop" (see Mahmood's defence or the quietly amusing corrections pages, buried on pages 34-96), but the bare-faced, "So what? This is true in another sense." Until recently, perhaps Kelvin MacKenzie's defence of his infamous The Truth headline comes nearest to this: he demanded that the police apologise to him for giving him inaccurate information (Telegraph 2012).

Here are two egregious examples of this refusal to conform to any norms of truth-telling.

Alex Jones of Infowars said the following (Walters 2017).

"Megyn Kelly is a puppet," he said in an online broadcast in which he also compared the newscaster to the gorgon Medusa. "She is a beautiful woman that the corporate structure uses to push its agenda. We have the whole interview documented so that we can post mortem and see where she edited and where she manipulated."

His release of the tape of the pre-interview conversation with Kelly, he said, was an example of "groundbreaking journalism [that] shows the anatomy of an NBC-CIA-globalist-George Soros-financed hit job". The tape, needless to say, shows no such thing. Interestingly, reporter Walters goes on to note that Jones then promoted a line of organic toiletries, sales of which help fund his operations.

Boris Johnson has made a whole career out of such unashamed lying. As Gimson (2017) wrote on *Conservative Home:*

> *"In recent times, only one Brussels correspondent has made his name by cutting through the pious guff and telling his readers what was actually going on, namely that the European Commission was grabbing more power for itself at the expense of the nation states.*
>
> *He hugely annoyed his rivals, who had allowed themselves to become trapped in a more reverent attitude to European institutions, and were understandably annoyed by his willingness to treat journalism as a creative art, in which in order to convey larger truths, and catch his readers' attention, he did not scruple to embroider his material. He is now the British Foreign Secretary."*
>
> *Johnson's fabrications about the EU have been ably detailed by Hemke (2017) (see her article on page): he has never apologised or retracted any of them, even though the EU has a whole website dedicated to busting Euromyths (EC 2017).*

How then to deal with the shamelessness and reversal? This is where those continental philosophers do have a part to play. It is not enough in the classroom to point out errors. We as educators need also to ask the age-old question: cui bono? Whom does this lie benefit? Why hold to it? Our answers in discussion may point beyond the obvious, wellworn answers of political bias and patronage and deeper -- to the desire to maintain power by corrupting discourse, a la Foucault; to the need for a pure public sphere to democracy to function, as Habermas has it; and to the ruthless rearrangement of lived reality, as explored in the fictions of Kafka, Orwell and Bulgakov, for instance. In this case, such literary devices as reading of fictions, drama and simulations have a part to play in the journalism classroom.

3 Fake news is too fake to bother about.

Not so. The Wild West of the Internet is where most people under 30 and many under 40 get their news these days. It may be untrue, in the sense of it never happened, but just like the fable of Chicken Licken, who goes to see the king because he wrongly thinks that the sky is falling in and gets tricked into being eaten by a fox, its consequences may be all too real.

Let's not get too excited about the waning influence of the *Sun*, *Mail* and *Express* in elections. If you haven't looked at *Breitbart* and *the Canary* and *Evolv*e and *InfoWars* and so on, you don't know what the majority of people are looking at. Links widely shared on social media zap around the world before the truth blinks, let alone gets its boots on. The left wing *Skwawkbox* can launch a hate campaign aimed at "Blairite" MP Jess Phillips based on a complete lie and flood social media with hateful tweets and images. Right-wing Guido Fawkes can enlist thousands in denouncing resigning minister Lord Adonis as barmy, on the basis of an entirely reasoned letter. And anyone can take a pop at experts of any kind and get a hearing, They call this the echo chamber.

One current favourite (January 2018) is the woman from Tennessee who has carried on an argument with a research marine biologist on whether prehistoric shark magalodon survives. His explanation – that if it did,

whales could not have evolved to be so big – is trashed in her eyes by her insistence that she does not care about his research because she saw "on a video somewhere" that the "government does not want us to know the truth" – "just as it did when it exterminated the freakin' mermaids".

How does fake news flourish? Intention and context

Kahnemann and Tversky (1996) have amply demonstrated the power of cognitive bias, at least equal to that of political bias. The so-called echo chamber effect of social media has blended the two, often most effectively at the edges of political opinion, as shown in research by, for example, Krasodomski Jones for Demos, analysing 2,000 tweets (2017). Such bias drives much social media content, distorts reports of events and when it does not outright fabricate, shades every story with outrage or derision.

Examples can be found on the right and on the left. They quickly snowball. Marantz (2017) details how a wilful misinterpretation of a hypothesis by academic Cass Sunstein has snowballed to the extent that people on social media routinely cite him as a government shill out to prevent free speech (aka conspiracy theories), along with much far-right material.

In June 2017, a picture of David Cameron drinking coffee juxtaposed with the Grenfell Tower was trending, with the *Canary*-devised heading "Look what Cameron was doing while the Tower burned" (Mendoza 2017). Inaccurately – the picture was years old. Tendentiously – Cameron is not now in public life. Foolishly – was he supposed to get out his hose and dash down there? But cleverly – this felt right to *Canary*'s writers and readers; Cameron had declared he wanted to kill off safety culture. Cognitive bias did the rest.

How prescient was Stephen Colbert in his brilliant comedy bit about the word "truthiness" (Colbert 2005) which culminates with "Other folk promise to read the news to you. I promise to feel the news AT you."

As educators, how do we challenge such amplification of cognitive biases? Good old-fashioned Socratic dialogue, with a lot of patience, in the short term. But in the long term, a dispassionate look at the shortcomings of the MSM is overdue.

So, what is going on? And how can the tired paradigm of news values deal with it?

Space forbids me to go too deeply into the well -trodden theory of news values. As we all know there is a reading list, at the very least including

Galtung and Ruge 1965;

Harcup and O'Neill – most recently 2016;

Brighton and Foy 2007;

and so on – an excellent bibliography can be found in Harcup and O'Neill's 2016 honourable recension.

News values, according to these writers, is a narratological, pragmatic account of how news is gathered and stories constructed, with a tight methodology of sampling. Harcup and O'Neill end their analysis of 711 printed news stories in a week in November 2014, top 10 Facebook stories and top tweeted 15 Twitter stories -- by saying a story is newsworthy because "sometimes it just is". I suggest that this statement falls flat in the face of teaching fake news and what it means for journalism in the future.

Harcup and O'Neill also agree that their taxonomy is not a list of alternatives, that stories can fall into several categories, and that selection is as important as content.

Classic challenges to the news values approach include those from the left – for example, writers like Stuart Hall (1997) on bias and stereotypes, Stanley Cohen (2003) on the media as promoting moral panics, Chomsky (1995) on the manufacturing of consent and bias conscious and unconscious, Bourdieu on the closed narratives and personnel of newsrooms (a field dominated by those with the required cultural capital, to use his words).

Other challenges, most honourably outlined in Harcup and O'Neill (2016), have criticised the limits of looking only at a narrow band of news media, of looking only at news media although news is omnipresent in other media, and of ignoring broader social currents like the expansion of technology, growing affluence, changing reading patterns of the audience or audiences, targetting audiences, the importance of images, reduced budgets and the internal politics of newsrooms.

On top of this, and crucially for journalism educators, the main problem with the taxonomic, narratological approach is that it assumes good faith on the part of journalists and news organisations.

But why should we assume this?

Fake news, bad faith and the MSM

Journalists, as opposed to journalism educators, don't. Nick Cohen (2017) wrote:

> *"Ball explains how the economics of the web is destroying the possibility of financing serious news and raising the question of whether readers want a cautious fact-checked article when it is cheaper and much more profitable to follow Breitbart, the Express or the Canary and whack out clickbait, which is anything but "boorring"."*

Harcup and O'Neill nod to this in their 2016 conclusion: "who is selecting news, for whom, in what medium and by what means (and available resources) may well be as important as whatever news values may or may not be inherent in any news story."

I want to suggest that there is no "may" about it – that these mechanisms are the precondition and determinants for any news story and hence explode any notion of inherent and professional, disinterested news values. More than that, the echo chamber and consequent playing to cognitive biases of the audience, dictate and distort not only the news that is published but also the news that is gathered.

There are then, challenges to the usefulness of an innate hierarchy of news values which can be ideological or pragmatic.

Working with students, we should not necessarily believe the traditional, news values, accounts of how the MSM functions to produce news: ideologically there are many opposing views. Within this framework of narrative competing for fickle audiences, what is the role of journalism education and what kind of journalists are we trying to turn out? These ideological challenges need unpicking.

Secondly, and crucially, in the multi-vocal, social media-stimulated world, the public no longer accept the primacy of MSM news. Pragmatically, there are alternatives everywhere. To news values -- but also to news. This can be trivial – famously *Buzzfeed* began by tweeting skateboarding cats. It may be that the public would rather see skateboarding cats than accounts of a nuclear disaster – now they can.

News no longer is, to use the post-modern term, a privileged narrative. Not even for journalism students. News in all organisations is flailing to find relevant values and audiences: traditional outlets commonly use social media as news sources and testimony. Kim Kardashian's bottom famously "broke the internet", according even to the staid *Telegraph* magazine (Sadghani 2014).

Harcup and O'Neill cite a German study which found audiences less keen on social significance than journalists. But we don't need a study to tell us this – we have our students. Ask your students who read a newspaper in the last week, who watched TV news, who heard the *Today* programme. Then ask who they follow on Instagram. American singer Selena Gomez was top in 2017, with 130 million followers (Hartmans 2017), topping a poll of celebrities, sports people and musicians.

However, this is not the whole story. Alernative media can be more substantive, as in *Evolve*'s breaking of the 2017 Tory manifesto scrapping the ban on ivory trading (Winterbottom 2017) just before the 2017 UK general election. This garnered at least 60,000 retweets and may have affected voting patterns. Where journos shook their heads and asked, "Why is this news?" young people were energised and angered.

For increasing numbers of people, it is the mainstream media that publishes stories in bad faith.

If news itself is in a bad way, what are our remedies? What price news values when the definition of news is contested? Why don't audiences seem to care if some "content producers" as the jargon has it, are knowingly producing completely false material?

Organisations like First Draft, the British Full Fact and the American Snopes, work hard to correct erroneous facts. And they are useful correctives to share with students. But facts are only half – and the less

important half – of fake news.

Fake news is about interpretations, which as the earlier section on philosophers indicated, are now seen as up for grabs. Even if we do not share Nick Cohen's pessimism, this could spell the death of traditional honest reporting. Cohen (2017) says that "There are no facts, only interpretations" inevitably leads to the conclusion: 'The reason of the strongest is always the best.' And hence leads to fascism. This line of reasoning leads us to Trump and his hyperactive Twitter feed and churning press office."

Trump, as Claire Wardle of blog First Draft said on BBC R4 *Today* (2017) has "weaponised fake news". He is not the first to do so. But the fact that the most powerful man in the world has espoused this method of communication means that dismissing it is not an option, as conservative commentator Andrew Sullivan remarked on BBC Radio 4 news (2017). .Before Trump was President, it was possible for commentators to dismiss his shady business dealings and obfuscations as "total bullshit" (Goldstone 2013) – for example in his bogus, never operated Trump University. That now seems less and less fruitful, since the purpose of Trump's social media is to alter reality, as Gessen (2017) writes: "Trump tweets blatant lies, repeatedly, to show that he can—and that by virtue of his bully pulpit, his words, however absurd, always have consequences."

Still, one option with students is to rely on tried and tested "sword of truth" options and unpick and probe data, assertions and evidence – to promote the sterling values of honest reporting as against bad faith and deception. We can challenge the assumption of Lears (2018) that "The rush to publish without sufficient attention to accuracy has become the new normal in journalism."

We can also avoid getting carried away so that we think no one believes any news media any more. Gessen (2018) reports on a large American study that shows only a small percentage of people (around 10 per cent), and specifically those already marginalised, are convinced by false and inflated news stories. He concludes, rather grimly, that research offers "proof that accurate reporting still matters—sort of".

Honest reporting? The issue of trust

Still, looking at those retractions buried inside many newspapers, we may concede a point. Undoubtedly, the pressures of economics have squeezed the time and money for traditional honest reporting. What has happened to that traditional honest reporting?

If we turn to Grenfell Tower as one of the two major tragedies to strike the UK in 2017 (the other being the Manchester Arena bombing), a striking and consistent feature is how reviled the media have been. As Claire Wardle said: "You believe whom you trust" (2017).

Distrust of the MSM is now at least as powerful as the embrace of fake news (Katz 2017). The reasons for this go much deeper than the excesses, well documented in Leveson and touched on here. The systemic and deep rooted reasons were well stated by Bourdieu (1989): "Media is a closed conversation."

By this he means that journalists look in the same places always for information, that by class position and by training they do not see other sources of information, AND that poor people only feature in news as perpetrators and victims of crime, or as freak shows. As McKendrick et al wrote (2008): "Coverage of poverty is peripheral in mainstream UK media. The causes of poverty and the consequences of poverty were rarely explored.

Non-news broadcasts rarely mentioned poverty, although they often featured those experiencing deprivation. Coverage tended to focus on extreme cases, highlighting the inherent 'failings' of undeserving people."

All three of these factors were thrown sharply into relief in the debacle of the Grenfell Tower tragedy.

Grenfell Tower: case study

A little background: In 2009, the Lakanal House fire killed 6 and the coroner recommended that sprinklers be installed in all tower blocks. This was widely reported, but the lack of subsequent action was not (Khan 2017).

The cladding, which declared as combustible after the Grenfell Tower fire, is banned in the USA and rated as flammable in Germany, its manufacturers say (Tamplin 2017). In 1991 and 1999 similar fires led to the

House of Commons hearing Fire Safety officers call for it to be banned in 2000 -- Select Committee on Environment, Transport and Regional Affairs - the Government department which was then presided over by John Prescott (Parliament 2000).

In 2011, the Chartered Institute of Housing (CiH 2011) highlighted concerns over fire safety in public housing.

In 2014 in Australia (Wahlquist 2014), in 2015 and 2017 in Dubai (Henderson and Graham 2017), very similar fires engulfed tall buildings with similar cladding, but no loss of life – fire rescue was more effective for the rich of Dubai than the poor of west London, as the Grenfell tenants action group has pointed out (2017). Not least because sprinklers were fitted.

Even before the work began in 2011 the Grenfell Action Group said it had continually warned the council about fire safety problems in the block, complaining that it seemed the contract had been "awarded to the cheapest bidder regardless of the quality of works and the consequences to residents."

Last November the group (Grenfell Action Group, passim) warned of "dangerous living conditions" and said: "It is a truly terrifying thought but the Grenfell Action Group firmly believe that only a catastrophic event will expose the ineptitude and incompetence of our landlord, the KCTMO."

In April 2016, The Building Research Establishment (BRE 2016), which works for the Department of Communities and Local Government on fire investigations, reported that attempts to innovate with insulation were leading to an "increase in the volume of potentially combustible materials being applied" to buildings.

But until June 14, you would scarcely know any of this if you solely consumed the MSM. The tenants tried in vain to get publicity. They were poor. Their voices were not "sexy" unless they were: Shock! Horror! illegal immigrants or benefit fraudsters. As McKendrick et al wrote (2008) "A key limitation of media coverage is the tendency to marginalise accounts which confront negative public attitudes."

The tenants got slapped with a writ by the council instead – but persisted. It is hard to shut down a blog, but easy to shut off the MSM, most obviously by withdrawing advertising. There is nothing polished about the blog, but for that reason, it rings true to its readers.

The story was not covered in the MSM – it didn't fit in the closed conversation and wasn't worth any risk.

Inside Housing, the excellent trade mag of the social housing sector, has published numerous articles on fire safety (Inside Housing nd). But industrial correspondents have vanished from the newsrooms. No one picked the story up - - not even London's evening paper. And of course, economics mean that MSM has limited resources, particularly local papers – but social media is everywhere.

After the fact, journalist Patrick Sawer wrote: "There is growing evidence that the rush by private firms to fulfil council contracts as cheaply as possible led to less expensive cladding being used that was not as fire resistant (2017)."

That "growing" evidence has been in plain sight all along.

So, let us throw the question back at students. Who should the public trust? Is it so irrational to despise the MSM? Why don't they make more use of tools like Freedom of Information requests? If journalists are not doing their job of newsgathering, why should we accept their news values?

Heather Brooke (2017) sums up eloquently:

> *"The company that manages Grenfell Tower is a nonprofit that is, in theory, run by and for residents of the thousands of buildings it manages in London. But* only eight of the 15 board members *are residents (the other seven are council appointed or independent), while repairs and maintenance are contracted out to another private company. The council, the ultimate owner of these buildings, has a close relationship with the management company, which the Grenfell Action Group sees as an unresponsive buffer. Residents' concerns, the group says, have consistently been ignored and suppressed.*
>
> *The English system of local government is hard to navigate, and opportunities for citizens to engage meaningfully with decision makers are not plentiful. A paternalistic "we know best" attitude often prevails, and even basic information is available only through freedom-of-information requests. Until 2005, when the Freedom of Information Act came into force,* it was illegal *to disclose fire inspection reports to the public. Even today, those reports can be obtained only by written request under the freedom-of-information law.*
>
> *In another sign of this "trust authority" mind-set, official instructions to Grenfell residents were to "stay put" in the event of a fire. Fortunately, most people ignored that and fled.*
>
> *These are turbulent times in Britain, and the fire at Grenfell Tower touches on many of the issues that are riling people. Over the past decade, a series of events have demolished the trust citizens once had in of-*

ficialdom: the financial crash of 2008, the scandal of parliamentary expenses and the chaos in government following the Brexit referendum.

Although digital technology, through blogs and social media, has created new ways for citizens like those of the Grenfell Action Group to represent their rights and interests, the traditional way of doing politics looks more archaic and undemocratic than ever. The question is always, Who has the right to know? Truly empowered individuals don't have to wait passively to receive what information officials choose to give them. They can ask their own questions — and get answers."

For politics, substitute news media. And so we come to the conclusion.

Conclusion

People embrace fake news because they feel that they don't see real news in the news. They tend not to trust the mainstream media (MSM). They trust each other and so trust what is spread via social media. Thus they can become prey to those of ill faith and evil intent. Yet since they may see their own cognitive biases reflected in lies, they will be less inclined to challenge those lies than the truth. However, these effects may operate more at the margins than hyper-excited commentators may think (Gessen 2018).

So in teaching an apparently neutral concept like news values, journalism educators should not duck the twofold challenge to traditional journalism which fake news has exposed. Both the information gap between people's lives and what they see in the media and the brazen steadfastness of proponents of fake new must be addressed.

News media also has to step up to what Habermas declared to be its role – to mediate between power and the people. Not to exert power on the people. Until it does, we will all be swamped with a lot more truthiness – and God knows where those freakin' mermaids will have gone.

Ways forward

As educators we need to take fake news into account and counter it with the deadly slow work of unpicking facts. For example, present other competing theories and introduce real journalists who can talk about their news gathering processes, applying what Frankfurt (2005) calls "sceptical dissolution".

We need also to ask the age-old question: cui bono? Whom does this lie benefit? Why hold to it? Our answers in discussion may point to the desire to maintain power by corrupting discourse, a la Foucault; to the need for a pure public sphere to democracy to function, as Habermas has it; and to the ruthless rearrangement of lived reality, as explored in the fictions of Kafka, Orwell and Bulgakov, for instance. In this case, such literary devices as reading of fictions, drama and simulations have a part to play.

How do we challenge such amplification of cognitive biases? Good old-fashioned Socratic dialogue, with a lot of patience, in the short term. But in the long term, a dispassionate look at the shortcomings of the MSM is overdue.

Perhaps most importantly, we, in the media and in journalism education, need to tackle the excluded, the hidden, the silenced voices and experiences.

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Journalism: A New World Order – Brexit, Trump, the Media (and the 2017 UK General Election)

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Brexit, Trump and the Media (Abramis, 2017) edited by John Mair, Tor Clark, Neil Fowler, Raymond Snoddy and Richard Tait, brought together the input of more than 50 authors, mostly journalists and academics, but some of them direct participants, on the political upheavals of 2016, the 2017 UK General Election and the changing role of the news media.

What follows is a selection of some of the most interesting and useful insight and analysis from among those 50 contributors, all taken from their chapters in the book, and from the contemporary and subsequent discussions of the five editors during the planning of the book and at its launch in July 2017, just after the first anniversary of Brexit.

Background – Seismic changes in 2016/2017

The rise of populism presented a challenge to journalism. In the UK the EU Referendum presented new kind of political contest at odds with traditional political journalism. In the US, candidate Donald Trump profoundly altered the media landscape with his campaign, then cemented that change in his presidency. Excitement was generated by revolt against the establishment on both continents. Journalism aided those social movements by reporting, misreporting or not reporting them at all. So how do these two seismic changes alter journalism's 'world order'?

Brexit, Trump and the General Election: Issues for the media

In the UK the 2016 EU Referendum surprised traditional print journalism because it was a very evenly-matched binary contest, rather than the multi-party general election campaign political journalists were used to. One common finding among political journalists was where in the past some media participants could be seen as 'neutral' in multi-party elections, in the Referendum, there was a tendency to label them as either Remain or Leave. The respected independent financial think-tank the Institute for Fiscal Studies (IFS) was a good example of this. Whereas in normal day-to-day politics its independent views were respected by all sides and it was not considered partisan, despite being scrupulously neutral in the Referendum, it was branded as 'Remain' simply because it suggested leaving the EU would be bad for the UK economy. It quickly became clear in a fight between two sides, it was difficult for organisations to avoid being branded as partisan by one side or the other.

Newspapers had a traditional role to play in the EU Referendum, as they do in elections, but while newspapers' direct influence on election results has clearly waned from its highpoint of 1992 (see Greenslade, 2004), in a contest with a winning margin of less than two per cent, the influence of newspapers may have been more crucial (Clark, 2017).

Perhaps the biggest area of controversy for journalism during the Referendum were issues with the notions of 'balance' and 'due' impartiality in broadcasting. And across all forms of journalism, the topical issues of 'Fake News' and 'Alternative Facts' came to the fore. 'Facts' – interrogation, challenge and fact-checking

by political journalists – were all put under the microscope during the campaign, with some organisations facing major questions over their practice and conduct.

The EU Referendum, the 2016 US Presidential Election and the 2017 UK General Election also saw the highest ever participation, involvement and influence by social media of any electoral contest. But these contests also saw the greatest disconnect between media/political establishment and 'the people' that had ever been seen. The fact the political-media establishment predicted clear wins for Remain, Hillary Clinton and the Conservative Party in those three contests respectively, demonstrates it was out of touch on three occasions out of three. How did the mainstream media fail so badly to report the reality of what real people were saying about politics in three electoral contests on two continents?

Reuters Institute Digital News Report 2017

Evidence that trust in UK media took a significant knock in the wake of a bruising and polarising Brexit campaign is confirmed in the highly respected 2017 Reuters Institute Digital News Report's UK analysis by Nic Newman (Reuters/Newman, 2017).

It suggested the BBC was under scrutiny… Remainers accused the BBC of pursuing 'unthinking balance', failing to expose exaggerations and distortions of Leave. Right-wing press and websites played a key role as cheerleaders of Leave campaign, attacking the BBC for perceived pro-EU bias. None of this enhanced the reputation of mainstream journalism… the growth of social media exposed people to alternative perspectives and a more emotive form of news. Politicians were concerned about the implications of rapidly changing media ecosystem. (Reuters/Newman, 2017).

Newspapers

Before Brexit, it was widely thought the direct influence on elections by UK newspapers had dramatically waned. Brexit forced us to revisit that analysis, if only briefly and in that specific instance because the margin of victory was so narrow. To be fair, the result of the 2017 General Election confirmed the decline of the direct influence of the press on voting, as far as general elections were concerned. But in a tight political contest, such as Brexit, it was possible the press tipped the balance (Clark, 2017).

Daily Express editor Hugh Whittow noted how his paper had been the first to overtly call for the UK to leave the EU and had explicitly campaigned for it.

In Brexit, Trump and the Media, he wrote:

"It was the Daily Express which had been, all along, the architect of an editorial campaign which brought about a dramatic political victory.

"We had delivered to the people who matter the most – our readers – the result they wanted, a result which went totally against the expectations of the Prime Minister, the City, the CBI and much of the media, such as the BBC.

"It's fair to say the press on both sides of the argument did an effective job of stimulating public interest and action." (Whittow, 2017)

Criticism of the press

But the EU Referendum, its aftermath and the subsequent 2017 General Election coverage, raised a host of issues for the press. The issue of the accuracy of a partisan press, was not new, but seemed to be brought into sharper focus by the ultra-partisan nature of the support for Leave by the right-wing press.

Hugo Dixon of InFacts, found plenty of inaccuracies in press coverage to highlight both during the Referendum campaign and afterwards. In terms of possible remedies, he concluded: "If papers had to make big front-page corrections every time they printed misleading front-page splashes, the psychology around getting the facts right would change dramatically." (Dixon, 2017).

Former Fleet Street journalist Liz Gerard, now of the SubScribe journalism analysis platform, scrutinised the coverage of the aftermath of the UK vote to Leave the EU in the right-wing, Brexit-supporting mid-market tabloids and detected vengeful triumphalism. She noted: "Having secured their dream result in the vote

to leave the EU, the *Daily Mail* and *Daily Express* were not happy to sit back and celebrate... both seemed determined to continue the fight until any resistance movement had been pulverised." (Gerard, 2017).

This kind of approach to securing Brexit with no quarter offered to Remainers was later emphasised in now infamous headlines such as 'Enemies of the people' [the Supreme Court judges who ruled Parliament should have a vote on Brexit] and the most famous headline on the day after Mrs May called the snap election in April 2017 'Crush the saboteurs'.

Criticism of broadcasting

But while bias, extreme partisanship and a degree of exaggeration and inaccuracy could have been reasonable expected of the partisan press, broadcast media had to be scrupulous in its coverage of the Referendum and the general election because of the terms of its regulation. But that conduct was criticised and defended, especially in the case of the Referendum.

Hugo Dixon of InFacts urged more interrogation: "What the BBC could and should have done was grill its guests more vigorously – and make more space for coverage that didn't fit into the tired Punch and Judy-style battle between spokespeople put up by the two official campaigns." (Dixon, 2017)

Systematic academic analysis by Professors David Deacon and Dominic Wring of Loughborough University led them to the conclusion: "The clear political skew of television news coverage of the EU Referendum campaign… raises serious questions about the way in which impartiality is interpreted and delivered." (Deacon and Wring, 2017).

