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

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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.

From Newsroom to classroom: Exploring the transition from journalism practitioner to journalism educator

**Catharine Russell, University of Portsmouth; Dr Sue Eccles,
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Abstract

For some years journalism has been in a state of transition and there has been much discussion around the causes of and solutions to the so-called 'crisis'. This paper examines the key thematic debates of the crisis and suggests that the industry's ongoing state of flux has given rise to a parallel uncertainty - even disagreement - among scholars about journalism and journalism education's

purpose and future. What becomes apparent is a gap in research around journalism academics themselves, many of whom are former practitioners; hitherto the focus has largely been on the journalism industry, the profession, education and the curriculum. We suggest that greater attention to the transition that takes place between being a journalism practitioner and becoming an educator would provoke a deeper understanding of the role, value and views of the journalism academic in the context of an emerging industry and education landscape.

Introduction

Since the late 20th century, journalism has been in a state of transition - many would argue crisis - and there is a great deal of discussion in journalism and journalism education literature about the effects and broader consequences of this on-going state of flux.

There is much debate about 'old' versus 'new' in the context of technology; news content and how it is generated, delivered and consumed; media companies' evolving business models; the higher education environment; and, not least, the role of the journalist. So intertwined are elements of the old versus new dichotomy that it is almost impossible to discuss one without alluding to another.

This paper examines literature around a number of themes relating to the current journalism landscape and how this landscape is shaping the teaching of journalism studies within higher education (HE). Pivotal to this is the journalist-turned-educator who may have learned, lived and practiced as a journalist through recent decades of rapid change in the sector: both witness to, and participant in, an emerging new world. The transition of journalists from practice to education is, arguably, under researched and - as discussed in this paper - the tensions immanent in the transition are such that the move from practitioner to educator must provoke a shift in identity if the educator is to fully grasp the nuances of teaching journalism as practice and journalism as an academic discipline. In an era when the HE landscape itself has undergone significant transformation in recent years, with the introduction of student tuition fees, the Research Excellence Framework and Teaching Excellence Framework all combining to put pressures on academic staff and students, together with increased financial pressures that have undoubtedly had an impact on the curriculum and pedagogy, it is timely to explore the challenges faced by former journalists as they endeavor to assimilate into a new professional culture and terrain.

This paper explores studies on the 'crisis' in journalism and the industry's future outlook; on the professionalism of journalists; on the evolution of journalism education; and on professional identities in transition. It suggests areas where future research on the critical shift from practitioner to educator might help further inform the nature of educating a new generation of journalists destined to become part of a profession whose metamorphosis is still unfolding.

The journalism landscape

There can be no disputing the fact that journalism has experienced a period of rapid change since the latter part of the 20th century. Terms such as 'turbulence', 'turmoil', 'transformation', 'chaos' and 'crisis' are common terminology in an industry that has seen itself challenged by a raft of new technologies, changing

business practices, transformed models of news generation and consumption, fragmented audiences and fundamental questions about the very meaning of being a professional journalist in a free-for-all digital publishing world (Franklin 2010 and 2014; Pickard 2017; Van der Haak et al. 2012; Wahl-Jorgensen et al. 2016). Franklin (2014, p481) notes: "...this is undoubtedly a significant time in the history of journalism when almost every aspect of the production, reporting and reception of news is changing". Scholars have attributed the crisis to a range of mainly structural issues - technological, economic and social; distinct yet interrelated factors that have combined to form a perfect storm to rain down on journalism, foregrounding fundamental debates about the principles of what journalism is and should be (Blumler 2010; Jukes 2013; McChesney and Pickard 2011; Siles and Boczkowski 2012). It is, perhaps, the decline of the newspaper market and its associated business model that have been cited as most symptomatic of the crisis in journalism, not only in the UK but also in other western democracies (Blumler 2010; Deuze 2008; Downie and Schudson 2009; Pickard 2017; Wahl-Jorgensen 2017). National daily newspaper titles in the UK decreased in circulation from 9.2 million in 2010 to six million in 2016, according to Ofcom (2016). UK local newspaper titles – regarded as the "lifeblood" of local community and local democracy (Jackson et al, 2017) - have declined from around 1,700 to little over a thousand in the space of four decades (Ramsay and Moore, 2015, p26) and latest figures show that the majority of the UK (57.9%) is no longer served by a local daily newspaper (Jackson et al. 2017). An accompanying fall in circulation and advertising, together with the loss of at least half of the 13,000 UK regional journalism jobs since 2006 (Ponsford 2016), have caused many to question the survival of the newspaper and journalism itself (Deuze 2008; Freedman 2010; McChesney and Pickard 2011; Pickard 2014; Wahl-Jorgensen 2017). As Pickard argues, the crisis "pertains not solely to newspapers, but also to news rooms and newsgathering writ large" (2011, p76), while Wahl-Jorgensen alludes to a "postmodern turn" in journalism following the "catastrophic collapse" in the business model of journalism. (2017, p96).

