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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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Editorial

The politics of Leveson – where are we now?

What a script! Political in-fighting, revolts within parties, criminal behaviour, late night deals over pepperoni pizza and Haribo, washed down with political threats and a final dash of sexual intrigue. You could make it up, but you don't need to; once again the great British press has kept you shocked, scandalised and entertained all at once but this time about its own inside dealings.

Leveson 2: The Empire Strikes Back is now in full swing. The initial and swift rejection of Ofcom as a recognition panel led to weeks of relative silence as the publishers and their editors tried to swing deals behind the scenes that would launch a regulator partway between the present PCC and the Leveson recommendations and probably (judging on past performance) picking up the worst of both.

With proposals for statutory underpinning finding little favour with the Conservative part of the coalition government and Labour and Lib-Dems unwilling to risk the press wrath by going it alone, a Royal Charter has become regulatory weapon of choice. This is surprising bearing in mind that Charters are controlled by the Privy Council (essentially the Government as the Queen is advised by her ministers) rather than an elected parliament but then these are strange times. Initially the Tory element of the government wanted a Royal Charter that was not really worth the upset it was bound to cause. It would not have satisfied those who want strong regulation, for the very good reason that it would not have offered any, and would not have satisfied those who didn't want regulation for fear it might, not that this has prevented its supporters, some of the key national publishers from springing it as a last minute counter-attack against parliament's all-party version.

It's worth remembering there are three main groups in this debate. There are those (actually a very small number and not really organised) who don't believe in any form of regulation preferring instead a rumbumptious and irreverent press determined to prick the pomposities of politicians. That's fine in its way, and several magazines and websites do it well but it is not the style of mainstream of news-led journalism that concerns most people as Leveson identified when he argued that internet bloggers and websites should be allowed a free hand:

> The internet does not claim to operate by any particular ethical standards, still less high ones. Some have called it a 'wild west' but I would prefer to use the term 'ethical vacuum'. This is not to say for one moment that everything on the internet is therefore unethical. That would be a

> gross mischaracterisation of the work of very many bloggers and websites which should rightly and fairly be characterised as valuable and professional. The point I am making is a more modest one, namely that the internet does not claim to operate by express ethical standards, so that bloggers and others may, if they choose, act with impunity. The press, on the other hand, does claim to operate by and adhere to an ethical code of conduct." (Leveson 2012: 737-8).

This leads us to the second group, which tends to include all the publishers. These believe there should be some form of regulation but get very nervous when the system suggested is not completely or largely under their control – hence their last minute charter snub to democratic government.

Then there is the third group who believe there should be regulation, that it should be as light touch as possible whilst still having sufficient teeth to curb the worst excesses of the industry.

It is this third group that is by far the largest and is certainly the most numerous in parliament. For this reason we saw the fascinating developments in the final days before the Easter recess with the Lords amending any Bill they could in the run up to the end of the parliament to include reference to a regulator. This put the Government on the spot, unwilling to present Bills now amended in a way they couldn't support for the entirely justified fear they would be passed. In the end the Government in a literal 11th hour meeting with the opposition to draw up a Royal Charter that no-one really welcomed but all could finally agree to, taking them into parliament united against a press, which, despite pressurising Letwin and Cameron to opt for a Charter, was furiously outraged that parliament had agreed to one of their own. Not to be outdone, the Press then also produced a charter and so, like buses, you wait months for a one to arrive and then two come along at once.

So what do we get from a Charter? There has been minimal coverage about parliament's charter in much of the press with some being downright duplicitous about it. A Royal Charter is a way of making group of people a legal entity. The other way of incorporating groups is by statute. Companies are incorporated under the appropriate Act of Parliament, for instance, while most Universities are covered by a Royal Charter.

This Charter (which has a safety clause preventing government from changing its terms without a two-thirds majority in parliament) sets up a recognition panel whose job it is to approve any regulator seeking to protect press freedom and to uphold press standards whilst allowing its members to benefit from protection against the costs and exemplary damages outlined in section 29 of the Crime and Courts Bill now just waiting a date for royal Assent.

The Recognition Panel, which the Charter says must be independent of the press and politicians, can offer recognition to any regulator that:

- Has an independent board with no serving editors or MPs and a majority independent of the press but including sufficient with experience (former editors or journalism academics)
- Offers advice to the public;
- Provides guidance on the public interest;
- Establishes a whistleblowing hotline for journalists;
- Power to hear complaints about breaches of the standards code free of charge from those directly affected or from third party complainants concerning accuracy or where there is a public interest in the board considering a complaint from a representative group;
- Power to direct nature, extent and placement of corrections;

- Power to investigate;
- Power to impose sanctions including fines of up to 1% of turnover of max £1m and power to instruct correction or apology. No power to award compensation;
- Provide inexpensive arbitral process for civil legal claims that is free for complainants to use. Each party should bear its own costs.

Its members should have appropriate internal governance process including adequate and speedy complaints handling, and membership open to all publishers with the possibility of membership on different terms for different types of publisher.

The regulator (nor the Recognition Panel) would NOT have the power to prevent publication at any time.

- Any recognised regulator should have a standards code that must take into account:
- Freedom of speech;
- Interests of the public;
- confidential sources of information and rights of individuals;
- Conduct, especially of other people in process of obtaining material;
- Respect for privacy unless public interest defence;
- Accuracy and need to avoid misrepresentation.

The Recognition panel will be bound to report regularly to Parliament and should particularly report if the regulator does not cover a significant section of the press. The clear implication being that if a regulator lost one of the nationals as a member, parliament might act.

The key differences in the Publishers' Charter is the level of control the publishers keep to veto members of the panel, making the arbitration system optional (although the Crime and Courts Bill requires one), the exclusion of journalists from the Code Committee and the exclusion of a whistleblowing hotline for journalists forced to behave unethically.

So what would happen if there was no regulator? The Crime and Courts Bill, is presently going through parliament and has been finally agreed, and is waiting only for a date for royal assent. This will introduce a scheme of exemplary damages for "relevant publishers" who are not members of a recognised self-regulatory body.

If the defendant was not a member of an approved regulator at the time when the claim was commenced the court must also award costs against the defendant unless the issues raised by the claim could not have been resolved by using the arbitration scheme of the approved regulator.

There is much concern amongst bloggers and others about their risk of costs and exemplary damages under the Crime and Courts Bill. The Crime and Courts Bill does allow for costs and exemplary damages but it is important to get these in perspective as exemplary damages could only be applied if the defendant:

- showed 'a deliberate or reckless disregard of an outrageous nature for the claimant's rights';
- the newspaper deserved to be punished;
- and other remedies would not be adequate.

This is a pretty high threshold. However, it is the costs aspect that most concerns small publishers. Bloggers and small scale websites may well be able to claim it would unreasonable to expect them to join a regulator, which gives some protection in the Bill and they could quote Leveson in their defence:

> In contrast, the internet does not function on this basis at all. People will not assume that what they read on the internet is trustworthy or that it carries any particular assurance or accuracy; it need be no more than one person's view. There is none of the notional imprimatur or kitemark which comes from being the publisher of a respected broadsheet or, in its different style, an equally respected mass circulation tabloid. (Ibid. 736-737)

Costs can only be awarded under the Crime and Courts Bill if the defendant is a 'relevant publisher' and was not at the time a member of an approved regulator.

Groups exempt from being a relevant publisher include:

- The BBC;
- Sianel Pedwar Cymru;
- Licensed broadcasters publishing news-related material; special interest titles such as those relating to a particular pastime, hobby, trade, business, industry or profession, that only contains news-related material on an incidental basis that is relevant to the main content of the title;
- Scientific or academic journals;
- Public bodies and charities;
- Company news publications and book publishers.

We are all poised now with bated breath to see what comes next. Which Charter will be signed off by the Queen; parliament's representing the will of the electorate or the publishers', representing the will of, well, the publishers? Will the publishers set up a regulator and apply for recognised status, and if so, under which Charter or will they drop any attempt at regulation and take their chances with the Crime and Courts Bill? Will the regional press or magazines split off and form their own regulator leaving the nationals to deal with their own demons? Since the Bill without a regulator risks the costs being levied against a publisher for any civil action my guess is that Lord Hunt will soon have a short but unenthusiastic queue outside the PCC HQ seeking to join a new regulator and we will eventually have a code and body to explain to our students.

Chris Frost, on behalf of the editors

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.

Games and feints as pedagogy: Using game theory and reverse logic to teach conflict reporting

Savyasaachi Jain, University of Westminster

Abstract

This article presents a successful experiment in the use of two innovative pedagogic methods – game theory and 'reverse logic' – to overcome problems in the sustained adoption of good practices in reporting conflict during a workshop for broadcast journalists in Nepal organised by UNESCO and the Asia-Pacific Broadcasting Union (ABU). The article outlines how the strategy for using game theory and reverse logic was designed and implemented to allow discovery of principles and to promote longer term ownership of the journalistic values that are consistent with conflict resolution and peace-building. It goes on to describe workshop activities and relates them to issues in transformative learning and value education. It evaluates student reactions and engagement and the extent to which the use of game theory and reverse logic led to the adoption of desired values.

Keywords

Game theory, reverse logic, conflict reporting, journalism, peace journalism, values, best practice, pedagogy, reflection.

Introduction

Inducing 'deep learning' of the values of good journalism to effectively bridge the gap between acknowledgement of their relevance and their sustained adoption in practice is often a difficult task. Among the many reasons for this is the manner in which these values are usually transmitted. To students in the classroom, guidelines and standards for good journalism are often presented in a prescriptive manner, arguably leading to a 'surface' adoption that often falters in the face of professional cultures, practices and constraints subsequently encountered in newsrooms. Similarly, those who train professional journalists can meet with resistance when encouraging the adoption of codes of practice: prescribed standards meet with active opposition both because they represent a criticism of existing journalistic practices and are seen to be externally imposed.

This article presents the results of an experiment with pedagogic approaches aimed at improving the coverage of conflict and post-conflict situations by Nepalese broadcast journalists. It centres on the use of game theory and 'reverse logic' to emphasise and inculcate the values that underlie 'good' journalistic coverage of conflict and post-conflict situations.

The approach described in this article was adopted before and during an intensive workshop conducted by the author in Kathmandu, the capital of the Himalayan country, Nepal, in November 2011. The workshop, titled 'In-Country Workshop on Peace Building, Conflict Prevention and Conflict Resolution', was organised by UNESCO and the Asia-

Pacific Broadcasting Union (ABU). It was a five-day full-time workshop, with workshop activities extending to approximately 35 contact hours. The workshop was attended by 24 participants. Most of them were journalists, but the group included two camerapeople and two video editors. Three participants came from two privately owned organisations, ABC Television and Sagarmath TV; the rest were from Nepal's two state broadcasters, Nepal Television and Radio Nepal. The participants ranged in profile from young reporters with a couple of years of experience to senior journalists, such as news editors with more than two decades of experience. The author was the sole trainer for the workshop. The workshop was conducted on the premises of Nepal Television and its management took a keen interest in the proceedings; the chair of Nepal Television at that time, Balaram Timalsina, a former Maoist guerrilla commander, attended several of the sessions and also provided inputs.

The theme of the workshop – the role of the media during conflict and in post-conflict situations – was especially significant because of the long period of political and armed conflict witnessed by Nepal since the movement for democratic reforms led by mainstream political parties gathered pace in the early 1990s. From 1996 to 2006, the country was wracked by an armed Maoist insurgency that grew into a civil war. Even after the war ended in 2006, political conflicts continued to rage, resulting in the unseating of the king and the abolition of monarchy. As a result, what was the world's only Hindu kingdom became a democratic republic in 2008. More than three years later, in 2011, several social and political conflicts were still being played out, manifest in the inability of any political party to form a stable government, the repeated failure of the constituent assembly to meet deadlines for framing a new constitution, disputes over the resettlement of Maoist guerrillas, and developmental and social conflicts. Even though the civil war was over, Nepal continued to be in a state of political and social turmoil.

Almost all the participants had covered social, political and armed conflict in some form and were thus practitioners experienced in reporting conflict. Some of the participants had also attended earlier workshops conducted by international trainers as part of various media development initiatives, including workshops on reporting conflict. The challenge, therefore, was to deliver a workshop that built upon the participants' experience, but did not disregard their social and political environment.

The workshop covered a variety of topics and themes over five days, including frameworks of understanding conflict; the role of conflict in society and individual lives; concepts of conflict resolution and peace-building; and the safety of journalists. A number of sessions were also devoted to discussing journalistic issues and practices, planning future coverage, reinforcing values, and developing conceptual and practical skills. This article, however, restricts itself to discussing game theory and reverse logic because they are examples of innovative pedagogical methods developed to encourage the adoption of specific journalistic values and approaches without being prescriptive. They were arrived as a result of a reflective process.

Reflecting on pedagogical challenges

The objectives and outcomes of the workshop were indicated in its 'Terms of Reference', a document agreed between the funding agency, UNESCO, and the implementing agency, ABU. The specified objectives included increasing 'understanding of approaches the media can take in peace building' and 'practicing these approaches'. The desired outcomes were that the journalists would 'begin to construct their own approaches' and 'internalise the principles of playing a constructive role in a post-conflict situation'. This, it was expected, would contribute to 'increased quality of coverage' (ABU, 2011).

In the light of these objectives and desired outcomes, both content and methodology presented pedagogical challenges; the former in the selection of journalistic approaches that exemplified best practice but were relevant to Nepalese broadcast journalists, and the latter by the search for an approach that would maximise and sustain adoption. Both these challenges were considered simultaneously.

The workshop's title and terms of reference indicated that it would be appropriate to discuss the framework of peace journalism. Passionately advocated by Jake Lynch and Annabel McGoldrick (Lynch and McGoldrick, 2005; Lynch, 2008), it is based on the Transcend approach of Norwegian scholar Johan Galtung (Galtung, 2004; Galtung and Jacobsen, 2000) and is posited as an alternative approach to overcome perceived shortcomings arising from the notions of objectivity enshrined in the norms of traditional journalism. Galtung, Lynch and McGoldrick characterise traditional journalism as 'war journalism,' that is, oriented towards war/violence, the elites, propaganda and us-them/win-lose scenarios. Peace journalism, by contrast, is defined as 'conflict/peace-oriented, people-oriented, truth-oriented' and 'solution-oriented'.

Peace journalism is often criticised for being more akin to advocacy rather than reporting. Loyn (2007), for instance, considers some of its prescriptions 'dangerous' and strenuously opposes the idea that journalists should be 'players' rather than observers. Tumber (2009) describes it as being 'a manifesto rather than a theory' (2009: 395). On the other hand, Hanitzsch (2007) criticises it for being 'old wine in news bottles' and Kempf (2007) says it is no more than a 'prerequisite of good journalism'.

This divergence of views about whether peace journalism embodies the values that underlie excellence in journalism or is antithetical to them captures the content-related challenge posed by the workshop. It was clearly appropriate to promote some of the elements of peace journalism, including the 'desirable values' of emphasising fairness and accuracy; focusing on peace processes, peace-building and structural underpinnings of conflicts; giving voice to the voiceless and ordinary people; and avoiding demonising language. On the other hand, it was imperative to avoid the traps of activism, interventionism, and the abandonment of the established traditional journalistic norms of objectivity and neutrality. This dilemma of deciding on a set of desirable values and other pedagogical challenges were resolved through reflective practice – the act of conscious reflection in a structured manner.

Many theorists have examined the processes of reflective learning, among them Kolb (1984), Boud, Keogh and Walker (1985), Boud and Walker (1998), Hatton and Smith (1995), Cowan (2006) and Brockbank and McGill (2007). Despite important differences in their approaches, they agree that the central concept is that of revisiting and analysing one's own experiences, ideas and concerns in a structured manner. The explicit aim is to recognise patterns, organise ideas, seek meaning and find solutions that will lay the foundation for improved practice.

Moon's (2006: 37) description of reflection as a 'form of mental processing' applied to 'relatively complicated, ill-structured ideas for which there is not an obvious solution and is largely based on the further processing of knowledge and understanding that we already possess' is, in hindsight, an accurate description of the process that led to the development of a pedagogical plan for the workshop.

Donald Schön (1991) structured the activities of 'the reflective practitioner' into 'reflection-in-action' and 'reflection-on-action' (learning from the analysis of experiences and events *while* they are taking place and *after* they have occurred, respectively). A third category, 'reflection *for* action', is variously credited to Eraut (1995, quoted in Husu *et al.*, 2008: 39) and Cowan (2006: 51–52). The preparatory process *for* the Nepal workshop entailed reflecting *on* the experience of international journalism training workshops conducted in the past.[1] These workshops included several on reporting conflict.[2] Others focused on reporting HIV and AIDS,[3] a theme which also encompasses strong elements of conflict manifest as discrimination and hostility.

Reflecting on past workshops also yielded methodological solutions. It led to the realisation that it was important to avoid disregarding the structural constraints of participating journalists or disparaging their existing practices. The participants, especially the more senior among them, would likely react adversely to being told – in effect – that they were not doing a good enough job. It was easy to predict their reaction – self-justification and defensiveness would form a barrier to learning. The optimal way forward was to treat the participants as competent professionals doing a difficult job in under-resourced organisations and demanding environments.

Previous encounters with journalists also indicated that prescriptive approaches would not be successful. Journalists are quick to question dogmatism if it is not backed up with convincing reason and prescriptive pedagogical methods could easily be construed as condescension and arrogance on the part of a foreign trainer. This would be a particular problem with peace journalism because of its doctrinarian dos and don'ts as well as their seeming conflict with established journalistic norms (see, for instance, Loyn, 2007). This perception also stemmed from the author's experience of attending a workshop on peace journalism a decade ago.[4] The author, though swayed by the approach, vocally challenged several aspects of the normative tenets set down by the activist trainers, Jake Lynch and Annabelle McGoldrick, in order to help spark further discussion and debate.

This was the basis for a conviction that the workshop demanded an approach that not only avoided being prescriptive but also precluded any opportunity for it to be considered so. The ideal solution would be to find a method that would enable participants to discover

1 The author has conducted about four dozen journalism training workshops in 15 African and Asian countries, including Nepal, over the past decade.

2 A series of four two-week workshops was conducted for 'The EU-India Documentary Initiative on Diversity and Conflict Transformation' a large cross-cultural documentary project implemented in 2004–05 by The Thomson Foundation. Thirty-two radio and television journalists from 12 countries produced 24 documentaries comparing the dynamics of social, political, religious, environmental and economic conflicts in Europe and India.

3 HIV and AIDS workshops for journalists were conducted in Bangladesh, 2006 and 2009; China, 2010; India, 2005–2006 and 2011; Indonesia, 2011; Macau SAR, 2009; Malaysia, 2011; Mexico, 2008; Nepal, 2008; Sri Lanka, 2007 and 2009; and Vietnam, 2009.

4 The workshop, 'Reporting the World: The Role of Media Organizations and Journalists in Reporting on War, Conflict and Peace', was organised in Cluj-Napoca, Romania, from 4–6 December 2003, by Reporting the World, TRANSCEND, and the Peace Action, Training and Research Institute of Romania (PATRIR).

for themselves the values and approaches appropriate to their professional practice and environment. The trainer's role would be to subtly facilitate the discovery of values that combined the best of peace journalism with traditional norms of objectivity/neutrality and emotional distance.

The adoption and internalisation of discovered values was another challenge. In terms of the notion of 'deep learning' developed by Marton and Säljö (1976a), this translated to fostering deeper understanding, more meaningful engagement and the development of critical faculties (as opposed to the 'surface learning' represented by a mere familiarisation with best practices and frameworks of reporting conflict). Biggs and Tang's distinction between 'declarative knowledge' and 'functioning knowledge' was also useful:

> Declarative knowledge is knowledge about things, expressed in verbal or other symbolic form; functioning knowledge is knowledge that informs action by the learner. […] When students 'really' understand a concept – as opposed to giving verbal definitions and paraphrases of it, important as these are in their place – they behave differently, being able to carry out 'performances of understanding'.
>
> Biggs and Tang, 2011: 83

The workshop's objectives would be met only if it was able to go beyond imparting declarative knowledge and was successful in fostering functioning knowledge of discovered values.

There are several debates around the teaching of values, going all the way back to Plato's *Dialogues*, but contemporary discourse tends to be located within the disciplines of law, medicine and education. There are differences of opinion on whether values can be taught, whether teachers are competent to teach values and how values can be transmitted via a 'hidden curriculum' that is implicit but often not acknowledged (see, for instance, Harland and Pickering, 2011; Lovat and Toomey, 2009; Halstead and Taylor, 1996; Garners, Cairns and Lawton, 2000; Bartlett, 1987; and Veugelers, 2000). Of particular relevance to the roadmap that emerged from the reflective process were the findings of Veugelers, who showed that students are averse to teachers who explicitly emphasise the values they find important; they prefer teachers who indicate the differences in various sets of values and indicate their preference for the values they find important in a more subtle manner (2000: 43–44).

Harland and Pickering (2011) describe values variously as the 'underlying rationale' and the 'overarching concepts related to all our ideas' (2011: 10, 51) (as an aside, though these two phrases refer to different directions – under and over – the idea is clear; they point to the surrounding conceptual framework and environment that guide the broad parameters of our thinking). Halstead (1996: 4) uses the term values to refer to 'principles, fundamental convictions, ideals, standards or life stances which act as general guides to behaviour or as points of reference in decision-making'.

In one sense, values represent a 'threshold concept' and 'troublesome knowledge'. Meyer and Land (2003: 412) describe a threshold concept as 'akin to a portal, opening up a new and previously inaccessible way of thinking about something. It represents a transformed way of understanding, or interpreting, or viewing something'. Comprehending a threshold concept can lead to a transformation in how people think, and how they view a subject matter or the world, they say. A similar concept is that of transformative learning, whose primary spokesperson, Jack Mezirow, defines it as ‘the process of effecting change in a frame of reference’ (Mezirow, 1997: 6). The trick, then, lay in the method by which participants in the workshop could be helped to cross the threshold. Eventually, the option chosen was to minimise the use of the word ‘values’, but to concentrate on facilitating the participants in seeing new options, approaches and rationale and helping them make their own decisions.

In sum, the major pedagogical challenges were the need to: a) facilitate the participants’ discovery of a set of desirable values that were also appropriate to the Nepalese environment; b) achieve deep learning that would be transformative and exhibit the use of ‘functioning knowledge’ of these values – that is, lead to their adoption, internalisation and use.

The pedagogical tools that were eventually employed – game theory and reverse logic – were a direct outcome of the reflective process. Game theory was chosen as the appropriate tool to facilitate the discovery of values, and both game theory and reverse logic were used to promote the adoption and use of appropriate values in a manner that would reflect in newsroom output.

