Journalism Education

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Editorial

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Victoria is a recently retired Associate Professor, Journalism, at London Metropolitan University, United Kingdom. For many years an education and arts journalist, she has worked mainly in print for national newspapers and periodicals. As a university teacher for the last 13 years, she has become passionately interested in helping to develop young people from disadvantaged backgrounds into the kind of questioning, informed journalists which the world needs today. Her students describe her as tough but fair and that they learn a lot from her. She lives in London.

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Editorial

Advice and information for AJE members about current issues in Higher Education and the teaching of journalism.

Why should the REF matter to you?

Journalism Education co-editor Prof. Chris Frost, who sat on the expert panel for RAE2008 and the REF2014, explains how the REF works, why universities take it so seriously and why it should matter to you.

The REF is looming and with around nine months to go before the deadline for output submissions some research directors and university executives are starting to lose the plot.

Now is the time when rumours and false information run riot as heads try to maximise their potential access to research cash. So what is the REF2021 and how does it operate – not how does your head of research think it operates, but what's the reality for UoA34; the sub panel that will oversee work in journalism, communications and media?

As a former chair of the AJE I served on sub panel UoA66 in the RAE 2008 and sub panel UoA36 in the REF 2014. The REF is described as a system for assessing the quality of research in HEIs involving a process of expert review. The sub-panels are experienced researchers expert in the field of the subject panel who examine outputs and impact submitted for assessment and reach a reasoned conclusion on their quality.

It involves a single framework for assessment across all disciplines, with a common set of data, standard definitions and procedures, and assessment by expert panels against broad generic criteria that is funded by: Research England, the Scottish Funding Council (SFC), the Higher Education Funding Council for Wales (HEFCW), and the Department for the Economy, Northern Ireland (DfE).

The government invests around £2billion pounds a year in university research and the REF determines how this is allocated providing accountability to the public and benchmarking and "reputational yardsticks". There are some basic principles behind the REF:

Equity: All types of research and all forms of research output across all disciplines are assessed on a fair and equal basis. Panels have been instructed to recognise and treat on an equal footing excellence in research across the spectrum of applied, practice-based, basic and strategic research, **wherever** that research is conducted attaching **no greater** weight to one form over another.

Equality: HEIs are strongly encouraged to embed equality and diversity regarding their processes for submitting staff and outputs.

Transparency: The credibility of the REF is reinforced by transparency in the decision-making process.

The REF is important to your institution because it is obliged to submit for assessment all academics with research obligations in order to continue getting mainstream funding. It is also seen as a measure of reputation and benchmarking for receiving research funding. The REF is important to you because it measures your research and your future career will depend more and more on your research record with promotions linked to it as well as pay. A good research record that is submittable to the REF will be valued.

Hefce defines research as:

… a process of **investigation** leading to **new** insights, effectively **shared.**

It **includes** work of direct relevance to the needs of commerce, industry, and to the public and voluntary sectors; scholarship; the invention and generation of ideas, images, performances, artefacts including design, where these lead to new or substantially improved insights; and the use of existing knowledge in experimental development to produce new or substantially improved materials, devices, products and processes, including design and construction.

It **includes any** research that is published, disseminated or made publicly available.

There are some important points to note about the research and the way the panels assess it:
* They do not assess how that research is disseminated;
* Each research output should be original research;
* The research should be done to advance knowledge or understanding.

What is assessed?

The sub-panels assess the quality of submitted research outputs in terms of their 'originality, significance and rigour' and the outputs submitted are worth **60 per cent of** the overall outcome.

The sub-panels also assess the 'reach and significance' of impact of the research and this element carries a weighting of **25 per cent.** Impact is the effect on, change or benefit to society **beyond academia**. Impacts on research or the advancement of academic knowledge within higher education are **excluded**. Impact is evidenced by case studies; the number of studies is determined by the number of FTE staff submitted with two case studies for up to 20 FTE staff and an additional case study for each extra 15 FTE staff.

Finally the sub-panels will assess the research environment in terms of its 'vitality and sustainability' that includes the approach to enabling impact from research, and its contribution to the vitality and sustainability of the wider discipline or research base. This element will carry a weighting of **15 per cent.**

All staff on a part-time or full-time teaching and research contract (normal academic contract) are classed as Category A staff and must be submitted to the REF.

Hefce identifies staff with significant responsibility for research are those who:

a. Are given explicit time and resources for research;
b. Engage actively in independent research;
c. Have research as an expectation of their job role.

An institution submitting to a panel has to submit 2.5 outputs per FTE member of staff. All staff must submit at least one output but no member of staff can submit more than five outputs. Co-authored outputs can be excluded from that maximum if submitted by the other author. Early career researchers, family leave and other circumstances can be taken into consideration. These new rules mean co-authoring becomes more important: a researcher working with a more experienced colleague could be allowed to submit a joint paper under their own name because the other co-author already has a maximum of 5 (presumably 4-star) outputs to submit.

Sub panels accept a wide range of output types as long as they are research. Only the quality of the research is measured. Any of the following can be assessed:
* Peer reviewed journal articles: (classic output, typically 60-70% of submissions);
* Journal articles or conference proceedings that are not peer reviewed;
* Books, including textbooks, but remember there must be research;
* Book chapters. Perfectly acceptable, but beware of originality and significance;
* Non-text outputs: films, journalism, fiction, websites, TV, etc; provided they are research and not just practice
* Physical artefacts;
* Exhibitions and performance;
* Digital artefacts.

Citations

Some sub-panels – mainly science – will consider citation numbers. Those panels that use citation information will continue to rely on expert review as the primary means of assessment.

The funding bodies suggest that HEIs do not rely on citation information but rely on highest-quality research. UoA34 does not use, indeed no panel D sub panel uses, citations. It's also worth noting that journal rankings (where they exist) play no part in the REF, whatever your senior management might believe.

Many HEIs will often play safe by only submitting traditional types of outputs and they may also be concerned about linking impact and research. Large submissions can be double weighted. A large monograph or major research report is well worth double weighting as they do impress expert panels who are only too well aware of the effort involved compared with some other forms of research. Some institutions, though, are nervous about double submissions as they are seen as being riskier.

Output Assessment sub-profile

Four star:	Quality that is world-leading in terms of originality, significance and rigour.
Three star:	Quality that is internationally excellent in terms of originality, significance and rigour but which falls short of the highest standards of excellence.
Two star:	Quality that is recognised internationally in terms of originality, significance and rigour.
One star:	Quality that is recognised nationally in terms of originality, significance and rigour.
Unclassified:	Quality that falls below the standard of nationally recognised work. Or work which does not meet the published definition of research for the purposes of this assessment.

Guidance on assessment

World-leading: Whilst the theory of relativity would be a world-leading submission the bar is not normally set so high and four-star work does not necessarily need to be world leading in all three criteria. It would be world-leading in at least two and three star or better in the third.

Originality is important. Does this take theory in to a new area? Does the paper provide essential data in its field? Is it research that other researchers couldn't fail to use?

World-leading rigour: Is the research methodology sound? Does the data stand up to the harshest of criticism? Could it have been done in a more rigorous way?

World-leading significance: Is the research a must for those working in that field? Does it have the "wow" factor? Is it likely to be regularly cited by others?

Internationally Excellent research work would show many of the qualities of World-leading but is more likely to be a variation on other research and will lack the clear originality of 4* research.

unit.

Open access publication

To be eligible for submission, authors' outputs must have been deposited in an institutional or subject repository. The requirement applies only to journal articles and conference proceedings with an International Standard Serial Number. It will not apply to monographs, book chapters, other long-form publications, working papers, creative or practice-based research outputs, or data.

ALCS - helping to put the cash back into *your* pocket

Secondary publishing rights can earn you money, writes Chris Frost, but you need to make sure you get what you deserve.

This issue of Journalism Education is packed with the hard work of 14 authors, none of whom have been paid for it – yet.

Academic journals regularly use the hard graft of over-worked academics without any plans to pay and we accept that because publication is a major career advancer. But is there a way to earn a little money from it, a little jam on the bread and butter of academic writing?

Yes, there is. Secondary rights fees may not be a major source of income, but they are a welcome addition to the household budget.

The Authors' Licensing and Collecting Society is a not-for-profit organisation started by writers for writers. It arranges the collection of secondary rights fees and their distribution to authors. If you have ever written an article, book or poem the ALCS can arrange to collect any money due from a university or other user who has photocopied the work for any reason.

Many of us write academic papers or books and our colleagues routinely photocopy them to hand out to students or email as PDFs. ALCS does its best to find out who photocopies what and ensure that authors are fairly compensated from the licensing fees paid by universities and others.

Joining the ALCS is easy and can be done online at www.alcs.co.uk. Once you become a member you can claim for articles, papers, TV and radio scripts, books or contributions to books by filling in the details on the website. Once ALCS has confirmed your right to claim they will send a payment in March and September (for certain types of fee). Lifetime membership is £36 but this is deducted from your first payment(s).

The ALCS collects the fees from a variety of sources: Fees from UK photocopying and scanning is collected by the Copyright Licensing Agency or the Publishers' Licensing Services. These sell licenses to government agencies, educational establishments or businesses. Overseas public lending rights are another source of income with many countries having some sort of Public Lending Rights scheme such as the one in the UK.Educational recording is covered by the Educational Recording Agency which licenses educational establishments and collects fees. Most European countries charge a levy on the sale of copying equipment that is used to compensate authors and other creatives.

The ALCS has more than 100,000 members and collects nearly £35m for distribution. It charges a fee of 9.6 percent to cover costs.

The CLA collects the photocopying income in the UK. It sells licences to universities and then regularly and randomly audits what is being copied. You may occasionally see, by your favourite photocopier, a box with a sign instructing you to photocopy the title page of anything you photocopy that is the work of another, and write on it the number of copies taken and the page numbers involved, or article title. This is not another example of pointless university bureaucracy but is to allow the CLA to identify for ALCS whose work is being copied and how much. Ignoring the request to join the audit is to do your colleagues a massive disfavour as failing to complete the audit is to essentially deprive them of income. Every article in this journal (including this one!) can be picked up in the audit and then included in the next payout.

The ALCS is run by its members, and if you are doing any publishing at all, then you should join. You'll probably not earn a fortune, but you will get some regular and useful recompense for your creative academic work.

For further information contact: www.cla.co.uk or www.ALCS.co.uk

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.

Technology use in Canadian newsrooms: there's social media and then everything else

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Abstract

In this study we examine the different kinds of technological skills that journalism school graduates are expected to have in order to meet expectations in the workplace. We also examine what kinds of technology areas are seen as useful for the practice of journalism, based upon data obtained from newsroom leaders and from recent graduates of a university journalism programme. We find that technology-oriented tasks related to social media are by far the most commonly used in Canadian newsrooms to-

day. But we also find that there are many technologies, which are not used as commonly, but which are viewed as very useful by newsroom leaders and recent graduates. Both respondent groups indicated they would use many of these technologies more than they currently do, in an ideal world. This study adds another dimension to the long-standing issue of whether journalism programmes should play a more proactive role in technology use or should hew more closely to industry needs.

Keywords: Journalism education, technology, digital, social media

Introduction

The purpose of this study is to shed some light on the kinds of technological skills that are in demand and in use in Canada's newsrooms. A recent study (Wenger et al., 2018) examining journalism job postings in the U.S. in 2010 and 2015 found that "the traditional print or TV job is, in many ways, a thing of the past" (33).

In particular, the researchers found that the demand for web/multimedia skills had increased sharply. "As recently as 5 years ago, no more than a third of positions (33%) required web/multimedia skills—now it is nearly two thirds of all jobs (62%)" (Ibid.).

This study attempts to clarify with more precision the type of multimedia or technology-oriented tasks that young journalists are now expected to perform when they finish their programmes. It is anticipated that this information will be useful for journalism educators, particularly those who may develop and teach technology-oriented workshop courses or who are working to adapt programme curricula to rapid technological change.

What this study does not try to do is compare the importance of technological skills and abilities with what might generally believed to be fundamental journalism skills, such as critical thinking, the ability to research and write a good story, or interview people effectively.

Previous studies have found that these fundamental skills and abilities consistently rank higher in importance than the ability to produce interactive graphics, for example. In a U.S. study, Fahmy (2008), concluded that "while students should continue to learn about convergence to be familiar with the multiplatform reporting trend and how it will evolve, they should still concentrate on excellence in traditional journalism skills" (34).

A study in Western Australia (Callaghan and McManus, 2010) found that the skills and characteristics rated most highly by news employers were the ability to learn, good spelling, grammar and punctuation, enthusiasm and clarity of writing. And a U.S. study into desired skills in sports journalism (Ketterer et al., 2014) found that writing ability was perceived to be the most important among many different skills. The researchers concluded that "[a]s journalism and mass communication programmes continue making revisions to their curricula for addressing convergence journalism, these findings should be a reminder that even as new technology comes into newsrooms, the skills to construct and tell good stories remain the cornerstones upon which good journalists are created" (293-294).

And as one of the newsroom leaders in the current study put it: "I find journalism students need to focus on the basics of writing, interviewing and storytelling. Technological skills are important but at the end of the day, good basic journalism skills are what most hiring managers look for" (open-ended survey response).

This study assumes as a starting point that the importance of these fundamental skills and abilities is a given. However, it almost goes without saying that the media landscape has changed dramatically with the popularization of the World Wide Web in the mid 1990s, the founding of social media platforms such as Facebook (2004) and Twitter (2006) and the release of the first iPhone in 2007. Researchers and profes-

sionals often refer to the 'convergence' taking place in the news media, wherein a newspaper's newsroom now produces written words but also video, audio and other content in various multimedia formats, or, conversely, a broadcast newsroom now produces more written journalism as well. Ureta and Fernandez (2018) refer to media convergence as "a gradual phenomenon of coordination between two or more media with consequences for the newsroom floor, content production processes and journalists' profiles" (878).

They report that journalists who are trained across the different media types are in demand by news organizations. "Specifically, online journalists are expected to have more skills and be more adept at cross-media reporting than their counterparts in print and broadcast media, as well as to demonstrate a special capacity for cooperative effort and teamwork" (Ibid.).

In an open-ended response, one newsroom leader in the current study expressed a desire for journalism programmes to be mindful of how they prepare their students for such a 'converged' media landscape: "I'm hoping the final data suggests that journalism programmemes in Canada need to adapt curriculum to better reflect the jobs that currently exist in media. You can't just specialize in 'print' or 'TV' anymore. Everyone is doing everything, and students who have recently interned with me aren't coming out of their programmeme with nearly enough training. I know our J-Schools can adapt and meet this challenge."

This raises one issue that is somewhat controversial among journalism educators, namely the extent to which students even need technology-oriented training (though the respondent just cited evidently believes that such training is required and even expected). Some researchers have suggested that the young people now entering journalism programmes need little or none.

"[T]hese are the kids who grew up online, whose childhoods evolved in a virtual universe as interactive and age-blind as it was dynamic and immediate," wrote Dianne Lynch for Nieman Reports in 2007. As a result, she wrote, journalism educators "need to stop teaching software (except, perhaps, to each other). Our students will come to us knowing it, or knowing they can learn it when they need to."

Other researchers have cast doubt on this idea. Hirst and Treadwell (2011) found, for example, that journalism students "are not professionally competent using media production technologies." They wrote that "in our experience many students are 'instrumental learners' focused on grades, assignments and outcomes; if something is not in the syllabus, does not attract marks or requires extra-curricular work; then it is an imposition" (450).

In another study that was focused on using social media, Bor (2014) concluded that "[b]ased on the present analysis, it appears that millennial students still require some instruction on using web-based platforms, and the importance of mastering technical skills in the classroom is enhanced by industry requests for technologically savvy job applicants who possess an array of multimedia skills such as posting content to the web" (252).

In the current study, one open-ended comment for a recent journalism programme graduate is notable: "I think doing a deep-dive into how to use Facebook (during training at my current job we actually had a [Facebook] session and it was useful) and practicing how to live-tweet more in j-school would have been great skills to really perfect while I was still in school. Also, teaching people how to get Facebook messages to go through without being the person you're messaging's friend is really important – I literally learned this last week and can't believe I didn't know before."

This comment suggests that students may still have things to learn about some of the functional aspects of social media platforms despite the fact that they use them regularly.

Assuming that journalism educators feel that some technology-oriented training should be part of a journalism programme, the question is what kinds of technologies or platforms should be included in that training. This study provides three different data points that help shed some light on this question: what kinds of technology-oriented abilities are currently in demand in Canadian newsrooms; what kind of technologies do newsroom leaders and recent graduates feel are useful for the work of journalists; and what kinds of technologies would newsroom leaders and recent graduates use more (or less) of, in an ideal world?

Methods

This study was conducted by surveying two different subject groups: newsroom leaders; and recent graduates of a Canadian university journalism programme. Each group was invited to participate in a separate survey, though each of the two surveys had some common questions. This approach was intended to allow a comparative analysis. Both surveys were developed using SurveyMonkey and each survey was pilot tested on members of the target groups. The surveys were revised based upon feedback from those target group members.

The newsroom leaders were drawn from a list compiled of news organizations in Canada that provide general news and information in English. Specialty publications focusing on such areas as fashion, real estate or personal finance were not included. The newsroom leaders had a variety of job titles, depending upon the kind of medium in which the organization produced news. For example, the personnel in broadcast were

typically executive producers or news directors. Personnel working in print media were often managing editors or editors in chief.

In all, 119 newsroom leaders were contacted by email and invited to participate in the newsroom survey. A total of 67 took the survey, a response rate of just over 56 per cent.

Recent graduates of a major Canadian university journalism programme were invited to participate in the recent graduate survey. The recruitment email was sent to 351 graduates. It is difficult to say what the precise response rate was since it's unclear how many recent graduates received the email invitation. That invitation was sent to the university email addresses and the researcher heard anecdotally that former students do not continue to use these email addresses indefinitely. However, the survey email was sent to people who had graduated from a university journalism programme between 2014 and 2017, and there were 114 respondents so the response rate was no lower than 32 per cent.

Results

Graduates' characteristics

Recent graduates were asked whether they had attained work in an area related to their journalism degree. As illustrated in Fig. 1, the most common response was full-time staff, followed by freelance, contract and casual.

Note that this question allowed multiple responses, so the number of respondents (206) is greater than the number of overall survey respondents (114). One possible interpretation is that recent graduates have moved from one kind of position to another over some period of time. It is possible, for example, that a recent graduate would have a paid internship for a period of time and then attain a full-time position. But it also appears, as illustrated below, that many recent graduates are also doing more than one job at any given time. These two possibilities are neither mutually exclusive nor exhaustive. Further research on the workplace

Fig 1: Journalism graduates' responses to the question: "Since completing your degree, have you held a position that uses some of the skills you acquired in the journalism program?"

specifics for recent journalism graduates could be valuable for journalism educators. However, journalism educators may find it encouraging that the 'full-time staff' response was by far the most common.

Respondents were also asked about the field in which they were working. As illustrated in Fig. 2, (over page) journalism was the most common, followed by communications and public relations.

As with the previous question, respondents could provide more than one response, which explains why the total number of respondents to this question (151) is larger than the number of overall survey respondents (114).

Of the respondents who indicated they were primarily doing journalism work, the most common job type was reporter/writer, followed by online and editor, as illustrated in Fig. 3.

The 'online' category included tasks related specifically to social media and website management.

Articles

Please indicate the kind of work you are primarily doing

Journalism	80
Communications	43
Public Relations	15
Advertising	7
Marketing	8
Design	1

Number of respondents
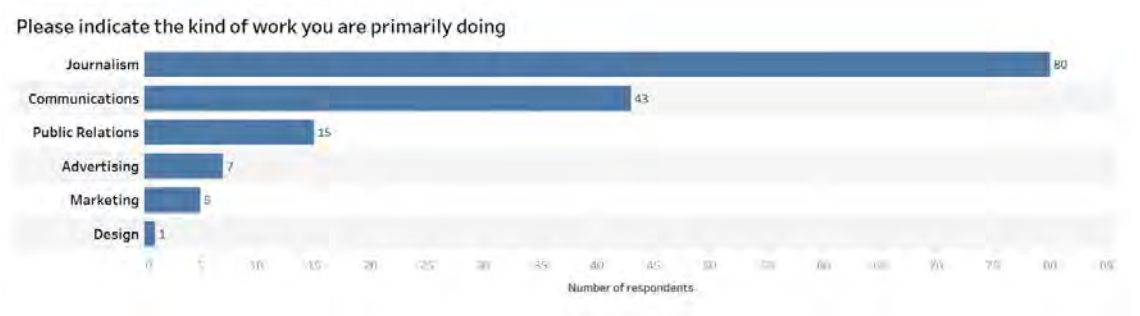
Fig 2: Journalism graduates' responses to the question: "If 'yes' (have held a position related to your journalism degree), please indicate the kind of work you are primarily doing."

As illustrated in Fig. 4, respondents overwhelmingly reported working for organizations that employ a relatively small number of people who produce news and information.

While this study does not examine the size of Canada's newsrooms over time, the extent to which recent graduates are working in workplaces with relatively few people is striking. It is possible that newsrooms, which once had more reporters, photographers, editors and paginators, are now operating with fewer staff.

Reported job types for those who indicated "journalism":

Reporter/writer	66
Online	46
Editor	28
Photographer	26
Producer	25
Videographer	20

Number of respondents
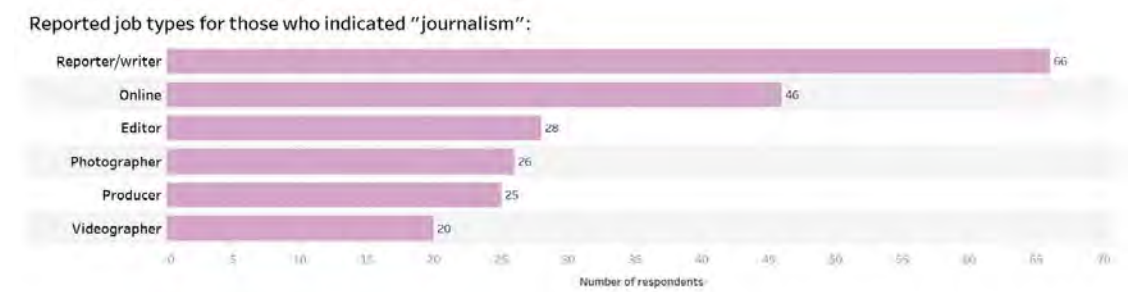
Fig. 3: Journalism graduates' responses to the question: "If 'yes' (have held a position related to your journalism degree), please indicate the kind of work you are primarily doing."

This would be consistent with the all-too-familiar story line of journalism job losses in Canada and elsewhere. In a presentation to the House of Commons Heritage Committee (Standing Committee report, 2017), members of the Local News Research Project based at Ryerson University noted that between 2008 and

Please indicate the number of people in the organization you work for who produce editorial or creative content:

1 to 25	61
26 to 50	11
51 to 100	11
101 to 500	4
More than 500	9

Number of respondents

Fig. 4: Journalism graduates' responses to the question: "Please indicate the number of people in the organization you work for who produce editorial or creative content."

2016, there had been 169 closures of local news outlets in 131 communities across Canada.

Data from the Canadian Media Guild (Wong, 2013) showed thousands of job losses in Canadian media industries between 2008 and 2013. And in the U.S., the Bureau of Labor Statistics reported that in "June 1990, there were nearly 458,000 people employed in the newspaper publishing industry; by March 2016, that figure had fallen to about 183,000, a decline of almost 60 percent." Some news outlets have disappeared while others are operating with fewer people producing editorial content.

The other factor that appears to be at play is the rise in digital-only news organizations. The same U.S.

Articles

Bureau of Labor Statistics report noted that over the same period, "employment in Internet publishing and broadcasting rose from about 30,000 to nearly 198,000." Similarly, between 2008 and 2015 the Local News Research Project documented the launch of 53 local news outlets. Many of those are what the researchers describe as digital-first news sites. As illustrated in Fig. 5, respondents in the current study were far more likely to report working for a digital-first news site than newspapers, magazines and broadcast-based news organizations. It is possible that digital-first news organizations operate with a relatively small number of people who produce editorial content.

Finally, as illustrated in Fig. 6, nearly 45 per cent of respondents said that they had more than one job. Of those respondents, nearly 90 per cent reported that their other job was related to their journalism degrees.

This might suggest, for instance, that the respondents who reported doing freelance, part-time or casual work were doing work for more than one organization.

Newsroom leader characteristics

Respondents from the newsroom leader survey most commonly reported 'daily newspaper' as their pri-
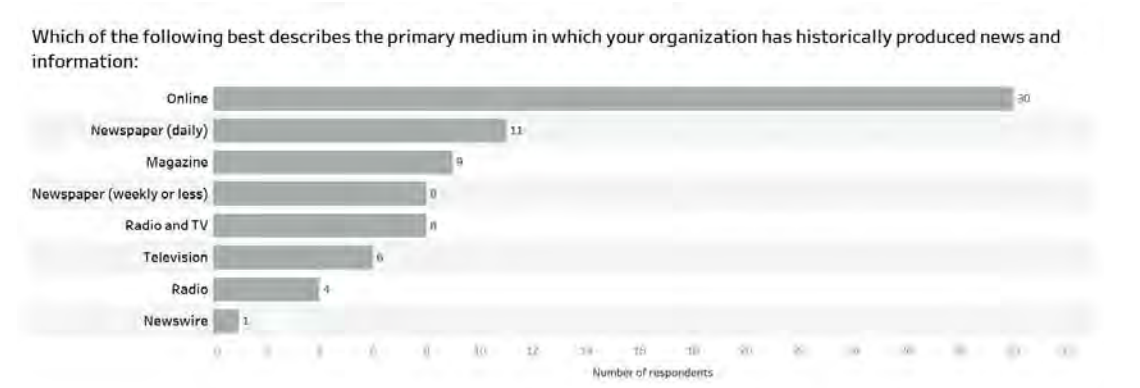
Fig. 5: Journalism graduates' responses to the question: "If you have done journalism work, which of the following best describes primary medium in which your organization has historically produced news and information."

mary historical medium. As illustrated in Fig. 7, 'television' was the second most common medium, followed by 'online'.
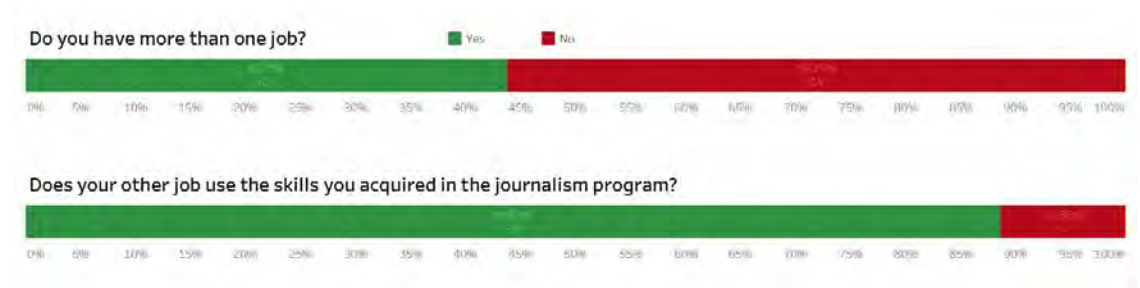
Fig. 6: Journalism graduates' responses to the questions: "Do you have more than one job?" and (If so) does your other job use the skills you acquired in the journalism program?"

Newsroom leaders were also most likely to report working in small organizations. As illustrated in Fig. 8, the smallest newsroom size was by far the most commonly cited.

Skills importance

Before examining specific results on technology usage, it should be noted that respondents were not asked about the usage of specific software packages. While newsrooms and journalism programmes have to make decisions about which software to adopt, the purpose of this study is to try and capture the broader tasks

Newsroom respondents by primary medium in which organizations have historically produced news
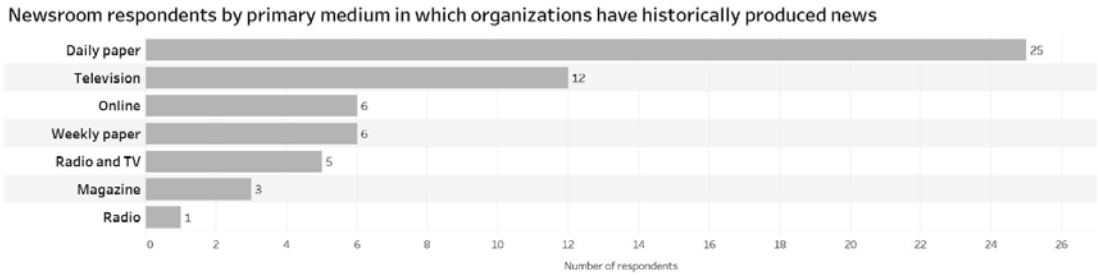
Fig. 7: Newsroom leaders' responses to the question: "Which of the following best describes the primary medium in which your organization has historically produced news."

Respondents by newsroom size
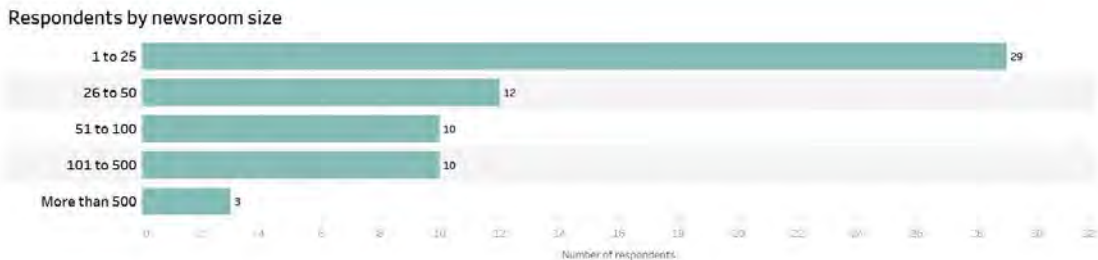
Fig. 8: Newsroom leaders' responses to the question: "Please indicate the number of people who produce editorial content in your organization."

that software facilitates. In part, it is hoped this approach will help avoid the issue of software obsolescence.

For example, a study on journalism skills in Hong Kong (Du, 2014) identified software packages such as Flash, Soundslides and Dreamweaver. These packages have questionable relevance in 2018. Adobe announced (The Guardian, 2017) that it will retire Flash by the end of 2020, roughly a decade after Apple announced it would not support the technology on iPhones. However, in cases where Flash was used primarily for creating animated graphics, developers are now able to use HTML5, among various options.

Soundslides was discontinued on Dec. 8, 2018. But journalists can just as easily create an audio slideshow with iMovie or Adobe Premiere and upload it to YouTube, Vimeo or other video hosting service. Similarly, where journalism students might have learned how to create a website using Dreamweaver, they now have the option of creating a site by installing WordPress, adding plugins and tweaking the Cascading Style Sheets.

So, while many software packages are not likely to be as commonly used in 2018 as in years past, many of the overall objectives for which the software is designed may be as relevant as ever.

Newsroom leaders and recent graduates were asked about the use of digital skills in the media workplaces, though the questions were phrased differently for each group. Recent graduates were asked: "Please indicate the frequency with which you perform the following tasks as part of your regular job." Newsroom leaders were asked: "Please indicate the frequency with which you would expect young journalists to perform the following tasks." In both cases, responses were provided on a five-point Likert scale from 1 (Never) to 5 (Very Frequently).

Fig. 9 shows the responses for newsroom leaders sorted by the percentage of respondents who indicated "very frequently."

Among the more notable features of these results is the reported importance of tasks related to social media. Nearly 94 per cent of respondents indicated that they expect young journalists to use social media for research and finding contacts/sources very frequently. Also notable is that not a single respondent answered 'never,' 'rarely,' or even 'occasionally' to this question. Disseminating information on social media had a similar profile, with nearly 86 per cent of respondents indicating 'very frequently.'

Of the three top tasks related to social media, none had a single 'never' response. Only the "report on live events through social media" had 'never' responses (7.94 per cent).

Articles

Please indicate the frequency you would expect young journalists to perform the following tasks:
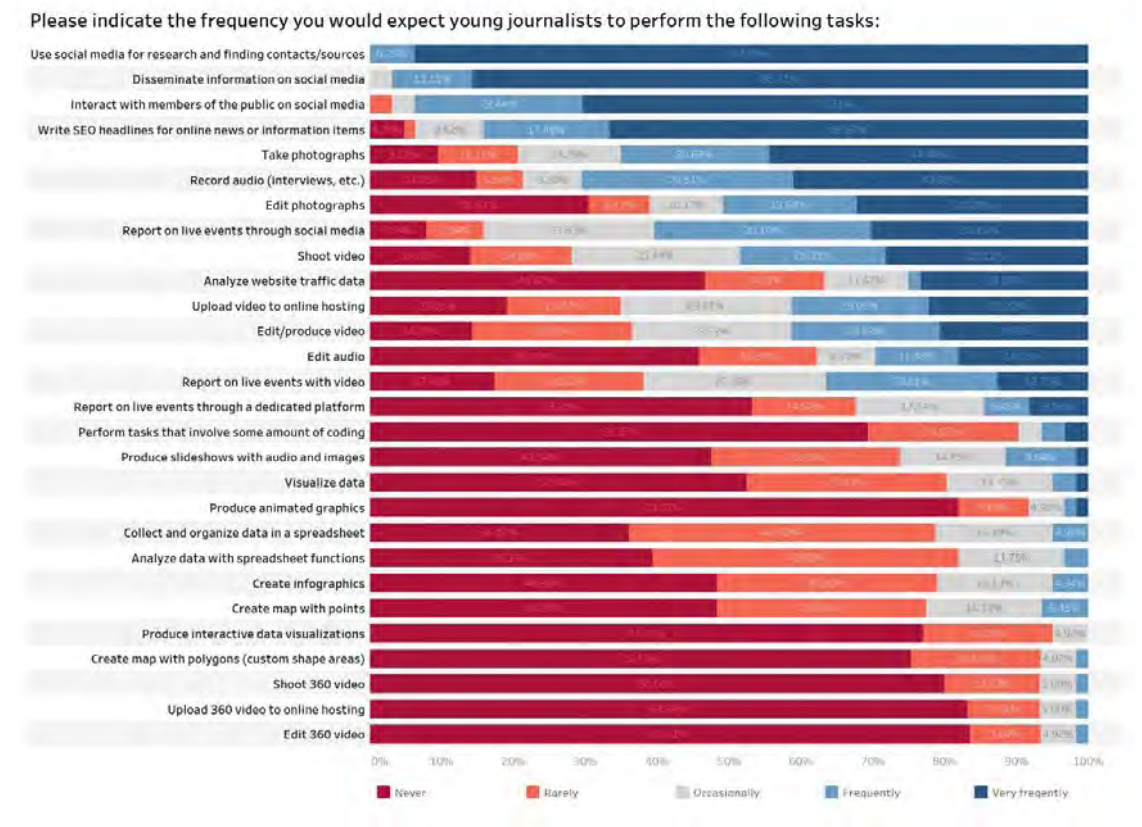
Fig. 9: Newsroom leaders' responses to the question: "Please indicate the frequency with which you would expect young journalists to perform the following tasks."

Apart from tasks related to social media, writing search engine optimized (SEO) headlines was the task newsroom leaders most commonly expected young journalists to perform frequently.

Broadly speaking, most respondents expected young journalists to perform tasks related to photo, audio and video production at least occasionally. However, it is notable that many more respondents indicated that they would 'never' expect young journalists to edit photographs (30.5 per cent) as compared with taking photographs (9.5 per cent).

Further down the list, there are many tasks that a majority of respondents indicated they would 'never' expect young journalists to perform, including working with 360 photos and video, producing animated graphics, doing coding work, creating polygon-based maps, visualizing data, and reporting on live events though a dedicated platform (i.e. other than social media).

Fig. 10 (over page) shows the same list of tasks as reported by recent graduates.

Note that while the recent graduates did not report doing the top technology tasks with the same degree of frequency, the order of the top four tasks, when organized by the "very frequently" response, is identical to the newsroom leaders ranking: 'use social media for research and finding contacts/sources,' followed by 'disseminate information on social media,' then 'interact with members of the public on social media' and finally 'write SEO headlines for online news or information items.'

(The comparison between newsroom leaders and recent graduates was intended to provide a broad measure of consistency. This study makes no claims to have established any formal statistical relevance between the responses from the two survey groups.)

All of the tasks to which a majority of the newsroom group responded 'never' got similar responses from the recent graduates. Large majorities reported that they never do the following tasks: working with 360 photos and video; producing animated graphics; doing coding work; creating polygon-based maps; visualizing data; and reporting on live events though a dedicated platform (i.e. other than social media).

Fig. 11 shows the mean Likert-scale response for both survey groups sorted by the average (highest to lowest) of the responses from each group.

One possible reason that tasks related to social media are performed more frequently is that they are more

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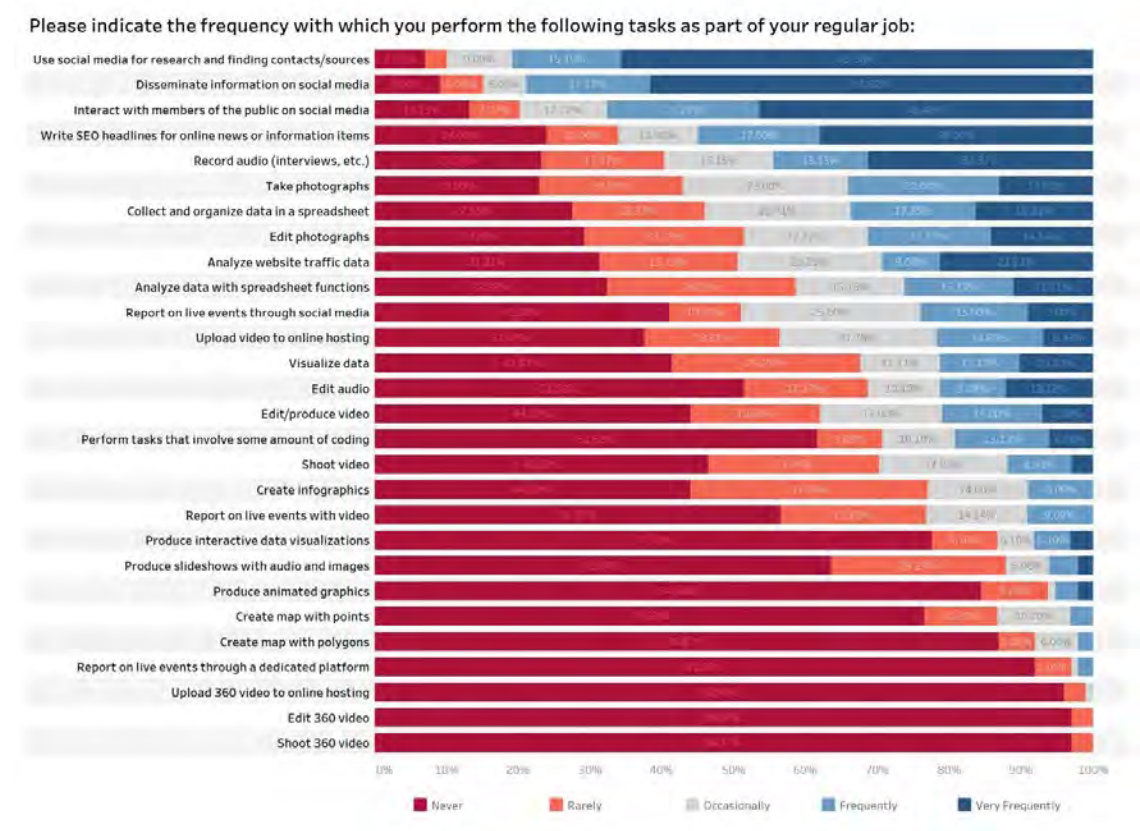
Fig. 10: Journalism graduates' responses to the question: "Please indicate the frequency with which you perform the following tasks as part of your regular job."

broadly applicable to the work of journalists. For example, most stories a journalist produces could conceivably have involved some research on social media. Similarly, every story could presumably be disseminated on social media. Conversely, not every story would involve a data component.

As illustrated over page (Fig. 11), the reported task frequencies are, in most cases, higher among newsroom respondents than recent graduates. The differences in mean responses from each group should not be overstated: While graduates were asked to assess the frequency with which they perform certain tasks, newsroom leaders were asked about their expectations of young journalists to perform such tasks. It could be that newsroom leaders are conveying a more idealized picture. However, it is notable that the relative ranking of the different technology-oriented tasks is very similar for each group.

But there are some exceptions to this pattern. For example, recent graduates reported collecting and organizing data in a spreadsheet more frequently (mean Likert-scale score of 2.8) than newsroom leaders expected (1.9). Perhaps not surprisingly, given the similarity of the task, recent graduates reported analyzing data with spreadsheet functions more frequently (2.5) than newsroom leaders expected (1.8) as well as visualizing data (2.2 compared with 1.7).