While shifting demographics play a part in the decline of print news (Wadbring et al. 2015), there is broad agreement that technological developments – the rise of the internet offering (largely) free-to-view news content and the growth of social media – have been a principal cause not only of the decline in circulations, revenues and jobs, but also in the transformation of traditional newsroom practices and access to and consumption of news (Compton and Benedetti 2010; Conboy and Eldridge 2014; Downie and Schudson 2009;). However, there is a body of thought that proposes it is inaccurate to associate the crisis in newspapers with a demise of journalism (McNair 2009; Pickard 2014; Van der Haak et al. 2012); rather, it is argued, print is simply a means of delivering journalistic content at a particular stage of technology and at a particular time in history, and journalism - while doubtless bound up with newspapers for the moment - is nevertheless independent of them (Picard 2014). Newspapers are being replaced by digital means that will allow journalism to "adapt and evolve" (McNair 2009, p134) and journalism is "in a transition not a demise" contends Picard. (2014, p507; italics in original). While the focus of this paper is on the UK landscape, it is worth noting that the crisis is not entirely global - in Asia print circulation increased by 7.8% in 2015, and by 38.6% over five years, according to Marketing Charts (2016) – further evidence, perhaps, of the historical context of the newspaper industry's collapse in Western economies.

In fact, the greater challenge to journalism comes from the shift in the production of news and in its consumption (Deuze 2005; Fenton 2010; Mancini 2013; Picard 2014). Certainly there has been a sea change in this regard: the rise of the internet, convergence (of print, broadcast and online) and social media have led to the demise of traditional modes of journalism news practices in favour of multimedia production, online news in its various forms (news sites and apps, social media) accessed through a variety of computers and mobile devices, news on the move/on demand, data journalism and audience metrics (Franklin 2014; McNair 2009; O'Sullivan and Heinonen 2008; Nielsen and Schroder 2014; Lee and Tandoc 2017; Tandoc 2014;). Consumption patterns have changed; research points to nearly half of all adults now using the internet for news (Ofcom 2016) with a third of adults using a mobile device for news and almost half of those using social media to access news (Ofcom 2016). Add to this the proliferation of citizen journalists, issues of trust and controversies around fake news, together with concerns about how emerging journalism risks undermining the democratic process, and it paints a complex and, for some, worrying picture of journalism's tricky negotiations with its publics in the age of digital media (Blumler 2010; Curran 2010; Downie and Schudson 2009; Wahl-Jorgensen et al. 2016).

Yet others strike a more optimistic note about the future of journalism. Some scholars allude to opportunities for new forms of journalism presented by online platforms, novel business models and funding sources, the growth of hyperlocal news sites, and fresh and diverse audiences with evolving consumption patterns, all of which may counter the decline of newspapers (Conboy and Eldridge 2014; Neveu 2014; Nielsen and Schroder 2014; Picard 2014; Zelizer 2015). Zelizer questions the usefulness of the word 'crisis' as a lexical

choice to describe journalism's current situation because it creates problems "that obscure our understanding of the circumstances it seeks to describe" (2015, p904), while Conboy and Eldridge propose a "reconsideration" (2014, p569) of journalism's potential, adding: "Despite the appearance of rupture, journalism is in an era of good fortune". (2014, p567). In truth, argue Peters and Broersma, scholars are still "grappling" with what is changing in journalism and whether it implies updating previous concepts – or introducing completely new approaches to journalism (2017, p4).