Of the two, game theory presented greater possibilities of impacting the outcome of the workshop. It could be central, even a showcase tool that would help to define the nature and feel of the workshop. The choice of game theory was partly influenced by the fact that it is often used in peace and conflict studies to analyse options and strategic possibilities. Journalists, however, are seldom familiar with it. Many have not heard of it at all and there are few, if any, who use it as an analytical tool. Of course, it must be said that there is no real need for them to do so.

The use of game theory was planned in a manner that the participants in the workshop would not be expected to fully understand its logical and mathematical intricacies; it would be used as a tool merely to establish the contours of conflict situations in broad conceptual strokes. It would be ideal for several reasons. It would have a novelty factor that would spur interest and capture the attention of participants, the first step to achieving deep learning. It would serve as a base for workshop activity, for presenting problems and puzzles that would help reap the benefits of a problem-based learning approach, lead to active involvement, and thus stimulate participants’ memory. It would lead to a basic – if distant – familiarity with some of the factors and conceptual tools used by experts who analyse conflict and its resolution; the feeling of growth represented by acquisition of this knowledge could potentially be motivational. Most importantly, game theory could be utilised to exemplify the importance of the role that media can play in a conflict.

Using game theory

Game theory came into prominence with John von Neumann and Oskar Morgenstern’s *The Theory of Games and Economic Behaviour*, first published in 1944. They described a game as any interaction between parties where the possible ‘moves’ for each participant can be identified and a set of ‘outcomes’ can be defined for each possible combination of moves. Game theory is used extensively in economics, political science, psychology, mathematics, logic and many other areas (including conflict studies, war and security, and even biology) to model scenarios and evaluate the relative advantages and disadvantages of different combinations of moves and countermoves.

Game theory can also be defined as the study of strategic decision making. It is predicated on the 'players' being rational, being aware of the moves they can make, being aware of each other's actions, and taking others' actions into account when deciding strategy or making a move. Game theory is an involved logical – and often mathematical – exercise. Books on game theory can be full of abstruse diagrams and mathematical formulae. In-depth exploration of the subject was neither possible nor appropriate for the workshop in Nepal. The appropriate approach was to introduce the concept of game theory at a very basic level and use one or two games to further the agenda of the workshop, that is, to use game theory at a conceptual and logical level rather than at a mathematical level.

None of the workshop participants had heard of game theory. Thus, the first step was a short introduction of game theory (more or less along the lines of what has been encapsulated in the two paragraphs above). By the time the basic rules of game theory had been explained, bafflement was already visible on the faces of the participants and some of them were beginning to tune out, as had been anticipated. This was the right opportunity to segue into what is called an ice-breaker in workshop parlance. The planned activity was the game of Rock-Paper-Scissors.

Most of the group had not heard of the game, so it was necessary to explain that it is a two-person game where, on the count of three, each player brings forward a hand formed into one of three shapes, representing either a rock, paper or scissors. A clenched fist represents a rock; an open hand with fingers held straight out but touching each other represents paper; and a hand with two fingers outstretched and apart like a V-for-victory sign represents scissors. Scissors cuts paper, so a gesture of scissors wins against paper. Paper wraps rock and defeats rock. Rock, in turn, blunts and thus defeats scissors. The objective of the game is for each player to proffer a gesture and try to best their opponent. If both players make the same gesture, the game is a draw and the players 'throw' again. After a brief demonstration of the game, the participants in the workshop room were divided into pairs and asked to turn towards their designated opponent and play a few rounds of Rock-Paper-Scissors.

In a short while, the participants began to get the knack of the game, and soon the room was buzzing with activity and a sense of competitive excitement. This, of course, was a central objective of the exercise – to wake them up and spark interest.

After several rounds of the game, the participants were asked to reflect on the process they had used to decide their next 'move', that is, the process by which they arrived at a strategy while playing against their opponent. They were interested to know that national and international Rock-Paper-Scissors championships are held in several countries. The idea that someone might consistently score well in a seemingly random game to emerge as a champion was an intriguing one. The point that emerged, with a bit of prodding and facilitation, was that human players are seldom truly random in choosing a move, and that an integral part of trying to defeat an opponent in Rock-Paper-Scissors is to anticipate the opponent's moves by trying to recognise patterns they were using. This exercise perked up the participants, got them involved, introduced them to the first level of game theory, and prepared them for the more challenging bits yet to come.

Further explanation about game theory in general terms followed, including how it could be made applicable to almost any human and social interaction where the outcome is a result of the combination of one's own actions and those of others. These broad principles can be applied to situations and questions as divergent as crossing a road, the misuse or theft of public or common property, business competition, whether to join in group activity, or whether to disarm unilaterally or not. The potential scope of game theory and its applicability as an analytical tool for a wide variety of situations came as an eye-opener to the participants.

The next step was to introduce Prisoner's Dilemma, one of the classical games in game theory, which Hargreaves Heap and Varoufakis (1995: 35) say 'appears to capture some of the elemental features of all social interactions'. In its two-player version, this game encapsulates a situation where both parties might win if they take a decision to cooperate with each other, but at the same time it explains why they might not cooperate even when it appears to be in their best interest to do so. A description of the game is:

> Two members of a criminal gang are arrested and imprisoned. Each prisoner is in solitary confinement with no means of speaking to or exchanging messages with the other. The police admit they don't have enough evidence to convict the pair on the principal charge. They plan to sentence both to a year in prison on a lesser charge. Simultaneously, the police offer each prisoner a Faustian bargain. If he testifies against his partner, he will go free while the partner will get three years in prison on the main charge. Oh, yes, there is a catch ... if *both* prisoners testify against each other, both will be sentenced to two years in jail.
>
> (Poundstone, 1993: 118)

The outcomes are depicted in Figure 1. The first number in each box of the matrix shows the jail term for A and the second number shows the jail term for B.

Figure 1: Matrix of outcomes in Prisoner's Dilemma

	B refuses deal	B turns state's evidence
A refuses deal	1 year, 1 year	3 years, 0 years
A turns state's evidence	0 years, 3 years	2 years, 2 years

(from Poundstone, 1993: 118)

While formulating a strategy in response to the choices available to Prisoner B, Prisoner A realises that the best option is to turn state's evidence. If B were to refuse the deal (column 1 of the matrix above), A would spend one year in jail by refusing the deal but get away with no jail time by turning state's evidence. Similarly, if B were to turn state's evidence (column 2 in the matrix), A would again save a year of jail time by turning state's evidence. Thus, the rational choice for A, whatever the choice made by B, is to turn state's evidence. This is represented by the shaded row in Figure 2.

Figure 2: Preferred rational options for Prisoner A

	B refuses deal	B turns state's evidence
A refuses deal	1 year, 1 year	3 years, 0 years

A turns state's evidence	**0 years**, 3 years	**2 years**, 2 years

Similarly, the rational choice for B is to turn state's evidence, represented by the right-hand column of the matrix – this shaves one year off B's sentence, whatever the choice made by A. Thus, the rational 'solution' for the game is the intersection of the bottom row (A's preference) and the right-hand column (B's preference), that is the bottom right corner of the matrix, where both A and B turn state's evidence. This is shown in Figure 3.

Figure 3: Rational outcome for Prisoner's Dilemma

	B refuses deal	**B turns state's evidence**
A refuses deal	1 year, 1 year	3 years, 0 years
A turns state's evidence	0 years, 3 years	**2 years, 2 years**

The point of this game was that a better solution *was* available, represented by the top left corner of the matrix, where A and B, both having refused the deal, would have received only one year each in jail (instead of the two years each dictated by the 'solution' in Figure 3). However, this mutually beneficial solution could *not* have been reached while Prisoners A and B each separately rationalised their response to the other's anticipated move. This, understandably, took the workshop participants some time to understand and absorb.

However, things became clearer when we moved on to a variation of Prisoner's Dilemma, a strategy game modelled on the Cold War. It depicts two nations – or two parties in a conflict – which can choose either to acquire new weaponry or spend their money more productively.

Figure 4: Matrix of outcomes for 'Cold War'

	B does not buy arms	B buys arms
A does not buy arms	+1, +1	–1, 0
A buys arms	0, –1	0, 0

If both parties buy arms, they reach a military standoff, represented by the '0, 0' outcome in the bottom right corner of Figure 4. If A buys arms, and B does not, A has a military advantage over B (represented in the bottom left corner by a 0 for A and a –1 for B). The top right corner represents the reverse of this situation. However, if both do *not* buy arms, they both have financial resources available to spend on other activities such as welfare or development, and both parties benefit. This is represented in the top left corner, with each party getting +1. This is the best possible outcome but, analogous to Prisoner's Dilemma, it is 'logical' for each party to arm itself. This matrix was much easier for the workshop participants to grasp.

The participants were asked what they thought was lacking in each situation – what was it in each case that prevented movement from the mutually disadvantageous bottom right corner to the mutually beneficial top left corner? In other words, what could be added to the mix in each situation to reach a better solution? With a bit of prodding, the answers emerged, and it was gratifying not to have to supply them. The answers were: communication and trust. If the two prisoners could communicate, they would have been able to ensure a better, mutually beneficial, deal for both of them. Similarly, if the two parties to the conflict could trust each other not to acquire weaponry and stick to a deal to this effect, they could both benefit from the resulting win-win situation.

From here, the next step was to ask the participants to think about whether they, the media, had a role to play in providing channels of communication and building trust between different parties and, after a bit of deliberation, the answer was a resounding yes. This was a critical moment in the workshop, the moment that all the previous exertions were leading up to. The participants began to think of how they could play a role in various social and political contexts, and what they would have to do differently. These elements were tackled in various other sessions, but it was obvious that a threshold had been crossed and we were at a transformative 'Aha!' moment.

This exploration of game theory was a gamble that paid off, which was fortunate because it was risky to have taken this somewhat abstruse approach in a room full of journalists. However, once the participants understood the basics, there were many aspects to discuss, ranging from the film *A Beautiful Mind*, which depicted the life of the game theorist and Nobel laureate John Nash, to using game theory to analyse the behaviour of drivers on Kathmandu roads. There was a sense of involvement and excitement, and the participants felt they had achieved something. Perhaps it was a sense of intellectual growth, perhaps it was a sense of inspiration, but whatever it was, it rendered the mood of the workshop decidedly positive.

Using reverse logic

The other innovative pedagogical approach used during this workshop is the one referred to in the title of this article as 'reverse logic'. The term is used here to refer to the paradoxical approach of encouraging the adoption of best practices through the method of asking participants to showcase bad practices. The credit for suggesting this approach goes to Will Whitlock,[5] who conjured it up during a discussion while the author was preparing for the workshop.

The idiosyncratic thought of reverse logic struck a chord because past experience had shown that declarative knowledge of good practices does not easily translate to 'functioning knowledge'. It is suggested that one element responsible for this may be the fact that learning by example can be patchy. In an earlier series of workshops, the author realised that appreciation and analysis of good documentaries did not translate into improved documentary making skills. In that instance,[6] radio documentary makers analysed the best of international documentaries during a workshop, but their own skills failed to show the expected improvement. This was an important lesson about the gulf between learning by example and learning by doing, or declarative and functioning knowledge, and it led to a change in teaching methods used in subsequent workshops of that series. However, in making radio documentaries, the question was one of imparting practical skills, which could be developed by closely supervising the performance of discrete production tasks. In the case of the Nepal workshop, the need was to foster the adoption of values rather than skills. It was possible to supervise the production of stories, but it was unlikely that it would be possible to cover the full range of relevant values whose internalisation was

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6 Radio workshops conducted as part of the media development project 'The EU-India Documentary Initiative on Diversity and Conflict Transformation', 2004–2005.

sought.

Social and cultural differences – including professional culture – were another reason for using reverse logic. Conflict has strong social and cultural roots and best practices in reporting conflict from an alien culture would likely fall on fallow ground, much as externally imposed dos and don'ts would.

Asking participants to write reports that embodied the very worst practices they could think of was a successful experiment. It allowed a detailed critical examination of a larger range of issues and values than would have been possible with examples of good practices. It also remained locally grounded.

In one of the sessions using reverse logic, a role-playing exercise was created around the deaths of four people in a hypothetical clash between Maoist guerrillas and the Nepalese Army in a remote village. Participants volunteered to play different roles – a local police official, an Army spokesperson, a shopkeeper who witnessed the clash, the family member of a villager who died, and a villager who was an active sympathiser of the Maoist guerrillas. Each 'witness' and 'spokesperson' was briefed privately about the kind of partisan, self-serving and obfuscatory statements they were expected to make, and asked to cast their minds back to situations they had witnessed as reporters to reproduce charged emotions and realistic touches.

The 'witnesses' and 'spokespersons' participated in a series of mock press conferences and interviews, with other participants playing the role of journalists. Those playing the roles of witnesses and spokespersons entered into the spirit of the exercise, making ardent pleas, outrageous statements and presenting biased and incomplete information. The 'interviewers' also played their role well, attempting to dig deeper and reconcile different accounts through pointed and aggressive questioning.

The instructions to the journalists were to write reports exemplifying as many bad practices in reporting conflict as they could imagine. When they read out their reports, it was clear that they had managed to do a good job. Their reports included examples of misreporting of facts, sensationalism, bias, incendiary language, inappropriate adjectives, callousness and lack of sensitivity, highly opinionated writing, emotional appeals on behalf of one party or the other, and jumping to conclusions – in short, an eye-popping catalogue of how not to report an incident.

Although there was a lot of hilarity in the room when the participants read out their reports, the point was well made. It was interesting that there was no need to point out what was 'good' journalistic practice and what was 'bad'; the nuances of this distinction were exercised by the participants with scarcely any prompting or guidance. When the session finished, many of the journalists looked sober and contemplative. It was apparent that this experiment provided a lot of deep learning that is likely to stay with the journalists.

Results and discussion

The two innovative elements used in the workshop – game theory and reverse logic – were central to the pedagogical decision to adopt a non-prescriptive approach, but they represented less than one-fifth of the workshop. They were supported by a host of activities in other sessions aimed at further developing the creative and critical thinking skills stimulated by the use of game theory and reverse logic. The participants were encouraged to analyse various journalistic approaches and paths of action that were available to them, evaluate their relative merits and demerits, make choices and justify them.

One activity analysed journalistic output by breaking it down into its elements. Each element was evaluated in terms of the conflict-sensitive (or -insensitive) values it exemplified, a choice was made whether to keep, discard or modify the element, and then a revised report was presented to the group. Boden (1996: 6) defines creativity as the mapping, exploration and transformation of ‘structured conceptual spaces’ (i.e., a discipline). As the conceptual space was mapped and explored in this manner, it also began to be transformed.

The critical and creative choices made by the participants were actively interrogated. Creativity has received far less academic attention than it deserves (Sternberg and Lubart, 1998); in the absence of structured approaches on teaching journalistic creativity, the workshop took the approach of examining the elements (and the sum of the elements) of the participants’ creative output. If creativity is conceptualised as a combination of novelty and quality (Sternberg and Kaufman, 2010: 467), the workshop concentrated on the quality element, while creating the potential for novelty.

Elsewhere in the workshop, care was taken to present a choice of frameworks and perspectives, and the participants were encouraged to discuss their relative merits. In this manner, various international examples and debates were considered, including the embedding of war correspondents, news management by governments, the effect of media attention on a conflict, televised wars and revolutions, the ‘oxygen of publicity’ argument, ‘national interest’, and Martin Bell’s (1998) notion of a ‘journalism of attachment’. Local parallels and counter-examples were frequently sought and discussed to encourage engagement and to conceive of various creative and value-based choices that participants could make in practice.

Overall, the participants found these elements both interesting and relevant. This was apparent from their evaluation of the workshop. Of the 24 participants, 20 completed and returned the feedback form that was distributed at the end of the workshop. Some of them did so anonymously, while others had no hesitation in giving their names.

The questions on the feedback form required respondents to grade elements of the workshop on a scale from 0 to 5. A score of 0 represented a negative outcome (no), and 5 represented positive feedback (strong yes). The questions and the mean scores awarded by the participants are given in Table 1.

Table 1: Feedback provided by workshop participants

Q. no.	Question	Mean score (0=no; 5=yes)
1.	Did you clearly understand the course objectives?	4.65
2.	Was the workshop beneficial to you for your future work practices?	4.53
3.	Were the trainers aware of your problems?	4.30

4.	Were the subjects for the sessions well selected?	4.35
5.	Was each subject adequately covered?	4.05

(n=20)

In addition to the questions that required a numerical score, there were some that allowed the participants to write short remarks. Some extracts from the responses to the question: 'What was the most useful part of the training?' are given below. It must be mentioned that most of the participating journalists do not work in English; their journalistic output is also in their first language, Nepali. However, their responses are presented largely unedited because they adequately convey their meaning.

> Some responses to the question: 'What was the most useful part of the training?'
>
> Camerapersons's role for peacebuilding. Cleared the image about conflict in society and its management.
>
> Analysing approach of conflict.
>
> Art of finding common ground and analysing opponent's mind.
>
> Practical assignments were most useful. Trainer selection is right because he knows us and our culture problems, etc., very well.
>
> We can change our perception and concepts. Way of positive thinking, how can we change concepts. It is always helps us in our professional life and our private life also. (Workshop participants)

Another question asked: 'Will your approach change as a result of the training? If so, *how* will it change?' All 20 participants answered this question in the affirmative. While some answered with a simple 'Yes' or 'Yes, I will try', many others, including senior journalists, were much more emphatic, using words such as 'absolutely' and 'definitely'. Given below are some of the responses to this question, edited minimally:

> Some responses to the question: 'Will your approach change as a result of the training? If so, *how* will it change?'
>
> *Yes*, it will change through confidence and communication. By applying knowledge of training in our daily reporting life.
>
> Absolutely. I will not use sensational words in my news. My news from today leads to resolve the conflict, etc.
>
> Generally we used to seek bad aspects of the story to create sensationalism. But this training taught me a lesson that even journalists are the part of society.
>
> Ideas came in integrated manner. And they are systematised and I came to know what I'm doing and what I should do.
>
> Sure change, because I working very carefully in future programme makings.

> People in general are the most so let us consider them while reporting/ build up pressure to cover a balance reporting (in the newsroom).Yes, now I understand about a conflict. I can give resolution a conflict. It helps me not only in my profession but at society and home, etc. (Workshop participants)

Others clearly indicated that the ideas they were taking away from the workshop would be applicable beyond their professional activities. One respondent wrote: 'Training is very useful for my life.' Another remarked: 'It helps me to judge about the issue and solve them practically and easily. So it develops confidence of our inner power as well.' Another comment read: 'We want additional training which can change our professional life and social life, too.'

Conclusion

The participants' feedback established that the innovative pedagogical approach taken during the workshop had been successful in promoting deep learning, which was also transformative in many respects. The feedback underscored the conceptual growth the participants had experienced as they discovered a set of appropriate and desirable values through the use of game theory, and later adopted them in practice through activities such as those employing reverse logic.

The clarification of value structures or the identification and fostering of appropriate values is not an easy task, nor one to be undertaken lightly. Neither is this task free from the hazards of misdirection and even hubris on the part of the teacher or trainer. However, because so much of journalism is predicated on underlying values, it is a task that must be attempted, especially where journalism cultures and values are under social, political, organisational or market pressures. The pedagogical experiment discussed here shows that journalistic values need not be imposed externally as a rigid prescription. With appropriate facilitation, a viable set of values that is indistinguishable in most respects from the ideal can emerge locally. Local ownership implies both relevance and acceptance, and these are critical steps towards their sustained adoption.

This article presents the results of a process, but not a formula. There is no guarantee that a similar workshop undertaken by the same trainer with the same intent and approach will be equally successful. In a week-long full-time workshop, a lot depends on the interpersonal dynamics that develop in the workshop room. These dynamics affect not only the relationship between the trainer and the participants, but also the receptivity of the participants to the core messages and learning sought to be fostered.

The sustained and consistent application of the values discovered and adopted by the workshop participants has not been evaluated. At the end of the workshop, the author extracted a 'promise of performance' from the participants as a way of ensuring that the learning was put into practice. Some participants also maintained contact with the author on professional issues after the end of the workshop. The levels of motivation and ownership displayed during and after the workshop indicate that at least some of the values will persevere, but further research will be needed to identify which ones and to what extent.

However, it can be said that game theory and reverse logic present not only a potentially inspirational pedagogical approaches but also a viable preparatory tools. Even on relatively difficult terrain such as the inculcation of values and fostering of creativity, the elements of reflecting, evaluating alternatives, anticipating responses and strategizing an approach can result in an uplifting learning and teaching experience, of which numerous elements can reasonably be expected to endure.

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County Magazines: pride, and a passion for print

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Abstract

This article examines why county magazines are bucking the trend to online publishing by actively prioritising print products over digital extensions. The printed county magazine is proving buoyant despite widely acknowledged difficulties in the publishing industry as aspirational advertising still commands a premium. Content is engineered in a way that would not be possible online to create a utopian version of county life which is publicly consumed. This paper examines the capacity of the county magazine in print to create brand communities that flourish thanks to distribution and content which champions their readership. It uses case studies of county magazines in two neighbouring counties to analyse why their publishers see a bright future for print, and why they view as unimportant the challenge of moving their successful formula from the coffee table to the PC. There are nearly 300 county, regional and local magazines around Britain, with upwards of six million readers per month (Brad 2011), yet this vibrant sector has received little attention from academic researchers. County titles, with their high production values, aspirational content and positive local coverage, offer an instructive contrast to newspapers' steeply falling circulations and profits. This paper examines the potential of county magazines to fill the growing void left by the negative crime and cuts fare of regional newspapers and offers insight into how their visual and tactile pleasures are not being translated to the fragmented virtual world of the internet. It also presents the opportunities afforded by county magazines to students as case studies through placements and employment in a diminishing local newspaper landscape.

KEY WORDS: advertising, brand community, county magazines, digitization, hyper-county, niche,

Introduction

This article examines why county magazines are bucking the trend to online publishing by actively prioritising print products over digital extensions.