Brutally honest self-reflection by one of TV journalism's most important participants, Channel 4 News political editor Gary Gibbon, suggested the issues might have been side-tracked by the spectacle. He wrote: "We lent on high impact gladiatorial contests and ghettoised fact checking when it should have coursed through all we did. We slipped into our comfort zone of big Tory beast fights." (Gibbon, 2017).

Professor Richard Tait of Cardiff University, former editor-in-chief, ITN, added insight and possible solutions for broadcasters: "They should themselves have a fresh look at how they report politics: the balance between the Westminster 'bubble' and the nations and regions; the balance between reporting the arguments and analysing them; and the balance between interviewing political figures and talking to non-politicians who may have different perspectives and relevant expertise." (Tait, 2017a).

Ivor Gaber, Professor of Journalism at Sussex University, was a stern critic of broadcast political journalism. He said: "The result of this phoney balance was the BBC produced coverage that was boring and confusing and drove the debate away from a meaningful discussion into a sterile chorus of he said/she said." (Gaber, 2017).

In defence of due impartiality and balance

But broadcasters bound by law to be balanced will always face criticism and in a detailed and finely argued discussion of the corporation's position and approach (worth quoting at length), David Jordan, BBC's Director of Editorial Policy and Standards and Ric Bailey, BBC Chief Political Adviser, noted the unique nature of the Referendum as an electoral contest and defended the corporation's handling of the most contentious aspects.

They wrote:

> *"With a binary question, such as the EU Referendum, each part of the output had to achieve 'broad balance' – a disarmingly bland phrase which gives editors the freedom to make judgements rather than be ruled by maths, recognising there had to be an overall similarity and consistency in the levels of coverage for Remain and Leave.*
>
> *"Whilst it is the journalistic duty of the broadcasters to scrutinise their claims, it is also appropriate we provide a platform so the electorate knows what they are saying. Imagine [if] broadcasters refused to allow an officially designated campaign group to use certain figures or statistics…; the BBC was clear… the overwhelming weight of expert economic and business opinion was advising people to vote Remain. Nonetheless, the BBC should be open to those who may challenge a consensus – not all conventional opinions stand the test of time, as… economists who banged the drum for the Euro or who failed to anticipate the financial crash might now attest. Different voices must be heard from time to time, though not necessarily given the same weight or exposure.*
>
> *"The BBC's job is to enable debate; to interrogate, to challenge, to contextualise and to analyse the claims*

> *made on each side. Being a platform for democratic argument, allowing two sides to engage directly, is a fundamental purpose of our political coverage, offering the opportunity to cross-examine each other's claims. The notion these claims were not scrutinised is simply untrue. Where claims were misleading or wrong, the BBC called it.*
>
> *"Suggestions the notion of impartiality itself needs to be re-thought in the so-called 'post-truth' world, in the wake of the EU Referendum may need reconsideration. The BBC's contribution followed the Referendum Guidelines about how to achieve due impartiality and a broad balance between the Referendum arguments; the evidence suggests, by and large, it succeeded, with no substantive complaints from either campaign." (Jordan and Bailey, 2017).*

This issue of the 'impartiality' or 'balance' or even 'objectivity' of broadcast journalism during the EU Referendum was perhaps the most interesting and important issue to emerge for discussion in its aftermath and one which has an impact on the whole arena of political reporting. Was broadcasting, especially the BBC, balanced enough, or even too balanced? Did broadcast journalists challenge and check the facts well enough? Does what happened during the Brexit campaign change any of our assumptions of the practice of political journalism and therefore help to create a 'new world order' for journalism?

Social media

Of course with every political contest the impact and influence of social media grows. In the EU Referendum its role was judged significant by some analysists, including researchers Max Hanska and Stefan Bauchowitz. They wrote: "As social media changes the ways news and information is distributed, accessed and engaged with, we are forced to consider its implications for both journalism's role in shaping public discourse, but also for the way media conveys information back-and-forth between citizens and the political system.

> *"As the linear and hierarchical gatekeeping structures which define the broadcast age have ever-less purchase on our evolving news and information ecosystems, the messy, multi-directional, bottom-up practices of diffusing and absorbing information will play an ever-greater role in processes of public opinion formation." (Hanska and Bauchowitz, 2017)*

And in the subsequent 2017 General Election, the sophistication, and arguably impact, of social media was ramped up another notch. Social media expert Alex Connock, then MD Endemol Shine North, wrote: "Like Trump, Labour used alternative news channels. Enders pointed out that pro-Labour online publications with no direct print equivalents (*The Canary* and *Evolve Politics*) were reaching larger Facebook audiences for their content than most national news brands. Overall coverage weighted by distribution was much more left on social media than in print or on major news websites." (Connock, 2017).

The Impact of Donald J Trump

The EU Referendum in the UK might have stood alone as an example of the upsurge of populism and its impact on politics had it not been for an even more globally significant event during 2016 – the election of Donald Trump as president of the USA, in a result, buoyed as it was by the candidate's own admission, by the UK's June Brexit vote.

The triumph of Trump's campaign was significant in many ways. Ironically, the news media made Donald Trump, because he made news. Trump's use of Twitter completely bypassed news media and communicated a core, unchallenged, unbalanced, unmediated message direct to the people. His demonisation of the entire 'dishonest' news media – ie the liberal, establishment media which questioned his policies – created a divide between the presidency and the media greater than anything that had existed since the downfall of Richard Nixon more than 40 years earlier.

The actions of the communications professionals around him deepened this divide. Normalisation of lies, fake news and 'alternative facts' in the news process created a new and disturbing climate in the US political reporting process.

This was certainly a new world order for journalism and we do not yet know what its longer-term impact on the US political process might be, but respected journalist and media commentator Raymond Snoddy saw an opportunity as well as a threat in the changed US political media climate, writing: "Faced with barefaced lies, the noisy repetition of what is demonstrably false could create a new age of opportunity for the mainstream media where valid information will be increasingly valued. It could even help us ease the current serious pressures on the funding of that professional journalism." (Snoddy, 2017).

The impact of knowledge on decision-making

Knowledge makes easy choices difficult, said James Mates, Europe Editor of ITV News in his chapter 'In love with America, indifferent to Europe: UK journalism's westward squint' in Brexit, Trump and the Media.

"Evidence… suggests our strength of feeling about an issue stands in inverse proportion to our understanding of it - the less we know, the more robust our opinions. The more we discover about the complexity of an issue, the more we moderate our views on how it could or should be tackled. And when you understand that, you understand why those who try to sell us simple solutions to difficult and often intractable problems urge us not to listen to 'experts'." (Mates, 2017).

This in the end could be the simplest answer to the very complex question of the victories of populism in 2016.

Problems in broadcast election coverage

Dr Stephen Cushion and Professor Justin Lewis of Cardiff University analysed both the EU Referendum coverage and the 2017 UK General Election coverage for Brexit, Trump and the Media. Their findings made fascinating reading. On the election, they wrote:

"Neither of the two leaders underwent transformations in their leadership styles during the campaign, but, on television at least, they appeared to do so.

"There is a more general question raised by the heavy reliance of broadcasters on vox pops and two-ways, both of which are informed by journalistic and/or editorial judgement rather than a more scientific evidentiary base, and neither of which tend to explain or examine the stalls set out by the political parties.

"In rethinking election coverage, perhaps more time could be spent explaining the issues which most concern people, rather than – inaccurately – speculating about how the public think or the consequences of party strategy." (Cushion and Lewis, 2017)

Problems

So which particular problems did coverage of the Referendum, Trump and the UK election raise for UK journalism? In discussion with his fellow editors, Professor Richard Tait of Cardiff University, argued both events showed journalism had lost touch with ordinary people.

He said:

> *"In all three electoral contests the conventional wisdom was wrong; Leave won, Trump won, May lost her majority. And we got the 2015 general election wrong. Journalists seem more out of touch with popular mood than ever; not enough reporting and too much opining, perhaps? Didn't anyone spot students organising to get the vote out for Corbyn?*
>
> *"Cardiff research shows broadcaster vox-pops, intended to gauge popular mood, simply had people repeating the conventional wisdom. Did journalists go along for the ride rather than analyse issues? Research by Loughborough and Cardiff shows how narrow broadcasters' agenda was in Referendum, dominated by Cameron and Boris. Many current issues – Ireland, Article 50, rights of expatriates – were hardly covered in the campaign.*
>
> *"Ironically, one of the reasons Corbyn did so well is broadcasters were less interested in the two horse race (they thought it was a foregone conclusion) and did cover policy issues he raised such as health and social care.*
>
> *"Did the decline in resources of local media mean signs of rebellion at local level were just not picked up and communicated more widely, especially during EU Referendum?" (Tait, 2017b).*

Solutions

A lot of detailed analysis and commentary of these three phenomena then produced many criticisms of journalistic practice, but identifying fault is only half the story. What did contributors to Brexit Trump and the Media think possible solutions to the issues raised might look like?

Veteran media and communications academic, Professor Jay Blumler, said:

"In addition to presenting campaigners' arguments about their pet issues, public service journalists should

strive to ensure that responsible attention is also being paid to other issues a) of concern to many voters and/or b) that will evidently have to be addressed by governments once in power.

> *"Public service broadcasters should adopt and implement a new norm. In addition to those of impartiality, objectivity and holding power to account… to hold political advocates to account for the factual accuracy of their claims." (Blumler, 2017).*

Looking at issues raised in the US, especially during the Trump campaign, Bill Wheatley of Columbia University, wrote: "In the face of fake news and alternative facts, journalists have to major anew on accuracy, relevance, clarity, the avoidance of hype, and promoting balance while Reporting vigorously the affairs of their communities." (Wheatley 2017).

Looking at the UK, Phil Harding, ex-editor BBC R4 Today programme and Controller of Editorial Policy at the BBC, said: "The British media needs to be bolder and blunter in pointing out official falsehoods and lies. It needs to take a leaf out of the American media's book, which after the failures of the early campaign coverage really seems to have got the bit between its teeth.

> *"Journalists on both sides of the Atlantic need to spend less time talking to themselves and more time getting out and listening to the public. The media missed a lot of the anger voters were feeling because it didn't spend enough time on the ground.*
>
> *"The media can and must play a vital role in providing the facts and calling out the lies. But it needs to do a far better job than it has managed to so far." (Harding, 2017).*

In his Introduction to Brexit, Trump and the Media, long-serving and respected Channel 4 News anchor Jon Snow said: "We, who report, pontificate, and comment, need to render our industry more reflective of the people we serve." (Snow, 2017).

In the postscript, BBC Radio 4 Today programme presenter and former BBC political editor Nick Robinson, who was involved in much of the corporation's most contentious coverage as a presenter on its leading political radio programme, concluded:

> *"The lesson of Trump, Brexit and the 2017 General Election is that we can and must fight to convince a new generation that all you read, watch and listen to is not the same.*
>
> *"Yes, we get things wrong. Yes, we can do better. Yes, we have lots to learn, but we do not come to work to make the case for a party, a leader or a cause. Our job is to report and investigate, question, analyse and explain." (Robinson, 2017).*

Summary

Brexit, Trump and 2017 General Election raise fundamental questions about present and future role of journalism in society. Despite the EU Referendum result, generally the elections show there is a definite decline in newspapers' influence but a huge climb in social media influence.

Equally evident in the events of 2016 and 2017 is a loss of total control of the political agenda by journalists, and an attempt to seize that control and drive the political agenda by bloggers and politicians. At the same time, journalism has been seen to be out of touch with ordinary people.

Changes may well be needed in journalistic practice, especially around the areas of balance and verification. But did 2016 show there was a new world order in political journalism? Is it too late for journalism to re-establish its integrity and authority?

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Articles

All papers in the Articles section are peer reviewed and discuss the latest research in journalism and journalism education. These are intended to inform, educate and spark debate and discussion. Please join in this debate by going to www.journalism-education.org to have your say and find out what others think.

This sporting life: Why so few women sports writers? What can be done?

Deirdre O'Neill, independent researcher and Suzanne Franks, City University

Abstract

Sports journalism has traditionally been seen as a male domain, and a number of researchers suggest that this tradition has not changed (Strong, 2007). Sports reporters in the United Kingdom remain predominantly male, and despite increasingly more women having entered sports journalism since the women's movement of the 1970s, the number of women sports writers remains relatively low (Franks, 2013; Chambers *et al,* 2004). In recent

years there has been some considerable progress regarding the visibility of women in *broadcast* sports journalism and in particular the London Olympics in 2012 was a watershed for UK broadcasting, but there are still very few women sports writers in the UK newspaper industry, and sports journalism remains a largely male-dominated area in countries all over the world (Hardin & Shain, 2005).

Introduction

Most of the sport that is reported in the media, certainly in high profile outlets, is played by men. There is a growing literature about the lack of reporting of women's sporting activity (Boyle and Haynes, 2009; Godoy-Pressland, 2014; O'Neill and Mulready, 2015).

It highlights factors such as the marginalization of female sporting achievement and the imbalance in the way that women's sporting events are reported compared to men's (Bruce, 2015, Schmidt, 2016). Recent studies in the UK have found that women's sports coverage languishes at around a dire four percent (Godoy-Pressland, 2014; O'Neill and Mulready, 2015). However, since then, and largely instigated by public service broadcasters such as the BBC, anecdotally, at least, some UK newspapers, particularly the quality press, appear to have paid attention to what broadcasters are doing and have slightly improved their coverage. For example, broadcasters and some papers gave prominent coverage in July and August 2017 to the Women's Cricket World Cup, Rugby World Cup and to women's football with coverage of Euro 2017. It would be interesting to carry out some more up-to-date research on coverage. A recent Australian study also gives grounds for optimism; researchers found that some newspapers were slightly improving coverage of women's sports (Sherwood *et al*, 2016). And in a study of the *New York Times* (a paper read by men and women equally) over a 30-year period, Schmidt (2016) found some signs of improvement in that the reporting trend was upwards, although coverage was still pitifully low at five percent.

Nevertheless, the successes and achievements of half the population continue to be downplayed and audiences are denied the spectacle of sporting successes. In addition, girls and women are not provided with strong role models that may encourage them to participate in sport, important for health and well-being, as well as for uncovering the potential top women athletes of the future (O'Neill and Mulready, 2015). This is particularly important when, as Whannel (2008, p84-85) points out, women face more obstacles to becoming involved in sports, for example, cultural expectations about femininity; a lack of sporting facilities for women; fewer women involved in sports organisations and policy making; and women often having less spare time for leisure and sports activities, since they usually have the greater role in domestic and childcare duties.

It is generally acknowledged that a journalism workforce that is representative of the population is more likely, in turn, to produce content more representative of the views, issues, concerns and achievements related to the wider population. Sherwood *et al* (2016) state that, along with assumptions about readership and the systematic, repetitive nature of sports news, research attributes the media under-representation of women's sports to the male-dominated sports newsroom. Schmidt (2016) found that women wrote proportionally more stories about women than men. Therefore, research was needed about the gender of who is *reporting* about sport. This is an area that has also been the subject of specialist research, but less so in the UK. For example, Schoch has examined this issue in the Swiss press (Schoch, 2013), whilst Schmidt has focused upon the absence of women in student newspaper sports reporting in the USA (Schmidt, 2013) and more recently on the *New York Times*. The most comprehensive research on the gender of sports reporters was carried out by Horky and Nieland in 2011. This was a wide-ranging German survey of sports writing across 22 countries that examined 80 newspapers and coded a total of 11,000 separate articles. The study found that the overall average proportion of articles by female journalists was eight percent (Horky & Nieland, 2011).

Our own work, published in 2016, also focused in detail on the question of female sports *writing* in the UK press. While we recognised there had been an increase in the visibility of women reporting on sports in broadcasting, we wished to establish the situation on national newspapers and to establish a baseline figure for articles produced by women from which future progress could be measured, since this had never been carried out and recorded. In order to find out who was writing about sport we conducted a number of byline surveys in the UK press over recent years. Our article, published in *Journalism, Theory, Practice and Criticism,* gives a detailed breakdown of all the data we found in the various byline surveys (Franks and O'Neill, 2016). It used a range of surveys across different broadsheet and tabloid papers to analyse who was writing about sport. Overall some 10,000 different articles were coded for the gender of the author across four different time periods to provide a comprehensive overview of who was reporting and writing about sport.

UK national newspapers fall into three categories, the quality press, the mid-market titles and populist red-top newspapers. We carried out surveys from 2012-13 of sports articles (before and after the London Olympics) noting the gender of the byline. We also recorded by-lines according to gender from a sample in 2002 to see whether the situation had changed.

We had obviously expected the outcome to show that sports journalism is dominated by men, but the results were more stark than we had anticipated. At no point in any of the periods we examined was the proportion of female bylines higher than three percent. There were occasions where the female contribution on one newspaper (*Guardian* and *Daily Mail*) for one week reached just over four percent, but the averages were well below this. Over all the periods we studied the average proportion of stories written by women was a mere 1.8 percent. Two other factors struck us as especially surprising. Along with women's sports coverage, which remained routinely low (O'Neill and Mulready, 2015), the impact of the 2012 London Olympics on female sports writing was negligible, despite the relatively high profile of women in sport and sports broadcasting over that period. The figures for female bylines in 2013 were barely changed from the previous year. And indeed they were barely different from 2002. Furthermore the UK results were considerably worse than the international survey results mentioned earlier from the work of Horky and Nieland.

Using the data established by Franks and O'Neill (2016) in 2012-13, the same research into UK newspaper bylines was repeated by another researcher in 2017. Once again the sports news in six UK newspapers (*Guardian, Times, Daily Telegraph, Daily Mirror, Daily Mail* and the *Sun)* over two weeks in March and April was analysed with respect to the gender of the byline (Edwards, 2017). Over a thousand articles were coded over that period. The results were almost identical to the same research conducted in 2012-3 (Franks and O'Neill, 2016). Overall the proportion of female bylines in 2017 was 2.53 percent. This was a marginal increase on the comparable data from 2012-13.

The paucity of women writing about sport continues to be of wide concern. Surveys in the US reinforce the same lack of female sports editors and reporters and indicate that there is still some prejudice faced by those women who do become sports journalists (Women's Media Center 2015, p. 21). Journalism education can make an important contribution towards addressing this issue and enabling more young women to become sports writers and reporters. There are sports journalism courses and modules at a number of institutions and an awareness of the imbalance within current sports writing combined with strategies for encouraging women to take these courses is a way of increasing the overall representation of women within the field.

A recent report published by the UK Government's *Women and Sport Advisory Board* (2015) concluded that more needs to be done to encourage women into sports reporting. If this is to be done, it is incumbent on journalism academics to examine *why* there are so few women in sports reporting in order to provide a better understanding of what, if anything, can be done to improve the situation in the UK. One way of contributing to our understanding is to share some of the experiences of women writing on newspapers and the possible obstacles they might have faced, or continue to face. Thus, this article builds upon our earlier quantitative work that highlighted the issue of the dearth of female sports writing. It focuses on the possible reasons which may account for the under-representation of women in the sports sections of UK national newspapers through exploring the experiences and views of women working in this field, conducted through a series of interviews.

Method

There are only a handful of women sports writers whose by-lines regularly appear in the UK national

press, and we interviewed a substantial proportion of them by phone or email. They write for the *Times,* the *Guardian* and *Observer,* the *Daily Mail* and the *Mail on Sunday,* and the *Sun.* In the papers we examined, no women's by-lines regularly appear in the *Mirror* titles, the *Express* titles, the *Telegraph* titles or the *Independent* titles. As far as we are aware, there are no female sports writers on the *FT* or *Star* titles. Furthermore the only female writer on the *Times* said she preferred not to provide an interview and one of the writers on the *Guardian* did not reply to requests for an interview. We also interviewed a former national newspaper sports journalist who is now an academic and wished to remain anonymous.

The respondents were:

Alison Kervin, the first and only female sports editor on a national newspaper in the UK when the *Mail on Sunday* appointed her as recently as March 2013

Martha Kelner of the *Daily Mail* and *Mail on Sunday*, currently the youngest female sports writer and winner in 2012 of Young Sports Writer of the Year award

Laura Williamson, another young sports journalist on the *Daily Mail*

Vikki Orvice, a football and athletics reporter for the *Sun*, and the first female football writer on a tabloid. She is also on the board of Women in Football

Janine Self, a freelance journalist who also worked on the *Sun* for many years

Anna Kessel, who regularly works on the *Guardian* and *Observer*

Amy Lawrence who works on the *Guardian* and *Observer*

A female former national newspaper sports reporter who worked on the *Guardian* and *Observer* (both as a member of the online sports staff and later as a freelancer)

The interviews with a range of women sports writers featured here highlighted a range of possible explanations for the very low proportion of female bylines in the UK press:

Gender balance in print and broadcasting

All agreed that print lagged behind broadcasting in terms of women's progress. Anna Kessel of the *Guardian* said:

> *"Print is the most traditional medium for sports journalism, so perhaps it's no surprise that it's been slowest to change. Women have been involved in sports broadcasting for a couple of decades. Sky Sports has had a woman as director for 20 odd years, whereas in print we've only just had Alison Kervin appointed as sports editor on the Mail on Sunday, a comparable position."*

One of the reasons is the notion of public service broadcasting in the UK, and the public funding of the BBC by licence fee, leading to an expectation that the BBC, at least, has a public duty to educate and reflect diversity, not merely entertain, and this has a knock-on effect on other broadcasting outlets. Laura Williamson of the *Daily Mail* said:

> *"As a publicly-funded organisation, the BBC has needed to address the issue and has led the way on this, with women such as Gabby Logan, Clare Balding and Hazel Irvine working hard to earn their positions as respected broadcasters. Sky Sports [a dominant satellite pay-TV channel] has followed suit."*

Anna Kessel of the *Guardian* and *Observer* endorsed this view about gender and the BBC, and explained how technology may stir print editors out of their complacency about the male to female ratio in newspapers:

> *"Broadcasters - the BBC in particular - are under more pressure to be diverse. At a sports media diversity event at the London College of Communications last year all of the major sports editors from ITV, Sky, BBC and BT Sport attended and joined the panels. Not one newspaper editor from sport came along. Meanwhile, the TV execs seem to be falling over themselves to attend ministerial meetings and conferences about women and sport.*
>
> *"Perhaps it's because newspaper sport sections are thought to be mostly read by men, leading to the view that there's no additional consumers to pick up because women already buy the rest of the paper for the other sections. In TV, however, it's all about people buying Sky Sports or BT Sports [sports subscription channels], or viewing figures for sport. I think that may begin to change now for newspapers as we go into the online era and things are measured in terms of hits. For example, we now monitor how many people read each article, rather than just units sold of the entire newspaper."*

While the interviewees were all positive about the changes in broadcasting, particularly at the BBC, some also noted that some channels cast women in different roles than men. While acknowledging some outstanding women journalists, they all pointed to a tendency for Sky to favour young, attractive presenters over journalists with more substance. As one journalist said:

> *"TV work can be studio-based and reading off autocues so it's possible to have a job in sports without the*

same depth of knowledge. Working in print means doing a lot of stuff on the ground – going to sporting events, writing and turning copy around quickly, attending less glamorous press conferences."

And another added:

'We've not always seen women on TV used in the way everyone might like - certain channels use extremely attractive women as newsreaders but are reportedly more reluctant to give them reporting or directing roles.'

Nevertheless, she pointed out that it creates an opening for women to then sidestep in to other areas or channels.

Interviewees also wondered if women were more attracted to broadcasting than print. 'There are very few role models for women in print media,' said Laura Williamson. 'I think a lot of women (and men) interested in working in the media want to be on TV because it is seen as more glamorous than print,' suggested Vikki Orvice of the *Sun*, a view shared by others, like Anna Kessel:

"There's less obvious inroads for women in print. This has a knock-on effect in terms of aspiration – it's that "see it to be it" thing. When teaching part-time on a sports journalism course, I had a student whose ambition was to be a "Sky Sports newsgirl". When she began to learn about writing and interviewing she fell in love with it. It made me beam when she subsequently said, 'I really want to be a journalist now, not just someone who reads the autocue.' Prior to this, it hadn't occurred to her."

A lack of women applicants or a lack of jobs?

Anna Kessel's observation is a crucial point. According to many of our interviewees, it seems that women are not necessarily showing the same degree of interest in a career in sports writing or applying for jobs. As *Mail on Sunday* sports editor Alison Kervin said: 'Women are not necessarily coming forward to work in sports journalism. In my times as sports editor, I've only received one CV from a woman and that was only after giving a talk where I mentioned that at the time I'd never had a woman's CV.'

And Kervin went on to say:

"The base further down the chain is not wide enough. There are mainly men working in the sports industry as a whole and this is true of the media. On regional and local newspapers, where people cut their teeth before applying to coveted jobs in the national media, most of the sports journalists are male. They are then in a better position to obtain scoops that might get them noticed at a national level. For example, a local sports reporter might have a good relationship with a footballer from a local team and who has then risen to the national team, and this reporter can then get an exclusive. It can take a lifetime of building such relationships to get top exclusives, and therefore, unless more women come into sports journalism on regional and local papers, they are not necessarily going to be in a position to get scoops. "

And the openings are not necessarily available today to those wanting to break in to sports via local or regional press. Vikki Orvice of the *Sun* explained:

"I had hoped that we would see more women coming through local papers. [But] print journalism is a declining industry and the traditional training grounds of local papers are shedding staff or cutting back to weekly rather than daily. Many experienced sports writers, including men, have been made redundant."

Kervin, along with most of the other interviewees, also emphasized that national newspapers are contracting:

"There are simply fewer print jobs than there used to be. For instance, a sports desk of 20 years ago that might have had 20 journalists will now have 15. Print media is shrinking, shedding staff. Many people had hoped to see more female sports coverage and female staff after the 2012 London Olympics, but we've lost journalism positions on newspapers since then."

'Getting into journalism is hard; getting into sports journalism is even harder,' explained veteran freelance sports reporter Janine Self. Amy Lawrence (*Guardian* and *Observer*) acknowledged that the numbers of women have not changed much over the years. She explained that a handful of women got jobs on newspapers a few decades ago at a time when there was a cultural shift in how soccer wanted to present itself.