The nuances of journalism's transition - or crisis – tell us much about its current and emerging state, inevitably raising questions about the future direction of journalism and in turn about how a new generation of journalists should be educated in this uncertain world. Understanding the present landscape is also important in the exploration of the transition from journalism practitioner to educator and the associated change in professional identities, as will be discussed below. However, the changing world of journalism also raises questions about the profession itself, and it is to this issue that this paper now turns.

Professionalism in journalism

There has long been a debate around whether journalism can be regarded as a profession or, rather, should be perceived as a craft or trade. The broadly accepted criteria of the term 'profession' is based on, among other things, occupations associated with high status and high income, such as law and medicine, where specialist training, skills and practice, a body of theoretical knowledge, a high level of autonomy, an obligation to serve a societal need, and a strong work ideology linked with a professional body that oversees professional standards and imposes codes of practice (Crook 2008; Freidson 2001; Meyers 2010; Schudson and Anderson 2009). It has commonly been argued that journalism can be regarded as only partly fulfilling such criteria (Aldridge and Evetts 2003; Tumber and Prentoulis 2005; Witschge and Nygren 2009). On the one hand, like other professions, journalists can claim autonomy in their day-to-day work, a strong occupational ideology, together with the fulfillment of a societal need in terms of their perceived democratic role, and various codes of practice (IPSO, NUJ, CIOJ); on the other hand, there is not a requirement for the high level skills and training that engender an exclusive professional position: anyone can call themselves a journalist and journalists cannot exclude non-journalists from their line of work (Davis 2012; Deuze 2005; Hartley 2000; Pihl-Thingvad 2015). Autonomy too can be called into question if there are commercial imperatives that may supersede the journalist's self-determination (McManus 2009; Skovsgaard 2013;), further evidence to support the case for journalism as a "semi-profession" (Witschge and Nygren 2009). Yet most journalists feel professional, believe that journalism is a profession and endeavour to maintain professional standards in their work (Aldridge and Evetts 2003; Davis 2012).

An exploration of what journalism is and its perceived role sheds further light on this notion of professionalism. While a universal theory for journalism proves slippery, due to cultural distinctions between countries (Hanitzsch 2007; Weaver and Wilhoit 1991), studies show that the fundamental tenets of a journalist's professional identity are defined by role perceptions and associated professional ideals – and that these perceptions and ideals are widely shared across borders, albeit interpreted differently. (Deuze 2005; Hanitzsch 2007; Pihl-Thingvad 2015). Deuze describes this as "a shared occupational ideology among newswriters which functions to self-legitimise their position in society" (2005, p446), labeling it as "the social cement" that binds journalists together as a profession (2005, p455). Weaver and Wilhoit's 1991 study of American journalists laid the foundations for what is now broadly understood to be the perceived roles of news journalists: the disseminator role (facts); the interpretive role (explanation and analysis); and the adversarial (scepticism towards individuals, organisations and governments) (1991, p259). From these roles emanate professional ideals - or values - such as impartiality and objectivity, a sense of speed and accuracy, challenging knowledge and policies, and being critical of those in power (Couldry 2017; Deuze 2005; Hanitzsch 2007; Weaver et al. 2007). Truth, objectivity and accuracy remain the cornerstone of journalistic practice (Thurman et al. 2016) and the journalist's role as the watchdog of democracy, with its implied allegiance to the public interest, provides journalists with their legitimacy, argues Skovsgaard (2013, p344), allowing the public to make informed political decisions (Hanitzsch 2011; Weaver 2005; Witschge and Nygren 2009; Zelizer 2012). But while there is broad agreement on such principles underpinning journalism as a profession, or semi-profession, there are questions about whether such ideals are realistic in the daily working practices of journalists in the digital era (Deuze 2005; McNair 2017; Skovsgaard 2013; Witschge 2012; Witschge and Nygren 2009). Pihl-Thingvad's empirical study (2015), for example, found strong evidence pointing to discrepancies between journalism's professional ideals relating to societal obligations, such as reliability, objectivity, high quality and autonomy, and journalists' daily practice. (2015, p404). Others argue