Technology potential

Both respondent groups were also asked to rate the potential usefulness of different specialized technology areas. In particular, they were asked: "Please indicate the extent to which you feel the following are useful, or potentially useful, for the practice of journalism." Note that the different responses to this question are broader than those related to the task frequency questions. For example, 'videography' would presumably include shooting and editing video while 'interactive maps' could be either a map with points or a map with areas (polygons). Similarly, 'online audience engagement' might be mediated by social media, but might
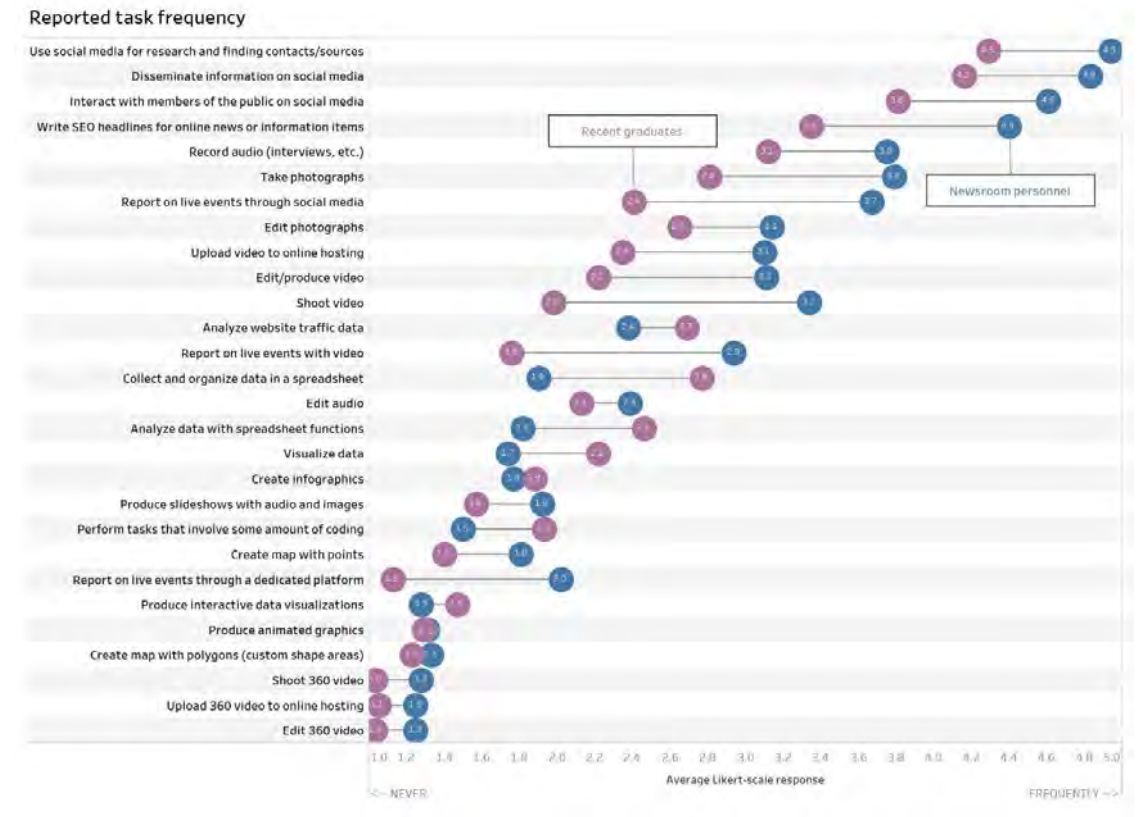
Fig. 11: Comparing responses from newsroom leaders and recent journalism graduates on the frequency of technology-related tasks.

also be mediated by smaller, organization-specific platforms. Fig. 12 (over page) shows the results for newsroom leaders sorted by the percentage of respondents who rated a particular technology as 'very useful'.

Fig. 13 (over page) shows the results of the same question from the recent graduates, also sorted by the percentage of respondents who replied 'very useful' to each of the tasks.

As with the reported task frequency data, a larger proportion of recent graduates rated many of the different tasks as 'very useful' as compared with the newsroom leaders. For example, the most commonly cited 'very useful' task for recent graduates was photography, with just over 76 per cent of those respondents reporting it to be very useful. The most commonly cited 'very useful' task for newsroom leaders was databases, with just over 66 per cent of those respondents reporting it to be very useful. However, there are similarities between the two respondent groups on this question. Notably, all the eight tasks which at least 50 per cent of newsroom leaders deemed to be 'very useful' were also the most highly ranked top eight tasks for recent graduates, as illustrated (with the percentage of each respondent group that rated the technology area as 'very useful'):

Table 1: Technology areas usefulness ranking.

Technology area	Newsroom ranking	Graduates' ranking
Databases	1 (66.7)	5 (67.7)
Interactive maps	2 (66.7)	8 (62.5)
Videography	3 (62.5)	4 (68.8)
Photography	4 (59.4)	1 (76)
Podcasting	5 (57.8)	7 (63.5)
Online audience engagement	6 (57.8)	6 (65.3)
Data visualization	7 (54.7)	2 (72.9)
Mobile apps	8 (51.6)	3 (68.8)

Articles

Please indicate the extent to which you feel the following are useful, or potentially useful, for the practice of journalism:
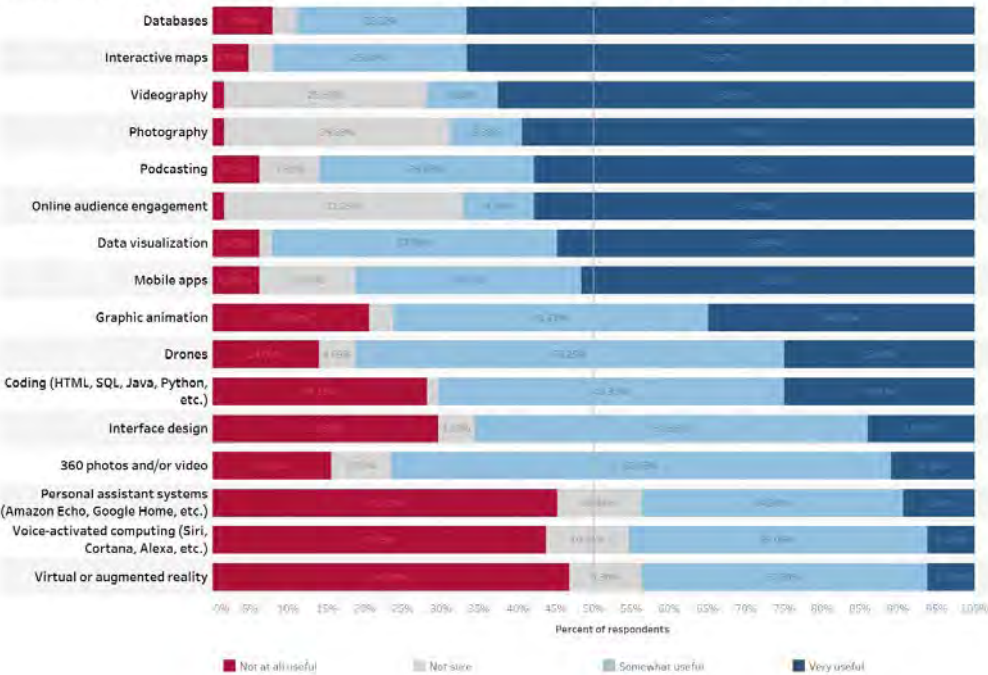
Fig. 12: Newsroom leaders' responses to the question: "Please indicate the extent to which you feel the following technologies or technology-related tasks are useful, or potentially useful, for the practice of journalism."

Please indicate the extent to which you feel the following are useful, or potentially useful, for the practice of journalism:
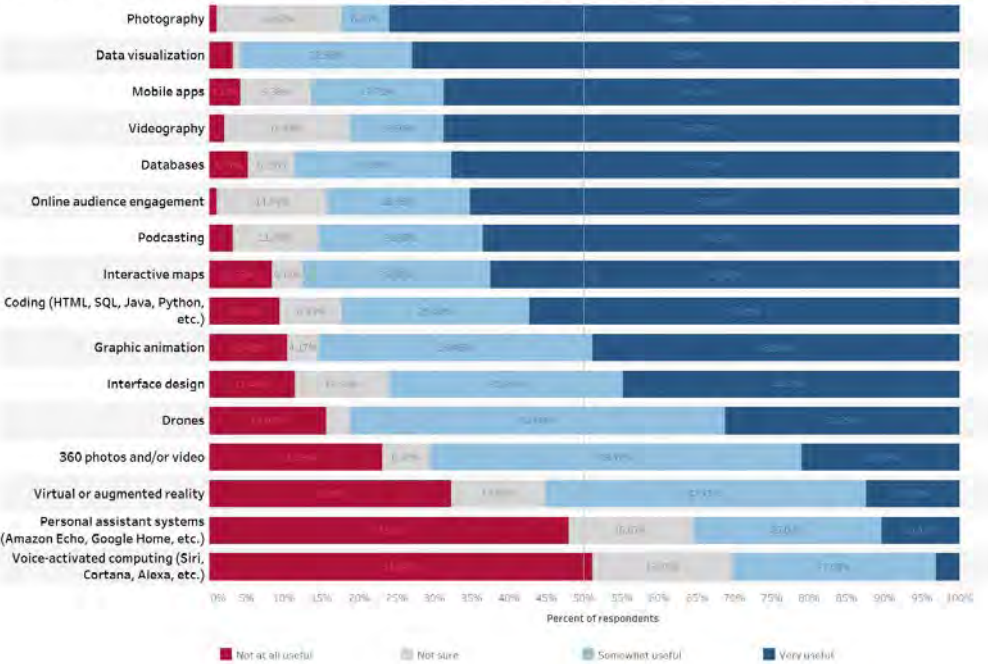
Fig. 13: Journalism graduates' responses to the question: "Please indicate the extent to which you feel the following technologies or technology-related tasks are useful, or potentially useful, for the practice of journalism."

Articles

Use more/less

This study employed one additional measure of the attitudes that newsroom leaders and recent graduates have towards technology areas. Respondents were asked whether, in an ideal world, they would use the listed technology areas less, more or about as frequently as they do now.

As illustrated in Fig. 14, just over 76 per cent of newsroom leaders indicated that they would use interactive maps more frequently, followed by podcasting, at 71 per cent. Respondents in this group also offered strong support for more frequent use of videography, databases, online audience engagement and data visualization.

As illustrated in Fig. 15 (over page), recent graduates again expressed somewhat higher rates of 'enthusiasm' for the different technology areas, with more than 77 per cent indicating they would use photography more, followed by data visualization (76 per cent), podcasting (75 per cent), videography (75 per cent) and interactive maps (69 per cent).

Almost all of the technology areas where at least 50 per cent of respondents reported they would use them more are common to both groups, with some variation in the relative rankings, as illustrated below (with the percentage of each group that replied 'would use more'):

Table 2: Technology areas respondent groups indicated they would use more.

Technology area	Newsroom ranking	Graduates' ranking
Interactive maps	1 (76.2)	5 (68.8)
Podcasting	2 (71.4)	3 (75)
Videography	3 (69.8)	4 (75)
Databases	4 (68.9)	6 (67.4)
Online audience engagement	5 (68.3)	9 (54.8)
Data visualization	6 (61.9)	2 (76.3)
Drones	7 (58.7)	10 (52.2)
Photography	8 (58.1)	1 (77.4)
Graphic animation	9 (57.1)	8 (62)
Mobile apps	10 (50.8)	- (48.4)
Coding	- (33.9)	7 (63)

Fig. 14: Newsroom leaders' responses to the question: "Of those same technologies, please indicate whether, in an ideal world, you would use them more, less or about the same as you do now."

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Please indicate whether, in an ideal world, you would use these more, less or about the same as you do now:

Photography
Data visualization
Podcasting
Videography
Interactive maps
Databases
Coding (HTML, SQL, Java, Python, etc.)
Graphic animation
Online audience engagement
Drones
Mobile apps
360 photos and/or video
Interface design
Virtual or augmented reality
Personal assistant systems (Amazon Echo, Google Home, etc.)
Voice-activated computing (Siri, Cortana, Alexa, etc.)

0% 5% 10% 15% 20% 25% 30% 35% 40% 45% 50% 55% 60% 65% 70% 75% 80% 85% 90% 95% 100%

Percent of respondents

Less   Not sure   About the same   Would use more
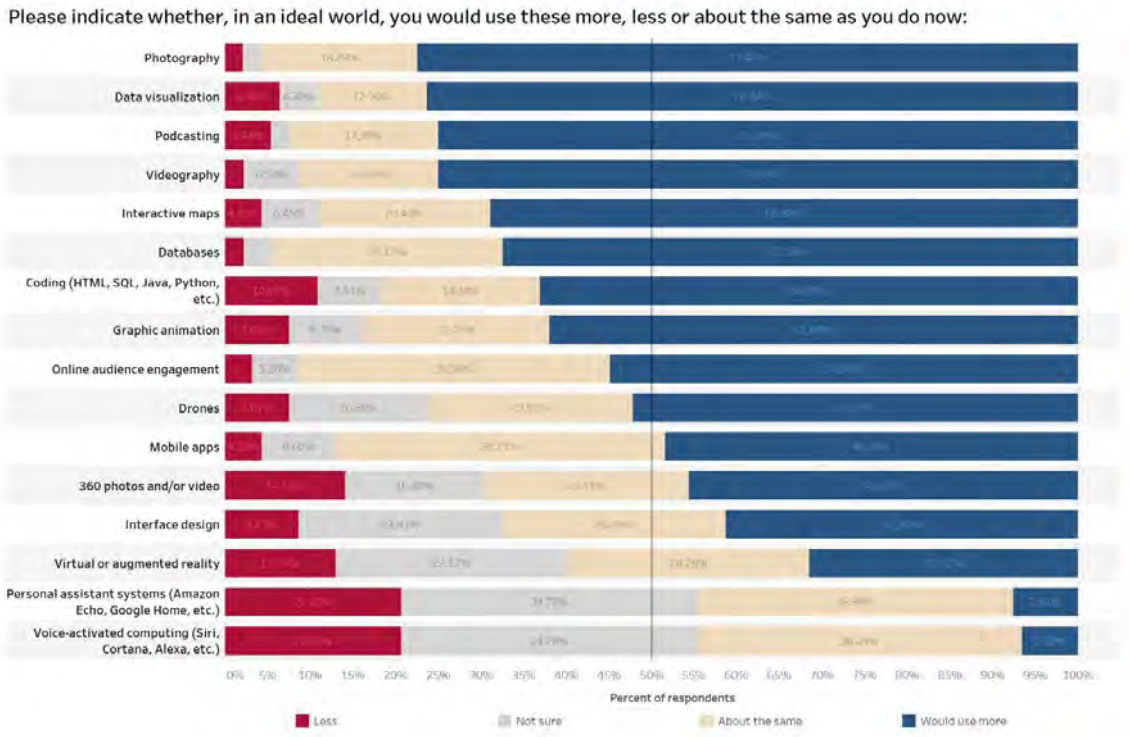
Fig. 15: Journalism graduates' responses to the question: "Of those same technologies, please indicate whether, in an ideal world, you would use them more, less or about the same as you do now."

Discussion
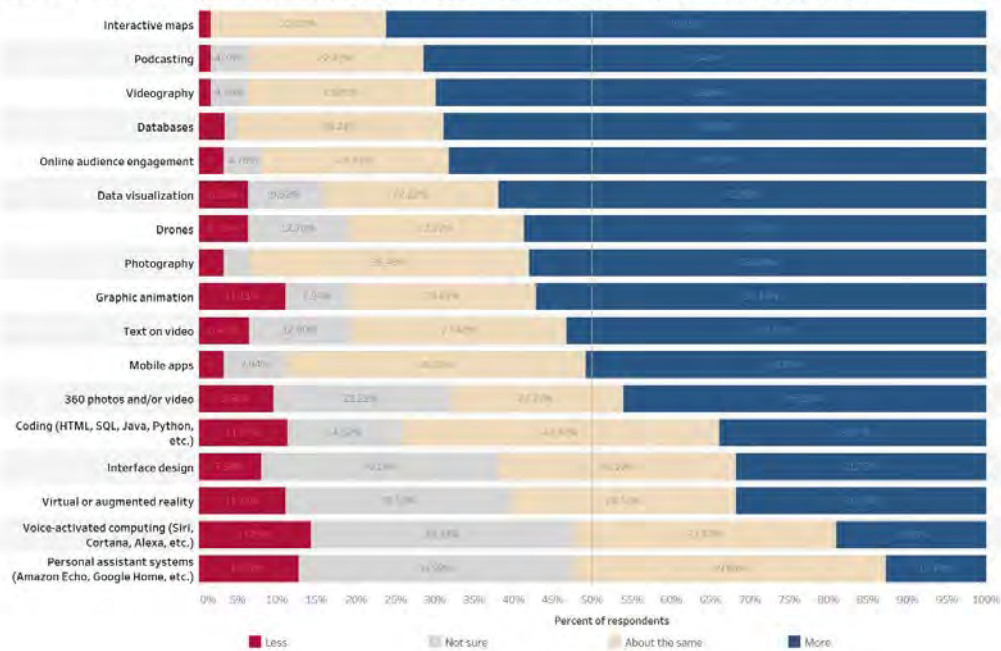
The purpose of this study is to provide some insight into the kind of digital skills or skills-related areas that might be included in a journalism programme. The data provides two different ways to approach this issue. The first emphasizes the kinds of skills and abilities that are currently in demand and currently in practice. The second emphasizes those that are seen as being useful – or potentially useful – for the practice of journalism and those that practitioners would employ more frequently in an ideal world.

Looking at current practice, it appears that skills and abilities around social media are in very ¬high demand. This is reflected in the responses from newsroom leaders and recent graduates to the questions about the frequency with which young journalists are expected to perform certain tasks. This may not come as a surprise to journalists, journalism educators or journalism students. According to a 2017 Canadian Digital News Report from the Reuters Institute (Brin, 2017), 48 per cent of Canadians cited social media as a source for news, compared with 70 per cent for TV, 33 per cent for print and 28 per cent for radio. (Online was cited by 76 per cent, though this included social media.) American news consumers also appear to be reliant on social media. A Pew Research study found that 45 per cent of American adults get news from Facebook, 18 per cent from YouTube and 11 per cent from Twitter (Pew, 2018). In other words, news organizations have good reason to believe that they need to play active roles on social media.

According to the data in this study, Canadian news organizations expect young journalists to play an important role in this space. As noted, of the tasks listed that newsroom managers expect young journalists to perform regularly, two out of the top three are "disseminating information on social media" and "interacting with members of the public on social media." In other words, young journalists a year or two out of their degree programmes are likely to find themselves being part of the public face of a news organization.

It's worth acknowledging here one of the limitations of this study, namely that it does not distinguish between all the different kinds of 'skills' that might be required to perform a particular technology-oriented task. For example, disseminating information on social media presumably involves softer skills associated

with effective communication as well as more technical skills associated with the social media platforms in question (including the tasks related to sending messages on Facebook cited by the recent graduate respondent quoted earlier). Interacting with members of the public on social media could potentially rely more heavily on good judgment and writing skills than on technical proficiency with a particular platform.

In a case study of a university broadcast journalism course that integrated social media, Bor (2014) identified four conceptual frames that contributed to successful teaching. "[A]pproaches to social media reporting instruction should emphasize the importance of ethics in an online environment, opportunities for career development, differences between personal and professional social media use, and instruction of technical skills" (248).

Students may learn and develop these various skills at different points of their journalism education and elsewhere. Nevertheless, tasks associated with research, dissemination and outreach using social media appear to be in high demand in Canadian newsrooms as of early 2018. The data also suggests that recent journalism graduates are actually performing these tasks with a high degree of frequency.

It also appears that newsroom leaders expect young journalists to work with audio, photography and video on a regular basis. Technology areas of photography, videography and podcasting (audio) also tended to be ranked highly in terms of their potential usefulness to journalism by both newsroom leaders and recent graduates.

Aside from current practice, there are a number of other tasks that don't appear to be performed frequently but are highly regarded as useful for the practice of journalism by both newsroom leaders and recent graduates. These include technology areas related to data (databases and visualization), interactive maps and mobile apps. As noted, a large percentage of both newsroom leaders and recent graduates indicated that they would use many of these technology areas more in an ideal world.

In its 2017 "Journalism That Stands Apart" report, the '2020 Group' at the New York Times suggested that online readers may now expect journalism to be more visual. In one example relating to maps, the 2020 group noted: "[n]ot enough of our report uses digital storytelling tools that allow for richer and more engaging journalism. Too much of our daily report remains dominated by long strings of text. … An example of the problem: When we ran a story in 2016 about the roiling debate over subway routes in New York, a reader mocked us in the comments for not including a simple map of the train line at the heart of the debate."

Assuming that the 2020 Group at the New York Times is correct in its assessment that online readers expect news to be more visual, where appropriate, journalism educators may want to ensure that their students have the ability to produce news and information in more visual ways. The obvious areas, such as photography and videography, already appear to be in demand. But newsroom leaders and recent graduates also expressed positive attitudes towards technology areas related to mapping and data, even though they report not making use of these technology areas very frequently.

Interestingly, it appears that recent graduates doing non-journalism work were much more likely to report doing tasks related to data than their journalism-based counterparts. Most technology-related tasks in the survey were likely to be performed more frequently by recent graduates who reported working in journalism. This should not come as a surprise, since many of the tasks relate specifically to work ordinarily associated specifically with journalism. Working with data is a notable exception, as illustrated in Fig. 16 (over page).

While recent graduates working in journalism report performing tasks with social media, photography, audio and video more frequently than their non-journalism peers, those working in journalism reported collecting and organizing data in a spreadsheet the least frequently (mean Likert-scale value of 2.36 vs. 3.57 for those working in public relations and a value of 3.11 overall for the five job groupings). Those working in journalism are also roughly middle of the pack when it comes to analyzing website traffic data but again the lowest when it comes to analyzing data with spreadsheet functions and producing interactive data visualizations and second lowest when it comes to visualizing data. This is not to suggest that journalism school curricula should be geared towards non-journalism career choices. However, it could be useful to determine whether these other communications-related industries have identified valuable areas related to data that could be applied to journalism work.

Podcasting is another area that both respondent groups tended to rate as very useful. Both groups also indicated they would use podcasting more than they currently do. Since journalism programmes generally have radio (or audio) components, podcasting could be a natural addition to this training.

Respondents in both groups were more skeptical of some of some of the emerging technology areas, including personal assistants (Google Home, etc.), virtual/augmented reality, voice-activated computing (Siri, Cortana, etc.) and 360-degree photos and/or video. Not only are these technology areas rarely if ever used in the newsrooms surveyed, but both respondent groups were more likely to rate these technologies as not at all useful for the practice of journalism than they were to rate them as very useful. Of this group of tech-

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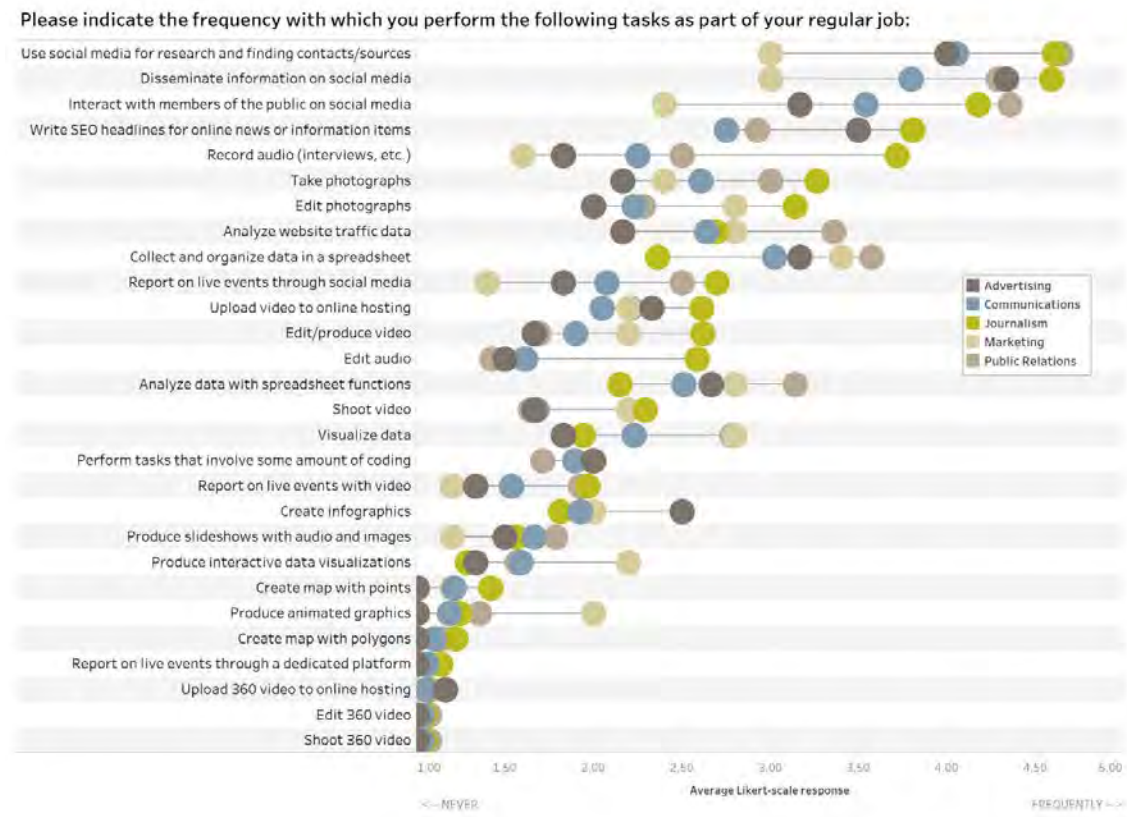
Fig. 16: Journalism graduates' responses to the question: "Please indicate the frequency with which you perform the following tasks as part of your regular job." Mean Likert-scale responses listed from the highest (5, or 'very frequently') to lowest (1, or 'never').
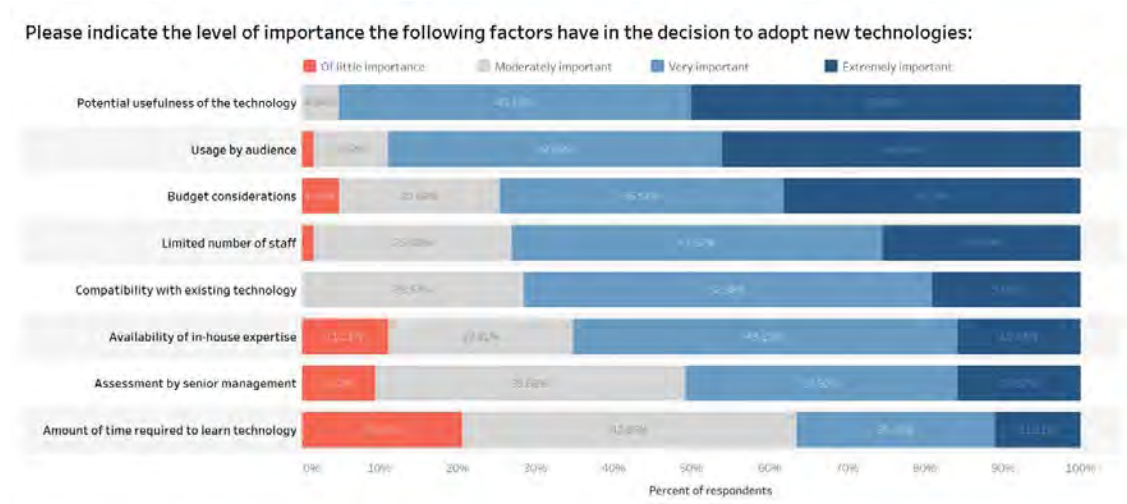
Fig. 17: Newsroom leaders' responses to the question: "Please indicate the level of importance the following factors have in the decision to adopt new technologies." Responses were on a Likert scale from 1 (unimportant) to 5 (extremely important). Note that there were no respondents who indicated that any of the factors were 'unimportant'.

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nologies, 360 photos and/or video fared the best, with roughly 46 per cent of newsroom leaders and recent graduates reporting they would use it more.

These results suggest some technology areas that might be considered for workshop courses in journalism programmes. They also raise a long-standing question for journalism educators, namely whether they should lead in technology adoption or whether they should follow current industry needs. This study adds an additional dimension to that calculation because the results suggest newsroom leaders effectively acknowledge that they are not utilizing technology as effectively as they might.

In this study, newsroom leaders were also asked about the importance of different factors in making a decision about adopting new technologies. As illustrated in fig. 17 (previous page) respondents tended to indicate that most of the factors were either very important or extremely important.

Further study on this issue would be worthwhile, since this is only a limited examination of the issue. But as noted above, there is plenty of evidence about the extent to which Canadian newsrooms are operating with fewer people and with smaller budgets than they once did. Few newsrooms are likely to have the kind of dedicated technology-oriented groups that Cindy Royal describes in her case study on the New York Times (Royal, 2012), for example.

It is likely that newsrooms would welcome students with relatively high degrees of competence in the technology areas broadly identified as having strong potential for application to journalism and which newsroom leaders indicate they would ideally use more widely. Might this suggest recent graduates could play an important role in helping newsrooms adopt useful technologies? If so, this could make a strong case for journalism programmes to lead in technology adoption rather than to follow, though further study would be needed to more specifically answer these questions.

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Journalistic ethics: how do universities in the Czech Republic shape students' moral perception?

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Abstract

This study reports the results of pilot research examining the aspects of journalism ethics courses influencing students' values and moral perceptions at the two largest universities in the Czech Republic. Through a questionnaire distributed among 84 students, followed up by syllabi analysis, the research helped to gather data to explore the factors involved in the establishment of the ethical standards of young journalists. The results suggest that more than a newsroom experience (often considered to be the biggest milestone on students' path of ethical education) it is the teaching style and course design what sculpts the point of view of the emerging generation of journalists at Charles University in Prague and Masaryk University in Brno.

Introduction

How the emerging journalistic generation makes ethical decisions today will have an impact on the form of media contents in upcoming years.

It has been argued that journalism ethics teachers should be aware of the fact, that although they themselves might not be active journalists or media employees of any sort anymore, their actions, teaching style and the ability to engage students in a discussion about morally controversial topics could influence the shape of the future of media outlets (Zhong, 2008, p.110).

Articles

For centuries, ethics have been among the academic disciplines. However, the ethics of journalism shaped much later, along with the profession itself, building up a reputation and the attribute of a "watchdog of democracy". Siebert (1956) described this trend in Four Theories of Press, writing about libertarian theory, which *'...[is] held to be the ideal in which the prime function of society is to advance the interests of its individual members.'* (Ostini and Fung, 2002, p.42)

In the U.S., teaching journalism ethics was quite rare in the 80's. But already between 1994 and 2004, the number of media programmes requiring students to take an ethical course increased by more than a third (Pleasance, 2007, p.378).

Nowadays, most of the recognized schools of journalism offer ethical courses of some sort, including universities in the Czech Republic. Out of 87 local colleges accredited by the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports (Vejška.cz, 2018), the two largest ones (regarding enrolled students) are Charles University in Prague (Charles University, 2017) and Masaryk University in Brno (Masaryk University, 2018). Located approximately 200 kilometres apart, both of these institutions are a typical example of the most reputable universities in the country, offering a vast choice of programmes including medicine, law, mathematics, pedagogy, history, philosophy and of course, media studies and journalism.

Based on last accessible data from 2017, Charles University accepted 93 students to its undergraduate programme of journalism and 121 students to its graduate programme, which is available to students who previously obtained a bachelor's degree from any programme, including journalism (Faculty of Social Sciences, 2017). In comparison, Masaryk University accepted 401 students to its undergraduate programme and only 44 students to the graduate programme, requiring previous bachelor's degree exclusively from media studies and journalism (Faculty of Social Studies, 2017). There are three main reasons for the massive difference in the number of accepted undergraduate students in Prague and Brno. First, until the academic year of 2017/2018, Masaryk University offered two types of undergraduate programmes - full-time education and so-called "combined education", when classes take place only several times during each semester. Second, Masaryk University does not offer a separate option for journalism - it is taught within a media studies and journalism programme. Finally, in Brno students are obliged to choose a double major, therefore for some of them, journalism can be the second, supplementing choice.

Although both universities show slight differences in the setting of their journalism programmes, they are reputable representatives of Czech public educational institutions with similar values and structure of their faculties. Therefore, the outcome of the comparison will provide valid information on the state of journalism ethics education within the country.

Literary review

Teaching journalism ethics

An essential issue students must understand while taking journalism courses is the complicated relationship between law and ethics. Compared to law, which dictates the same standards for each journalist, moral values differ in terms of individual believes. However, similarly to legal aspects of media production, ethical approaches can differ even on national levels. As an example, the results of the Worlds of Journalism Study (Hanitzsch et al, 2012-2016) can be used. In this comparative project, researchers from 67 countries (including the Czech Republic) interviewed local journalists. One of the questions framed around ethics asked respondents to express a level of (dis)agreement with the following statement: *What is ethical in journalism is a matter of personal judgment.* While, Czech journalists seem to be rather undecided, their American peers, for instance, somewhat disagree.

Regardless, the difference between media law and ethics is just a tip of the iceberg of each journalism course. Teachers must dive much deeper and try to unfold many other burning issues, as well as decide what is the best possible way to lead their ethical classes. In general, they believe that courses dedicated to media and journalism ethics are considered essential within journalism and mass communication programmes. While teaching their classes, they find the main goals to be fostering moral reasoning skills, contributing to the moral development of students, prepare students for professional work or, e.g., advance the liberal education of future journalists (Lambeth et al, 2004).

However, one of the main issues connected to teaching media ethics seems to be insufficient research in teaching effectiveness. While the number of affordable textbooks laying the theoretical grounds is not a problem, the amount of aids in different formats seems to be a deal-breaker. Christians and Lambeth (1996,

p.236) mention its interconnection with the fact "…[that] over 50% of those currently teaching free-standing courses do not regard ethics as a major strength intellectually or a primary research interest." Therefore, Coleman and Wilkins believe, that ethics professors at colleges, as well as instructors of ethics seminars for professionals, should reconsider the content of their lectures. They should make sure that "…individual ethical decisions are more firmly linked to larger ethical principles." (2002, p.221)

Several decades ago, the dominant question was whether media education would develop and be a regular part of syllabi not only created for journalism programmes, but also for those dealing with other levels of education, such as elementary schools or high schools. Today, the main issue is no longer if it will happen, but what type of media education will dominate (Hoechsmann and Poyntz, 2012, p.12).

In his study called *Problem solving in a mass media course*, Christians (1979, p.139) expresses a frustration caused by an inability of students to apply their course material effectively. For that reason, he decided to concentrate the syllabus around the decision-making process, rather than blindly follow the textbook chapters.

Journalistic ethics in the classroom

Students realize that later in their lives they might have to start compromising in terms of their ethical thinking. At the beginning of their studies, they often state that a desire to contribute to social change is what triggered their decision to study journalism. However, after discovering the newsroom aspects of the profession, the longer they have been enrolled in their degree, the less likely they want to work in media as journalists. This conclusion is only one of the outcomes of a study titled *Journalism Students' Motivations and Expectations of Their Work in Comparative Perspective* (Hanusch, 2015). The researchers worked with students from eight countries, however, the Czech Republic was not one of them. In spite of a possibility of geographical and cultural differences, it is an important piece of knowledge for local teachers and academic workers who are in charge of the programmes' syllabi. It is necessary to keep students motivated and lead the courses in an attractive way. Regardless of some opinions about the importance of laying the philosophical grounds first, many instructors choose to lead their classes in a more active and discussion-based way.

An example can be a study by Peterlin and Peters (2018), who decided to create a media ethics syllabus wrapped around a popular TV show *The Newsroom*. In their research, they categorized nine problems regularly discussed in the classroom, e.g., truth and honesty, privacy, conflict of interest or stereotypes. Later, they selected particular scenes of the above-mentioned programme and classified which topic could be discussed after watching each part. However, some researchers still argue, that media ethics education should also build upon philosophical, or even psychological approaches (Goree, 2000, pp.101-114).

Along with case studies, current media affairs, numerous amounts of textbooks created to help teachers to properly structure their courses and other approaches mentioned above, the most common aids are ethical guidelines of the most reputable media. This practical list of do's and don'ts with multiple recommendations on how to approach sensitive matters is often analysed by students and used to support their reasoning in essays or group discussions.

Apart from foreign ethical codes such as the BBC Programme Guidelines, at Czech universities the most widely used sets of rules are those established by national media, such as the Code of Czech Television (first published in 1995). Also, The Ethical Code of a Journalist by The Syndicate of Czech Journalists from 1998 is among those frequently used in ethical courses. However, their structure and content have been customized since the original versions were introduced (Moravec, 2005, pp. 53-54).

Ethical courses in digital age

Previous studies suggested that a well-designed course on journalism ethics can affect students' values (Plaisance, 2006, p.391). Thus, it is crucial to design up-to-date syllabi not only reflecting on the standard topics connected to moral issues young journalists might have to deal with, but also focusing on new technologies. In the world of social networks, smartphones and easy Internet access, it is easy to capture an event (or even stream it live) and share it on Facebook, Instagram, Snapchat or one of many other platforms. It might seem that the classical aspect of the journalism profession is slowly disappearing. However, as Neal Augenstein points out in a book by Antony Adornato (2018, p.147), those are just the new tools, which cannot (and should not) erase the traditional approach, including ethical understanding and the ability to set the information into context. Speed versus accuracy is one of the crucial questions connected to fast online journalism that students often discuss in their ethical classes. Media convergence brings plenty of other topics, which should be a regular part of 21st-century ethical courses (Jakubowicz, 2013). Adornato (2018, p.148)

writes about the blurry line between professional and private social media lives, contacting source via social media, interacting with the audience, verification of user-generated content and its copyright issues.

While it may seem that young generation developed quite remarkable skills in terms of dealing with the unlimited possibilities provided by the Internet and IT technologies, journalism schools have a role to play in helping students to navigate through these media channels filled with privacy and fake news traps. After all, the young generation "…[is] often not as creative with new media as we sometimes think." (Hoechsmann and Poyntz, 2012, p.146)

However, the main pillars of journalism ethics remain. We are talking about the undeniable importance of accurate reporting and a high level of punctuality, providing the audience with reliable information. With this knowledge, McBride and Rosenstiel suggest three section of journalism ethics' interest: "Seek truth and report it as fully as possible, be transparent and engage community as an end, rather than as a means." (2014, pp.1-3)

Nevertheless, the Internet brought into journalists lives a brand-new set of ethically grey areas. The undeniable movement towards personalization and growing dominance of a one-on-one relationship is launching new topics students should discuss during their classes. It is no longer just about the proper way of crafting the story (in whichever form); ethical dilemmas of the 21st century include communication with the audience on social sites, sharing contents, commenting and other similar expressions of a personal matter (Marshall, 2004, p.103). Knowing that, instructors of courses dedicated to journalism ethics should carefully tailor the content of their lectures and seminars and keep on updating the courses based on the development of modern trends in journalism, as well as on ethically challenging current affairs.

Student's ethical perception

Previous research indicates that younger students tend to have stronger ethical values then students in the later phase of their studies, who (during their internships) often had to deal with practical questions and decision-making processes connected to ethical dilemmas (Hanson, 2002, p.238). In general, introductory students seem to have the perception of higher ethical standards than the graduating students.

Leaving the classrooms and starting a full-time career of a journalist does not necessarily mean that students forget their previous moral standards. However, as Reinardy and Moore (2007, pp.161-171) stress, in the light of deadlines or requests from senior editors (and possibly the media owners), they usually start compromising, since unlike the academic environment, in the real newsroom there might be no benefit from raising their voice and expressing their ethical opinion.

Regardless, not all scholars agree that newsroom experience must inevitably distort student's value system set during classes. As an example, Conway and Groshek conducted a research, which suggests that the closer to the graduation students are, the harsher they judge an unethical journalistic behaviour, for example, plagiarism. The same can be said about students with journalistic internships or with experience from student media. As the authors conclude "Results from the study…demonstrate that applied media experiences and coursework are crucial in developing future journalists' perceptions of fundamental ethical behaviour." (2009, pp.461-479)

Without doubt many variables participate in the results of this type of studies; therefore, the outcomes sometimes differ, depending, e.g., on the geographical location or educational approach.

For instance, according to Marína Urbániková from Masaryk University (Volek and Urbániková, 2017, pp.238-249), in terms of the Czech Republic, local students consider journalism ethics to be something, which is impossible to learn. She also describes students' perception of ethics as strongly individualistic and self-developed. Additionally, the author points out, that a formation of ethical values is a very complex process, and therefore it must be explained multidimensionally, with a contribution of proper education as well as an influence of national differences. Hence, this study will (besides other aspects) take into consideration different educational approaches at Charles and Masaryk University, as well as discrepancies in structures of both journalism programmes.