This significant sector of the magazine market provides a useful counter-example when teaching digital journalism or discussing the decline of print journalism as the brand communities examined here can enhance students' understanding of the business of the media industry, notably the role of advertising and development of brand extensions. As we argue below, they are a distinctive market, where the usual rules often do not apply, and can therefore be used in exercises on writing to meet the needs of a targeted audience, or feature writing and lifestyle journalism more broadly. As this article demonstrates, county magazines provide a stimulating case study of the challenges of translating successful print products into profitable online operations. Finally, county magazines offer opportunities for work placements, freelancing and even jobs. Students at Staffordshire University write, take photographs and design a double-page spread for a county magazine every month, to the mutual benefit of the students and the publisher, while eight out of 22 University of Central Lancashire magazine students 2012/13 went on 11 placements to nine county magazines and subsequently analysed them for their industry assessment

County magazines are part of a provincial magazine tradition stretching back to the eighteenth century. They developed into a format we would recognise today in the 1930s. The largest publisher of the genre was English Life Publications, based in Derby, which launched five titles in the 1930s and eight in the 1940s, including Lancashire Life. Many began as rather serious, scholarly publications, or aimed to promote economic development in their counties, but by the late 1950s most had embraced the consumerism of the post-war boom. In the 21st century the biggest player in county publishing is Archant Life, based in Norwich, which publishes a million copies of its 30 titles every month.

They are typically printed in full colour on glossy paper with features-led editorial content. Topics include people and places, natural history, the countryside, walking, arts and crafts, gardening, eating out, fashion, property and interiors. County magazines are distinct from lifestyle magazines due to the geographical focus of the content. However, where they have traditionally focused on the entire county, there is currently a shift to divide areas into smaller niches by either distribution models or content selection. For the purposes of this paper, this trend is known as hypercounty publishing.

County magazines have been the staple of newsagents' shelves and coffee tables since their advent in the 20th century. In the early 21st century they are now also available to buy in print form at supermarket check-outs and garden centres, while some are delivered free to your door (if you have the right postcode). This article maps how county magazines are proving buoyant in print, capable of stepping onto turf previously dominated by local newspapers, and the challenges they face online.

The county magazine "is thoroughly middle-class yet rooted to place … Few other genres address the county as a geographical category, and county magazines contain useful information of a kind not found in newspapers" (Hobbs 2012, 26, 25). Unlike the eclectic national magazine Country Life, county magazines place "greater interest in people rather than things – buildings, antiques, animals and sport" (Hobbs 2013, 7). County editors cite this trend as evidence they are becoming more of a people's magazine.

The market highlights the sense of place in a fascinating and neglected sector of magazine publishing. In 2011, the sector totalled 277 county and regional magazines across Britain, third in popularity behind leisure interests (421) and then sport (283) but ahead of women's magazines (227) (Brad 2011). This multi-million-pound publishing genre boasts a monthly readership in the order of ten million.

However the county magazine sector remains an under-researched academic area with much of it biased towards exploring it as a celebration of county life (Colbeck 1993, 109) and as general constructs of the consumer magazine sector (Riley 1993, 25; Consterdine 2002, 21). Consterdine also asserts the importance of the county magazine as carrier of deep psychological values of self image within a "geographical boundary that is hallowed and prestigious" (19). In this respect this study offers a timely assessment of how county magazines are formulating their priorities in the digital age. Consumers' demand for printed magazines has increased by 4.1%, according to a survey by the Professional Publishers Association (PPA 2010). The Publishing Futures survey, which asked 101 companies for plans for the near future, also found that turnover was predicted to increase by 6.8%, with print contributing 86% of total revenue for consumer publishers.

The success of magazines is maintaining reader engagement and loyalty by the quality of the content. Jann Wenner, Rolling Stone co-founder, told the US Advertising Age about the advantages of quality reads and design:

Magazines are going to do just fine despite the internet… Because there's a real advantage to getting a print product and having something you can hold and that of course is portable and has a luxurious feeling and is comfortable and immersive (Ives 2011).

Indeed readers relate to print as "physical and aesthetic objects" offering a different experience and meaning (Ytre-Arne 2011). As Jane Reed, former editor of Woman magazine, noted: "A magazine is like a club. Its first function is to provide readers with a comfortable sense of community and pride in their identity" (Winship 1987:7). The idea of the club has been developed by Davidson et al (2007), who demonstrate that the similar marketing concept of the brand community fits magazines neatly. Their interviews and focus groups found that five factors - strong brand image, hedonistic associations, established history, ability to be consumed in public and a competitive market – created groups of loyal readers among whom “the concept of imagined community is played out within the context of magazine consumption” (Davidson et al 2007, p219).

Abrahamson believes that magazines are a highly distinctive form of media, that what is unique to magazines is they:

not only reflect or are a product of the social reality of the times, but they also serve a larger and more pro-active function - that they can also be a catalyst, shaping the very social reality of their sociocultural moment (Abrahamson, 2007, 667).

It can also be argued that magazines do this in ways that other forms of media do not because magazines enjoy a unique closeness with their audience, their fellow members of the brand community.

It is this engagement which sustains the attraction of magazines for advertisers.

The magazine environment delivers a reader in the right frame of mind to be receptive to the advertising. In the sympathetic context of the right magazine, the strong positive brand values of the magazine can transfer onto the advertisements (Consterdine 2005, 6).

This is compounded by their tactility.

The design and feel of glossies connote luxury and pleasure, despite the fact that their sale price is relatively low. They have high production values – the heavy glossy paper from which they derive their industry-moniker enables the reproduction of sumptuous photography and graphics, providing the reader with a sensuous experience. The physical feel of these magazines and their visual layout offer pleasures over and above their use value in terms of informational content (Dyson 2007: 637).

However publishers are increasingly exposed and sensitive to wider changes in consumption options open to readers in the advent of online publishing, mobile and tablet. Taking all the above into account, this research assumes that the path travelled by online magazine journalism, although relatively short in time, has been intense in experiments with new genres and platform. This is further sensitized by a generally gloomy prognosis for the future of the print format evidenced by plunging national newspaper readerships (Press Gazette 2011a). The National Readership Survey to March 2011, for example, showed circulation falling by 12% for the Independent and the Financial Times and 15% for the Times.

Primarily, there has been a fundamental shift in publishers’ perceptions. As Dennis CEO James Tye said at the Publishing Expo in March 2011 (Cloake 2011): “We are not on the verge of change, we are ten years in. We don’t talk about print or digital any more – we’ve moved to a brand model. We think about total revenue and total profit from the brand.” Building on the database of end-users was identified by publishers as the most important digital activity, to increase revenues from digital ad sales, sponsorship and e-commerce. Brand extensions such as live events, data and reader services the province of county magazines are also expected to grow. Total UK online advertising spending surpassed £4billion for the first time in 2010, driven by social media, mobile and video (warc.com). Since 2008, digital revenue for Archant, Britain’s largest county magazine publisher, has grown despite the recession, and is expected to continue. The company’s magazine division, which owns Lancashire Life and other county titles, recorded a 3% increase in revenue to £44.9m in 2010, assisted by progress in subscription copy sales, up 9.9% in the year (Press Gazette 2011b).

This is in contrast to the revenues of county magazines’ print neighbours, local and regional newspapers. For the counties covered by this study, ABCs for 2010 show across-the-board falls: for Cumbria's News and Star circulation was down 6.6% (to 10,849) and 6.2% (4,235) in the east and west of the region respectively in the six months to December 2012. The daily circulation of the Lancashire Evening Post fell by 15.3% (to 18,705) and the Lancashire Telegraph declined by 9.5% (to 20,076). Publishers have moved to close and merge regional offices, while some analysts predicted that half of all regional titles would close by 2013 because revenues would collapse by 52% (Guardian 2009). In 2011 Guardian Local announced its withdrawal from the local newspaper patch, after a two-year digital presence in Leeds, Cardiff and Edinburgh citing that the project was "unsustainable in its present form" (Pickard 2011). The crisis in regional news is blamed on the recession, a rise in online search advertising and loss of classified revenues, several structural factors including the take-up of broadband, local governments deciding in 2004 to cut recruitment advertising from local and regional papers and the Royal Mail ending the delivery of local papers. The sector has also been put under increased pressure from new start-ups and a growing trend towards hyperlocal journalism online, such as Ohsowe and Mytown, where user-generated content is mobilised around cheap digital publishing platforms.

Methodology

Based on the context described above, this article focuses on the experiences of county magazine titles in the two counties of Lancashire and Cumbria in managing printed products and the potential for digital expansion. It does so by adopting a qualitative case study approach because of its value for obtaining a range of insights into how and why (Wimmer and Dominick, 2006; Yin, 2003). The titles in these two counties offer a sufficient range of competitors and new launches to provide a rich and engaging study both historically, between free and paid-for titles, and comparing county titles of different reach. The more industrial county of Lancashire has a population of 3.4million (ceremonial county, Office for National Statistics 2012). The predominantly rural county of Cumbria lies to the North and, with a population of half a million, is one of the most sparsely populated counties in the UK (Young and Sly 2010). The diversity of the sample was felt to enhance rather than hinder the overall outcome of the study as a direct comparison between titles was not sought. An appendix, detailing the print and digital activity, assesses the range and scope of content. This acts as a snapshot of trends in digital activity by county magazine titles.

By way of interviews with editors and managing directors, the study gauges elements common to many similar production methods and magazines. The semi-structured interview was designed with open questions in two halves (questions on the print product and digital extension), lasting around an hour and a half. Interviews were allowed to progress freely in order to explore a range of issues and stimulus to strategy, issues and activity. Notes were taken and responses written up. A quantitative assessment was also discussed with the interviewee to snapshot the activities being taken online. These were checked and explored online and collated into a spreadsheet in a way to complement the interview responses. Digital activity was categorized in four main ways: content on the website (blogs, photo galleries, video, what's on, contact details and articles); activity on social platforms (Facebook, Twitter, Flickr, a newsletter, subscription available from the website); interaction (reader photos, reader posts, reader blogs, a digital edition); and advertising (display and classified). This acts as a snapshot of the digital activity by county magazine titles at the time of the interviews in 2011. The titles detailed in the paper are set out in the appendix.

A formula to capture the essence of county living

The Lancashire and Cumbria county magazine sector is currently experiencing mixed fortunes in print. Editors base this view on the profitability of the printed county magazine business model, but report that competition for advertising remains fierce while aggressive subscription offers compete for reader loyalty.

The representation of county life in a printed product works on creating a pertinence between aspirational content, readership and distribution models. The 150th edition of Cumbria Life, with its golden yellow daffodils and close-up image of an innocent spring lamb, encapsulates the heart of county magazines and their attempt to relate to readers: this is county life at its best. The iconic glossy cover photography in Lancashire Life of a dreamy rose-clad white-stone cottage baking in crystal blue skies is sensual and appealing. The cultural significance of mirror-glassed lakes or elegant churches appeal to the heart and soul, pulling on the tension of reality. County life here is versatile and resilient, warming and welcoming.

County magazines abound with feel-good images and stories; the content is conservative with a small c, and comfy. Much of the hard news world with its uncomfortable realities is excluded. “We are selling a dream. There are no homeless and there’s no AIDS,” said Anthony Skinner, editor of Lancashire Magazine. He added: “People want to be in a bubble. There is a large body of people who don’t want to read anything horrible. If we criticized people’s area they would be up in arms.” Content is carefully constructed around tightly edited flatplans to ensure the area in which people live is enhanced to be seen in a utopian light. The fine tuning through editorial processes and selection make for a leisure-mannered read that is a marketing slogan for the county. Editors cite the need to create a brand that champions an area, creating a sense of belonging.

This is the world of ambassadors, charities and local heroes. From style, fashion, gardens and homes, cooking and history, the content of county magazines is brimming with the good life. Here the pages are filled with weddings, stories of local “do-gooders”, what’s on and events where readers can look for help in formulating their leisure time. Lancashire Life’s media pack extols the virtues of being “the authoritative voice of its people and an outstanding guide to its places. At its heart is history and heritage, reflected in beautifully crafted pages charting all the positive things happening in our towns and countryside.” Northern Life is “an ideal opportunity for readers to celebrate their northern heritage past and present”. Live Ribble Valley is “Lancashire’s premier guide to luxury living” while Carlisle Living has “style in the city, pride in the city”.

Like most consumer magazines, neither the free nor paid-for county titles make any serious attempt to tackle the hard news agenda of social or political issues, in contrast to local and regional newspapers. Content is designed to make areas look good and the people in it look good. The format is about flattery to the cities and towns. The content is centrally aimed at being engaging to local people and removing any national irrelevance, described by Consterdine as making “living where one does more significant and dignified” (Consterdine 2002: 21). Editors repeatedly cited their primary role as creating a buzz or a vibe around the area, championing the glamour, the good and the gracious. In older parlance this is snobbery, but it is accepted more commonly now as aspirational content. County magazines' brand community fulfills a different role from their newspaper competitors.

The editor of Carlisle Living, Richard Eccles, saw the positive filtering of content as a way of leading the area towards a brighter future:

You read Tatler society pages and it matches what we do. We have created a club that you want to be part of. There is still the kudos and stayability of being in the magazine in a way that having the picture in the newspaper used to be kept and treasured. This creates a sense of 'missing out' if people do not have a copy of the magazine. People love this in a way they haven't felt about newspapers in a long time.

The construct here is not about falsifying editorial for fantasy but rather promoting areas for the greater good of the community and local business. Unlike online overload, content has been highly edited and selected. In addition to their traditional role as recorders of county life, its events and heritage, the county magazine is currently enjoying something of a revival as the content is steered towards people and people's news. Editors cite the role as being more about "networks" and a who's who, taking on the human interest stories in an empathic way.

Readers are often aware that a powerful filter of life in the area has been engineered. But the reader has a vested interest in the community, either through property ownership, children or grandchildren at school, or familial heritage ties. It is a world the reader wants to be part of and to believe exists. The readership of county magazines are almost exclusively ABC1 households, predominantly AB, often with a stake in the community be that from pride or practicality, with a broad age range from 25 to over 40: this is the world of village worthies.

Social photography is a significant means of fusing content and readership. This perspective gives an insight into how readers find themselves drawn into this world of aspiration: not only do they want to buy the print product to see their image but they want to be seen in a luxury product for all the prestige it can bestow. Professionally taken photographs of evening dinners, balls, races and proms perpetuate the virtuous cycle: the county magazine becomes the enhancer taking time and effort to get it right. Staff support brand extensions events which involve them in the community. In turn, the who's who network is perennially strengthened when those who are featured are mums, daughters, granddaughters, friends, colleagues, aunties.

The relationship between the reader and content is complex. Interaction with the print product is particularly evident in photographic contributions, with many hundreds of readers sending in pictures for reproduction in the printed magazine. However Lancashire Magazine editor Anthony Skinner noted:

It's a bogus idea that there is interaction with the readers. They don't want it. They want to interact with coming to events, wine, food, privilege cards - real life things not just 'telling us what you think' - they are not into that. They are an intelligent, engaged bunch but they are older and middle class people who just want to receive and luxuriate in it.

As well as reporting on society events, the county title is increasingly seeing itself as host. Staging Come Dine With Me events and networking dinners are further evidence of the county magazine's buoyancy as community lead.

Letters to the Editor has long been a touch point between audience and print products but this content has been omitted in Lancashire Magazine and the Live series. Where it does remain, an engagement level of four or five letters a month (for a circulation of 25,000) is expected. The fact that letters to the editor are of little editorial value, often reminiscences of times gone by or an appeal for publicity of events, adds to Skinner's argument that interaction is preferred when it concerns real life and people. Readers are relatively engaged with competitions and a county title with a 20,000 circulation would expect 400 entries to win tickets to flower shows or the theatre. They also want to send in photographs for the kudos of being published. However readers are less likely to respond if a reader offer is for a beauty treatment or holiday as they doubt the offer's authenticity and suspect they will be sold out. According to Roger Borrell, editor of Lancashire Life, the reader wants to preserve anonymity in the first instance and will only reveal something of themselves if it complements the brand image.

The success of the county magazine is often attributed to its tactility and shelf life; the ability to return to the product. It has to feel good, be available to read with a cup of coffee or a glass of wine "in your armchair" and embody all that is luxury about its content. The print format is also noted as appropriate for older audiences who do not use online instinctively. While Lancashire's county magazines have decreased the paper quality of their print runs several times over the decades (Skinner, Borrell 2011), editors still extol the virtue of a glossy, sensual experience. As such, photography and imagery feature heavily. Free county magazines such as the Live series are dodging the recycling bin because of the quality of the printed product. As Borrell noted: "I don't think people in their fifties are going to be converted in a hurry and we have confidence in our product to weather out the changes."

County titles capable of filling the local newspaper gap

In as much as county magazines work on connecting with people, there is evidence to suggest county titles are increasingly acting on turf previously owned by local newspapers. In terms of content, picture-led people stories, now the staple of county titles, were always the mainstay of a newspaper's page three or page five. There is evidence of shared territory in what's on pages, with different titles building guides into the unique selling point where appropriate (Northern Life claims to have the "north's biggest what's on guide" while Lancashire Magazine includes just two pages). The county magazine is also distinguishable by its picture quality and attention to detail. Editors argued that newspapers, no matter how hard they try with redesigns, colour and pull-outs, are a slowly dying format which fails to create a buzz. The longevity of the printed magazine and the social power of publicly reading it create an accountability that drives standards and quality up.

The amount of news content found in county titles depends on editorial decision-making and community need. Both the editors of free and paid-for titles expressed an interest in including news stories as representative of serving the community. RW Media's Live Preston, for example, covers education and some news, "which is exactly what the newspapers used to do", said editor Peter Holland. He added: "We are becoming more and more engaged with news because it needs to happen - no one else is doing it. There is a need, the goal posts have moved. We never set out to be so involved in the community but this role is coming to us as the newspapers aren't doing it." Lancashire Life has run successful campaigns (for example against pylons across an Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty) and covers public meetings "when local newspapers haven't wanted to know" said its editor Roger Borrell. The title was also exploring the possibility of including hyperlocal content in print and online for affluent parishes and villages currently neglected in coverage by local newspapers.

However the agenda setting in county titles, as already stated, is a far cry from a news agenda followed by most town or regional news titles, where immediacy counts. While court, breaking news and town hall matters make newspaper pages, they are largely left out of the county title. Richard Eccles, editor of Cumbria Life, noted: “County mags are not all good news theory. It is not so much why there is so much bad news in newspapers as why there is so much boring news in newspapers.” In the case of paid-for titles, editors emphasise investment in journalistic quality as a mainstay for product value while free title editors focus on the balance between advertising and editorial.

Monetizing the printed format

The careful construct of positive content that heralds all that is great about county life not only appeals to readers – but ultimately to advertisers. Local companies, businesses and professionals want to be in the brand community. They want their businesses to be seen alongside positive feel-good content and in a product with longevity. Whether from the content, visibility in the community or distribution model, these titles are increasingly creating a community mentality: readers and advertisers want to be in the magazine and want to receive it. AB households are hard to get at but the county magazine offers the highest penetration (Walmsley 2011).

Unlike newspapers, county magazines do not claim to operate a Chinese Wall between editorial and advertising. They have become more aggressive in their commercial activities over the past decades, according to editors. This may be another example of how this print genre is more closely in tune with what readers actually think and feel. “If it’s about the local market, that ad becomes content to you,” said Matt Fanelli, executive director of digital media at Time Inc’s Media Networks Inc (emedia vitals 2011). The power of magazines’ seduction and engagement has long been demonstrated by advertorial, where the magazine journalist writes a promotional piece for a brand under a strapline clarifying this distinction for the reader. The print format allows for a blurring of boundaries between editorial and advertising as these features become increasingly sophisticated.

In the Live series, the traditional county-wide distribution has been broken down into quadrants in order to create closer links between advertisers and readers. In this new hypercounty model, advertisers are only included in the magazine if they live within a 30-minute drive of a reader. Equally, the free magazines are distributed in a demographic model deliberately to exclude CDE households and target AB readers. The strategy in print operates a similar business model to daily deal sites which offer time and place sensitive deals. The accountability is achieved by the real leads generated: “the measurability of impact in the magazine is that a restaurant is full”, said Live managing director Tedd Walmsley, who asserted:

We are transparent that this is advertising. We are not cheating anyone. We are out-punching our weight because we are connecting a hyperlocal product of advertisers and readers. This is distribution at the heart of the business model which just does not translate online, the finest tuning of demographic married to advertisers. We have volunteers delivering it, marching the streets identifying where it needs to be placed. We know from looking through letter-boxes if they have the best quality carpets or the noise of the mag slapping a marble floor. We don’t want them in the wrong houses or to have any lying around, it devalues the brand.

Using digital opportunities to promote the magazine brand is proving important when distribution models in print are becoming more aggressive. Supermarkets and other outlets are increasingly seeking revenue by striking exclusivity deals with county publishers. Lancashire Life paid a premium for exclusive distribution in the upmarket North West supermarket chain Booths.

County magazines: digital findings

This article has so far evidenced the qualitative responses from editors in how they construct reader loyalty around carefully selected content and deliberate distribution strategies. These strategies support a business model that aligns with aspirational advertising. While there are different modalities to creating a brand community, the county magazine connects audiences with their locality in a highly filtered and nuanced manner. It is a formula which has sustained county titles for decades and is also now providing start-up opportunities and the demand for placements and student employment.

Despite a growing trend for magazine companies to experiment with digital extensions, however, county titles have been largely slow to move online, seeing digital extensions as a bolt-on or byproduct. Resistance to publishing content online is born from a fear of cannibalizing the print product and its business model. Time and again, editors put priority on the tactility of the print product as a strong selling point of the county title. The physicality of a glossy, good-looking magazine is seen to go hand in hand with the user experience (see also Ytre-Arne 2011). The county magazine doesn't translate online because it is the look and feel that count; it is holding it in your hand and seeing it on the coffee table, according to editors.

The quantitative assessment showed that of the magazines studied, all had a website. All the paid print titles offered some editorial content online, the standard being to link the reader back to print editions either for more content or to "continue reading". Content featured in the print product had been consistently held back by a print-first strategy. There was limited evidence of exclusive online content but where this existed it took the form of behind-the-scenes features, social event photography and blogging platforms as inter-publication updates. All the paid print titles offered a limited what's on selection online. User interaction was evident in submissions for readers' short stories, photographs and competition entries. There was little or no evidence of reader interaction via comments on content.

Where content was published online, county titles prioritised the availability of photographic hosting on their own site, although none appeared to use photo-sharing sites such as Flickr. Lancashire Life uses its home website as a platform for users to submit entries for photographic competitions, and for consideration in the print product, complemented with an interactive geotagged graphic to view photographs. The Lancashire Magazine is moving to exploit the unlimited space of online by hosting social photographs for which there is not enough room in the print product. Matt Lee, digital director at The Lancashire Magazine, wanted the website to be user friendly. "If the website is welcoming and friendly it means more people are likely to buy the magazine. It needs to add value to the print – whatever that is." Richard Eccles stated the need to "dip our toes in social media" to amplify the vibe and use social media to promote the brand extensions, events and clubs, archive and pictures. The Live series would - if money was no object – be interested in drilling down into hyper-targeted content areas to offer different experiences to different groups of readers in tandem with advertisers.