"The appointment of a group of us [women] coincided [not accidentally] with a period in history when the game was trying to change its image in the wake of the Hillsborough and Heysal stadium disasters and the move to all-seated stadia. Alongside this, there was an attempt to rip football away from the clutches of hooliganism and to make the game appear less macho. There was also a recognition that was a significant percentage of female fans."

But she felt that the impetus for this shift had passed. In the mid-1990s she found getting a job on a sports desk relatively easy: 'I was in the right place at the right time.' However, as Lawrence and others explained, 'This is not an industry with a rapid turnaround of staff. With so few opportunities in sport [particularly at a national newspaper level], there is tiny movement. Once people get a job on a national, they seldom move.'

Unsocial hours and family life

At a 2016 conference in London on encouraging women in sports journalism, run by the campaigning group *Women in Journalism*,* the issue of balancing family life – particularly motherhood - with a career in sports journalism was a recurring theme. Not all of the interviewees were mothers but most believed this is a factor in recruiting and retaining women, as well as playing a part in the roles they are able to take on within sports journalism. Laura Williamson agreed:

> *"It is definitely an issue. How do you balance motherhood with the unsociable and unpredictable hours, travel and pay? I have had to change jobs, leaving my role as athletics correspondent to become news editor in the office, whereas my male counterparts have just carried on after becoming fathers. My newspaper have been very understanding but many women I know have been treated very poorly and effectively been forced out after becoming mums."*

This view was echoed by Anna Kessel:

> *"It's fair to say that becoming a mother is extremely challenging in an industry which operates 24/7, usually in anti-social hours, and often involves travelling away from home, and working at short notice. Arranging childcare around these requirements is almost impossible. ...Going part-time is unusual, and difficult to justify when jobs are like gold dust."*

Vikki Orvice added:

> *"I didn't have children. I'm not sure I would have been able to do my job over the years with children given I spend long periods abroad or have lasted so long. I have step-children (now grown-up) and my husband is a sports writer so we managed to juggle things at weekends with their mum when they were younger."*

Amy Lawrence said she chose to go part-time after she had children. 'My employer has been pretty flexible and understanding with me; I've found a rhythm that seems to work. It's very difficult and challenging but it can work. But you need great back-up at home.' Other women chose the freelance route for flexibility. Alison Kervin, the most senior woman interviewed, said, 'I didn't take this particular job until my son was 13, so I could fit in around him. His dad has him at weekends. Before then I was freelance.' It is obvious why, when you learn that Kervin, who is sports editor on a Sunday paper, does a 21-hour shift every weekend. 'I start at 6am on a Saturday morning and finish on Sunday at 3am. The job eats into your social life.'

The youngest interviewee, Martha Kelner of the *Mail on Sunday*, doesn't have children, but assumptions have already been made about her in some quarters.

> *"A photographer put it to me that I wouldn't be thinking about promotion because 'you'll be going off having babies'. I am aware that it's a difficult job if women have kids, but it's difficult for men too. I know fathers who find it emotionally hard to be away from their children for periods of time."*

Misogynist attitudes

Some of the women interviewed were trailblazers, pushing at closed doors at a time, decades ago, when sports desks had little or no experience of women and sexist attitudes were prevalent and overt. Interestingly, the women who had worked in the industry for a long time generally felt there was no longer any major gender bias or misogynist attitudes, and generally played down sexism. 'There are fewer dinosaurs now,' explained Janine Self, who has been a sports reporter for decades.

> *"I started in the 1980s on a local paper in Sheffield and it was awful, like the Stone-age. I think some people thought I was a freak. To be a woman in sports journalism then, you needed a rhino's hide. I think I naively went into it – I just loved sport, like my brother and father who were obsessed by it, and I was good at English. There were a couple of female pioneers, great writers and commentators, but next to no 'foot soldiers', reporting on the ground."*

Self described what it was like working with all men all of the time:

> *"[It was] like being at a stag do – lots of talk about sex and bodily functions. Women in this environment have just two options: ignore it or object. The minute you take the second route and object, you're dead. You'll have no friends."*

Kervin also believed the situation had improved a great deal:

> *"25 years ago it was rare to see a woman in the press box. I never saw women on rugby tours. And when I submitted stories as a freelancer, my by-line would always be A. Kervin rather than Alison Kervin because I knew it would put editors off...Women are not quite the same novelty and talking point as they might have once been."*

There was a certain reluctance to discuss contemporary sexism; instead it was expressed as an historic concern. It is possible that women who have made their way in such a male-dominated environment are more inured to what others might perceive as sexist or biased attitudes, and the sexism they experienced in the past was more noticeably overt. These are women, after all, who are working in a man's world, and who

have batted away any possible prejudices in order to succeed. Highlighting the fact that they are at the receiving end of sexism may be perceived as a sign of weakness or they may prefer to downplay it for the sake of good working relationships. 'I may have had *different* experiences to men as a woman, but I wouldn't say I have had a *greater amount* of difficult experiences because I was a woman,' said Amy Lawrence. 'I can count on one hand any uncomfortable experiences. And men also experience bullying or demeaning behavior. My experience is that if you demonstrate what you can do, any opposition dissipates and you don't get any problems.'

However, Alison Kervin conceded there probably is a bias that makes it harder for women. She acknowledged she occasionally got comments such 'are you sure you understand the game?' But, as Martha Kelner pointed out, such comments are not confined to men: 'I have been asked by other women if I actually *like* football. I think some wonder if I'm only after a husband. But if anyone [male or female] finds out what I actually know about sports, I can get past any barriers.'

The academic said that while her day-today experience was generally fine because her colleagues got to know her and the standard of her work, she nevertheless worked for someone 'who couldn't seem to get over the fact I was a woman.'

> *"When I suffered sexist abuse from readers, he said I shouldn't complain because "don't you think you probably get more praise than you deserve, just because some people fancy you?" He would openly say, in front of me and others, that he wished a young male writer had been around when I was appointed. Sexism from readers is always more offensive than from elsewhere, but it's arguably more damaging when the gatekeepers to a sustained career treat you like a curiosity."*

All the women stressed that most of the misogynist attitudes they have experienced recently were not from within the journalism industry but from those working in sport, especially football. As Williamson said: 'Any sexism I have encountered has very much been in the field and not from colleagues from other newspapers, co-workers or bosses.' As the first and still the only female sports editor on a national newspaper in the UK, Kervin has not experienced problems from male staff, probably because she's in a position of power. 'They may say things behind my back, but I don't care about that.'

Vikki Orvice pointed out that sexism is hard to prove and may be mixed up with other prejudices, something that a number of women alluded to. Williamson said, 'I'm never sure if certain comments were because I was young, female or a northerner working in London, but I felt I had to do "extra" to prove my worth.' And Martha Kelner said, 'If someone is rude or offhand, I can't always tell if it's because I'm a woman: it could be because I'm young or I've asked a silly question.' However, she acknowledged she had had comments about her appearance and she can often be in a no-win situation, when getting comments like 'That's a short skirt' or 'Oh, she's not wearing a short skirt.'

> *"This can make me feel uncomfortable, and I'm certainly more visible in a press conference. If I ask a question, and everyone hears a female voice, they all turn around. There is a feeling of 'otherness' if you are the only woman. I've sometimes wondered when I get a smirk from [football] managers at a press conference in response to one of my questions, "would a man get that response?" but nothing has ever happened that made me want to stop doing my job. And I've rarely experienced overt sexist or nasty comments."*

The fact that sexism is not usually overt does not mean it doesn't exist. Turner's experiences are worth noting:

> *"Reporting on men's matches I've had some nice experiences, particularly as I've got older, but I've generally found the atmosphere in the press room to be quite closed, if not hostile. I've rarely been able to strike up a conversation with male reporters, who've often closed ranks. Although it grates to have people walk into the room and say "Right, chaps…", the more alienating stuff is directed right at you. I've had stadium staff ask me what I'm doing in the press corridor, despite the fact that I had my press ID hanging around my neck. I've had people mistake me for someone there to serve tea."*

Speaking at a 2015 event in London on getting women into sports journalism at the London Press Club[1], Jessica Creighton, a journalist and writer for BBC Sport, also highlighted this sense of 'otherness' as a black woman working in sports reporting. 'When I walk into the newsroom, no one looks like me. It can be quite intimidating and daunting to get over that before you can even think about doing your job.'

This sense of 'otherness' was also raised by the academic.

> *"Being 'the other' is wearing, and I left the profession, as have a number of the (few) women I know who came through at the same time as me; it's hard to stick around long enough to overcome the everyday microaggressions, let alone rise to a position of power from which you might influence the make-up of the staff."*

And despite stressing the improved attitudes in the field towards women, Janine Self, who worked for the *Sun* for many years, sued the newspaper for sex discrimination and unfair dismissal when she lost her position there five years ago. She won her case for unfair dismissal, but as has been pointed out by a number of interviewees, proving sexist motives is harder and she did not win on this point.

While Anna Kessel stressed that she has not experienced gender bias from all quarters, she does believe that all women have encountered sexism at some point, but like all the women, she pointed out that this is a wider societal issue:

> *"It is reflected in societal views of women and exaggerated in football for being so male dominated. What many right-thinking men would not usually say elsewhere in their lives may suddenly feel ok in football or another sport because the environment is so male."*

Social media and female sports writers

It appears that the development of social media and reader interactivity has brought about a new arena where women are likely to be targeted because of their gender, albeit from readers rather than co-workers. Vikki Orvice, among others, raised this as an area of concern. At the *Women in Journalism* event[2], one broadcast reporter said nasty social media can make the job very off-putting and can particularly undermine young journalists at the start of their career. In her interview, Martha Kelner said she believed Twitter had got worse:

> *"[Our gender] is an easy stick to beat us with. I've been called a slag and told I don't know what I'm doing because I'm a woman. It's more common when I write about football than a sport like athletics (which is not a male dominated sport). There are people in darkened rooms spoiling for a fight. We may not get more online abuse than men, but I think it can be more vitriolic and insulting, and our gender is often the first port of call for someone sending an abusive tweet."*

Alison Kervin noticed that she also got different treatment on Twitter than male colleagues. She tweets on a Saturday evening about articles coming up on Sunday and notices that if the byline is by a man, readers engage about the content – they may not agree or like the reporting, but the debate is about the content. If a tweet goes out in her name, she will often get comments along the lines of 'Get back in the kitchen'. While it doesn't put her off, she finds it disturbing that there are people out there with such views and that they now have a platform (Dicaro, 2015). But whether this could be said to be putting off potential female sports journalists is hard to say, since many young women may not be aware that this is going on. And Kervin pointed out that the younger generation is used to using social media, so they may worry about this less. But if they do find it off-putting, she suggests they are unlikely to make it in such a tough business anyway, or that it may not be the job for them.

With broadcasters being so visible, Amy Lawrence thought the situation was probably worse for women on TV. Initially, Lawrence was reluctant to go on Twitter but against her expectations she now loves tweeting, and has found a means of putting off abusive and sexist commentators, while empowering herself. She said that only a tiny amount of responses had been sexist: 'And when I retweet such comments, there's usually a deluge of people defending me. I feel like I have an army of people who will tell that person not to be so stupid.'

Further reasons for the lack of women

Other possible reasons for the lack of women coming through emerged from interviews. 'It might be down to sports participation by girls at grass roots level, which is less than participation by men,' suggested Martha Kelner of the *Daily Mail*. Laura Williamson pointed out that a traditional route in to reporting on sport is by playing it at top level: 'Fewer women have grown up with or played sport to the level where they might be encouraged to report on it.' And, along with a number of other interviewees, she pointed out that the popularity of football can limit reporting opportunities for women:

> *"Men's football is the dominant sport – and it is played, managed and run by men. This makes it more difficult for a young women to build contacts and network, simply because she belongs to a different demographic [there has never been a female chief football correspondent]. And the readership of sports media is overwhelmingly male, so they are more likely to regard sports reporting as a dream job."*

Kelner agreed:

> *"It's more natural for men. [Lots of boys] want to be a footballer, and if they don't make it, they may want to stay close to the sport by writing about it. Because fewer girls play football, this possibility is unlikely to even be on their radar."*

In addition, in the UK we have only seen women's football (soccer) taken more seriously and given better media coverage in the past couple of years. However, the popularity of women playing football has markedly increased at the same time. With the growing professionalisation of the women's game, it is possible

we may in future see more women who have played coming through as football sports journalists.

Conclusion

There was some difference of opinion: while acknowledging some of the difficulties facing women, Kervin concluded that there was nothing stopping them from breaking into the field but 'they really have to want to do it'. Nevertheless, this does not really address the reason why the numbers in the UK are so low. While this qualitative research demonstrates that the workplace culture for women in sports writing has improved – though it is by no means a misogynist-free environment and women feel they have to prove themselves more than men to be accepted – the numbers of women working on the sports desks of UK national newspapers has not improved over the decades. As Vikki Orvice said at the 2015 London Press Club event on getting into sports journalism[(i)].

> *"I thought when I started out in tabloids in 1995, there would be a trajectory of women starting to emerge in sports writing, but it has not been the case at all. In fact, it has got worse..... Women in sports writing peaked in 2000.....The only females at The Sun are me and two secretaries."*

And in her interview, Orvice raised another development that has consequences for women: 'Now, if a woman does write the sport for a national newspaper, they are most probably freelance.' While this flexibility might suit some women, it does bring with it an attendant lack of job security, though it could be argued that a lack of staff jobs is an issue for all genders working on newspapers at the moment. But, according to one interviewee, women face an additional problem: 'Pay is, in the main, less for women. They are often overlooked for jobs or promotion too. I am more senior to at least one of my colleagues but know they are paid more than me.' However, most interviewees could not be sure about differences in remuneration as pay is not usually made public. And while opportunities for career progression may be limited, one interviewee argued that male colleagues can undermine women who *are* promoted by spreading rumours that they only got the position on the basis of being a woman.

The absence of women on about half of national newspaper sports desks highlights a distinct disadvantage that women have to negotiate, according to BBC online writer Jessica Creighton at the London Press Club event[(i)]. 'The "Old Boys" network still exists. Nepotism still exists. Middle class, white males hold the power and employ people who look like them.' This view was endorsed by a number of the interviewees. As the academic explained, 'An awful lot of work (even shift work) is dished out via contact networks, which excludes lots of people, but more women than men. I've also been told by former employees of one sports publication that I applied to that they don't even read applications from women.'

But there was consensus on many points, namely the decrease in overall jobs on newspapers, the unsocial hours, the lack of role models in print, a lower participation rate in sports by women, the dominance of men's football, a predominately male audience for sport and, indirectly, the lack of coverage of women's sports (O'Neill and Mulready, 2015), which all play a part to a greater or lesser degree in flagging up the possibility or attractiveness of a career in sports writing. None of the participants in this study were optimistic about any significant change in numbers in the near future, concluding that it 'will take years before we see real change.'

The outcome of this research then begs the question about what can be done to ensure that more women are engaged in reporting and writing about sport. The observations made by this group of interviewees who are part of a very small band of successful female sports writers gives some useful pointers to journalism educators who are interested in finding ways to encourage young women to succeed in this field.

The interviews highlighted a number of issues. First, employers need to be more proactive in recruiting women and more flexible in working patterns if they are to attract and retain women, and this needs to start at regional and local newspaper level. As Anna Kessel said:

> *"Sports media does need to catch up with the rest of the world. I've had conversations with female politicians and news reporters who do job-shares and work part-time, and it's no big deal. If it's possible to cover what the prime minster is up to on a part-time basis it's got to be possible to cover football.*
>
> *"Ultimately it will probably come down to getting more women in the field: if the demand is there for job shares and part-time work, it will become normalized. But it's a chicken and egg situation - if the flexibility isn't there for mums, will women be put off pursuing a career in sports journalism? Or will they drop out?"*

The advice at the London Press Club event was to 'network as much as possible', 'be persistent' and 'use social media to help build a profile' (Dutton, 2015). But there is work to be done by academic staff running journalism and sports journalism courses at universities. Many of the interviewees believed that journalists

and university lecturers needed to go into schools more to promote sports journalism courses and sports journalism as a possible career for young women. Certainly, where there has been a concerted effort to do this by one of the few women who leads a sports journalism programme (Dr Carrie Dunn at the University of East London), there has been a greater take-up of places on sports journalism courses, increasing the percentage of women from a typical 11 percent per cohort (Women and Sport Advisory Board Final Report, 2015) to 20-30 percent. For example, the university holds workshops and events for both primary and secondary school pupils, run by women, to encourage girls and others who would not normally consider a career in sports or sports journalism, including discussion panels on sport, media and gender. But the will has to exist: a concerted and joined-up effort is needed from all quarters - careers advisers, teachers, lecturers and employers – if there is to be any change. It is hoped that this qualitative research, in conjunction with earlier quantitative results, can contribute to future initiatives and enable more young women to enter sports journalism.

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NB: A earlier version of this article appeared in *Media Report for Women* in the USA, 2016

(Endnotes)----------

1 London Press Club event on Getting Into Sports Journalism, 10th November 2015

2 Women in Journalism event on Women in Sports Journalism, 20th May 2015.

Issues and challenges to academic journalism and mass communication in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Pakistan

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Abstract

Through this study, the researchers aim to explore the history of Journalism and Mass Communication education in Pakistan in general and the evolution of academic discipline in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KPK) in particular. The study also explores the problems and prospects of the Journalism and Mass Communication Departments in KPK. The researchers used qualitative method and collected the data though secondary resources as well as conducted in-depth interviews with the chairpersons and in-charge of the departments. The researchers developed five questions and six objectives to explore the history of academic journalism in KPK and highlight the problems of the concerned departments. The study disclosed that the academic Journalism and Mass Communication started as discipline in 1974 and presently there are seven departments in government universities and one in a private sector university. The

study found out the answers of the designed questions and proved the objective that the departments of journalism and Mass Communication are facing academic, professional, curricula, administrative, technical, lack of research culture, lack of coordination with other journalism departments and media organizations, printing, broadcasting, telecasting, online journalism, practical journalism, education system, lack of research environment, administrative, technical and financial resources for the development of research journal publication. On the basis of current study, the researchers presented suggestions and recommendation for the academia, students, research scholars, policymakers, media practitioners and government to take positive steps for the solution to the defined problems and improvement of the quality of academic journalism in the province.

Key words: Academic Journalism, Mass Communication, KPK, History, Problems, recommendations.

Introduction

Journalism and Mass Communication is a technique for dissemination of information in society to inform, educate and entertain the community.

Severin & Tankard (1992) explain the function of media as surveillance, interpretation, socialization and entertainment while Inam-Ur-Rahman Pushkalavati (2011) says the term journalism is the process of collection, selection, interpretation and dissemination of news, and the person involved in this process is called a journalist.

Similarly, mass communication is characterised by the transmission of complex messages to large and diverse audiences, using sophisticated technology of communication whereas mass media refers to the institutions that provide such messages, such as newspapers, magazines, television, radio, film and multimedia websites. The term is also used for the specific institutions of mass media, such as radio networks and television channels, movie companies, music producers, and the Internet.

Brief history from "Journalism" to "Mass Communication"

Language basically started with signs, symbols and sounds. Humans expressed their views through a limited number of sounds, body language, movements, gestures and postures. People of this era had to keep their message simple and then communicated it very slowly, which is why their culture developed slowly.

The age of language led to the development of an oral culture, in which information was passed on by

words of mouth from one generation to another.

After pictorial and graphical representation augmented oral transmission records could be kept but writing created social divisions in society between those who could read and write had much access to information or could pay clerks to do it for them and those who couldn't.

Mehdi Hassan & Abdul Salam Khurshid (2004) say that as with all other human fields of development, newspapers also had a systematic and slow growth. The first attempt was taken by Julius Caesar when he became consul of Rome, who disseminated news for the first time as early as 60BC. The name of the first official newspaper was Acta Diurna.

Inam-Ur-Rahman Pushkalavati (2011) says that "Acta Diurna" was the earliest form of official newspaper in ancient Rome, started by Julius Caesar (100-44 BC). The term means "daily events and actions" in Latin. It is also known as Acta Publica (public acts), Acta Pupuli (Acts of the people) and Acta Urbana (Municipal acts). At first the contents included results of legal proceedings and outcomes of trials. Later, the contents were expanded to the public announcements and notes, and other newsworthy information such as marriages, deaths and prominent births of the landlords.

Mehdi Hassan & Abdul Salam Khurshid (2004) credits the invention of the printing press to China's Tang Dynasty in the 7th or 8th century and John Vivian (2008) says that towards the middle of the 15th century, Johannes Gutenberg developed printing with movable type in Germany, which spread all over Europe and then the whole world. Historians usually the first printed page with moveable type was produced in 1446, 22 years before Gutenburg's death, and by 1500, presses all over Western Europe had published almost 40,000 books. In 1455, he printed two hundred Bibles with movable type, which are known as the Gutenberg Bibles.

Newspapers and magazines soon sprang up all over the world to be followed by newer technologies. Telegraphy was introduced in the early 19th Century to expedite the process of communication after electricity was harnessed. The telephone followed in 1876, and radio in 1895. The 20th century saw the development of television, computers and the internet.

William McCaughey (2000), in his book "Five Epochs of Civilisation," divides the history of media into five stages: ideographic writing produced by the first civilisation, alphabet the second, printing the third, electronic recording and broadcasting the fourth and computer communication the fifth civilisation.

Objectives of the study:

To explore the history of academic journalism in KPK.

To find out the problems of the respective departments.

To search out the printing, broadcasting and telecasting facilities of the departments.

To highlight the issue of the JMC departments of KPK.

To determine whether a research culture exists in the JMC departments.

To compare the problems of JMC departments of the government and private universities.

Research questions

Which problems are faced by the Journalism and Mass Communication Departments in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa?

Do these academic problems apply to departments of JMC in KPK?

Are the newly established departments of JMC in KPK facing problem of modern technology and training equipment?

Is there any research journal published by any departments of JMC in KPK?

Is there any JMC department in a private university in KPK?

Research Design

The research topic is limited to the problems and current situation in the departments of JMC in KPK. As the nature of the study is qualitative, the researchers collected the data through secondary resources. The researchers also compiled the problems and demands of the respective departments through in-depth interviews. On the basis of problems and demands, the researchers presented suggestions and recommendations.

Initiation of Journalism and Mass Communication education in Pakistan

Practical journalism is an old phenomenon in Pakistan but academic journalism or theoretical journalism in Pakistan is not very old. Academic journalism in Pakistan started much later, that is why the departments of Journalism and Mass Communication face certain problems.

Shabir. G, Taimur-ul-Hassan, Iqbal. M and Khan. W (2011) stated in their article "Mass Communication Education in Punjab: Problems and Prospects" that before the partition of Pakistan and India, an introductory diploma course of Journalism and Mass Communication was started in Lahore by the University of the Punjab in 1940. At the time, radio was the only electronic source of information while print media enjoyed their golden era in the subcontinent.

The course was offered for both the print and radio journalists but focused on the print media in the University of the Punjab, Lahore.

Elahi. M (2006) says that the University of Punjab introduced a six-month postgraduate certificate course for reporters, editors and article writers. Later the duration of the course was increased to one year and it continued up to 1960.

After partition, the credit of journalism course initiation also goes to the University of Punjab when it started a one-year diploma course to the level of Master of Arts (M.A) in 1959-60.

He also said that a diploma course was started in the University of Karachi in 1955. This was a one-year course, comprising journalistic writing, translation, press history and ethics and laws. He stated that the programme continued till 1961. The university started a masters programme in 1962 to promote journalism education in the country.

Shbir. M, Taimur-ul-Hassan, Iqbal. M and Khan. W (2011) mentioned that the University of Karachi started the diploma course in 1974, and in the same year Gomal University, Dera Ismail Khan also launched its Department of Journalism and Mass Communication.

Elahi. M (2006), while analysing the history of Journalism and Mass Communication education, said that the federal government recognised the vital role of journalism and established a National Press Commission (NPC) in 1954. The press commission suggested to the public sector Pakistani universities to establish new departments of Journalism and Mass Communication to enhance the media industry and strengthen the professional standards of journalism in the country.

Following the recommendation of the NPC, the University of the Punjab, Lahore and Karachi hired foreign faculty to improve journalism education. The University of Sindh, Jamshoro started journalism in 1977.

According to Shabir. G, Taimur-ul-Hassan, Iqbal. F and Khan. W (2011), the Federal Urdu Arts College, Karachi started journalism education in 1984, whereas the Islamia University and University of Peshawar launched it in 1985.

Elahi. M (2006) says that Allama Iqbal Open University started journalism as academia in 1986, while Balochistan University, Quetta and Bahuaddin Zakariya University started it in 1987 and the government of Pakistan recommended the graduate course at college level in 1987. In 2000, the course of Journalism and Mass Communication was offered by Fatima Jinnah University and Barani University Rawalpindi.

Academic Journalism and Mass Communication in KP (former NWFP)

As other universities of the country started Journalism and Mass communication courses and departments, the then government of North-West Frontier Province (NWFP) (Now Khyber Pakhtunkhwa) realised the imperative role of the field and started Department of Journalism and Mass Communication in the University of Peshawar in 1985.

Ghulam Shabir. M, Taimur-ul-Hassan, Iqbal. M and Khan. W (2011) stated that Department of Journalism and Mass Communication was established in 1985, while Elahi. M (2006) mentioned that it was started in 1988.

In 1985, the University of Peshawar launched the Department of Journalism & Mass Communication as a diploma awarding institution. The institution was upgraded and it started working at postgraduate level

1988. The department was called the Department of Journalism till October 2000. Later, it was renamed the Department of Journalism and Mass Communication. Since its inception, the department has produced hundreds of graduates and most of them now serve widely circulated Urdu, English and Pashto newspapers, radio, television channels, the Information Department and other organisations in Peshawar and other areas of the country.

The department offers a diverse curriculum, including the subjects of reporting, sub-editing, mass communication, Pakistan affairs, development support communication, mass communication theory, English (journalistic) language, broadcasting, television media, advertising & public relations and cyber journalism. It has launched a Media Training and Research Centre (MTRC). The Centre conducts researches on media-related issues and public opinion surveys etc, besides arranging seminars, lectures, workshops and symposia. It has about 500 research theses on diverse topics and issues related to journalism in Pakistan, especially the province. The department also houses the Campus Radio-107 that broadcasts various information and entertainment programmes for the students of the university (Prof. Dr. Shahjehan Sayed, personal communication, March 13, 2015).