Constructed upon the previous concepts, the research focused on examining the level of influence of the educational mode of delivery on students' perception of journalistic ethics. Also, the importance of never-ending customizing of the classroom content according to the trends of digital age was in the centre of attention. As a basis for the study, the following research question was proposed:

RQ: Which educational factors influence Czech journalism students' perception of ethical cases?

Method

The spine bone of the analysis is data extracted from a questionnaire. It consists of 46 questions, designed to gather information about students' perception of journalism ethics and their opinions on ethically chal-

lenging current affairs as well as collecting data about participants' demographics, values or newsroom experience. This part of survey was partially inspired by previous research described in the book *Czech Journalists in Comparative Perspective* by Volek and Urbániková (2017).

The questionnaire was distributed among journalism students within the two largest universities in the Czech Republic - Charles University in Prague and Masaryk University in Brno. Both schools are dominant educational institutions for two different parts of the country. However, as the results of the questionnaire showed, both schools educate a wide spectrum of students in terms of gender, origin (from small towns to big metropoles), financial background, etc. In this particular study, only several segments of the whole questionnaire will be discussed, whereas in the future larger comparative research conducted in the U.S. will built upon the remaining dataset.
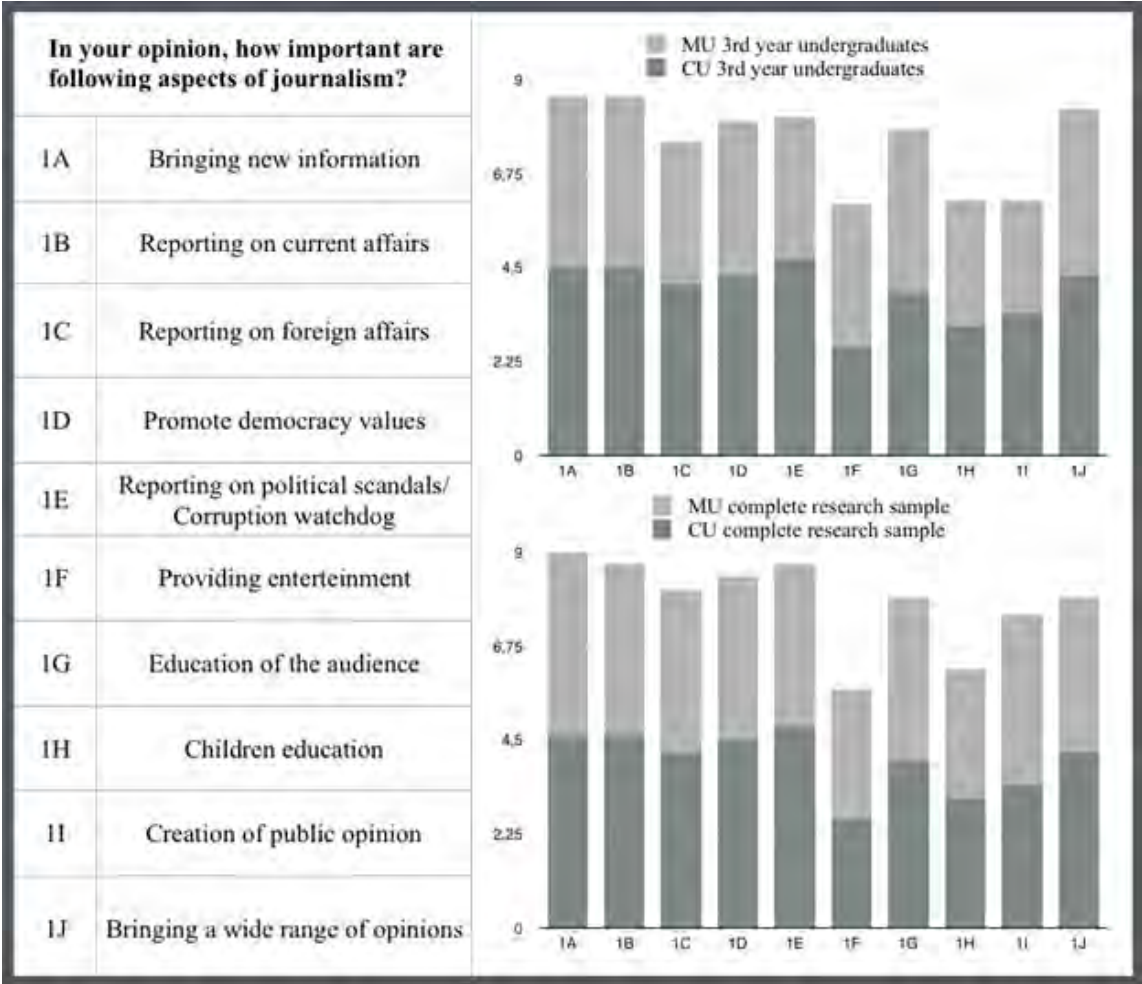
Fig 1: Important aspects of journalism

The questionnaire was distributed in person, so as to explain the purpose of the research to every student and reach the highest possible return rate. Students were also instructed to answer according to their own beliefs, not based on what they think the most correct answer would be. First two groups from Charles University filled in a paper version of the questionnaire (33 students), the third group of students from Masaryk University was asked to complete an electronic form on their personal electronic devices (51 students). Both versions were identical. The level of education among participating students differed from second-year bachelor students up to second-year masters students. The youngest students were 20 years old; the oldest participant was 27 years old. The gender ratio was 63 % females, 35 % males and 1 % chose an option "Other".[1]

1   Which represents the real-life gender ratio in journalism/mass media courses quite reliably.

Because the sample of 84 students who participated in the questionnaire survey wasn't strictly homogeneous (it consisted of students of different age, level of study as well as work experience), before drawing any conclusions, a test run was conducted. The results of the first question were first evaluated based on data from a homogeneous group of third-year bachelor's degree-seeking students from both universities. Subsequently, this dataset was compared to results from the complete research sample. The results[2] show, that the answers are so similar, that the validity of the study won't be threatened if using the data from all participating students to evaluate the results.

Additionally, this survey was enriched by information about different syllabus structure at both universities.

Combining all the data provided enough material to create an introductory study about teaching journalism ethics in the Czech Republic, essential for improvement and potential future customization of ethical education within media-oriented fields.

Analysis

Two universities, one country

The research question was asked in order to evaluate which factors influence Czech journalism students' perception of ethical cases. To solve this issue, it is necessary to examine the structure of journalism studies designed by both universities. Although all programmes build on the same values, their structure slightly differs. Considering Charles University (CU), its students can choose between an undergraduate and graduate journalism programmes. Students seeking a bachelor's degree participate in three years long programme, which later divide its students into two study groups - one focusing on written and photographic journalism, the second dedicated to audio-visual courses, teaching future journalists about radio and TV. A course titled an Introduction to the Ethics of Journalistic Profession is compulsory for all students of both specializations.

Charles University's graduate programme combines students with the previous degree from different fields, including journalism. Again, those students can choose a specialization (sport, culture, politics, visual), in contrast to students with no media experience, who are obligated to sign up for general courses. Regardless of the chosen module, all students are again required to enrol in a class called Journalism Ethics in Practice.

In addition to two journalism programmes, the Institute of Communication Studies and Journalism offers a Media Studies programme. However, it is more theoretical with focus directed towards media studies theory, not an actual training of future journalists.

The system at Masaryk University (MU) is slightly different. Until the academic year of 2017/18, students were able to choose a distance journalism programme. Starting with the academic year of 2018/19, only two possibilities are offered, both of them being a part of a programme called Media Studies and Journalism. In addition to that, an undergraduate programme is designed as one half of mandatory course load, meaning students are obliged to choose one extra field and study a double-major programme. Based on the questionnaire results, the highest number of respondents decided for a combination with Security and Strategic Studies or Sociology. All students must take a course titled an Introduction to Journalism Ethics. Comparing to that, a master's degree seeking students can select a course called Ethics and Media, which is classified as an optional class. However, unlike at Charles University, in Brno, the graduate programme is designed only for students who got awarded a bachelor's degree in Media Studies and Journalism. Therefore, the lack of a mandatory ethical course can be justified.

Internship: A life-changing experience?

The most significant observation based on the above-mentioned programmes' structures is connected to students' internship habits. Based on previous research[3], young students come to journalism schools with stronger moral values. However, after getting to know the media world reality a little closer, their standards usually drop. One of the factors influencing this phenomenon is newsroom experience, which students usually gain in later years while fulfilling the compulsory media internships.

During their undergraduate studies, they are obliged to undergo an internship in a media organization of their choice. Both universities have this requirement, although there is a difference in its length. Students in Brno must spend 12 weeks in a newsroom; meanwhile, for their Prague peers, four weeks are sufficient.

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2   See figure 1.
3   Discussed in the previous sections.

However, in reality, many of them spend much more time in the media than the obligatory amount. It is connected to the fact, that in contrast to MU's students, they study only one field, which gives them more time to work part-time as interns in various organizations.

Additionally, Masaryk University schedules this practical experience for the fifth semester, comparing to Charles University, which offers the option starting with the fourth semester. This scheduling partially explains the questionnaire's results showing that Prague journalism students have richer newsroom experience. [4]
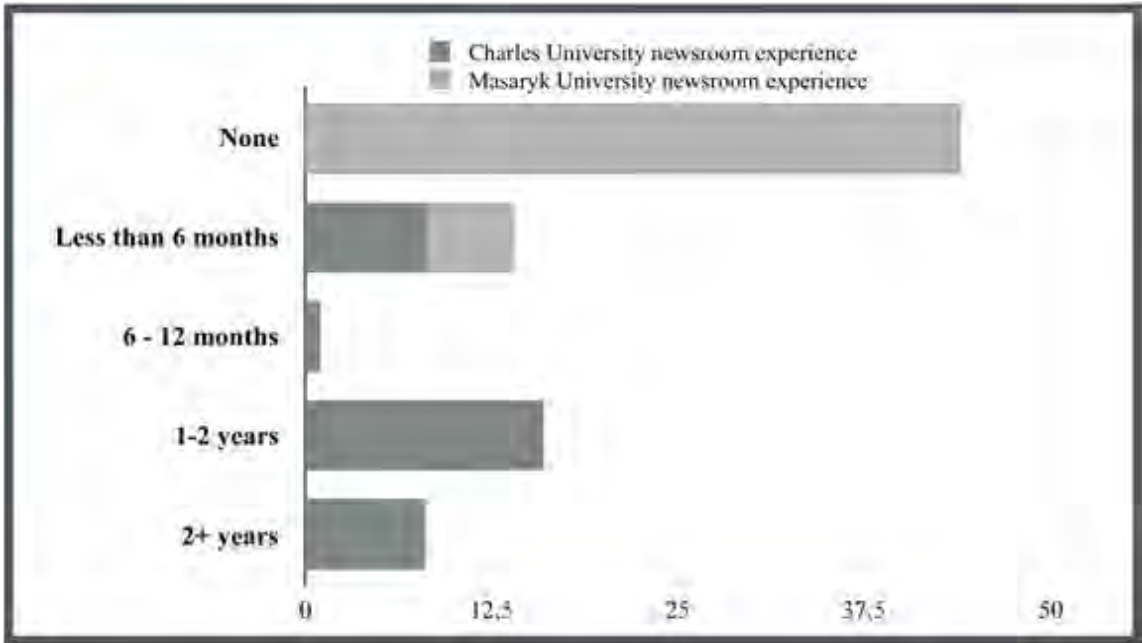
Fig 2: Newsroom experience within the research sample

However, more factors have to be taken into consideration. As suggested above, the situation is also caused by the structure of journalism study programmes in both cities. While CU students study only journalism, MU department titles its programme Media Studies and Journalism. On top of that, the majority of students are enrolled in above-mentioned "double major" programme. That results in heavier study load and less free time to dedicate to an internship. Additionally, although Brno is the second largest city in the Czech Republic, apart from the judiciary bureaus, the most important political institutions are located in the capital. That is why the majority of media organizations have their headquarters in Prague as well, providing CU students with more vacancies to fill and in general with higher chances to find an internship opportunity.

For those reasons, according to previous findings, unexperienced MU students were expected to have higher moral standards, as well as stronger values. However, the research proved that the reality is slightly different.

CU students on average consider the following aspects more important than their peers from MU: to bring new information, to inform about Czech politics, to inform about foreign politics, to promote democratic values, to report on political scandals and corruption, to educate the audience and to bring a wide range of opinions. On the other hand, to entertain the audience and to create a public opinion were the only two aspects, MU students think of higher than students from Prague.[5]

This question in particular shows, that even though Prague students are slightly older and have larger work experience, they still consider the role of media as a watchdog of democracy to be indisputable. Since both universities educate students from all around the Czech Republic[6] (and therefore the origin of students is not a part of the equation), there must be other factors as important as newsroom training. In particular - teaching style and syllabus structure.

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4   See figure 2.
5   See complete data in figure 1 above.
6   The questionnaire collected answers form students who grew up in small villages, bigger cities and the largest metropoles in the country.

Course design matters

For that reason, several questions about the journalism programmes were proposed. In general, the questionnaire recipients were rather satisfied with the amount of space dedicated to journalism ethics during their study. However, the results were fluctuating slightly above the average three-point answer, suggesting that Czech journalism programmes might benefit from some improvements. For example, one of the categories was focused on practical exercises used to teach students the importance of ethical reasoning during classes. And while students from MU think that the time dedicated to theory and practice is more or less divided equally, CU students expressed rather a disagreement with the fact, that their university uses mostly real-life examples to teach them about moral aspects of the journalism profession.[7] Nevertheless, this section was aimed at all journalism courses, and therefore the number of practical exercises exclusively during ethical classes might be a little higher.
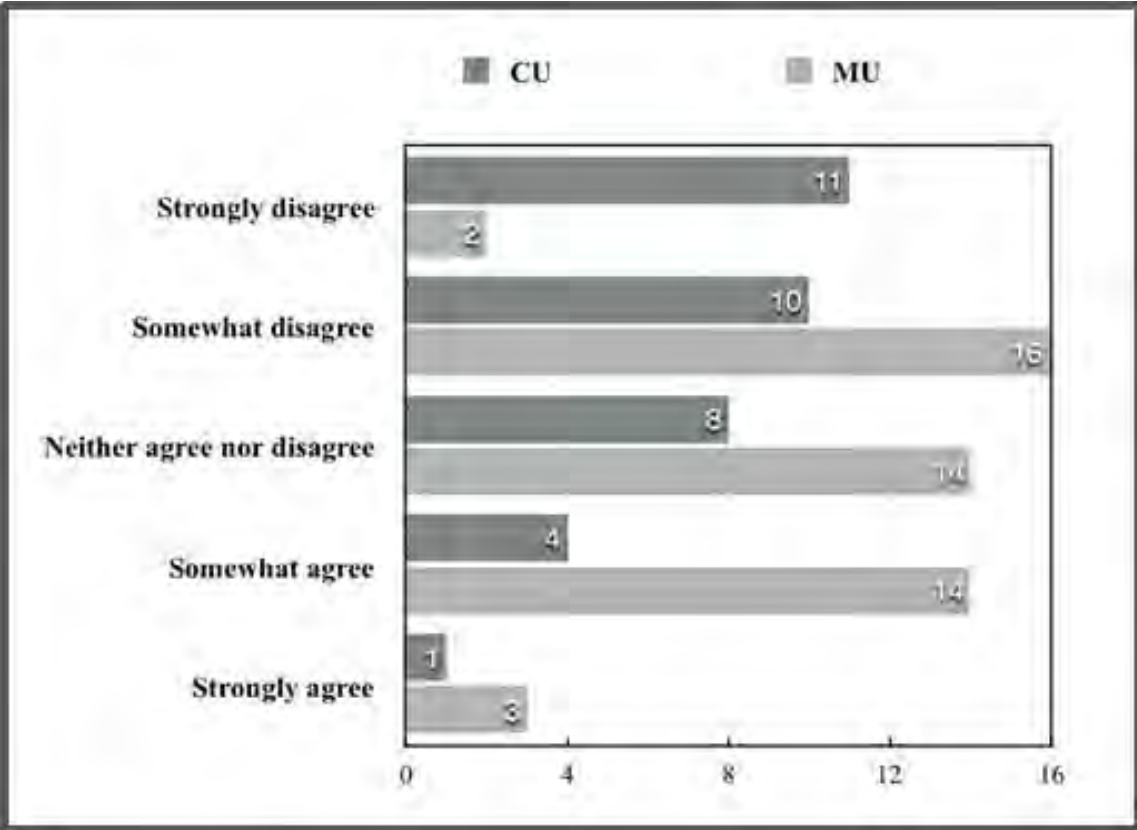
Fig 3: Journalism ethics is taught mainly on the basis of practical exercise as a part of my programme

Case studies are often the most exciting part of a lecture, however, their implementation to the syllabus is not easy. Unlike in other countries, where classes take place several times within a week, Czech universities often dedicate to each subject an hour and twenty minutes per week (in a duration of one semester). Considering there is no joined seminar to this lecture, sometimes it is hard to fit into the lecture both philosophical theory and practical cases. In spite of that, teachers in the Czech Republic often combine both approaches within ethical courses, including, for instance, the obligation of graduate students in Prague to complete an essay on a chosen current ethical affair several times during semester.

On a more positive note, students indicated that it is rather true, that their study programme finds journalism ethics to be a vital topic and on average they agreed that the space dedicated to it and the education style is quite adequate.[8] Still, even though the answers are leaning towards the "agreeing" end of the Lickert scale

7   See figure 3.
8   See figure 4.

(Berger, 2016, p.301), most of them are placed around the "undecided" section. That suggests a positive outcome, but also a lot of space for future improvement.
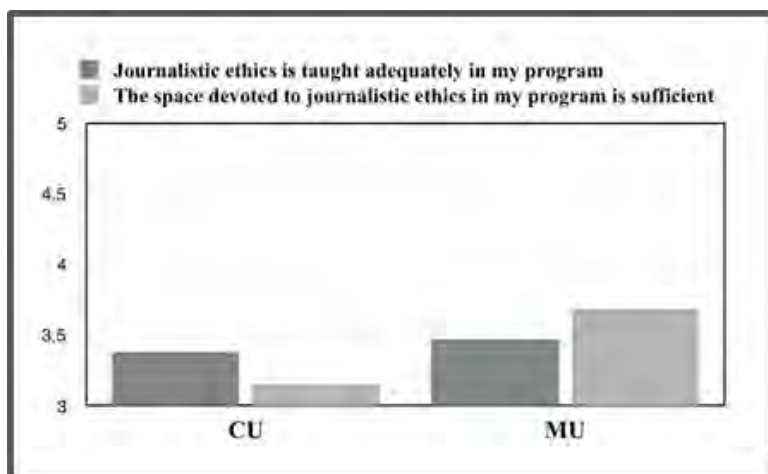
Fig 4: Journalistic ethics' implementation in the curriculum

Additionally, CU students rather disagree with a statement that ethics is a common topic in courses not directly dedicated to the moral aspects of their future profession. In contrast to that, students in Brno rather agree with that, which shows higher connectivity in MU's syllabus.[9]
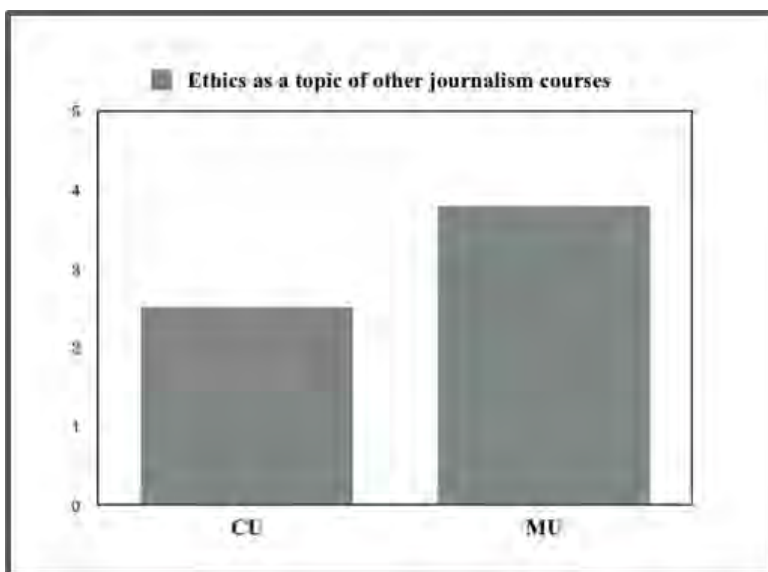
Fig 5: Journalistic ethics is a frequent topic even in courses that are not exclusively devoted to it

Following the previous set of questions, the topic of a media law education was examined in order to see, how incorporated this field is into the ethical courses. Based on syllabus research, none of the two universities teaches these two courses officially within the same class. The issue of a legal and moral difference sometimes appears during ethics classes. However, more than half of the responders disagreed with the statement, that media law education is a regular part of their media ethics course.[10]

9   See figure 5.
10   See figure 6.

Legend:
- Strongly disagree
- Somewhat disagree
- Neither agree nor disagree
- Somewhat agree
- Strongly agree
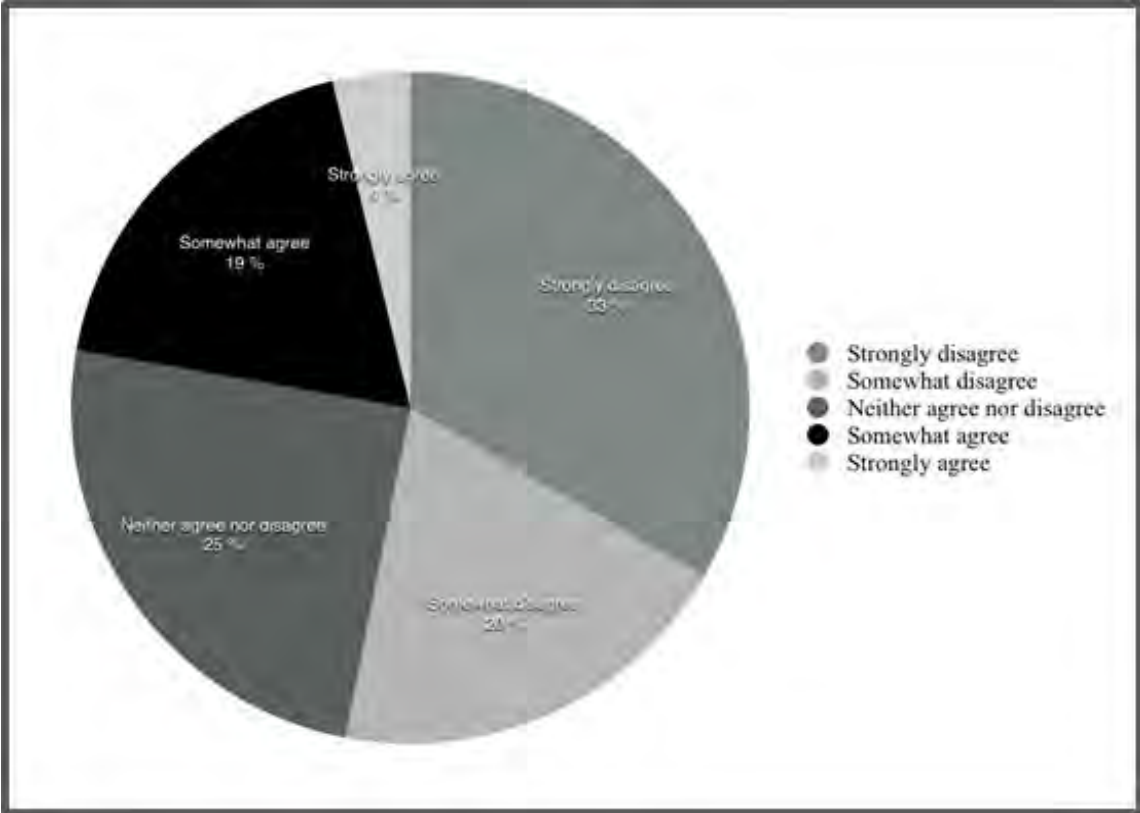
Fig 6: Media law is taught in one class, along with journalistic ethics

The questionnaire also examined, which additional factors not directly connected to university education might be influencing students' perception of ethical cases. One of the questions was dedicated to media consumption and respondents' preferences and habits.[11] As the least popular category students chose Fake News Media.[12] Nevertheless, because the society is overwhelmed with information, one of the jobs journalists should master is to fact check and correct misleading information. Students' lack of interest in disinformation websites can be evaluated as a result of strong moral standards, however, since the majority of students do not seek this kind of platform on their own, ethical courses should dedicate a sufficient time to discuss its characteristics and teach students how to navigate around the traps disinformation "journalists" try to set up. See Table 1.

Additionally, it is clear to see, that the young generation's attention moved towards online media. In the questionnaire, 65 students stated, they read online news on a daily basis and 72 respondents answered that they check their social networks every day. Therefore, students are almost permanently exposed to the effect of social media, without undergoing any specific journalistic training on how to deal with ethical challenges these new technologies propose.

Self-learning through social media

Based on the questionnaire answers, the emerging generation of journalists is aware of many difficulties connected to the work with social networks, although during ethical courses only a limited time is dedicated to this topic. Hence, one of the factors influencing their perception of ethical cases is an unconscious self-learning process during their everyday social network routine.

11   See table 1.
12   Also referred to as disinformation media.

Medium	Daily	3-4 times a week	Twice a week	Once a week	Rarely	Never
Newspaper	3	7	8	23	38	5
TV	20	16	17	9	21	1
Radio	13	8	19	15	27	2
Online news websites	65	10	5	1	3	0
Commentary magazines	4	4	14	22	33	7
Social media	72	5	2	1	2	2
Foreign media	21	19	8	16	19	1
Fake news websites	1	1	2	6	48	26

Table 1: Media consumption among participating students

In today's world, which is strongly influenced by the growing trend of media convergence, social networks are becoming one of the key sources for journalistic work. On one side, students have to learn how to produce news stories for such a vast, global and interlinked platform. Anthony Adornato in his book titled Mobile and Social Media Journalism writes: "Mobile and social media skills are required of both new graduates and more seasoned journalists, in addition to reporting skills for traditional platforms." (2018, p.13)

But a proper writing technique is not the only aspect journalism students have to deal with concerning social networks. For that reason, this research examines this topic from the other side of the barrier, because verifying all information (especially coming from sources like Facebook or Twitter) is one of the key aspects connected not only to ethical decision-making but journalism profession as well.

Therefore, students were asked to evaluate the relevance of five social networks for their work as journalists on a scale from 1 to 5 (1 meaning an essential importance, 5 meaning no importance at all).[13]

The results clearly divide the social media into three categories. The most respected platform based on students' opinion is Twitter. Ten out of 84 students consider it to be a completely relevant source of information and 37 students answered it is a rather important source.

The second group of social media, including Facebook, Instagram, and LinkedIn, scored between 3,1 to 3,7 importance on the Lickert scale, meaning students might find its importance to differ based on the circumstances and individual cases.

Finally, Snapchat scored the lowest, when a majority of respondents consider it from rather unimportant to not important at all.

Social Medium	Degree of importance
Facebook	3,2
Instagram	3,7
Twitter	2,4
Snapchat	4,4
LinkedIn	3,1

Table 2: The relevance of five social networks for journalistic work

13   See table 2.

However, as mentioned in the methodological section, the same research is intended to be conducted in the USA as well, where Snapchat is way more popular than in the Czech Republic (Chaffey, 2016).
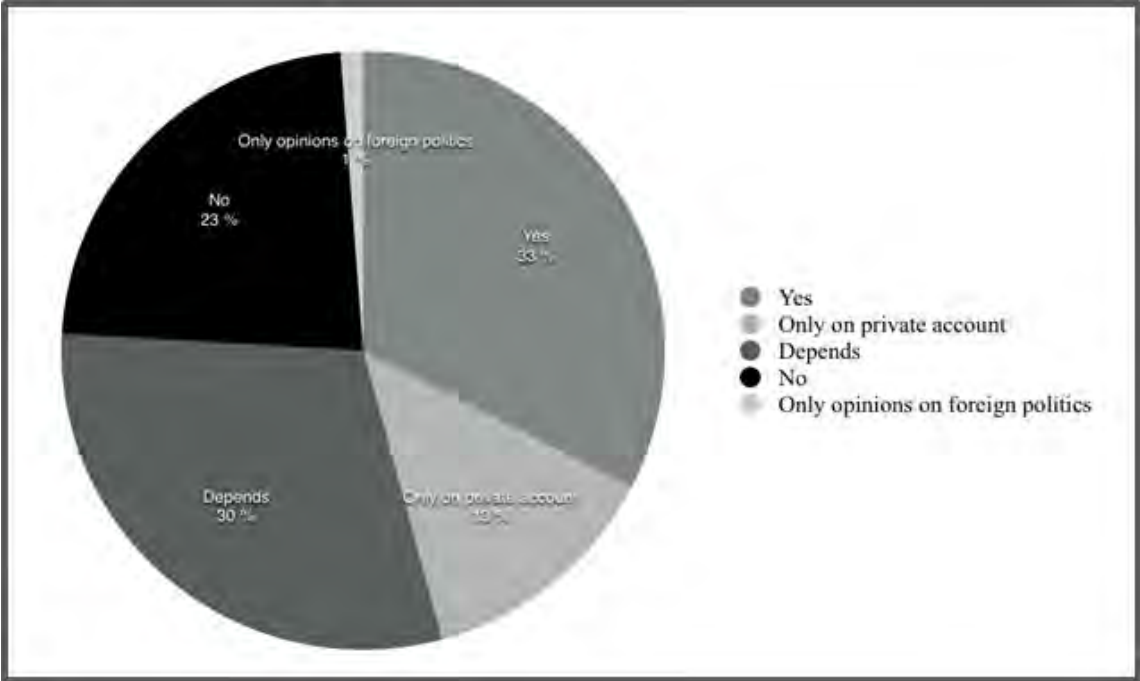
Fig 7: Should journalists share political views on social media?

A question concerning sharing personal political opinions on social networks was also part of the distributed questionnaire, but the answers were quite diverse.[14] In comparison, responds to a multiple-choice question concerning hoax and fake news[15] prevention while using social media as the first point of reference were more balanced.[16] Among other things, these results suggest that however students realize it is essential to make sure about the correctness of certain affairs, they are ready to do the research on their own or within their newsroom, rather than depending on other media publishing the information first and potentially getting all the credit.
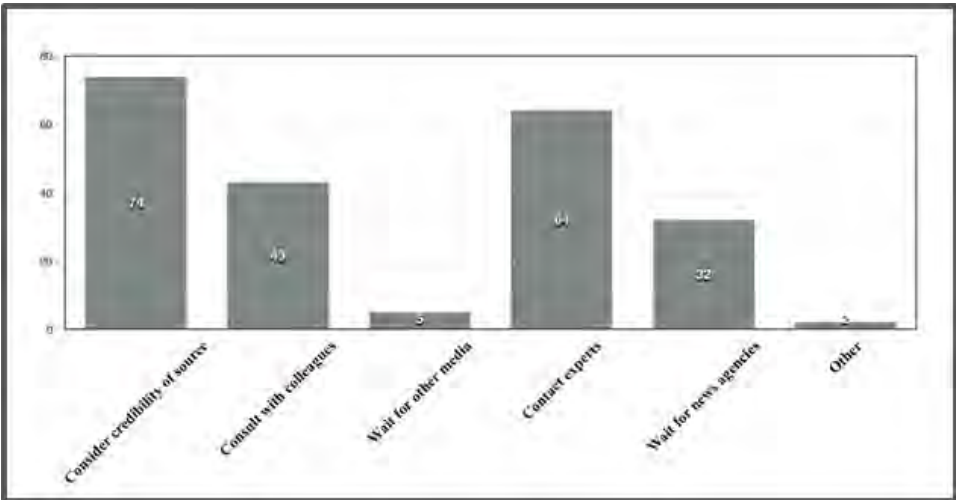
Fig 8: Fact-checking on social media

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14   See figure 7.
15   Untrue news published on disinformation websites.
16   See figure 8.

Conclusion

The author is aware of the limits of the study connected mainly to a smaller research sample consisted of quite a diverse group of respondents, therefore, for now, the results should not be applied in a global scale. However, a more substantial comparative research is planned in the Czech Republic and the USA in following years, promising larger dataset and more profound results on the topic.

Regardless, it was discovered, that values of journalism students from Charles University slightly differ from those of Masaryk University's students. To sum it up, students in Prague seem to feel more strongly about questions linked to democracy, their individual code of ethics or the accuracy. Compared to that, respondents in Brno feel more strongly about topics of lower prestige within the society, such as the audience's entertainment. In comparative perspective, these results are extremely interesting, since the majority of previous studies from other countries argue, that the older (and more professionally experienced) the students get, the more rapidly their values tend to drop. However, in this scenario, on average, students of Masaryk University were slightly younger, and because of the double-major programme setting (leaving less time for journalistic dedication, respectively for media internship), they were expected to have higher moral standards. Nevertheless, the research revealed the opposite outcome.

Also, it is necessary to realize, that since students of Masaryk University were slightly younger, not all of them had yet finished the required ethical course.[17] This observation is in line with the proposed explanation that specialized education in the area of morality strengthens students values and gives them a shield, they can use later in their career to stay at least partially immune against the questionable practice some newsrooms might be forcing on them.

It is important to stress, that although students from both institutions often disagreed on the level of importance of presented topics, the hierarchy of their answers is almost identical. To be more specific, respondents usually agreed in terms of which issue is the most important and which is not.

Based on current journalism trends, the topic of social networks was widely discussed, since students spend most of their time getting information from these platforms and therefore this self-learning experience is an inherent supplement to college education. Surprisingly, the results show that while using Facebook or Twitter, the emerging generation of journalists is aware of its limits and uses the data and information with caution. Most of them would always evaluate the reliability of the original source, get a second opinion from a specialist or discuss the matter with other colleagues. On the other hand, regarding the usage of their social network accounts as a platform for sharing opinions (while being an employee of a media organization) the research had quite fragmented outcome among the students. For that reason, ethical approach towards online journalism, in general, should be one of the main topics of ethical courses, since the current trends of journalism are undoubtedly shifting towards that direction and self-education consisted almost exclusively of personal hands-on experience cannot fully cover the issue.

Despite the fact, that one third of the respondents work (or have previously worked) in a newsroom, the above-mentioned results show that it is primarily a proper education in the field of journalism ethics, which serves as a milestone in students' professional development. The successful completion of an ethical course helps them to put facts into context and make educated decisions about sensitive matters. That being said, it is obvious that a proper syllabi design, as well as a regularly updated content of lectures, are crucial for reaching that goal.

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17   However, the majority of journalism courses in general has at least some level of an ethical input.

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Articles

How to teach War and Peace journalism: professional challenges when encountering propaganda and fake news

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Abstract

This article summarizes the authors´ experience from nearly 20 years of teaching war and peace journalism. The theoretical point of departure was Johan Galtung´s theory of peace journalism. Through the years, the framework of the course has been developed including wider historical and cultural perspectives, including post-colonial studies, gender perspectives and journalist safety. Since this has been a course with a large proportion of international students, the authors suggest that their participation has enriched the course as well as had an impact on practicing and teaching journalism in many countries.

Key words: Teaching conflict reporting; war and peace journalism; post-colonial studies; discourse analysis

Introduction

Whether working at the home desk, or reporting from the battlefield and in situations of intense conflict, journalists need knowledge based on solid theories and knowledge of history and current affairs, as tools for navigation and contextualization.

Today, fake news has become a household name in public debates. We need to remember that a prominent example of fake news was the U.S.A's 'fact' of the existence of Iraqi weapons of mass destruction in the year 2003, perhaps the one fake item with the most far-reaching consequences in recent history.

Johan Galtung´s model for peace journalism has been used as an important part of teaching war and peace journalism both at the bachelor and master level at our institution, more comprehensively so at the graduate

level. One of the reasons is that the model has been used as a practical tool for journalists in the field (Lynch 2013), and as a theoretical tool to understand the history of peace (Eidsforth & Ottosen 2020). The MA module (20 ETCS), named 'Globalization, War and Peace Journalism' (GWPJ), has been offered at Oslo Metropolitan University (OsloMet, previously Oslo and Akershus University College of Applied Sciences) since 2002.1 More than 200 students from across the world have attended, and the course evaluations have overall been very positive.2 Later, some of these students have used the course in their careers as journalists, while others have used it to gain academic journalism training positions in their home countries by implementing a similar course module there.

This article, may be read as an exposé of the benefits of teaching conflict journalism to mature students from several corners of the world. It explains the historical development of the course, through gradual changes of curriculum and approaches, and discusses specific points from critical examination of Galtung's model that may be used as a pedagogical tool in class to raise awareness of issues useful to students as future reporters. Furthermore, it suggests other theoretical approaches to be included, such as post-colonial studies and critical discourse analysis. In the following, we will summarize some of the pedagogical experiences.

A Normative Model ...?

The point of departure for the course curriculum has been Galtung´s model on war and peace journalism (see appendix), as well as introduction to post-colonial studies and globalization theories. War Reporting is often linked to a dualistic method, a zero-sum game where the winner takes all. This entails that war coverage in the mainstream media tends towards "a rally-around" the flag approach with national interest overshadowing professional journalist standards when conflicts are presented in breaking news (Nohrstedt & Ottosen 2014). One recent example could be the simplistic reduction of the complex conflict in Venezuela to a personal battle between President Nicolás Maduro and his opponent Juan Guaido. Galtung´s model offers an alternative approach by putting more emphasis on structural issues like earlier historical experiences with US hegemony in Latin America and the battle for the rich oil resources in Venezuela. A potential consequence of lack of a critical alternative approach is that war journalism can contribute to escalating conflicts by reproducing propaganda and promoting war.

Some critics have characterized Galtung's model for being simplistic and violating the notion of journalist objectivity. BBC reporter David Loyn (2007) is the best-known opponent to the peace journalism model within the journalist community. In a special issue of the journal Conflict & Communication online (2007), opponents and defenders of peace journalism discuss the model. Loyn prefers to use terms such as 'truthfulness' and 'objectivity' as journalistic guidelines, even though he acknowledges the limitations inherent in those terms: 'In this analysis, if we accept that objectivity is at least a worthy aspiration, even though not a tool to achieve the "whole truth", then peace journalism fails a key test by imposing other expectations onto journalists' (Loyn, 2007, p. 5). Loyn´s approach seems to underrate the importance of context, including issues such as the presence of propaganda and PSYOPS at the battlefield. A reporter needs to understand that the propaganda-war starts before the actual war. If the reporter is not aware of this (s)he will be unable to warn the public about and be subject to the propaganda trap (Nohrstedt & Ottosen 2014). The special issue mentioned above may be actively used as part of an educational model in order to inspire discussion and in a sober manner give the students a variety of arguments in their approach to Galtung's model.

Concerning objectivity, Lynch and McGoldrick suggest that: 'Peace journalism is when editors and reporters make choices, about what to report and how to report it, which create opportunities for society at large to consider and to value non-violent, developmental responses to conflict.' (Lynch & McGoldrick, 2005, p. 5). Peace journalism as originally suggested by Galtung in a model for alternative and constructive conflict reporting may serve as a suggestion for a new type of investigative reporting. An essential contribution in the proposed education kit is to introduce important professional norms and techniques. Present conflict coverage is often violence-oriented, propaganda-oriented, elite-oriented and victory-oriented. A potential consequence is that war journalism contributes to escalating conflicts by reproducing propaganda and promoting war (Galtung, 2002). Furthermore, this conventional reporting demonstrates journalism as a field of weak autonomy vs. the political field (Bourdieu, 1998, 2005; Champagne, 2005), not least since media independence in times of war and serious conflict is harder to achieve than in everyday reporting.

Galtung´s notion of peace journalism takes a moral and ethical point of departure, acknowledging the fact

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1   Until 2015, the course was a part of the Global journalism programme, organized as a joint effort between Oslo and Akershus University College and the University of Örebro, Sweden.

2   Based on anonymous written evaluation forms distributed at the end of the course. In later years, when quantitative measures have been applied, from 1-7, the average has been above 6.

that media themselves play a role in the propaganda war. It presents a conscious choice: to identify other options for the readers/viewers by offering a solution-oriented, people-oriented and truth-oriented approach. This, in turn, implies a focus on possible suggestions for peace that the parties to the conflict might have an interest in hiding. Peace journalism is people-oriented in the sense that it focuses on the victims (often civilian casualties and civilian survivors) and people's everyday lives, and thus gives a 'voice to the voiceless', one of journalism's ethical ideals. It is also truth-oriented, in the sense that it reveals untruth on all sides of a conflict and focuses on propaganda as a means of continuing the war (Ottosen, 2010). Moreover, the frontiers of peace journalism will be expanded to incorporate complementary models such as human rights journalism to address concerns of professional neutrality of conflict sensitive journalism based on the just peace approach (Nohrstedt & Ottosen, 2014, 2015).