Lancashire Life had by far the richest digital offering with a range of archived editorials, photographic features, blogs from members of the community and guest authors. Web-only content is on offer in the form of blogs and reader promotions. Seasonal publications are offered to subscribers as a digi-zine and sent out via email. However digital versions of archived editions were not supported on tablets in 2011. Digital extras are promoted in the print product: Twitter is mentioned each month, blogs every few months and web exclusive offers are promoted in print. The varied digital touch points set out above exist so as not to deny people a platform as the publisher also looked into the potential for an app as a way of reaching younger audiences. The capacity of reader take-up of these digital offerings, by way of numbers of entries or comments, was also cited as a sound way of gauging reader feedback.

Online activity, however, was focused on websites acting as shop windows to the print product. The URLs adopt all or part of the county magazine title with several being hosted on parent company content management systems, such as Great British Life or CN Group. Being associated with a larger organization presents operational problems as content has to be shoe-horned into a pre-ordained template which has often been constructed with newspapers in mind.

For most of the county titles, the website is primarily aimed at getting a name in cyberspace. This is proving increasingly important for referrals and a way for readers to find contact phone numbers. All the sites featured staff details and Contact Us headings in a prominent position with editors accepting there was “some value” in being easily found on search engines. Data capture was used by Lancashire Life and the Live series by way of asking readers to subscribe or register to the site or specific competitions. In the case of Live Magazines, the website has been deliberately stripped to little more than a Meet the Team page. All the paid titles offered online payment facilities for subscriptions except The Lancashire Magazine. The biggest challenge for Lancashire Life was the difficulty in keeping the site refreshed. Ventures into digital extensions were also acknowledged to be costly, without the confidence that the market exists.

There was a general feeling among editors of fear of losing readers to the web if all the content is available for free. In both paid-for and free county models, there is evidence of content being actively restricted to protect the print business model. In terms of brand-building on social networking sites, all had Facebook groups except the CN Group publications, with activity representing one per cent of total print circulation (Lancashire Life had the largest group with 550 friends while the Live series had the smallest at 45). On social networking site Twitter, Lancashire Life and Carlisle Living both use hashtags and conversation with readers including retweets, shout outs and direct messaging. However Live magazines and Lancashire magazine had broken or sporadic automated feeds, while Northern Life and Cumbria Life had no Twitter account. Where content is already available from social events on networking sites, this is seen as a threat. Richard Eccles asserted:

> We need to protect the content. Facebook and the like have the immediacy and transience of the evening papers. That is exactly what we are trying to avoid, so being on those platforms is not necessarily a good thing. Unless you can preserve the quality online it is better off not being there.

The resistance to online innovation is also founded in a desire to protect the carefully edited and constructed balance that the print product can deliver. The construct of the brand community, as discussed earlier, is difficult to emulate online where no one person controls the medium. Where editorial filters can function in a mutually advantageous way in print, that complements both the hero ‘reader’ and the hero ‘area’, releasing content onto a platform driven by the mass is currently proving to be a turn off. Editor Richard Eccles stated:

> There is a nervousness internally of putting ourselves out there to be commented on and discussed in terms of adverse comments. We cannot afford to have people who are in the magazine being criticized. We would have no control over the network and we don’t want to give the vocal minority a platform. Our brand is built on traditional editorial integrity so it worries me to build that forum. Even if we make it too easy for people to invite us to attend events we would often be sadly saying no to them because the event might not fit the brand and that would be even more damaging.

While editors cited resourcing as a barrier to developing digital offerings, all acknowledged the potential for using analytics and databases more fully for digital marketing tools and as a way of developing local discount vouchers to further mutually advantage advertisers and readers. Although, as an additional barrier, editors believed that asking for personal data in the county magazine sector would be greeted with scepticism by their readers, who are typically older and more ill at ease on digital platforms and wary of providing personal information.

There is a general resistance to digital extensions of county titles among editors and directors ranging from hostility to trepidation. Editors talk of a “suspicion” and “nervousness”. Anthony Skinner, editor of The Lancashire Magazine, asserted: “I am trying to ignore it. If people go on it, they are probably there by mistake. It is a bolt-on. I know bugger-all about digital offshoots. I have never been a gardener.”

Lancashire Life editor Roger Borrell believed that the rush from print to online is driven by a herd mentality: “‘Most publishers do these things because they feel they have to and are not quite sure why.” Of the management teams interviewed, all felt they did not understand why they were “doing digital” and any involvement with the online site was done wearily as an add-on, once other duties – perceived to be more pressing and of more value in terms of generating sales or advertising – were done.

This reluctance comes from commercial uncertainty. For advertisers, being in the magazine in its printed form is central to their objective of being associated with a glossy, luxurious product which is geographically targeted and filtered. This was further evidenced by experiments with video advertising packages at Lancashire Magazine which proved futile with advertisers. As Richard Eccles said:

It is print pounds and online pennies. There is no way you can get half a million pounds from digital entities. Someone from newspapers can’t understand why we don’t want this stuff. It’s that we don’t want to and we don’t need to - it is not what we are about, and they think we’re mad.

Tedd Walmsley added:

> We have created a ‘you have to be in it’ mentality for advertisers, the club is so desirable that it leaves advertisers feeling ‘what does it say about me if I am not in it?’ No, you can’t replicate print online and we don’t want to, you can’t monetize it.

Conclusions

The purpose of this article has been to show how county magazines are bucking the trend of online brand extensions by actively prioritising print products over digital initiatives. It spotlights the unique selling point of printed county magazines as luxury, desirable items which are supported by a dual product business model. Editorial and advertising are being increasingly knitted together as part of a brand community, championing all that is great about a local area: commerce, heritage, activities and, most importantly, real people. It is worth noting that the production of these magazines and the willingness of the readers to buy into an idealized version of a popular county is a mutual partnership that has allowed older titles to survive for decades and new titles to be launched and survive. Editorial content is carefully chosen and crafted with high-quality photography, and this sits seamlessly alongside advertising. It is a successful, profitable marriage. These brand communities are formed through quality content capable of championing people and face-to-face networks.

Online innovation is limited because publishers and editors can see little financial benefit. Many of the personnel have worked in newspapers where they have seen huge resources devoted to online publishing with little financial return and the risk of cannibalising print readership. Where content is digitised, its main purpose is as a shop window or driver back to the print product, promoting either editorial content or simply listing the team producing the magazine. This offers an important case study for students into the business of media. Interaction is limited and in some cases actively avoided which acts as a subtle differential for students in their understanding of the complexities of online publishing. Where developments are proposed, these are to focus on data capture, using online as a way of extending brand interaction or offering business innovation. Future study of the county magazine sector longitudinally is recommended particularly in relation to evidencing sustainable innovation. The unique selling point of the county magazine –with its long history and aspirational content - for both readers and advertisers remains rooted in a desire to be in a brand community that luxuriates in the tactility of a prestigious glossy product.

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Borrell, Roger Editor Lancashire Life Interview May 2011

Eccles, Richard Editor Cumbria Life and Carlisle Living Interview April 2011

Lee, Matt Digital Director Lancashire Magazine Interview April 2011

Skinner, Anthony Editor Lancashire Magazine Interview April 2011

Walmsley, Tedd Managing Director RW Media Interview May 2011

Holland, Peter Editor Live Preston Interview Clare Cook April 2011

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Appendix

CN Group: Cumbria Life enjoyed a 20% rise in circulation before moving from bimonthly to monthly in 2008 with a retention of 90% subscription figures, so doubling its revenue. The audited circulation is 13, 206 with a readership of 60,000 who are aged 35+ affluent and 'discerning'. The advertising rate for a DPS is £2,600 with 65:35 editorial to ad ratio. Average pagination is 164 with 40% sold on subscription at £2; the cover price is £3.40.

CN Group: Carlisle Living's cover price was increased from £2 to £3 between 2010 and 2011 without loss of circulation. It is produced monthly with a circulation of 6,000 and a readership of 26,000 aged 25-45 average and above average incomes young professionals and families. Pagination is 148 with a DPS at £1850 and an ed to ad ratio of 75:25. It is offered at £2 on subscription and £3 at the stand.

Archant: Lancashire Life has an audited circulation of 25,600 and a DPS rate of £3995 with 50:50 ad to editorial ratio. Its pagination regularly reaches 284 pages at a cover price of £3.25. It is produced monthly and is offered on subscription at 12 for £18.

The Lancashire Magazine is produced monthly with an audited circulation of 21,460 and a readership of 150,000. The ed to ad ratio is 55:45 with a pagination of 212-220. Subscriptions are on offer at 12 for £10 and the cover price is £1.95.

Loop publishing: Northern Life has a circulation of 25,000 and a readership of 100,000 published bimonthly with a pagination of 178. A DPS is listed at £2200 with subscription at £35 for two years or £19.99 for one year; cover price is £1.95

RW Media: Live Ribble Valley is a free 192-page magazine blurring the boundary between advertising and editorial with 30:70 ed to ad ratio at a rate of £895 for a DPS. It has a print run of 20,000 (for one quarter of the 'Lancashire' county) with a readership of 60,000.

RW Media: Live Preston has 128 pages and a print run of 20,000 with readership of 60,000 (again for one quarter of the 'Lancashire' county). The ed to ad ratio is 30:70

Supervision in the ‘Hackademy’: Reflections on the research journey of journalism practitioners

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Abstract

The relationship between professional journalists and journalism academics has at times been marked by mutual mistrust and antagonism. Many journalists view academics as ‘dreamers’, removed from the practical realities of newsrooms. Some academics suggest journalists do not always reflect on their practice and its larger implications, a point recently underscored by the Leveson inquiry. Despite this tension, recent years have seen an increasing number of journalists entering the academy, and taking up scholarly research in various forms. This study aims to provide insights into the supervision of such ‘hackademics’. Drawing on personal interviews with research supervisors and journalists entering or wanting to enter the academy, it focuses on the issues that come to the fore as practitioners work with the ‘theory people’ on scholarly pursuits.

Learning theory cannot make me better at what I do. Studying at the London School of Economics is not what makes a good business journalist. Everything is on-the-job; practice makes perfect. –A mid-career business journalist

You academics are half the problem! You over-intellectualise what is happening in the industry. You give it a fancy name, read meanings into it, and before you know it, there is a new 'theory'. –A senior online editor

Introduction

The quotations above, both from working journalists, are a good indication of the antipathy that many industry professionals have for journalism scholarship. Their disdain is reciprocated by at least a section of scholars, who believe that unreflective practice and purely practice-led teaching cannot produce wholesome journalism. Studies undertaken in different parts of the world have remarked on this tension. Wahl-Jorgensen & Hanitzsch (2009) write of journalists and journalist-turned-educators sharing a relationship of "uneasiness and ignorance" with their scholarly counterparts (2009:14). Barbie Zelizer (2004) notes that "the terrain of journalism's study" (2004:3) has often resembled a war zone of competing intellectual paradigms, claims and counter-claims; further, some scholarly work "has made things worse" for journalists, contributing to the poor public standing of the profession (2004:7). The 'media wars' in Australia (Turner 2000), spurred by journalist and educator Keith Windschuttle's (1998; see also Bacon 1998) argument that the inclusion of cultural studies theory in journalism curriculum provides a 'schizophrenic' view of reality to students, have seen an intense debate on these contradictory positions (see also Thomas 2008, Oakham 2006 and Hirst 2010). Similarly, in the UK, Tony Harcup (2011a) speaks of journalism studies being an "uncomfortable bedfellow with journalism training", and there being "evidence of a pervasive disconnect between research and teaching, as between theory and practice" (2011a:1).

These challenges notwithstanding, journalism education is burgeoning, as evidenced in the growing number of university-level courses globally and the expansion of scholarly journalism publications and research networks in the last decade (Cottle 2009, Cushion 2007, Franklin 2009, Tumber 2005). This trend has witnessed a steady rise in the number of journalists and ex-journalists entering the academy to teach journalism (Greenberg 2007, Kenny 2009). Many such 'hackademics' –a "combination of 'hack', slang for journalist, and 'academic'" (Harcup 2011a:2) – have also begun to engage in research activities. While doctoral-level journalism research in UK universities is still not significant compared to that in other disciplines (Errigo & Franklin 2004, Harcup 2011c), it is indicated that more 'hackademics' are now interested in taking up academic inquiries than ever in the past. And it is reasonable to expect this interest will grow in the years to come. The higher education funding structure that favours universities with research-active staff (Kearns, Gardiner & Marshall 2008), and the resultant university regulations for progress in the academy, are significant factors in encouraging this interest. Vigorous arguments from 'hackademics' who have bridged the theory-practice divide, too, have been supportive of this, and there appears to be a growing acceptance that research comes with the territory – that it is part of being in the higher education system – and engaging in it while teaching can, as Light, Cox & Calkins (2009: 42) argue, "integrate the whole of academic practice within the larger context of continuous learning".

Given this situation, the scholarly process of journalists and ex-journalists studying theory is of particular pedagogic interest. The Practice vs Theory tensions sketched above, it can be argued, are likely to influence the supervisory environment. While the pedagogy of supervision in general has been studied extensively, there is little scholarly work on the supervision of journalism practitioners specifically. What kind of dynamics exist when scholars supervise journalists in their research journey? This study aims to shed light on the specific issues and challenges that come to the fore in such situations.

Journalism education: pedagogic tensions

Formalised journalism education is relatively new – not much older than a century. When the first journalism courses became part of university and college curricula in the United States in the early 20th century, journalists were "not educated individuals … and most assuredly not literary people" (Carrey 2006:16). The first journalism school opened at the University of Missouri in 1908 (Cushion 2007). For decades after that start, American reporters continued to be "a rag-tag" bunch, an "unlikely collection of itinerant scribblers … without much refinement" (Carey 2000:16). Unsurprisingly, the journalism education of that era was far from sophisticated. Carey describes it thus:

What was taught was rather unsystematic – largely the transmission of the accumulated folk wisdom of the craft, organized around the professional and technological separation of the media: newspapers here, magazines there, radio and television somewhere else. The craft was presented somewhat haphazardly without much historical understanding, criticism, or self-consciousness. Despite vainglorious local histories, largely testimonies to self-delusion, this was pretty much the situation at all American journalism schools (Carrey 2000:13).

Though the London University ran a journalism diploma from 1919 to 1939 (Hunter 2012), dedicated postgraduate and undergraduate provisions arrived in the UK much later. Postgraduate courses came in the 1970s, in the form of programmes at the Cardiff University and City University (Greenberg 2007). Undergraduate courses followed in the early 1990s, and the number of journalism undergraduates increased almost fivefold from 415 in 1994/95 to 2,035 in 2004/5 (Hanna & Sanders 2007). As listed on the Universities and Colleges Admission Service (2013) website, there are 492 journalism-related bachelor degrees on offer in the country. In addition, journalism master's courses were listed in 160 venues on the Postgrad.com (2013), a popular source for MA programmes. Also listed were scores of doctoral-level research opportunities – traditional as well as practice-based PhDs – in universities with media and journalism departments across the UK.

In the US, journalism education had largely developed in the university environment, thanks mainly to Joseph Pulitzer. With a personal donation of $2 million, he had persuaded the Columbia University to open its door to journalism in 1912 (Cushion 2007). But in the UK, such education was imparted in the industry – through newsroom apprenticeships – until journalism became part of the university curriculum. This, according to Harcup (2011b:163), led to a situation where there was no tradition of journalism research in the UK until towards the end of the last century. Since then, besides practical training to produce industry-ready reporters and editors, journalism education has expanded to include scholarly inquiries into the practices of the profession (Hanna 2005). By 2005, the new subject area of journalism studies – as the academic exploration into aspects of the profession has come to be known – had emerged, and journalism itself became an object of investigation (Greenberg 2007). Still too new to have its own subject benchmark statement in the UK's Quality Assurance Agency, the area is listed as part of 'Communication, media, film and cultural studies' (QAA 2008).

Despite its belated birth, journalism studies appears to be evolving fast, witnessing what Bob Franklin (2009) calls a "giddy whirl of expansion, innovation and change" (2009:729), not just in the UK, but across Europe, China, India and Africa. Pulitzer, when he put forward his $2 million idea of a "College of Journalism" to Columbia, had visualised an institution that taught not just vocational skills but a range of academic subjects, which would "raise journalism to the rank of a learned profession"(Pulitzer 1904 cited in Allan 2010:151). He was thus the first to propose "a method of building established disciplinary knowledge into journalism" (Adams 2001:321), and it is interesting to note that, a century later, when such a discipline did finally emerge, it was, as Pulitzer wanted, interdisciplinary, drawing on subjects such as ethics, sociology, politics and economics – or as Loffelholz describes it, a "pluralistic, differentiated, and dynamic field of research" (Loeffelholz 2008:15).

While Pulitzer's immense foresight is commendable, his notion of what journalism education should be arguably underlies the suspicion and mistrust that have pervaded the relationship between practitioners and scholars. It is difficult to find fault with Pulitzer's basic premise for wanting an education that imparted a broader knowledge to students – a knowledge that would equip them to practise their craft more efficiently, would make them better journalists, who will make better newspapers, which will better serve the public (Pulitzer 1904 cited in Allan 2010:151). But the multi-subject study and theory-practice mix he counted on to transform journalism into a 'learned profession' – what essentially is being increasingly seen as desirable in journalism education today – have brought about their own set of issues.

Greenberg (2007) argues that besides "negotiating the boundaries between theory and practice", the main issue is a "clash of underlying philosophy" (2007:292-3). As she sees it, one of the two main disciplinary homes of journalism is communications, which focuses on how to 'control' the mass audience rather than serve the needs of the citizens (as required by journalistic values). The other is cultural studies, which aims to deconstruct practices and the tacit theories that lie behind them – particularly using the concept of social constructionism to question the journalistic notions of 'truth', 'reality' and 'balance', and unmask the perceived journalistic belief in objectivity. The more radical forms of constructionism, Greenberg writes, question the very existence of an external reality. She adds:

> This often creates a problem for dialogue between those based in journalism practice and their counterparts in cultural studies discipline or one of its offshoots. Any practitioner, however innovative, is likely to value the importance of testing stories against external reality and to see a radical rejection of distinctions between truth and falsehood as being just as its opposite, an unquestioning acceptance of objectivity (Greenberg 2007:293).

Wright (2011) appears to support this thesis when she suggests the arguments about journalism education are because the area lacks a "meta-theoretical structure" to "enable those working in the field to embrace the critical advantages of constructionism" (Wright 2011:156). The dominant ontology guiding theoretical work in journalism is constructionism – which directly contradicts the commitment to realism inherent in most journalistic practice and training. Harcup (2011c) appears to make a similar point when he describes the tensions in 'hackademy' as arising from a clash of two worlds: the 'familiar' world of journalism and a world in which journalists feel "like outsiders even after many years" (2011c:47). Wright's solution for this quagmire is to develop a 'mid-range' theory, a third option that stands between the opposites of constructionism and realism. The middle ground she suggests is a version of critical realism (CR), which can serve as an ontological underpinning for journalism studies, as it allows us to "articulate notions of reality, truth, and knowledge in ways which acknowledge the important contributions constructivist work has brought to journalism research" (Wright 2011:167). She summarises her argument thus:

> "CR [Critical Realism] offers journalism scholars a model of reality which gives them the theoretical means with which to move from the empirical to the abstract without oversimplifying issues. It enables them to form well-founded "macro" theories about the nature of journalism, as well helping them answer specific research questions about particular kinds of news coverage, journalistic organisations, or even particular individuals … [It] enables scholars to articulate questions about the decision-making processes which journalists face, with reference to both their agency, and to the social and material restrictions within which they work … offers journalism researchers a way of using CR to engage in research about changes in journalistic practice without disregarding the variability of production cycles" (Wright 2011:167).

A more practical issue that needs to be addressed is the way some scholarly work – arguably a product of the ontological gulf discussed above – has 'belittled' journalistic practices. There is "distaste among practitioners for the apparently hostile tone in much current theoretical work about practice" (Greenberg 2007:294; see also Zelizer 2004, Harcup 2011b). For their part, some journalists tend to be severely sceptical about the ability of scholarly writings to provide insights into what is happening in the industry. Zelizer (2004), a journalist-turned-scholar, captures this sentiment in Taking Journalism Seriously when she says she felt she had entered a "parallel universe" and "nothing I read as a graduate student reflected the working world I had just left" (2004:2). In the same vein, many practitioners believe that theorists are, as Roger Scruton put it, "talentless individuals who can't get jobs in the media" and "there's nothing really to learn except by way of apprenticeship" (cited in Peak & Fisher 2000:320). Understandably, such sentiments are unlikely to be productive, and there appears to be an acute need for a culture of mutual respect, which, hopefully, would provide for an environment where reflections on journalism from both sides are possible without one or the other side feeling their work 'diminished' or 'belittled'.

It is unfair to pin the blame for the mutual animosity on ontology alone, however. The separation that existed between journalism training and academy for much of the 20th century can also be seen to have contributed to it. Trainers were distanced from an environment where critical reflection and conceptualisation were the norm; and scholars worked on their own, without access to newsrooms and the practical realities of day-to-day journalism. Consequently, to borrow Zelizer's (2004) description, both sides existed in 'parallel universes', ill-informed about each other's contributions. For instance, many from the industry – and here I draw from my own experience of transitioning from journalism to academia, as well as anecdotal evidence from ex-colleagues and other 'hackademics' – have rarely been exposed to academic literature, and their understanding of what theoretical study involves is at best cursory. This makes it difficult for them to see the relevance of scholarship to their own work; moreover, it often produces a certain defensiveness, a 'fear of the unknown', which arguably contributes to an antipathy to theoretical work. Jackie Errigo (Errigo & Franklin 2004) acknowledges this in so many words when she writes she is fearful that any topic a "mere hackademic generates will be knocked back with scornful disdain" (2004:44). The dynamic, she points out, is between "peers … and suppose what I write doesn't cut the mustard with the peer group? Professional humiliation may lurk around the corner" (Errigo & Franklin 2004:45). It is true that many – if not most – academics are also prey to such fear, but for an entrant from a 'parallel universe', it can only be more pronounced. Here it is interesting to note the argument that journalists are not "inherently averse to engaging with theoretical discourses" (Machin & Niblock 2006:178). Duffield (2009) believes they would make very good researchers, given the information-gathering and analytical skills required in their profession. In fact, according to Niblock (2007), many practitioner-academics have a "burning desire" to engage in research and connect theory and practice. The problem, however, is that many "are uncertain about how to begin to fulfilling such desire" (2007:21).