The Journalism and Mass Communication discipline was launched at Gomal University in 1974, soon after the setting up of the varsity. The syllabus of the department has been updated with the passage of time. The graduates get a degree of masters level in mass communication. The name of the department and its degree was recently changed by its Board of Studies, i.e. Mass Communication; this decision was taken on the proposal of the Higher Education Commission. According to a study about job absorption recently, more than 60 percent of the department's graduates have joined the professional field, working with various organizations, while the rest were employed in other areas. Given the unemployment rate of educated youth in Pakistan, this can be considered a high figure of job absorption. The department has also started MPhil and PhD studies and their classes are underway.

The library of the department has some of the latest books published overseas. There are known foreign research journals in various social sciences, particularly communication. The department has also subscribed various national newspapers and several foreign magazines. The Central Library of the university has the back issues of different magazines in its archives, so that researchers can use them when needed (Dr. Muhammad Aslam Pervez, personal communication, March 14, 2015).

The Kohat University of Science and Technology set up the Department of Journalism and Mass Communication in September 2007 to produce professional media personnel. The department claims to equip graduates with theoretical background and professional skills to cater to society.

The department's syllabus contains theory, research and practical skills to help the graduates know about the journalism field. The course of studies also includes vocational aspect, with an aim to examine the social responsibilities of media persons. After its establishment, the department got a newspaper, a radio station and a television house within a short span of one year (Nadeem Akhtar, personal communication, March 15, 2015).

The Department of Communication & Media Studies began functioning at the Hazara University in October 2006. The department is meant to produce professionals in the arena of journalism. In 2010, the department launched M.Phil scheme of studies, which has produced several scholars so far. To adapt the syllabus according to the needs of the practical field, the curriculum has been reviewed twice since the year 2010. Raising critical awareness and highlighting of media role in promoting democracy and global interaction are said to be the department's focus of attention (Syed Shaukat Ali, personal communication, March 16, 2015).

The University of Malakand, Chakdarra, Lower Dir district, established its Department of Journalism and Mass Communication in the year 2011. It is an annual master's (M.A) programme of two years. There is no professor, associate professor or assistant professor in the department so far. However, there are three lecturers (Jan Muhammad, personal communication, March 17, 2015).

The Department of Journalism and Mass Communication at the Abdul Wali Khan University, Mardan district, was approved on September 19, 2012. It offers two-year annual programme of master's (M.A) and four-year BS programme. Currently, there are 48 students enrolled in the M.A programme and 20 students in the BS programme. The department also launched a monthly newspaper titled Awkum Voice in February 2013 (Farhad Safi, personal communication, March 18, 2015).

At the University of Swat, Malakand Division, the Department of Media and Communication Studies was established in October 2012. The classes were started in January 2013 with 15 students enrolled initially. The department offers a two-year MA degree currently. A monthly newsletter will soon start to be published while a campus radio will also be launched after getting a licence from the PEMRA (Khalid Khan, personal

communication, March 19, 2015).

Department of Communication and Media Studies at the Sarhad University of Information Technology (SUIT) began functioning on April 21, 2011. It is the first private university in the province, which took the initiative and launched the master's level programme. In two semesters, more than 30 students are enrolled in the master's programme at the SUIT. At the moment, there are three faculty members at the department, while there are four members as visiting staff. The department also publishes a bi-annual newsletter titled "The Suit". They have also planned to launch an FM radio station from the department (Wasim Khattak, personal communication, March 20, 2015).

Research Design

The research topic is limited to the problems and current situation in the departments of Journalism and Mass Communication in KP. As the nature of the study is qualitative, the researchers collected the data through semi-structured interview from the key persons of the KP's Journalism and Mass Communication departments. The interviews were conducted by two methods; face-to-face and by phone for 25 to 30 minutes. The data was collected through purposive sampling methods, while the informants' identities were kept confidential. Along with main question, supplementary questions were asked to get more information about the issue. The interviewees' responses were recorded numerically to keep them confidential.

Data Analysis and Results

Every department faces different problems, which were placed in the following tables.

RQ-1; Which problems are being faced by the Journalism and Mass Communication Departments in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa?

Interviewee 1	Untrained teachers for practical journalism, lack of research culture, no critical research, more theoretical than practical journalism, lack of training, equipment, insufficient financial support from the government, lack of coordination between students among the different departments, web and broadcasted TV, lack of exposure trips, lack of video lectures to other international media departments
Interviewee 2	Lack of TV production house and other practical training equipment, lack of background knowledge at Bachelor level, lack of internet and modern technology equipment's, Lack of Research Centre, Lack of training workshop.
Interviewee 3	Lack of administrative problems, technical problems, lack of practical training facilities, monthly magazine needed, dramatic club for performance arts/theatre/film, lack of Auditorium facility, lack of guest lectures, lack of positive use of social media.
Interviewee 4	Lack of qualified staff, old courses, absence of national media outlets nearby the departments for the students practice and exposure, unavailability of quality and to the point books, lack of research work of teacher and students, lack of alternative measure to fill the practical gap, lack of inside internship program at the department.
Interviewee 5	Lack of professor, associate professor in the department, old course, limited infrastructure, lack of students and teacher exchange programs among old and new established departments, lack of courses availability at bachelor level, misinterpretation about the subject among the remote areas of province, lack of teachers training regarding new technologies, lack of coordination of the department with other media organizations.
Interviewee 6	Technical problems, lack of modern and updated course, administrative problems, gap between theory and practical journalism, no uniform education system; annual and semester system, Lack of Seminar hall, gap between academia and media industry.
Interviewee 7	Practical journalism, lack or limited infrastructure, lack of campus radio, TV production house, lack of digital journalism, lack of technical radio, tv and online equipment's, lack of coordination with national and international media organizations.

Interviewee 8	Lack of qualified staff, lack of practical journalism teachers instead of theoretical, lack of new and updated curricula, problems in recruitment process of teachers, lack of department at private universities of the province, problem of male and female ratio in the classes, dominancy of male teachers.

The study found that the gravest problem of the departments in the province is untrained teachers for practical journalism. Most of the JMC departments are facing a lack of research culture, while the heads of the departments should make the research work compulsory at master's level. There is no critical research in the departments to improve the quality of students' education in the research track. There is a little focus on practical journalism while theoretical journalism is at its peak in all the JMC departments of KP.

The results also exposed the lack of training, equipment and the insufficient finances of the government. It is necessary that we work collectively with national and international level teachers and students on research about different media related topics.

The study also revealed that lack of TV production house and other practical journalism training equipment in the department are also issues. Students are facing problems in learning the course subjects' due to a lack of the background knowledge of the journalism course at bachelors' level.

Lack of the Internet facility and other modern technology equipment is not only a problem for students but also for teachers.

The research also disclosed that the unavailability of well qualified staff is a basic problem in the JMC departments of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. Some of the departments have up-to-date curriculum, but there are few well qualified teachers who accurately teach the course.

For the training of the students of Journalism and Mass Communication, there is no national newspaper available in the nearby area as well as television centres. For the compilation of research, research journals and books are needed but unfortunately the facilities are scarce in the most of the JMC departments of the province. For the researchers, it is a big problem that the publication of research work in the famous journals needs payment.

The study also unveiled that the JMC departments' curriculum in KP contains old courses and that there are no students exchange programs among the old universities and newly established universities. The students are not only facing problems in learning the course subjects but the teachers also face troubles in the teaching due the unavailability of the course at bachelor's level. The remote areas are not interested in journalism because of misperception in the society.

The study also revealed that a lack of teachers' training regarding the new technology and lack of coordination of the JMC departments with other media organizations are basic problems in the practical journalism.

The research found that journalism students of newly established universities are facing problems in internship programme because there are few facilities of newspaper, radio and television for the practical journalism. There is no uniform system of education in the JMC departments of KP, while every university has their own rules and regulations.

Practical journalism is a big problem in JMC departments because most of the teachers in different departments of KP do not have a sound know-how of the practical journalism.

The overall problem of the KP's JMC departments is lack of well qualified teachers according to the new curriculum as well as practical journalism teachers for the students. The recruitment process in journalism departments is not fair.

The study also explored that private organizations such as Internews, Intermedia, etc were only giving training facilities to JMC departments of the government-run universities while ignoring private sector universities. On the other hand, these organizations are training female students mostly and ignoring boys of the departments.

RQ-2; Are the newly established departments of JMC in KP facing problem of modern technology and training equipment?

Interviewee-1	Very much so because of new department in new university.
Interviewee-2	Yes, they have, but on other side it has good infrastructure as compare to old department.

Interviewee-3	To some extent, because it is a trend of new universities to install modern technology.
Interviewee-4	Very low as newly established departments have well-furnished infrastructure and modern equipment.
Interviewee-5	Very high, because new university also funding problems from the Higher Education commission.
Interviewee-6	Yes, they have problems of training in modern technology at the department.
Interviewee-7	The problem is extremely high in the newly established departments.
Interviewee-8	As compared to the old departments, newly established departments are lacking modern technology and training equipment.

The study explored that the newly established JMC departments in KP are facing problems of modern technology and training equipment's, where a number of problems exist. The new universities also have funding problems from the Higher Education Commission of Pakistan, whereas new departments are good in terms of infrastructure but they lack modern technology and equipment compared to the old established departments.

RQ-3; Is there any research journal published by any departments of JMC in KP?

Interviewee 1	No, because of lack of research culture at the department
Interviewee 2	No, because no proper research centre
Interviewee 3	No, lack of productive research facilities
Interviewee 4	No, lack of qualified staff
Interviewee 5	No, lack of professors and associate professor who would create research culture
Interviewee 6	No, because of administrative problems
Interviewee 7	No, limited infrastructure
Interviewee 8	No, because of well qualified staff and old course contents

The study also disclosed that there is no research journal published by any journalism department in KP; other problems are lack of research culture and research center in the departments, unavailability of productive research facilities, well qualified staff, administrative problems, limited infrastructure, old course contents.

RQ-4; What are the remedies for the uplifting of JMC departments' in KP?

Interviewee 1	To make more practical than theory, need to initiate research culture, provide training, equipment's and financial aid, coordination with national and international media organizations', need practical training for teachers, overcome domination of old department on new established departments
Interviewee 2	To provide training facilities to departments, training facilities like Tv production houses, to start the journalism course in Bachelor levels, to provide technical support to the departments
Interviewee 3	Should overcome administrative problems, provide technical and training facilities to departments
Interviewee 4	Government should provide funds to the departments to provide technical and training facilities to the students and teachers, need teachers training
Interviewee 5	Appoint professors and associate professors, develop modern courses, before starting a department of JMC need to find out the interest and awareness about the subject, PEMRA should to award license to all JMC departments in easy way,

Interviewee 6	Provide Technical support, to revise course, need administrative help, to overcome gap between theory and practical journalism, need uniform education system
Interviewee 7	Provide Practical journalism, need infrastructure, facility of radio and TV production house, digital lab, needed equipment's, organizations,
Interviewee 8	Hire well-qualified staff, recruit practical journalism teachers, need to update curricula, fair process of recruitment teachers, need to start the department at private universities.

The study disclosed that the departments need to coordinate with national and international media organizations to improve practical journalism in the province. It is also necessary for the teachers of all departments of JMC to decrease the gap between theory and practical journalism, because theory is base for the practical journalism. Lack of mutual understanding between old and new students among the different university departments also a problem. If the journalism course had been included at the college level, the students would not have faced so many problems.

The study recommended to start the Journalism and Mass Communication programme at bachelors' level throughout all the KP colleges and universities to improve the quality of academic journalism in the province.

It is suggested to the government it should increase the funds of the universities to provide modern technology to the JMC departments of the province. It is also recommended to the teachers to become devoted to teaching and impart their knowledge to the students in an appropriate way as they are going to be the builders of the departments that would be opened in future.

The study suggested to the universities' authorities that before establishing a JMC department, they should survey the area to find out the interest, awareness and trend of the journalism among local people to save the finance of the university. It is need of the hour to chalk out a plan and start a uniform education system, whether semester or annual system.

The PEMRA should issue licence to the entire JMC departments of the country generally and to the KPK particularly.

The study revealed that the departments should coordinate with different media organizations for the sake of students' practical training, which not only increases commonality among the theoretical teachers and professional journalists but also the student would easily get internships.

The research recommended to the education policymakers to change the curriculum according to the needs of the time and include new subjects such as Islamic Communication, Online Journalism, Practical Journalism, Newspaper Page Designing and Editing, Photojournalism, Public Speaking and other courses.

It is suggested to the academia and subject specialists to recruit the employees impartially to improve the quality of education, particularly in KP and generally in the country.

Summary and Conclusion

Mass Media is based on the theoretical and practical journalism of the trained and qualified instructors. It is a fact that when there is shortage of teaching departments and qualified teachers, the mass media will be immature.

It is necessary to establish new departments of Journalism and Mass Communication in KP because the media organizations are also increasing, in the province particularly, and all over the country generally.

The study proved the questions and justified the objectives of the study that the departments of Journalism and Mass Communication in KP are facing the lack of well qualified academia, training, printing, broadcasting, telecasting, online journalism, Internet, new technology, research culture, practical journalism, coordination, affiliation with national and international newspapers, radios, television, online journalism and research and training projects for the students.

The study also explored that the KP's Journalism and Mass Communication departments are having old curricula, lack teachers and students exchange with other different provincial, national and international universities, there is lack of commitment on the part of teachers to their subjects, atmosphere of critical thinking of students and teachers, differences in the education system as well as differences between government and private university facilities.

The study also disclosed that there is lack of awareness and misperceptions of the parents about the Journalism and Mass Communication education, lack of the background knowledge of the students, old teaching methodology, placement of students for internship in irrelevant media organizations, lack of coordination among the journalism departments and media organizations, equipment and training facilities in the newly established departments, and slow process of PEMRA in the issuing of radio and TV licence.

The study also verified that there is no single research journal published by any department of Journalism and Mass Communication in KP due to the lack of research environment, administrative, technical and financial resources.

Suggestions and Recommendations:

It is recommended to hire well qualified teachers according to the requirements of the modern age.

To develop the research culture in the departments among the teachers and students.

To ensure immediately the establishment of printing, broadcasting, telecasting and online technology in the departments.

It is needed to improve the practice of practical journalism in the departments of KP.

It is also suggested to build ties with national and international media organizations as well as teachers and students.

It is also recommended that research and training projects should be only for the sake of training of the students.

It is also recommended to update the curriculum according to the modern technology and needs.

It is stressed that there should be exchange programmes of teachers and students with the other provincial, national and international academia and students.

The teachers should become devoted to their subjects and students.

An atmosphere of critical and research thinking should be created among the students.

To ensure a uniform education system of Journalism and Mass Communication, whether annual or semester system.

Special attention should be paid to academic journalism in private sector universities of KP as well.

To build understanding among the parents of the younger generation about the importance of Journalism and Mass Communication course.

The Journalism and Mass Communication courses should be started at bachelors level.

It is also recommended to the teachers to ensure a mechanism for the placement of students for the internship in different media organizations.

The academia should build coordination among journalism departments and media organizations.

It is also recommended to the HEC to increase the universities' funds, particularly of newly established varsities, to provide equipment and training facilities in the JMC departments.

It is suggested to the PEMRA to expedite the licence issuance process of radio and television of the newly established JMC departments.

It is also recommended to the research scholars of JMC departments of KP to develop a research journal to improve the research work in the province.

It is suggested to academia of JMC departments to improve practical journalism training to students in the departments of KP.

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Integrating industry collaboration into the journalism curriculum

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Abstract

This paper discusses ways in which collaboration between students and external industry bodies can be integrated into the undergraduate journalism curriculum. The paper is based on a case study of the Collaborative Project unit which has been taught in the second year of the BA (Hons) Journalism course at London College of Communication (LCC, University of the Arts London) since 2012. In recent years, the unit has worked with a number of external partners including BBC News Labs, Rough Guides and a number of smaller start-ups as a way of introducing students to the diversity of different workplaces which have come about as a result of the development of digital media technologies, and asks them to critically reflect on issues of collaboration and teamwork in a professional scenario.

Keywords: Collaboration, students, reflection, practitioner, industry, projects.

Introduction

The introduction of the Teaching Excellence Framework in 2017 has reignited the debate over how the quality of university teaching and the student experience is described and measured, just as the introduction of the National Student Survey did a decade ago. What-

ever the pros and cons of these devices, journalism educators face a constant challenge to ensure that their teaching is up-to-date and relevant for the current state of the industry, and to meet demands from students for as much experiential learning as possible before they graduate.

The London College of Communication (or LCC, formerly the London College of Printing) has a strong track record in this area, and in 1994, was one of the first courses in the country to launch a live newspaper project which was assessed as part of the undergraduate journalism course (Oliver, 2015). Although it has had many guises, this final major project has been praised by students over the years for the way in which it has prepared them for the experience of working in a live newsroom, and as part of a diverse and multi-skilled team.

The project has not been without its issues, especially the challenge of ensuring that students are fully prepared to take part in a live, team-based, production exercise that takes up half of their final year; this mirrors other concerns about ensuring that students learn how to develop broader experiential skills which are not a formal part of the journalism curriculum, such as team-working, peer review, critical reflection, people management skills etc.

In light of that, the decision by the LCC to introduce a mandatory, 20-credit, second year unit to encourage collaboration offered staff on the BA (Hons) Journalism course an opportunity to introduce students to these broader skills, while also meeting students demands for more chances to interact and collaborate with students from courses other than their own. Initially this was done by working with other courses, but more recently this has been achieved by partnering with industry collaborators who have come into college on a regular basis to provide real-world challenges and mentor students as they work to develop solutions to these.

This paper examines the current Collaborative Project unit as a case study for giving students a wider exposure to experiential, situated learning, as well as developing a broader range of vocational skills which will help them in their final major project and, later, to help them integrate into a professional newsroom.

Academic context

Concepts of collaboration, experience and situated learning have been at the core of journalism education for more than two decades, with calls for greater collaboration being made over the years; journalism education itself benefits from a long-term collaborative relationship with practitioners in industry, many academic publications have discussed the theory and practice of journalism, and it has been shown that cross-disciplinary collaboration can be used to enhance communication skills for all concerned:

> *"Participants reported increased media communication skills, an awareness of the necessity of communicating with other disciplines, and some change in their intended strategies for future projects. Evaluative instruments recorded a high level of student satisfaction with the collaboration" (Kavanagh & Cokely, 2011:3).*

Similar findings have been demonstrated in cross-disciplinary studies involving scientists and journalists (Canan & Hartman, 2007)

Learning processes in journalism have often used workplace experience, which are described as "contextual, socially constructed, and shaped by a collaborative approach." (Thornton, 2011:132), and this was mirrored in the introduction of team management in many news organisations which produced "an increased range of problem-solving activities to which interns could be exposed (and in which they were likely to be involved)." (Thornton, 2009:132)

Jarvis discusses the benefits of new practices and opportunities in journalism, suggesting that "networked journalism proposes to take advantage of the new opportunities for collaboration presented by the linked ecology of the internet" (Jarvis, 2011:vii). Indeed he contends that the natural state of the media is "two-way and collaborative" (2011:viii). Mensing (2010:511) suggested a

> *"realignment of journalism education from an industry-centered model to a community-centered model as one way to re-engage journalism education in a more productive and vital role in the future of journalism. A community-centered focus could provide a way to conceptualize a reconstitution of journalism education to match that taking place in journalism beyond the university."*

While it resulted from feedback from the students themselves, calling for greater collaboration with their peers and practitioners in industry, the Collaborative Project is also an example of how the situated learning theory can be put into practice, enhancing the pedagogy of journalism education. Situated learning takes as

its focus "the relationship between learning and the social situation in which it occurs" (Hanks, 1991:14).

As Paula Vicini contends: "Learners must use tools as practitioners use them and become 'cognitive apprentices' in that discipline's community and its culture" (2003:1); by asking students to participate in a relevant multi-disciplinary project involving collaborative partners from other media disciplines, this helps to develop the notion of communities of practice within journalism and the broader media ecosystem.

As Vincini (2003:1) further noted:

> *"What does this mean for the design of instruction? Learning is driven and best presented through realistic and complex problems that allow learners to learn to think and practice like experts in the field. Content is learned through activities that help solve the problems and not from 'packages' of information organized by instructors. The instructor's role moves from providing and structuring the information and knowledge through lectures and presentations to modeling, coaching, and scaffolding learners as they use information and create knowledge to solve contextual real-life problems. Situated learning environments must support active engagement, discussion, evaluation and reflective thinking. Activities and assignments are often collaborative and group-based."*

As Herrington *et al* (2000:8) suggest:

> *"The learning environment needs to provide ill-defined activities which have real-world relevance, and which present a single complex task to be completed over a sustained period of time, rather than a series of shorter disconnected examples," a contention which summarises the approach taken by LCC's Collaborative Project very succinctly, as such activities are at the core of the unit's experiential philosophy.*

The Collaborative Project unit also underpins the social aspects of journalistic practice and teamwork in the newsroom. Hung's study (2002) suggests that learning begins when students are placed in a scenario where they have to solve problems; they explore real life situations which focuses their approach on social skills and communication, supported by their existing practical skills, to find a solution to the problem posed, while Hermida (2011:57) discusses "collaboration between professionals and amateurs; participatory journalism, democratizing media conversation".

The unit also focuses on collaborative practice, as summarised by the American Institute for Image Management (AIIM), who described it as "a working practice whereby individuals work together to a common purpose to achieve business benefit" (2010), alongside a life-cycle diagram which allows students a visual and accessible way of seeing the process and using that as the framework for their own reflective writing. This life cycle has also been examined in relation to the broader challenges of higher education (Mutie *et al,* 2015).

Historical context

The Collaborative Project was developed by the University of the Arts London as a generic, 20-credit, second year (level five) unit, which was designed specifically to answer demands from students for more opportunities to work with students from other courses and disciplines. It replaced a 20-credit elective unit which gave second years a chance to study a subject which was not part of their normal curriculum, where opportunities to work on formal cross-disciplinary projects was limited.

The new unit was first taught in the 2012-13 academic year, and course teams were given a generic unit descriptor, learning outcomes and assessment criteria to work with, but crucially, were given complete freedom on how the unit would be organised and delivered for their students; the only mandatory requirement was that it should be delivered at the same time across the college, the spring term of the second year, to facilitate maximum opportunities for students from a wide range of undergraduate courses to collaborate on projects.

Course teams had freedom to define what constituted a 'collaborative project', and a range of approaches was developed including:

- Working with industry partners to develop live project briefs which the students could work on in groups;
- Project proposals developed with other courses, other universities or research institutes;
- Student-led projects, where the students themselves identified a challenge and developed a solution;
- Tutor-led projects, where tutors identified professional challenges;
- Generic exercises which were not 'real world', and which may have been developed by tutors and/or provided by external sources.

All of these were considered by the tutors in the months before the start of the new academic year, although the final shape of delivery was shaped by the students themselves.

Delivery

At LCC, the journalism tutors teamed up with colleagues teaching Public Relations and Magazine Publishing to develop collaborative opportunities around multi-disciplinary solutions to challenges developed by the students themselves, on the basis that each group should include at least one student from each of the disciplines, and that the solution they developed should showcase each of the students' contributions to the final artifact.

At the initial briefing session in the Winter Term, some students wanted to pitch their ideas for new products to the whole group, and they then encouraged other students to join their project teams. Once the outputs had been identified and approved by the tutors, the teams had eight weeks to work on their projects, which were largely self-managed by the students themselves, but with set classroom and workshop sessions available with tutors for feedback and monitoring. The total direct contact time was 20-30 hours.

The students from the three undergraduate programmes formed into 15 teams of varying sizes, from two to 30 students. The projects largely focused on magazines and websites, supported by social media and public relations campaigns related to the 'launch' of the new product. The artifacts produced by the teams included physical publications as well as virtual ones, often using a mix of traditional print and digital multimedia; some were actually produced and went live, others only made it as far as the concept stage with folios, flat plans or wireframes. Some teams continued their work after the unit had been assessed, working as entrepreneurs to develop their projects as potential commercial products outside the course.

Examples included a website for science and technology news for children, an online music magazine for students, various lifestyle magazines and websites looking at different niches within politics, culture, fashion, travel and music, and a summer edition of the LCC's existing newspaper, *Arts London News*, which filled a gap in the paper's normal production schedule, and took advantage of an existing arrangement for printing that the course had with News International.

Delivery issues

While the actual development of the students' artifacts went relatively smoothly, and some high quality products were developed by the teams over the course of the term, the tutors quickly came to realise that one of the major challenges in delivering this unit was the logistics of monitoring and organising the teams across three different courses.

Although the UAL had moved from Blackboard to Moodle at the start of the same academic year, the implementation of the new virtual learning environment, based on students being members of a single course, meant that it was limited as a way of organising the teams and communicating effectively with students from more than one course. While tutors could be members of multiple course sections on Moodle, using the platform would have meant duplicating every message three times to ensure it reached every student participating in the unit.

In 2012-13, the unit involved around 140 students from the BA Journalism, PR and Magazine Publishing courses; in 2014-15, they were joined by students from the BA Sports Journalism course as well, pushing the cohort up to more than 170 in total. To ensure parity of experience, the teaching team had to adopt an approach that meant all students were given the same access to the same information at the same time, something the Moodle struggled to do without significant amounts of duplication.

The solution was to develop an external Wordpress site (http://collaboratelcc.wordpress.com) where all the relevant information about the teams and their projects could be collated, along with essential details about the tutors, the schedule, the assignment briefs and other supporting material. The additional advantage to this was that the site became a living archive of the projects which could be used to inform and inspire students who were embarking on the Collaborative Project in subsequent years.

There were other issues in regard to students working in groups, with some seeing an opportunity to do very little work while being carried by the more enthusiastic members of the team; while this happened in a small number of cases, peer pressure usually overcame any difficulties of this nature, and the reflective

nature of the assessment meant that as well as the artifact, every individual had to produce a report outlined what they contributed to that output, and on their own performance, so underperformance was managed within the framework of the assessment and its relationship with the learning outcomes.

Feedback and response

Based on the responses to the unit evaluation surveys, the feedback from students about the new Collaborative Project unit was positive, and many welcomed the opportunity to work on their own projects with students from other courses; there were some instances where teams did not perform as well as they expected, but all were able to reflect on that maturely and professionally, both within the workshops and in their assignment reports at the end of the unit.