Peace journalism approaches can contribute to new courses in journalism schools and universities and inspire new NGOs, as well as new web sites for critical thinking among politicians to meet old and new challenges in this field.

Within the field of peace research, Galtung's model has generally been welcomed, and Majid Tehranian has even called it 'a system of global media ethics' (Tehranian 2002, p. 58). From this viewpoint, the question is whether it works in practice. This question could of course be answered rhetorically by referring to all the university courses, seminars, books and articles on the subject (see examples below).

It works in practice, it is often referred to (Ross & Tehranian 2008). However, when it comes to bridging the gap between this particular field theory and journalistic practice, Jake Lynch and Annabel McGoldrick have, inspired by Galtung, contributed through their textbook Peace Journalism (2005), an attempt by two academics with a journalistic background to combine the insights from journalistic experiences with the theory from academic peace studies. Jake Lynch and Johan Galtung have also developed the peace journalism theory building upon Lynch´s experience as a journalist in Sky News (Galtung & Lynch 2010, see also Ottosen & Edsforth 2020).

Including Critical Discourse Analysis

Acknowledging the influence of this model does not necessarily mean that one has to accept the entire concept of peace journalism as defined by Johan Galtung himself (Galtung, 2002). The model has strong points, but while introduced to students, should also undergo critical scrutiny. In earlier works, the model has been criticized for underestimating the visual aspects of war and peace reporting (Ottosen, 2008). Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is suggested as a supplement to the peace journalism model (Nohrstedt & Ottosen, 2014, 2015). A combination of Galtung´s peace journalism model and CDA has the advantage of being able to include a historical framework for case studies. Ruth Wodak's (1996) historical approach to critical discourse analysis is a particularly useful supplement to Galtung's model since it compensates for the somewhat strict framework of the model and opens up for an inclusion of long historical perspectives in the analysis. A challenge is the obvious time constraints in one limited course module, but our MA programme also offers particular modules in CDA.Another advantage of CDA is that it is a method for studying communicative action from a linguistic as well as a social science perspective. The concept 'discourse' refers to all kinds of communicative actions, such as language use in written or spoken form, visual images, gestures and behavior (Fairclough, 1995, p. 54; Van Dijk, 1998, pp. 193–4). Since Galtung's model builds on a rather simple dichotomy (war- or peace-orientated journalism), CDA can introduce other aspects and nuances. This includes analyzing what Bourdieu (2005) refers to as 'doxa' (unwritten rules and conventions accepted in the journalist field) which may cause omissions and marginalization of some perspectives, and topics not brought into the news frame; either through journalist self-censorship or censorship and/or repressive action by people in power (see also Lippe, 1991, 2016).

However, there is empirical evidence that much war reporting in mainstream media is constructed along the lines that Galtung suggests. Empirical findings from scholars such as Lynch (2013), Hackett & Schroeder (2008) are living proofs that his model is indeed a useful research and teaching tool, inspiring readers to deeper reflections. By using CDA as a supplement, we offer a more comprehensive analysis of case studies, including the systematic suppression of certain crucial aspects as well as the voices of ordinary people in the public discourse on war and peace issues. By discussing, through CDA, for example what is not present in a news text, as well as what is taken for granted, backgrounded or highlighted, we can provide examples of complex discursive constructions and structures that may contribute to conflict escalations and wars (Fairclough, 1995; Nohrstedt & Ottosen, 2014).

Some scholars have also suggested combining peace journalism theory with other frameworks. Carroll & Hackett (2006) see peace journalism theory in the light of Chomsky's and Herman's 'propaganda model' (Herman & Chomsky 2002) and Bourdieu's field theory. This is an interesting contribution. Hackett's approach is motivated by the question of whether peace journalism can work in practice. He concludes that the need for change in mainstream foreign reporting is obvious and sees peace journalism as a potential supplement. Nevertheless, he argues that peace journalism cannot work without strong support from public opinion appealing for a different kind of journalism (Carroll and Hackett 2006).

Gender perspectives

Gender issues are vital to understand all features of journalism, and therefore, important to address in journalism education. For decades, the journalist profession has been dominated by men, both in terms of division of labour within the profession, in content (women marginalized) and in choice of topics and framing of stories. In this respect, war journalism has not been an exception. The environment among war correspondents is characterized by masculine hegemony (Steiner, 2016). This is about to change. As late as in the 1980s, the student recruitment to our institution was approximately 70 per cent men. The opposite is now the case. How this will change the profession in the future is too early to say. Currently, the majority of foreign correspondents in the Norwegian National Public Broadcasting (NRK) are women.

Galtung´s model does not have a comprehensive gender perspective (Lippe and Ottosen, 2016). Studies demonstrate that women reporters are being discriminated in several manners (Orgeret, 2016; Høiby, 2016). The traditional masculine culture in war reporting underestimates women reporters' ability to cover war and conflict on an equal basis with men. Editors often use the fact that women are vulnerable to harassment and sexual abuse as an excuse to exclude them from reporting from conflict zones (Høiby & Ottosen 2015, 2016). Increased violence against journalists is an increasing problem for both female and male reporters. Reporters need editors who take security issues seriously, but they do not need patronizing editors using security as an excuse to keep women reporters away from conflict zones. In addition, female role models have existed for more than a hundred years, and highlighting these experiences is vital (Gellhorn, 1994; Emerson 1985, 1991; Edwards 1988).

Galtung´s model, when addressing gender, seems to focus mainly on the role of women as victims, supplemented by a general acceptance that women are more open to peace ideas than are men. He implies that women are more open to positive news (such as peace ideas) than men, who apparently tend to be more interested in negative news: 'violence, where the male hunter-warrior has to be on guard' (Galtung 2002, p. 267 in Lippe & Ottosen, 2016, p.14). Furthermore, he iterates '[…] women should be more interested in peace news than in war news tallies well with the assumption of women as better peace workers/peace carriers. If women believe more than men in horizontal networking for the care of other humans …' (op.cit.).

Galtung selects the feminist position based on gender difference (see Eide & Orgeret 2015), i.e. that women will be better prepared to work as peace journalists than men, as most of the violence in the world is perpetrated by men (he suggests 90 per cent). He then presents the assumption that the 'vested interest for women to change the situation is obvious; just as there is vested interest for males in preserving the status quo'. He adds '[…] there are also other reasons […] though this is in no way meant to suggest that the burden of this civilizing mission should fall on women alone. Peace is more holistic than war; women may be more sensitive to a broader range of variables than men' (Galtung 2002, p. 268).

Although the particular referents for masculinities and femininities vary cross-culturally, they are interrelated within any one culture. Gender influences all our identities, so that race, age, class, ethnicity, ability and nationality are also gender-specific identities (Lippe & Ottosen 2016; see also Crenshaw, 1989 on intersectionality). Essentializing women reporters in this way may implicitly disregard how reporters of all genders are to a large degree socialized into an existing journalistic field culture, and on the other hand, the fact that male journalists represent a wide variety of approaches.

The Case of Afghanistan

Since Norway has had troops on the ground in Afghanistan since 2002, we have found Norwegian warfare

useful as an illustrative educational case. By critically analyzing Norwegian media coverage, we have tried to raise awareness among students on how to develop a reflexive critical approach of journalistic challenges in reporting from/about foreign countries in a war situation.

During the Norwegian warfare in Afghanistan, the Norwegian media coverage has been influenced by a 'humanitarian discourse' of justification used by Norwegian politicians. Although all the political parties in the Norwegian parliament (Stortinget) agreed to support the U.S.A. after 9/11, and furthermore to contribute to the so-called Global War on Terror (GWT), a large part of the public has been critical about the deployment of Norwegian troops in Afghanistan. One reason for the low proportion of critical reporting may well be that most of the journalists covering the conflict have been embedded with Norwegian or other Western troops.

A powerful exception is one of our former MA course students, who decided to move to Kabul and work there as a freelance journalist. After several critical articles and television reports, he published the book Drømmekrigen (The Dream War, Hammer, 2008). This contributed to more critical reporting with an increased focus on Afghan civilians while questioning the purpose and indeed the results of the invasion and warfare. A recent volume treats in-depth the history of the Norwegian presence in the Faryab province, which remained their responsibility for more than a decade (Hammer, 2019).

When Hammer settled in Kabul as a freelance, he was able to create his own network. His independence of Norwegian forces was demonstrated when a Norwegian soldier by accident killed a local craftsman at a control post with his little son as witness and passenger. Hammer was able to trace the son´s family and then present the story of the victims, finding the way to the headline in a major Norwegian newspaper.3 Another MA student (Fondenes 2011) wrote his thesis about this story. Later, both these former students and several others contributed to an anthology on the coverage of the Afghanistan war (Eide & Ottosen, 2013).

Other more recent examples from our exchange students include a series of term papers focusing on journalism in their home country. One powerful example is a student from Pakistan who monitored the tweets of journalists in India and Pakistan around the times of heightened tension between the two countries in early 2019.

By the use of NATO/ISAF propaganda (see below, PSYOPS) through a lookalike newspaper, Sada-e Azadi, the civilian population of Afghanistan has been promised a future democracy, including the liberation of women (Bøe-Hansen in FOFO4, 30/4-2007, p. 87). This fits well into the pattern described by Jemima Repo:

> *"The parallel is made between the American-backed officials as enlightened and progressive in support of women's rights and westernization, and the Islamists as Islamic fundamentalist ex-warriors still bloodthirsty and insistent on a backward society that oppresses women. The division between good/bad men divides Afghan masculinities into two opposing groups that sustains the US self-image of democratic liberator used in the humanitarian discourse for additional justification for the war. The US and its Afghan supporters are still characterized as woman-friendly, and any association with the Taliban as woman-repressive."* **(Repo 2006, p. 66).**

A gender sensitive approach as mentioned above will pay attention to the differences among men and among women, rather than exaggerating them. What is implied, though, are, first and foremost, representations as intertwined with identity categories such as state, nation, ethnicity and others (Eide 2016b; Lippe & Ottosen 2016).

Examples may vary, but the shift in political argument supportive of the Norwegian presence in Afghanistan, is a case for in-depth studies. As it became increasingly clear that the US-led warfare did not rid Afghanistan (or the world) of the terrorist threat, more emphasis was put on the promotion of women's rights and girl education (Lippe, 2012; Eide & Skaufjord, 2014), while the plight of Afghan civilians in general, with some prominent exceptions, was not much covered (Moen, 2009, 2013). One may conclude that some of the dominant media discourses shifted from the terrorist threat to one on how a Western *we* had an obligation to save Afghan women; or as Spivak (1988) puts it, to save brown women from brown men. The example above also indicates how a broader post-colonial perspective is beneficial in teaching peace journalism.

Post-colonial perspectives, contrapuntal readings

The historical legacy of Western representation of the non-Western other is of importance, and as new po-

3   Dagbladet, 30/07/2009
4   FOFO: Forsvarets Forum, independent magazine published within the Norwegian military.

litical debates on the legacy of colonialism occur (Schipper, 1999; Sardar 1998), such academic approaches are of great importance. Said suggested a connection, albeit not a stable or mechanical one, between hierarchical representation of others (nations, groups) and ideological legitimation of war (Said 1981, 1994, 1995; see also Eide 2011). As a cornerstone within these perspectives, the history of othering processes (Ashcroft et al., 1999) is central to the understanding of hostility, degradation of human beings, groups, minorities, and nations. Our MA module includes such perspectives, taking into account the unequal powers of global as well as national media and their influence. Another challenge is the continuous update of reading lists and teaching schedules to fit global changes, which for example means including the increasing impact of climate change in generating global conflicts (Eide & Kunelius, 2012; Kunelius et al., 2017).

Another issue of importance in journalist and academic analysis of warfare is what Edward Said labels 'contrapuntal reading'. Simplified, it is a practice of seeing the world from more places than your own. According to Said it entails a:

> *"[…] simultaneous awareness both of the metropolitan history that is narrated and of those other histories against which (and together with which) the dominant discourse acts. [...] In the same way, I believe, we can read and interpret English novels, for example, whose engagement (usually suppressed for the most part) with the West Indies or India, say, is shaped and perhaps even determined by the specific history of colonization, resistance, and finally native nationalism. At this point alternative or new narratives emerge, and they become institutionalised or discursively stable entities." (Said 1994, pp. 59-60).*

Said emphasizes that contrapuntal reading must take into account processes both of imperialism and resistance to it. As we read it, contrapuntal reading may be seen as a way of interpreting a phenomenon from different places, with different lenses shaped by history, culture and politics, not least including war and oppression. Contrapuntal reading does not mean that in a war situation, all forces need be treated as (un)justified in their violent and non-violent operations. Rather, it opens up for a counter-discursive approach to the discourses of the powerful, warring parties, trying to reveal the silent, brought to silence other (Spivak, 1994). To 'see the world from another place' may entail to analyze the situation of the part identified as enemy by the forces of one's own country, as is done in some daring and controversial documentaries made by independent reporters (see below).

Whose voices?

Dilemmas are evident: In a number of conferences5 with journalists and academics discussing extremism, the question on whether to interview/quote extremists (such as Taliban in Afghanistan or Al Nusra in Syria) has created a vivid debate, partly inspired by the 'No Platforming'-discussions emerging in large parts of the world.6 In Afghanistan, journalists previously risked arrest if they did so, but many also think that Taliban, who have threatened and killed journalists, should not be allowed a voice. On the other hand, recent research shows that Taliban spokespersons are indeed cited in Afghan news, and that they, according to some journalists, are more easily accessible than government sources (Eide et al., 2019). Some Norwegian journalists feel it as part of their duty to report on the views and motivations of people joining Taliban or other forces fighting western-supported groups or governments (Refsdal, 2010; Hammer 2016) see also Eide 2016a). To expose students to such dilemmas is a fruitful way of raising awareness when it comes to the complexity of violent conflicts.

Film producer Alain Brigand provides a powerful, illustrative example of global, contrapuntal reading. In 2002, he invited filmmakers from different corners of the world to create short films addressing 9-11-2001 (Brigand, 2002). He gave them total freedom, except for one guideline: the individual film duration should be 11 minutes and 9 seconds. Iranian Samira Makhmalbaf takes her point of departure from an Afghan refugee camp in Iran, where a teacher tries to explain to her young students what happened in the U.S.A. The children cannot imagine this, and are more concerned with two (Afghan refugee) men who recently fell into a well. The teacher voices her fears that Afghanistan (and Iran) may be hit by bombs. Another film, directed by Idrissa Ouedraogo from Burkina Faso, focuses on a group of young boys eager to catch an Osama bin Laden lookalike appearing in the capital Ouagadougou, to receive the ransom promised, which would help the ailing mother of poor Adama, one of the boys. Serbian filmmaker Emir Kusturica shows village women and men commemorating the massacres in Srebrenica, while Kenneth Loach reminds viewers of Chile's 9-11 in 1973, demonstrating that other nations also have experienced enormous tragedies.

5   Conferences hosted by JMIC/OsloMet or Universitas Indonesia, 2016, 2017, 2019.

6   The conferences are part of a series of events organized by our department and its international center (JMIC), in collaboration with partners in countries such as Bangladesh, Indonesia, Pakistan and Tunisia, addressing fundamental issues for journalists, and including both academics and journalists. For more information, see https://blogg.hioa.no/jmic/ . This website tries to develop some global tools also concerning war and peace journalism.

Articles

A selection of these short films has been shown at all GWPJ courses since the film series occurred, followed by fruitful discussions, creating an atmosphere of understanding that people interpret realities and act according to their own historical context including war experiences, and social conditions.

Academics and practitioners

Two intensive weeks of lecturing and course work allow us also to include guest speakers i.e. journalists with much experience from covering war and conflicts in Afghanistan, Palestine, the Middle East and elsewhere. The pedagogical model is one of dialogue, including panels where journalists exchange views and/or show photo or video examples, some of them quite controversial, as for example a reporter (Refsdal, mentioned above) who has been embedded both with Taliban in Afghanistan and the Al Nusra-front in Syria.

Students also frequently take part in debates generated by lecturers, and contribute with their very different experiences. Our last programmes (2017, 2019) included student participants from countries such as Afghanistan, Austria, Estonia, Indonesia, Iran, Nepal, Norway, Pakistan, Palestine, Russia, South Sudan, Uganda and Zimbabwe. We consider their knowledge 'from the ground' an extremely valuable part of the learning process and the students highly value such diversity in the classroom. They have faced the challenge of presenting the media situation in their respective countries, as well as speaking of their understanding of selected parts of the reading list, which has led to vivid debates. Furthermore, we bring in colleagues from our own department, widely known for its group of internationally experienced academics, with experiences from many corners of the world. To our advantage, most of our academic staff are experienced both as journalists and academics.

A wider impact

Since the start in 2002, we have encouraged students to write critical term papers and Master theses on Norwegian media coverage of war and conflict. In 2015, we collected some of the MA thesis contributions in an edited volume (Eide & Ottosen 2013). The book was used as a reference when the independent Godal commission[7] in 2016 published a government-initiated report, which in retrospect was quite critical of the results of 15 years of Norwegian military presence in Afghanistan. This white paper concluded that the sole achievement crowned with success, was proving Norway as a staunch ally to the USA, and thus a loyal member of NATO. [8]

The necessity of teaching students the value of critical public debate, also when our own national forces are at war is obvious. By including lectures on mechanisms in propaganda and psychological operations (PSYOPS), practicing as well as future journalists will learn to hold their own independent ground when faced with the rhetoric of their own government as well as other proponents of warfare.

Another example is the Norwegian bombing of Libya in 2011. Norway took part in the NATO-bombing of Libya, thus violating the UN mandate that through resolution 1973 in UN Security Council suggested the implementation of a no-fly zone to protect the civilian population in Benghazi against an alleged threat from Ghadafi´s military forces (Heier et al., 2019; Ottosen et al., 2013). Norwegian media have shown little interest in looking critically at the propaganda (before the bombing started) that the main purpose of the military intervention was to protect the civilian population in Benghazi (Tunander, 2018). As a main point in the peace journalism approach is to reveal untruths on all sides, Norwegian media could have used a conclusion from a report of the Foreign Affairs Committee in the British parliament, which concludes that the propaganda about Benghazi was a lie.[9] Unlike the Norwegian commission investigating the Libya-bombing, the British parliament contributed to revealing the untruth 'on all sides'.

Propaganda and psychological operations

By discussing psychological operations (PSYOPS), we can raise awareness among students, on the debate about fake news being as old as war journalism itself. Phillip Knightley (1986) has through his famous book

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7   Bjørn Tore Godal is a Labour politician, previously minister of Defense in the Stoltenberg government (

8   This conclusion was also supported by journalist Kristoffer Egeberg who in his book Fredsnasjonen Norge (Norway, the peace nation) after interviews with all Foreign ministers, Ministers of defense and Heads of defense conclude much in agreement with the Godal commission: the main reason for Norwegian military presence through all these years has been to be "a relevant ally" for the U.S.A. (Egeberg 2017).

9   The Guardian 14.09.2016: https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/14/mps-deliver-damning-verdict-on-camerons-libya-intervention Accessed 02.12.2018

The First Casualty proved that false propaganda to promote war has been used by governments to influence the news agenda since the Crimean war. Through PSYOPS operations, the military directly and indirectly influences the news agenda through constructed events. One such famous event was the toppling of the Saddam Hussein statue during the US invasion of Baghdad, Iraq in 2003. This was created by a PSYOPS unit in the invading forces, but was sold to the media as a spontaneous act by cheering Iraqis who supposedly welcomed the forces. Even though journalists at the spot witnessed a military truck tearing down the statue in a half empty square, news media all over the world took the bait and printed false propaganda stories on the front pages (Ottosen, 2009). According to NATO's 'Allied Joint Doctrine for Psychological Operations' (2007), PSYOPS have three basic aims:

'a. Weaken the will of the adversary or potential adversary target audiences.

b. Reinforce the commitment of friendly target audiences.

c. Gain the support and cooperation of uncommitted or undecided audiences'. (NATO, 2007, p. 18)

PSYOPS are an integral part of modern warfare. Operating on the borderline between the battlefield and civil society, they have the potential to cause ethical problems by blurring the difference between journalism and military operations and represent a potential threat to journalistic impartiality. Within NATO, the main target of PSYOPS operations is often the people on the ground where a conflict or war is taking place. However, the operations also have consequences for home audiences. The US army has used local television stations as training posts for some of its psychological operations personnel.

Norwegian Armed Forces define PSYOPS (similar to the USA) as: 'Planned operations in times of peace, emergency, armed conflict and war directed at hostile, friendly and/or neutral targets to influence attitudes, emotions and behaviour to achieve political and military aims' (Norwegian Defence Supreme Command, 2000, p. 77). Returning to our case of Norwegian military presence in Afghanistan, a critical approach to PSYOPS operations by Norwegian troops can be used as examples of how the military blur the difference between journalism and propaganda.

Safety and the battle against impunity

Between 2012 and 2018, 631 journalists were killed, an average of two deaths per week. One example is the murder of Saudi journalist Jamal Khashoggi inside the Saudi- Arabian consulate in Istanbul. According to UN special rapporteur Agnes Callamard, Saudi officials were responsible for the killing.[10]

Earlier research indicates that although killing of foreign correspondents tend to garner most international publicity, it is overwhelmingly local journalists who are killed while reporting on local expressions of war, corruption or the activities of criminal groups. This trend holds across all regions. Political groups, military officials, insurgent groups, militias and criminal organizations have directly targeted and sought to silence the voices of journalists (UNESCO 2016). The issue of impunity is of course the most serious part of this situation when we know that according to freedom of expression network IFEX, nine out of ten violent crimes against journalists are never prosecuted. There is no doubt that violence against journalists will continue as long as the perpetrators get away with such crimes.

Seen against this dramatic background, offering safety training to future reporters as well as research on the safety of journalists has become vital in our course work at several levels.[11] Recent research (Høiby&Ottosen 2016, Harrison 2017) demonstrates the dramatic consequences of impunity. In short, Harrison's conclusion is that journalists are subject to increased physical and psychological attacks, harassment, threats, smear campaigns, arbitrary detentions, deprivation of liberty and kidnapping. Journalists must also live with threats to family, undue political pressure, censorship, false lawsuits and corrupt trials. Legal mechanisms are created to suppress journalists. Anti-terrorism legislation is used to falsely charge and sentence journalists. Another problem is implementation of laws with restrictions towards journalism and freedom of expression. Journalists receive threats and insults, in addition to being subjects to surveillance, blackmail and bribe offers. Media companies are being closed down for political reasons. Experiences of violent threats against journalists may be discussed within the framework of the classical ideals of 'the fourth estate' and fundamental objectives or challenges that conflict journalism has had to cope with in the recent wars.

In 2018, Afghanistan topped the list of countries in which journalists were killed. Numbers vary between 16 and 20, probably since some media workers (who are not considered journalists) may have been ex-

10   https://www.ohchr.org/EN/NewsEvents/Pages/DisplayNews.aspx?NewsID=24146&LangID=E Accessed 04.05.2019
11   The course presents fresh research on the safety issue, and participants are encouraged to take part in further safety training

cluded from international statistics, while local monitors include them since some attacks target media institutions. Journalists in Afghanistan report that they and their employers take more safety measures than before, and many have been subject to both threats and physical injuries. This recent research reveals that far from all receive adequate safety training (Eide et al., 2019).

Recommended: a multi-perspective

Successful attempts have been made to include courses in war and peace journalism in some other institutions. There is evidence to suggest that these courses have had an impact on the careers of some course participants and have affected the ways in which they report on conflicts, influenced by the peace journalism model (Ottosen, 2010).

As a result of academic courses such as the one examined here and a related one in Sweden, we suggest a definition of Sustainable war journalism as follows:

- *Promote free speech and access to public information with changing legal and social norms. Safety as opposed to impunity.*
- *Meet professional standards of quality considering the special conditions of new wars. (An example is legal issues in connection to cross-border drone attacks from Afghanistan into Pakistan.)*
- *Provide citizens with reliable, objective news from multiple sources, contrapuntal reading.*
- *Pursue editorial independence in well-managed enterprises.*
- *Protect professional independence in relation to other institutions (See also Nohrstedt & Ottosen, 2017, p. 218).*

By raising awareness among our national and international students about the above perspectives, we hope to improve critical reporting on national and multinational military forces, and raising awareness about the structural framework in military-media relations. Courses such as the one we have presented also enhance sensitivity about other tough confrontations that may arise in diversified, complex societies, and steps towards a solution-oriented journalism.

Simultaneously through attending these courses, the students are offered a pedagogical tool useful for their roles as educators of future journalists. This is a role several student have already taken on, in countries such as Bangladesh, Nepal, Nigeria, Pakistan, Palestine, South Sudan, and Uganda.

Last, but not least, our experiences demonstrate the necessity of wider historical and cultural perspectives, including post-colonial studies and gender perspectives. To approach journalism in this sensitive area, there is a constant need to work to improve and develop existing models of analysis, and generate an atmosphere of open debate, including perspectives from students who have a wide range of experiences from countries and regions more conflict-ridden than the peaceful Nordic one.

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Appendix I

Johan Galtung's model of peace journalism published in Galtung (2002)

PEACE/CONFLICT JOURNALISM	WAR/VIOLENCE JOURNALISM
I Peace/conflict-orientated • explore conflict *formation*, *x* parties, *y* goals, *z* issues, general 'win, win' orientation • open space, open time; causes and outcomes anywhere, also in history/culture • making conflicts transparent • giving voice to all parties; empathy and understanding • see conflict/war as a problem, focus on conflict creativity • humanisation of all sides; more so the worse the weapon • *proactive*; prevention before any violence/war occurs • focus on invisible effects of violence (trauma and glory, damage to structure/ culture)	**I War/violence-orientated** • focus on conflict arena, 2 parties, 1 goal (win), war general zero-sum orientation • closed space, closed time, causes and exits in arena, who threw the first stone • making wars opaque/secret • 'us-them' journalism, propaganda, voice, for 'us' • see 'them' as the problem, focus on who prevails in war • dehumanisation of 'them', more so the worse the weapon • *reactive*: waiting for violence before reporting • focus only on visible effects of violence (killed, wounded and material damage)
II Truth-oriented • expose untruths on all sides • uncover all cover-ups	**II Propaganda-orientated** • expose 'their' untruths • help 'our' cover-ups/lies

Articles

III People-orientated
- focus on suffering all over; on women, the aged, children, giving voice to the voiceless
- give name to all evil-doers
- focus on people peacemakers

IV Solution-orientated
- peace = non-violence + creativity
- highlight peace initiatives, also to prevent more war
- focus on structure, culture, the peaceful society
- aftermath: resolution, reconstruction, reconciliation

III Elite-orientated
- focus on our suffering; on able-bodied elite males, being their mouthpiece
- give name to their evil-doers
- focus on elite peacemakers

IV Victory-orientated
- peace = victory + ceasefire
- conceal peace initiatives, before victory is at hand
- focus on treaty, institution, the controlled society
- leaving for another war, return if the old war flares up again

Challenges and opportunities for teaching data and statistics within journalism education in Saudi Arabia: fostering new capabilities in the region

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Abstract

This paper explores the nature and reach of the education of data and statistics in media and journalism schools in Saudi Arabia. It allows us to better understand the role of these schools - and the syllabuses set by them - to foster greater capabilities among future journalists and provide them with the tools to engage and work in an environment which increasingly uses more data. The purpose of this study therefore is to understand whether the Saudi educational system successfully prepares media and journalism students with the ability to gather, engage, use, interpret, analyse and manage statistics and data. In so doing, it assesses how journalism education provides, or does not provide, journalists with the ability to fulfil the professional normative expectations of bringing accountability and transparency to public policy and soci-

ety as a whole. To do this, the study uses the example of financial journalism as an opportunity to examine these issues. The piece is based on the triangulation of several qualitative methods. The overall data suggests that, contrary to common assumptions that claim exceptionalism, Saudi Arabia - despite its political system and cultural/religious context - tends to follow similar approaches and normative aspirations as its counterparts in Western liberal democracies. Furthermore, Saudi Arabia has also developed a very similar rationale for justifying the teaching of data and statistics to future journalists in these schools, even if this remains just at the normative aspirational level.

Keywords: Data; education; journalism; media schools; Saudi Arabia; statistics.

Introduction

As in other parts of the world, journalism education in Saudi Arabia is facing important challenges, derived from a combination of factors.

These challenges are a direct result of a set of important changes in the media landscape that are eroding the ability of traditional media outlets to hire news people on the same scale as they have in the past. There are also trends that are shifting the industry as a whole towards a series of new operational and market pathways.

These changes in the media industry are underpinned, among other issues, by technological changes, the fragmentation of audiences, declining advertisement revenue and important transformations in the patterns of consumption related to the media (Lugo-Ocando, 2015, p. 371). On top of all this there is a profound process of individualisation and depoliticisation taking place that sees citizens less engaged with, and committed to, participation in public life (Lugo-Ocando, 2015, p. 374).

However, one of the most important changes in relation to these challenges relates to the way 'datification' is irremediably transforming our entire society (Carillo, 2017; Saracino, 2017) and how this reflects the larger trend of mathematisation in which everything in society seemingly needs to be counted and measured in order to register in the public imagination as a legitimate topic for debate (Martišius and Martišius, 2008; Nikolakaki, 2010). For journalists and prospective journalists, this challenge is rapidly translating into very tangible and timely demands for skills related to data gathering (mining), statistical awareness, data visualisation and the ability to generally analyse and communicate this data.

Indeed, beyond any formal criticism that we might make against this process, the fact remains that it is now at the centre of journalism, which is rapidly redefining itself as a profession that deals with Big Data (Borges-Rey, 2016; Anderson, 2018). It is in this context that the teaching of statistics and data has started to register as a priority among many schools of journalism around the world. Furthermore, it sees this particular branch of knowledge and expertise, which is able to evolve with the field, as a possible pathway to be a viable and sustainable subject area in times of rapid change (Nguyen and Lugo-Ocando, 2016; Lugo-Ocando, 2017).

In this sense, this study aims to explore the nature and reach of the education in data and statistics provided at media and journalism schools in Saudi Arabia. It allows for a better understanding of how these schools equip, or do not equip, future journalists with the tools they need to engage and work with an increasingly

datified news environment. The purpose of this paper is to understand whether the education system sufficiently prepares media and journalism students in Saudi Arabia to gather, engage, use, interpret, analyse and manage statistics. In so doing, it assesses the extent to which this branch of journalism education provides journalists with the capabilities necessary to fulfil the professional normative expectations of bringing about accountability and transparency to public policy in general and the business markets in particular.

This study is based on the triangulation of several qualitative methods. These included semi-structured interviews with heads of media and journalism schools and practising journalists to explore their perceptions of and approaches towards the necessary knowledge and skills in relation to using data and statistics. This was followed by an examination of the curricula and syllabi used in Saudi universities teaching journalism. The overall data suggest that, contrary to common assumptions that claim exceptionalism, Saudi Arabia's journalism schools—despite operating within a particular political system and cultural/religious context—not only tend to follow similar normative approaches and aspirations as do their counterparts in Western liberal democracies but have also developed a very similar rationale to justify the teaching of data and statistics to aspiring journalists.

The broad context

Journalism education and its curricula from around the world has been, for many decades, under close scrutiny and continued revision (Franklin and Mensing, 2011). However, one of the key aspects where there has been some agreement is in the need to provide particular skills and knowledge related to the gathering, production and dissemination of news content. According to Weiss and Retis-Rivas (2018, p. 2), "journalism schools have an obligation to provide the latest skills and techniques to make students competitive for the news market". Although there is still ample debate around what type of skills should be incorporated into the syllabus, there seems to be increasing consensus around specific knowledge areas that should be included - particularly those relating to the liberal arts (Deuze, 2006; Banda, 2013; Zelizer, 2017).

However, data and statistics, at least until recently, did not register as part of that consensus, despite important debates and initiatives dating back to the 1970s contending the importance of such study areas. There were discussions about 'Precision Journalism', which saw the need to incorporate quantitative approaches from the field of social science into news reporting (McCombs et al., 1981; Dennis et al., 2002; Meyer, 2002). Furthermore, not even the UNESCO proposal for a universal syllabus, which gathered important voices from around the world, managed to acknowledge this need (Banda, 2013).

Nevertheless, this situation is changing, and already a growing body of literature has identified the need to teach data journalism at a higher education level in J-school (DeFleur and Davenport, 1993; Yarnall et al., 2008; Berret and Phillips, 2016; Griffin and Dunwoody, 2016; Nguyen and Lugo-Ocando, 2016; Gotlieb et al., 2017). Moreover, the Poynter Institute for Media Studies, one of the most influential in this area, now considers numeracy as one of ten basic competencies for journalists and states "journalists need math skills to make sense of numbers the way they need language skills to make sense of words" (Poynter Institute, 1998, p. 8). Without doubt, the Poynter Institute (1998, p. 8) considers statistics as one of ten basic competencies for journalists while others have made important calls to strengthen the teaching of statistics for media and journalism students (Yarnall et al., 2008; Nguyen and Lugo-Ocando, 2016; Griffin and Dunwoody, 2016).

Maier (2002), for example, highlighted that the misuse of numbers in professional practice has roots in journalism education. Hence, journalism schools need to provide their students with the intellectual tools and abilities they need to access and understand these numbers, as a lack of statistical reasoning remains a major obstacle (Utts, 2003) and will probably continue to do so until media houses and educational institutions begin to focus their attention on solving it (Brand, 2008).

Beyond the West

These challenges, however, are not restricted to the West. Arab countries face similar obstacles to the point that some scholars have argued that shortcomings in media and journalism education are a major issue facing Arab journalism (AlHroub, 2012; AlHumood, 2014; AlHumood et al., 2016; Babaker, 2014; Ibnrubbian, 2016). As such, a study by Hussain (2008) looked into the quality of education and academic accreditation in general as obstacles facing government-provided media education at Arab universities, despite the many key resources that were made available to them in the recent past.

Hussain (2008), who conducted one of the few studies that has been done in this area, found that media education at these universities, especially in the Arabian Gulf, face important academic shortcomings and

organisational challenges. He added that these obstacles hindered the chance to improve the quality of media education and reflect on its outcomes. The main challenge is the inability of these universities to keep up with the modern media revolution. They cannot catch up with their counterparts in the Western world, especially in the areas of media knowledge, media practice and the establishment of new media outlets relating to the information revolution (Hussain, 2008).

Furthermore, authors such as El-Nawawy (2007) found an important gap between journalism practice needs and journalism education provision in Arab countries. This is because media schools in some of these countries do not seem to have a clear vision or specific description of what should be taught and delivered, particularly in the absence of clear academic norms and agreement as to how universities should teach students and lead them to become successful journalists (Alheezan, 2007). As a result, calls have been made from public and media organisations to improve the outcomes of media schools in the region (Babaker, 2014), and while some are embracing these recommendations at a greater pace than are others, in some cases these schools muse face both old and new obstacles within their limited realms of freedom (Al-Hasani, 2010).

However, and perhaps more important to note, is the fact that media education in the Arab world is not linked to a particular theory nor does it manage to translate a particular school of thought in behavioural or social sciences into its own particular setting (AlJammal, 2004), as is the case in other places in the world. Instead, the overall theoretical framework in Arab countries often derives from a Western heritage - as many local frameworks have been excluded for a variety of reasons - and is deeply rooted in the epistemology generated by colonialism, which was subsequently shaped by the tensions of the Cold War.

Consequently, academic institutions delivering journalism education in the Arab world have improvised many of their pedagogical provisions without these being preceded or accompanied by a study of the needs of their societies. Further, they have not incorporated their own heritage and critical traditions, as has occurred in other countries in the southern hemisphere (e.g., the Philippines and in several countries in Latin America, which have developed important alternative models and approaches towards media and journalism education since the 1960s (Beltrán and de Cardona, 1980; Quebral, 1988; Barbero, 1993).

In addition to these gaps, it is important to highlight that there is little tradition in the Arab Gulf of more critical approaches being taken in journalism studies. This includes, incorporating skills that improve the ability of future journalists to bring about more transparency and accountability in their societies.

In this context, El-Nawawy (2007, p. 81) found that many journalism educators and journalism practitioners did not believe in the importance of knowledge of statistics as a competency for journalists. Furthermore, there has been little to no research published to this day about educating and training journalists in the region to develop critical thinking and practical skills related to the engagement with and use of statistics and data. Only a few books from Arab authors have been published with regards to this topic, and these mostly focus on the practical aspects (Aliraqi, 2016) rather than on the critical aspects of this issue. It is precisely here that this paper intends to start a debate that will hopefully trigger further research and discussion on the topic. This last point is particularly pertinent in relation to countries such as Saudi Arabia that are facing important challenges and undergoing great transformations.

Journalism education in Saudi Arabia

Journalism education in Saudi Arabia is, relative to Western countries such as the US, a new endeavour. It only emerged as a discipline in 1972, when the first school of media was established at King Saudi University. This was followed by three more schools: King Abdul-Aziz University (KAU) in 1976, Al-Imam Mohammed Ibn Saud Islamic University (IMAMU) in 1981 and Umm Al-Qura University (UQU) in 1984, (Alhabib, 2007). However, during the last ten years, this number has increased to 14 in total (Ministry of Education, 2018b). Today, there are currently more than 27,000 students undertaking undergraduate studies in media, with almost 800 studying at a postgraduate level in this discipline (Ministry of Education, 2018a). They all undertake education at higher education institutions and all media schools operate in government-run institutions.

Alheezan (2007) is one of the few authors to explore media education in Saudi Arabia. He found that the curricula studied at Saudi media schools are very similar to each other and focus more on general curricula than do US media schools, which concentrate more on specific curricula. More importantly, Alheezan (2007) found that statistics were taught in only one Saudi media school, although quantitative methods associated with media research were taught in all schools (Alheezan, 2007).

However, Alheezan's (2007) study was conducted a decade ago, when there were only eight universities and four Saudi media schools. Therefore, because of the significant increase in the number of media schools

and the political changes and transitions taking place in Saudi Arabia, it is important to re-examine and expand our knowledge regarding the curricula taught in these schools and analyse present and future challenges, particularly in relation to the use of statistics and data.

More recently, Alomir (2016) examined the experience of teaching statistics in Saudi universities. According to his research, the majority of those who teach statistics courses for non-specialist students at Saudi universities, are not themselves specialist in teaching statistics (Alomir, 2016, p. 165). This highlights, in my view, the lack of training and resources in this area. Moreover, he found that: "most statistics teachers adopt a lecturing approach in teaching statistics courses to non-specialist students in Saudi universities despite evidence-based recommendations from a diversity of pedagogical bodies to use instead student-centred and interactive methods of teaching at universities" (Alomir, 2016, p. 174).

Another important finding of his study was that many students in several colleges found statistics courses 'irrelevant' to what they aspire to be, professionally speaking, and this in itself has created problems in terms of students' pedagogical engagement with this type of knowledge and skills in the classroom. As a consequence, according to this author, "the issue has exacerbated a distinct lack of enthusiasm among the students towards undertaking statistics as a course. This lack of enthusiasm caused further difficulties for the statistics teachers dealing with many absent students and groups of unmotivated students" (Alomir, 2016, p. 176).

Although students are still relatively new to this specific area, there are already important elements in place to help determine the key gaps and areas that need further research. One, of course, is a general update in the inventory of resources and experiences related to the delivery of this subject. Another is the need to examine the particular elements that drive J-schools to modernise and adapt their curricula to the demands of the 21st century. This is precisely the task I attempt to undertake in this study.

Methodology

This study is based on the triangulation of several qualitative methods. These included semi-structured interviews with two different groups. The first group of interviews was carried out with eight heads of media and journalism schools to explore their perceptions of and approaches towards providing knowledge and skills in relation to the use of data and statistics. The second group was made up of ten journalists and editors who cover the business newsbeat. They allowed us to examine their levels of education, preparation and knowledge in relation to the use of statistical data, while exploring their perceptions of media and journalism schools in Saudi Arabia.

The interviewees included journalists and editors from three Saudi newspapers: Alriyadh, Aleqtisadiah and Asharq Al-Awsat. Altogether, six journalists and four editors were interviewed, seven of whom were male and three, female. The interviews explored their perceptions about statistical education in media and journalism schools in Saudi Arabia. Their identities have been anonymised following the recommendation of the Ethical Committee at the University of Leeds. Although I recognise that, this number of interviews might seem small, when compared to studies conducted in other regions of the world, I believe that the interviews are not only representative but also insightful, given the current changes taking place in Saudi Arabian society.

These interviews were followed up by a survey examining the curricula and syllabi at all Saudi universities teaching journalism. All these methods were conducted between April and July of 2018. The triangulation of methods followed similar work undertaken by other authors in the field (Dunwoody and Griffin, 2013; Nguyen and Lugo-Ocando, 2016; Splendore et al., 2016; Martin, 2017) who explored journalism education related to the use of statistics by journalists.