It is heartening to note this state of affairs is changing and, as Keeble (2006) observes, the case for journalism as an academic study has gained ground. There is now "a slow, but steady move away from a conservative, skills-based curriculum," argue Wahl-Jorgensen & Franklin, "toward a more reflective curriculum, taught by research-active academics" (2008:182). Such a move is at least in part driven by different motives. On the part of academic disciplines, the main motivation is a need to attract students with courses that offer vocational or transferable skills training: on the part of the practitioners, it is the recognition that they need to broaden the scope of their education "if journalism is to have a long-term future as a tertiary subject" (Greenberg 2007:294). The expansion of the 'hackademy' can also be seen to have contributed to this: the plethora of new journalism courses that universities have launched has placed a significant number of practitioners within the academy, facilitating a much-needed dialogue between the two sides.

With these changes underway, an argument can be made that more practitioners are likely to undertake research – be it traditional doctorates, practice-based PhDs, or other forms of scholarship – in the years to come. There is evidence of a new openness to theoretical study, encouraged as it is by, among other factors, peer influence brought about by the increased interaction among scholars and practitioners, a higher education funding structure that rewards universities producing research, institutional demands spurred by such a funding structure (for instance, research activity is an important factor in guiding pay progression in many institutions), and the new levels of accessibility offered by the internet revolution. There is also a conscious effort on the part of many institutions and scholars – a new academic attitude, so to speak – to be more inclusive, founded on the belief that practitioners have much to offer, not just as vocational trainers but to journalism research as well. In such a scenario, it is important to understand more about the research journey of practitioners.

Method

Owing to the nature of this exploration, which required insights from supervisors and practitioners who have experienced supervision, personal interviews were chosen as the method for this study. Twelve semi-structured interviews were carried out during a two-year period (2010-2012) by the author and a research assistant – six with supervisors and six with current or recent supervisees. Eight of the interviews were face-to-face, while four were carried out over the telephone. The interviews lasted 45 minutes on an average, and were taped and subsequently transcribed. All participants were affiliated to UK universities. All were guaranteed anonymity.

All six supervisors interviewed were overseeing doctoral research of practitioners or had supervised journalists to completion. Supervisor A was working with his first PhD student. Supervisors B, C and E were experienced supervisors, who had overseen multiple doctoral completions, while supervisors D and F were former journalists who had made the transition into academia.

Of the six supervisees, Supervisees 1, 3 and 5 were close to submission when interviewed. Supervisee 2 was roughly midway in his research journey, while supervisees 4 and 6 had recently received their PhDs when they spoke to the interviewer. All supervisees had considerable journalism experience, having worked in the industry for at least five years.

Findings and discussion

The semi-structured interviews focussed on the supervisory process. The interviewees were asked about the issues that arose when they interacted with their respective supervisor or supervisee during the research journey. The themes that emerged are discussed below.

Fear of the theoretical

Even for a student straight off a master's or undergraduate course, a PhD is a big step-up. Many find it quite daunting, particularly in the initial months, which can be, as Supervisor E described it, a "period of confusion". This appears to be true in the case of the journalism practitioners interviewed, who, though confident in their practice, found the transition quite unnerving. Coming as they are from a "parallel universe" (Zelizer 2004:2), it would appear the fear of "personal humiliation that may lurk around the corner" that Errigo & Franklin (2004:45) noted was quite pronounced in their case. Supervisor A commented explicitly on this "confidence issue":

> "They are very confident about their own work, but as soon as you take them out of the domain… They are perfectly capable of understanding it and engaging with it critically, but there is a period in which this unknown conceptual and theory of work does seem alien and there is a confidence issue."

The confidence issue came to the fore in the interviews with supervisees, who expressed it in different ways. Supervisee 3, a PhD student nearing completion, said he felt "like a duck out of water" and for a long time, it made him "despondent" to work in an unfamiliar area. Others spoke of the process being "very different", "taking time to get into it", and about the critical feedback they received from their supervisors initially. Supervisee 1, who was preparing to submit her thesis, shed more light on this, looking back at the time when she first entered academia, fresh from the journalism industry:

> "I was a little bit intimidated. Some of the academic teachers, saying the academic language, some of the academic theories … it was all a little bit intimidating. My vocabulary was completely different at that time. And the way that I approached things was very different. It was definitely challenging. I was probably more worried about it than I needed to be, I think. I was really worried about making the transition."

While not unexpected, it is interesting to note the strong sense of journalistic identity that the practitioners bring with them. The above respondent, despite having been fulltime in academia for four years now, and having undertaken a master's in journalism studies before starting a PhD, still identified herself as a journalist – as she put it, "once a marine, always a marine; once a journalist, always a journalist". This potentially has implications for the way practitioners approach their research. One aspect of this – in tune with the theory-practice divide highlighted in the works of, among others, Cushion (2010), Greenberg (2007), Harcup (2011a, 2011b, 2011c) and Wright (2011) – is a hesitancy – if not reluctance – to engage with theory. There is, as both supervisors and students remarked, an insufficient understanding of what constitutes theory, and how it can inform practice. Supervisee 3spoke about this:

> "The supervisor was talking about things I hadn't thought about in those terms. He was going on about it in a clinical, precise way – it was about news values, I remember, about Galtung and Ruge – and I couldn't understand a thing. I had just come from being a practitioner… in journalism, we work with rules – when you are subbing a copy, you do this, this and this, when you are reporting, you do this. Not with theories. So I was thinking this was all bull."

It took him a long time to see where the rules of journalism intersect with theory, he said. Supervisee 1 put across her bias against theory, saying that initially she found the prospect of engaging with the theory unnerving, as – and here we hear support for Wright's (2011) argument that journalism practice is driven by realism – "journalists work in concrete and theory in journalism studies is abstract". Supervisee 4 elaborated:

> "Theory is the academic Bible. But interviewing and being able to write and knowing what a story is and having that old cliché of a nose for news – that's what you need as a journalist, and theory doesn't come into it. So, yeah, that was a really difficult transition."

Supervisors, too, spoke of this, of "academic work not being valued" sufficiently, and having to inculcate in their supervisees an interest of such work over a period of time. Supervisor C, a professor who has overseen a number of PhD projects, summarised this sentiment:

It does take a while for them to get past their own initial scepticism of the value of a PhD, before they really get into it. But once they really get into it, the transformation is wonderful. And here I am not saying wonderful in the sense that I want everybody to be an academic – I don't … but wonderful in the sense that it encourages people to think differently about themselves, about the world, so that they have the benefit of contemplating – really getting into the issues that are of interest to them.

There appeared to be a consensus that the "resistance" to theory was, as Supervisor D – a former journalist currently supervising a practitioner – put it, based on a "misunderstanding" of what theory is seen as in the "parallel universe" (Zelizer2004:2) of journalism. Supervisor E attempted to explain this in terms of the cultural differences that exist between the journalism industry and academia:

> "They [journalists] have been shaped by a professional culture which says, 'Concentrate on facts. All that academic stuff is not important. Just go for the story and don't get too distracted by high faluting intellectualisations about it.' So, some may be wary of theory … largely due to having been socialised as a journalist, having their core professional identity as a journalist and therefore having been shaped by that culture."

Supervisor D made a similar point, attributing the suspicion about theory to the "culture shock" that most practitioners undergo when they begin academic research.

> "[Journalists] enter from a world where there is no systematic kind of approach to knowledge. So when they move into academe, they find it to be quite a culture shock, I think. It will change over time, people will realise the importance of theory over time. There is tension between academics and practitioners, but at some point people recognise they need this kind of theory, especially if they want to go into academe."

Supervisee 4 shed further light on the extent of this "culture shock". The pressure from supervisors to engage with theory can be particularly stressful and had led to several "existential crises" in her case:

> I had a panel of three supervisors, and I had one who was a methods man, big into discourse analysis, and theoretical frameworks. "Are you Fairclough, are you Foucault, Van Dijk? What

> theoretical frameworks do you use?" And I ended up bursting into tears. I walked into my [main] supervisor's office and said, "I have no theory, I have no theoretical framework." And she said, "Yes, you do." "I have no research questions." "Yes, you do." "I have no argument." "Yes, you do." "No, I really don't!" And she was like, "Yes, you do!" It was crazy, but there were a couple of times like that where my inadequacies about doing a PhD, or being a journalist doing a PhD, came over.

As scholars have noted in earlier studies, despite the uneasiness about theory, journalists are not "inherently averse to engaging with theoretical discourses" (Machin & Niblock 2006:178), but are quite often not sure how to go about it (Niblock 2007). Supervisee 4 appeared to exemplify this situation, in that she was unsure about how conceptualise her research and attained clarity only later in the research process. She seemed to acknowledge this when she goes on to say:

> "But at the end of the day it didn't really matter, because I had it all there, and I did have a theoretical framework, and I did know where I situated myself discourse analysis-wise. But it was my own feelings of inadequacy as a journalist, and not being part of the academic club that kind of nearly derailed the entire train."

Supervisors felt how long it takes for a student to feel "part of the academic club" – in effect, make the "wonderful transformation" that Supervisor C mentioned – was dependent on the individual, on their educational background, what they hope to get out of the research degree, etc. This, and the related issue of being in an 'alien' environment, could mean in general the supervisory support needed for practitioners could be different from those coming via the traditional academic path. Observed Supervisor B:

> "A traditional student would come in with a research question. So a lot in the initial stage is guidance towards reading, advising on building a conceptual framework. With someone coming in from the industry, it is much more about exploring the questions they want to raise. Because they would come with a lot of issues and grievances within practice, but not necessarily coherent questions that are PhD-worthy."

Supervisee 5 appears to be touching on this need for supervisors to approach practitioner supervision differently when she remarks on how her own approach to her supervisors had to be changed midway. She felt her supervisors treated her like a "young academic colleague" before she was ready, rather than someone from a different work culture, used to functioning in a vastly different way:

> "My supervisors understand I came from journalism, but they didn't quite understand. I thought I could work with them more as editors. But it is more like "Give me your chapter whenever you are ready." Who knows when it's ready? So the first years it was, like, yeah, whenever it's ready. But that didn't work. So I told him, "You know what, what about if you give me a deadline?" And he looked at me and said, "Okay, so when do you want to hand it in?" And I was like, no, no! This is not working! It was very hard because I know as a journalist I needed to have an iron hand, to tell me, "If you don't hand in this, you're out!" My supervisory team, they didn't quite see that. They viewed me more as a young colleague, as starting an academic career. They didn't see, "Oh, you come from a journalism world, therefore…" Now that we're reflecting on it, it would have helped if they actually see your background. I mean, your routine, your rhythm, your way of work."

Critiquing own practice: difficulties

An important aspect that emerged in the interviews is the journalists' initial inability to consider their own practices in a dispassionate and neutral manner. Supervisor A pointed out:

> "They could be very defensive of the traditional, established values of journalism. So when you start talking about critiquing that, they often see that as a personal attack, rather than a way of looking at things critically in order to understand things differently."

While this is possibly related to the strong sense of journalistic identity (and the culture of animosity towards journalism scholars that that identity has arguably cultivated), the fact that they are 'fresh from the field' and still 'too close' to their own practice need to be considered as well. The same supervisor appeared to touch on this when he said, "being able to step back from the practice they have been doing can be difficult". He elaborated:

> "Many a time, when you are discussing newsroom dynamics, there are assumptions about what is actually taking place. It is those taken-for-granted procedures that they don't even see. Or they might not think it is actually worth noting, because it is day-to-day practice, and they can't see why it should be important. But for the scholarly study of journalism it might be incredibly important."

The other supervisors interviewed, too, commented on this. Getting practitioners to take a step back is part of the initial process of supervising such PhDs. But this is easier said than done. Supervisor F spoke of this:

> "In journalism, there is a no-nonsense approach. Journalism tends to simplify rather than to problematise things; academics tend to do the other way around. So I can see a lot of journalists being too close to what they used to do because a) it was very successful, and b) it's a practice they're used to. That has a knock-on effect in the way they assume and receive criticism from their supervisor."

For their part, the supervisees interviewed appeared to agree with this thought. Supervisee 3 spoke of this:

> "Had I not been a journalist, I would not have had too much 'baggage'. I would have been more open-minded, more receptive, and my own response to supervision would have been more proactive than reactive. I had to fight to keep my baggage out before I could accept what my supervisors were trying to tell me."

Supervisee 1 provided further insights, linking the inability to be critical to a 'different' notion of objectivity that journalists have. What academics see as dispassionate, she said, is very different from what journalists define as objectivity, and part of the problem is shedding this idea of objectivity and understanding that a scholar is allowed to have a 'voice' and is in fact expected to offer an analysis, an argument in their work. She expanded:

> "I felt I needed someone else's voice to critique on my behalf, that my own voice was not enough. And that's what we do in journalism – even if you are doing an analysis piece, you are using someone else's views to get your point across. You are taught to distance yourself … be 'objective'. When you are critiquing in journalism, you are getting others to do it for you. So I didn't feel my own voice was appropriate. And I really, really struggled with it."

Issue of style

Academy has its own vocabulary, its own style of writing, and adapting to this was a "big struggle" for all the researchers. All supervisors interviewed spoke of this, as did all supervisees. Despite their time in academia, three of the six interviewed said they still 'struggled' with academic writing. Supervisee 3 spoke of the "sense of despondency" he felt when what he wrote was repeatedly critiqued as "too journalistic". When he began, he couldn't "think of a single sentence" that could be seen as academic writing, and it was a "spar with my supervisors for about 3-4 years". Supervisee 6 spoke about how his first few chapters were critiqued and he was told "this is not the way to write".

Supervisee 2 appeared to be making the same point when he said, "last summer I produced quite some PhD work. But the supervisors raised their eyebrows and said it might have to be completely rewritten." The problem, he continued, is that as a journalist he tries to write in simple, clear prose, accessible to the layman, which is not always appreciated in academia. "When I talk to my supervisors I will use the word 'epistemological'," he said, "but if I'm talking to a journalist about my PhD I'd not use that term – because I think it would alienate them and they'd think I was bullshitting." Supervisee 3 added: "Words like 'systemic', 'indicative', 'endemic', these have now become part of my writing!"

Supervisee 4 described that the most common criticism that she received throughout her PhD was that her work was not "academic enough". As she put it:

> "I can remember there were a few times where she [supervisor] and I got into … where I was like, "What do you mean by it's not academic enough?" She finally had to break it down, and said, "You need to have longer sentences. Your sentences need to be longer, they need to be waffly, they need to have at least three or four commas and clauses." She was going over the top when she was saying it but it really hammered it home."

The issue of writing style appeared to be a topic of intense debate in many supervisory sessions. The supervisees interviewed came across as passionate about the way they expressed themselves in their research writings and reluctant to adopt the alien style of academia, which they saw as verbose and aimed at – as one of the interviewees put it – "profoundising things". Supervisors felt this sensitivity about refashioning what is a well-established and successful writing style in journalism into something more formal and fitted for a doctoral submission could be an impediment in the successful completion of a PhD by a practitioner. Supervisor E, who criticised "some of the shibboleths of academics scoring style" as "worse than useless and part of the mystification of academic knowledge", provided some insights into the issue:

> "There have been occasions where I have said, 'well, no, I think that's not appropriate' because … it may trail a set of assumptions or preconceptions that isn't appropriate, you know, in a scholarly work where you need to be dissecting and deconstructing. There's also something about the casualness of vernacular expression. It's not just because it's slang and you can't use that; it's not that there is an absolute rigid dogma about it. It's that the use of vernacular expressions can suggest a kind of slackness of thought. Now if there's a kind of vernacular expression that does not do that, it's fine. But it's where the vernacular may associate with a laziness or glibness of thought that I would be unhappy with it … that's the kind of thing that can creep in under or as part of a journalistic style, I think."

There appeared to be a consensus among the interviewees that the transition from a journalistic to academic style – or to be more precise, a writing style acceptable in academia – is part of the PhD process. Supervisor D, a former journalist himself, said it took time and patience, and required constant reminders from the supervisors to achieve this. But the exercise of writing a thesis might not always achieve a complete conversion from the part of the practitioners. As three of the supervisees pointed out, it was about finding a 'compromise' style. Supervisee 4 gave voice to this sentiment, articulating her reservations about the "highfalutin', mumbo-jumbo" of academic writing. As she put it:

> "It was difficult, but I like to think now that I've reached a bit of a medium. I can write academic, highfalutin', mumbo jumbo, but I can give it a bit of an edge. I want someone to enjoy what they're reading, and the majority of stuff I had to read for my PhD, I didn't enjoy. It was horrendous, absolutely horrendous, and it's supposed to be a creative process, a structured creative process, and you're supposed to have something valid and reputable at the end of it, but it doesn't mean that you can't enjoy it! So for me it was a happy medium, and that has actually served me quite well because when I let people read stuff now that I've written, I'm able to break it down into easy concepts that people can understand."

The precision that is required in academic writing – which, supervisees felt, could at times be frustrating – also came up for discussion. "In journalism you don't have the time to negotiate every word, every comma," Supervisee 1 said. "But here sometimes the process of negotiating one single paragraph might take 20 times more time than I took to write it." This was good in a way because it made her think more about her writing, "take ownership of it". But it was also "very difficult" to come to terms with.

Expert versus expert

Being practitioners, experienced in the 'real thing', journalists are capable of bringing a wealth of knowledge into academic research. However, this expertise could also create tensions in the research environment. Supervisor A spoke about this "potential for conflict":

> "You could have a situation where the supervisee says, I am the expert because I am the professional here. And the supervisor says, I am the expert, because I am the academic here. The journalists need to realise that their expertise lies in the profession. And the PhD, when they are entering into that realm, is an academic undertaking, which in effect the supervisor is the expert in. So yes, they have the subject-specific expertise, but I have the expertise in how to conduct research, how to conceptualise or theorise what they are going to be studying. There needs to be that realisation."

Supervisee 3 acknowledged this tension. He admitted he wasn't initially convinced about his supervisor's ability to oversee his research project:

> "I was coming into academia after 25 years in journalism. I had a lot of ego – ego as a journalist who had done a lot of things. I looked upon my supervisor as a non-journalist. He hadn't been there and done the things I had. How could he handle my project?"

It took Supervisee 3 almost a year to get over his "false sense of superiority". He added, "the conflict resolved itself when I understood the role of the supervisor. It went away once I realised that this was my project, and the supervisor was only there as a guide, to advise me on it." Supervisor F, a practitioner-turned-supervisor, explained this tension in terms of a general perception among journalists that academics do not understand the difficulty of their practice – it is an "easy shot", "easy to criticise from the outside". As he put it:

Journalism is a very difficult practice, in which you have to struggle with different elements of power in order to produce articles in very little time. The main criticism you get from practitioners of academics, or practitioners towards their supervisors is, "you may think this is easy, but you have months, years to write an article or a book. I have a day to produce two or three articles. How dare you criticise my work? You should be under such pressure before you try to make any criticism." And I think that argument underpins the general views of a lot of practitioners towards academia.

Supervisors appeared to be mindful of this potential area of tension. Supervisor C spoke of the "need to be sensitive about this expertise", as did Supervisor B, who spoke with enthusiasm about the "passion that practitioners bring to research" and the need for giving them credit for their experiences. All three seemed to be of the opinion that academics need to be more sensitive in the way they dealt with practitioners. Supervisor C spoke more about this:

> "The important starting point, I find, is to tell journalists that they are already researchers. The idea that they are here to get a completely brand new identity of an academic, it is false. They are already researchers. Every good journalists knows how to find information, where to look for it, how to interpret it and understand it, say something about it. The same goes for theory. They are theorists already. But they might just not think of it in those terms."

The willingness to acknowledge journalistic expertise is interesting to note and is arguably part of the new thinking that has come about in recent years. At least in part, it has been brought about by the increased interaction between scholars and practitioners, and also the recognition that both have important lessons to learn from each other. The new attitude is helpful in negating the feeling of 'belittlement' that scholars such as Greenberg (2007) and Zelizer (2004) have noted.

The problem of delayed gratification

One aspect of the research process that appeared to frustrate the supervisees interviewed was the pace of output. Used as they were to by-lines or other forms of editorial products every day, they found the slow nature of academic work quite trying. Supervisee 2 touched upon this issue:

> "Unlike doing a news story when you can take notes and then fashion a story, the breakthroughs in a PhD tend to come after you've absorbed a lot of complex ideas and then allowed them to stew. So it is like using a different part of the brain to regular reporting."

Supervisor C spoke about how different the two work environments are and the lack of "instant gratification" in academic research. For journalists who are always "on the go, on the telephone, jumping into cars and so forth, every day sitting in front of the computer for hours and grinding away" is very different. And this can go on for months, even years, "with nothing to show for their effort but – if they are lucky – a pat on the back from the supervisor". Missing is the sense of recognition that journalists had in their profession almost on a daily basis, a "reaffirmation that they are good at what they do".

Supervisor E saw this as a more universal issue, which all doctoral candidates experience:

> "I think this frustrates quite a few people. Even for those who are quite happy to be academics, it can still be frustrating. It's such a long road, and that by the time anything comes out of it, you're so annoyed with it you can hardly be bothered to send off the article for publication. I can imagine that there will be a particular sharpness to that frustration for some journalists, but it's a common experience."

Five of the six supervisees interviewed said they struggled to come to terms with the issue of 'writing but not publishing' (Supervisee 6 worked part-time as a journalist during his PhD, so had opportunities for publication elsewhere and appeared not to be affected in the same way as the others). Supervisee 5 compared the processes in journalism and academia:

> "If you submit a paper to a journal, it takes like a year to see it printed and you're not even sure if it's going to be printed. All this process of submitting the abstract and then the paper and then they send you feedback and if it's accepted, it takes six months to a year to see it printed, and when it's printed, nobody cares! It's not like journalism! I started journalism when I was 18, studying for my Bachelors. I remember the first time an article of mine was printed. Everybody came to congratulate me, and I was a celebrity for a day … when you see it printed, it's there!"

Acknowledging the lack of an immediate sense of achievement, Supervisee 5 spoke of her way of coping with it:

> "In the beginning what I did was, of everything I read, I wrote up a one-page synopsis. That helped me to feel that I was accomplishing something, because at the end of the day I had two or three sheets of little reports. As I got further into my PhD, I began doing conference papers and stuff like that, and those became my achievements."