Some students suggested that while the experience of collaborating with their peers was welcomed, they wanted the opportunity to work more directly with practitioners in industry, which prompted the teaching team to consider ways of developing some project briefs which came from industry, and which were supported by professional mentorship.

With the logistics of organising so many students becoming increasingly difficult, after three years it was decided that each course would go its separate way, and the Journalism tutors began to approach news organisations and media companies to try to find potential projects for the 2015-16 academic year.

Industry-focused collaboration

While the original aim of the Collaborative Project unit was to give students the opportunity to work with students from other courses, the new focus for journalism students is on collaboration with professional practitioners and organisations, rather than just other students. The challenge to the tutors has been to find companies who are willing to put our students into a professional scenario which tests their technical and production skills, and who have the capacity to engage with the students as mentors over the course of the ten-week schedule.

The students are still able to do their own projects, and work with students from other courses to achieve the unit aims if they wish, so that aspect of the original delivery plan remains as an option, and in the most recent cohort, around a quarter of the groups chose to do this. Some of them collaborate with other students, others work with a range of external companies and organisations; this aspect of their project is mandatory, and proposals will not be approved by tutors unless the groups can show that they have some form of external collaboration in place, whether that be with a company, individuals or students from another course or institution.

During the summer and at the start of the Autumn Term, tutors approach a number of potential organisations to take part, either through their own industry contacts, by meeting them at journalism conferences or at networking group events which are held regularly in London. In the first year a total of six organisations agreed to support the project, with a similar number contributing in the second year. These included:

BBC News Labs, who wanted students to work with them on developing a new interface for their in-house news search and analytical tools;

Rough Guides, who challenged students to develop and curate a special section on their website, and a published mini-guide, looking at the best beaches around the world, with sub-sections covering the best in a range of countries;

Tremr, a social journalism platform, who have worked with students in both years to develop special sections (or channels) within their website, allowing the teams to produce and curate content as well as using the platform's management features to build audience engagement with their chosen topic;

My Perfect Housemate, a start-up website which allows people find somewhere to live based on who they live with rather than the normal criteria of location and price; students were asked to develop branded journalism, multimedia content and a social media strategy;

Explaain, a web start-up which aims to provide background for news stories based on atomisation of content; they challenged students to develop a mobile version of the concept which would be based on contributory journalism;

Dawn, a new "travel and adventure" magazine aimed at people who are blind or visually impaired, who asked students to develop features and content which were written specifically to inspire readers to explore and travel;

Webgaffe, a social media and web start-up looking at correcting mistakes on the internet, from simple typos to fake news.

At the end of the Autumn Term, students are asked to form groups of two to five people, and are given information about the companies who want to work with them, and the challenges that these organisations are setting. The teams then decide whether they want to work on their own projects, or whether they want to work on one of the external projects. In all cases the groups are asked to have two back-up preferences as well, just in case there are any issues with the external organisations, or their own projects, before the start of the Spring Term's workshops.

Whichever option they choose, the learning outcomes are the same, and students are assessed on their ability to:

Engage in focused research and the application of analytical skills that will assist with the generation of appropriate solutions to posed problems;

Demonstrate proficiency in the application of subject discipline, sharing and exchanging of knowledge with others on new projects;

Demonstrate confidence in the communication and presentation of ideas to an identified audience through effective means;

Evidence the ability to collaborate with those of a different discipline in undertaking a common project, demonstrating an interdisciplinary perspective.

The spring term workshops

The formal workshops begin in the first week of the Spring Term, and run every week for at least two hours on a Wednesday morning. During that time the teams have access to at least one representative from the outside company, along with two tutors and a graduate teaching assistant who can also provide advice and support. Teams who are doing their own projects are asked to use this time to provide updates to the tutors as well, so that their progress can be monitored alongside that of the groups who have external collaborations.

The companies are asked to act as mentors to their teams, so there is scope for the teams to communicate and discuss issues with them outside of the formal teaching workshops, and in some cases, partners have invited their teams to visit them to see their working environment, which serves to deepen the collaborative experience. Other organisations have added their teams to their own project management and communication systems, using commercially available platforms such as Slack or Trello, which also allow communication, progress and content checking, discussion and mentoring through the project. For the teams who are working on their own projects, the tutors act as mentors, providing support and advice, as well as parity of experience.

The schedule for the ten-week term is straightforward: In the first week the students meet their mentors and discuss their ideas with them, so that by the second week, the teams have begun researching and developing their solutions to the challenge they have been set, and, if that solution involves the production of content, they have started planning the production of that content and organised themselves to create and edit it. The aim is to have the projects completed by the ninth week, so that the teams' solutions to their challenges can be presented back to the class, and the mentors can provide formal, professional feedback on what the students have done, and they are asked to provide that in writing after the presentations. The final week is a plenary session to discuss reflective writing and to review the assessment requirements for the unit; the final hand-in is at the end of the third week of the Summer Term. This was chosen for three reasons: to allow their mentors time to provide written feedback, to allow students time to collate their work and reflect on the feedback they have received, and to avoid students being overloaded with assessment points at the end of the Spring Term.

The assessment is in two parts, each carrying 50 per cent of the final unit grade. The first element is the practical solution to the problem that has been posed, either by the external partner or by the team themselves. The assessment brief requires the students to produce this solution using design, media and communication methods which are appropriate to the challenge they have been set and the expectation is that the students will be able to apply all the practical skills they have learned over the previous four terms of

the course.

The final form of the practical solution is not specified, and the solution that the students have produced could be anything from a physical magazine or product to a website or a virtual product such as a portfolio of page layouts and plans. Asking the students to produce a group presentation does mean that there will be at least one product that they can submit – the presentation itself – although students are encouraged to hand in a portfolio of material including plans, sketches, wireframes, storyboards, e-mail exchanges, mood boards and any other products they have created in reaching their solution, as well as the presentation and the solution itself, if it can be handed in. The presentation was also designed to encourage students to think about the creative and collaborative process, and so it becomes a vehicle for curating some of the portfolio of production material as well as allowing them to specify the way the team was organised and how each individual member contributed to the solution.

The second element is a reflective report of 1,000 words which is designed to encourage students to review what they have done both individually and as a team, how they worked together and collaborated with their external partners as well as asking them to consider that process and their own performance critically and asking them to identify what worked well and what could have been improved; where potential improvements are identified, they are encouraged to try and identify ways in which they could have achieved that. This is managed through a series of talking points and questions, which are listed in the assignment brief to provide students with a framework to structure their reflective writing and critical analysis.

Student outcomes

Since the re-organisation of the unit, the majority of students have chosen the option to work with an external company, and have produced a wide range of solutions to the challenges they have set. In some cases the collaborative partners have worked with a single team of students, while in other cases the companies have been willing to work with a number of groups, which sometimes introduces an additional element of competition into the unit.

Projects delivered with external companies include:

- A multimedia documentary on the challenges faced by Syrian refugees in Berlin;
- A curated collection of stories and analysis of black culture in Britain;
- A curated collection of podcasts and articles on a range of contemporary subjects aimed at a youth audience;
- A social journalism project examining the issue of social media bubbles and how students and young people can do more to get outside of their comfort zone;
- A new mobile interface for a start-up social journalism website;
- A critique of a new analytics and search interface for an online newsroom toolkit;
- A brand journalism package and social media strategy for a start-up website;
- A special section, with a range of sub-sections, for a leading travel website;
- A curated collection of articles examining the growing cultural and economic divide between London and the rest of the UK;
- A social journalism project investigating issues around the problems faced by homeless people, and another examining environmental and sustainability.

For some of the students, however, developing their own ideas and then collaborating with students and organisations outside the course (rather than working with one of the invited mentors) remains an attractive proposition, especially for those students who are highly motivated. It is interesting to note that in recent years, more students are developing their own journalistic projects outside the course, even in their first year of study, something that the course team have been happy to encourage as long as it does not affect the student's' studies.

These student-led projects have, so far, included:

A multi-magazine travel publication, consisting of four magazines in one larger presentation pack, each one focusing on a different city – the group of three students in this case worked with more than 20 other collaborators in four different countries;

A social media travel campaign in Copenhagen, working with four different travel-related companies;

A magazine and website focussing on sustainable food;

An animated documentary on being a first or second generation immigrant in the UK.

Results and feedback

In terms of the student performance, the Collaborative Project unit has come to be considered as a highlight of the second year, with many students providing positive qualitative feedback in the unit evaluation surveys. This is supported by statistical analysis of the unit's results which show that students regular score well above their own average on this unit, as shown in the table below:

Grade difference	2012-13	2013-14	2014-15	2015-16	2016-17
+5	0	1	1	3	1
+4	2	1	2	4	2
+3	8	4	4	2	3
+2	15	12	6	9	7
+1	11	16	13	11	8
No difference	7	13	7	10	16
-1	10	4	7	10	4
-2	4	2	3	5	3
-3	2	0	1	0	2
-4	1	0	0	0	3
-5	0	0	0	0	0

Higher	36 (60%)	34 (64%)	26 (59%)	29 (54%)	21 (43%)
Same	7 (12%)	13 (25%)	7 (16%)	10 (19%)	16 (33%)
Lower	17 (28%)	6 (11%)	11 (25%)	15 (28%)	12 (24%)

TABLE 1: An analysis of the grades achieved for the Collaborative Project unit, and how those grades compared with the student's' overall grade profiles.

From the table above, it can been seen that over the five years since it was launched, the significant proportion of students do better on the Collaborative Project compared to the other units at this level, and this appears to indicate greater engagement, which is supported by attendance figures and anecdotal evidence.

Qualitative feedback to the changes made to the unit, and the introduction of a greater industry focus were also captured in the unit evaluation surveys. Comments include:

"A refreshing unit that allows students to practice something slightly different than what we usually do, and the need for reflection and coming up with an idea."

"Developing teamwork skills - it may be one of the skills you're taught since you're in nursery but it's important to put this into practice when it comes to real life scenarios, which I thought worked well."

"Getting to work with and getting to know other people on the course."

"To get to work with other people rather than individually."

"Working with a team and see what strengths and weaknesses people have and how everyone works through them."

The companies involved have also provided feedback on the unit in their interactions with the students, and for them too, the experience has been a positive one, especially in relation to understanding the demands of a younger audience, which our students represent, as well as learning about how students and journalists related to the latest developments in digital communication, especially social media, participative journalism and extended multimedia such as augmented and virtual reality. In all cases, constructive, critical feed-

back is used to drive changes in an attempt to improve the student experience year-on-year.

Conclusion

While it may have seemed like a top-down imposition by the university management, the introduction of the Collaborative Project unit gave the course team an opportunity to develop a new approach to teaching a range of professional skills such as team-working and collaboration, as well as allowing students to explore their own ideas and apply the skills they have learned so far to practical, real-world problems.

These projects have also allowed students to explore aspects of journalistic practice which would be more difficult to do in traditional group exercises, especially the people and team management skills which are associated with the working newsroom, such as:

Commissioning content and managing contributors, including the editing and critique of other people's work, management of deadlines and editorial workflows;

The curation of content and the importance of this when done in parallel with the creation of content;

Project management and professional communications within the team and with external collaborators;

Copyright and content rights, including the negotiation and management of these with third parties and collaborators;

Business planning and logistics, especially with regard to travel and maintaining professional relations with outside parties;

Digital media and asset management, especially with regard to sharing of content for editing and approval, version control and editorial sign-off;

Client development and confidentiality, especially where a company is still in a pre-launch situation.

While many of these attributes have often been a feature of the course's Final Major Project in the third year (Level 6), the Collaborative Project has given the course team an opportunity to give the students some experience of this in a relatively controlled environment, and this, coupled with the Industry Work Placement, which follows immediately after the Collaborative Project, gives the students a more structured progression, building directly on the skills taught in the first four terms, and so providing them with a better preparation for both the Final Major Project and for their subsequent transition into professional journalism.

The course team are continuing to develop the unit, and know that maintaining these levels of student engagement will always be a challenge, especially in regard of finding a suitable range of industry partners for the students to work with. Some of the companies we have worked with say they have benefitted from participating, especially with regard to ensuring their products and services are engaging with a young audience, and some have asked to come back again in the future, while the course team are already trying to find new companies who may bring fresh challenges for our second year students next year.

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What value do academic qualifications have within a profession-oriented discipline?

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Abstract

This paper considers the role of academic qualifications within profession-oriented disciplines, and in particular the validity and processes of PhD by Publication. The paper begins by exploring the nature of profession-orientated disciplines and their fit within governmental ambitions for both higher education and the workforce. It then proceeds to consider how esteem and value are measured within the academy, isolating issues of how competency and esteem can be established in the appraisal of colleagues from profession-oriented fields. The role of the PhD by Publication is then explored, using a recent process of supervision as a case study from both the candidate and supervisor perspective. Finally, conclusions are drawn on how the process could be improved and comments offered on the wider usefulness of recommendations.

Methodology

This paper rests on an examination of the associated (albeit limited) academic literature relating to PhDs by Publication, and interviews with those who have studied for, or supervised, such a degree.

It also draws on previous research, which took the form of an international survey of Publishing Studies academics working in universities worldwide (Baverstock and Steinitz, 2014a and b). This survey asked academics involved in teaching the discipline about their involvement in research and professional practice. Finally, the paper draws on first-hand experience of PhD by Publication and analysis of perspectives of those involved.

Context

The first disciplines taught within universities were profession-orientated (Medicine, Law, Theology). Today a wider range is increasingly available – from Wine Culture to Journalism, Tourism Management to Publishing – and they are of growing popularity because potential students, and their parents, supporters and funders increasingly favour higher education courses that contribute to employability within a particular economic sector , and host universities appreciate a steady flow of applicants. At their best such disciplines offer an effective combination of professional practice at the highest level (so graduates can function in their industry sector of choice) combined with academic thinking skills. The combination leaves graduates well placed to function in their industrial sector of choice on leaving, yet also equipped to solve future problems, unanticipated as yet by the current industry. The understanding and skillset they generally apply is also highly transferable, and so promotes the employment fluidity that is characteristic of today's workplace.

In governmental terms, these outcomes are close to international goals regularly quoted within debates around higher education. Profession-oriented disciplines prepare students for an employable future; they offer the possibility of close links between the academy and industry as well as for relevant research that can be implemented quickly. Many such courses are also subject to professional validation, and so can be shown to already be meeting the particular requirements of planned or actual legislation, e.g. the Higher Education Act in the UK which seeks to formalise provision from new providers and ensure standards of delivery within existing institutions are high.

How professional-orientated fields fit academic criteria for establishing excellence

While large student numbers, growing demand and significant relationships with industry are often evident in the delivery of profession-orientated fields, their position within the academic hierarchy is regularly insecure. Here esteem and prestige are still routinely defined by criteria relevant to more traditional disciplines: the number of PhDs seen through to completion; successful applications for academic funding; the publication of purely academic books, all of which are problematic when applied within profession-oriented fields.

Many of those teaching profession-oriented disciplines are working on part-time contracts (Baverstock and Steinitz, 2014), sometimes because there is no full time contract available but also to ensure that the professional practice on which their academic teaching is based can be continued. It follows that decisions must be made about how to allocate time. A consequence is often that professional practice and academic research cannot both be accommodated, and there is insufficient time to undertake the credit-bearing activities of academics in more traditional fields.

Profession-orientated subjects as fields for PhD study

Profession-orientated programmes can sometimes have difficulty finding PhDs with the current and practical skills their programmes need to produce job-ready graduates and this further complicates programmatic efforts to contribute to traditional scholarship. Students selecting to study within profession-orientated disciplines are generally making their choice for reasons of future employability rather than as a starting point for academic study. The number of PhDs, as a percentage of postgraduates, is consequently very low in profession-oriented disciplines:

	Research Degree	Total Post-grad	Research as a % of total
Psychology	5,050	18,050	28%
Chemistry	4,160	5,000	83%
English Studies	2,465	5,950	41%
Nursing	1,175	21,085	6%
Journalism	135	2,035	7%
Publishing	10	525	2%

Figure 1: UK Postgraduate Students 2013-14; research degree students compared with total postgraduates Source: HESA

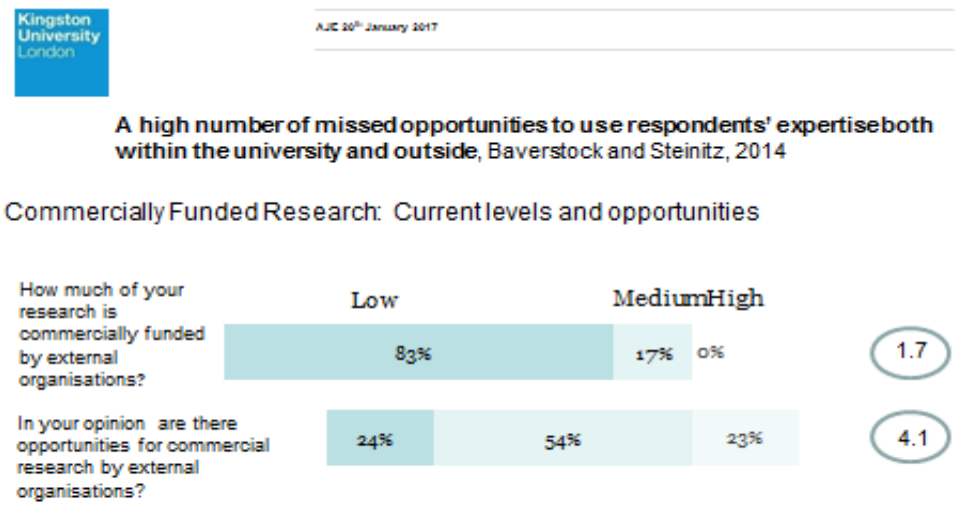
Grant applications from within profession-orientated fields

Another hallmark of a successful scholar has traditionally involved bringing in external funding. Grant applications require the allocation of significant time and with many staff teaching profession-orientated subjects working on fractional contracts, there is often insufficient time for their pursuit.

While academic funding necessarily has a particular prestige within academia, if a decision to pursue funding is made, staff involved in profession-orientated disciplines may find it more relevant to secure money from industry sources, or the charitable sector, but research support – or just prior experience – for accessing such funds is often lacking; lists circulated by colleagues managing research support within universities routinely feature funding solely from academic sources. Baverstock and Steinitz (2014a) found an unexploited gap in opportunities for commercial research funded by external organisations, again this largely due to a lack of time to pursue them.

Figure 2: Current engagement in commercially funded research and future potential (*n*1 = 60, *n*2 = 63) (Baverstock and Steinitz, 2014a)

While academic funding may currently have a higher prestige within universities, the often prevailing



assumption that money from academic funds is harder to secure is questionable. Applying for even modest amounts of money from charities and organisations offering corporate sponsorship is a lengthy process;

the associated application forms are regularly long and complex. In the UK the number of applications competing for such support has also increased significantly in recent years due to economic stringencies and reduced access to some previously large funding opportunities (e.g. The Libor Fund.) The situation is similar in the US where the federal budget proposed in May 2017 by President Donald Trump 'would effectively cripple our nation's scientific efforts, undermining our economic growth, public health, and national security,' according to Mary Sue Coleman, president of the Association of American Universities (AAU, 2017). Any reduction in federal research dollars in the US would almost certainly increase competition for private sector research money.

Associated ethical issues

The issue of how universities can acknowledge esteem within profession-orientated fields also raises ethical considerations, notably how can universities isolate and affirm the value of disciplines they have officially validated, and in which they award degrees? This is important for all stakeholders: for students so that the value of their study is supported by the institution that is delivering it, for alumni so that the institution from which they graduated confirms the academic value of their qualification, and for the associated staff teaching such disciplines, to ensure they can benefit from institutional promotion and accreditation processes. If a university is awarding qualifications within a specific discipline, and has hence confirmed that discipline as academically valid, there is arguably an ethical imperative to engage with how it is taught, and how associated esteem can be recognised and acknowledged. In the UK this is particularly topical at the moment since a subtext of The Stern Report into Higher Education includes how to acknowledge and encourage participation in research across the institution, not just within academic disciplines traditionally involved.

Literature Review

A standard definition of the PhD by Publication (also known as PhD by Published Work) is that of a PhD awarded to a candidate 'whose thesis consists entirely or predominately of refereed and published articles in journals or books which are already in the public domain' (UKCGE, 1996). Cambridge University began offering this new type of degree in 1966, and as of 2009, more than 60 UK universities had adopted the PhD by Publication option (Bradley, 2009). However, PhD by Publication is discussed only occasionally in the higher education press (e.g. Gibney, 2012) and the associated literature in journals is not extensive; while '…a body of literature has been published on the nature and standards of the conventional PhD, relatively little has been published on the PhD by Publication.' (Durling, 2013). In addition, 'although policies on PhDs by Publication are well established, completions by this method are still relatively minor in the UK' (Powell, 2004), and in fact, it is not available through any US institutions at all. In other parts of the world, where this path to a PhD is an option, there are also obstacles to fully integrating the option into existing frameworks. 'Unfortunately, Australia is not yet in a position to capitalise on the potential benefits of the publication pathway as universities, as a whole, are yet to develop guidelines which clearly outline the required outcomes' (Jackson, 2013, p. 13).

Some researchers see the potential for PhD by Publication to offer more value than the conventional PhD (Robins and Kanowski, 2008). Because 'low publication output is . . . a consistent feature of doctoral programmes in the UK, USA, Australia and elsewhere' (Kamler, 2008, p. 283), increasing the number publications from research students is one strategy for increasing overall institutional output. In fact, it could also be argued that PhD by Publication is one means of delivering 'a central tenet of doctoral research . . . that the work achieved should have an impact on other knowledge in the field' (Powell, 2004, p. 7). African researchers Asongu and Nwachukwu seem to agree: 'In order for PhD dissertations to be more useful to society, they should be harmonised with publications in top-tier journals in order to enhance innovation and technology transfer' (2016, p. 18).

However, PhD by Publication does have its drawbacks and its critics. Hoddell, Street and Wildblood write of 'a significant concern over quality assurance' in a PhD by Published Work (2002, p. 67). Some of that concern may be attributed to the fact that the degree was originally often available only to staff or alumni of the institution making the academic award a sort of insiders-only programme. The nature of the submission itself is not standard, from the number and type of publications required to the length of the narrative

required to show the coherence of the publications, there is little consistency on what should be included in the PhD by Publication submission. Some universities, but not all, also require potential candidates to make a case for the coherence of their work at a *prima facie stage*, which Wilson believes provides valuable experience to candidates developing their ability to defend their research achievements (2002). He goes on to say that assessment of the PhD by published work should confirm that candidates are competent researchers, know their subjects and can plan, implement and evaluate their research activities (p. 76), but the challenge is in developing a standard assessment of those desired outcomes.

Yet, the need to overcome objections to a PhD by Publication is greater now than ever before.

For example, Baverstock and Steinitz (2014a) found an inverse correlation between professional practice and level of research activity, with respondents' involvement reported within either research or professional practice (or both). 31% of the sample had a high involvement in professional practice but only low to medium research while 34% had a high involvement in research but only low to medium involvement in professional practice. The conclusion would seem to be that while academic research and professional practice are equally relevant to academics in such fields, they find it hard to be both involved both, particularly given that the majority of staff are on fractional contracts.

Figure 3: Level of own research versus level of involvement in professional practice (Baverstock and Steinitz, 2014a)

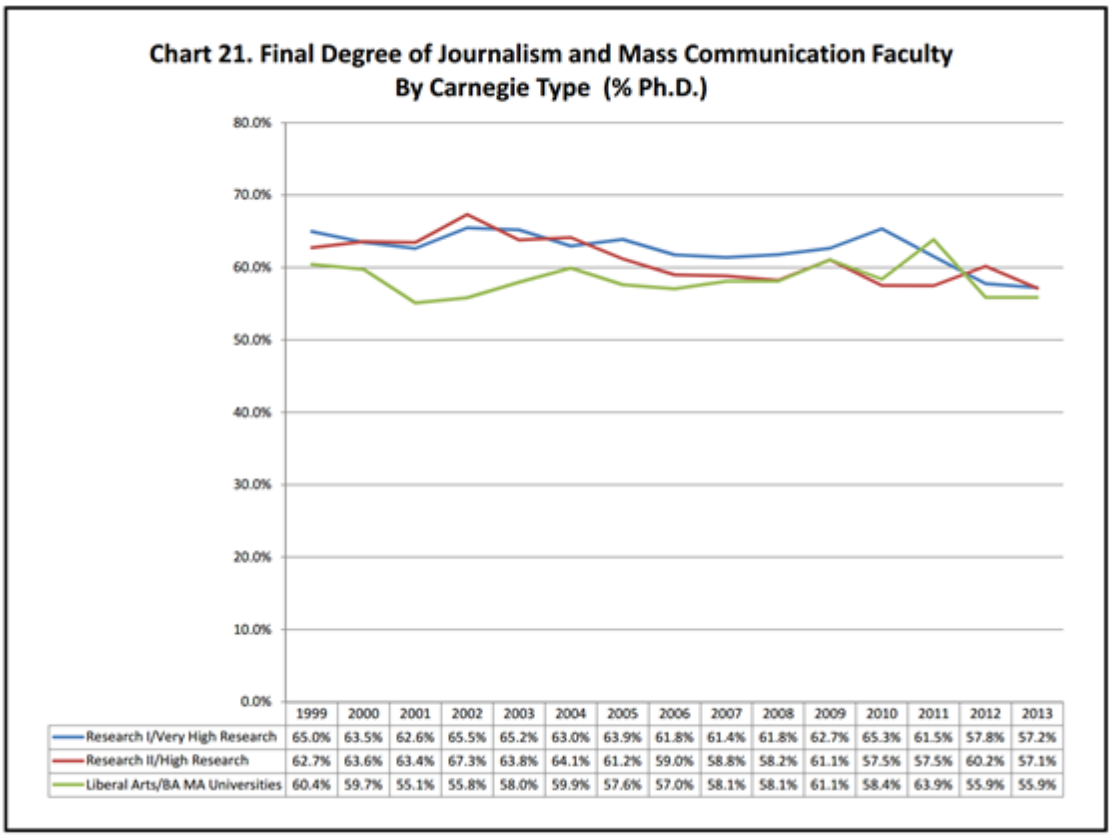
In the US, the disconnect between practitioner and research expertise has been of particular concern for the

	Involvement in Professional Practice			
Involvement in Research	High	Medium	Low	Total
High	7%	19%	15%	42%
Medium	13%	9%	9%	31%
Low	18%	9%	0%	27%
Total	39%	37%	24%	100%

disciplines of journalism and mass communication. Using data from The Association of Schools of Journalism and Mass Communication (ASJMC), researchers Becker, Vlad and Stefanita analysed the percentage of faculty with PhDs working in journalism and mass communication programmes from 1999-2013 and categorized the results according to the Carnegie research status of the university[1] (Becker *et al*, 2014).