Findings and discussion

Overall, the findings indicate that, contrary to common assumptions that claim exceptionalism for Saudi Arabia's journalism education system (given its political system and cultural/religious context), journalism education in the country tends instead to follow similar approaches and normative aspirations to those of their counterparts that operate in the context of traditional Western liberal democracies. The findings also suggest that these media and journalism schools have developed a very similar rationale for justifying the teaching of data and statistics to future journalists in these schools.

Furthermore, heads of Saudi media schools seem to be very aware of the importance of and need to engage with data and statistics to improve the transparency and accountability of governments in modern society.

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Indeed, most heads of schools interviewed thought that these skills are crucial to improve transparency and efficiency in public policy design, its implementation and, more broadly, the decision-making process. As one of the interviewees mentioned:

> *"There is no doubt that the availability of statistical information, whether economic or social, would have helped the decision-making process …. Therefore, any decision taken by an institution must be based on statistical information, and the more accurate the information, the closer the decision will be to the truth. (#INT15)*

In fact, these heads of school saw statistics as a central element in business news stories. According to one of the heads:

> *"There is no doubt that the economic press relies heavily on the language of numbers where data and statistics are at the heart of the financial press and through which the full picture of the event will become clear and highlight the places of interest. The statistics are indispensable in the news, reports, and investigative journalism. It constitutes a cornerstone of the success of the specialised article and the fullness of its content. (#INT17)*

Another head of a media and journalism school confirmed this view with the following argument:

Certainly, financial and economic journalism is mainly based on figures and statistics. The economic issues related to the movement of capital, inflation, the stock exchange … shares, bonds and other financial instruments all depend on data, statistics and figures. (#INT16)

These findings further support the idea of Vollmer (2016), who argued that business numbers represent an important aspect of constructing economic reality - an idea that is widely accepted in economic discourse.

Equally important for these heads of media schools is the role that statistics and data play as tools to enhance a newspaper's ability to bring about improved transparency, accessibility and engagement in relation to the public (Utt and Pasternak, 2000; Bekhit, 2009). One of the heads of media schools pointed out the following:

> *"[Statistics help] the reader to understand huge amounts of information quickly. In my opinion, infographics help journalists move from plain text to visual content and thus help the reader to understand numbers and statistics faster and easier than plain text…. [R]eaders get bored by plain text news, especially longer articles, whilst they find news that includes infographics more attractive. Therefore, the press would help itself a lot if it made more use of infographics. (#INT18)*

Some of the heads interviewed, who belief in the significance of teaching statistics for business journalists, tried to diagnose the current situation, not only by acknowledging the lack of provisions in their own institutions but also by highlighting the gaps in the news organisations themselves. These heads mentioned, for example, the need to develop within news organisations information centres and/or the provision of specialised knowledge that could help news media outlets to process and analyse data with greater effectiveness:

The lack of advanced information provisions and support makes it challenging for journalists to obtain information within their pressing deadlines or when an editor requests information at short notice. If these centres existed within news organisations, they would be able to provide the information needed. (#INT18)

This echoes similar claims made in the West by journalists who complained about the lack of options available to them in getting support to access and analyse business numbers (Doyle, 2006; Manning, 2013). As one school head argued:

Of course [statistics] are very important. However, the problem is that the economic press does not have research facilities or resources within the organisation to help [journalists] gather and access statistics and support them in dealing with these numbers in order to disseminate them among the public. Apparently, the press in the Arab world as a whole does not rely on statistics and studies. In fact, there is supposed to be a reliance on statistics to guide public opinion, and if you look in the newspapers, you will not find any reference to statistics or research centres. (#INT22)

However, other heads of schools think that teaching statistics in their courses will only help a small and specialised cohort of professionals within news organisations, thereby illustrating the limited impact of these efforts in relation to employability and transferable skills. These voices also raised concerns about the limited impact of learning statistics on the wider public:

It can be useful [to teach statistics] to those who think they can benefit from it or who are interested in numbers. However, I do not think it benefits the wider public or the ordinary reader because what these numbers are about does not concern them at all. (#INT21)

Despite this disagreement among some heads of media schools, the views that teaching statistics is not necessary was only held by a few of those interviewed. The vast majority of the heads of school of media and journalism interviewed believed instead that teaching statistics is crucial. One of the heads of media and journalism schools interviewed mentioned:

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"I believe that the teaching of statistics to media and journalism students is very important and crucial, although many of the media departments in the Kingdom do not include a special course for statistics. In my opinion, I think this is a mistake and that failing to teach statistics is not the right path to follow. I believe that the teaching of the principles of statistics for undergraduate students is necessary. As for master's students, their studies depend on statistics so they must have a course in statistics, especially because they also have a course in research methods, which in turn depends on statistics, particularly in the quantitative aspect."
(#INT15)

Another head of a media and journalism school interviewed explained the significance of applying the teaching of statistics to journalism students in a theoretical and practical way:

"It is very important to teach statistics to media students, especially as they develop their skills and knowledge in multi-variable analysis and knowledge to understand and apply statistical standards and tests in the public opinion survey. They also play an important role in analysing the statistical data needed for reporting and investigative reporting. It also helps them to conduct studies and media research, especially quantitative ones, which are based mainly on the employment of statistical transactions." (#INT16)

In fact, one of the heads of media schools went further in explaining the significance of teaching statistics to media students and how it is important to develop statistical education for students of media and journalism.

"I think it is a very important course.... Media professionals in many Arab newspapers are not able to use the information and turn the figures into a newspaper article. And we, in the media department, have statistics as an obligatory course and believe this is important, and we also added a course on basic science -physics, chemistry and biology. Whilst this may be a burden to some students, we believe in the importance of educating them in the fundamentals of media and science so that they have the basic knowledge and skills needed to handle scientific subjects when they encounter them or wish to discuss them. Students need these qualifications to keep pace with the evolution of the press. Also, we in the media department, are keen to reflect modern trends in our curricula.... In the new direction, we try to adopt this approach through our curricula. In short, we are trying to become a digital technology department. (#INT18)

Data from the ground

In addition to the heads of schools' perceptions about the teaching of statistics, I also examined evidence from the documents related to current journalism courses offered at Saudi Arabia schools by surveying their syllabi. One of the key findings was that all students are, in fact, taught -at some level and in some sort of way- statistics during their undergraduate degree. However, the way in which they are taught is different to what one might expect and varies according to each school and department (see Table 1 below).

In the majority of these schools, statistics is taught as a compulsory course of the university or the college. On other occasions, statistics is taught as part of the syllabus of research methods courses or integrated into basic science courses. Only in a minority of cases, statistics taught as a course option in itself, with a specialised emphasis within the schools' curricula.

In contrast to earlier studies (Alheezan, 2007; Alhabib, 2007), which found a real lack of statistical pedagogical provision in Saudi J-schools, the current results show instead far greater and more comprehensive options. This result may be explained by the increase in the number of J-Schools from only four when the previous studies were conducted to 14 schools at the present time (Ministry of Education, 2018b). Another possible explanation is that there has been a global increase in the provision of data and statistics education within media and journalism courses overall (Treadwell et al., 2016); a trend that might have motivated higher education institutions in the southern hemisphere to follow suit.

However, most of these J-schools do not offer specialised statistical courses that are designed particularly for media and journalism students. Instead, some teach just the basics of statistics and how to use statistical software (mainly SPSS), even among those who deliver these courses within their own curricula and not as part of wider provisions of the university. In other words, in most cases there are no courses, that take into account the needs and expectations of this particular field (i.e., being far more instrumental in helping journalists use statistics to carry out investigative reporting, analyse polls, etc.).

Some heads of schools interviewed thought that the current offerings are far from sufficient and believe that just providing basic statistics skills and knowledge is not enough for their students if the purpose is to prepare them well for the future. As one of them said:

"[T]here is a general course of statistics that is mandatory, but it does not meet the needs of media students because it is taught in general terms and not in depth regarding its application to the analysis they will need to carry out as professionals." (#INT20)

These voices are not surprising and are not only present in Saudi Arabia. As Franklin and Mensing (2011)

pointed out this view and position is very present in many J-schools around the world:

One of the criticisms of established newsrooms and journalism education programs is that they can be rigid and resistant to significant change. Defending the values of journalism can be conflated with defending the practices of journalism. Academic processes can be startlingly unresponsive to external needs. However, the scale of change and the need for revised curriculum and educational methods is now so stark in some places that the impetus is sufficient to open up new possibilities for reconfiguration. Journalism education programs can take this opportunity to remake themselves into learning organizations, communities of practice or other structures that foster the innovation and responsiveness necessary for future success. As universities find themselves under increasing pressure to update their own practices and relevance, journalism programs could be well positioned to become leaders by virtue of necessity. (Franklin and Mensing, 2011, p. 6)

Another head went on to explain why it is not enough to teach statistics as a compulsory course of the university or college:

[I]t does not meet the needs of media students. This is because there are different disciplines in statistics… The basis of statistics in our department is the use of statistics in research and media studies with a focus on the principles of descriptive and applied statistics, and variables and attributes separate from other types of statistics that have nothing to do with the study of journalism and media. (#INT16)

However, not all heads of schools are on board with this and many thought that the existing 'general' provision is more than sufficient to deal with the needs and expectations of the media industry and the journalistic profession. This point was clearly illustrated by one of the heads, who said that he did not believe in teaching statistics as a specialised course within the school's curricula:

Teaching statistics actually exists in the bachelor's degree as a university requirement and exists within the curriculum of the research methods in the Department of Media as well... However, I do not recommend creating an independent course of statistics for the bachelor's degree programme. A student wishing to study advanced statistics can select this course as an optional or free subject. (#INT17)

An analysis of the feedback gathered from some the interviewees revealed that their own views on whether there is a need for specialised courses are perhaps anchored in their belief that managing statistics is a subject that they themselves can teach and perform. Indeed, for the majority of heads of schools interviewed, the limitations in the teaching of statistics within schools' curricula are not due to issues related to human resources; many held the view that "this has nothing to do with the lack of qualified faculty to teach this course" (#INT15).

This view was shared by most of the heads of schools interviewed. In fact, only one of them saw human resources as a key pedagogical limitation. In this sense, the interviewee pinpointed the following:

There is already a shortage of faculty members specialised in the field of media statistics, so we may resort to relying on faculty members of associated disciplines such as sociology and psychology. (#INT17)

Ten journalists and news editors cover the business newsbeat at three Saudi newspapers (Alriyadh, Aleqtisadiah, and Asharq Al-Awsat). This group, all of whom were interviewed in the current study, included six journalists and four editors, seven of whom were male and three female. The interviewees were selected from those journalists and news editors who covered the Global Financial Crisis of 2008 to explore their own experiences in dealing with statistics during taht events and to determine how education could have enhanced their own capabilities.

The data suggests in this case that none of the journalists and editors interviewed agreed that Saudi universities prepare students of media and journalism to work with statistics. On the contrary, their own personal experience, plus their experience in working with others, has led them to recognise the existing gaps in the teaching of specialised knowledge related to statistics. As one editor explained when asked how much specialised statistical education he/she had received:

Zero. To the best of my knowledge, Saudi universities have not yet provided any link between statistics and the economic press in their curricula. However, there are individual efforts and personal judgments from some bodies such as foreign media institutions or local institutes. (#INT01)

This view coincides with a number of studies, which have found that teaching students of media and journalism schools in the Arab world does not necessarily prepare them for the real world; they warn that students are ill-prepared to perform well as part of the media's workforce when they graduate (El-Nawawy, 2007; Saleh, 2011; Tahat et al., 2017).

Another editor touched on the debate around business and other specialised types of journalism. This refers to the question of whether it is better to appoint journalism/media graduates and then to provide financial courses for them, or whether it is better to hire financial graduates and then provide media courses for them:

There are many theories that speak about this aspect. Are we supposed to employ media graduates in the

economic press after giving them an economic course or economics graduates in the economic press after giving them a media course? Local and international experiences combine both. But from my point of view, the person working in the economic press is one who is capable of developing themselves to understand the economics and to be able to read economic figures and reports. Saudi universities are a long way off from reading the economic scene. (#INT03)

This, in fact, echoes previous discussions in academia, such as that put forth by Weiss and Retis-Rivas (2018, p. 11), who highlighted that: "when journalism students nowadays are required to learn the latest skills in digital, social and multimedia technology, the focus on data journalism could be an afterthought and just not make the list of courses they need to take before they graduate". This idea was expanded on by another of the interviewees, who stated the following:

Based on my experience, I found the first newspaper where I worked depended on economic, finance and management graduates, and their experience was largely based on their academic record and the number of accounting and financial courses they completed. It is difficult to find a student specialised in media and train them in statistics, economics and finance to work in a newspaper specialising in money and economics, whereas it is easier to train graduates of economics, finance, accounting and statistics on the editing of media. From my point of view, I think the university has many shortcomings, from teaching how to read ratios to teaching how to deal with the Excel programme. (#INT02)

Another interviewee confirmed this view, clarifying the following:

I am a journalist and I have a BA, but I did two years of practical training in a newspaper, and I think this training is what made me a journalist. I found that the university gave me the theoretical side, but I was only trained by the newspaper to be a journalist and the university has nothing to do with it. (#INT04)

It is perhaps important to clarify in relation to this discussion that only half of the interviewees held a BA degree, with only two holding a degree in journalism-related field -one in media and journalism and another in public relations. The remainder of those interviewed working in this beat who had a BA degree graduated instead from disciplines such as banking and financial science, management and economy, and sociology. More interestingly, while the vast majority believed that training would be very helpful, the majority of those had not actually undertaken any training. In addition, all of those who graduated did so at least ten years ago or more, so their views might only reflect the previous setting of the media and journalism education landscape.

In any case, these findings suggest that there is an important gap between what the media industry expects and claims to need from new graduates and the knowledge and skills on offer. This is not a problem exclusive to Saudi Arabia or even to the Arab world as a whole. It is, in fact, a more global problem that has been widely recognised and debated in many forums and conferences around the world.

Conclusion

The overall data presented in this study suggest that, contrary to common assumptions that claim exceptionalism, Saudi Arabia's J-schools -despite the political system and cultural context in which they operate- tend instead not only to face similar challenges to those faced by their counterparts in Western liberal democracies but also to follow similar approaches and normative aspirations in relation to the teaching of statistics and data to journalists.

This is not to say that I am somehow equating the journalism education provided in a Western liberal setting with that taking place in Saudi Arabia; I rather seek to pinpoint that some of the similar challenges and limitations might have grounds for common actions and responses. In other words, based on my data, I suggest that, far from dismissing Saudi Arabia's journalism education attempts to modernise in the past few years, we should instead recognise them as part of the important transformations taking place in that region.

It is clear from this research that there is awareness and expectation among journalism educators and practitioners that more transparency and accountability must brought to their own societies. One of the ways to achieve this, it seems, is to develop particular provisions that can deliver critical knowledge and skill sets related to the use of data and statistics in news reporting.

Although my study is limited to the business newsbeats, it is possible to see that there are other areas that have similar experiences and views. The teaching of data and statistics to journalism students is, in fact, a shared need across all areas of journalism, not only in terms of providing transferable skills to increase employability among these students but also –and more importantly- as part of orchestrated efforts to support the changes taking place in the region and to allow journalism to make an effective contribution to the enhancement of transparency and accountability in the society.

In this sense, I argue that it is necessary to understand these educational efforts as part of a wider approach to building 'capabilities' in the region –an approach that refers to a framework that allows interventional

efforts from educational organisations to provide the means to fostering the wellbeing of primary moral importance. According to this view, these capabilities exist to offer real opportunities for individuals to do and be what they have reason to value most (Nussbaum, 2001; Sen, 2002). In other words, the efforts to teach statistics and data in Saudi Arabia's J-schools need to be contextualised within more global educational efforts to offer knowledge and particular skills that can help individuals and communities advance transformational agendas for the benefit of society at large. That is, I think, our true challenge.

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#	University name	College name	Department name	Teaching statistics for undergraduates:		
				… as a specialised course	… within a different course	… as a compulsory course
1	King Saud University	Art	Mass Communication			1
2	King Abdul-Aziz University	Communication and Media	Journalism		Research Methods	1
3	Al-Imam Muhammad Ibn Saud Islamic University	Media and Communication	Journalism and Electronic Publishing	1		
4	Umm Al-Qura University	Social Sciences	Mass Communication		Research Methods	1
5	Taibah University	Art and Humanities	Communication and media		Research Methods	
6	Islamic University of Madina	Da'wa „Islamic Call" and Fundamental of Religion	Media			1
7	King Khalid University	Humanities	Media and Communication	1	Science	
8	Imam Abdulrahman Bin Faisal University	Art	Communication and Information Technology			1

Table 1: The current status of teaching statistics in Saudi media and journalism schools.

Articles

More than a cliché? Futureproofing meaningful notions of professionalism in journalism teaching

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Abstract

Despite the existential challenge posed by a notion of professionalism within journalism both individually and organisationally, for many practitioners, it has become synonymous with good or even 'ethical' journalism practice. This has led to the contention that 'professionalism' is now an inherent component of a broader understanding of what constitutes 'quality' journalism. And although a paradigm of professionalism such as that alluded to in the Leveson Report might be effective within real world journalism practice, a pilot study analysing the use of the term 'professionalism' demonstrates that when it comes to journalism teaching, identifying the contexts in which such a notion is understood appears to be problematic.

Introduction

Journalism professionalism has long been identified as integral to the broader concept of the culture of journalism itself - one which Hanitschz defines as ideas and practices used by journalists to give legitimacy and meaning to their work and role in society (2007).

 As a consequence, it echoes the broader historical context of the idea of professionalism itself being used to perpetuate a perceived entitlement and control of access to a special status (Larson, 1977), a level of knowledge, a commitment to public service, standards of behaviour and symbols of achievement (Barber, 1965, cited in Ahern, 1971). Ultimately however, the concept of professionalism can be understood as a social construct (Holroyd, 2000) which is a continually-changing process determined by contexts and agendas (Helsby, 1999, cited in Evans, 2008).

 In an attempt to pivot a notion of journalistic professionalism around these concepts, Singer (2003) identi-

fies three fundamental characteristics or specifically, dimensions of a profession a journalism practitioner might reflect, with the aim of furthering an understanding of what a journalist is and does.

The first of these characteristics is the cognitive, through which professionals seek to establish control over expertise as well as entry into their field (Stark, 1985, cited in Singer, 2003). The subsequent standardized body of knowledge equips aspiring professionals with the sense of superiority over the so-called ordinary person and therefore legitimises the social division of labour on which their continuing status depends (Larson, 1977: 46-47).

The second characteristic is the normative, that can be used to justify the profession's autonomy (Singer, 2003) and in turn, is typically expressed through self-regulation, because, so the argument goes, only professionals are qualified to assess and control their own ability to provide it - through the prescription of responsibilities of those inside the occupational group to those outside it (MacIver, 1966). This would usually be reinforced through codes of conduct, which, in the context of the UK newspaper industry for example, would be the Editor's Code. This in turn provides the framework for ethics codes used by (currently) two print industry regulatory bodies – the Independent Press Standards Organisation (IPSO) and IMPRESS.

The final characteristic is the evaluative – where the nature of the professional service is defined by the professional community itself through the setting of its own standards of adequate practice. This is underpinned by an ideology that justifies such an approach based on the belief that it best serves the public interest (Daniels, 1973). Furthermore, it places greater emphasis on status than financial incentives which, as a consequence, reinforces its claim that self-regulation derives from an expressed commitment to public service (Barber, 1965). However, as Singer is keen to stress, no profession meets these characteristics fully.

Journalistic professionalism and normative theory

This paper argues that of the three characteristics of journalistic professionalism outlined above, the most complete claim journalism has to professional status is to be found in the normative characteristic.

However, it is important to emphasise that the term 'normative' has two distinct but related meanings in this context. The first meaning refers to the sociological characteristic of journalistic professionalism. The second, is understood and articulated in the context of normative theory and relates to journalistic practice.

Therefore, what links both meanings of 'normative' are the principles of acceptable media behaviour and consequently this is the starting point for professional practice. Therefore, the normative issues are concerned with what should be done and the ideal way for a media system to be structured and operated – or to put it in another way, not as it is but how it should be (Baran & Davis, 2009).

McQuail (2010) takes a broadly similar approach to defining the role of ethics in any given construct of journalistic professionalism and refers to '…how the media ought or are expected to be organized and to behave in the wider public interest and for the good of society as a whole' (p. 162).

Subsequently, there is a link here to what Singer terms the 'journalistic theory of democracy' – that a primary role of journalism is to provide information to citizens enabling them to more effectively participate in democratic processes (2003). This approach is further reflected in the normative paradigm espoused by Hanitschz (2011) which is associated with a detached watchdog role and the dissemination of populist and political information.

There is merit in a perspective acknowledging that journalists specify norms of conduct, standards of practice and ethical guidelines as a way of meeting what is perceived to be democratic obligations (2003). On the other hand, this fails to account for the political and commercial realities of operating in an environment that has become increasingly dominated by audience-driven agendas - further undermining the role of the journalist as gatekeeper. This in itself is a permutation of the view that there is a need for internal controls on professional (Singer, 2003) or, in this context, perceived normative, practice.

The transformation of online journalism into an ever-increasing variety of manifestations over the past 20 years has also had an impact. An effect of this is that one of the key distinctions made between online and so-called traditional news media can be found in perceived standards of ethical behaviour. These differences are further compounded by those who argue against any moves to simply transplant normative (ethical) practice from the traditional sphere to online platforms, even if it is seen as a good starting point for revisiting the fundamentals (Black, 1998: 16). This is because the latter is fundamentally different enough from the former for a compelling argument to be made for the introduction of bespoke guidelines (Deuze and Yeshua, 2001).

There is also the effect of justifying subversion of the journalistic ideals of individual practitioners to those of the news organizations they work for (Merrill, 1974; Soloski, 1989: 207; Birkhead 1986). In the context of journalism education, this perspective is reinforced in Nel's (2010) study which suggests a narrower defi-

nition of those attitudes and practices closely linked to organisational expectations of what is professional.

But while the case for maintaining core journalism competencies at the centre of journalism education remains compelling (Deuze, 2007; Baines and Kennedy, 2010), on its own it is insufficient. Relevant programmes need to offer greater flexibility to enable students not only to adapt and specialise (Nel, 2010) but also to develop greater efficacy in enhancing key transferrable skills. These would then enable emerging practitioners to thrive in an environment that demands competencies that go beyond the traditional skill-sets inherited from their educators (2010). Overholser (2010) takes this further by replacing the concept of journalism with the idea of 'information in the public interest' to enable practitioners and educators to continue to be effective participants within conversations around the changing modus operandi impacting on an industry where the audience are both news-shapers as well as news-consumers. Taking this approach into the sphere of journalism education, it is argued, would help to ensure journalism's long-term survival.

Contemporary normative theory and journalistic professionalism

The concept of a normative theory for the media emerged out of an early 20th century attempt to make it more 'professional' through improvements to its respectability and credibility. This typically committed journalists to serve the public as effectively as possible and 'uphold standards of professional practice' (Baran & Davis, 2009, p. 109).

Taking its cue from this point, normative theory would therefore attempt to provide answers to broader questions about the role of media in a society and address issues concerning its day-to-day operation, such as the type of moral and ethical standards that should guide media professionals (Barran & Davis, 2009).

However, it would also be fair to say that, insofar as the UK context is concerned, because of the commercial realities of the environments within which most ('mainstream') journalism continues to be practised, in addition to the fact that a significant number of ethical codes are voluntary (the OfCom code that governs broadcast media being the exception), a failure to adhere to them would not necessarily lead to a loss of professional status (Black, Steele and Barney, 1999). Furthermore, thanks to recent developments in media law in the UK - the Defamation Act 2013 and precedents established under Privacy case law, there are indications journalism ethical codes would be considered as part of judicial decisions regarding the publication of material perceived to be in the public interest (Dodd & Hanna, 2018; Quinn, 2015).

Ultimately however, the point is that broadly accepted obligations journalists have to serve citizens can become conflated with the requirement to serve customers. This in turn bolsters the criticism of ethics codes ignoring the influence and, indeed, even power that commercially-driven corporate organisations have to drive journalistic practice and decision-making. Paradoxically, this leads to less concern about public service and greater focus on maximizing profits and satisfying shareholders (McManus, 1994, cited in Aldridge and Evetts, 2003).

As a consequence, a further paradox is highlighted concerning an over-emphasis on the normative characteristic of journalistic professionalism having the potential to hinder the construction of ethical rules balancing the theoretical ideals and realities of the news production process because, 'an approach that adds practice to principle should be better prepared to offer rich media ethics scholarship and maintain real world relevance' (Joseph & Boczkowski, 2012).

In light of this, it is acknowledged that more specific types of questions might be required. These would include whether the media should do more than distribute content only driven by commercial considerations; for instance, does the media have an essential public service role that transcends the need to make a profit? Should the media be involved in addressing social issues? Is the media's watchdog role necessary or advisable? And what should be expected of the media during times of crisis? (Baran and Davis, 2009).

Alternatively, explanatory concerns could be raised about why action might diverge from normative expectations.

Theoretical framework: Social responsibility theory

The contemporary understanding of the normative paradigm is derived from Seibert et al (1956) who identified four models: The first two are the libertarian or free press model (which focuses on what the audience wants rather than what it needs) and the social responsibility model (which reflects the libertarian 'free market' principles but stresses the media's duty to promote democracy, truth and social justice). A combination of these two models are regarded as characteristic of Western liberal democracies. There is also the authoritarian model – the idea that media must and should be subordinate to government and state control to maintain order (1956) and the communist – similar to the former but based around the principle that the media should serve the interests of the masses.

These paradigms are further reflected on in the 'four professional milieus' identified in Hanitzsch's (2011,

also cited in Ornerbring, 2016) study of journalists' values and notions of their societal role. These are apparent across national and organizational parameters and articulated in an arena termed 'the journalistic field' (2011). Grounded in the work of Bourdieu (2005), the structure of the journalistic field is characterized as 'a structured social space, a field of forces, a force field… [containing] …people who dominate and others who are dominated' (Bourdieu, 1998, p.40).

Hanitzsch utilizes this theory to devise a framework for the analysis of journalism as an arena to compete for the power to impose the dominant vision of the field (2011).

As a concept, Social Responsibility theory identifies journalistic standards that its proponents argue the media should aspire to uphold, including obligations to society and that ownership of it should be a public trust. It should also be truthful, accurate and fair, objective and relevant; it should be free but self-regulating and follow agreed codes of ethics and professional conduct. The theory also asserts that there is a public interest in government intervention under some circumstances (McQuail, 2010, p. 171).

The origin of this approach appears to emanate from an ontological basis for freedom and responsibility put forward by William Hocking, one of the members of the (Hutchings) Commission on Freedom of the Press (in the United States): 'Inseparable from the right of the press to be free has been the right of the people to have a free press. But the public interest has advanced beyond that point: it is now the right of the people to have an adequate press' (Hocking, 1947, cited in McQuail, 2010, p. 171).

Hocking's approach derived from a concept of positive freedom that diverged from classical liberalism perpetuating a negative conception of freedom he saw as bankrupt, equating it with an absence of restraint (Christians & Fackler, 2014). Positive freedom could therefore be considered 'a mature state of decision making, free both from internal constraint such as fear and ignorance and from external constraints' (p. 334), such as government regulation.

Ultimately however, Hocking holds the state responsible for ensuring the liberty of its institutions - with education being the primary means of achieving this. He stresses that such an approach 'must aid the development of a worldview and moral base' (p. 335).

This remained a framework adapted more readily and, to a limited extent, more effectively in Western Europe. It subsequently precipitated commissions and enquiries into the press, such as the United Kingdom's 1962 and 1977 Royal Commissions on the Press which examined its diversity and concentration with a view to maintaining the health of its democracy (Royal Commission Report, 1977, cited in Burnet and Rees, 1978). However, despite recommendations to introduce measures limiting monopolization of the UK press and government legislation to ensure this, it was not proved to be effective – even though monopolization was recognized by both commissions as a consistent threat to the very ideals they sought to uphold (Curran and Seaton, 2001).

Elsewhere in Western Europe, other schemes were introduced which aligned more closely with the positive freedom model proffered by Hocking, ranging from subsidies to assist publication launches, to grants and tax concessions designed to prevent their closures (Curran and Seaton, 2001). More recently, the European Union has robustly pursued large media conglomerates attempting to purchase swathes of media platforms across the continent (European Union, 2014).

This approach also left its mark on the 2011 Leveson Inquiry into the culture, practices and ethics of the (UK) press. Hocking had emphasised that positive freedom should not be used as an excuse for government interference or political intervention in media regulation, stressing its role as a '"…residual legatee" of last resort' (Christians & Fackler, 2014, p. 336). Lord Leveson also reflected this notion in his report's recommendations - describing a 'backstop regulator…required if either the whole of the press industry had failed to accept the principle of independent regulation [and] refused to engage with an independent regulator [which] would undeniably reinforce the need for some statutory system of standards to be put in place' (Leveson, 2012, p. 1793).

Journalistic professionalism in the context of education

The sociological definitions of professionalism alluded to earlier, expose further challenges when applied to journalism. This is despite consistent use by many of its practitioners to describe the excellence to which they aspire (Weaver and Wilhoit, 1996: 125). Indeed, there is a compelling view that in journalism education, the notion of professionalism is not only used as part of a socialization process but also as a marketing tool – to emphasize the specialist knowledge that both the discipline specifically and wider industry generally, use to bolster their claims to professional legitimacy (Singer, 2003). But this cannot necessarily be said to apply just as equally to those practitioners working from online platforms. They draw talent from a much broader skillset than more traditional media and operate in an environment that is as rapidly changing as it is

unpredictable. Coupled with a lack of tradition and provision for much opportunity to reflect (Lynch, 1998), this has led some to argue that journalists' self-perceptions of their status and their role are more important than fitting into a set of sociological citeria (Shoemaker and Reese, 1996).

Indeed, with the benefit of hindsight, Carey's (1987) observation that 'the public will begin to awaken when they are addressed as a conversational partner and are encouraged to talk rather than sit passively as spectators before a discussion conducted by journalists and experts' (p.17, cited in Christians and Fackler, 2014), could be interpreted as a canny presage of the current online, social media-dominated environment which appears to have created the conditions for just that. And this is in spite of what appears to be increasingly sophisticated incarnations of fake news and the widespread perception that more and more online participants explore and understand the world only within the comfort zones of their own social and ideological boundaries (Zuckerberg, 2018).

As a consequence, the impact of the internet on such notions of journalistic professionalism is unavoidable. Broddason (1994: 241) argued long before it became apparent to most, that the gatekeeping function of journalists would diminish as newsgathering expertise became more readily accessible to the general public, leading to a 'deprofessionalisation' of the field. Fast-forward a few years and Lasica (2001) was envisioning the personalization of news - which has since morphed from tailoring online tools enabling the consumer only to access the information they want to see, into algorithms that tailor information according to the consumer's online browsing habits and now developing into yet even more sophisticated algorithms capable of targeting online information at consumers based on personality types. Such ability to garner information about how a consumer uses the web as opposed to what they use (or see) on the web (such as tracking an individual's eye movements) to predict character, personality and more recently, emotional state (Hardy, 2015; Hoppe, Loetscher, Morey & Bulling, 2018; Zuboff, 2019a), provide consumers with the opportunity to move beyond a focus only on information reflecting their worldview, to a consumption of media content that offers up a mirror to themselves. In turn, and more concerning however, is that the data harvested from these latest algorithms are currently fuelling a new kind of commerce - a market specializing in trading predictions of consumers' future behaviour; in other words, 'behaviour futures markets' (Zuboff, 2019b). In this sphere, the protagonists are epitomized by the likes of the now defunct data firm Cambridge Analytica and its controversial harvesting of personal information from private social media accounts (Cadwalladr & Graham-Harrison, 2018).

Others however, would maintain the view that journalism's commitment to public service and its demand for practitioner expertise supersede these concerns and make it a profession for all practical purposes (Dennis, 1996). It therefore compels a greater focus on practice itself rather than the environment in which it takes place (Singer, 2003). This perspective reflects the generally established consensus that a journalist is committed to honesty, fairness, independence and respect for the rights of others – regardless of the technology or platform (MEAA, 2019) and additionally includes original reporting and writing, a commitment to truth over novelty or expediency as well as autonomy from commercial and governmental influence (Singer, 2003). Ultimately, the nature of the professional activity and the determined norms under which it is conducted take precedence. In light of this, it would be fair to conclude that most journalists do consider themselves to be professionals with many of the attributes of a profession being relevant to their practice (Singer, 2003).

There is also a further, but apparently contrary, consideration: the view that taken in its entirety, the concept of journalistic professionalism, particularly of the type that might be taught on journalism teaching programmes, encourages a homogeneity that undermines a diversity of styles and approaches; epitomizing one of the defining characteristics and strengths of a thriving, free press (Glasser, 1992).

This is a perspective reflected in cultural studies that argues against the idea of journalistic professionalism – that practitioners are beholden to corporate interests and influences, consequently leading to the assumption that journalism skills mirror a corporate agenda (Greenberg, 2007) and the journalism educator's agenda defined by the media industry (Chapman and Papatheodorou, 2004). This is therefore incompatible with the idea of critical reflection due to its 'unquestioning approach to set rules' (2004) based on a competence model holding scant regard for reflection beyond nothing more than 'a reconsideration of how better to apply the rules guiding journalistic practice in order to achieve pre-specified objectives' (2004).

Methodology, research design and the challenge of evaluation

The overarching aim of the study outlined in this paper is therefore to identify whether there are clear and viable notions of journalistic professionalism in current journalism teaching content and whether, as well as to what extent, it has any bearing on the development of notions of journalistic professionalism in under-

graduates who progress to full-time practitioners. More specifically, there is particular focus around how concepts of professionalism manifest themselves in the learning and teaching of journalism law and ethics.

The research design is focused around the framing of a theoretical concept of professionalism formulated from a response to the following questions:

How is journalistic professionalism defined and measured in the context of journalism teaching and practice? Are current teaching models for law and ethics on undergraduate journalism programmes consistent with the development of journalistic professionalism in practice?

At the commencement of any analysis into notions of journalistic professionalism in journalism teaching, it must first be acknowledged that the act of engaging in evaluation is in itself a political statement and reformist in nature, which has the aim of developing initiatives that would help solve a 'social' problem (Pawson & Tilley, 1997).

Therefore, if an exploration based around accurately defining journalistic professionalism is approached from the prism of the lack of a definition being a social problem, the starting point for articulating a methodology robust enough for this study should be to establish why the perceived lack of clarity in the definition is problematic in the first place.

With a view to establishing a surer footing for the rationale underpinning this approach, a pilot study was undertaken with the aim of identifying whether key topics relevant to media law and ethics could provide a clearer construct of notions of professionalism than is currently available.

The first stage of this approach was therefore to identify how such notions might currently feature within journalism teaching content itself. It therefore began with a conventional review of documents related to courses delivered and/or accredited by the two leading journalism training bodies in the UK – the National Council for the Training of Journalists (NCTJ) and the Broadcast Journalism Training Council (BJTC).

The review was a deliberately broad attempt at describing a general phenomenon (Hseih and Shannon, 2005) prior to pursuing a more in-depth approach to establishing the proposed hypothesis on a more reliable foundation. In the initial study, the focus of the analysis was on the use of the term 'professionalism' and variant terms such as 'professional' in the participatory documents.

It was envisaged that as a consequence, the study would later be replicated with a more systematic analysis involving content analysis and subseqent interviews of specified stakeholders from which more specific conclusions could be drawn (Rose et al, 2015) and meaning identified (Berg, 2009).

Data analysis

In the NCTJ course information documents examined online, the only reference to the terms 'professionalism' or 'professional' was in general reference to two of the programmes – the Diploma in Journalism which is described as equipping trainee journalists with the knowledge and skills for professional entry level journalism (NCTJ, 2018) and the National Qualification in Journalism described as the industry's professional qualification that trainee journalists with a minimum of 18 months employment can take to achieve senior status as a journalist (2018). It is also described as 'the NCTJ's professional senior qualification that examines all-round competence in a range of essential journalism skills' (NCTJ, 2018). Throughout all the documentation analysed, there is no explicit definition of what is meant by the term 'professional' in the context in which it is used, nor are there any examples or implications that might explain the term in the context in which it is used. This perceived absence of a clear meaning of the term is compounded in a reading of more detailed course documentation, including the qualification specifications and programmes of study for the four core topic areas – the news report, news interview, media law and practice and e-logbook – none of which mention the terms 'professional' or 'professionalism' or other variant throughout.

The BCTJ course documentation on the other hand, refers to the term 'professional' on a number of occasions throughout its online course documentation, including referring to members of its council as 'professional journalists who advise and inspect the course' (BJTC, 2018). Another document describes one of the key roles of the BJTC as inviting training providers to 'define their own educational and professional objectives against which they are judged' (2018).

Other documentation describes the BCTJ as offering 'a model of professional accreditation as being valued by industry and higher and further education institutions because it represents a benchmark of best practice and in setting the standards for multi-platform journalism training', and another document refers to the same model of 'professional accreditation…against which potential students can judge prospective courses and those new courses seeking accreditation can measure their progress.' (2018)

The results of the analysis pointed towards both sets of documentation appearing to reflect the hypothesis that there are no clearly defined notions of professionalism in key journalism teaching narratives.

Conclusion

The problem with defining notions of journalistic professionalism in journalism teaching is contrasted with the significantly clearer concepts of professionalism established in areas of practice such as medicine or law which some sectors of the media industry historically sought to emulate (Singer, 2003). However, taking this approach would not be without its limitations, because unlike those sectors for instance, such a concept in journalism education would not include standards for training and licensing with '…media practitioners having less independent control over their work' (Baran & Davis, 2009, p. 111). This is most explicitly laid bare when examining the challenges of teaching ethics on practice-focused journalism courses such as those accredited by the NCTJ, which serve as a useful reflection of the ongoing tensions between the delivery of theoretical and practice-based disciplines within journalism education.

An alternative perspective as to why the problem of a definition of journalistic professionalism in journalism teaching appears to be so difficult to pin down, would be based on the proposition that if professionalism is defined within the ethical parameters set out earlier, it would be imperative for the methodological approaches relied upon for this study to attain a level of consensus on how ethics should be defined.

However, if this approach were to be taken, it would become apparent that one of the challenges in formulating a methodology for this type of study is the perceived paucity of adequate methodological approaches implemented in ethics research. A potential parallel to what could be found in journalism ethics research was highlighted in Randall and Gibson's (1990) review of 94 business ethics research papers which found full methodological detail was provided in less than half of the articles examined.

It could, therefore, be more useful to turn to a contemporary but arguably more generally applicable definition of journalism ethics as a reliable basis for this study.

The first volume of Lord Leveson's report of the inquiry into the culture, practices and ethics of the press (2012) puts forward a definition of ethics that it states '…can be understood at a simple level, by reference to the choices available to a free press, where those choices may have consequences for the benefit or harm of others, whether individuals, groups or the public as a whole' (p. 81).

Leveson then expands on this - explaining the choices are those by which journalists can exercise their freedoms in order to either fulfil or undermine their role in a democracy and that such choices fall within the framework of the law, even though these do not necessarily complement one another. The report then provides examples of areas which would reflect the sorts of ethical behaviour expected under the definition and argues that these further serve to re-emphasise that press freedom by itself is not enough to protect the benefits of democracy for which it is a prerequisite (2012). These include freedom of communication, accuracy, the protection of sources, holding power to account, respect for the individual and the self-determination of others.

This is a perspective on journalism ethics echoed by Pickard (2011) in his apt description of normative journalism practice as a 'public good' but in doing so roundly rejects the influence of the what is termed in the context of this discussion, the 'commercial imperative' (ie. The impact of operating within a commercial environment on ethical decision-making):

> '…it is an essential public service with social benefits that transcend its revenue stream. In its ideal form, journalism creates tremendous positive externalities. It serves as a watchdog over the powerful, covers crucial social issues, and provides a forum for diverse voices and viewpoints. As such, journalism functions as democracy's critical infrastructure.' (ibid, p. 76)

It therefore follows that the duties and responsibilites of the press follow on from the reasons underpinning a desire for a free press (Mendus, cited in Leveson, 2012).

In a similar vein, Leveson endorses the argument that if press freedom is regarded as an end in itself, it becomes insensitive to the factors that underpin it in the first place, such as the aforementioned prerequisites as well as others, including rigour, balance and avoidance of conflicts of interest (Megone, cited in Leveson, 2012).