Supervisor F, who had struggled with the same issue during his transition from a practitioner to scholar, provided another perspective: journalism, while providing instant gratification to the author, is more transient; academic articles, however, are capable of engaging a readership years after being published. The first journal article he published, he said, didn't bring him much satisfaction, as he didn't really value the importance of peer-reviewed publication then. He noted:

> "The satisfaction came, I remember, when I got two emails from colleagues I didn't know, one from Australia and one from Germany, and they wrote asking me for additional information about the paper, and I thought that was actually brilliant. Then I saw that one of them cited the work in a book, and that was a breakthrough … in the case of academic work, yes, it is going to be read by

> far fewer people, but it is going to be more far-reaching in terms of time. Any of the stuff I wrote 13 years ago when I was still working as a journalist, that's all disappeared. Nobody quotes it, not even on the internet. Academic work is more permanent in time."

Supervisee 4, though missing the instant responses and gratification that journalism provides, appeared to make the same point when she said:

> "In journalism, it's instant. You see it instantly, but at the same time you see the mistakes, and it's like, oh, I would wish I had more time, and then you move on. But with the PhD I know what I'm publishing. The rhythm in academia is quite different, slower … but perhaps the gratification is more."

Supervisor D felt this was an issue supervisors needed to be mindful of, and help supervisees with by placing them in the "right context". He saw it as an "issue of motivation", one of the responsibilities of a supervisor. He noted:

You have to get your student to kind of know where they are. I know many PhD students lose interest because, you know, it's a long process, sometimes a very lonely process, so it could be very demoralising. So it's a matter of motivation and of warning people from the beginning. They need to be warned… not scared off but cautioned about the process. You have to keep them motivated throughout the process.

Conclusion

This article aimed to throw light on the supervisor-supervisee relation in the 'hackademy' – essentially, to bring to the fore the challenges that arise when journalism practitioners embark on academic research. The interviews recorded for this study indicate that journalists undertaking scholarly pursuits struggle with a series of issues. Many tend to experience a "culture shock" and find it intimidating to work in an unfamiliar environment. Misconceptions about the nature of the theoretical work they are expected to undertake, and a lack of confidence in their own capability to engage with its unfamiliar demands, can be seen as possible reasons for this uneasiness. The cynicism that some practitioners seem to harbour about theory, and their belief that it has no value for practical journalism, arguably accentuate this state of affairs.

Another concern that came to the fore was an initial inability, if not reluctance, on the part of the practitioners to step back and look at their own profession in a critical manner. Some journalists are likely to be defensive about established newsroom practices and find it difficult to critique them in a dispassionate manner. There also appeared to be a related egotism about their expertise in practice — a sense that they had practiced journalism while scholars had only studied it – among some practitioners, which made them less receptive to feedback from supervisors and brought with it the potential for conflict in the supervisory environment. Adopting the academic style of writing, which is starkly different from the style of journalism, was a major challenge for the practitioners interviewed. They were passionate about the way they wrote, defending it strongly against the language of academy, which they saw as verbose and confusing. Often they required time to come to terms with the demand of academic writing, or to negotiate a middle ground that suited scholarly expectations. Their progress was further marked by a sense of frustration at the slow process of academic research in general, used as they are to the gratification of seeing their writing in print very quickly.

For their part, the supervisors interviewed found inculcating the value of theoretical work in a hands-on practitioner to be often challenging and time-consuming. Much patience was required on their part, particularly in the initial period of a research journey, to help practitioners get over their scepticism about theory and see its significance for journalism practice. Also required of the supervisors was a heightened sensitiveness to enable a productive relationship with their supervisees and ensure that their critique and approach did not 'belittle' the practitioners or their practice. This was particularly true of the journalistic style of writing, which needs to be viewed as part of the professional identity of the practitioner. Constant reminders and flexibility are required from supervisors so that compromise solutions can be negotiated where needed, and the matter of style does not become an impediment in the research journey. Admittedly, some of these issues are applicable to other supervisory environments as well. For instance, it is usual for many researchers to find the PhD journey quite daunting, and many practitioners – not just journalists – find it hard to adopt the academic style of writing. However, given the troubled relation that journalism practitioners have with their scholarly counterparts, it is conceivable that they would feel these issues more acutely.

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Tilling the field in journalism education: implications of a systems model approach for journalism education

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Abstract

A 2007 UNESCO paper, Model curricula for journalism education, proposed subjects for journalism courses. The model suggests educators include knowledge structures such as how to do journalism, how to act as a reflective journalist, the importance of journalism in society and several other theoretical ideas that should underpin journalism education. However, there are no suggestions about how to work within the social structure of journalism. This paper is proposing that as part of journalism education, it is important to include more than the knowledge structures. It is also crucial to teach students how to navigate the social structure of journalism.

This proposal arose out of doctoral research that investigated the creative practices of print journalists in Australia.

One finding of the research was how critical the social structure, or field, is to a journalist's production process. In education, an equal emphasis on teaching an understanding of this social field will assist aspirant journalists to appreciate a range of aspects that are critical to their engagement but tend to remain under-emphasised in journalism education.

Continuing to teach the knowledge structures, including practical skills, of journalism is understood by the authors to remain a crucial part of education. But this paper argues that it is also of significant importance to increase journalism students' knowledge of the field. A study has been proposed to analyse journalism education programmes offered in Australia to determine if other journalism programmes see this as important and to what degree – if any – journalism programmes incorporate education about the field.

Introduction

In 2007, UNESCO released a paper to advise journalism educators in "developing countries and emerging democracies" (2007, p. 6) on a model curriculum for journalism education. In the introduction, the authors provided the following summary:

"… journalism education should teach students how to identify news and recognize the story in a complex field of fact and opinion, how to conduct journalistic research, and how to write for, illustrate, edit and produce material for various media formats (newspapers and magazines, radio and television, and online and multimedia operations) and for their particular audiences. It should give them the knowledge and training to reflect on journalism ethics and best practices in journalism, and on the role of journalism in society, the history of journalism, media law, and the political economy of media (including ownership, organization and competition). It should teach them how to cover political and social issues of particular importance to their own society through courses developed in co-operation with other departments in the college or university. It should ensure that they develop both a broad general knowledge and the foundation of specialized knowledge in a field important to journalism. It should ensure that they develop — or that they have as a prerequisite — the linguistic ability necessary for journalistic work in their country, including, where this is required, the ability to work in local indigenous or vernacular languages. It should prepare them to adapt to technological developments and other changes in the news media" (UNESCO, 2007, p. 6).

This description includes how to do journalism, how to act as a reflective journalist, the importance of journalism in society and a number of other theoretical ideas that should underpin journalism education. However, a crucial part of the system of journalism is missing: it does not include how the field, or the social structure of journalism, works. This paper contends that the social structure of journalism and how it works is an important element for journalists to learn in order for them to be able to produce, or create, their work.

This premise arose out of a doctoral research project that examined the creative practices of print journalists in Australia. The research applied the systems model of creativity developed by Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi (1988; 1997; 2003) to the domain of print journalism to examine how journalists interact with cultural, individual and social structures in the creation of their work. The research revealed that a journalist is one part of a system of three elements that converges to enable the production of creative products, processes or ideas: a domain of knowledge that includes the rules and procedures of journalism (cultural knowledge); an individual, with his or her background and experiences, in this instance the journalist, who learns the cultural knowledge and produces an outcome; and, a social field that understands the system and judges the outcome for inclusion in the domain of knowledge. In other words, a creative outcome does not happen in a vacuum but occurs when a journalist interacts with the domain and field of journalism.

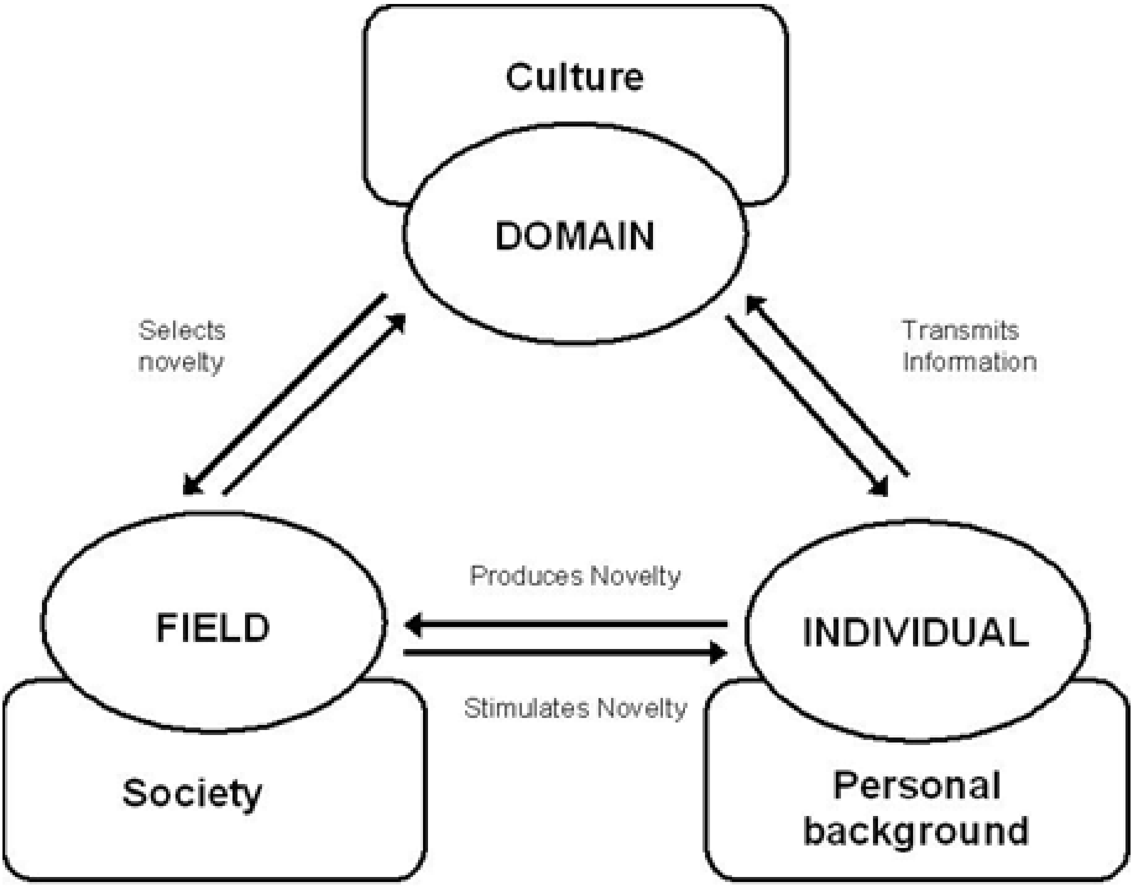

Figure 1 - Csikszentmihalyi's systems model of creativity (2003, p. 315)

To describe these terms further, the domain consists of the knowledge structure journalists need to learn to be able to work in journalism, for example, the rules, conventions, techniques, guides, procedures and previously produced artefacts.1 The individual journalist brings variables such as talent, genetic predisposition, cognitive structures, personality traits, family background, education, social class and cultural background to the system. The field, in Csikszentmihalyi's usage of the term, is considered to be "all the people who make the decision as to what new product, process or idea is to be included in the domain for other journalists to draw on" (Fulton, 2011b).2 Members of the social field that are of importance in this context would include, for example, other journalists, sub-editors, editors, deputy editors, chiefs-of-staff, senior executives and media owners.

A core finding from the doctoral research was that all three elements in the system are necessary for a creative outcome and if a journalist understands the knowledge from the domain as well as "criteria of selection, the preferences of the field" (Csikszentmihalyi, 1997, p. 47) they are more likely to be more efficient in their work processes; this knowledge becomes part of their tacit knowledge (Schön, 1983). It is this tacit knowledge that enables a journalist to 'do without thinking' with the journalist, as active agent, making creative choices in interaction with these structures.

To apply this premise to this paper, it is sensible that all three components are acknowledged in some form in journalism education. However, one outcome from the research was the finding that in journalism education, there is an emphasis on journalism students learning the domain knowledge of journalism but the social field is not given as much emphasis. In fact, in journalism generally, the importance of the social structure of the field is sometimes overlooked unless it is to state how deterministic the field is on a journalist's agency (Henningham, 1989: 27; Henningham, 1990; Machin & Niblock, 2006: 162; McNair, 1998: 61). The findings from the research project suggest that a curriculum that includes information about the social field would make aspirant journalists better prepared to work in the media environment.

A research project identified in the conclusion of the doctoral research project, therefore, is an analysis of journalism education programmemes offered in Australia to ascertain whether there is any allowance made within the programmemes to learn about the field. A pilot study is planned to analyse the journalism major in the Bachelor of Communication degree at the authors' university, the University of Newcastle, to ascertain what allowances are made within the degree to instruct students on working within the field's expectations. It is hoped that a broader research project will result from this pilot study to encompass journalism education programmemes Australia-wide. The broader study could include content analysis of the subjects offered and their course outcomes and learning objectives as well as interviews with teaching staff, journalism students, university-educated journalists and the senior members of the field who hire journalists to discover how learning about the field can be incorporated more formally into a journalism degree. A further step in the research project could be an analysis of international journalism programmemes, including Western and non-Western programmemes. The final objective is to develop a more holistic model of journalism education that encompasses the three elements of the systems model.

There are journalism degrees in Australia with subjects that include knowledge of the field in their learning objectives. For example, Bond University's Newspaper Reporting course (JOUR12-240) expect students will have "[a]n understanding of the modern newspaper newsroom and the functions of different personnel" (Bond University, 2012) by the end of the subject. There are also degrees that have a compulsory work placement component, which gives students an opportunity to work within a newsroom or magazine office. At the University of Newcastle, for example, third year journalism majors are offered Communication Professional Placement (CMNS3500) as a directed subject but it is not a compulsory course.

There are also journalism textbooks that include brief explanations of a newsroom's social structure (Conley & Lamble, 2006; Maskell & Perry, 1999; White, 2005; Harriss, Leiter & Johnson, 1985; Cole, 2005; Frost, 2001; Niblock, 1996) but there are also many textbooks that merely instruct on how to write as a journalist by focusing on the domain knowledge. To present a slightly different example, Meehan (2001) pointed out that most do-it-yourself freelance journalism books emphasise learning how to write publishable articles with little emphasis on the importance of contacts in the industry – the contacts in this instance would be members of the field. In freelance writing, knowing who to contact in the industry is as vitally important as knowing how to write. The same argument could be made in any journalistic endeavour. Continuing to teach the knowledge structures of journalism, that is, the rules, conventions, techniques, guides and procedures of the domain, as well as theoretical subjects to encourage students to critically examine journalism and its place in society, is a crucial part of journalism education but it is equally important to increase journalism students' knowledge of the field.

Therefore, this paper is suggesting that it is essential to teach students how to navigate the social structure of journalism. As creativity researcher Keith Sawyer contended: "The most successful creative people are very good at introducing their ideas to the field. They know who the key people are, and they know how the selection process works" (2006, p. 309). Teaching an understanding of the field – how the field works, who can assist in accessing information, who selects what is published, who selects what is to be written, as well as identifying who in the field can negotiate entry into journalism – in conjunction with domain acquisition can only assist an early journalist in their career and lead to a more efficient work process. To demonstrate this suggestion, the paper discusses data found during the doctoral research project regarding journalism education. The research project was an ethnographic study that used observation, document and artefact analysis and semi-structured interviews as the methods to gather data. Thirty-six members of the field of journalism, including eighteen journalists, three cadets, one student journalist and fourteen management level field members (editor, deputy editor or owner) were interviewed in 2007 and 2008. Twelve of the fourteen higher-level respondents had been journalists and answered questions about their experience from this perspective as well as from the management perspective. The respondents included seventeen females and nineteen males and they ranged in age from twenty to sixty-two. They worked at a mixture of publications including newspapers (24) and magazines (10) as well as freelance (2). To provide triangulation to the data, three newsrooms were observed in 2009 and 2010: one a weekly community newspaper, one a tri-weekly regional newspaper and one a weekly, metropolitan publication.

While the research project encompassed a broader church than journalism education, education was discussed with the interviewees as one of the structures they interacted with, including positive and negative experiences, and cadetships, internships and work placements, and what this education meant to their work practice.

Undergraduate journalism education in Australia

At university level, twenty-six Australian universities offer journalism programmemes.3 These programmes range from degrees that are a specific Bachelor of Journalism degree (e.g. Griffiths University, Monash University, University of Queensland, Bond University, University of Wollongong), to degrees that include journalism as a major (University of Newcastle, University of Southern Queensland, Deakin University) or as part of a communication or mass communication degree (RMIT, Curtin University). There are also schools that offer journalism via several programmemes (e.g. Bachelor of Arts) and schools offer double majors or combined degrees with disciplines such as law (University of Newcastle), international studies (University of Queensland) and sport studies (Charles Sturt University).

The majority of journalism educators are ex-journalists or are still working professionally (Sheridan Burns, 2003; Hirst, 2010; Bossio, 2010) with up to 95% of staff teaching into journalism courses having experience in the mass media (Patching, 1997). This provides university students with valuable practical knowledge. In fact, a University of Newcastle alumnus interviewed for the doctoral research named a journalist who taught into his degree and pointed out how valuable it was to have a teacher with experience in the industry:

> "Probably Alysson Watson [currently Features Editor at the Newcastle Herald] who used to teach me at uni. I'd probably say she had a huge influence on me actually, when I come to think of it,

> because I probably learnt more about being a journalist than anyone from her … I'd probably say she had quite an impact" (J7, i/v, 2007).4

One editor from the study works as a part-time tutor at an Australian university and in the New South Wales TAFE system5 and believes it is her job in that capacity to encourage promising students: "I mentor most of my students; anyone who shows promise, willingness and enthusiasm gets my time as a teacher" (E13, i/v, 2008). However, she is also in a position to provide valuable work experience. Working as the editor/journalist on a privately owned publication that depends on a high amount of freelance contributions means she can offer students the opportunity to publish work. This gives practical experience as well as a way for students to build a portfolio of published work, thus providing an example of a way a member of the field can provide support both as a teacher and an editor.

Journalism education perceptions

There remains a well-established and ongoing pedagogical tension between university-based journalism educators and the journalism industry (Hirst, 2010), with Ricketson (2001) noting that much of this tension centres around perceptions of an oppositional polarity occurring between theory and practice. While the focus in such debate centres around the differences between pedagogical approaches that are "doing" journalism and those that are "about" journalism, some of the debate emerging from industry involves argument about the credibility and worth of courses, programmemes and journalism educators. Many media outlets demand students who are "work-ready" and many students place high importance and value on practical skills.

The discussion in the interviews on the value of tertiary education differed between the journalists. Three respondents specifically noted how university education was not helpful in their practice with 'on-the-job' experience listed as more valuable in learning how to write in a journalistic style:

> "I mean you think you can pick it up at Uni and know what it is you're doing but I don't feel that I was in any way taught particularly well what to expect" (J1, i/v, 2007).

> "Just stylistically they've [colleagues] taught me how to write more than university" (J13, i/v, 2008).

> "Learnt a bit at school, nothing at uni, and mostly on the job from other journalists" (E15, i/v, 2008).

One reason for the disparity between what a journalism student learns during education and what happens in a working newsroom could be the difference in expectations students have to what actually happens when working in journalism. An Australian study done by Grenby et al. (2009) into secondary school students' perceptions of journalism as a career found students' ideas about what journalists do differed greatly to the reality. While the high school students understood certain aspects of a journalist's lifestyle, for example the students identified journalism as "deadline and current affair focussed (sic), time-consuming and potentially stressful" (Grenby et al., 2009, p. 13), other answers indicated a reliance on popular perceptions of journalism (the second highest response stated that journalism was "full of travel opportunities" (ibid.)).

Contrary to J1, J13 and E15's experiences with journalism education, E11 found her experience with university beneficial but also recognised the importance of work colleagues and continuing to engage with the domain, a point agreed with by J24:

> "I learned a lot at Uni, I had some good lecturers, but then just working with an editor and them saying to you, 'No we don't do this' or 'Put that up there' that's the (pause) I think you learn the most from reading other journalists' work" (E11, i/v, 2008).

> "I'd say a third learnt through uni, a third on the job from superiors/sub-editors, and a third learnt from simply reading" (J24, i/v, 2008).

One major point that can be elicited from E11's and J24's comments about education is how both of them have mentioned the importance of the field (other journalists, editors, sub-editors) and the domain (other journalists' work, reading) illustrating the significance of each of the elements in the systems model: learning the rules, procedures and previously created products in the domain as well as the preferences of the field means an individual is more likely to produce a creative outcome. E15's earlier response supports this contention: he learnt the most from other colleagues, thus reinforcing the argument that knowledge about how the field works could be beneficial in a journalist's learning process.

Internships and work placement

As part of journalism education, many courses offer work placements but students can undertake formal internships in a newsroom or at a magazine as a training option. Traditionally, print journalists learnt on the job via cadetships that consisted of three or four years6 of on-the-job training. Cadetships are not as prevalent as they were with Barbara Alysen's (2005) study into entry level employment in journalism finding that News Limited Sydney appointed ten cadets in 2001 and one cadet in 2005. However, at the time of the interviews for this research, Rural Press7 newspapers still offered cadetships to school leavers with university graduates joining the company as final-year cadets. On the other hand, Fairfax newspapers, including Sydney's Sydney Morning Herald and Melbourne's The Age, currently offer traineeship programmes that last for one year (Fairfax Media, 2011) while News Limited offer cadetships that are also one year long (Herald Sun, 2012). Within this study, magazines that interviewees worked for offered university students internships and work placement opportunities. While cadetships and traineeships are paid positions, internships and other work placement opportunities are generally unpaid and offered to university students to provide job readiness when the student is finished university. Work placement and internships are typically undertaken by students during their university degree and give the opportunity to experience a working newsroom. Amy Forbes (2009) noted how a key feature in Australian journalism schools is that graduates need to demonstrate their knowledge of journalism but they must also be workplace ready. Forbes contended that although many employers look favourably on degrees, students also need newsroom experience and this can be achieved through internships and work placement during university education. These training opportunities are a way the field can encourage young people into the profession and, as Sawyer has noted, having formal training structures in place to identify promising young people means a higher chance of creativity in a sphere of production (2006, p. 308).