Figure 4: Source: Becker, Vlad and Sefanita, 2014

The research team found that the number of faculty with PhDs was at or near an all-time low across the board in US JMC programs, regardless of the research intensity of the university.



	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Research I/Very High Research	65.0%	63.5%	62.6%	65.5%	65.2%	63.0%	63.9%	61.8%	61.4%	61.8%	62.7%	65.3%	61.5%	57.8%	57.2%
Research II/High Research	62.7%	63.6%	63.4%	67.3%	63.8%	64.1%	61.2%	59.0%	58.8%	58.2%	61.1%	57.5%	57.5%	60.2%	57.1%
Liberal Arts/BA MA Universities	60.4%	59.7%	55.1%	55.8%	58.0%	59.9%	57.6%	57.0%	58.1%	58.1%	61.1%	58.4%	63.9%	55.9%	55.9%

Figure 5: Source: Becker, Vlad and Sefanita, 2014

Conversely, they also found that professional experience was at an all-time high in US JMC programmes, so it stands to reason that there is a large pool of academics who have a job and extensive professional experience, but lack a terminal degree in their disciplines. Offering these individuals a route to a PhD by Publication has the potential to serve the needs of their institutions by increasing the amount of academic research produced and to the individuals themselves as this enhances their standing and perceived value within the academy.

Possible responses from academics involved in profession-orientated disciplines

How should those involved in both delivering and managing profession-oriented disciplines within universities respond? One solution is just to lie low, carry on with recruitment and delivery and forget about the current mechanisms of higher education, which may acquire another priority before long. While profession-orientated fields may not feature high up on university esteem lists they are, as one dean reported, 'useful for other things' such as demonstrating interface with industry and the counting mechanisms that support institutional claims for outreach and widening participation. Such fields can offer ready-made case studies of industry liaison while continuing to benefit the institutional coffers through applicant numbers.

On the other hand, given that it is not difficult to estimate the economic significance of individual disciplines to an institution, and considering implications of the Stern Report relating to disciplinary tolerance, a more assertive spirit among those teaching profession-orientated fields may be on the rise. Staff whose discipline is validated as degree-awarding, and regularly watch growing numbers of students pass before them at graduation ceremonies, may feel that their growing popularity should be accompanied by a similar level of curiosity within the awarding institution. They may approve a hunt for processes that would enable colleagues from more traditional disciplines to assess the quality of what they offer, using metrics they can relate to, which model the essential nature of profession-orientated disciplines and which benefit the

institution by enabling an outward demonstration of how it values its own offering. This is likely to be very beneficial for marketing programmes of study and the process of attracting new students. Enter PhD by Publication, stage left.

What is PhD by publication?

The authors have already offered the relatively simplistic UKCGE definition of PhD by Publication (or by prior publication or portfolio; various names exist). However, it is worth expanding on what such a degree means as it allows the presentation of a body of published work that has made a significant contribution to knowledge to be assessed and validated within an academic contact. The route allows people who have not followed the traditional academic route towards a PhD to obtain academic recognition for having developed their research skills, undertaken and produced research, and made an original contribution to knowledge to doctoral level and is generally outlined as taking a year. Whereas it is often described within a conventional academic context it may enable people entering higher education in mid-career, especially in practice-based disciplines, to acquire academic validation for their work.

> *'This award has been linked with an aspiration on the part of institutions to recognise members of existing teaching staff who, for whatever reason, have not previously gained a research degree, yet have extensive experience of practising good quality research over a period of years. One justification for this approach is that in the more practice-based subjects such as design, it is common for practitioners to hold a studio masters degree but not a PhD, yet they may have learned research 'on the job' and have an extensive record of publication. In a few cases, individuals are recognised authorities in their subjects and hold professorships. Unlike a conventional PhD where the study is planned in advance, the PhD by Publication route is more akin to an APEL process (accreditation of prior and experiential learning) where the contribution to knowledge has already been made, and simply needs to be brought into a form that may be assessed (OCA).' (Durling, 2013, p. 4).*

PhD by Publication is particularly suited to the presentation of work within a profession-orientated discipline because what it presents has already been validated by commercial publication and subsequent academic validation confirms its usefulness within academia. For example, the first PhD by Publication candidate supervised by the first author of this paper was both a highly active professional and part-time lecturer. The academic validation of his industry-influencing work by PhD by Publication resulted in increased tutor confidence, a wealth of research-informed teaching for his students – and credit for the university.

The availability of PhD by Publication in practice

Within higher education their availability within universities are not universal, many are validated but in practice unavailable, or they are described in terminology that does not make their wide applicability evident. The rules at Kingston University are similar to other institutions making the award available, and generally include substantial published work and an introductory section of about 10,000-15,000 words. On completion it will be the subject of an oral examination, or viva, in which candidates have to show they have critically investigated their area of research; and made an independent and original contribution to knowledge.

The wide relevance of this route for those from a practice or professional background is often not explicit. For example, the University of Westminster offers 'The PhD by published work route is intended primarily for mid-career research-active academics who, for one reason or another, haven't had the opportunity to undertake a research programme leading to a PhD.' (Westminster, 2017) Thus the route is presented as plugging a gap in a conventional academic career. In this particular case the regulations do not permit the inclusion of work produced more than ten years before submission, meaning a lifetime contribution within industrial practice cannot be taken into account.

Other universities technically offer PhD by Publication but in practice make it unavailable, or offer internal resistance which impacts on institutional opinion on the associated value or prestige. One candidate awaiting her viva commented:

'In my workplace there is a drive for all academic staff to obtain a PhD. Because I had previously published, including in well-regarded journals, and because of my age – I'm a bit long in the tooth – I wished to do a PhD by Publication. Yet when I asked about it I sensed the colleague in charge of faculty research

was not enthusiastic and I was advised by them not to do a PhD by Publication as I could fail. I wasn't clear why, but it nevertheless knocked my confidence.

In the end I worked around this individual. With the encouragement of colleagues, I found a member of staff experienced in supervising people through this publication route, and although they were in a different subject area to mine, they were very helpful. Once I finished, and two external professors had been lined up as external examiners (plus one internal), the person responsible for research tried to block one of those who had been approached and refused to sign them off. They also visited my supervisor, argued with them about their involvement and questioned their experience.

I am still waiting for my viva, do not know if I will pass and am angry about the way I have been treated in this process and undermined. Some professors appear to 'look down' on PhDs by Publication or certainly have their own agendas when this is a route that has been validated by my institution. For those of us who come into HE via professional experience, and have already published academic research, this is a sensible way of obtaining a PhD and it needs to be more widely embraced and used, rather than making those of us who choose it feel second rate.'

This candidate has subsequently had a very successful viva and obtained her PhD. However, she subsequently learned that before being called in to her viva the internal examiner was very concerned about some of her research articles being co-authored (clearly allowed according to university rules and, luckily, defended by the panel chair who had sound knowledge of the rules). Thus, the experience left her questioning the judgment of the professor who was her research director and his motives for blocking her progress, and whether there is hostility and ignorance about the process in other institutions.

Anecdotal evidence shows there is a regular lack of awareness about what is involved in the submission, and that this depends on the submission of a significant body of published work. For example, a conversation about the recent supervision of one candidate prompted the comment from a Director of Research about what role there really was for a supervisor in helping to develop the associated thesis: 'Surely you just hand it over?'.

Stories circulate of candidates finding themselves at viva for PhD by Publication required not only to defend the value of their work, but the value of the degree for which they are being examined, although already part of the university's validated and confirmed offering. One candidate for a PhD by Publication commented on his viva:

> *"I know quite a few people doing a traditional PhD who have had a challenging viva in all senses of that word, including a female friend reduced to tears, so it is difficult to assess the extent to which my experience reflected the form of the PhD, or some fairly traditional male academic views on needing to continue a tradition of the viva as a tough rite of passage for any form of PhD.*
>
> *"Certainly making me wait outside for so long on a hot afternoon was not good practice in any setting and the disagreement they had obviously been having went straight onto me from the moment we started with barely time for a 'Hello'. A better chair would also have helped me as he seemed unclear on his role and resorted at times to joining the attack.*
>
> *"Reflecting on the experience, I think it was driven by one examiner being both unfamiliar with this form of PhD and with the predominantly qualitative methodologies underpinning the majority of my articles, most of which were published in professional management journals publications rather than starred academic journals. As I knew he was a quantitative economist I guess I might have anticipated the attack on qualitative methods. Expecting a totally consistent methodology and hypothesis to test over 20 years of work and article-writing was I felt somewhat unfair. And I was totally unprepared for his apparent complete rejection of jointly authored publications, and found it somewhat ironic when in in some cases I had written all the text and just partnered with academic friends in the heading to give the articles a bit more credibility! He also was clearly expecting a traditional format PhD with long literature review and had found my paper difficult to assess. I didn't feel he had read the articles, only the 12,000 word justification paper.*
>
> *"Overall, helped by my good supervisors, I guess the thing I am most proud of was swallowing my pride and hurt and buckling down to totally rewrite my submission in a much more traditional PhD format, this process helped by the relaxation of the word limit post-viva, which meant I could double its size with a much fuller literature review. This was somewhat ironic when I really struggled to get my initial draft down to the 12,000 word limit the institution set on PhD by Publication!"*In conclusion, while getting a tough viva is fine, examiners do need to be properly briefed on the guidelines for this form of PhD – such as the 12,000 word limit and the associated publications being part of the submission.'

Resistance to the concept of a PhD by Publication may come from those within more traditional academic fields, but it is also reported from those without a PhD at all, who lack sufficient material for submission within a programme of PhD by Publications, or those who disapprove of the establishment of cross-disciplinary supervision, in order to access process-expertise within the institution. We heard of repeated instances of unreturned emails and enquiries not being pursued, for example, research colleagues and acquaintances

in Australia and The Netherlands of one candidate telling her that she would be a 'perfect' candidate for this, but subsequent email questions inquiries being virtually ignored.

How publications are assessed within academia

The issue of publications presented for assessment within PhD by Publication that are not published by traditional academic publishers also emerges - impacting significantly on the mechanisms used by academia for the appraisal of submissions. A significant issue here is the process of publishing, which is routinely concentrated on formatting titles to ensure maximum saleability within anticipated markets rather than subsequent participation in academic identity parades. Thus books that sport 'How to' in their titles may be well positioned to attract interest within industry, but automatically downgraded within academia. Similarly, the involvement of co-authors; seen by publishers as drawing on a helpful breadth of expertise and hence positioning a title to appeal to a range of markets, may rather be reviewed by those estimating impact as diminishing the product through widening involvement. This understanding reflects the assessors' disciplinary background; thus whereas colleagues within the sciences may be comfortable with team-based research (and it is notable that the Nobel Prize recently expanded the number of participating nominees to reflect the growing size of research teams), within the Humanities it is common for the sole-authored monograph to be considered the acme of perfection, and collaboration to be looked down upon.

Convictions about the unique specialness of academic publishing persist. In one UK university, when outlining the criteria that qualify candidates for a Professorship, the chair of a Professorial Appointments Panel commented (2012): 'I personally hold by the opinion that under the criteria for research "peer reviewed publications" refers to academic peer review not industrial or publishing.'

But to adopt this position fundamentally underestimates the careful and strategic decision-making that underpins investment decisions within publishing houses. Whereas an academic monograph may require very little in the way of funding to ensure it reaches the scholars likely to buy it or suggest a copy for purchase by their institutional library, publications with an anticipated wider market regularly go through rounds discussion at internal meetings, are submitted to a variety of different reader-reports, institutional trial and international market research, this process grounded in a strategic need to estimate likely sales potential before investment is made.

How else could the merit and wider academic value of profession-orientated publications not published by an academic publishing house be estimated? Other measures might include the number of universities in which material is used (national/international) and consequent estimation of the percentage of institutions included; licenses for translation/local editions; feedback from industry commentators; author involvement on editorial and academic panels in academic/industry events and audience size; involvement in profession-specific associations, such as The Association for Journalists in Education (UK); Association for Publishing Education (UK); the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication (US). A publication's position within field development should also be considered, thus the first publication of a book intended for wider sale may have been formatted differently (e.g. cover, the inclusion of cartoons/illustrations) from subsequent editions, once its role within universities had been established. Finally, when publications are jointly written, it is rare for contributors not to be able to precisely isolate their particular contributions – and thus steer those reviewing to the relevant parts of the book.

In the US, the academic environment for profession-orientated disciplines is similar to that in the UK. There is pressure from state legislators, who control relatively small but significant sources of funding, as well as from higher education governing bodies to graduate a job-ready workforce. And there is pressure to bring in funding and maintain or achieve research active (Research 1) status for all involved in teaching. But the 'Coin of the realm' at the university level is still a PhD, although demand for practical skills has never been higher at unit level. There is currently no option for PhD by Publication in the US, a principle that sits in curious contrast with wider sector objectives to create a workplace-ready stream of graduates.

The relevance of a PhD by Publication within profession-orientated fields, however, makes particular sense given that profession-oriented disciplines are generally more accepting of applied research. The *prima facie* stage that most such programmes require serves as quality control, providing a pathway for candidates to foster and demonstrate their publishing capabilities *before* acceptance into programmes, thus reducing organizational risk in making appointments. Those with a doctorate with significant publishing experience are better positioned for a career in softening academic labour markets as search committees may be more inclined to hire a PhD with a proven track record of multiple publications over time rather than a newly

minted PhD with merely the potential for sustained scholarship. In that it documents the process of knowledge building, the process of PhD by Publication can also play a significant role in discipline building.

How the processes of PhD by Publication could be better

From working through the process associated with this paper, a number of recommendations on associated improvement can be made. Firstly, there is an apparent need for both the development of more specific and consistent guidelines on the quantity and quality of required publications required for a PhD by Publication, and how the entire body of work should be integrated and evaluated to ensure the thesis is of comparable utility and quality to the conventional dissertation. This needs to start with recognition by faculty that the publications have been produced for use within industry and thus will not necessarily conform to a preconceived notion of what an academic book looks like. As one faculty member within a profession-orientated field commented:

> *'I remember watching our Faculty Director of Research appraise my books on writing, published by a prestigious house, sold internationally and widely translated. She based her examination on the Perry five chapter model, looked to see where the second chapter offering a literature review was, and finding none put them down saying they would not do as they failed to correspond to academic norms. She then asked if she could keep them for her husband, a fellow academic, who was writing a book and would find them very useful.'*

Secondly, it would be appropriate to promote organisational curiosity within higher education about all staff whose disciplines are offered by the institution; to foster both enquiry and research that analyses the productivity and achievements of PhD by Publication recipients compared to traditional PhD graduates to determine their effectiveness, within both academia and industry. The suspicion of the authors of this paper is that personal effectiveness and impact observed would be considerable.

Objections to PhD by Publication may also lie within existing institutional staffing, within which profession-orientated disciplines are consistently a minority. For example, a survey of 214 full professors found that those with a traditional PhD believed a terminal degree was more important for a Journalism faculty than significant work experience in journalism (Pardun, McKeever, Pressgrove and McKeever, 2015). PhD by Publication is consistently reported as being viewed as an inferior path. Criticisms, in general, are that earning a PhD by Publication is somehow 'easier' than going the traditional route; dismissing the time spent researching and publishing prior to embarking on the degree programme and the effort required in pulling together a sustained body of work into a manageable supporting narrative:

> *'The effort involved in pulling together a suitable narrative at this level, and providing evidence of work completed over a long period of time, is not trivial.' (Durling, 2013, p.11).*
>
> *'All this took a great deal of time, and the expectation implicit in the regulations that submission might take place within a few months of enrolment was not met. The entire process took nearly two years in total. This was not an easy option.' (Durling, 2013, p.10).*

Finally, it would be appropriate to promote the availability of PhD by Publication to those outside the academy who are publishing important work; that it's not 'just a staff' degree.

A changed environment for PhD by Publication?

Significantly the time may now be right for PhD by Publication within the professional associations supporting its development within higher education. The Association for Journalism Education hosted a paper on PhD by Publication at its January Conference, put it first on the programme and has since hosted an associated blog (Baverstock and Wenger, 1 and 2 February 2017).

In the US too, the time may be right for closing the gap between media educators and practitioners. Paul Voakes, 2016-17 president of the Association of Educators in Journalism and Mass Communication (AEJMC), has a task force devoted to improving relevance of JMC research for professions. His emphasis is on globalization permeating US institutions, on the industry-experience of faculty members increasing and PhDs decreasing across the board in JMC programmes:

> *'I'm excited to begin my presidential term, which I see as a committed renewal of several of the inspiring initiatives of my presidential predecessors, and an initiative or two of my own.*
>
> *The theme of my term is "Closing the Gap," which implies a number of different contexts for "gaps," but the "gap" that chiefly concerns me is the gap between JMC educators and media practitioners. I don't think there has ever been a time in which a symbiosis between media professionals and media educators was more*

urgently needed. But I don't see it happening to the extent that it should.' Paul Voakes, AEJMC President 2016-17

Case study. PhD by Publication, Dr Debora Wenger

The first step towards a PhD by Publication was to speak to Dr David Rogers, who met Debora when he was visiting The University of Mississippi from Kingston University, where he was then Head of the School of Humanities and involved in recruiting graduate students. A native of Tennessee, Dr Rogers is used to transatlantic cross-fertilisation and pioneered the establishment of an MFA[2] degree at Kingston, the first in the UK. Debora had been exploring options for a PhD by Publication in the UK and sought advice from Dr. Rogers, who saw potential in her as a candidate.

The tutee comments:

> *'Dr Rogers conducted a prima facie review of my work and put me in touch with Dr Alison Baverstock, co-founder of the MA Publishing programme at Kingston and herself a PhD by Publication (from Oxford Brookes).*
>
> *Having examined the work, Alison was confident that it was likely to be well situated within her department of Journalism and Publishing. She was also convinced that a connected argument could be made as to the value this published work, which was based on exploration of the skills recruiters are looking for within the potential workforce for journalism, and corresponding consideration of how universities are preparing their students for future employment.*
>
> *It did, however, take 18 months to have my candidateship approved by Kingston. The process required patient negotiation with the Graduate School, which had validated PhD by Publication for the university as a whole, and with senior management of the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, which consisted of colleagues from traditional academic fields, unused to PhD by Publication, and so far with no faculty candidates who had used this route.'*

Once the decision had been made to permit her registration, progress was swift. Debora was given strong support from her home school, and time away from teaching to work on her thesis. She gained her PhD without corrections – and with strong affirmation of the work from both examiners. Acquisition of a PhD enabled a swift Assistant Dean position at her home university, and contributed to her subsequent success in gaining a Knight Foundation Grant for the University of Mississippi.

From the supervisor's point of view, this was a significant step; ensuring the affirmation of the value and significance of a candidate's work, in the process confirming the value that colleagues working within other profession-orientated fields are able offer within HE and in preparing students for life as useful and contributing members of society. Her tutor comments:

> *'A variety of responses to PhD by publication are routinely witnessed. There are practitioners who will helpfully pass on the view they had "heard elsewhere" that a PhD by Publication has less value than the traditional sort. Those with a traditional academic PhD regularly pose a rhetorical question about how long it takes to achieve the qualification – "A year isn't it?" – overlooking the time it takes to have written and published the significant body of material on which a submission must be based.*

The merit of our candidate was confirmed the very same week she graduated, when she was acknowledged as one of the best educators in journalism in the US (Newspro, 2017). Generous feedback came from the Association for Journalists in Education, where she and I made a presentation on the opportunities and challenges of PhD by Publication to the January 2017 conference; we found strong interest in the associated processes, a sharing of candidates' experiences of impediments to progress from within their own institutions, and there were several subsequent enquiries to Kingston. Ultimately the lack of special noting when Debora received her degree is perhaps the most significant thing; she was simply on the list of those to receive their award at Graduation in January 2017 and walked across the stage along with every other PhD candidate who had qualified over the same period, to collective applause. Well done Dr Wenger.'

Conclusion

As universities expand the range of courses available to students, and validate associated degrees, it is important that methods of acknowledging the experience and expertise of those delivering correspond to the full range of courses available. The availability of PhD by Publication is an important within academia as it enables the validation of published work of esteem that is relevant to both the courses that are being taught within higher education and their wider industrial or sector context, and can affirm the value and role those

delivering them. In the case of profession-orientated fields, PhD by Publication enables the validation of work that has a relevance to both industry and academy; particularly important given the nature of such disciplines, which rely on understanding of both professional practice and academic thinking. Formal methods of affirming an individual's contribution those that are highly relevant to academic delivery to be counted within academic metrics and thus reveal their particularly relevant characteristics within the framework within which they operate, rather than be regarded as supplementary evidence through presentation as case studies or examples of industry-HE interaction.

The incorporation of such degrees within the structures of higher education offers a development opportunity not only to the academic candidate, but also to those supervising, chairing vivas, managing research support and associated administrative arrangements. They offer a powerful demonstration to the wider institution of the institution's support for the full range of disciplines being taught and the mutual respect with which different disciplines are regarded by the university.

Finally, they offer the benefit of promoting learning and accreditation at a more ingrained level within the organisation, modelling life-long learning to students and colleagues, and the benefits of research-informed teaching to the students.

First-hand experience of PhD by Publication, and wider explorations prompted by the process, form the basis of this paper. This has led to wider investigation of the availability of PhD by Publication within UK universities, along with exploration of how it is described and how often utilised. These findings will be reported in a subsequent paper.

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(Endnotes)----------

1 The Carnegie Classification of Institutions of Higher Education is a framework for classifying the level of research activity within colleges and universities in the United States.

2 Master of Fine Arts, the final award in Creative practice in the US.

How the laughing, irreverent Briton trumped fact-checking: A textual analysis of fake news in British newspaper stories about the EU

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Abstract

After the British people voted for Brexit in June 2016, the role the media played was intensely debated. However, the research has focussed so far on the issues of fake news and biased reporting. This paper will argue that a focus on the role story telling played in persuading voters needs to complement the existing research. The paper builds on insights from political psychology that showed under which conditions misrepresentations of the truth prevail even after they have been debunked. It further uses Roland Barthes' definition of myth as "depoliticised speech" and Jack Lule's analysis of archetypal mythologies in news stories to establish the effectiveness of the myth of the laughing, irreverent Briton in fake news stories on the EU in British newspapers, the so-called Euromyths. This insight is highly relevant for the teaching of journalism: Journalism students need to learn both: Fact-checking and to understand why debunked lies prevail.

Introduction

The political campaigns in the run-up to the British EU referendum in June 2016 were riddled with falsehoods, and the media coverage of this referendum was plagued by bias and distortion (Jackson, Thorson, and Wring 2016; Moore and Ramsay 2017; Levy, Billur, and Bironzo 2017).

Various fact checking initiatives attempted to counter the deceits. However, the lies didn't disappear after they were exposed. The claim that after leaving the EU the British government could spend £350m per week on the National Health Service is just the most prominent example. The Office for National Statistics twice rejected it as "misleading" (Office for National Statistics 2017), but still it remained influential on the vote for Brexit (Peat 2017; Cummings 2017).

Research in political psychology has shown that misperceptions indeed survive and remain politically influential even after they have been debunked (for an overview see Flynn, Nyhan, and Reifler 2017). The explanation can be found in inherent psychological needs..

People negotiate their directional preferences, that is their political persuasions, attitudes and beliefs, against their need for truth. Directional preferences may even reinforce the influence of misperceptions after their falsehood has been exposed (Flynn, Nyhan, and Reifler 2017, p. 134).

The political adviser and campaigner Alex Evans in his recent book The Myth Gap (2017) describes the same phenomenon looking at the effectiveness of political campaigns.

Using the climate change campaign of the early noughties as an example, he shows that the truth of facts was by far less effective than false myths that told a coherent story (Evans 2017, pp. 57).

This paper builds on the research into political psychology and Evans' insights as a campaigner and aims to show that the British Eurosceptic media relied on a specific kind of storytelling as an instrument to create stories that resonate with the myth of British greatness.

Thereby the paper reflects the scholarly discussion of news stories as mythical tales. In this context the word 'myth' does not denote an invented, untruthful tale, but "a sacred, societal story that draws from archetypal figures and forms to offer exemplary models for human life" (Lule 2001, p. 15). Lule names archetypal figures like "the hero", "the trickster", or "the good mother", or story-archetypes like "the flood". I use the word "myth" in an analogue way to describe the narration of a societal identity.

Making this national identity myth resonate in news stories or comments, I will argue, led and still leads target audiences to discount facts and the exposure of lies.

I will analyse a sample of fake stories that go back about a quarter of a century and demonstrate how the manipulation and distortion of news stories on the EU has employed a specific kind of story telling since decades. It is the predominantly British media genre of misleading, distorting or outright false news stories about alleged EU regulation. The European Commission has dedicated its own blog to listing and debunking these stories which they call "Euromyths".[1] In this context the word "myths" is indeed used in the sense of "untrue story". For a clear distinction, I will speak of "myth" exclusively in the described sense of an archetypal story that taps into a socio-cultural identity. When I speak of the untrue British reports of EU regulation I will use the word "Euromyths".

The genre of the Euromyths – famous examples are the alleged bans of bent bananas[2] or curved cucumbers[3] by the EU – started in the early 1990s[4] and targeted at European legislation by ridiculing it as preposterous, absurd, and often pompous. The fake stories aspired to be witty, irreverent, and outrageous. For readers, I will argue, this style evoked the popular writing of P.G. Woodhouse, who represents a conservative British identity. The Euromyths thus resonated with their target audience because these readers recognised the national myth of a witty, irreverent people ready to resist a bully. As the myth echoed with the audience they were prepared to ignore the falsehood of the stories despite the many attempts to debunk the untrue claims. In fact, the British genre of the Euromyth proved so successful that the EU actively tried to counter them with often lengthy corrections on their dedicated website[5]. Tellingly, these attempts at putting the facts straight utterly failed, proving to be nothing but another exercise of fact-checking without much consequence.