But this is also problematic because: 'assuming that a process (a free press) will achieve a beneficial goal allows journalists and editors to fail to address carefully the question of what exactly that distinctive purpose is, or how it relates to other parts of the public interest.' (Megone, 2012, and cited in Leveson, 2012, p. 83)

Furthermore, there is a public interest in press diversity and accountability, as well as freedom (Cruft, cited in Leveson, 2012) which in turn, goes hand-in-hand with responsibility (Megone, cited in Leveson, 2012).

Leveson uses this expanded definition of ethics to reinforce his overarrching point that ethical standards are consistent with press freedom and necessary for it to fully realise the value of such freedom (2012) summarising it thus: 'With freedom, rights and privilege therefore come choices, and with choices, responsibilities as to how they are exercised and with what consequences. With choices which affect the public sphere,

come also public accountabilities.' (2012, p. 85)

But Leveson also warns that although an ethical approach requires care and awareness, diversity and plurality, in the context of a free press operating within the framework of what is understood to be a democracy (ie. the Western model), this would (normally) take place in a highly competitive environment which in turn impacts on what would be perceived to be the public interest (2012).

Nonetheless, the view that notions of journalism professionalism in journalism teaching, along with professional education in general, are inherently part of a socialization process used to bolster its claims to professional legitimacy (Singer 2003), could also indicate a level of an inherent, but as yet undefined and unaquantifiable quality which, if considered sufficient, equates content and structure with normative practice, or, industry standards – whatever those standards are perceived to be.

Therefore, any notion of journalistic professionalism at the very least, ought to reflect the view that an idealised perception of professionalism taught in journalism education continues to pivot around the reporter and his/her basic functions as a gatherer of news, evaluating information, production and distribution (Mensing, 2010).

As a consequence, from the perspective of significant numbers of students undertaking journalism courses, the experience of learning efficacy should emanate from the reproduction of established bodies of knowledge which they, in turn, would legitimately expect to be related to professional journalistic practice (Wright, 2012).

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Articles

Conference proceedings

All papers in the conference proceedings section were presented at tri-ennial World Journalism Education Conference or AJE conference in July 2019 in Paris. They sparked debate and are published here to widen that discussion. Please join the conversation by going to www.journalism-education.org.

Drinking cheap wine with the lepers of Shadnipurum

Kenneth Pratt, University of the West of Scotland

Introduction

It is a truism to say that post-Leveson ethics combined with the rise of social media and citizen journalists has revolutionised the way we report and how our reportage is formed (Lee-Wright, Phillips, & Witschge, 2011).

But many traditional 'hackademics' in the UK maintain that new ethics and new ethical regulations must dictate how the press, particularly the mainstream, conducts itself (Bradshaw & Rohumaa, 2013). This paper challenges this view and argues that by thinking existentially about the growing array of imposed ethical codes and accompanying standardised interview techniques staff and students can realise their full potential as *reporters litteraires.*

Well-meaning ethical codes can be thought of as *la censure des medias.* And this censorship not merely impacts on practising journalists but on us as educators and the manner in which we teach our students. The censorship also throws into question the frameworks we use to structure our news writing (Randall, 2000) and, as I go on to note, its impact on applied journalistic truth. I will argue that the inverted pyramid is past

its sell-by date. And that not only does it restrict freedom of expression, it, either by design, or inadvertently, restricts our ethical approaches to interviewing in the field, across the mediums (Allan, 2010).

I am proposing a new style of interviewing which has at its heart *l'esprit d'egalitaire,* one that juxtaposes the traditional power-relations between interviewer and interviewee. This is a direct challenge to the central tenet at the core of traditional journalism – the ethical interview (Temple & Temple, 2008). I will argue that egalitarianism, in every shape and form, is pivotal to the free-thinking of both journalists and the free expression of their interviewees, both of which in turn will consequently challenge the traditional news structure that we have come to know as the inverted pyramid (Harcup, 2009). So this paper stands for a call to action, led by well-informed journalism academics, and supported by the new generation of student journalists.

Passage from India

On one assignment to a leper colony in India for *The Sunday Times*, I found myself in a place called Beggar's Colony near Bangalore. Beggar's Colony is a slum which lies at the foot of the leper colony. It is a place where lepers beg priests to get *in to* the colony for the little treatment that is available within the barbed wire compound that houses a wee hospital. One Friday evening I found myself drinking cheap wine there with the lepers of Shadnipurum. The chapter appears in my PhD from Glasgow University entitled 'Hunting Captain Henley' – Drinking Wine With The Lepers of Shadnipurum.

> *"Sevagram, near Wardha Station: the village where Gandhi built his ashram and, officially, the hottest place in India. In the nearby city of Nagpur open sewers flow into the curry and chapatti shacks, uniting, in a common culinary concoction, the scent of food and hot spicy faeces. Suffering cheerfully endured ceases to be suffering, the Mahatma once said. It is transmuted into an ineffable joy. Mamamamama cried the tiny one-legged baby by the sewerside. A skeletal dog casually walked over and licked her head, pausing to pant and briefly guard the abandoned infant. But the beast has no reason and wandered north along the Pandit Malviya Road, a road that stretches deep into the darkness past makeshift shantys, pitted and putrid it meandered like some sullied stillbirth of a mother monsoon, its pungent trail leading who knows where – to the very heart of Henley himself perhaps. Yet the blackness of the fast approaching Wardha night held no fears for Billy. In its place, more than anything, was the desire to confront him. As night descended he felt his ever nearing presence pulling him towards him. And as it did so, the crowing of the cocks and the cries of the naked babies diminished. He picked his way through them, his footprint larger than their feeble brown bodies. The Englishman was here." (Pratt, 2009).*

> *"Down here in the gutters of Shadnipurum the leper head found something amusing. And there were other stirrings. Behind the cloth door of his house, others made their move, reaching out, touching me all over with their stumps. One of them spoke a little English. He offered his stump as a handshake. My name is Krisinappa, he says. He tied a spoon to his right stump tae scoop sour milk into his mouth. He offered me some but I'll stick to the wine wee man thanks anyroads. His stumps were smooth but crinkled at the points like law links sausages. He sometimes chewed them when he was bored, or when asleep. He picked roses with his teeth and tried to sell them outside the colony but the thorns pricked his wounds. By night he thought he was a boxer, thumping his stumps into my stomach and doing the Ali shuffle. I slapped him back, tweaking his only ear between my forefinger and thumb, but only part of it falls off, small remnants of skin smelling like old grey cannabis ash. Where is the Englishman? I asked. Henley. Captain George Henley. Where is he? Where is the Englishman? Mimicked Krisinappa, mocking my question, offering no answer, no clue." (Pratt, 2009).*

> *"His friend Damal was once a proud hunter until leprosy stalked and captured him. Now, he believed, he was cursed by god, condemned to live in Beggar's Colony for eternity. He wore a crucifix upside down, grinding it into my face for a laugh. I drank more wine from the communal bottle. Three furra pound, three furra pound old boy, I say, here, sticking the point of the crucifix up his rotten nostril, dragging it sharply down across his reeking cheek, and pressing it into the jawbone, you're deid if ye dae that again. He crawled to his corner with a tormented snigger and sat twiddling it, glinting it off an open bottle by the open fire." (Pratt, 2009).*

But this call isn't made as some sort of plea for journalism academics to begin teaching forms of ethnography or participant observation (Newkirk, 2002). The formula is much more simplistic. To understand it let me introduce to you the work of the late Studs Terkel (1912-2008). Terkel won The Pulitzer Prize in 1985 for *The Good War* and his book Working was described by critics as a combined work of art, social science and journalism. Terkel was strongly influenced by the British director Denis Mitchell, who made Morning in the Streets (the classic 1959 documentary shot in working-class districts of Manchester and Liverpool, still from time to time repeated on UK television (Terkel, 1997). 'That film is magnificent,' says Terkel. 'Probably the best documentary ever made. Denis taught me that you didn't need a narrator. And that little things were important (Chalmers, 2007). That silence was important. And that, those people on the streets….they

just spoke poetry.' There is an important observation to be made at this stage. While the *l'esprit d'egalitaire in 'Drinking Wine With The Lepers of Shadnipurum'* exemplifies an experimental non-patronising 'eye for an eye' approach to interviewer/interviewee relations Terkel was able to shift the power relations even further by in effect virtually removing himself from the interview process to 'allow the poetry to be spoken.'

   The Working Project I am piloting explores the concept of citizen witnessing (the world of work) and offers a platform to the contributions of ordinary people in a way that can hopefully help to reinvigorate journalism's responsibility within democratic culture. Two main considerations were taken into account before piloting the first interview with a school cleaner Jeanette Braidwood. Firstly, the routine journalistic approach of researching previous stories around school cleaners in Scotland was ignored. This approach is designed to limit the impact of spin and resultant inverted pyramid structure. Secondly, leading questions were strictly limited, in-fact virtually non-existent, in an attempt to remove the reporter/interviewer from the interview process. Firstly read the interview. Following this I will examine the success (or not) of the technique in terms of journalistic credibility.

   Jeanette Braidwood (54) School Cleaner:

   "I have different shifts, Monday and Tuesday it is quarter to four to quarter to seven. The Wednesday, Thursday, Friday is three to six.

   "Basically, you go in, you start your shift, you sweep up the corridors. You do the dusting, empty your bins, just basic things like that. We buff on a Wednesday. Wednesday is a buffing day. Just one day a week you buff.

   "There are about fourteen of us and we all have like an end, but I work in a Secondary School, so I work like in the Home Economic Department, where I just work there and do all the stuff there. Basically, just cleaning.

   "I have one corridor and two classrooms, a staff base and a toilet. That's it. There will be the halls as well. Basically, your day would be that you'd be cleaning the walls, you'd be sweeping the floor, emptying bins, doing the toilets.

   "It's the same bit every time just now. Just up to about three weeks ago I was doing like two shifts, so I was doing two ends, just wherever the supervisor puts you. If somebody is off, obviously you're covering, so you'd be going to cover somebody else's end, along with the other girls, because we all work together as a group.

   "Aye, we all get on well. We get on well, we can have a laugh, we can get on well and we work well together. We all work well.

   "We have three men that work for us as well, aye there's three men. One comes from Syria. Yes, he's over from Syria.

   "Well I think maybe, the best is obviously that I've made a lot of friends in the place. Like that kind of thing. We get on with the teachers, we get on with everybody. I think maybe the worst part is that maybe you could walk into mess.

   "Well, I said that probably the worst mess is maybe like they've thrown maybe their water or ginger or they can have like sweeties or maybe just a lot of like mess that way, they can trample on it and you're left with quite a lot of mess.

   "We've got a trolley that the stuff goes on. We've got the mop, a bucket. We've got cloths. We don't use chemicals.

   "We've been doing that for maybe about the past couple of years. Only on a Friday, we can use the liquid on the tables. That's only one time we can do that, because children have allergies and if you're using that it could maybe affect them with their allergies. So just only on a Friday we can use that, but any other time it's got to be just water, just plain water.

   "A duster, a feather duster type thing, we've got that as well. An obviously we've got bags for emptying your bins, you've got that, but we do carry like a spray, if there's maybe like a spillage or somebody's been sick or whatever, maybe in the toilet, you'd need that, you would put that down as a deodoriser, just put that down. You've got that if you need that.

   "You do have a Hoover, but the Hoover just gets pulled behind you. It's one of they like Henry Hoovers, so you would just take that with you as well.

   "It's a wee tiny Hoover with like a long hose that you'd pull like a wee round thing with a wee face on it. It has a face, you pull that, you're doing that with you as well and then obviously that would be all you'd have on that. We have a scraper as well. A scraper. It looks like a wallpaper scraper. You would use that to get maybe like the chewing gum, that's been stuck onto the ground, you'd use that and that would help.

"I've been doing it for fourteen years now. Aye, fourteen years. I've been quite lucky because I mean most other people can maybe, they would maybe have to clean up sick or whatever, things up their wall. You do get a lot of maybe the juice up the wall. You've got to clean that, but luckily enough where I've been it's never happened to me, so I've been quite lucky.

" In the place where I am, I'm using like a washer that would clean the floors, it's a machine that washes the floors. Like on a Wednesday, that's my wash day, because I'm doing that plus the buffing, and I've got a big long corridor. And then at the end of that, obviously I come back in quite tired. It can be bad and it can be quite physically a heavy job, heavy in the muscles. You'd be quite tired after it, you get a sore back, sore legs with doing that. And you would need to be physical, you need to be physically fit to actually maybe do it, aye.

I have trained people when they come in. They walk in, I think when somebody comes into a school, a cleaning job, they actually think that all you do is just walk in, they are just going to be dusting or they're just gonna Hoover, but they don't actually realise what the job involves. Because it is actually more physically heavier than they think and that's the first thing that they'll say, as soon as they've started using the buffer they'll say, "Oh how can you do that, that's awfully heavy, I don't know how you can do it." But it's now as, well I don't think it's as hard because I've been doing it for all these years. That's what they basically find, they find when they walk, people think when they walk in they're just gonna use a duster or just Hoover, do the toilets and that's it, but there's actually more to it.

"It did take, it does take a, I'd say probably it takes a few months to really, you know, get into the routine, being able to do it and then being able to, you walk into it and oh, I've got to buff today, I'm not gonna be well after it, but once you actually you do it, I think once you've been doing it for so long, it just comes natural.

" It's like basically you've got to have the buffer at a certain angle, but you're actually swinging so that when you're moving it you're actually walking with it and it can be quite bad on your back and your shoulders and the knees as well.

"They always do complain about it, that's the first thing they complain about, "Oh, it's Wednesday, it's buffing day." At the end of the day they say, "Oh my back's killing me" or "My legs are killing me." That always happens on a Wednesday.

"Well it doesn't affect me, but I know it can affect other people. They can come in and say, "Oh, I can't be bothered."

"Aye, it's just like, ooff, and you do get it like they can come in and they can say, "Oh, just wanna get started and get home." They just want, "I wanna get on with it." Or even ones that can walk in and say, "Oh, what we gonna walk in to today?" That's the first thing you think of because you say, "What is the end going to be like?" When I walk into my department to do my cleaning, what am I walking in to? Cause you don't know what you're walking in to, cause you don't know what's been going on during the day, but obviously I am with cooking, so I'm gonna have a lot of like food on the floor and things like that.

"And I think the other thing as well, especially in this weather, the hot weather, when you walk in they've had the ovens on all day, so you're walking outside, you're coming in, you are warm and then you walk in and you're walking into a warm environment. That actually makes it harder for you to work, because the heat kind of pushing you back, but you know you've got to go forwards, you've got to do it. But you do do it.

" It is like a workout because you can come back, I'm actually bright red, I'm actually quite tired by the time I'm finished. So by the time you come back home, you do actually just feel drained, because you've been working so hard.

"Sometimes you see the kids, it depends if they're in for maybe extra study, they might be in, but we can't touch, we can't go into that classroom when the children are in, cause we can't be in. We can maybe, if there's a teacher in you can maybe say to the teacher, "Can I come in and empty the bin" but if you see a class with no teacher you canna walk in, cause we're not allowed to walk in if the children are in the class.

"Sometimes, if there's maybe an event on, the kids do kind of tend to come along the corridor but they're not supposed to be in.

"Awe they don't say anything, just run about. Aye, they just run about. That's it.

" Some of the teachers are alright, others you don't even pass the time of day. And I'm just the type if I see a teacher come by I'll say hello, but some of them don't give you a hello back, they just walk by you. Aye, they just walk by you. But some of them do just speak to you, they'll maybe say hello, I wouldn't say they would pass the time of day, or it's a lovely day or whatever, or thank goodness that shift's over or have a nice weekend, you know, things like that.

"Aye, I would say some of them (the teachers) can be nice but some of them not. I don't know, I've always felt that because some of them just look down, because I'm a cleaner, I'm not a teacher. So I'd see it that way, you know, they don't want to, I just feel that they look at me in the uniform and they see me in a different way.

They just don't, I don't know why but, I just feel that way, you know.

"I just feel that we don't get paid enough as we should for what we have to do. Cause I know that other Council workers even get paid a lot more than us and they do less, which I don't think is actually fair.

"Well you get people that are maybe like bin men and they don't, well years ago they physically lifted things but all they're doing is just pushing a wee bin and it goes into the bin lorry and it does it all itself, you know, that kind of thing. You've got receptionists, you've got people that just work at the front, but they're not really doing anything. Even the, oh, I don't know. Teachers don't do a lot, I know they're not Council workers but they don't exactly, I feel that they don't do the physical work, they just basically, you know, they've got a job just sitting down, just working away and talking, you know."

Interview ends

The main news story over the past year in Scotland about school cleaners in Scotland referred to cleaners doing the work of five in Glasgow school staff crises. The intro spoke of stressed-out cleaners quitting the job due to excessive workloads. If we briefly re-visit the interview with Jeanette Braidwood we can see this is a fundamental concern of hers too. Yet the news element grows organically by using the Studs Terkel technique without the use of leading questions or the inverted pyramid style. In addition, because the angle isn't forced we actually learn more about the life of a school cleaner without necessarily sacrificing the news element.

Addressing issues of absolute truth

There are other points to note. Using this technique there are no taut intros, no news leads and no spin. This in turn circumvents ethical and legal issues in practice based work. More importantly perhaps for our *teaching of journalism in a disruptive* age the style is easily able to harness both Broadcast and Press cultures and in so doing address issues of absolute truth within the field of journalism ethics.

There is of course other new thinking about interview technique. Literary nonfiction writers such as John Krakauer (Under the Banner of Heaven) employs narrative devices such as vignettes and storytelling, often from the perspective of his interview subjects, 'as a means to focus attention on an interview and capture the essence of an argument or situation.' (Boynton, 2005). 'Krakauer's narrative is heavily focused on these interviews, and extensive quoting of his interviewees throughout the book enhances the reader's personal sense of these subjects and provides concrete points of departure for further discussion and analysis.' (Boynton, 2005). "Great reporters are great listeners," says Carl Bernstein of the WoodwardBernstein reporting team that exposed the Watergate coverup that led to President Nixon's resignation.

The good listener hears good quotes, revealing slips of the tongue, the dialect and diction of the source that sets him or her apart (Widmer, 2015). In the Jeanette Braidwood interview this is demonstrated on several occasions throughout, most notably:

"Well you get people that are maybe like bin men and they don't, well years ago they physically lifted things but all they're doing is just pushing a wee bin and it goes into the bin lorry and it does it all itself, you know, that kind of thing. You've got receptionists, you've got people that just work at the front, but they're not really doing anything. Even the, oh, I don't know. Teachers don't do a lot, I know they're not Council workers but they don't exactly, I feel that they don't do the physical work, they just basically, you know, they've got a job just sitting down, just working away and talking, you know."

Aged 28, Larry King found his first job interviewing people on the radio. But he wasn't with CNN, he was in a deli in Miami, interviewing whoever happened to walk through the door. His guests were waiters, tourists and a plumber (Littlefield, 2017). King went on to conduct over 30,000 interviews across his 60-year career. He built a legacy by asking questions and letting his guests respond. He's not renowned for his oratory skills, his writing, or his investigative chops. He's known simply for his ability to ask and listen (Littlefield, 2017).

But unlike Larry King's technique or the ultra egalitarian technique used in *Hunting Captain Henley,* the genius of Studs Terkel is in his discretion. 'You never hear the crank of the machinery that powers his work, and barely catch a glimpse of the man holding the levers.' (Brooks, 2008). 'His writing is deceptively stylish, and his interviews dance and flow. They capture the cadence of the speaker, whether it be a signalman or a stockbroker, a politician or a prostitute, to the extent that you can almost picture them sitting there, groping for the words as the tape-wheels turn. As anyone who has ever attempted to write up a first person interview will testify, this is a fiendishly difficult skill to master.' But just how difficult and can we in the academy adapt to teach our students this discretion? How difficult can it actually be to interview a diverse group of

people, provide them with brief, first person platforms, and teach students to restrict their own contribution to the occasional italicised prompt? (Brooks, 2008). If we look again at the Jeanette Braidwood interview, her cadence is regularly and accurately captured:

> *"Some of the teachers that are all-right, others you don't even pass the time of day. And I'm just the type if I see a teacher come by I'll say hello, but some of them don't give you a hello back, they just walk by you. Aye, they just walk by you. But some of them do just speak to you, they'll maybe say hello, I wouldn't say they would pass the time of day, or it's a lovely day or whatever, or thank goodness that shift's over or have a nice weekend, you know, things like that."*

'Studs was not a confrontational interviewer,' says Alan Wieder in *Listening With Respect: What Made Studs Terkel a Great Interviewer* (Karlin, 2016). 'Yet, often people he interviewed responded by saying that he got them to talk about things they didn't even know they thought or felt. The second lesson is one word – 'listen' – Crazy because Studs was such a talker (Karlin, 2016). He never shut up, except, when he was doing an interview.' Terkel had a mantra: 'Let the person talk about what they want to talk about and not talk about what they don't want to talk about.'

> *"And I think the other thing as well, especially in this weather, the hot weather, when you walk in they've had the ovens on all day, so you're walking outside, you're coming in, you are warm and then you walk in and you're walking into a warm environment. That actually makes it harder for you to work, because the heat kind of pushing you back, but you know you've got to go forwards, you've got to do it. But you do do it."*

In 'Screw The Inverted Pyramid' (The Journalist, Context Matters, 2015), Tim Knight writes: 'The inverted pyramid has done even more harm to broadcast journalism than the invention of the news conference. Which is saying a lot. They still teach it in journalism schools – in spite of all the evidence that it simply doesn't work for broadcasting. The inverted pyramid takes perfectly good stories and mutilates them.' Some of Knight's findings are of note (Knight, 2015):

The inverted pyramid is the most difficult to follow of all possible story structures.

It's cleverly designed to prevent the viewer from retaining information.

It forces the writer into ugly, artificial, often incomprehensible sentences.

The inverted pyramid is a newspaper invention.

It has nothing to do with broadcast storytelling.

And yet, even today, it defines the structure of most stories in most broadcast news bulletins most of the time.

Public responsibility

You'd think it was invented for some clever journalistic reason.

Actually it was invented to save newspaper publishers lots of money. (Knight, 2015)

In a comparison of narrative news and the inverted pyramid Emde, Klimmt and Schluetz (2015) point to previous research that shows a decreasing interest and low comprehension of traditional news, particularly in young audiences. They write: "Boring, repetitive and complicated—these are words used by many young people to describe the typical news they find in traditional media (Emde, Klimmt, & Schluetz, 2015). As several studies show, news consumption by adolescents has decreased in the last few years. Additionally, especially young recipients understand and remember only a small fraction of the information included in a newspaper article or television broadcast (Emde, Klimmt, & Schluetz, 2015). Altogether, these results constitute a problem for the public responsibility of news media to contribute to a well- informed society. Innovating the ways in which news is conveyed to young audiences has thus emerged as an important challenge to journalism and journalism research" (Emde, Klimmt, & Schluetz, 2015).

In Dominance Through Interviews Kvale concludes that a research interview is not an open and dominance free dialogue between egalitarian partners, but a specific hierarchical and instrumental form of conversation, where the interviewer sets the stage and scripts in accord with his or her research interest (Kvale, 2006) s. He writes: 'The use of power in interviews to produce knowledge is a valuable and legitimate way of conducting research (Salmons, 2009). With interview knowledge jointly constructed by interviewer and interviewee, overlooking the complex power of dynamics of the social construction process may, however, seriously impair the validity of the knowledge constructed.' The interview technique in *Drinking Cheap Wine With The Lepers of Shadnipurum* demonstrates what Kvale refers to as 'alternative conceptions and practices to the warm personal and consensus-seeking research interviews. Look again at the following section (Kvale, 2006):

> *"By night he thought he was a boxer, thumping his stumps into my stomach and doing the Ali shuffle. I*

slapped him back, tweaking his only ear between my forefinger and thumb, but only part of it falls off, small remnants of skin smelling like old grey cannabis ash. Where is the Englishman? I asked. Henley. Captain George Henley. Where is he? Where is the Englishman? Mimicked Krisinappa, mocking my question, offering no answer, no clue."

This is what Kvale refers to as 'a confronting approach, radicalised by regarding the conversation as a battlefield – as suggested by Aaronson (1999) in her Bakhtin-inspired analyses of conversations (Kvale, 2006).' Lyotard (1984) regards every statement as a move in a game, which is "at the base of our entire method, that to speak is to fight, in the meaning of a game.' If we accept that the agnostic interview, as Kvale refers to it, is confrontational, as the interviewer 'deliberately provokes conflicts and emphasizes divergences' (and the above extract is a radical demonstration of this in that a physical confrontation is enacted) then we can also deduce that the theory of egalitarianism in interviews is also enacted to the extreme, the objective being to overcome the opponent both physically and in dialogue because that is the pretext set by the interviewee himself. There is a further contrast to harmonious searches for consensus whereby the research interview allows for competing perspectives to emerge, following the motto of "vive la difference (Kvale, 2006)"

In Qualitative Research in Journalism: Taking it to the Streets Cramer and McDevitt (2004) point to the

Weaknesses and vices

The Hutchins Commission that has advocated the "projection of a representative picture of the constituent groups in the society" (Cramer & McDevitt, 2004). Responsible performance means "that the images repeated and emphasized be such as are in total representation of the social group as it is (Iorio, 2014). The truth about any social group, though it should not exclude its weaknesses and vices, includes recognition of its values, its aspirations, and its common humanity." The commission expressed faith that if readers were presented with the "inner truth of the life of a particular group," they would develop respect and understanding for that group (p. 27). Inner truth is a key concept because an understanding of a group on its own terms is the very purpose of ethnography (Iorio, 2014).

Cramer and McDevitt take it one step further. They write: 'Durham (1998) advocates "standpoint epistemology" as an escape from "the intellectual quicksand of relativism and the indefensible territory of neutrality and detachment" (Cramer & McDevitt, 2004). Standpoint epistemology requires a reformulation of objectivity, directing it away from the unrealistic erasure of bias toward the purposeful incorporation of subjective perspectives. Borrowing from feminist theory (Harding, 1991) and sociological models of knowledge production (Mannheim, 1952), Durham argues that people inside the dominant social order collect and interpret information about those who are either inside or outside it (Cramer & McDevitt, 2004)'.

Feminist theory sheds further and important light. In 'Interviewer and Interviewee Relationships Between Women,' Ning Tang argues that 'both the interviewer and interviewee's perceptions of social, cultural and personal differences have an impact on the power relationship in the interview, which is not simply an issue of quality of the interview but the dynamics between the interview pair. (Tang, 2002)'. Tang's hypothesis is of note. She writes: 'Feminists in sociology initiated the discussion on the power relationship in women interviewing women in the early 1980s. Because of women's general experience of gender subordination, a 'non-hierarchical' relationship in women interviewing women has been suggested (Oakley, 1981). However, some feminists have argued that despite women's shared understandings of gender subordination, other social attributes also contribute to different power relationships in women interviewing women (Tang, 2002). More recently, while feminists insist on the empowerment of the researched it has been recognized that power dynamics in the interview are fluid, therefore the presumed dominant position of the interviewer within the hierarchical research relationships has been questioned (Doucet & Mauthner, 2012).

In *Drinking Cheap Wine with the Lepers of Shadnipurum* the 'empowerment of the researched' is clearly demonstrated in extremis. The interviewer fights back to redress the balance. However it is surely in the middle ground that the solution to our teaching of journalism in a disruptive age lies – an interview technique territory first mapped by Studs Terkel and waiting to be plucked from the journalism shelve to reinvigorate The Journalism Academy's potential to instill a new passion for interviewing in our students, one that circumvents the traditional ethical and legal barriers that await us, and one that can unite both Press and Broadcast cultures in HE institutions not just in the UK, but globally.

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With the Fourth Estate in collision with the Fifth Estate of citizens on social media, how can we teach truthful reporting?

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Abstract

What is fake news and how can we teach our students not to be taken in by it, not to spread it and not to write it? I suggest going back to first principles of critical thinking: first by identifying how false information is created and spread, then by understanding why this happens, and finally by grasping how the public is deceived. News literacy is as important as proficiency in news gathering. To counter this: diligent digital knowledge coupled with age-old yet evergreen principles of research, critical questioning, unblinkered listening and civil response.

"What is truth? said jesting Pilate and did not stay for an answer," wrote Francis Bacon in the 17th century.

He continued: "But it is not only the difficulty and labour which men take in finding out of truth, nor again that when it is found it imposeth upon men's thoughts, that doth bring lies in favour; but a natural though corrupt love of the lie itself." (Bacon, 1601). Everyone loves a lie – or, let's qualify that, everyone loves using a lie now and then. We've all done it, maybe for the best of motives, to soothe a relative or get out of a difficult engagement. But very few of us like being lied to – and yet, we constantly are lied to and what is more, we go along with it for a variety of reasons which this paper will touch on.

We go along with it because we don't know any better, because the lie is something we want or need to believe in line with our view of the world (cognitive bias, as Kahneman and Tversky have repeatedly explored, for example, in 1995) because it fits in with something we just heard or saw on social media, because we are scared not to, or just because we are lazy. And we also go along with it because it is hard to know when someone is lying.

Yet as journalists and as people who educate journalists, we proclaim the need for truthful reporting. How can we pursue this ideal in a world of evasions, falsehoods, propaganda and, of course, fake news? This paper will examine the different kinds of falsehoods with which we contend as journalism educators and suggest an age-old strategy. It will also, in line with an earlier paper of mine, brush aside the teaching of news values as central to journalism education. In brief, we need to apply old methods to a Hydra-head of new situations.

There are two sides to this: finding out the truth, and telling the truth.

It is indeed difficult to tell if people are lying, as Saner reports (2019) and yet that is a key skill for journalists. Perhaps, as her article suggests, society is more relaxed about fibbing, since we have had now several US presidents exposed as liars, the two most recent of whom got away with it scot-free. Yet as journalists, if we do not suspect that our interviewees may at times be "economical with the truth" as a senior British civil servant once put it (Robert Armstrong in 1986, quoting himself 2004), and do not grill them accordingly, we will be as Chomsky and Amy Goodman have suggested, little more than stenographers to power (Barsamian 1992).

Is that all truthful reporting can be? – a variant on the tired old clichés of whether the Lady Mayor wore a flowered hat at the village fete or publishing the latest glossy report from a corporation? Do we as journalists not feel a higher calling, to hold power to account? We certainly often say so. As the old saw, variously attributed to William Hearst, Lord Northcliffe, and pundit Malcolm Muggeridge has it, "News is anything anybody wants to suppress; everything else is public relations." Are we teaching public relations?

We tell our students that the fearless reporter must learn to ask searching questions and take nothing on trust, must have done enough research to call out evasion or misrepresentation. Truthful reporting, in short, will require an inbuilt "Bullshit detector", to use the colourful language of Harry Frankfurter in his seminal essay (2005). And the best bases for this are a canny understanding of how other human beings respond to question coupled with in-depth research on the subject.

But while it is not so difficult to instil these basics about interview techniques in our budding journalists, following such doyennes as Jessica Mitford (2000) it is harder to develop their powers of critical thinking under the deluge of social media information. And yet it is learning to flex those powers, I submit, which offer the best training for journalists' "truth muscles".

Raucous conflicts

However, Bacon's aphorism does suggest one way to unpick the raucous conflicts between the Fourth Estate of traditional news media (routinely referred to by social media critics as "mainstream media" or MSM) and the Fifth Estate of social media. Finding out what is true and reporting it has at one and the same time never seemed more desirable or less attainable. We have to face the facts that social media is one of the main go-to sources for journalists, and that the MSM is itself a major target of social media trolls shrilling out that it purveys fake news. So telling the truth and calling out lies are inextricably linked, not only in real-life interviewing, but also in our consumption of news media. This is what the Cairncross Review (2019) calls for as "digital literacy" and what other colleagues are calling "news literacy" – what was always the backbone of media studies: the unpicking of the impacts of ownership, bias, crowd-pleasing, technology -- and the desire to run with accepted narratives rather than the difficulties of accurate reporting.

In the political era of Trump, Brexit, Facebook and Twitter, such unpicking is even harder than before. Journalists are being wrong-footed by a flood of digital information from sources often demonstrated unreliable or mendacious (see, for example, Cadwalladr 2017). Societal attitudes to truth are seen as ever more flexible – in Bacon's terms, we are all Pilate now. Several journalists (among them, d'Ancona 2017, Ball 2017, Davis 2017) have written indignant books about fake news and flexible attitudes to truth, often nominating post-modernism as the root of the societal evil of "post-truth". Perhaps it is true that greater understanding of how, for example, oppressed and oppressing people have different versions of history (let's look here at the conflicts over the statues of Robert E Lee in the southern states of the US) or that embracing a more nuanced view of debates can preclude easy definitions of right and wrong – and even how these might contribute to a societal belief that truth is not an absolute – but most people will still agree that everyone dies, that the Sun rises in the East, and so on. Post-modernism is real in the academy but a ghostly presence IRL. So that, I submit, is a red herring.

We might suggest that the success of so much misleading information is rather more prosaic. Technology has always changed communication – no Laws of Hammurabi without clay tablets, no illustrated Books of Hours with the quill pen, no protestant reform without the printed Bible, no serialised novels of Dickens without the mechanized printing press – no Playboy without cheap colour printing. But now we have the

mobile phone and fast internet access.

Technology has enabled propaganda to flow out in never-before-seen quantities, while anyone in a bad mood can pick up their phone and have a go at anyone else, with little fear of legal or practical consequences. Despite the recommendations of the Cairncross review (2019) to place legally enforced restrictions on digital giants in the UK or transnationally, it is hard to see this changing any time soon. Facebook gets apparently one million complaints a day globally, according to a DCMS spokesperson (NUJ event 18 March 2019).

So, means, motive, opportunity. Means and opportunity have been laid out – and as for motive, well!….So here is my first and most important prescription for our students. Whatever we read or hear in the news or from a public figure, let us ask, "cui bono?" Who wants you to know, believe, act on this? And why? I am not claiming anything new here, but I am drawing on a very old tradition.

There is, they say, a sucker born every minute. A deadly cocktail of gullibility, malevolence, greed, self-interest and sheer mischief has produced the current situation where President Trump's cry of "fake news" is most often aimed at those exposing his own falsehoods. Let us not obediently open our mouths to swallow this concoction. "Fool me once, shame on you. Fool me twice, shame on me," as the old proverb has it. And I don't exempt myself or any of us from that. I am just as likely to believe a news item from a source whose views are broadly in line with mine as anyone.

Swallowing fake news

One process whereby fake news is swallowed is a development of Bourdieu's (1998) notion of "show and hide". An entertaining article by Gopnik in the New Yorker (2018) talks about how conjurers work. "Dariel Fitzkee's "Magic by Misdirectin", a classic in the magical arts written decades ago by a once famous American performer tries to lay out all the varieties of misdirection," writes Gopnik, pointing out how Brett Kavanaugh's defence before his Senate hearing into his appointment on to the US Supreme Court was all about misdirection, rather than a defence based on testimony or one that answered the charges made against him.

As Marche writes (2018) "Fake news" has quickly come to mean nothing more than "other people's news"—the news made by the other team. Trump versus Clinton, or Arron Banks versus the UK Remain campaign.

As educators, then, asking "cui bono?" we want to train our students to understand how lying and misdirection work, both emotionally and technologically. For we are working in a new matrix , the interface between the Fifth Estate of social media and its interface with our Fourth Estate. This has skewed our previous delimitations of the private and public spheres - - we must recalculate our understandings of Habermas (1992). It is no longer just politicians who dominate the public sphere. All kinds of spooks and goblins, wraiths and will o' the wisps are there, from Kylie Jenner's billions acquired through flogging lip cosmetics to Alex Jones of Infowars, who mixes cruel attacks on the parents of children killed in the Sandy Hook school shooting (while in a state of "psychosis" he told a court REF) (see Beauchamp 2017) with advertisements for herbal supplements, or from "influencers" who make fortunes by filming themselves and their children unboxing their shopping, to jihadi filming gruesome beheadings. But so too are our most private communications – sex tapes, family pictures, last night's dinner are all freely available. We are in an age dominated by a commercial version of the Assassin's Creed: "Nothing is true, everything is permitted" – and don't forget to buy Crusader Kings II -- now! This matrix in which commercial and political ends merge with private communication is a new arena – not a private sphere nor a public sphere but a Venn diagram.

As Waterson (2019) for example shows, the penetration of propaganda, misinformation and tendentious misdirection, masked as friendly "sharing", into citizens' private sources of information, is well advanced. There is nothing really private online –not only is nothing true, but also nothing can be deleted and everything is data to be monetised. That is, the deliberate structuring of social media to maximise "stickiness" and "rabbit holes" down which users endlessly fall has facilitated the activities of those with political or commercial aims, devious or otherwise.

As educators, it is crucial that we alert our students to these mechanisms and to the role which the algorithms of online advertising and retail have played in the development of social and digital media. Moore (2018) has unpicked the dangers this poses to democracy, by skewing information received by citizens to their personal preferences. No, it is not an accident that after buying slippers you get emails selling your pyjamas, that at the doctor's surgery you get messages about cough mixture and that you get confirmation that the Prime Minister is a lizard after you have visited David Icke's website. And that is just the ones you see. Your data is still being sold on even as you click. Hard to answer the question "cui bono?" When the beneficiaries might range from the sellers of mobile phones to patio lighting to political movements.

The 2019 Cairncross review surveyed this and highlighted the need for all educators to teach what they call "digital literacy". I am suggesting a couple of ways in which this might proceed for journalism educators, while conscious of course that many others are ploughing this same furrow.

As well as laying out how our students actually get their "hot takes" on information, then, and the motives behind that, we also need to explain to them how that "news" is constructed. It is a complex operation, since social media operators remain parasitic on older news structures: they still follow the Five Ws, still purport to have the authority of fearless truth-telling – but their driver differs. No longer the fearless green-shaded reporter bashing the phones, but the social media entrepreneur – Breitbart or Novara or the Canary – hashtagging their feed at the merest sniff of a story, verified or not. And then gobbling up and aggregating the stories on other feeds.

How it can be to unpick news sourcing is exemplified by the story of mass rapes by immigrants in Sweden in 2017, eagerly picked up by Trump but discounted by careful analysis (Roden 2018). Or take 9/11. Here is Alex Jones of Infowars, quoted in Walters 2017: "9/11 was an inside job," Jones said. "That means criminal elements in our own government, working with Saudi Arabia and others, wanted to frame Iraq for it. Just a fact." Interestingly, Walters also notes that Jones uses his site to promote a line of organic toiletries, sales of which help fund his operations. And here we swing back to Moore's contention – that advertising is the engine which drives much less than truthful journalism. The internet went wild for a story that Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton are literally demons from hell who organised a paedophile ring from the basement of a pizza parlour in Washington, DC (Beauchamp 2016)? The original author of that tale, Mike Czernovich, is entirely unrepentant about it and its consequences – the shooting up of the Pizza parlour, despite its not having a basement (Marantz 2016).

He got the clicks – and that is all that matters. Simple bombardment with repetition can solidify misinformation into "known facts" as Robson (2019) says "the most potent way of spreading misinformation is simple repetition; the more you hear an idea, the more likely you are to believe it to be true."

Scandals like the uncovering of deceitful use of data like that of Cambridge Analytica in the UK referendum barely register with most users. In fact, we all forget where we get information from – when did you first hear that the Earth went round the Sun?

Second prescription

So here is my second prescription for students: so, where did you hear that? From whom? And why just then?

We must face up to the fact of malicious disinformation – as Robson (2019) writes "….misinformation can be engineered to bypass logical thinking and critical questioning". And it often is. And although my examples are mostly from right-wing politicians, I don't claim any exemptions from bad faith for any other group.

I come back to – people are lying to us. As Marche (2018) writes: "Falsehood flies, and truth comes limping after," quoting Jonathan Swift, in 1710. He cites examples: "On Twitter, a cardiologist claimed that a video of Syrian children dying from poison gas was fake because the ECG pads were misplaced. His initial post received more than twelve thousand retweets; his subsequent admission of error received fewer than fifty. In the aftermath of the 2016 election, the Pew Research Center revealed what may be the most disturbing number of the whole sordid election: fourteen per cent of Americans admitted that "they shared a story they knew was fake at the time." It was for the lulz, maybe.

None the less, a straw poll of any students still reflects "we get our news from social media". For example, a torrent of revelations about Russian influence via social media on US, European and UK elections (Cadwalladr 2018, Mostrous et al 2017, Prokop 2018) has hardly registered on the indiscriminate public take-up of digital information. Compare Cadwalladr's followers on Twitter – 280,000 – and those of Piers Morgan – 6.64 million. Not exactly an equal division of the public sphere – or Venn diagram.

In this Venn diagram of communication, smears and falsehoods, however unfounded, are never fully retracted, as Cadwalladr (2019) has complained about Nigel Farage and the Brexit party. Fact checkers flounder and withdraw from the fray, as Levin (2019) details in his account of how Snopes parted ways with Facebook.