While the field offers these training opportunities to provide entry-level print journalists with desirable practical skills, it also gives student journalists an opportunity to observe first hand how the field works. Perhaps more importantly than observation, participation gives interns the opportunity to engage with the field at a deeper level than mere observation provides, an opportunity these training opportunities afford. As Aldridge's (1998) perceptive study on the mythology of British journalism discovered, participating in a workplace provides a clearer understanding of that workplace and its structures, including the field and how it works. While studies such as Hanna and Sanders (2007) identified that journalism students sometimes decided not to enter journalism because of their workplace experience, respondents in this study claimed internships and other training opportunities strengthened their desire to enter the profession. It is important to note, however, that the explosion in student numbers in journalism courses and the recent loss of many journalism positions in Australia have provided a fertile ground for potential exploitation of those seeking internships. A recent report into unpaid work and internships in Australia has identified journalism as an industry with a high incidence of unpaid work with students often working months without payment "in the hope of impressing the right person" (Stewart & Owens, 2013, p. 54).

During the interview process for this research, one student (J22) had just completed a five-week magazine internship. J22 found the training provided by the field helpful in her practice but found the older staff intimidating and appreciated support from another young journalist:

> "There was a young girl there who was only a year older than me but she'd been working there for two years and she came beside me and showed me a lot, which is good because a lot of them were a lot older than me" (i/v, 2008).

J22's comment demonstrates how important the field is to provide support and encouragement to an early career journalist. Internships provide a chance for undergraduates to apply university's formal learning to practise, to network and to impress an employer. The senior staff member who supervised J22 talked about her experience with this particular intern:

> "And we've just recently had one [an intern] and she was just brilliant. I think this girl, she's a Uni of New South Wales communications student, I think she'll go a long way" (E14, i/v, 2008).

Just as important, though, is that internships give the opportunity to not only learn and apply the rules of the domain, but the preferences of the field. As Forbes pointed out: "Through this interaction with journalists in the field, learning revolves around discovery, analysis and integration of information leading to deep-level learning" (2009, p. 1). J22's experience at the magazine proved invaluable as she interacted with the field:

> "And the people in the office knew a lot as well. So for me, not knowing much about the industry or journalism at all, going, 'Is this worth writing about?' they'd go, 'Yep, I think it's great, go for it, you can get some good information from here or here or you can call this person or this person'. So it was really handy having people around who knew what to do" (J22, i/v, 2008).

A further path into print journalism is work experience and J3 remarked how work experience in the Press Gallery during his university degree not only helped in his understanding of journalism but also led to his first job:

> "I was really lucky to do work experience at the Press Gallery for [publication name deleted]. That was in my second year, the beginning of my second year of Uni and then a month later I got offered a job as an editorial assistant so doing things from clipping papers to holding the microphone to record sound to just doing office stuff, filing, that sort of thing so I did that through second and third year Uni but also all the way through I filed stories when I could, just basic stories that they didn't have anyone else to do or whatever." (J3, i/v, 2007).

Barbara Alysen contended that this kind of work experience in a newsroom often leads to permanent work because employers, as members of the field, show a "clear preference to the 'known commodity'" (2005, p. 12) and cited the Sydney Morning Herald which, in 2004, hired trainees who had already worked as casuals or interns on the publication. As journalist Sam de Brito wrote:

> “Who you know is just as important as what you know in the media and work experience gives students the chance to make the contacts that often get them the jobs once they’ve finished their studies. After a student has been in a workplace, made friends, proved themselves reliable and amiable, they are far more likely to land a gig than a stranger who’s never interacted with the newsroom.” (2009, p. 36).

The purpose of the journalism education research project

Keeping the above discoveries in mind with regards to the equal importance of the different elements of the system of journalism, it is appropriate to examine how each of these elements is incorporated in journalism education. While the pilot study at the authors’ university is an analysis of the course and learning outcomes in journalism subjects to ascertain what, if any, field elements are included, it is expected that in the Australia-wide research project some degrees will already have some components of field learning within their course structure. According to the systems model, an outcome of the broader study should be that learning how the field works and what the preferences of the field are is an important element in the education of journalists and should be included in a model curriculum for journalism education. This could be done in several ways: including a course in the degree that includes an element of producing news such as a student publication; ensuring a work placement is a compulsory component in a journalism degree; and, attempting to involve journalism professionals within the course delivery.

However, the wide variety of offerings from the different universities as noted earlier presents a methodological issue for the project. A decision needs to be made by the researchers as to which subjects within the degrees to include for analysis so there is uniformity across the project. This can be done in several ways: include journalism specific subjects; include all subjects offered to journalism students, including core/compulsory courses that are not journalism specific; include all subjects offered in each degree. The pilot study conducted on the University of Newcastle offering should provide some direction to ensure a methodologically sound decision.

A further consideration is to keep in mind the state of the journalism industry with media platforms and tools continually evolving. It is highly likely that journalism students will not be working in a traditional journalism environment (Koutsoukos & Biggins, 2010). What will the field of journalism look like in future journalism domains? One discussion point in the doctoral research was that while employment in traditional print journalism may be declining, journalism in the online environment is increasing and this can be shown by the training opportunities on offer to new practitioners. Alysen (2007) noted that in 2007, while entry training positions in traditional journalism had dropped, online media cadetships were increasing. Allowing for these newer opportunities and ascertaining how the field is important in these offerings may also need to be part of the broader project.

Conclusion

Continuing to teach the knowledge structures of journalism, that is the domain, is a crucial part of journalism education, but it is equally important for a practitioner to have knowledge of the field. Sheridan Burns defined a journalist as (1) someone who earns their living from practising journalism, and (2) has mastered the technicalities of the profession, and is accepted by other journalists as having done that, and (3) who believes in journalism as social responsibility (2002, pp. 16-17). The second point made by Sheridan-Burns emphasises the importance of the field.

G. Stuart Adam suggested some twenty years ago that it was time the creative process is taught within journalism research and education (1993, p. 48), a suggestion that the authors emphatically agree with. But Adam claimed that works of journalism are based on templates that "reside in the culture" (1993, p. 20) and are "single products of the imaginations of single individuals" (ibid.). While this last claim can be considered contentious. It could be argued that Adam's claim covers both the domain and the individual. This paper argues that the creative process that should be taught to journalists is a process that incorporates the domain, individual and field equally. In other words, developing a model that provides a more holistic approach to journalism education than the UNESCO 2007 model can only improve an aspirant journalist's work processes.

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Endnotes

1 For a more detailed analysis of the domain see, for example, Fulton (2008; 2009; 2011a).

2 For a detailed analysis of the field of journalism see, for example, Fulton (2009; 2011a; 2011b).

3 Information retrieved from http://jeaa.org.au/courses.htm - accessed 11.1.11

4 Each journalist and editor was allocated a code to ensure anonymity – J1, J2, J3, etc. for journalists and E1, E2, E3, etc. for editors.

5 TAFE stands for Technical and Further Education and provides vocational education and training. Qualifications earned at TAFE are usually of a Certificate or Diploma level rather than a tertiary qualification.

6 There is some conflicting information about how long cadetships lasted for. Henningham, J 1998, 'The Australian journalist', in W Wu & DH Weaver (eds), The global journalist: news people around the world, Hampton Press, Cresskill, New Jersey, pp. 91-107. and North North, L 2009, The gendered newsroom: how journalists experience the changing world of media, Hampton Press, Cresskill, New Jersey., for example, said cadetships lasted for four years whereas Alysen Alysen, B 2007, A strategy for vocational education in the news media at a time of industrial change: bridging the contradiction in Journalism education, AARE 2007 International Educational Research Conference. Fremantle, Western Australia. stated that cadetships were typically three years. Green, K & Sykes, J 2004, Australia needs journalism education accreditation, Jour-Net international conference on Professional Education for the Media. Newcastle. provided some clarification when they stated that cadetships could be three or four years depending on the industrial award journalists are hired under.

7 The interviews were done with these journalists before Rural Press and Fairfax merged.

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Educating for a better newsroom culture in a Leveson compliant future

By Chris Frost, Liverpool John Moores University

Amidst all the argy bargy about royal charters and last minute bids for political unity it's often difficult to remember that Leveson was originally charged with finding a way to drain the morally fetid swamp that newspapers had come to represent for the public.

His brief was not just to build a new regulator or highlight the corruption apparently endemic amongst the national press, the police and politicians but to inquire into the culture, practices and ethics of the press.

Leveson talks in his report very little about the future for journalism and for journalists. He did take some evidence about the way newspapers had developed their business models over the past ten years or so and in doing so outlined some of the challenges to our present and future students:

> The Inquiry has heard different interpretations of the impact of these economic pressures on newspaper business models. It is common ground that falling revenues and the increased need to produce copy 24 hours a day has resulted in fewer journalists having to do more work. Editors have argued that the financial levels affect staffing levels but that this simply means that journalists work harder and that there is no reduction in the quality of journalism. The Inquiry has been told that the economic difficulties have not affected training of journalists. Others have suggested that the effect of journalists having to produce more stories in less time and with less resource is that material is not as thoroughly checked as it once was, press releases are reproduced uncritically and stories are recycled around the media with little development or additional checking. The impact on regional newspapers has been more severe, with a number of titles merging or closing… Across the press the same challenge faces all titles in respect of how to make money from content online in a world where advertising revenues and revenues from physical circulation continue to decline, whilst readership online is growing... That is not to say that… there are not parts of the UK press that are profitable and, in some cases, highly profitable. (Leveson 2012: 98)

As can be seen he clearly identifies the stark reality of many modern journalists having to work harder and longer at the same tasks as their colleagues of ten years before. He comes to no conclusion about whether this ramping up of workloads reduces the quality of journalism but it is difficult to imagine in the era of 24-hour news that the technological advances of twitter, digital cameras, i-pad editing and Facebook can make up the deficit in newsrooms with half the staff of 20 years ago.

He also identified that the industry for which we are preparing students is one that generally wants to behave well:

The press… does claim to operate by and adhere to an ethical code of conduct. Newspapers, through whichever medium they are delivered, purport to offer a quality product in all senses of that term. Although in the light of the events leading to the setting up of this Inquiry and the evidence I have heard, the public is entitled to be sceptical about the true quality of parts of that product in certain sections of the press, the premise on which newspapers operate remains constant: that the Code will be adhered to, that within the bounds of natural human error printed facts whether in newsprint or online will be accurate, and that individual rights will be respected. (Ibid. 736-737)

Leveson mentions hardly anything about the way journalists are trained throughout his report. Indeed there is far more about the training of police and their dealings with the media than there is about training and educating journalists. Nevertheless it is clear from the above that he sees high standards of the press as something to be desired and something that the industry, and therefore employers wants.

Going on from that he identifies that training is one of the key tools in the regulatory toolbag:

"Most of these tools could form part of any regulatory tool kit whether it was self-regulatory, co-regulatory or statutory regulation. The purpose of regulation is to deliver an outcome that society wants. However, regulation is not the only way to influence or change behaviour. I thus turn to the categorisation identified by Mr McCrae of the different ways in which changes to behaviour can be encouraged and influenced, namely: enabling, engaging, exemplifying and encouraging… This includes removing barriers (of whatever sort) to the desired behaviour, giving information and providing viable alternatives, including through capacity building, skills, training and facilities." (Ibid. 1742-3)

Of course neither Lord Justice Leveson nor McCrae are alone in identifying training as crucial in encouraging ethical behaviour. Betrand identifies it as one of his M*A*S (Media accountability systems) and other writers on ethics such as Keeble, Frost and Harcup all see its central importance both in preparing the student and developing the journalist.

Despite mentioning training infrequently Leveson is also clear that it has a role in improving standards:

> "For example, the PCC has worked hard to improve the coverage of mental health issues. To this end, the PCC has produced a guidance note on the subject and has delivered training to journalists.19 It is difficult to form a clear judgment about this, but the sense I have is that press reporting on some aspects of mental health issues has improved, and the insensitive and in many cases offensive language deployed in some sections of the press ten years ago is now rarely used." (Ibid. 1519)

He is also confident that training and education as happens in the newsrooms of AJE members is also important:

> Finally, I would also like to add a word on journalism training. I have not sought to look at the adequacy of the training available to, or provided to, journalists. However, a number of professors of journalism have given evidence to the Inquiry and it is apparent from their evidence that the schools of journalism are committed to offering high quality training in which ethical journalism plays a full part. Largely as a result of the financial pressures on parts of the press, journalism training is increasingly moving away from newsrooms and into the universities. There is also an important role for ongoing in house training, including in relation to new laws and ethical or compliance issues that are highlighted by particular cases. A number of titles have told the Inquiry that they work with the PCC to deliver training on specific issues as appropriate. It is clearly important that the industry generally, and employers in particular, should place a high priority on training to ensure, inter alia, that all journalists understand the legal and ethical context within which they work. (Ibid, 736)

So what should we be doing in our institutions to pick up on Levesons' exhortations? As he correctly identifies, training is moving away from newsrooms and into the universities. Indeed I would say that trend is now virtually complete with hardly any entry level training now being carried out at newsroom level. Of course there continues to be an important role for ongoing in-house training, as Leveson identifies but even here more of this is moving towards the universities. Part time masters programmes, CPD sessions and summer schools as well as partnership of all sorts including Knowledge Transfer Partnerships are all becoming more common and as universities plan for the inevitable fall off of applications to master programmes – already happening in some places – these will take on even more significance.

Most journalism schools have already been looking at their training and of course have been including the developing saga in court 59 as part of their curriculum.

The NCTJ has also been keeping an eye on developments and an early comment at Leveson: in one of his seminars: "One seminar attendee suggested that the National Council for the Training of Journalists does not teach ethics. The Inquiry would be interested in experience of how ethics are taught and promulgated amongst journalists." (Leveson, 2012 p21) stung it into action and it has now introduced a new ethics module into its diploma that will be a required element of all NCTJ-accredited programmes. The BJTC has long insisted on teaching about regulation and ethics teaching. The AJE, in common with many other industry groups, has based its summer conference around the theme.

So what about our own changes? The first thing to consider surely is admissions. What type of programmes should we be offering our students and how do we select the next intake of future journalists? I think the outcome of Leveson will combine with the pattern already identified of the lessening attractiveness of post-graduate programmes. Students already up to their ears in debt, looking at a potential career in an industry which admits to pressurising its journalists to work ever harder for fewer rewards, both financial and in a newsroom culture that is prone to bullying and dissatisfaction are going to be less inclined to consider journalism as a career and there is already evidence in some centres of falling numbers applying. This is most likely to affect applicants in 2015.

Leveson does suggest though the importance of in-house training and CPD. This opens up opportunities in the post graduate field for part-time programmes either of a traditional type or more innovatively looking at patchwork MAs, distance learning and specialist programmes on day release, summer school or good old-fashioned evening classes.

It is also worth looking at the criteria used for admissions to mainstream journalism degree programmes. Evidence on newsroom culture could be said to imply too little rebellion in the newsroom, too little determination to challenge decisions from the top. Are we selecting people for study who are too willing to do as they are told; too easily prepared to go along with the prevailing wind? Journalism has traditionally attracted odd-balls, rebels and eccentrics. Has the move to degree programmes made journalism more mainstream and less rebellious and if so, is that a good thing? I merely ask the questions here but it could be that our decisions at application time are making a huge difference in the way they industry runs in terms of newsroom culture.

Newsroom culture is important as Lord Leveson identified. He picked up comments made by Professor Christopher Megone, who has worked extensively with industry bodies (mainly in finance and engineering) on issues of workplace ethics. He told Leveson that the culture in a newsroom was paramount and needed to be considered alongside and code of standards:

> "If there is an unhealthy culture then an organisation can have an ethical code but it will have little influence. Members of the organisation can undergo 'ethics training' but it will have little effect. As soon as they return from the training to their desk or office, the pervasive culture will dominate their decision-making. The culture brings to bear all sorts of 'accepted norms' which an afternoon's training will be relatively powerless to affect. (I do not, of course, think that good 'ethics training' is pointless, but simply that its effectiveness depends on whether, or to what extent, other factors are in place in the organisation…)" (Ibid. p86)

Leveson felt that against that background an operative code of ethics would have therefore a number of potential functions and in doing so he identifies many of the areas in which we should be concentrating our education. Indeed it clearly helps identify the difference between journalism training and education, a complex and much-agonised component of any degree programme. Leveson felt such an operative code would:

> "serve as a reminder of the special importance and roles, the freedoms and privileges, the power and responsibilities of the press. It would, in other words, provide a full context for the choices which fall to be made in practice so that they can be made in accordance with the principles to be derived from this context. It would, in short, explain what ethical (or, as it is sometimes described, 'public interest') journalism is." (Ibid. 87)

He goes on to identify very clearly the sort of outcomes a good journalism degree should have and identify the sort of education we should be working hard to fit alongside the training that is a central core to virtually all good programmes. Such a code would, he says:

> "help journalists to understand the circumstances in which they are called upon to make ethical decisions. It would help them to make the right choices in practice. It would do this not as a matter of rigid and disconnected prescriptions and prohibitions, but by promoting 'a stable disposition to act in certain ways for the right reasons'. It would recognise and explain the circumstances in which the temptations and motivations to act unethically (including commercial motivations) may be especially strong, and why they need to be resisted… It would not expect to stand alone. It would take its place in a context of ethical culture, sources of advice and guidance… It would have consequences in terms of how individuals and organisations are perceived, in terms of rewards and sanctions. (Ibid.)

So our education should ensure that students get this support to the code, the assurance that they understand the contexts to help them make the right ethical choices, an understanding of the pressures they will face and why they need to be resisted and that the code, any code, is not expected to stand alone but is part of an armoury of guidance, knowledge and understanding.

Part of this is understanding the culture in newsrooms and learning to deal with it. We need to ensure that we do not have the double standard in our training newsrooms that was identified in the AJE's evidence to Leveson:

> AJE members who have been practitioners (they continue to think of themselves as journalists) are well aware of a difficult double standard. That they should teach what is right, but also teach what is actually done. Honesty to the student requires that they be made aware that while there is a right way to do things, they might well be asked to do something different in the newsroom. This double standard can be reinforced by anecdotes from visiting speakers from the workplace. (AJE 2012: 10)

We need to provide more certainty to students that while they may well be expected to do things differently in the newsroom, that doesn't mean they are obliged to do them just because everyone else does. We should be explaining that doing things the right way is important for all the reasons identified in Leveson and the thousands of other books and journal articles discussing the importance of journalism. As we told Leveson in our evidence:

> "Ethics is not something to be left at the university door with the academic gown but needs to be nurtured and developed alongside other professional skills in the newsroom. (AJE 2012: 9)"

We should also be hoping that if anything has come out of Leveson it will be a profound sea change in the newsroom culture that on the one hand often saw editors bullying staff into unethical behaviour and on the other led senior staff to seemingly take a macho pleasure in behaving badly and encouraging their juniors with bar-side boasts to join them in their unseemly antics. Yes, journalists do have to behave unethically with regard to a private individual's rights on occasion if we are to prove the wrongdoing or abuse of the public's rights by those in power. We need to teach our students to understand the difference and to be able resist the blandishments of colleagues and the threats of editors.

One way of doing this, of course, is a method most of us already use, which is to present good practice as example whether through inviting journalists to speak to students who we identify as exemplifying good practice or by providing examples of good practice in seminars for discussion. Leveson strongly recommends this:

> Exemplification includes leading by example and achieving consistency in policies. The Inquiry has heard many references to examples of excellent journalism and adherence to excellent ethical standards within the British press. The Inquiry has, however, heard fewer instances of use of such examples of excellence within the industry to promote ethical behaviour. The PCC receives complaints and, unless mediated, produces adjudications on them which lead to reminders to papers and journalists of the nature of the code and the production of additional guidance on good behaviour. The Inquiry has been told of many examples of excellent investigative journalism, ethically conducted, being lauded within the industry: examples include Thalidomide, phone hacking and MPs expenses. (Ibid. 1744)

The honourable Lord's words do remind me that one criticism that the PCC has faced in the past (see evidence to the 2010 PCC review of governance from Frost or Jempson) is that the over-reliance on mediation, so prized by the PCC led to a reduction in the number of adjudications and so a reduction in the guidance the PCC could offer to the industry. Ofcom, for instance, produces lengthy reports of both the complaints adjudicated and its decisions and the reasons for them. This provides sound guidance to journalists and academics on how Ofcom interprets its code. Whilst the PCC adjudications are reported, often the details of the complaint are too limited (although sometimes this is for good reasons of maintaining privacy) the reasoning behind the PCC's decision is also often too limited. One thing the AJE should be pressing whatever regulator we finally get, is more resolve to adjudicate all but the most simple of cases and more detailed reporting on the reasons for adjudication decisions. This would provide far more detailed tools for us to use in ethics seminars and as examples alongside the work students are doing in their practice modules. We should be doing all we can to avoid a divide between theory and practice that would allow students to assume one can be more easily ignored or even discarded.

Finally in our armoury for training and educating the next generation there is assessment. Most of us test and assess learning from our law and ethics modules in some form, but there is always a risk of ghettoising the assessment of ethics and good practice to the ethics module. We should ensure that our practice modules also test good professional practice alongside the practice skills those modules are designed to foster. We need to make it clear to students that the ability to spot a good story and present it in a form that commands attention are important skills, but they also require an ethical approach and consideration of the rights of individuals.

The Leveson inquiry may have covered 16 months and 2000 pages, and Leveson may not have concentrated the full force of his analysis on academe telling the inquiry: "I have not sought to look at the adequacy of the training available to, or provided to, journalists." But his words do have resonance for us and we do have our own part to play in improving the standards of press journalism.

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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 tclark@dmu.ac.uk

Welcome by reviews editor Tor Clark, De Montfort University, Leicester, UK

Welcome to the reviews section of this the third edition of the most interesting and useful new journalism journal on the block. This time we are continuing to focus very clearly on books which we hope will be immediately useful for lecturers and students – particularly Journalism degree students.

What Do we Mean by Local? was the latest of John Mair and his collaborators' 'hackademic' series when it appeared a year ago and is a welcome addition to the thin ranks of useful texts on the regional and local press in the UK. Its vast array of contributors and topics should make it indispensible for researchers and students studying this area.

Specialist roles in journalism have grown incredibly over the last 20 years, so Barry Turner and Richard Orange's edited collection on that theme will again be useful to students exploring these areas.

Stalwart AJE member and prolific author Tony Harcup has encapsulated his long-standing interest in alternative journalism in a new text and in today's environment of diverse platforms, there can't be a better time for students to get to grips with this topic.

And despite all the doom and gloom in newspapers, the magazine sector remains vibrant. So who better than Jenny McKay, co-editor of this journal and author of the acclaimed *Magazines Handbook*, to offer a verdict on the latest work in this field?

The history of journalism doesn't miss out in this section either, with Kevin Williams' invaluable history of our whole sector joining the ranks of the classics from the journalism bookshelf.