I will suggest that when criticising "fake news" and the reporting of falsehoods it is not enough to respond with fact-checking. Instead, we need to analyse the tools of storytelling and myth-creating to expose a deeper-seated mendacity that is persuasive because it resonates with national myths. Falsehood in news reporting is not limited to the untrue representation of facts. The distortion of news becomes relevant through its impact which in turn is a function of how the story is told.

Literature Review

News as a narrative has been discussed by media scholars since the 1970s (for an overview see Buozis and Creech 2017). Bird and Dardenne (1988) analysed news as mythological stories that provided comfort by creating a meaningful reality: "Myth reassures by telling tales that explain […] phenomena and provide acceptable answers; myth does not necessarily reflect an objective reality, but builds a world of its own" (Bird and Dardenne 1988, p. 70). Nossek and Berkowitz (2006, p. 692) stressed that by choosing the "appropriate mythical narratives" which conform with societal conventions journalists "reify the dominant shaping of society". Journalists, they argued, create news stories following as well as reaffirming cultural imprints: "As both a part of the culture and as storytellers for that culture, journalists construct stories based on narrative conventions that are culturally resonant for themselves and their audiences" (Nossek and Berkowitz 2006, pp. 692-693).

These views go back to the concepts of cultural theory that reflected on how language, texts, and specifically news texts "represent" historical, political, social, and economical conditions (Hall 1982; Hall, Evans, and Nixon 1997), and how news narratives construct ideology and power within societies (Carey 1989), because they "participate in the construction, maintenance, and dissemination of cultural myths" (Tenenboim-Weinblatt 2009, p. 956). Or, as Buozis and Creech (2017, p. 5) put it: "news texts and narratives, when viewed as cultural artifacts, reveal the relationship between truth and power, tied to specific historical and cultural contexts".

Roland Barthes (1972) unveiled the ideological direction of myth within the "bourgeois society" by showing it to be "depoliticized speech":

> *"just as bourgeois ideology is defined by the abandonment of the name bourgeois, so myth is defined by the loss of the historical quality of things: in it, things lose the memory that they were once made" (Barthes 1972, p. 255).*

Myth, according to Barthes, unfolds its ideological power because it pretends to tell stories that are natural rather than historical:

> *"In passing from history to nature, myth acts economically: it abolishes the complexity of human acts, it gives them the simplicity of essences, it does away with all dialectics, with any going back beyond what is immediately visible, it organises a world which is without contradictions because it is without depth, a world wide open and wallowing in the evident, it establishes a blissful clarity: things appear to mean something by themselves" (Barthes 1972, p. 256).*

Barthes recognised a deep human need for the simplicity and clarity that myth offers, even comparing it to the Freudian pleasure principle as "the clarity principle of mythological humanity […]: its clarity is euphoric" (ibid.).

Lule (2001) confirmed this need for simplicity and clarity from the journalists' perspective. His book about archetypal myths in news reporting set off by describing Lule's own difficulties as a young news reporter when writing an article about a citizens' protest against a corner shop that sold drugs. Eventually he discovered what would transform the events into a story: The retelling of the myth of the archetypal victim-figure (Lule 2001, p. 13). Inspired by his own experience, Lule traced a number of mythical archetypes (hero, trickster, good mother, and flood among them) in news reports in the *New York Times*. Journalists, he concluded, "can be seen as powerful mythmakers, as State Scribes not unlike Homer and Pindar, who tell us, daily, stories at the very heart of human life" (Lule 2001, p. 187). Like Stuart Hall (1982) Lule suggested that mythical news tales fulfil a dialectical function within societies: "these stories shape, but are also shaped by, the times in which they are told" (Lule 2001, p. 187). Like Hall or similarly Roland Barthes Lule also analysed the ideological implication of myth (pp.191-193).

However, the literature on news stories as myth has not yet looked at the connection between mythical narratives and fake news. I will argue that news stories, by tapping into a myth that reaffirms political and cultural beliefs, immunise themselves against critical fact checking scrutiny. I will therefore suggest that the critique of fake news needs to go beyond fact checking and deconstruct the underlying myths that immunise a target audience against the debunking of the falsity.

Methodology

This paper starts with the observation that fact checking alone is not a sufficient remedy against fake

news. Flynn, Nyhan, and Reifler (2017) give an overview over research into misperceptions in politics and what makes them endure beyond their debunking. They quote research that suggest that the believe in the correctness of factual information about highly salient issues like health care, the Iraq War, or immigration depends on directional preferences (Flynn, Nyhan, and Reifler 2017, p. 131). Research also suggests that the misperceptions remain politically influential after they have been debunked (ibid.).

Furthermore, Flynn, Nyhan, and Reifler discuss research that investigates how directional preferences are negotiated against accuracy motivations. These studies show, they conclude, that "people's interpretation of factual information depends on whether the information reinforces or contradicts directional preferences" (2017, p.133). In addition, the authors establish, "identity threat" motivates people to let their beliefs prevail over their need for accuracy:

> *"Political facts often implicate long-standing, personally important identities such as partisanship [...]. If these facts are perceived as sufficiently threatening to one's identity or worldview, people may seek to resist them" (ibid.).*

Along this line of research, I will ask which myth fake news stories transport. The concept of 'myth', as seen when discussing the scholarly literature, is adapted to capture beliefs that are fundamental for the personal or social identity of people and which therefore help to explain how fake news stories that draw on identity myth can prevail against the need for factual accuracy. Using textual analysis as a method of discourse theory I will establish the elements of Euromyth news stories that evoke the myth of the great, witty, and irreverent British nation. I will take P.G Wodehouse as a reference point for this myth, an author who is generally deemed to be "quintessentially English" (e.g. McCrum 2002; Tharoor 2002; Rees 2013), and whose evocation of the Edwardian epoch has been seen as part of "a defining nineteenth-century narrative of modern Britishness" (Morra 2013, 23).

The body of texts I use has been collected by the Representation of the European Commission in the UK since 1992. They are currently held in boxes at the office of the representation in 32 Smith Square, London. The boxes contain newspaper cuttings, copies of newspaper articles, and copies and originals of, in some cases, lengthy communications between the EU Commission in Brussels, the London office, and various interested parties.

From October 1996 the UK Representation regularly issued a "Press Watch" newsletter that collected false and misleading articles[6]. The archive of newspaper cuttings and copies has not been collated systematically. Especially in the early boxes the publication date of the cutting or copy is often missing. In addition, the European Commission has collected an alphabetical list of the falsehoods on its own dedicated website (http://blogs.ec.europa.eu/ECintheUK/euromyths-a-z-index/). However, this website does not include links to the articles it refers to, and usually does not even cite the original article that contained the error. Therefore the origin of the alleged Euromyth could not always be established. In some cases, when the original article was neither included in the archive boxes at the UK Representation in London nor detailed on the European Commission blog site, it could be traced at other libraries (as the British Library). In other cases efforts to establish the original source proved fruitless.

Consequently, the articles I will analyse in this paper represent a random sample.

From this sample, I will select seven different Euromyths from the early years after the UK Representation of the European Commission started to collect them. Although the number of analysed articles is limited, it will still allow the coherent picture of a British myth that proved to be influential over decades and might contribute to understanding the 2016 EU referendum campaign and its outcome.

The first "Press Watch" newsletter was published on 2 October 1996. It started with a heading explaining its purpose:

> *"After almost a quarter of a century of UK membership of the European Community, the media continues to pump out myths and inaccuracies. Some newspapers are reluctant to publish corrections, and when they do they never give them the prominence of the original offending story. In an effort to redress the balance we present here some recent examples. The aim is to make it a regular publication, which will be distributed to ministers, MPs, Whitehall departments, the Press Complaints Commission, other national organisations and newspapers themselves" (The European Commission 1996).*

The Press Watch newsletters were published initially in very irregular intervals with months, on one occasion even more than a year, between them, which later changed to a more regular about quarterly publication. Thus the second Press Watch newsletter appeared in February 1997, the third in April 1998, a fourth on in July 1998, a fifth in November 1998, a sixth in March 1999, and so on.

Analysis

Bent cucumbers

The claim that Brussels demands cucumbers to be grown without a curve is among the earliest and most persistent Euromyths. Under the headline "Brussels sprouts the curve-free cucumber" Richard Pendlebury reports in the *Daily Mail* in May 1993: "We laughed when they tried to ban prawn-flavoured crisps and the green colouring in mushy peas. Now in a directive the late Frankie Howerd would have loved, Eurocrats want to iron out the kinks in British cucumbers." (Daily Mail, 7 May, 1993).

The intro to the news story contains already many markers of the myth of the great, witty, and irreverent British nation. It starts with a laugh, it alludes to another absurdity (incidentally another Euromyth, see below): the attempt to ban prawn-flavoured crisps, and it mentions the star comedian Frankie Howerd as comparison, who had died just about a year before the publication of this article, having experienced the height of his career during the 1950s and 60s. The article continues in this comical tone, claiming that "Eurocrats" want to "iron out" unwanted "kinks", that under EU rule cucumbers will not be allowed to "droop", and that "even a slight deviation" would be considered "vegetably incorrect".

The European Commission blog rejected the claim unequivocally:

> *"curved cucumbers are not banned: excessively curved cucumbers are in fact unusual and they simply have to be packed separately, and graded 'Class III'. Consequently they are often cheaper than straight cucumbers: this is actually a standard procedure for other types of products which are not perfect but whose consumption quality is in no way questionable" (http://blogs.ec.europa.eu/ECintheUK/quality-standards-for-apples/).*

It could be argued that the rest of the report is baseless before the background of this factual rebuke: The secretary of the Lea Valley Growers' Association who is quoted to explain that one "'can never get 100 per cent straight cumbers'", or the spokesman for the National Farmers' Union who "was surprised that even more cucumber regulation was being considered" (Daily Mail, 7 May, 1993). Neither did an EU regulation require to grow 100 per cent straight cucumbers, nor did the Commission issue a new regulation to that effect. Still, the representatives of the British farming community, including a cucumber grower, who the article quotes with the question "'Am I allowed to laugh?'", are cast in the role of irreverent objectors who unmask the alleged rule as equally impossible and absurd, and refuse to obey.

British irreverence is further displayed by a language with sexual overtones that playfully makes use of double meanings. "Go straight or else, EC warns growers", is how the subhead rephrases the alleged regulation. The curves that a cucumber grows naturally are called "kinky". Irreverent ridicule is also demonstrated in the image of the "Ministry of Agriculture inspectors, stalking New Covent Garden, tape measures at the ready".

Finally, the article stresses British exceptionalism. The alleged regulation is intended, as the reporter claims, to ban "British cucumbers" – when obviously any EU regulation would apply to all member states. British cucumber growers, as the article lets the managing director of a wholesaler explain further on, are different from the Dutch because British growers' "produce is wonkier than that of the Dutch".

To sum it up: Pendlebury's news report in the *Daily Mail* displays a spirit of ridicule and irreverence. It thus taps into a British identity myth showing the capacity to stand up to authority by unmasking its absurdity. Laughter and exceptionalism are the British traits that are pitched against a bureaucratic EU authority. It runs in the same mould as the "quintessentially English" farcical tone perfected by P. G. Wodehouse.

The cucumber-article, it needs to be emphasised, is not a comment or a column, but a news story. At the end of the news report it points to the accompanying comment.

The article certainly mixes fact and opinion and thus breaches the editor's code.

Nevertheless it is framed as a news story and is intended to be read as one. As a news story it will be have been read as fact and will have spread its influence accordingly[7]. The alleged ban of curved cucumbers evidently survived its debunking and kept being repeated[8].

Seaside postcards

British laughter is also set against EU bureaucracy in a news story the *Daily Mirror* published in May 1993 with the heading "Sauce! EC set to ban seaside postcards" (Daily Mirror, 3 May, 1993). The story claims that: "The sex watchdogs of Brussels are bidding to stamp out a traditional bit of British seaside fun – the saucy postcard." As in the cucumber story, the theme of sex and of humour pervade this article, if in a less subtle way. Whereas the "Eurocrats" don't find it "funny at all" and "sniff" as a way of talking ("They [the postcards] are 'sexist and offensive to women,' sniff the Eurocrats"), on the British side "generations of holidaymakers laugh", and resistance against the alleged ban comes from "that bastion of the British belly laugh – Blackpool" (Daily Mirror, 3 May, 1993).

Again, the story is pure fabrication. The Euromyths blog states: "This is entirely untrue. To quote Bruno DeThomas, Spokesman, 'this story is absurd and contains no truth whatsoever'. The European Commission has no competence in these fields, as all measures are non-binding. Thus it has not put forward any directives (and there is no EC legislation) in the fields of Sexual Harrassment and Sexual Discrimination" (http://blogs.ec.europa.eu/ECintheUK/ec-to-ban-sexist-saucy-seaside-postcards/). Still, resistance against the alleged threat comes in form of a quote from "tourism officer John Hall": "'They're crazy – how can you set down standards for a sense of humour?'". Against the alleged ban "on the grounds of sexism" the same John "hit back" claiming that mostly women bought the cards. John is also quoted to state British exceptionalism: "What is funny in Blackpool, Scarborough and Brighton may not be funny in Belgium or France." In addition, the story mentions "heritage" when pointing out that "generations of holidaymakers" laughed about the postcards, and again in a quote from John: "saucy postcards are as much part of our seaside heritage as our piers and promenades" (Daily Mirror, 3 May, 1993).

Laughter, irreverent resistance, British exceptionalism, and tradition are the elements of the British identity myth that the *Daily Mirror* news story evokes. As in the previously analysed *Daily Mail* news story a sexual theme is used to underline British irreverence.

Condoms

The sexual theme comes to the fore in a news story the *Daily Star* published in October 1994 under the headline "Euro squeezed" with the sub head "Brits 'too big' for 5 inch EC condom". The story is presented as an "exclusive".

In fact, the story about the alleged dictate of inadequately sized condoms was widely reported at the time, not only in the British press. The archive at the UK Representation of the European Commission holds various papers that document the debate, including a written question by the Dutch MEP Nel van Dijk concerning the "European standard for condoms (EN 600)" that refers to a report by the German news magazine Der Spiegel of 18 October 1993 ("Written Question E-3379/93", machine written script without date) and the answer given by Martin Bangemann "on behalf of the Commission" (machine typed script without date, headed by the reference number "QXW3379/93EN"). In his answer, Bangemann, at the time EU Commissioner for the internal market and industrial affairs, points out that the:

> *"Commission is aware of the media interest in the standardisation activity on condoms within the European standards body CEN. The information provided in some articles is quite selective and does not focus upon the real subject of this standardisation activity."*

Bangemann continues that "the standards […] will not have a compulsory nature" (ibid.). On its Euromyths blog the European Commission states:

> *"Any standardisation work in the area of condoms concentrates on quality and not on length. In 1991 the European Commission did request CEN, the European standards body, to come up with European safety standards for condoms. However these were always intended to be voluntary, and as such derogations are really not necessary" (http://blogs.ec.europa.eu/ECintheUK/eu-to-push-for-standard-condom.size/).*

The news story in the *Daily Express*, however, claims that "Eurocrats have been cut down to size – after under-estimating the British manhood" (Daily Star, 28 October, 1994).

The story is, unsurprisingly, brimmed with sexually loaded puns. It claims that the European Commission standardised the condom size "obviously to suit its smaller member countries".

An "EC official" is quoted saying that "the issue will arouse a lot of passion". The story ends on the name of the Dutch Prime Minister: "Wim Kok" – an obvious allusion to "cock".

As before, the theme of laughter ("a crackpot scheme") and British exceptionalism feature also in this news story. The latter in the form of boasting "the British manhood", which to submit to standardized condoms "is an insult to thousands of Brits", as the allegedly prescribed length were "not big enough for many"

(Daily Star, 28 October, 1994).

Prawn cocktail flavoured crisps

The Euromyths that are reported as facts in false news stories often survived their debunking and kept being repeated as casual side remarks in comments, columns or sketches. Boris Johnson's sketch for the *Daily Telegraph*, published on 15 January 1998, under the headline "Down went the thumbs, like a mob of Romans at a circus". Johnson deplores that European parliamentarians in Strassbourg "funked" a vote against the EU Commissioners Martin Bangemann and Edith Cresson. Johnson introduces Bangemann as "the 18-stone German who attempted to abolish the prawn cocktail crisp and promulgated the Euro-condom" (Daily Telegraph, 15 January, 1999). The claim that Bangemann promoted the "Euro-condom" has been shown to be false in the previous analysis. That he allegedly tried to ban prawn cocktail flavoured crisps is listed among the Euromyths on the EC blog:

> *"There has never been any intention of the sort. In the process of drafting a directive to reconcile different national rules on the amounts of sweeteners and flavourings in different foods, the respective national Governments were asked to provide the Commission with information about these areas. Unfortunately UK negotiators overlooked the effect on the production of specially flavoured crisps. When the trade pointed this out the list was later amended" (http://blogs.ec.europa.eu/ECintheUK/ec-to-ban-prawn-cocktail-crips/).*

Regrettably, the website does not link to the source of this claim (it only dates it on 16 January 1993), nor does the archive at the UK Representation contain a news story about the alleged end to prawn cocktail crisps. Johnsons aside remark in his sketch, however, demonstrates how a false story is kept alive and given the aura of a fact.

Hunters required to carry a fridge.

A similar case of casually claiming as fact what is fiction provides Christopher Booker's column in the *Sunday Telegraph* of 20 December 1992. Booker, a co-founder of and later regular contributor to the satirical magazine *Private Eye,* begins his column with a case of alleged bureaucracy by the then European Economic Community which, he says, he might have found "amusing" at the beginning of the year:

> *"there was something called the EEC Wild Game Meat Directive, which proposes in draft form that every deer shot to be eaten should be inspected by a vet and refrigerated 'at point of kill'. It would have seemed yet another wonderful example of Euro-lunacy that these Brussels officials could seriously insist on stalkers carrying a fridge up a 3,000ft Scottish mountain, and paying for a trained vet to accompany them" (Daily Telegraph, 20 December, 1992).*

The Euromyths blog clarifies that Booker misunderstood:

> *"This directive (DIR 92/45/CEE, 16.6.92), which is due to take effect as from 1.1.1994, will not have any bearing on casual hunters. It is concerned with game meat hunted for commercial ends and establishes vetinary norms that apply equally to imported game meat from third countries. The claim that a fridge will need to be hauled up the mountainside along with a personal vet every time one goes hunting is absurd. Professional hunters will have twelve hours to deliver their game to a valid processing plant and it is only large scale hunting that will call for evisceration immediately after being put to death" (http://blogs.ec.europa.eu/ECintheUK/hunters-to-be-required-to-carry-a-fridge-and-be.accompanied-by-a-vet/).*

Booker's reading of the directive follows the model of farcical exaggeration that has been perfected by P. G. Wodehouse. Again ridicule is used as a means of irreverent objection against the "amusing" "lunacy" of the European institutions.

Straight rhubarb

In June 1996, *The Sun* published a news story claiming that the EU required rhubarb to have straight stalks: "Farmers will have to throw away crooked stalks under barmy new rules" (The Sun, 24 June, 1996). The Euromyths blog flatly denies this to be true: "The European Union has never planned to set, or recommend, marketing rules for rhubarb" (http://blogs.ec.europa.eu/ECintheUK/british-rhubarb-to-be-straight/).

The story shows again the by now familiar markers of irreverent laughter. The heading displays a funny wordplay (alluding to the character Roo of A. A. Milne's classic "Winnie-the-Pooh"): "Rhu must be barmy",

and "Euro chiefs" are called "crackpot". As before, the news story presents quotes against the non-existing directive that drum up resistance: "Last night the Asda supermarket chain slammed the plan and stormed: 'Hands off our rhubarb.'". The story also again sets British exceptionalism against the alleged measure by the EU. ASDA, it claims "will launch a campaign to save British rhubarb in its 207 stores, with Union Jacks flying next to displays" (The Sun, 24 June, 1996). Furthermore, the story repeats previous Euromyths, including the alleged ban of bent bananas[9] and cucumbers.

The rhubarb story is one of many food-based Euromyths. In these brief news stories, often a typical British food product or tradition is claimed to be in danger from EU regulation. Examples include the British brandy butter ("Britons have ladling it and lapping it up for 125 years. But now, under European Commission regulations, the sale of traditional brandy butter is to be banned." [Daily Mail, 21 June, 1998])[10] and the Navy tradition of stirring up Christmas pudding with oars ("A Royal Navy tradition has been sunk by Brussels bureaucrats." [Daily Mail, 14 November, 1992])[11]. The briefness of these news stories – barely more than nibs – is part of the myth creation. Similar to the casual remarks in Johnson's sketch and Booker's column, these short news stories are asides within the multitude of news stories. They are confirmations of a familiar type: The laughing, irreverent Briton holding up British tradition against a humourless authority. Laughter and defiance win as they unmask the absurdity behind the authority.

Hitler's oaks

In November 1994, the *Independent on Sunday* ran a two-column news piece by Richard D. North under the headline "Hitler law used against UK oaks" (Independent on Sunday, 20 November, 1994). The story claims that an EU "law" that "required nursery-men to breed only from perfect and pure-bred examples" originated in a law that was drawn up in Nazi Germany in 1934.

The story was widely covered in the British press. The archive at the UK Representation of the European Commission contains six further articles on the topic, only a few of them include date and publication. The *Sunday Express* has the most extreme take: "Oaks at risk from Hitler" it states in the headline and goes on to claim that the "directive has forced seed merchants to import tons of acorns from Eastern Europe while British acorns go uncollected" (Sunday Express, 20 November, 1994). The *Daily Mail* slightly more cautiously doesn't claim coercion but just discriminatory classification: "Millions of acorns are now being imported from Eastern Europe because many of our own have been branded as inadequate by Brussels" (Daily Mail, 16 November, 1994).

The European Commission again refutes these claims. On its Euromyths blog it states:

> *"The directive in question goes back to 1966, and was revised in 1971. Covering the marketing of certain seeds, including oak, and their external characteristics, the former sets up certain quality conditions but is not discriminatory against the UK or any other Member State (Directive 66/404/EEC, OJ L125 of 11/7/66). The latter (Directive 71/161/EEC, Official Journal L87 of 17/4/71)… The Directive was made to be very flexible; its purpose being to enable someone who wants to grow straight trees for harvesting know that they are getting the product they want. However neither the EU nor the relevant UK legislation obliges anyone to get their acorns from a registered source" (http://blogs.ec.europa.eu/ECintheUK/racially-pure-english-oaks/).*

It doesn't clarify whether the directive of 1966 draws on a 1934 German law.

What is interesting in the context of myth creation is the absence of laughter in the articles on the threat to the English oak. Instead, all articles carry a pronounced - in the case of the Mail belligerent - nationalist theme. *The Daily Mail* doesn't mention Hitler or the alleged origin of the directive from a Nazi law. However, it includes a side bar on how oak "has come to symbolise English stout heartedness". The text mentions that the English ships which sailed against the Spanish Armada "were native oak to their core and held steadfast". It quotes a National Maritime Museum spokesman who points out that oak "has been the building timber for English warships and led many to victory". It ends on citing the anthem of the Royal Navy "Heart of Oak" by "patriot David Garrick", and the first, best known, lines of Rudyard Kipling's "Tree Song" (Daily Mail, 16 November, 1994).

The *Sunday Express* calls "Adolf Hitler […] the culprit behind a controversial EU ruling" and quotes a "leading tree expert" claiming that "the British countryside is being shaped by a discredited law based on Nazi ideology intended to keep German forests 'racially pure'" (Sunday Express, 20 November, 1994). Similarly, the *Independent on Sunday* expands on the Nazi theme when it alleges that the directive was "following the racial perfectionism of the original German law" and sets the German "perfectionism" against "Britain, where most stands [of trees] are a hybrid of at least two main species of oak […] and where heavy

use for timber has combined with wind, squirrels and rabbits to ensure that many of our remaining fine old oaks look more characterful than perfect" (Independent on Sunday, 20 November, 1994).

The nationalist theme creates an earnest version of the same myth that the previously analysed news stories produced: The mythical figure of the defiant Briton who is exceptional and refuses to bow to (absurd) authority.

Conclusion and Discussion

The textual analysis looked at seven different Euromyths and how they are presented in news stories. The analysis revealed that the Euromyths news stories display recurrent themes: ridicule and laughter, irreverence and defiance, British exceptionalism, and the capacity to unmask and stand up to non-sensical rules. In the last analysed case, the stories about the alleged danger to British oak trees, the laughter is replaced by a nationalistic theme.

The Euromyths news stories, it can be concluded, create the persisting myth of the (mostly) laughing, irreverent Briton holding up British exceptionalism against a humourless authority. Laughter and defiance win as they unmask the absurdity behind the authority.

Where laughter fails British greatness takes its place.

The myth of the laughing, irreverent Briton is a myth in Lule's sense as it makes "the specific content of a news story […] in large measure irrelevant" (Lule 2001, p. 195). The recurring themes confirm a myth of British identity that remains unaltered, independent of the actual political or historical situation. The myth of the laughing, irreverent Briton is therefore "depoliticised speech" as Barthes described it: "Myth does not deny things, on the contrary, its function is to talk about them; simply, it purifies them, it makes them innocent, it gives them a natural and eternal justification, it gives them a clarity which is not that of an explanation but that of a statement of fact" (Barthes 1972, pp. 255-256). Myth in this sense is not politically irrelevant. To the contrary. It is only removed from the political debate to render it unassailable. As Barthes explains: "Men do not have with myth a relationship based on truth but on use: they depoliticize according to their needs" (197, p. 257). The use of myth, however, is political. Consequently, as Barthes writes, the "unveiling" of myth is "a political act: founded on a responsible idea of language, mythology thereby postulates the freedom of the latter" (1972, p. 271).

At this point the circle closes with political psychology: myth formulates the directional preferences that overrides the need for factual accuracy. The myth of the laughing irreverent Briton reaffirms the belief in Britain's exceptional greatness and therefore overrides the attempts at fact-checking the Euromyths. I therefore argue that a textual analysis of mythical story telling needs to complement fact-checking. This is as relevant for the practice of journalism as it is to its teaching. When we teach fact-checking at journalism schools we also need to sensitize journalism students to the ways news stories are told and how they create myth.