How can journalism educators counter this? Journalism educators in the UK have often taken a more industry-focused approach to teaching truthful reporting, leading off with the notion of news values. This well-trodden path is largely driven by content analysis, beginning with Galtung and Ruge (1965) and revisions by Harcup and O'Neill (2001), O'Neill and Harcup (2009), O'Neill (2012) Harcup (2015), Harcup and O'Neill (2016) and Neumark Jones (2018), among many others. Such discussions explore the challeng-

es fake news on social media poses for a hierarchy of "news values" (and the way in which the media can subsequently be understood) as professionalism challenged by amateurs. A kind of priesthood of reporters is assumed, untainted by the profanities of ownerships, bias, crowd-pleasing and the limitations imposed by traditions of what news is and where it is to be found.

I suggest we move away from this concept entirely. News values are an overly restricted, trade-oriented concept. Counting the content of stories -- even supposing that we can all agree on whether, for example, a story about a new Royal baby, is good news, bad news, news about the elite, news about the future, news which affects all of us, part of an ongoing series, entertainment, celebrity, sex, health and goodness knows what else – will still tell us nothing about how these stories are shaped, at whom they are aimed and how they get spun on, on social media. A brilliant spoof by Buzzfeed tracing the stages of a Twitterstorm is particularly good on this. (Phillips 2018)

For most of those who have written about news values as an essential element in reporting, the lesson for the academy is straightforward: Journalists must report objectively whilst also responding to cultural and commercial imperatives. Journalism educators must equip their students to enter this arena. The Fifth Estate is merely a subset of the public sphere, a locus for unruly sources.

Unfortunately for this prescription, the Fifth Estate will not stay in its box. The Wild West of social media has blurred older distinctions between, for example, investigative reporting, gossip and state propaganda. Under the blanket rejection of "MSM" and the embrace of social media, trust in classic journalism is withering daily. Users may understand that stories about Kim Kardashian learning law are clickbait – but they still click (BBC 2019). And when they click, someone, somewhere, makes money.

The Cairncross Review suggested various government remedies for controlling the corporations which profit from such algorithms and their addictive properties. Responses by those like Briant (2018), included in the final report, strengthen the case for demanding that companies clean up their act and be made responsible for real-life consequences of how they do business. Yet companies have been slow to change. Profits are at stake. Respected fact checkers Snopes have withdrawn from a partnership with Facebook (Levin 2019) and meantime the circus merrily grinds on. For it is a kind of showbiz, sleight of hand, pantomime.

Casalicchio (2018), among others, reveals the brazenness of those who are cooking the social media books. Being exposed as liars did no harm to "Brexit Bad Boys" Messrs Banks and Wigmore before the DCMS inquiry in 2018; it has done no harm to Brett Kavanaugh; it has done no harm to the 45th president of the United States (10,000 lies according to the Washington Post ticker -- and still counting according to Kessler et al 2019). Meantime, investigative journalist Carole Cadwalladr has been sneered at as a "mad cat lady" by senior broadcast journalist Andrew Neil (Mayhew 2018); rape threats to females in public life are so common that UK election candidates flourish them; statistics and made-up quotations clutter the internet – try tracking down that "all else is public relations" quote.

But I want to stress that this is not new. The use of lies, smears, abuse and disinformation goes back at least as far as the Roman republic, according to a scathing pamphlet supposedly by Roman orator Cicero's brother (Wills 2012). It flourished in the pamphlet wars of England and France in the 17th century (Peacey 2013), and in the savage cartoons of the 18th and 19th centuries in England, as repression fought reform. And no doubt it will continue to flourish.

Exposing base motives

Cui bono? requires us to look at motives. Other critics have exposed the motives of those exploiting the Fifth Estate as a new area of the political sphere. Whether by analysing the mischievous lies of such as UK Prime Minister Boris Johnson (Henkel 2018) or by highlighting the bias in many media outlets (O'Neill 2018), this analysis seems to find the distinction between traditional news and social media "fake news" rapidly eroding. Instead, media both MSM and social, are entirely up for grabs.

This is ignoring an important distinction. Not all areas of the public sphere are policed equally. There are extensive sets of laws governing the MSM and aimed at making it to some extent accountable. These vary from jurisdiction to jurisdiction, but generally protect citizens from false accusations, hate speech and persecution, theft of intellectual property and perversions of the processes of the judicial system.

But what consequences are there for people who misbehave online? Doxxing, pile-ons, threats of violence, shamings and loss of employment are frequent and destructive—notably documented in Jon Ronson's brilliant 2015 expose, So You've Been Publicly Shamed. Victims may be blameless in IRL – but that won't save them. A few feeble police actions on one hand – the murder of a UK MP on the other.

And as for flat-out lying: it is Teflon time for the fabulists. Johnson, of course, has admitted untruths for which he was sacked as a journalist (Ball 2018) – but it has done his career and his earning power no harm

at all. For others, like internet troll Mike Czernovich, and promulgator of the infamous Pizzagate conspiracy myth, there are no sackings, but rather rewards in terms of clickbait and advertising revenue (Kolbert 2019). Internet trolls like Czernovich or indeed, dare I say, Trump, have real-life impacts – pizza parlours get shot up, tiny children get separated from their parents at the US border. This must concern us as educators, of journalists or merely citizens – what happens next is also what needs to be held to account.

Our final difficulty is frivolity. Everything opposing such damaging lies can be shrugged off through parody or "bantz". It was for the lulz. As Lamerichs, Nguyen et al point out in their incisive 2018 article, so-called satirical memes can actually solidify racist and sexist discourse into a powerful tool of ridicule, opposing which is cast as joyless and archaic. Arron Banks won't engage with debate – he just sneers "lame"; Pepe the frog jeers at "feminazis" who want women to control their own reproductive rights.

In the classroom, it is noticeable how many would-be journalists do not consume classic journalism. They find it "boring" and "long". Here is a poser for the educator. Increasingly short attention spans (Greenfield 2015, Levitin 2017) compound a psychological fact: inconvenient information is uncomfortable to process. Clickbait is quick. We have to encourage our students to read long and slow – and not to give up because something is difficult. There are a few signs that some media is moving in this direction—James Harding, ex-editor of the London Times, has set up Tortoise Media: tagline "We're building a different type of newsroom. For a slower, wiser news." And there is The Conversation, promising "academic rigour, journalistic flair".

As Robson shows, in his account of how a pair of academics inoculated students against misleading climate change misinformation (2019), including fake experts and petitions, serious research and historical analysis can help students get involved in the longer view. By looking at how the tobacco industry had bamboozled the public for years, participants in the study by Cook and Lewandowsky became more sceptical of climate change deniers' tactics.

And here it seems sadly true that even the best research does not get traction in the MSM. Conway (2019) writing in the niche Byline (formed by disenchanted journalism educators) goes to lengths to explain how the May 2019 claims of mass funding by Farage's Brexit party do not stand up. Cadwalladr and Channel 4 News (2019) expose Arron Banks as having spent nearly £500,000 supporting Farage in 2016, contrary to the code of conduct for MEPs, but support for this party continues to grow in the polls.

We come now to the other side of the coin – how and why the public chooses to believe what is often demonstrably false. This aspect, perceptively noticed by Bacon, (Walters 2017) – has received less attention, although Kahn-Harris (2018) has attacked "denialism" in The Guardian and in a book, from a moralistic perspective. Another voice from the European past remarks: "…he who seeks to deceive will always find someone who will allow himself to be deceived." (Machiavelli, The Prince, 1513). Analysts of human cognition like Kahneman (2012) have shown the perils of "thinking too fast". Marxist-based critiques of media practice based on the work of such as Habermas (1992) and Bourdieu (1996), offer conceptual tools. Pollitt (2002) among others suggests how deep are the social currents that underpin the preference for the Fifth over the Fourth Estate. Traditional journalism is battling against the tide. We can make a difference, I believe, but we must not underestimate the strength of the desire for the reassuring lie.

Brilliant comedy

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

A fascinating study by the Cambridge Centre For Research In The Arts, Social Sciences And Humanities (CRASSH 2019) led by John Naughton, revealed, said researcher Dr Hugo Leal, a confluence of conspiracy theories. "Originally formulated in French far-right circles, the widespread belief in a supposedly outlandish nativist conspiracy theory known as the ‚great replacement' is an important marker and predictor of the Trump and Brexit votes," said Leal. Some 41% of Trump voters and 31% of Brexit voters described as true the statement that "Muslim immigration to this country is part of a bigger plan to make Muslims a majority", compared with 3% of Clinton voters and 6% of Remain voters.)

This links to work by Sunstein, pioneer of the idea that the internet allows people to consume news within "filters" or "bubbles" (2009, 2017), who points the finger at the neurological effects of modern technology and social media. Sunstein argues that "cyberpolarisation" -- when "certain tendencies of the human mind interact badly with certain features of modern technology, much as certain prescription drugs interact badly with alcohol" (Kolbert 2009) -- accounts for the acrimony between Fourth and Fifth Estates, between the sober and the drunk.

O'Hara and Stevens (2015) dispute this by suggesting a different framing of the bubbles described by Sun-

stein. Using the sociology of religion, O'Hara suggests that rational analysis may suggest that such bubbles are neither entirely new nor necessarily destructive. „First, we examine the Internet directly to measure it against the Habermasian ideal of a public forum of free debate. Second, we consider what echo chambers can contribute to debate. Third, we see whether some examples of apparent polarization have been properly diagnosed. Fourth, we consider the related question of what structures will enable the Internet to support political action and other collaboration."

So – have we always been suckers and must we always be so? And does it really matter?

Must teachers of journalism accept this dystopian future in which no one can believe anyone -- unless they already do? This paper denies the necessity. Human beings have been down such mazes of deception before, many times. And truth and objectivity have been upheld, if sorely tested.

Sociology and history, then, do offer us some tools to counter the "natural though corrupt love of the lie itself", as do social psychology and journalistic satire -- for example, from Kolbert (2009) or Swift (1709, 2015). Last, but not least, educators need to ground their practice in the tried and tested principles of teaching critical thinking (for example, McPeck 1990).

I want to urge here that we return to first principles. The Greeks had a method – Socratic dialogue. The Romans had a tag; cui bono? Journalism schools had a basic principle – two unconnected sources for every fact. We will scarcely go wrong if we apply these methods to such egregious howlers as reports from the likes of Infowars.

Stenographers to power

We don't want to be stenographers to power – who ever actually did come up with the phrase. Its origins appear to be lost in the mists of the internet.

We want to train our students to listen to voices, not always the ones who shout loudest, but those whom society needs to hear. It is not as if our traditional journalism has always been covered with glory. In the UK, the shameful episode of the 2018 Grenfell Tower fire, where 71 people burned to death in one of the richest cities in the world, although they had bombarded the authorities and the news media for years with their fears about fire safety, highlighted how "news" was only the province of journalists and not the conduit for the public sphere that it surely ought to be. If we want to train youthful, truthful reporters, we also need – my final prescription – to train them to listen, not just to those in the bubble. Younge (2018) writes movingly about the deficiencies of the MSM on the tragic Grenfell fire.

And listening, of course, means learning to debate with civility, against a current grain, but back to a Socratic ideal. This has been tried before, with partial success

According to Marche (2018) Michael Hunter wrote in "Establishing the New Science," his 1989 history of the Royal Society. "Its organizers seem to have sincerely believed that the enterprise to which the early Royal Society was dedicated *was* healing, that it would in some sense escape from politics by bringing together reasonable men from a wide range of ideological positions who could collaborate in gathering information which they hope that all would be able to accept." The motto of the Royal Society was (and still is) *Nullius in verba*: "take nobody's word for it."

Truthful reporting is a global cause. The European Commission announced in 2018 that it would support "an independent European network of factcheckers" who would "establish common working methods, exchange best practices, and work to achieve the broadest possible coverage of factual corrections across the EU". Eight factchecking organisations in six EU countries have been approved as members of this Brussels-backed collaborative platform, known as the Social Observatory for Disinformation and Social Media Analysis (Soma). In turn, this has been attacked by anti-EU campaigners asking if this commission will examine the EU itself (Worstall 2019).

There are other moves afoot to assert the value of truthful reporting, among them Denmark's TjekDet (as reported by Boffey 2019), not unlike the BBC's More or Less. It is one of a group of 19 factcheckers operating across 13 EU member states as part of an independent platform Factcheck.EU, established by the International Fact-Checking Network at the Poynter Institute. Poynter itself, along with the UK FullFact, offers valuable resources for us journalism educators.

And lastly, but not least, as Rusel 2017 wrote, in we need to bring civility back to our discourse. Don't we?

I should like to conclude, along with Bourdieu (1990) that "Enlightenment is on the side of those who turn their spotlight on our blinkers." We will do our best to help young journalists be truthful reporters if we teach them how to be critical thinkers, who examine their own motives, listen to others, are civil even when they disagree and take no bullshit from anyone, on social media or off it.

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Using single-platform social media newsdays in television journalism education: a heutogogical approach

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Abstract

Traditionally, journalism education has been a mix of academic and practical classes. It often uses close-to-industry simulations in the form of student news rooms and newsdays which replicate industry practices. For television journalism, this has included newsdays which begin with a 9:00 news conference, and end with the live TV studio news programme. In order to maintain currency, elements such as social media posts have been added alongside the traditional television packaging. However, these aspects have often taken a backseat to the main focus of the studio news programme. In order to address this, I experimented with single-platform social media newsdays; focusing on Twitter, Instagram and Facebook.

According to a Pew Research report in 2018, about four-in-ten Americans (43%) get news on Facebook. The next most commonly used site for news is YouTube, with 21% getting news there, followed by Twitter at 12%.

Smaller portions of Americans (8% or fewer) get news from other social networks like Instagram, Linked-In or Snapchat. Further, a Reuters Institute study found a third of young people say social media is their main source for news, more than online news sites, and TV and printed newspapers. Clearly, social is an important platform for delivering news, yet it follows different, and as yet undefined rules of production and delivery. Indeed the grammar of the social media video package is evolving and developing over time.

Newsdays are a good way of instilling industry practice, increasing speed of journalistic newsgathering, and instilling a sense of the professional world students are about to enter. They simulate industry practices and prepare journalism students for expectations of the broadcast industry. As such, encouraging students to include delivery of material to social media platforms alongside considerations for a television studio programme have been encouraged. In teaching television newsdays over several years, there have been efforts to include social media in order to reflect changes in industry practice. However, with deadlines and the lure of the studio lights, social media often took a backseat to more pressing television-specific challenges. Through qualitative interviews with students and journalism educators, this paper looks at an experiment to fully explore the use of social, by turning the traditional approach to television newsdays on its head and instead, making social media the sole focus for some of our newsdays. This included making packages and conducting live reports on Twitter, Facebook and Instagram, and led to a better, fuller exploration of these single platforms by targeting them one at a time.

Because this was rather experimental, the students were given most of the control over the way these newsdays were delivered, structured and transmitted. They foresaw problems along the way, and sought to address them themselves. They developed a format for transmission, a visual theme for reports and a style of live reporting as a way of tackling this way of transmitting news. This paper explores the reaction to this heutogogical approach to teaching journalism wherein the students determined how to achieve an end goal of adapting a traditional television newsday, to that of a single social media platform.

Heutagogy: a theoretical framework

Heutagogy is an attractive theoretical concept for teaching journalism because it evokes the kind of experiential learning that seems to translate well to students acquiring skills and being able to perform in a news room situation. It's sometimes called "self-determined learning" (Hase and Kenyon, 2013).

> *"The essence of heutagogy is that in some learning situations, the focus should be on what and how the learner wants to learn, not on what is to be taught. Hence this approach is very different from the more formal and traditional way of 'teaching' people." (Hase and Kenyon, 2013 p. 7)*

Heutagogy has been regarded as the third stage of learning, wherein the first stage is pedagogy, and the second; andragogy (Hase and Kenyon, 2013 p. 184) where "the instructor shows learners how to find information, relates information to the learner experience and places a focus on problem-solving within real-world situations". (Heutagogy and Lifelong Learning: A Review of Heutagogical Practice and, 2012) Heutagogy therefore, is seen as the third stage and "involves higher levels of autonomy [called] self-determined learning." (Hase and Kenyon, 2013)

> *"In a heutagogical approach to teaching and learning, learners are highly autonomous and self-determined and emphasis is placed on development of learner capacity and capability with the goal of producing learners who are well-prepared for the complexities of today's workplace." (Heutagogy and Lifelong Learning: A Review of Heutagogical Practice, 2012)*

The Broadcast Journalism Training Council (BJTC) which is the broadcast industry-approved accreditation body in the UK and accredits both the Broadcast Journalism Bachelor of Arts undergraduate programme and the Master of Arts in Journalism post graduate programme at Leeds Trinity University advocates experiential learning. It says its:

> *"accreditation standards are very much based on direct and practical experience and all accredited courses are valued by teachers and students, employers and employees, as they are relevant and responsive to the operational demands of the broadcast industry." (Bjtc.org.uk, 2019)*

This is why the practice of newsdays is such an important component to successful accreditation, and why it forms such a key aspect of the broadcast journalism curriculum. Additionally, it also fits in with the heutagogical approach to learning.

Newsdays for learning

Newsdays are an important aspect of journalism education because they become an active learning situation. Students who have been taught skills such as interviewing, research, sourcing of stories, and technical aspects such as filming and editing, bring these skills together to produce broadcasts which mimic that of industry. The more realistic the situation in terms of deadlines, ethical and legal considerations, time pressures and technical ability, the greater the potential for the student to learn and be prepared for the workplace. This

experiential learning, or learning-by-doing means that students are put under deadline pressures which they will face in industry. It helps prepare them for this whilst testing their accumulated knowledge and skills. It also falls in line with the idea of problem-based learning where students are guided to work together to achieve the best outcome; that of an industry-acceptable television broadcast. Newsdays:

> *"...have several different learning and teaching functions: they are assessable tests of students' journalistic and technical abilities; they provide a framework in which students gain understanding of how newspapers and broadcast shows come together and what is realistically possible under technological and professional conditions." (de Burgh, 2003)*

Phil Race (Race, 2007) believes that the most effective form of learning is experiential: learning by doing. Experiential learning:

> *"should also allow people to decide how to meet objectives, encourage them to be open about problems and use mistakes as learning opportunities, provide opportunities to learn new skills, provide frequent feedback, encourage people to experiement with new methods, and support efforts to implement learning from a class-room course." (Brandon, 2002)*

This is a guiding principal in journalism education where students don't just study the field, but engage in actively doing it. These newsdays provide real world experience for our prospective broadcasters, and fit in with the theory of problem-based, experiential and heutagogical learning – where students are tasked with producing the news each day, fulfilling roles in the newsroom as editors, reporters, presenters and technical operators and meeting strict deadlines to find their own way to reach the endpoint of transmission. The classroom becomes a working newsroom during these periods. This sort of experiential learning is essential in the education of journalism students, where "learning is active, meaningful and relevant to 'real life' agendas." (Weil, S. and McGill, I. (1989) p. 7)

> *"Students can gain a lot of feedback while they do practical work. They get very rapid feedback just by seeing how the work itself proceeds, and often get even more feedback by watching and talking with fellow students working alongside them." (Race, 2007, p. 75)*

As part of the BJTC accreditation requirements, students must complete fifteen newsdays during the second and three year of their BA Journalism course. Courses approach this requirement differently: some with newsdays once a week; others in consecutive days. The approach at Leeds Trinity is to complete three weeks, working Monday through Friday consecutively, in radio, broadcasting news hourly on the established Bradford Community Radio station, and three weeks of television programming live-streamed on Yorkshire-Voice.com. Both the radio and television work is outward-facing and live, which requires tutors to be highly involved in the broadcasts to ensure legal compliance and ethical considerations as well as those of a technical nature. This is not always the case with other universities who feel that it is too risky to allow students to broadcast live and outward facing. However, this is one aspect we pride ourselves on at Leeds Trinity because it produces such a realistic broadcasting environment.

Students take on the usual newsroom roles which include those of presenter, reporter, editorial roles such as news editor and producer, as well as technical roles such as vision mixer, autocue operator, and camera operator. These roles are usually rotated daily to ensure each student gets exposure to all of the roles and can see where their strengths and weaknesses lie. As far as the broadcast is concerned, there are quality issues since the roles held on any given day are likely to be done by students new to them. However it is all part of the learning experience. This real-world experience is intense and stressful for students but also puts real world pressures on them to produce journalism in a timely way. It is hoped this maximizes the learning experience for the student.

As well as focusing on the daily television broadcast, students are also tasked with making use of our social media platforms and our website, Yorkshire-Voice.com and we have always encouraged the use of our in-house Yorkshire Voice on the Twitter and Facebook platforms as a means of additionally publishing news stories. However, when the main focus is on hitting the 4pm deadline, efforts are usually concentrated on the broadcast and the social media platforms whose deadlines are not as exacting, are often dropped or ignored. To address this, social media editor has been a role added to the rota. However, illness, story deadlines and other considerations mean that this is one area usually regarded as non-essential. In the 2016/17 external examiners report, it was suggested we go further than the traditional radio or television news output to include news production on social media platforms (such as Facebook, Twitter, Snapchat). The BJTC backed up this suggestion in their own accreditation report the same year. It is also backed up through reading around the subject as described by Hill and Bradshaw:

> *'Distributed content' is a strategic approach to publishing whereby social media platforms are used not to 'drive traffic' to the publisher's own website, but instead to host content that only, or primarily, exists within that platform. Content produced this way is typically called 'native' content: in other words, it is native to*

Facebook, Twitter, Snapchat or whichever platform it has been published to, rather than having been first published elsewhere." (2019, p. 139)

Research bears out the concept that mobile journalism is increasing in significance in people's lives, especially young people's. "There is increasing awareness of the significance of mobile phones as part of young people's media biographies (Staid, 2008) and the potential to co-opt them as learning devices generally (Prensky, 2008) and for journalism training in particular." (Theendofjournalism.wdfiles.com, 2019)

In order to address this, I introduced the idea of single platform social media news days to replace some of our more traditional newsdays so that the entire focus for the students for that particular newsday would be on one social media platform. This fell in line with a heutogogical style of learning wherein the students were tasked to produce news for the platform but given very little other guidance.

In keeping with skills prized by the industry (through discussions during a Knowledge Exchange conference in June 2016 wherein I discussed the issue with head of BBC North, Helen Thomas) I established that journalists who could package news as well as go live were sought after. Therefore I suggested a combination of the two types of outputs. Students were tasked to each produce one live report and one packaged video story for each newsday. The organisation of those reports was left up to them as a problem to solve. It was the students themselves who decided to schedule the day mixing up live spots with pre-packaged news at regular intervals and how these newsdays should look to an audience.

How it worked

The students quickly established a Whatsapp group to share story ideas and as a means of communications leading up to the first newsday, which was delivered on Facebook. They devised a theme for the video packages with consistent colouring, a watermark to copyright the work, consistent Yorkshire Voice branding among other things, and circulated the specifications on the group discussion forum. They investigated the requirements of each platform (Facebook, Twitter, Instagram) in terms of broadcast production (maximum length of packages, specifications such as widescreen or square, portrait vs landscape etc), and ensured this information was shared amongst the group.

In keeping with the student-centred approach, my role as module leader was to guide the process, and act as a sounding board, rather than to construct the way this new style of broadcasting would occur. What happened was that the students took the organisation of the news days in hand. The producer of the day quickly realised that it would not be good to try and have two student reporters attempting to broadcast live at the same time. Similarly, it was felt that the mix between live reports and pre-produced packages should be interspersed throughout the day so that there was a regular flow of news and features from our newsroom.

The first student producer decided to establish a schedule of output every twenty minutes. With a cohort of twelve students there were twenty-four slots created mixing between live reports and packages. This ensured our student newsroom was publishing throughout the news day. The first student news editor decided there should be a corporate feel to the packaged reports, so on-screen captions were used for all interview clips. A consistent theme was established so that the same font and colours were used and a Yorkshire Voice endtitles used at the end of each package. These were decisions made by the students themselves, taking into consideration what the industry was doing and emulating the best practices into their own style.

There was a high level of learning. Each platform required investigation prior to the newsday. The platforms vary in whether they accept landscape or portrait filming. They vary in the length of video that can be hosted. The parameters change from time-to-time as platforms are updated. They vary in terms of how live reports are set up and produced. These aspects were learned along the way with the students feeding back to each other via Whatsapp group conversations to ensure everyone was aware of how to avoid mistakes which did occur – such as using more traditional styles of television packaging which didn't work on social media, and how not to appear sideways during a live transmission.

Student Feedback

Students were generally very positive about the single platform newsdays. They found it relevant to their future careers and allied more closely to their experience as news consumers. One student said she'd been offered paid work because the employer was able to see what she was doing on an outward-facing platform, and because it was relevant experience for that work. Another found that it allied very closely with the experience on work placement in industry where her social media skills were put to good use. Still another

commented that the skills used to make packages for social media improved her television news packaging skills.

Not only were the social media single platform newsdays a success, but by tackling them first, the students were more open to using social media alongside the traditional television broadcasts once we'd returned to them toward the end of the semester.

> *"It's great that we've done lives especially on different platforms because it teaches you how to utilise them in different ways; how to communicate with audiences, and just generally broadens out your skills and it's just catching up with modern technology and modern journalism. Like a lot of BBC use Facebook lives so it's great to know all those skills." - student, May 2018.*

> *"Having a course that does that - having social media days that are specific to a certain [social media] platform means that we have a lot of time to focus and work out what we need to do [when we are trying to get a job]" – student, May 2018.*

> *"We got to work with a lot of social media, like Twitter, Instagram and Facebook which is really important because social media is really the way forward now....This is something that employers are really looking for. I've had work offered outside of uni [sic] just because people have seen what I've produced on these newsdays." - student, May 2018.*

This practice has also met with a very positive response from the BJTC which accredits our courses.

> *"We expect a high level of experiential learning through those newsdays and a good part of that will be applying those social media skills into a newsday output and people like Leeds Trinity and others are applying that on their newsdays in quite a unique way at the moment and it really does make the students ready to go out and work in the real world." Chief Executive Broadcast Journalism Training Council (BJTC)*

Colleague Feedback

I have outlined the experiment with single platform newsdays at previous conferences. The response from other journalism lecturers has been very positive, and several said they would look to introduce more outward-facing, social media news reporting in their own newsdays.

> *"In regards to the comprehensive social media news day focused presentation from Katherine Blair at the AJE Summer conference in Canterbury, I can say I am very impressed. The utilisation of strict social media targets and platforms including instagram packaging has been of valuable usage to me as an educator in implementing a new social strand to our news days and weeks. We are also reviewing the inclusion of this for MA news assessments. I have already drawn on the knowledge delivered by Katherine earlier this trimester by bringing in a Periscope/Facebook Live and Instagram Stories news day for 4th year BA honours students" (Journalism Lecturer, November 2018)*

> *"The information about incorporating social media into news days, presented ... was both creative and innovative. Her practice is cutting edge in the teaching of skills for a rapidly changing industry. As a result, her ideas and practice were of great interest to other conference attendees and some other lecturers have taken up and incorporated her practice into their own teaching." (Lecturer, November 2018)*

Tutor Reflection

The students in this cohort are those I have taught throughout their three-year degree. In the past I had struggled to convey some basics of television news primarily because students tend not to view news programmes in a linear way. In student accommodation, they generally do not have televisions, or pay the license fee. They prefer to watch online which means watching stories out of context with the rest of the day's news. That means they distance themselves from some of the cultural grammar of television news production. However, because social media news content is much more part of their every day experience, they grasped ways of producing news for social media much more intuitively. They understood what was expected in terms of production because they were used to consuming news in this way. They were much more active learners because they recognised that they were as much experts as their tutor. They were also more likely to take confidence in their decisions about how to produce news than they were with traditional television which they sometimes regarded as old-fashioned.

What impressed me was their confidence in making decisions themselves, without referring back to me as their tutor. They seemed to sense that there were no rules in social media news production, so they felt more comfortable with making decisions about the way to approach it. I also felt they had a better sense of how

to approach news production with innovative ways of news distribution.

They generally used mobile phones for filming, and this was something that continued when we went back to our traditional television studio based newsdays, despite having easy access to larger JVC cameras.

Assessment and the use of Student-Negotiated Assessment

The decision of how to assess the module was left to the students as part of the Leeds Trinity University Learning & Teaching Strategy which encourages student-negotiated assessment. This was something I have tried in other modules in the last couple of years, after explaining the learning outcomes of the module as well as asking students what they expect and want to learn from the module. Often students request a number of assessments in the belief that spreading marks out amongst a series of assessments will better their chances to get the best overall mark. They also tend to dislike group work. In order to successfully execute a newsday with the associated news production, group work is essential. Aleksander Kocic (2017) acknowledges that group work is not always popular because they may not take individual efforts into account. Students generally don't like to have their marks held hostage by other students who may lack engagement.

In the case of the module described in this paper, students decided that in order to be allowed to experiment and to fail, that only one of their video packages (from a possible five news days; both single-platform social media and traditional television news broadcasts) should be submitted, as well as one live report. In order to ensure all students contributed on each of the newsdays, I built into the requirements that although only their best work would be assessed, they were still required to submit on each newsday .

The student submission took the form of an individual report which reflected on their work and the work of the group and linked to the individual packages and live reports. This gave the added opportunity of students being able to examine and put forward evidence for their performances in key roles such as producer and news editor amongst others.

This seemed popular with students because their best work was being assessed, and there was less reliance on the group in order to do well in the module. Some of the work neared the quality of that broadcast or published by more established news organisations. However, much did not, and that remains the focus for teaching in the upcoming academic year.

Next steps

Single-platform newsdays have been a very good way of focusing on the individual aspects of one social media platform and for students to fully explore more than just their favoured social media channel. However, the reality is that journalism requires reaching out to audiences on more than one social media channel for the same story. My next step will be to try and add a social media newsday which makes use of at least three social media platforms for the same story so that students learn how to reversion material and change it for the various platforms. This will require good understanding of how different audiences view the different platforms and how material can be reused and reconfigured to meet the requirements of the platforms.

Conclusions

Focusing on one social media platform for publishing news on a single newsday has meant students have benefitted from getting to understand the nature of the platform, the requirements and processes for delivery, and how that platform performs in terms of engaging an audience. It has stretched students so they explore platforms they might not otherwise be comfortable with and has meant they have a better awareness of the culture surrounding these platforms.

Using a social media platform as a means of 'broadcasting' news was a good way of learning the differences between traditional television news packaging and that of social media. It also meant students were actively recognising problems and were seeking answers to issues that arose along the way themselves, and then sharing their knowledge with the news team.

Choosing one social media platform for a sole news day meant social media was the forefront of students' minds and not an afterthought or something that happened if there was time. It was the focus of their attention and meant brought out new skills from them as they are active consumers of news on social media. This experiment allowed them to become active producers of news on social media as well.

It allowed students to become self-directed learners, or heutagogical learners without realising it. In order to have a successful newsday, they had to figure out a way of doing so on a social media platform without a roadmap to do so. In effect they made it up as they went along, followed their instincts, incorporated what

they knew and produced some news along the way.

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The day students scooped the established media: the extreme experiential learning in a pop-up multiplatform newsroom

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Abstract

Simulations are not enough to teach student journalists to react to unpredicted situations and produce high-quality content under adverse circumstances. Therefore, the university needs to provide experiential learning activities and training in real-world scenarios. This article explores one extreme experience of creating a pop-up newsroom as a learning environment to cover a local, riotous game, steeped in medieval tradition. More than a hundred students were involved in real-time multimedia coverage, scooping the established media and creating new avenues of partnership and collaboration.

Introduction

In an era of technological-driven changes, fast-delivery is one of the crucial characteristics of journalism. It combines both the responsibility of informing the population quickly and the inner motivation of scooping the competitors in being the first to publish new content.

The adrenaline of running against time to publish high-quality content and the motivation of engaging in the newsgathering process in challenging field situations is difficult to reproduce in simulated newsrooms within the university environment. However, learning how to behave ethically and being able to respond quickly to unpredictable situations are fundamental values for successful journalists and must be an integral part of what is offered in higher education.

Conference proceedings

Universities tend to rely on simulations and organize so-called newsdays to provide the students with closer experiences of the routine they will face inside the newsroom, however the absence of an experimental mode makes it only partially effective. The solution is to replace the emulation by real-world activities and the pop-up newsroom responds to this necessity. The University of Derby adopted the strategy and organized a unique multimedia coverage of a medieval game, Shrovetide, involving more than a hundred students, scooping the traditional media and producing unique content about the traditional festival.

This article shows the rationale and theoretical background behind the project, detailing the ethos of the decision-making, the organizational process, the implementation and its results. Overall, it focuses on the vocational training of future journalists and the experience gained during the activity in which the young reporters embraced adverse weather condition to provide a professional multimedia coverage of the event in real-time. It shows, in numbers, the massive impact of the students' work on the content produced about the game and the recognition received by the local media who now, see the students as high-qualified contributors and partners.

Theory and practice to provide a multiple set of skills

Journalism has faced some of the most drastic changes in the last two decades. The most common tools and delivery platforms currently used (smartphones and social networks) were a novelty in the market less than ten years ago (Guribye and Nyre, 2017; Ifrim et al., 2017). The fast pace of change requires the professionals to adapt constantly and imposes different challenges in the academic environment. Initially, journalism was 'closely linked with the literary field' (Josephi, 2009, p. 44). Technology-driven changes required a trained journalist to be a specialist in one specific media: writing, photography, television or radio. Now, all the students completing a degree must have a broad multiplatform knowledge and an elevated grade of digital literacy (Spyridou and Veglis, 2016; St Clair, 2015).

Therefore, efficient training in journalism requires a balance between theory and practice. Much has been discussed about real-world learning environments in journalism and university programmes tend to try hard to recreate these types of opportunities or to arrange work placements to offer students the chance to learn by doing (Freedman and Poulson, 2015; Parks, 2015; St Clair, 2015). Inside the universities, web platforms and blogs are commonly used to help the students to develop professional skills, aiming to simulate news desks (Hodgson and Wong, 2011). They are common tools used for multimediatised content produced in so-called newsdays (Hill, 2014)learning by doing Part 2: Do as I say, shiny new newsroom, student feedback Part 3: More research required, what news do you cover? Part 4: Assessment, other points, conclusion Part 5: Examples - journalism news sites Introduction Newsdays are a workplace simulation where the aim is to replicate the ,real journalism' that goes on in newsrooms of places like the BBC, Sky and ITN. In the last few years they have become an important and core component of BJTC accredited journalism courses. Content (copy, audio, video, images, a simulation of a newsroom used as a 'route to confidence building, industry engagement and employability' (Fowler-Watt, 2016, p. 7).

However, is the proximity with the real world that helps to create better learning opportunities. In fact, Herrington & Herrington (2007) suggest that only real problems can ensure authentic approaches. For the scholars, the tasks that the students perform are the crucial aspect of the activity design, comprising ideally 'ill-defined activities that have real-world relevance, and which present complex tasks to be completed over a sustained period of time, rather than a series of shorter disconnected examples' (Herrington and Herrington, 2007, p. 70). From that perspective, the newsdays are only partially authentic.

The University of Derby runs four distinct programmes in Journalism and promotes the course promising 'substantial practical experience of researching and producing powerful print, audio, video and online stories' (Derby, n.d.). With that, the curriculum combines vocational and academic training and the students expect to be involved in practical work. To diversify the activities commonly developed during the newsdays, that use the classrooms equipped with computers to simulate the newsrooms, the department decided to take a bold step towards authenticity in two simultaneous steps. Firstly, by creating a web-based platform for the students' work that emulates the industry standards, it being used as an important local media outlet, it also allows the students to learn by doing. Secondly, by releasing this platform with content produced in what Wall (2015) defines as a pop-up newsroom.

The pop-up newsroom was focused on a very specific event – Royal Shrovetide Football, as will be detailed next – and used as an improvised space for the students to produce and publish live content. 'This newsroom does not focus on a final, polished end-product produced behind closed doors in a traditional newsroom, but rather collects news in the moment, feeds it into an ever-changing news stream, and performs much of its work in public spaces' (Wall, 2015, p. 124). The website SHDerby and its co-related

social media platforms exercises multiple abilities, as it requires the students to produce content in different formats and at the same time, it requires elevated digital skills. It contemplates the set of skills required by an uncertain market, that only has space for journalists that are 'multi-skilled for the digital news age, but they must also be comfortable with changing technologies, innovative story forms and workflows' (St Clair, 2015, p. 124).

The combination of both, helped to create an experiential mode, that combines 'observable attributes (the physical surroundings, sentient beings, objects, systems and events that occur) and the non-observable perceptions of the learners (the engagement, cognition and affective responses)' (Appelman, 2005, p. 64). It contemplates transversal learning outcomes, engaging the students in live coverage, directly competing with established media outlets, and providing them with the chance to produce content that can be used as a portfolio.

A cultural controversial game

Royal Shrovetide Football is a game in which anyone can take part. It is played over two days during winter in the town of Ashbourne in Derbyshire, UK (Visit Peak District, n.d.). Essentially, two non-uniformed teams compete to transport a ball in any way they see fit to their goal. The goals are three miles apart. The teams are the inhabitants and sympathisers from the two sides of the town: those from the South are named Down'ards and those from the North are named Up'ards. There are very few rules, no referee and hundreds of people take part. 'To an outsider the game more resembles a riot, havoc wrecked upon an unsuspecting, quaint, rather up-market Georgian town' (Picard and Robinson, 2006, p. 100). It's a singular spectacle, which has been played every year since the 1800s.

Coverage of the game from most media outlets in the UK has been sporadic to say the least and the community are reticent about external attention. The game is being considered at risk 'not because of insufficient local participation, but due to new challenges and pressures felt from the growing numbers of spectators', which increase the pressure on organizational issues such as insurance, security, and health and safety measures (Harrison, 2017, p. 219). Gadsby (apud Picard and Robinson, 2006, p. 108), the chair of the Shrovetide committee in 2002, remarked on the worldwide interest following a Japanese film crew hiring a helicopter to cover the game. He talked about keeping the right balance with enough publicity to satisfy curiosity but not so much that it attracts too much attention.

Overall, the local participants are sensitive to negative coverage, so it was significant that the students understand the cultural importance of the festival. To truly represent all the game's facets, tradition, gameplay, and the sheer number of people involved, all platforms of journalism should be used to tell the story.

Space for a broad coverage and cooperation

The local media covered the match in previous years with mixed results. Staffing is low at a local level at the BBC (Plunkett, 2016) and this always hampered a more complete broadcast of the game across all platforms. In 2015, University of Derby covered the game for the first time with three students and one lecturer from the BA (Hons) Media Production programme. As a result, they produced a short video for the BBC (Uni Derby, 2015)3,29]]}}}],"schema":"https://github.com/citation-style-language/schema/raw/master/csl-citation.json"} which was shared on Facebook 82,000 times in its first day and broadcast on the regional news to approximately 300,000 viewers.

The new strategy was to increase the coverage, organise a local pop-up newsroom to work in coordination with a central one based at the university, in a different city. To realistically cover the different aspects of the game, it was estimated that at least 40 journalism students would need to be engaged: 100 volunteered and joined the coverage. The plan targeted a heavily image-based coverage, with pictures, video and audio to build a unique narrative that has not been seen at the game before. In addition, the strategy was to share the content produced by the students with the established media. This requires not only content produced towards industry standards, but of high quality, enough that they surpassed it and the opportunity to achieve larger audiences through social media platforms.

The clear goal was to maintain a high level of journalism in the content produced by the students. The directive was also to provide news and information to professional journalists and local media outlets. Besides the space ensured in the SHDerby, this practice helped to add professional currency to the students' work. These targets were achieved via strong communication strategies. Journalism students and academics were included in a live chat group using WhatsApp. Due to the unique nature of the game, this was crucial to communicating the location of the ball across the five-mile radius - and the messages were many and

constant.

Having all the involved parties in the same virtual space, it struck up a working relationship using both social and professional banter between industry professionals and students. It helped to enrich trust, as it is intrinsically related to 'the rate of social information exchange rather than the amount of information exchanged' (Brewer, 2015, p. 23). The inclusivity fuelled the students to be ambitious with their coverage. Even though most of the students and journalists had never met each other, the method formed a strong bond of confidence within the team.

Having this frequent, non-competitive, open working practice turned out to be essential to the success of all organisations publishing their best work for the game. Indeed, within the industry, this practice has been developed, but often in-house. The so-called bi-media strategy consists in utilising all technology innovations available to make the news gathering more efficient (McNair, 2009). It could be remarked that this has been achieved here on a local level and not in-house, but innovatively, across the competitors, students and academics.

Building a coverage strategy

The visual of Royal Shrovetide Football has a large impact as thousands move in compact mobs through the town to follow a rarely visible ball. It means that the coverage needed to have a focus on images and video to help tell the story. In such unique events, 'television has always been a better mirror than a spotlight. It reflects reality far more effectively than it creates it' (Krajicek, 1999, p. 185). However, along the years, 'TV news has not traditionally been that local' (Bull, 2010, p. 309). Mobile journalism and its combination with social media platforms ensured new ways to explore hyperlocal video content. In fluid situations such as Shrovetide, 'mobile technology has the potential to be a central tool within the breaking news environment' (Mills et al., 2012, p. 682).