The editors and I are very grateful to all our reviewers for their contributions this time and in the previous editions, but we are all very conscious of how busy everyone is these days and we have called in many of the favours we have accrued over the years to fill the first three reviews sections with interesting and relevant titles from authoritative reviewers. So we would repeat our appeal for colleagues to volunteer to review books or volunteer books for review and suggest classics from the journalism bookshelf for the next edition, compilation of which has already begun.

Anyone with an interest in reviewing for this section will be warmly welcomed. Please contact any of the editors or Tor Clark TClark@dmu.ac.uk if you would like to get involved.

Alternative Journalism, Alternative Voices by Tony Harcup

Review by Granville Williams, National Council, Campaign for Press and Broadcasting Freedom, and UK Co-ordinator, European Initiative for Media Pluralism

The metamorphosis of the hand-to-mouth production of alternative magazines and newspapers like *Rochdale Alternative Press* (RAP), the *Tuebrook Bugle* (Liverpool), *Leeds Other Paper* and *Grass Eye* (Manchester) into the objects of academic study must come as a big surprise to the survivors who worked on them back in the 1970s and 80s.

In the nineteenth century the 'unstamped' or pauper press – *The Republican, The Black Dwarf, The Poor Man's Guardian,* and so on - gave a voice to the dispossessed, the powerless and the marginalised, but I wonder whether the editors, writers and sellers of those publications ever conceived they one day would provide the material to engage academics across a range of disciplines in studying their efforts and analysing their significance.

These thoughts are prompted by reading this collection of Tony Harcup's work. Indeed there are direct connections between the issues covered in his book, which mainly focuses on alternative media and community publishing, and that previous era. He points out Leeds was the birthplace of one of the most widely read oppositional papers of the 1830s and 1840s, and it was also the birthplace in January 1974 of *Leeds Other Paper* (LOP), renamed later as *Northern Star.*

His lively wide-ranging introduction leaps from the *Sheffield Register* published during the French Revolution to Occupy Wall Street and the Arab Spring, and points out 'times of flux tend to lead to bursts of new alternative media and more widespread questioning of old certainties...'.

Harcup spent ten years working on LOP, and much of the material in this book is shaped by that experience. Reading it reminded me of how I first met him. Back in 1991, after Bob Franklin and David Murphy published *What News? The Market, Politics and the Local Press*, I approached them and said the Campaign for Press and Broadcasting Freedom (CPBF) would like to do a couple of public meetings around the book's themes. Tony Harcup turned up for the one in Bradford, at which the then Northern Organiser for the National Union of Journalists, Colin Bourne, was speaking, along with Franklin and a local newspaper editor.

The CPBF from its inception in 1979 has been interested in supporting alternatives to mainstream media and so there was a clear connection which meant later the CPBF published both Harcup's pamphlet on the history of *Leeds Other Paper* and his chapter on the alternative press during the 1984-85 miners' strike in the book *Shafte*d, which I edited. These are included in this latest collection in parts II and III, which provide material focused on drawing insights from his, and others, work on LOP to clarify 'alternative media' and 'alternative journalism' and to analyse the practice of alternative journalism and how it differs from mainstream media.

Part IV of the book takes a broader but very interesting perspective, based on his research into journalists who started out on alternative or oppositional publications, before moving into mainstream journalism. He devotes two chapters to analysing the responses he received to a survey he conducted.

There is another piece of history in this book which connects me with the author and another person. I met Chris Searle in 1969 when we were at Exeter University. He went to teach in Stepney where he did something the school governors considered sackable – he published the children's poetry in *Stepney Words*. Harcup writes vividly about this experience and his involvement in the subsequent strike in support of Searle. It was clearly a formative experience and Harcup dedicates the book to him. Later Searle approached the CPBF with the manuscript of a book on racism and *The Sun*. We were proud to publish *Your Daily Dose* in 1989.

Inevitably there is mixture of the personal and political, the subjective and objective in this review, but in a sense that is what much of the best writing in the alternative press was about, and this book is a valuable contribution to the exploration of its place in the history of journalism.

Alternative Journalism, Alternative Voices by Tony Harcup, published by Routledge, 2012, ISBN 978-0-415-52189-5. RRP: £24.99

Specialist Journalism, edited by Barry Turner and Richard Orange

Review by Tor Clark, De Montfort University, Leicester, UK

I used to get a cheap laugh from students when introducing the craft of specialist journalism by telling them amongst the scores of fishing magazines there was even one called Total Carp.

They loved the concept so much one group even brought me a copy at the end of their module. Imagine my amazement (and horror) on a recent visit to my local newsagent to find no less than seven magazines for our carping piscatorial brethren enticing me from the shelves. If I can buy seven separate (and there are probably more...) magazines about one fish, the era of specialist journalism is truly well established.

Now thanks to Barry Turner and Richard Orange we have a useful and interesting edited collection from which our students can begin to study this now essential part of any Journalism course's curriculum.

The editors' introduction provides ample evidence of the need for specialism and indeed its value in a journalistic market which forever moves from the general and towards the specialist platform, with the rise of specialist newspaper sections, specialist magazines and of course every type of digital specialist facility.

An impressive range of authors describe specialisms ranging from the areas we might expect - sport, crime, politics, war – to others which have more recently elbowed their way into the mainstream, environmental, media and wine, for example. Other areas covered include business, automotive, fashion, food, science, medical, legal affairs and travel.

Contributions are knowledgeable and interesting, if a little uneven between their approaches, some favouring a more sociological analysis and others offering more in the how-to vein. The hugely informed Paul Bradshaw, for example, offers excellent pointers on how to cover the media beat using the very latest and most effective technologies, as those familiar with his work would expect. Other contributors tend more towards talking about the legitimacy and impact of the specialist, rather than how they actually do their job on a day-to day basis. This is hard one for the editors to handle because on the one hand this text will be a real bonus to students looking at specialism for an essay, dissertation or research project, but students trying to find their feet and possible future career specialism might have liked more on what the day-to-day work of a specialist actually involved – contacts, research, diary, sources etc.

Chapters were also of varying length, which left me longing for more on political journalism, where, for instance, Kevin Rafter dealt very well with Westminster lobby journalism, but didn't have the space to develop his analysis into the rest of the vast area of political journalism outside that narrow village, but Paula Hearsum had space to include lots of insider comment on music journalism, in a chapter likely to be well-thumbed by students.

Given editor Orange is well known for his own agency work, I might also have hoped he would have offered a chapter on news agency journalism, a much under-exposed area, especially in post-Leveson times, but he took legal affairs journalism as his brief instead. No problem in itself, but perhaps a missed opportunity – or better still maybe a starter for volume two...

So overall, this will make a great impact on journalism courses across the UK and fits in well with the way the industry and its study is going. It is an interesting and useful addition to the journalism bookshelf and the university library, and though I do have a couple of little gripes, in the great scheme of the value of this book, they are certainly nothing to carp about. Recommended.

Specialist Journalism, edited by Barry Turner and Richard Orange, published by Routledge, 2013. 216 pages. ISBN 978-0-415-58285-8; RRP: £21.99.

What Do We Mean By Local? Grass-Roots Journalism – Its Death and Rebirth, edited by John Mair, Neil Fowler and Ian Reeves.

Review by Julie Freer, University of Central Lancashire, Preston, UK

Much has been written by media commentators about the economic and technological squeeze that broke the business model of the UK regional

press.

Loved by the Stock Exchange in late 90s and the early years of the new century when acquisitions were aplenty, margins were high and money was to be made, quick profits masked declining circulations. Attention was fixed to the share price rather than meeting the challenges and grasping the opportunities of the digital age.

By the time the recession hit post 2008, the availability of content away from the mainstream gave readers fewer reasons to be loyal to their local titles. Advertising drifted away to the emerging online sites - and the regional press was in trouble.

What Do We Mean By Local? Grass-roots Journalism – its Death and Rebirth, edited by John Mair, Neil Fowler and Ian Reeves draws together 33 chapters which chronicle why the regional newspaper industry and local radio fell into decline. The book also looks at how local media is trying to re-invent itself through hyperlocal sites, local TV and various other digital distribution tools. In conclusion, it examines the bigger picture and the impact of the decline on local democracy.

It is described as a 'hackademic' volume in that is a collection that ranges from the fully-referenced academic paper to media commentary and personal anecdote.

While it may not be one for the academic purist, the more personal chapters offer some of the more interesting and salient points.

Chris Oakley in his chapter 'The men who killed the regional newspaper industry' concludes: "In a couple of decades, managements who overpaid for acquisitions, overpromised to City investors and failed to recognise the threat and opportunity of the internet, have come close to destroying an industry."

He tells the story of his own role in management buyouts, subsequent flotation on the Stock Exchange and sale of titles, and asks the reader to judge his team's culpability in creating the financial climate that brought this about.

He also makes the crucial point that if the industry had supported the Fish4 digital advertising site, regional newspapers would have sewn up the property, cars and jobs market and sites such as Rightmove would not have been the success they are.

While the future may be hyperlocal, Richard Jones in his chapter on his Saddleworth News hyperlocal website points out that while there is job satisfaction to be had, the responsibilities of a mortgage and a child meant it wasn't sustainable in the longer term.

The site is now being operated by students at the Oldham campus of Huddersfield University. Indeed, he believes there is untapped potential in university journalism department in terms of underused equipment and talented students.

In a later chapter, David Hayward asks whether universities can save local journalism. Drawing on the US model, he cites examples where teaching has been combined with real quality practical journalism and where partnerships are being created between news organisations and the universities.

More radically, he points out universities could launch their own news start-ups. With universities' own business models being challenged and pressure on staff to create new income streams, it is a model that could work for mutual benefit. While universities are not in a position to give away their facilities nor should they should they be seen as a source of cheap labour, a report by the New America Foundation quoted in this chapter points out the industry could do more to financially support innovative thinking, research and curriculum development and in turn, universities should increase coverage of communities.

What Do We Mean By Local? Grass-Roots Journalism – Its Death and Rebirth, edited by John Mair, Neil Fowler and Ian Reeves, published by Abramis, 2012. 268 pages. ISBN 978-1-84549-540-4; RRP: £17.95.

Magazine Editing in Print and Online, third edition, by John Morrish and Paul Bradshaw

Review by Jenny McKay, University of Sunderland

The range of books available to journalism lecturers to offer to students as reading has grown from zero in the 40 years since journalism was introduced into universities in the UK. Now there are scores of texts on news, broadcast and online journalism.

Most of these either guide the beginner in the ways of the craft or inform a reflective approach to the activities of journalists. Some of them even mention ethics – an idea that would have been laughed at in the past.

This is all to the good but the assumption still seems to prevail that news and news outlets are all that really matters when journalism is under scrutiny: few books, even today, are concerned with magazines.

This is as surprising as it is unfair given the significance of the UK's magazine industry, or industries as Morrish and Bradshaw suggest is the accurate term. Publishing may have suffered because of the financial crisis and the rise of the digital universe but no one could argue convincingly the outlook for magazines is as bad as it is for newspapers. As the authors note: 'In the decade since the invention of the World Wide Web, consumer spending on magazines actually increased by 48 per cent,' and the UK's publishing market is 'one of the hungriest . . . in the world'.

Whatever the reasons for this unjustifiable neglect, the consequence is a dearth of books that focus on magazines whether covering journalism, design, careers, history or the perspectives of cultural theorists.

One of the few texts available (since 1996), is John Morrish's informative Magazine Editing. For this welcome, fully revised edition Morrish has teamed with Paul Bradshaw to ensure there is comprehensive coverage of all things online to sit alongside other aspects of magazines such as writing, production, marketing and finance.

The book's title implies it is aimed not at students or academics or even journalists in general but at the small band of those who edit their own publication or 'content proposition' as publishers now label what we used to think of as magazines.

It may be hard for devoted subscribers to think of curling up on the sofa with a 'content proposition' instead of their favourite title, yet those who work in magazines, teach about or study them, must keep up with the latest jargon and the thinking it exemplifies. This book will help them do that without overwhelming them with management gobbledegook.

So whatever its title suggests, Magazine Editing has a potentially wide and growing audience. It is, and was in its earlier incarnations, a valuable and thorough guide to all the aspects of publishing editors and their staff should know about.

When magazine journalism training was first formalised publishers said it was important for their editorial teams to have a sound understanding of the business aspects of publishing. That remains the case and is now reflected in the inclusion of 'Business of Magazines' as a topic in many university degrees.

For students on those courses this book offers a readable introduction to the industry so it should definitely be stocked by every library where magazine journalism and publishing is taught.

If I have a quibble it's over the limited extent to which references are given. There are some sources listed at the end of chapters but probably not enough to satisfy the demands of a student essay writer. Editors though, the main target readers, should know where to check.

Magazine Editing in Print and Online, third edition, by John Morrish and Paul Bradshaw, published by Routledge, 2012. ISBN 978-0-415-60834-3 (hardback) ISBN 978-0-415-60835-0 (paperback) ISBN 978-0-203-80464-3 (e-book)

A classic from the Journalism bookshelf:

Get Me A Murder A Day! A History of Media and Communication in Britain, by Kevin Williams

Review by Tor Clark, De Montfort University, Leicester, UK

I have not selected this book as this edition's classic text, my students have.

Get Me A Murder A Day is not the most in-depth, analytical or opinionated history of journalism available, indeed it's not even a specific history of journalism, embracing as it does media and communication, including non-news broadcasting and cinema.

But year after year students find it and stick with it because they find it to be easily the most accessible and useful history of their subject.

And this is important because though lecturers see the value of studying the history of journalism as part of their degree, most students, if given a truth pill, would tell you this isn't what they signed up for, it was the sexy stuff - writing stories, presenting shows and the buzz of bringing in the story - they wanted from their degree.

Author Kevin Williams seems to have written his now classic text with this in mind and I've lost count of the students who have told me how much they had enjoyed this book, often reading on way beyond what they needed for a specific essay or presentation. This book inspires students to get interested in journalism history, and in so doing allows them to appreciate the full context of journalism. That interest will develop through their degree, often concluding with a satisfying dissertation on a weighty historical topic.

Williams is an arch advocate of the importance of media history and has done much to raise its profile and inspire others. His later volume, *Read All About It!,* is an accomplished narrower history of newspapers, which is equally interesting. But it is as a first year-orientated introductory text that GMAMAD must be celebrated, with its logically divided chapters which must have helped form the parameters of dozens of Media/Journalism context modules in universities up and down the UK.

Williams' style is to present key information in easily digestible chunks, typically around an hour's worth of reading, arousing the reader's interest with description and specifics of note, before offering useful and succinct analysis. He brings alive the importance, excitement and big personalities of journalism.

He is not as opinionated as other texts, which is useful for students trying to simply understand the landscape for the first time, rather than finding a detailed critique. We are fortunate to have Curran and Seaton's *Power Without Responsibility* to perform that function and indeed a recommendation of GMAMAD, followed by PWR often forms the bedrock reading for a decent first university essay.

Williams updated GMAMAD in 2010, to take a much-needed look at standards and the digital landscape, but the original 1998 edition, which lines so many university library shelves, is still just as useful on historical content and so, happily, is not a first edition made obsolete by its successor.

The obvious drawbacks for journalism lecturers and students are the regular excursions into the history of cinema and other entertainment media, which disrupt the flow of the journalism narrative. But even that can be useful for students in setting some of the wider context of mass communications in the UK, and as this book is intended for this wider audience, it can't be a legitimate criticism.

So here we don't have the most critical or insightful journalism text ever written, but we do have the book which in its interesting style and accessible format provides the most popular available entry to the context of our subject and as the book that lets our students delve deeper into their new subject and inspire further inquiry, does both them and us a great service.

Get Me A Murder A Day! A history of media and communication in Britain, by Kevin Williams, 2nd ed published by Bloomsbury Academic, 2010. 336 pages. ISBN 978-0-3409-8325-6; RRP: £21.99.

If you have a book, TV programme, film or event relating to journalism that you would like to review, or you 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 here, kindly contact Tor Clark at De Montfort University on t.clark@dmu.ac.uk.

News

We hope you have enjoyed this latest issue if Journalism Education. We publish towards the end of the academic year as teaching blends into assessment followed by the conference season.

And it is certainly a lively conference season for AJE members this year. First we have the AJE conference in Newcastle on June 20 and 21 looking at Journalism and Journalism Education post-Leveson. Full details of what it has to offer follow. Alongside it runs the International Communication Association conference in London from June 17 to 21 with the theme Challenging Communication Research. For those with plenty of stamina (and decent budgets) these are followed by the International Association for Media, Communication and Research conference in Dublin from June 25-29 with the theme of "Crises, 'creative destruction' and the Global Power and Communication Orders". The conference website sells the conference as engaging with the concepts of crisis and "creative destruction", associated with historically-rare periods of intensified flux, change and all-round, multi-dimensional processes of innovation. The theme invites reflections on whether or how the current deep economic/financial crisis and its attendant gales of "creative destruction" may promote deep, fundamental or multiple shifts in the geo-political and communication orders globally.

Finally there is the World Journalism Education Congress in Mechelen, Belgium. This will take place on July 3-5 with the theme of Renewing Journalism through Education. The AJE is a founder member of the World Journalism Education Council and will be sending representatives to its meeting as usual. Several AJE members will also be presenting papers at the congress. If you are not already registered, go to http://wjec.be and sign up.

With our own conference looking at journalism education post-Leveson, we expect our next edition of the journal to be Leveson-heavy and so we have limited his appearances in this edition apart from the editorial update on the political follow up since publication of the report and our last edition. The editors also thought it important to include an article posing questions about the future for journalism education.

This year's annual AJE conference will be held in Newcastle on June 20 and 21 and is set to provide the first extensive review of what this means for journalism education.

The Leveson report has given rise to serious reflection by everyone involved in journalism, not least journalism educators. Although attention over the past couple of months has focused on the Royal Charter and regulatory system, the inquiry has raised many other issues which are of great concern to those preparing students for careers in journalism and the wider media fields.

The AJE is uniquely situated to host these debates and its annual conference in June presents a timely opportunity to address these issues. This conference also provides the forum to reflect on some of the falsehoods that have been promulgated in the wider media debates. Two of the key speakers at the conference, Professor Natalie Fenton of Goldsmith's College, London, and Mike Jempson, Director of Mediawise, have been accused by Andrew Gilligan in a Sunday Telegraph article (April 14) of being part of an EU conspiracy to impose state control of the press. (This report and two others are subject to a complaint to the PCC). Professor Fenton will be speaking on the current issues facing journalism professionals and educators, post-Leveson. As a director and spokesperson of Hacked Off, Natalie can also share her insights from the Leveson inquiry and the current significance of the royal charter. Mike Jempson will be delivering a paper on post-Leveson newsrooms and how journalism educators can prepare students for the changing culture of the media industries.

The opening talks on Thursday will set an energetic, critical and engaging tone for the conference. First up, John Mair, Head of Journalism at Northampton University, will be delivering a paper on the British tabloid press and media ethics. Mark Blacklock Freelance journalist and Newcastle University visiting lecturer) will argue that it is time to give students the tools they need to resist bullying, the courage to defy their peers and support frameworks to deal with ethically hostile environments. Lisa Hardisty (Northumbria University) will present a paper proposing that, despite the vast attention given to the ethics training student journalists receive, journalism educators can only play a limited role in changing the culture of journalism practice due to deeply engrained attitudes within industry and more senior, managerial roles.

The first day of the conference will also feature a panel discussion by Professor Chris Frost,(Liverpool John Moores University) Tony Harcup (Sheffield University), Michelle Stanistreet (NUJ General Secretary) and Mike Jempson (University of the West of England and Director of MediaWise). Frost and Harcup have both published renowned books on media ethics and regulation, Stanistreet and Frost have both given evidence to Leveson and have both, in consequence, suffered the wrath of some elements of the national press. Jempson has spent more than 20 years at the helm of MediaWise (formerly PressWise) representing a host of ordinary people who have suffered from misrepresentation in the press.

Our second keynote speaker on Friday will be Dr Janet Harris, (Cardiff University). Harris will be providing an account of journalism in hostile environments through her experience as an embedded reporter in Iraq. Janet's account will address some of the challenges journalism educators face in preparing students for such environments, and demonstrating how her own research and engagement with critical theory has improved her journalistic practice.

Since the conference seeks to address such constructive and progressive synergies between theory and practice in journalism studies and education, David Baines and Dr Darren Kelsey will be sharing their research that proposes long term changes in newsroom and news business culture. Due to a number of high quality contributions the conference programme will be intense, with many papers packed into the agenda. Herman Wasserman, Professor of Journalism at Rhodes University, South Africa, will deliver a paper (by video link) on current controversies surrounding media regulation in South Africa.

The conference promises to deliver and provoke some fascinating thoughts and insights. As well as the above, there are high quality papers addressing journalism cultures, ethics, pand pedagogy post-Leveson.

Other speakers include:

Barnie Choudhury (Lincoln University); Deirdre O'Neill (Leeds Trinity University); Jonathan Hewett (City University, London); William Horsley (Centre for Freedom of the Media, Sheffield University); Prof Steve Knowlton and Neil O'Boyle (Dublin City University); Tingting Li (Newcastle University); Ekmel Gecer (Loughborough University).

Other topics include:

Teaching Ethics; Journalism in a Hostile Environment; Codes and Regulations; A Global View of Media Ethics; National and International Perspectives on Issues Raised by Leveson.; Reporting Politics; Journalism's Relationships with the Police; Political Economy and Media Ownership; Can We Learn Lessons from History?; and Educating Journalists for a Rapidly Changing World of Work. We look forward to seeing you there!

Date: Thursday, June 20 and Friday, June 21

Registration: Thursday, from 1pm: Friday, from 9.30am

Place: Newcastle University, Spence Watson Lecture Theatre, Armstrong Building (Room 2.98), Queen Victoria Road, ,Newcastle upon Tyne, NE1 7RU

Contacts: Darren Kelsey: darren.kelsey@ncl.ac.uk; David Baines: david.baines@ncl.ac.uk (Mob: 0786 755 4620)

Conference fee is £20 for members (£25 for non-members) payable at registration or on Eventbrite. Please confirm attendance at: http://aje-2013-conference.eventbrite.co.uk

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: September 28, 2013 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. Comment and criticism articles can be more polemic and do not require an abstract.

Presentation and submission:

Articles should be produced in Word format, double spaced and 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 and do not use specialist templates. Referencing should be in standard Harvard form with citations in the form: (Simmons 1955, p404) whilst notes should be set as footnotes. References should put the publication title in italic with authors' name in the form: Jones, Brian (2004).

Please include a short (100w) biography as a separate document.

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 Clarke, 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.

Presentation and submission:

All tables and figures should 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.

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.

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