There are, of course, limitations to the research this paper has presented. Most of all, the random selection of the analysed articles must remain unsatisfactory. A more comprehensive data base that tries to trace all sources of the Euromyths listed on the dedicated European commission website would be desirable. Beyond this, further research would need to establish how well the Euromyths list reflects the coverage of EU issues in the British media.

Furthermore, the textual analysis of news stories should be complemented with audience research that tries to establish how influential in fact the Euromyths news stories have been. *The Economist* used the list of the debunked Euromyths to visualise in a chart the time of high and low publication rate of Euromyths news stories. The chart seems to show that the frequency of Euromyths was higher around the time when the EU was particularly controversially debated within the Conservative party (The Economist Data Team 2016). It also shows that the number of Euromyths stories peaked in 2013, the year in which then prime minister David Cameron announced that his government would hold a referendum on the British EU membership. However, to establish the influence of fake EU news stories with any certainty more research is needed.

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(Endnotes)----------

1 http://blogs.ec.europa.eu/ECintheUK/euromyths-a-z-index/

2 http://blogs.ec.europa.eu/ECintheUK/bananas-and-Brussels/

3 http://blogs.ec.europa.eu/ECintheUK/quality-standards-for-apples/

4 4 It was created, according to the witness of several contemporary Brussels based UK correspondents, by the then Brussels correspondent for the *Daily Telegraph*, Boris Johnson. Newly sent to Brussels, Johnson quickly began to make his name by distorting and misrepresenting European legislation, regulation or just gossip (Helm, 1995; Gimson, 2007; pp. 98-99; Purnell, 2011, pp. 115-128; Fletcher, 2016).

5 http://blogs.ec.europa.eu/ECintheUK/euromyths-a-z-index/

6 The first "Press Watch" newsletter was published on 2 October 1996. It started with a heading explaining its purpose: "After almost a quarter of a century of UK membership of the European Community, the media continues to pump out myths and inaccuracies. Some newspapers are reluctant to publish corrections, and when they do they never give them the prominence of the original offending story. In an effort to redress the balance we present here some recent examples. The aim is to make it a regular publication, which will be distributed to ministers, MPs, Whitehall departments, the Press Complaints Commission, other national organisations and newspapers themselves" (The European Commission 1996). The Press Watch newsletters were published initially in very irregular intervals with months, on one occasion even more than a year, between them, which later changed to a more regular about quarterly publication. Thus the second Press Watch newsletter appeared in February 1997, the third in April 1998, a fourth on in July 1998, a fifth in November 1998, a sixth in March 1999, and so on.

7 From my own experience covering the Brexit fall out as a reporter for the German website *Zeit online*, I have anecdotal evidence that the cucumber Euromyth is influential up to now. For example, in a recent interview (conducted in July 2017) an ardent Remainer told me the only reason for leaving the EU she could understand was sovereignty because she wanted an end to absurd EU rules such as banning curved cucumbers (Henkel, 2017).

8 For example in The Sun in March 1998: "Cucumbers have to be straight and must not arch more than 10mm for every 10mm of their length so people can tell how many are in a box" was listed under "some of the EU's dafter food laws (The Sun, 4 March, 1998).

9 The Euromyths blog refutes this claim with a similar argument as in the case of the alleged ban of curved cucumbers: "Truth: Yes … and no. Curved bananas have not been banned. In fact, as with the supposed banning of curved cucumbers, the Commission regulation classifies bananas according to quality and size for the sake of easing the trade of bananas internationally" (http://blogs.ec.europa.eu/ECintheUK/bananas-andbrussels/)

10 The Euromyths blog clarifies that the regulation concerns a clear naming of butter products and that exemption have been made for British butter products with alcoholic content to allow for a lower amount of milk and fat (http://blogs.ec.europa.eu/ECintheUK/brandy-butter/).

11 The Euromyths blog rejects the claim: "There is no truth at all in this accusation. The framework directive on materials in contact with foodstuffs (89/109/CEE – L40 of 1989) merely states that such materials should not "transfer their constituents to foodstuffs in quantities which could endanger human health or bring about an unacceptable change in the composition of the foodstuffs" (http://blogs.ec.europa.eu/ECintheUK/eu-banswooden-oars-for-stirring-the-christmas-pudding/).

Reviews

The reviews pages are edited by Tor Clark. If you have a book you would like to review or have come across a new book we should know about please get in touch. Also if you have recently had a book published and would like to see it reviewed, please contact Tor on t.clark@leicester.ac.uk

Introduction

After an overdose of Brexit and journalism in the last edition, we return to more normal and eclectic material in this issue, but of course, just like the news, we can't entirely avoid the topic.

In this edition we have a comparative survey of growing journalistic Euroscepticism, lots of lessons for journalists in the much-anticipated autobiography of one of the great figures of UK national newspaper journalism, a survey of journalism education across the globe and finally, an excellent history of the UK regional press.

Failing to escape the knock-on effects of the Brexit on the profession, Professor Alec Charles of the University of Winchester finds familiar patterns in Evolving Euroscepticisms in the British and Italian Press in which author Paul Rowinski points the finger at some familiar figures.

One of those figures, the ubiquitous Rupert Murdoch, crops up a gain in our second featured text, the autobiography of former Observer editor and Sheffield University Journalism professor Donald Trelford, which reviewer John Mair discovers to be a well-written and fascinating read, shining new light on famous incidents from Trelford's time at the top table of national newspapers.

Of major interest to readers of this journal will be Global Journalism Education in the 21st Century: Challenges and Innovations, edited by Robyn Goodman and Elanie Steyn, reviewed by AJE secretary David Baines. This survey of journalism education identifies useful trends and includes an interesting chapter by this journal's editor, Professor Chris Frost.

And finally, Rachel Matthews offers what many of us have been waiting years for, a comprehensive and up-to-date history of the UK regional press, an area so important to the journalistic fabric of the UK, but so little covered by academics, with only a few honourable exceptions.

So, as promised, a rich and varied ramble through a diverse set of new literature this month, which will hopefully be of interest to journalism academics, students and general readers alike. If you have a book to suggest for review, please do get in touch.

Global Journalism Education in the 21st Century: Challenges and Innovations, edited by Robyn Goodman and Elanie Steyn

Review by David Baines, Newcastle University, UK.

Guy Berger and Joe Foote argue in their wide-ranging and thought-provoking chapter Taking Stock of Contemporary Journalism Education – The End of The Classroom As We Know It, that: "Because media industries have been changing so rapidly, it is imperative that all journalism education organisations become especially nimble." (p255) Being nimble, they recognise, is something universities find difficult and it is something they need to work on.

However, they point out universities do bring benefits to journalism education which other organisations and institutions tend not to. In particular, the knowledge-based focus of universities updates important ideas and skills through research, research conferences and a peer review process which stir the intellectual pot and avoid the 'silo-isation' which often characterises training in the field. The integration of theory and practice which university programmes offer allows students to interrogate, for example, the role of dominant ideologies in journalism work and the manner in which professional practice tends to support power, rather than hold it to account. And university programmes – the primary purpose of which is education, creativity and the generation of knowledge – encourage a willingness to experiment and take risks.

In conclusion, Berger and Foote point to the benefits that collaborations can bring. Collaborations between university journalism schools in different countries, which challenge national and cultural boundaries and perspectives, and between journalism schools, media organisations and NGOs which can provide excellent resources. In journalism education, they say: "A wider vision is needed of empowerment of all people who want to do journalism."

And this book is in itself an example of just such a collaborative project in journalism education

Robyn Goodman and Elanie Steyn have drawn together a global cohort of authors, all of whom have contributed to the gatherings of the World Journalism Education Congress. The congress has come together every three years since it first met in Singapore in 2007 and is organised by the World Journalism Education Council, a coalition representing academic associations worldwide (such as Britain and Ireland's Association for Journalism Education) involved in journalism and mass communication education at university level. The next gathering will be in Paris in July 2019.

The congress series has generated a paradigm-shift in how many of us design, deliver and conceptualise journalism education by opening up our understanding about what is happening in other countries, other cultures, other traditions. And this book has captured that shift. It is divided into three sections: Country case studies; Contextualising global journalism education; and global innovations in journalism education.

The 20 chapters bring together a wealth of knowledge, innovation, insight and scholarship to offer a firm platform for innovation and an incentive to be nimble, experimental, and to develop collaborative, trans-national, trans-cultural approaches to the task we now face and to do our best to prepare our students to shape their professional careers in a field which is undergoing continuous change along societal, cultural, economic, technological and institutional trajectories, in contexts which are at once local, national, regional and global.

The complexities of that task and the manner in which it confronts us all are encapsulated in the title of the first chapter in section 1: Journalism Education in Australia: Educating Journalists for Convergent, Cosmopolitan, and Uncertain News Environments, by Penny O'Donnell of the University of Sydney. One concern it explores is how journalists, journalism organisations, policy-makers and Australians in general are striving to maintain a national, cultural identity in a global media world – and how the diversity of that national culture stands in sharp contrast to a lack of diversity in the nation's newsrooms. Such concerns have been expressed by journalism educator on all four continents and across the Pacific, and they resonate with Berger and Foote's example of the manner in which research across many different disciplines relates to journalism education.

Mira K Desai of SNDT Women's University in Mumbai explores in Journalism Education in India: Maze or Mosaic, the collaborative turn emerging between universities and other media institutions such as newspapers and TV stations, and with civil society organisations such as journalists' trade unions, as they work to provide the growing vernacular press, radio and TV sector with a professional value-led workforce.

Chris Frost, Emeritus Professor of Journalism at Liverpool John Moores University in England, analyses in The United Kingdom Juggles Training and Education: Squeezed between the Newsroom and the Classroom, the tensions which persist between an industry focused on skills and a higher education sector which also values the creation of knowledge, creativity and critical thinking.

But it is perhaps the chapters in the Global Innovations section to which many readers will turn first. This explores emerging trends in mobile, data and digital journalism and new ways to learn from the Pop-Up

Project launches at California State University, Northridge.

Mark Deuze of Amsterdam University, however, takes a more holistic perspective on the future needs of journalism graduates. He argues in On Media and Entrepreneurship as Ways of Being in the World: A Challenge to Journalism Education, that we cannot begin to understand everyday life today without appreciating the manner in which we live in media – as a fish lives in water. He suggests we shift the paradigm of journalism education away from a preparation for future employment and towards an education for 'super citizens'. "Journalism … should be taken to be the heart of what it is to perform in the information age." And our programmes, he says, should "inspire critical engagement with a way of being in the world, not just a way of setting up shop" (original emphasis).

At this pivotal moment in the transformations of journalism, this book is an invaluable asset to the journalism educator, wherever in the world s/he is working.

Global Journalism Education in the 21st Century: Challenges and Innovations, edited by Robyn Goodman and Elanie Steyn was published by the Knight Centre for Journalism in the Americas, University of Texas, Austin, in August, 2017. $23.17 or download free as an e-book from the Knight Center at https://knightcenter.utexas.edu/blog/00-18257-%E2%80%9Cglobal-journalism-education%E2%80%9D-knight-center-launches-new-ebook-download-it-free

The History of the Provincial Press in England by Rachel Matthews, Coventry University, UK.

Review by Tor Clark, University of Leicester, UK

If the study of the media generally in the UK is fixated with television, the study of the press is fixated on national newspapers. We have had some excellent books on this sector over the years but those of us determined to help our students learn about the sector they are more likely to work in, most likely to have interacted with all their lives and most importantly, most likely to get their work experience in while studying our Journalism courses, have thus far struggled to find a single text which can do the job.

Of course there are much older books covering the regional press. These are excellent works of scholarship, but now out of date. AJE stalwart Bob Franklin and various collaborators produced several excellent works in the 90s and 00s looking at issues in the regional press. And in this decade John Mair has edited a two-edition collection on the regional press by experts in this area. But still we have been without a single, chronological history, which has meant some courses have spent little time on this sector and other lecturers have had to cobble together their own 50-minute histories based on the disparate range of sources available.

But now, thanks to Rachel Matthews, we can all reorganise our reading lists and our students can go to one, slim but comprehensive volume telling the fascinating story of this locally-crucial branch of the media.

Journalism was the first organised medium, and as modern newspapers took their current form 300 years ago, they were of course all locally-based and limited in their circulation by prevailing technology. Dr Matthews organises her book into six historical sections, each tracing a particular era defined by its own specific characteristics. She begins with what she calls the "printers' papers" which started off the modern era of what we now know as newspapers in the 17th and early 18th centuries, before moving on to discuss the provincial press and political patronage into the early 19th century, the rise of New Journalism later in that century, the corporatisation of the provincial press, its deunionisation in the later 20th century and the regional press as it is now, in the digital era. Along the way she also fits in a chapter on the press during wartime in the 20th century.

So rather than bounding her history by decades or centuries, she organises into eras, typified by shared characteristics or movements. This will be a helpful approach to students seeking to understand the narrative history of this sector.

Dr Matthews has spent many years researching this book, digging around in libraries and dusty archives to be able to make the correct reference to the correct title at the correct time and piece together a varied history of hundreds of individual titles into one cohesive history – which might explain why we have been waiting so long for such a work.

Her introduction is largely taken up with her major overall finding, that the history of the regional press is

driven by the commercial imperative – over and above what some people might think has been its guiding principle, the public service ethic.

Dr Matthews knows this is controversial, especially as an experienced former regional newspaper journalist herself, but time and again finds evidence that it has been this desire to make money and be commercially dominant which has powered the success of individual papers and the sector generally.

This may come as a surprise to those of us who made a living in the regional press and believed we were doing so in an effort to serve the public – especially as none of us was ever in it for the money! But whilst that may have been the motivation of regional journalists, if one takes a step back and looks at the parlous state of some of the English provincial press currently – a state many would argue it need not be in – Dr Matthews' thesis makes sense.

This is a thorough history, packed full of fascinating facts with a key, evidenced, though controversial, thesis at its heart. It fills a huge and important gap in the study of the history of the media in the UK and I suspect will find its way onto many of our reading lists this year.

The History of the Provincial Press in England, by Rachel Matthews, published by Bloomsbury, 241pp, £23.99. ISBN 978-1-4411-6230-4.

Evolving Euroscepticisms in the British and Italian Press by Paul Rowinski

Review by Professor Alec Charles, University of Winchester, UK.

There is something refreshingly overt in the crusading, polemical passion of this book. The self-proclaimed Anglo-Italo-Polish author sets out his stall with an unashamedly personal declaration of war against the othering of Europe performed by the populist press as 'something which I have spent all my life contesting' – before declaring he 'shall fight them on the beaches' and he 'will never surrender'.

Rowinski in particular sets out to deconstruct the illusion of any 'impartial […] fact-centred' press coverage of Europe. While there may be nothing new in his mission, he accomplishes it with an urgent and timely sense of Europhile indignation, as he rails against a narrative which portrays Britain as 'a globalising power, mushrooming out from its centre as it disentangles itself from Europe'. In doing so, he crucially challenges a liberal model of press influence and responsibility as a disinterested watchdog mediating between power and the populace. While Paul Dacre survives surprisingly unscathed, Murdoch and Berlusconi emerge as the supervillains of the piece. But Rowinski's indictment of commercially motivated press bias offers far broader scope for outrage and concern.

Rowinski's articulate and sometimes eclectic history of the burgeoning and strategic Euroscepticism of the press, and the political backgrounds thereto, makes often unedifying reading. However, his study really hits its stride when, halfway through, he unveils the outcomes of his semi-structured, ethnographic interviews with 25 British and Italian journalists, European functionaries and political players. Though the interviews tend, to begin with, to get bogged down in arguments about Europe rather than about its press representations, they remain full-blooded and replete with a decent serving of political meat. "There is a lot of baloney talked about sovereignty," says former minister Bill Rammell. There is, argues former Deputy Prime Minister Nick Clegg, no developed nation that would sell its utilities, trains and media to 'Johnny Foreigner' and then 'for God's sake worry' that it might be 'outvoted once every blue moon in a sodding meeting in Brussels'. The growing Euro-paranoia which Clegg diagnoses is closely reflected in the press coverage of the subject. The relatively Eurosceptical David Charter, former European correspondent for The Times, admits 'a tendency, when it suits the British press, to see Europe ganging up on Britain'.

Dr Rowinski usefully couches his argument in the musings of Wodak, Musolff, Billig and Bourdieu, whose works not only provide a robust theoretical framework, but also underpin the text's transcontinental flavours and affiliations. The final quarter of Rowinski's book performs the kind of detailed discourse analysis practised by a number of his celebrated academic influences.

Rowinski gets to grips with the pertinent raw materials of Il Giornale and The Times, in the contexts of the introduction of the Euro, 2007's treaty reform summit, 2014's European elections and the debates surrounding Grexit and Brexit, to chart the journey towards the mainstreaming of Euroscepticism in press perspectives. He describes a complex picture in which press coverage combines fact-based reporting with

persuasive writing, laced with explicit argumentation and emotive metaphor. Rowinski suggests a shift from open persuasion towards an insidious form of discursive compulsion as his rhetoric escalates towards his final claim that the press, far from meeting the public interest duties imagined by an outmoded liberal idealism, has instead 'sold the public short'.

In relation to this assertion, it seems somewhat disappointing that this study eschewed a focus upon the European coverage perpetrated by the UK's most popular, influential and Eurosceptical news publications, The Sun and (in particular) the Daily Mail. One suspects, however, Dr Rowinski is not intending at this stage in the game to cease his mental fight against the forces of Brexit, and that he may therefore be reserving some of his more explosive content for the barnstorming sequel which one rather hopes he has up his sleeve. Though his heart-felt struggle may never result in the reversal of Europhobic attitudes and impacts, there remains, as in so much academic endeavour, a resounding and defining nobility in its Sisyphean futility.

Evolving Euroscepticisms in the British and Italian Press. By Paul Rowinski, 255 pp, Palgrave Macmillan: 2017, £67.99. ISBN 978-3-319-64139-3

Shouting in the Street, by Donald Trelford

Review by John Mair, lead editor of Brexit, Trump and the Media (Abramis, July 2017).

Long-term and acclaimed *Observer* editor Donald Trelford is a great journalist and writer. This, his autobiography, moves along nicely and is a cracking read. His device of slicing his story by people into 19 chapters with each chapter just having a name – 'Rupert' or 'Tiny' or 'Len' – works a treat. It concentrates the mind on that person and their place in the Trelford's life. It is a very personal book because of it, and all the better for it.

It takes Donald from the suburbs of Coventry to Majorca via Fleet Street and Africa. The central theme is the often uneasy relationship, on any paper, between owners and editors. That makes or breaks the publication and the editor's reputation.

Africa features prominently in the Trelford story right from his first editorship in Nyasaland/Malawi at the young age of 25, 'the youngest editor of a national newspaper in the world' he claims, to later dealings through Tiny Rowland with a series of African leaders/dictators including Gaddafi. Early doors in Africa, Donald learned to stay close to politicians, some might say ultimately he became one himself.

It was the mighty *Observer* which made, and ultimately unmade, the Don. First as eventual deputy to the aristocratic liberal David Astor, who allowed him free rein to find and publish great stories and to hire and fire great talent such as Alan Watkins, Mary Holland, David Leigh and Hugh McIlvanney.

Trelford had by then learned to be wily enough to outwit the youngish Rupert Murdoch, who wanted to swallow his paper whole before buying *The Times* and *Sunday Times*. Not many have got the better of Murdoch commercially in his long march through the media of Australia, Britain and the USA. Likewise, later he saw off the *Daily Mail* stable who wanted a Sunday presence, as did the *Independent* later.

Eventually, he and *The Observer* ended up in the hands of an American oil company, Arco (Atlantic Richfield) through the good offices of one of his staff Kenneth Harris, who turned out be both marriage maker and executioner manqué to Trelford. That was no union made in heaven and fell apart in 1981.

From there, he fell into the spider's web of Tiny Rowland and Lonhro. The Don thought he could run rings round Tiny but he was too wily for that. Huge, sometimes very public, rows ensued. Trelford transferred his skills from editorship to corporate politician. Both suffered. The paper simply lost influence culminating if the proprietor 'leaking' dossiers to him and some of his staff refusing to write 'stories' based on them and finally, in the farce of a Sunday paper coming out on a Thursday to push a line for Tiny Rowland, the proprietor, against his sworn enemy Mohahmed Al Fayed, the Harrods owner. The Rubicon had been crossed. Divorce from Lonhro followed.

Along the way, the cast of characters in the Don's life journey was rich. Edward Du Cann, chairman of Lonrho 'the unacceptable face of capitalism' to Lord Arnold 'Two Dinners' Goodman, the lawyer who really was the spider in many webs, to Telford's chosen deputy Anthony 'Sherpa' Howard who went behind his back and attempted to betray him. He was sacked.

All rich material for *Private Eye*, from where the nicknames above originate. It labelled Trelford 'Pixie' because of his height and had fun galore at the competition between him and then *Sunday Times* editor Andrew 'Brillo Pad' Neil.

The Don's obsessions and loves come through in the book. Two brilliant chapters about the cricketer Len Hutton and the footballer Sir Stanley Matthews, both of whom he befriended in their later lives, are worth reading as stand-alones.

Later in life, Trelford has returned to sunny climes and life in Majorca, with a new wife Claire and his children. This Donald – like his US namesake – is driven by ego, but ego with much journalistic talent. 'Tis only a pity that having got very close to the summit of British journalism, he fell on the last slippery political slopes'. This, his self-obituary, is relatively honest on that point. He could have been as great as Sir Harry Evans. But if he is a Nearly Man of British journalism, he leaves behind a big footprint all the same.

Shouting in the Street, by Donald Trelford, published by Biteback Publishing, November 2017, £25. ISBN 978-1-78590-252-9.

Style guide

Please provide a title and an abstract and author details together with a 50-70 word biography for each author on a separate sheet to allow for anonymization. This sheet will be separated from the article before being sent to referees so please put the title only at the start of the article.

- Sub-heads should be in bold
- Second order sub-heads should be in bold italic
- Please use single quotation marks (double quotation marks for a quote within a quote)
- Indent long quotes of two lines or more.
- Please do not use the enter button to insert space between paragraphs or headings.
- All illustrations, tables and figures should be sent separately either at the end of the MS Word file or as attached JPGs. Clearly label approximately where they should be placed with fig 1, table 1 etc.

Citations and bibliographic references should be in Harvard style.

Part I: Citations

Place references in your work in the following order: Name, Date: page number(s)

For example,

1. Directly quoting an author

It is sometimes forgotten that 'English is one of the most flexible and expressive languages in the world' (Hicks, 1993, p.1)

He goes on to say, 'In brief, the reigning media consensus has been characterised either as overly liberal or leftist or as conservative, depending on the view of the critic' (McQuail, 1992, pp.255-6).

2. Indirectly quoting an author (where you sum up what is being stated in your own words). This must be grammatically correct, as well as accurate.

E.g.: Hargreaves (2003, p.47) believes that Henry Hetherington's populist journalistic techniques, employed by him in the 1830s, were the basis of tabloid journalism.

3. Referring broadly to ideas you have read in a publication (not to a specific point/quote). You don't need to cite page number in this case. E.g.: Franklin (1997) has highlighted the effects and reasons for so-called dumbing down in the media.

4. If the same person is referred to immediately after a previous citation, you can use ibid.

5. If there are more than two authors, you can use et al.

Part II: Bibliographic References

A list of Bibliographic References is required at the end. Please provide the FULL name of the author (including first name) and provide references in alphabetical order of surname. With an author who has written a number of books and articles that have been cited, list them all separately, with the most recent first (see Manning).

Examples of how to present Bibliographic references for Journalism Education are given below

Bibliographic references

Franklin, Bob (2003) 'A Good Day to Bury Bad News?': Journalists, Sources and the Packaging of Politics in Simon Cottle (Ed.), News, Public Relations Power, London: Sage pp. 45-61

Hall, Stuart, Critcher, Chas, Jefferson Tony, Clarke John, and Roberts, Brian (1978) Policing the Crisis. Mugging, the State and Law and Order. London: Macmillan

Harcup, Tony (2004) in Susan Pape and Sue Featherstone (2006) Feature Writing, London: Sage.

Information for contributors

We accept original articles about journalism education and topics linked to journalism and education that are not offered for publication elsewhere at the time of submission. Articles for peer review should be in the range of 5000-7000 words.

Articles for Comment and Criticism should be shorter at about 3,000 to 4,000 words.

The copy deadline for the next issue is: February 28, 2018 but material sent earlier would be appreciated. Articles should be submitted to the editors at ajejournal@gmail.com together with a 100-150 word abstract and 100 word bibliography. Comment and criticism articles can be more polemic and do not require an abstract.

Presentation and submission:

A detailed style guide is available on the website and should be followed carefully but a redacted version is on the left. Articles should be produced in MS Word format, set in Times New Roman 12pt with the minimum of formatting. Please **do not** press the "enter" button to put a double space between paragraphs or add additional spaces and do not use specialist templates. Referencing should be in standard Harvard form. Please ensure surname and forename for all authors. Notes should be set as endnotes. All **tables and figures must be** produced separately either at the end of the article or in a separate file. Each should be clearly labelled Tab1e 1:….. Table 2…… Fig. 1:…. Fig. 2: etc and a note inserted in the text identifiying approximately where it should be placed.

Book Reviews:

Reviews of appropriate books should be approximately 400 words. We do not accept unsolicited reviews of books, but are always grateful to be given the opportunity to consider a review proposal. Please contact Tor Clark, the reviews editor, if you wish to submit a review. All book reviews should include author, title, ISBN number, publisher, number of pages and price.

Copyright:

Authors should confirm they have cleared all copyrighted work for publication and agree that they will indemnify the editors against claims for defamation, copyright infringement or plagiarism. All authors will be asked to sign a contract confirming this.

Process:

Papers are sent to at least two referees for comment. On return your paper will be accepted, accepted following editing as identified by the referees or refused. Comment and criticism pieces and book reviews will be decided by the editors but may be accepted on the basis that they are edited as identified**.**

Proofs:

Once accepted, authors are expected to return proofs within 72 hours of receipt.

Journalism Education

The Journal of the Association for Journalism Education

The Asssociation for Journalism Education is a subject discipline membership association of Jurnalism Schools in higher education institutions in the UK and Ireland

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