The pop-up newsroom and logistics

Inviting and motivating the students to cover an open-air game during the winter was not the only challenge. Despite the facilities of mobile gadgets, there are still technological constraints to be overcome, as there is still 'a yawning chasm between, on the one hand, the social imaginaries of locative news, and, on the other hand, the materialities' (Goggin et al., 2015, p. 55). Several challenges with this had to be addressed in the planning stage. To tackle it, the answer was the installation of a pop-up newsroom fulfilling the two main roles described by Molina & Medeiros (2017). First, by helping the students acting as reporters to gather original content and publish it via Twitter. Second, by working as a content hub – a centre of command – that monitors all the content produced by the students, that also edits and re-distributes it in different platforms.

Even if 'smartphones could be seen to function as a converged newsroom in their own right (Mills et al., 2012, p. 681)', in large agglomerations, the connections can be unreliable (Bhushan et al., 2014). During Shrovetide, there were thousands of people surrounding the game including spectators using 4G mobile data. To address the issue, the students needed to follow a pre-determined routine: gathering images using mobile phones, action cameras or small handycams and publishing via data connection when possible; taking the material to a hub equipped with laptops and wireless broadband; filing the material directly to the SHDerby platform or sending the material to the newsroom base at the university where more students would edit, file and publish the content. Academics would support the students during the process.

The pop-up newsroom required securing a location big enough to house 40 students at a time, with wireless broadband. After research and contact with locals, three possible locations emerged, with positive and negative aspects related to them: 1, the local leisure centre (Pros: private space, good facilities. Cons: secured company broadband, weak wireless, not central to the town, closes at 6pm, cost attached for room hire); 2, a small liquor shop (Pros: close to the starting point of the game, free access, open late. Cons: sells alcohol, weak intermittent wireless signal, small rooms, public access; 3, the social club (Pros: private space, free access, open until the early hours, free strong wireless signal, close to the centre. Cons: furthest from the drop-off point for transport. Second closest of the three options to the centre of play). The latter was the chosen option.

Transporting large numbers of students and equipment for different working shifts would mean detailed attention to planning. Over 100 students were taking part and they all needed to be briefed on health and safety aspects of the game, including how to deal with the adverse weather and freezing temperatures. The game is marshalled with a first aid team and insured by its own committee, so it is liable for any injuries sustained. In total, an accessible coach made four trips between the university and the pop-up newsroom, ensuring the teams would cover a large extension of the game.

To contemplate the versatility and immediacy required in live coverages, the students produced content in

the following formats:

Social media: covering key-parts of the game via short video, pictures, tweets, retweets from players, local people, authorities and news outlets. In addition, links to the content published on the students' platform SHDerby. Students managed to scoop local and national outlets by publishing key parts of the game in full using video and pictures.

Video: the videos published on SHDerby captured the opening ceremony in the town and the ball being turned up (official start of play). Headcam GoPro footage from inside the hug - one of the most violent parts of the game. Gameplay from around the town, and interviews with spectators.

Pictures: SHDerby received a rich collection of pictures, including slideshow stories depicting the game throughout with high quality images from DSLR cameras. The platform surpassed the local online media in quantity and value of the images, being the first outlet to publish the picture and profile of the player who scored the goal. Local media republished the student's original content.

Writing: Students researched and covered the ancient game using historical sources and traditional news-gathering expedients. Texts on SHDerby covered the origins of the game, historical moments, rules, statistics, FAQs, listicles, as well as comprehensively curating all of the days' highlights. Each part of the event has described within its context, representing play, spectators and the ethos of what the locals call the 'precious game'.

Audio: Students secured an interview with an ex-player, now a marshall of the game, to give perspective on how it has evolved in his lifetime. Crucially, students recorded audio of the goal being scored which was published in the SHDerby and passed on to the BBC who were able to run it in their bulletins. The local radio station credited the student and called the audio on air 'utterly joyous'.

Scooping the British media

Among the technological-driven changes faced by media, one of the most impacting is the rise of speed-driven journalism (Lee, 2014)"publisher":"University of Texas","publisher-place":"Austin, USA","number-of-pages":"119","genre":"Doctor of Philosophy Dissertation","event-place":"Austin, USA","URL":"https://repositories.lib.utexas.edu/bitstream/handle/2152/25953/LEE-DISSERTA-TION-2014.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y","language":"en-UK","author":[{„family":"Lee","given":"A ngela Min-Chia"}],"issued":{„date-parts":[[„2014"]]},"accessed":{„date-parts":[[„2018",3,30]]}}}],"schema":"https://github.com/citation-style-language/schema/raw/master/csl-citation.json"} . It adds up to traditional industry values that sees the scoop as a qualitative element and it being a thermometer of performance by separating successful newsgathering from fiasco (Lamelas et al., 2016). From the public point of view, Cushion & Lewis (2010, p. 170) considering that the technological possibilities increase the responsibility during the coverage, the 'audience has not only the need, but also the right, to get the information as fast as possible'.

Real-time coverage is especially important in sports and has been used since 2004 (Thurman and Schapals, 2016). The students were focussed on this perspective to cover Royal Shrovetide Football. Even though the emphasis was in respecting ethical aspects and prioritising quality, as 'the speed-driven news media place almost unrealistic expectations on journalists to perform quickly, resulting in reporting that is superficial and frequently full of stereotypes, stigmatising those it represents' (Thomas, 2016, p. 1).

The coverage was organised to contemplate distinct moments of the game such as the pre-game ceremony, assembly of players, turning up of the ball ('kick off'), big action moments (unpredictable and hard to capture), goal(s), reactions, and original stories. The produced content went through three main channels: first, through the student's personal social media platforms; second, when possible due to 4G connection availability, through the collaborative chat group; third, as multimedia content to the SHDerby and its social media accounts.

The workflow aimed to maximize the range and shareability, as the professional impact to the student's curricula was a priority over the SHDerby performance. It was clear that most local journalism websites operate on very tight budgets and [video] takes longer to prepare than text, audio or photos (Hill and Lashmar, 2013). With an army of more than 100 students covering the game with adequate equipment, a pop-up newsroom, a central newsroom and the necessary resources, it was evident that the SHDerby could offer to comprehensively cover the game in a competitive way. Even facing the field constraints for capturing video, the students managed to produce multimedia content combining photos, audio, and text generating broader outputs than our competitors.

To amplify the impact of the coverage, and following a common practice of the industry (Lee, 2015), the students were also encouraged to use their individual social media accounts, as the SHDerby was debuting

during Royal Shrovetide Football and had not achieved a meaningful number of followers. The idea, again, was to ensure the students could register the scoop (Bradshaw and Rohumaa, 2013), benefiting from the credit of being the first to publish the content. Data was collated after the event. It was clear that, although on occasion some key moments were published by the local press moments before SHDerby had shared them, the students' platforms were always first to contextualise the stories with video and other appropriate imagery.

Fast hands on news

Given the uncertainty of the gameplay, Twitter was a key choice as it is a flexible platform that allows quick reports (Canter and Brookes, 2016) and is a popular social media platform in the country (Sloan, 2017). In addition, Royal Shrovetide Football has been used to great effect on Twitter by local journalists and players also use it to dupe the opposition into the location of the ball. The students were asked to post from their personal accounts, as mentioned, but they also had access to the official SHDerby Twitter account to retweet the content. In doing so, they automatically fed the live-blog within the web platform, as it was set to publish all the content tagged with the hashtags #shrovetide and #SHDerby. The images that follow (names blurred due to peer review constraints) help to understand the results.

The first post of the day was announcing and inviting the users to follow the coverage (see Image 1). Soon after SHDerby, The Ashbourne News, the main local paper based in the town that hosts the game, tweeted a similar greeting as shown.
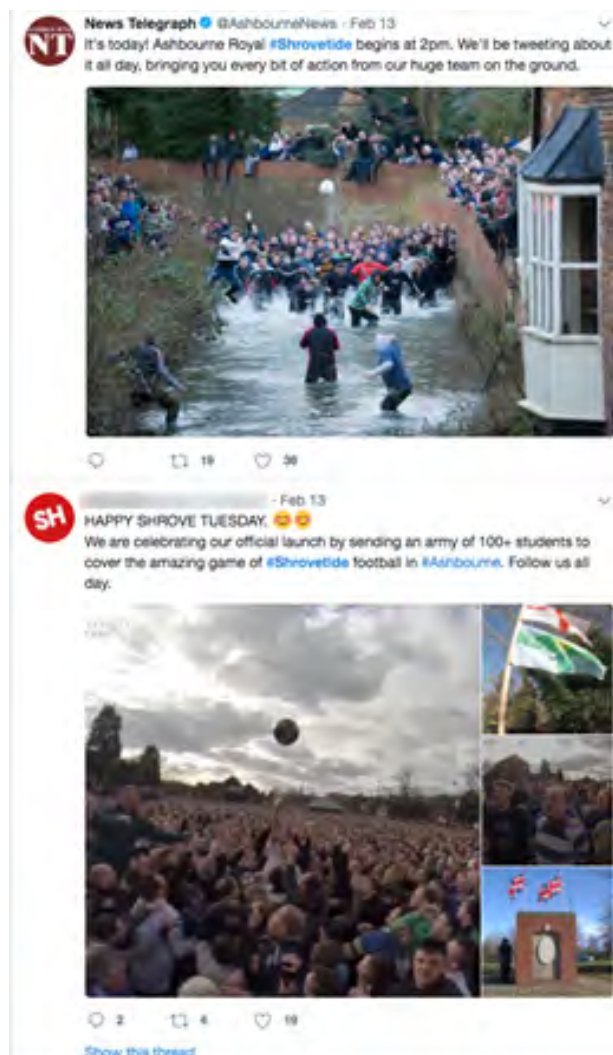
Image 1: the very first tweet of the day (SHDerby, 2018a)

Every year the game starts with a ceremony in the centre of town, where one local celebrity is chosen to throw the ball into a crowd of thousands, initiating the competition. A second-year student was the first to tweet video footage of the beginning of the game (see Image 2).
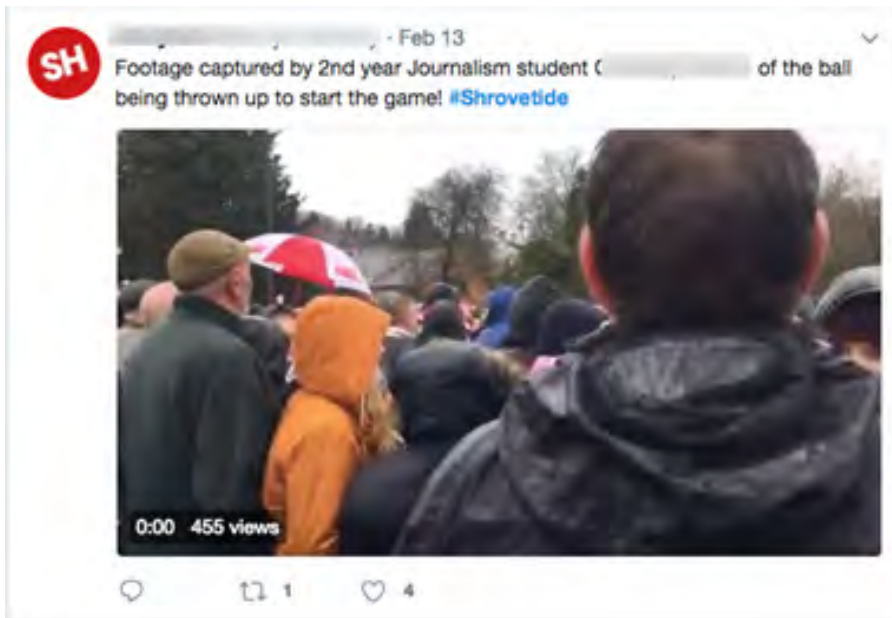

Image 2: first images came from a second-year student (SHDerby, 2018b)

The action is unpredictable, and the mob moves across the town trying to push the ball towards North or South, where the goals are situated, three miles apart from each other. The controversial game receives criticism due to the violent aspects and brutality of the male dominant tradition (Dunn, 2016). One of the crucial moments is the so-called hug, when players pile up on one-another, trying to reach the ball. Despite insurance, there were concerns for safety of the students and they were advised not to engage actively in the play. However, one of the first-year students caught the action. With a portable camera (Go-Pro) he registered exclusive images from the inside of the hug (see Image 3). No other media outlet captured such close and dramatic footage.

Image 3: exclusive footage of being inside the hug (SHDerby, 2018c)

The criticism received by the game from the previous articles published by the established media meant that further journalistic work was opposed by some local townspeople. It created an extra challenge for the students to approach participants and gather opinions and information. Most refused to talk and there were reactions towards the obtained material (see Image 4).

Image 4: quotes from Ashbourne residents and then reaction (SHDerby, 2018d)

The privileged location of the pop-up newsroom facilitated the coverage and the students could obtain images directly from the establishment (see Image 5). The location played a very important role during the game as the temperatures during the day reached below freezing levels. Despite the advice to wear adequate clothing, some of the students needed to quickly return to headquarters due to the weather conditions.

Image 5: the privileged view from the pop-up newsroom window (SHDerby, 2018e)

The location also allowed the students to easily walk from one location to another and follow the development of the game. In one unique moment, the players lost sight of the ball and the students were able to rush towards the last point to investigate the circumstances. The exclusive information gathered by the students was shared with the local media outlets (see Image 6). On top of scooping the local journalists, the post made on @SHDerby account was conversational and gave a more detailed update.

Image 6: collaboration with local partners (SHDerby, 2018f)

Again, another example of the local media tweeting the same story (see Image 7). @SHDerby provided more context and identified the student involved in the investigation. The ethos was to stimulate the engagement and apply a positive reinforcement to the developed work and at the same time it provided the audience with an opportunity to interact with the journalist. As Bradshaw (2018, p. 134) teaches, 'in the modern

news environment, when news breaks, readers don't want to wait for journalists to write a 300-word story: they want to follow developments as they happen'.

Image 7: the student got credit for the investigation (SHDerby, 2018a)

Another important moment was the first goal during day one. The students were first to tweet the goal, quickly followed by being first to tweet a picture of the scorer (see Image 8). A scoop and an exclusive.

Image 8: a scoop and an exclusive. (SHDerby, 2018g)

The field conditions were not favourable for mobile journalism. However, the students were first to tweet a video of the goal (see Image 9). The audio from this was lifted and sent to the local BBC Radio who included it in their bulletins.
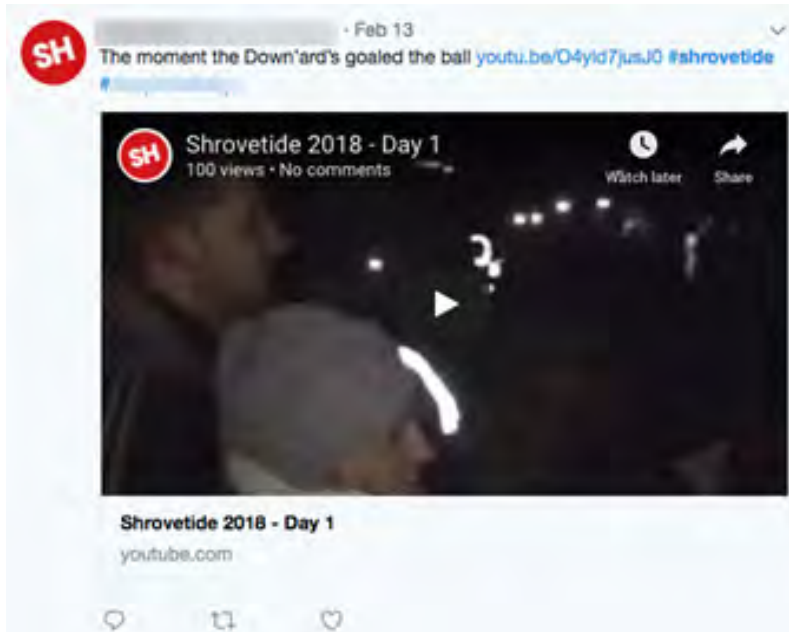
Image 9: the moment of the goal (SHDerby, 2018h)

The material was largely used by local media and the students received credits for the content used in different outlets, such as the local newspaper (see Image10).

Image 10: student credited in a local newspaper (Butterfield, 2018)

Coverage and collaboration in numbers

The numbers can provide a different understanding of the impact of the students' efforts on covering Royal Shrovetide Football. On Twitter, 182 posts mentioned the game of Royal Shrovetide Football to promote

journalistic content related to the coverage of the 2018 edition of the game. From that, 61 (33%) originated from @SHDerby (44) and the student's personal accounts (17). Considering only exclusive content (excluding retweets), out of 133 posts, 41 (31%) belong to the coverage efforts developed by the university. In general, @SHDerby was responsible for retweeting 20 journalism-related posts, making up 41% of all the media content retweeted about Royal Shrovetide Football.

The numbers are even more relevant when analysed from a multimedia point of view. Out of 45 images identified in media outlets, 7 (16%) were published by the students on their personal accounts and 11 (24%) originated from @SHDerby. The numbers related to video content exposes two situations: the competence of an elevated number of students producing content simultaneously and the low capability of the local media outlets to provide enough staff to cover the event. In this case, 71% of all video content produced around Shrovetide was originated on student's social media accounts (12 posts) and 24% from @SHDerby (4 posts).

The university platform, that combined the efforts of the pop-up newsroom and a centralised headquarters, was also the leader in stories about the game, considering all the local media outlets that traditionally cover the Ashbourne Shrovetide. Among the four most important local broadcasters/newspapers, 6 stories were published (27%), meaning that 73% of the web-based content (16 stories) about the 2018 Shrovetide was produced by students and uploaded on SHDerby.

Paving the way to event coverage

The success and learning experiences of Royal Shrovetide Football help to confirm the efficiency of using experiential modes as a strategic tool to teach journalism. The space normally reserved to large networks at major events was occupied by students providing real-world experiences that help to develop transversal skills across the curriculum: multimedia coverage, digital literacy, ethics, etc. It also added a meaningful experience to the individual's curricula, comparable to other situations that required agility and tenacity for real-time coverage under stressful and adverse conditions. It prepares the students to deal with unstable scenarios, as 'the unexpected may happen at any time, crises develop patterns so that, for journalists, even the unexpected becomes the predictable' (Curran and Seaton, 1997, p.276 apud Harcup, 2009, p. 20).

The students dealt with the unpredictable nature of the game and learned how to react, produce and publish real-time content, scooping the established media on different occasions. The main issues related to inexperience but as Paterson & Domingo (2008, p. 110) suggest, they are no different from the ones experienced in local newsrooms, where the challenges are the same: 'underdeveloped technology, inefficient production tools, limited and often young staffs, bureaucratic shifts, young managers and large ambition'.

Numerically, the journalism army also made an impression and none of the local media organisations could equal the students in this way. It was an experiment in team mentality, fast turnaround of media, collaborative workings with external newsgroups and ownership of exclusive storytelling. On reflection, new relations were built with media outlets and the local BBC radio station realised the significance of collaborating on future events. Reflectively, the feedback from the local press was invaluable:

Just wanted to send a note of thanks for your guys' tremendous efforts at Shrovetide. Our live blog on the event generated around 80,000 page views over the two days and our Ashbourne reporter, Gareth Butterfield, and Picture Editor, Victoria Wilcox, say the contributions from your students were invaluable. Gareth felt those involved on Tuesday were particularly impressive. It's another great example of our two organisations working together for mutual benefit. Please pass on my appreciation to all of those involved (Hall, 2018).

Conclusion

On reflection of this first-time experience, there are lessons which have been learned in terms of best practice. The most important is that the students reacted differently in simulations and experiential learning environments. It is almost impossible to recreate unpredictable circumstances to stimulate quick reactions. In an experimental mode, it will happen effortlessly, and the students will have no other option than to engage in situations that will contribute to acquiring additional sets of skills. They will learn how to deal with technological flaws, how to make ethical evaluations, and even how to assess risks during the news gathering process.

Another lesson is that the engagement will not be the same across a very large cohort, but the motivation is

more viral than the inside of a traditional classroom. The sense of accomplishment and pride, together with a constant positive reinforcement, creates a vibrant working atmosphere. In essence even for the students that did not engage directly with the content publication, experiencing the thrill of real-time coverage was beneficial. Ultimately, the outcomes for the students were the real immersion on experiential learning in one type of unprecedented media coverage for this area of the country.

The pop-up newsroom has proven to be a very efficient tool to create immersive learning environments. It offered all the necessary conditions to work as a content production hub, offering equipment and fast internet connections to help the students to share files with the central newsroom (based at the university) and the network of collaboration built with representatives of local media. In addition, the pop-up newsroom has an important psychological aspect, providing a safe refuge in the middle of a very challenging environment with freezing wet weather and a mob of thousands rushing through a small town. The students were more adventurous, because they knew they had this support structure.

The results were positive in different aspects. From the students' engagement perspective, it is important to note the individual dedication to be the first to publish the content, to include different voices and to gather multiple stories from around the game. The students' web platform ended up having the most complete coverage ever from the game. It is directly connected to the numerical perspectives. The students outperformed any other media outlet in creating video content and multimedia formats. The ability to publish the content and the digital skills necessary to operate multiple platforms and formats must be recognized too. In general, the experience has cemented the university's reputation as a hub for a credible team of journalists.

The long-term consequences of the experiment are not yet known. As an immediate response, the Journalism team (students and staff) were broadly recognized by the industry, improving relations, partnerships and establishing the trust for further collaborations. The students ended up with high-quality material to add value to their portfolios and with experience of coverage that will add extra credibility to any job application. They experienced an extreme real-world situation comparable with any other large-scale event.

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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 tor.clark@leicester.ac.uk

Development Communication: Reframing the Role of Media, edited by Thomas McPhail.

Reviewed by Muhammad Shahid, PhD fellow, Department of Journalism and Mass Communication, University of Peshawar

Though there are numerous books on communication studies and development, *Development Communication: Reframing the Role of Media***, edited by Thomas McPhail, has an advantage as it has collected writings of several scholars on different aspects of the topic.**

Editor Thomas L McPhail is a known media critic from the University of Missouri-St Louis Theatre, Dance, and Media Studies Department and Fellow in the Center for International Studies. He began his career with the noted media scholar of communication studies, Marshall McLuhan. He also worked for Canada's Commission for UNESCO for more than 10 years.

McPhail begins with defining the term: "Development communication is the process of intervening in a systematic or strategic manner with either media (print, radio, telephony, video, and the Internet), or education (training, literacy, schooling) for the purpose of positive social change. The change could be economic, personal, as in spiritual, social, cultural, or political." (P. 3)

McPhail describes the development of communication studies, which can help those who have an interest in working on social change in the era of globalisation. He sheds light on what development communication is and also aptly discusses its history, ie how it started and developed as a discipline.

He discusses how the use of technology affected development. He mentions the development communication's past failures because there was little success ratio in the top-down approaches to development. He expresses his support and holds a positive opinion about a bottom-up approach that pays attention to the grassroots initiatives for the development process.

The book is appropriate for those who wish to study in detail communication development studies from modernisation theories to participatory communication, cultural imperialism, etc.

McPhail has written the first five chapters, in addition to conclusion of the book. McPhail begins with how development communication started (the movements of modernisation liberation, etc), theories seeking replacement of the theory of modernisation that is based on economy, in addition to detailing a historical context of various organisations working in the discipline.

The book has another five chapters, which have been written by different scholars of the field, who further

discuss and carry forward points discussed by McPhail in the earlier chapters. Renee Houston and Michele Jackson discuss the role of information and communication dissemination in the process of development. They shed light on the use of technology for development to generate further dialogue. Satarupa Das examines how the Sonagachi Project in India worked towards for development in health sector and Eva Szalvai discusses the case of the Roma project in Europe. Michele Rice discusses the conditions that have led to the global digital divide. Luz Porras and Leslie Steeves examine what role the women play in the uplift schemes and communication.

The book explains how the information and communications technologies can create an environment conducive to development and progress in different spheres of life. It also debates certain key issues related to development communication that form the dominant paradigms, such as the influential role of private or non-profit organisations (NGOs), gender roles as well as feminism.

McPhail is of the view that the modernisation era failed to bring about a positive change in lives of nations where most people live on low incomes. He argues that there has happened a paradigm shift in the sphere of development communication from concentration on economy as rooted in modernisation theory an inclusive framework which is in fact a bottom-up approach, based on development through participation of participatory development.

He says certain conditions are necessary for transfer of technology to cope with the digital divide, which is the gap between those having a good access to digital technology and people having little or no access.

One more aspect this book points to is the significance of grassroots-based communications in different projects to promote a positive change in society. There are different examples of how bottom-up communication can be beneficial. In a chapter, conceptualising technology, Renee Houston and Michele Jackson discuss technology and communication tools and argue that technology should be integrated into the community in order for it to better play the role of a change agent.

Also, the book challenges top-down approaches used for communication development in the past. Overall, it discusses the strategies that were used in the field and overcome those barriers that hindered communication for development.

The book comprehensively discusses the subject for a multidisciplinary audience and explains a participatory approach to development that shows an inclusion model, instead of a diffusion model. It details the prevalent discourse of development first discussing the modernization approach but comes to a participation-oriented process for development.

The writers of the book also present scholars and practitioners with concepts in the subject's theory and emphasise that development is not one-dimensional, nor is it easily evaluated, but change constantly takes place in the field of development communication.

The book is a mine of knowledge with regard to the understanding of development communication.

McPhail says the sphere of development communication is in flux, both whether it is the theory or practice. There can be no quick fixes but an interdisciplinary approach and working teams have to jointly tackle the issues that hinder the development process. The theory of modernisation is challenged in the book as being naïve as the top-down approaches have not been successful.

No single approach is enough. A range of approaches should be used for new projects or initiatives, such as participatory, education-entertainment, avoiding cultural imperialism, sensitivity to gender and other aspects. A social change will come about through combining components of different approaches.

The book concludes: "There is no 'magic bullet' or sure fire way to approach development; but by learning from past mistakes and being open to new ideas and allowing those in the southern hemisphere to be included at the earliest stages could lead to more progress in development communication activities in the future." (P. 209)

Development Communication: Reframing the Role of Media, edited by Thomas L. McPhail, published by Wiley-Blackwell, 2009, 239pp.

Reading list

This year's books to update your academic bookshelf

2019 has brought an interesting crop of books looking at journalism practice, many of them from authors working in AJE affiliated university journalism departments.

Some of these may already be on your shelves and have even joined you recommended reading lists.In the pressurised world of the modern university it's all too easy to forget to keep a close eye on new pulcations and ensure your recommended reading lists are both up-to-date and apprproriate for the students studying that module. Journalism Education aims to make that job a little easier by keeping you in touch with new publications and carrying reviews that will help you identify which publications are best for your needs. This issue we identify a range of books published in the last few monthsd covering ethics, journalism practice, journalism and gender and journalism culture. If you have found a book that is indispensable to your teaching why not write a review for the next edition of Journalism Education and share your find with others? If you are interested in reviewing for the journal more regularly, please contact Tor Clark at Leicester University who is our reviews editor. Academic publishers such as Routledge, Sage and Palgrave-Macmillan are always happy to provide copies for review and inspection, allowing lecturers to find out first hand what the latest publications are saying. Also if you have a book of your own recently published or due for publication in the next few months, why not let Journalism Education know so that we can publish the news and arrange for a review on publication?

Ethical reporting

Trauma reporting: A Journalist's guide to covering sensitive stories, By Jo Healey, Routledge 206 pages £19.99

Trauma Reporting provides vital information on developing a healthy, professional and respectful relationship with those who choose to tell their stories during times of trauma, distress or grief.

Amid a growing demand and need for guidance, this fascinating book is refreshingly simple, engaging and readable, providing a wealth of original insight. As an aspiring or working journalist, how should you work with a grieving parent, a survivor of sexual violence, a witness at the scene of a traumatic event?

How should you approach people, interview them and film with them sensitively? Includes an interview with Sallyanne Duncan, co author with Jackie Newton of several papers and a book on trauma reporting and is also one of Journalism Education's editors.

Author: Jo Healey is a senior Broadcast Journalist with the BBC and a prominent member of the DART Centre for Journalism and Trauma network, Europe.
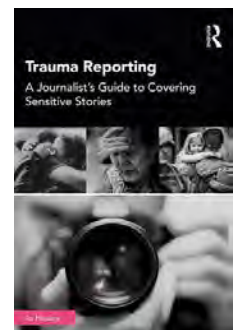
Privacy and the News Media by Chris Frost, Routledge £26.99

This new book about the ethics of reporting privacy critically examines current journalistic practices using both theoretical and applied approaches the book addresses the interplay between the right to free expression (and what that means to a free press) and the right to privacy.

Privacy, and the criticism that journalists unreasonably and regularly invade it in order to get a "good story", is the most significant ethical dilemma for journalists, alongside accurately reporting the truth. Where is the line between fair exposure in the public interest and interesting the public? This book explains what privacy is, why we need it and why we go to some lengths to protect it.

The law, the regulators, the key court cases and regulator complaints are covered, as well as issues raised by new technological developments. The book also briefly examines regulators in Ireland as well as privacy and free expression elsewhere in Europe and in North America, considering the contrary cultures of the two continents.

This insightful exploration of privacy and journalism combines theory and practice to provide a valuable resource for both Media and Journalism students and working journalists.

Author: Chris Frost is Emeritus Professor of Journalism at Liverpool John Moores University in the UK and has been a journalist, editor and journalism educator for more than 40 years. He is a member of the National Union of Journalist's National Executive and chair of the NUJ's Ethics Council and sits on the NUJ's Professional Training Committee. He is also a former National Chair of the Association for Journalism Education and is a co-editor of the association's journal: Journalism Education. He is a former President of the National Union of Journalists, a former member of the Press Council

Journalism and gender

Journalism, Gender and Power edited by Cyntha Carter, Linda Steiner and Stuart Allan, Routledge, 388 pages £27.99

Journalism, Gender and Power revisits the key themes explored in the 1998 edited collection News, Gender and Power. It takes stock of progress made to date, and also breaks ground in advancing critical understandings of how and why gender matters for journalism and current democratic cultures.

This new volume develops research insights into issues such as the influence of media ownership and control on sexism, women's employment, and "macho" news cultures, the gendering of objectivity and impartiality, tensions around the professional identities of journalists, news coverage of violence against women, the sexualization of women in the news, the everyday experience of normative hierarchies and biases in newswork, and the gendering of news audience expectations, amongst other issues.

Authors: Cynthia Carter is Reader in the School of Journalism, Media and Culture, Cardiff University, UK. She has published widely on children, news, and citizenship; feminist news and journalism studies; and media violence. Her recent books include Current Perspectives in Feminist Media Studies (2013) and the Routledge Companion to Media and Gender (2014). She is a founding Co-Editor of Feminist Media Studies and serves on the editorial board of numerous media and communication studies journals.

Linda Steiner is Professor in the College of Journalism, University of Maryland, USA, and Editor

of Journalism & Communication Monographs. Recent co-authored or co-edited books include: Key Concepts in Critical-Cultural Studies (2010), Routledge Companion to Media and Gender (2013), The Handbook of Gender and War (2016), and Race, News, and the City: Uncovering Baltimore (2017). She has published over 100 book chapters and refereed journal articles. Steiner leads the campus Keeping Our Faculty program.

Stuart Allan is Professor and Head of the School of Journalism, Media and Culture at Cardiff University, UK and an editor of Journalism Education. His publications include Citizen Witnessing: Revisioning Journalism in Times of Crisis (2013) and the edited collections, The Routledge Companion to News and Journalism (revised edition, 2012) and Photojournalism and Citizen Journalism: Co-operation, Collaboration and Connectivity (2017). He is currently researching the visual cultures of news imagery in war, conflict, and crisis reporting, amongst other projects

Journalism culture

Worlds of Journalism: Journalistic Cultures Around the Globe, edited by Thomas Hanitzsch, Folker Hanusch, Jyotika Ramaprasad, and Arnold S. de Beer; Columbia University Press £30.00

How do journalists around the world view their roles and responsibilities in society? Based on a landmark study that has collected data from more than 27,500 journalists in 67 countries, Worlds of Journalism offers a groundbreaking analysis of the different ways journalists perceive their duties, their relationship to society and government, and the nature and meaning of their work.

Challenging assumptions of a universal definition or concept of journalism, the book maps a world populated by a rich diversity of journalistic cultures.

Authors: Thomas Hanitzsch is chair and professor of communication in the Department of Communication and Media at LMU Munich. Folker Hanusch is professor of journalism in the Department of Communication at the University of Vienna, where he heads the Journalism Studies Center, and adjunct professor at Queensland University of Technology. He is editor in chief of Journalism Studies. Jyotika Ramaprasad is professor in the School of Communication at the University of Miami. Her books include Contemporary BRICS Journalism: Non-Western Media in Transition (2017) Arnold S. de Beer is professor of journalism at Stellenbosch University. His publications include Global Journalism: Topical Issues and Media Systems (2009).
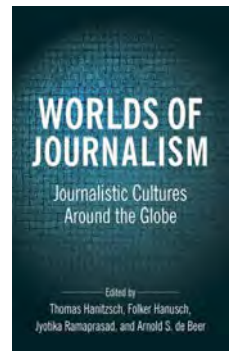
Journalism practice

Investigative Journalism: A Survival Guide by David Leigh Palgrave Macmillan £17.99

At a time of hyper-partisanship, media fragmentation and "fake news", the work of investigative journalism has never been more important.

This book explores the history and art of investigative journalism, and explains how to deal with

legal bullies, crooked politicians, media bosses, big business and intelligence agencies; how to withstand conspiracy theories; and how to work collaboratively across borders in the new age of data journalism. It also provides a fascinating first-hand account of the work that went into breaking major news stories including WikiLeaks and the Edward Snowden affair. Drawing on over 40 years of experience with world-leading investigative teams at newspapers including the Guardian and The Washington Post, award-winning journalist David Leigh provides an illuminating insight into some of the biggest news events of the 20th and 21st centuries. This book is essential reading for anyone interested in the behind-the-scenes work of journalists and news organizations. It also acts as an essential practical toolkit for both aspiring and established investigative journalists.

Author: David Leigh is one of Britain's best-known investigative journalists, and the Anthony Sampson Professor in Reporting at City, University of London, UK. He was head of investigations at the Guardian for 15 years, a journalist for The Times, the Observer and The Scotsman, and the first Laurence Stern Fellow at The Washington Post. He was also a TV producer at This Week and World in Action. He has won numerous journalism awards and is the author of several books, including Wikileaks: Inside Julian Assange's War on

Specialist journalism

Writing Feature Articles by Mary Hogarth published by Routledge £29.69.

Writing Feature Articles presents clear and engaging advice for students and young professionals on working as a freelance feature writer.

  This fifth edition not only covers producing content for print, but also for digital platforms and online. Mary Hogarth offers comprehensive guidance on every aspect of feature writing, from having the initial idea and conducting market and subject research, to choosing the right target audience and publishing platform and successfully pitching the article. In addition, the book instructs students on developing their own journalistic style and effectively structuring their feature. Each chapter then concludes with an action plan to help students put what they have read into practice. It covers:

  • Life as a freelance
  • Building a professional profile
  • Telling a story with images
  • Developing a specialism
  • Interviewing skills

  Praised by Dr Barbara Rowlands of City University as a "A rich resource, full of gold-plated advice for any budding feature writer." and Catherine Derby of the University of Centreal Lancashire as "a welcome and timely update of Brendan Hennessy's classic Writing Feature Articles... it is for anyone who aspires to be a journalist in our fast-moving digital age."

Author: Mary Hogarth is an educator, media specialist, and writer, and HEA Senior Fellow and has a fractional post at Bournemouth University. With more than 20 years' industry experience and lecturing experience, Mary set up The Magazine Expert Ltd consultancy practice in 2015, specialising in new title launches (print, online and digital), audience engagement, editorial development and sustainable business strategies.

Sports Journalism (Media Skills) by Tom Bradshaw and Daragh Minogue Routledge £29.55

Based on interviews with leading sports journalists and grounded in the authors' experience and expertise in both the sports journalism industry and sports media research, Sports Journalism gives in-depth insight into the editorial and ethical challenges facing sports journalists in a fast-changing media environment.

The book considers how sports journalism's past has shaped its present and explores the future trends and trajectories that the industry could take. The far-reaching consequences of the digital revolution and social media on sports journalists' work are analysed, with prominent sports writers, broadcasters and academics giving their insights. While predominantly focused on the UK sports media industry, the book also provides a global perspective, and includes case studies, research and interviews from around the world. Issues of diversity – or a lack of it – in the industry are put into sharp focus. Sports Journalism gives both practising sports journalists and aspiring sports journalists vital contextualising information to make them more thoughtful and reflective practitioners.

Authors:Tom Bradshaw is Senior Lecturer and Course Leader in Sports Journalism at the University of Gloucestershire, and an award-winning sports journalist. His main research area is media ethics. Alongside his teaching and research, Tom writes for The Times and other titles, and broadcasts for the BBC. Daragh Minogue is Principal Lecturer and Course Leader in Sport Journalism at St Mary's University. His current research focuses on identity, politics and sports media. He contributes to the journalism training programme at Sky Sports News and has received commendations for promoting equality, diversity and inclusion in journalism.

Fashion Journalism by Julie Bradford Routledge £32.99

This comprehensively revised and updated second edition of Fashion Journalism examines the vast changes within the industry and asks what they mean for the status, practices, and values of journalism worldwide.

Providing first-hand guidance on how to report on fashion effectively and responsibly, this authoritative text covers everything from ideas generation to writing news and features, video production, podcasting, and styling, including advice on how to stay legally and ethically safe while doing so. The book takes in all types of fashion content – from journalism to branded content, and from individual content creation to editorial for fashion brands. It explores their common practices and priorities, while examining journalists' claim to special status compared to other content producers. In conjunction with expanded theory and research, the book includes interviews with journalists, editors, bloggers, filmmakers, PRs, and brand content producers from the UK, the US, China, and the Middle East to offer all a student or trainee needs to know to excel in fashion journalism.

Author: Julie Bradford is programme leader for BA Fashion Communication at Northumbria University and a former journalist.

Style guide

Please provide a title and an abstract and author details together with a 50-70 word biography for each author on a separate sheet to allow for anonymization. This sheet will be separated from the article before being sent to referees so please put the title only at the start of the article.

- Sub-heads should be in bold
- Second order sub-heads should be in bold italic
- Please use single quotation marks (double quotation marks for a quote within a quote)
- Indent long quotes of two lines or more.
- Please do not use the enter button to insert space between paragraphs or headings.
- All illustrations, tables and figures should be sent separately either at the end of the MS Word file or as attached JPGs. Clearly label approximately where they should be placed with fig 1, table 1 etc.

Citations and bibliographic references should be in Harvard style.

Part I: Citations

Place references in your work in the following order: Name, Date: page number(s)

For example,

1. Directly quoting an author

It is sometimes forgotten that 'English is one of the most flexible and expressive languages in the world' (Hicks, 1993, p.1)

He goes on to say, 'In brief, the reigning media consensus has been characterised either as overly liberal or leftist or as conservative, depending on the view of the critic' (McQuail, 1992, pp.255-6).

2. Indirectly quoting an author (where you sum up what is being stated in your own words). This must be grammatically correct, as well as accurate.

E.g.: Hargreaves (2003, p.47) believes that Henry Hetherington's populist journalistic techniques, employed by him in the 1830s, were the basis of tabloid journalism.

3. Referring broadly to ideas you have read in a publication (not to a specific point/quote). You don't need to cite page number in this case. E.g.: Franklin (1997) has highlighted the effects and reasons for so-called dumbing down in the media.

4. If the same person is referred to immediately after a previous citation, you can use ibid.

5. If there are more than two authors, you can use et al.

Part II: Bibliographic References

A list of Bibliographic References is required at the end. Please provide the FULL name of the author (including first name) and provide references in alphabetical order of surname. With an author who has written a number of books and articles that have been cited, list them all separately, with the most recent first (see Manning).

Examples of how to present Bibliographic references for Journalism Education are given below

Bibliographic references

Franklin, Bob (2003) 'A Good Day to Bury Bad News?': Journalists, Sources and the Packaging of Politics in Simon Cottle (Ed.), News, Public Relations Power, London: Sage pp. 45-61

Hall, Stuart, Critcher, Chas, Jefferson Tony, Clarke John, and Roberts, Brian (1978) Policing the Crisis. Mugging, the State and Law and Order. London: Macmillan

Harcup, Tony (2004) in Susan Pape and Sue Featherstone (2006) Feature Writing, London: Sage.

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