that a competitive ideal should be added to the spectrum in order to acknowledge the growing commercial function within journalism practice (Donsbach 2010; McManus, 2009; Skovsgaard 2013). Some academic studies espouse the view that journalism is experiencing a period of “de-professionalisation” in as much as technological, economic and social developments no longer allow for an unvarying, coherent occupation, particularly in the face of citizen journalism which lacks the boundaries set by the profession itself (Ornebring 2010; Wilk 2009; Witschge and Nygren 2009). Others ponder whether the core values of the profession, such as objectivity, are outdated in an era when views and opinions from the public can and are made freely available via the internet, with a transparency from the authors that is not mirrored in journalism (McNair 2017; Phillips 2011; Tandoc and Thomas 2017; Van der Haak, Parks and Castells 2012; Zelizer 2015). Wahl-Jorgensen points to the rise of “subjective journalism” (2015, p25) in which personal voices as opposed to objective reports are heard. This, she argues, “represents a direct challenge to the journalistic paradigm of objectivity so central to professional identity and appears to draw on an epistemological vocabulary which equates truth with authenticity, emotional integrity and immediacy”. (2015, p26). If objectivity is no longer regarded by audiences as the cornerstone of good journalistic practice then the professionalism sought by journalists is undermined – which “has significant implications for theorizing how technological change is affecting professional practice” (2015, p25).

The issue of ‘fake news’ and its threat to journalism’s watchdog role as the fourth estate - and as a consequence, democratic culture - is widely explored, often in the context of the US Presidential Election and the UK’s Brexit referendum of 2016 (Albright 2017; Beckett 2017; Boczkowski 2015; Corner 2017; Lilleker 2017; Richardson 2017). While digital networks and social media have provided the technological means by which fake news has proliferated, its rise is symptomatic of a much broader public unease about the credibility of information, argues Beckett (2017), and of an audience “losing faith in what journalism does”. (Richardson, 2017). However, with threats come opportunities – scholars point to the growth of fact-checking business models, calls for improved media literacy in education, core journalistic values that will reinvigorate the profession and counter false and misleading stories (Beckett 2017; Lilleker 2017; Richardson 2017).

Like the journalism landscape more broadly, the concept of professionalism as applied to journalists is both complex and emerging in the context of new media. While traditional notions of professional ideology may still underpin the practice of journalism, the changing journalism landscape raises questions around what this means for professional identity and the core values of the profession. This in turn has ramifications for journalism education, for if both the landscape and the profession are in a state of transition, then surely education - on which this paper now focuses - must take stock and give consideration to its role in producing journalists of the future.

Education

Journalism education has seen a dramatic change in the UK and beyond over the last 30 years. Direct entry into news publications and learning on-the-job, together with college-based qualifications overseen by industry bodies, began to decline as a training model in the late 1970s and early 1980s, moving instead towards a higher education landscape offering a wide range of university undergraduate and postgraduate programmes in journalism (Frost 2017; Hanna and Sanders 2007; Thurman et al. 2016). The first university undergraduate degree courses began in 1991 and today there are hundreds of journalism-related courses on offer at more than 60 HE institutions. (Frost; 2017, p205). Frost points to the wider curriculum opened up by degree courses to include not only practical journalism skills but also “topics such as media law, media history, communications, politics, journalism ethics, human rights, international relations, media regulation, and press freedom”. (2017, p206).

Research by Thurman et al. (2016) shows that almost all (98%) of those journalists who began their careers in the UK between 2013 and 2015 had obtained an undergraduate bachelor’s degree, though not necessarily in the subject of journalism, and over a third (36%) held a master’s degree – leading the authors to conclude that journalism training had become “fully academised” (2016, p7). Yet there is much debate about what should be taught to journalism students, how it should be taught, and how HE should respond to the so-called crisis in journalism (Bloom and Davenport 2012; Deuze 2006; Evans 2014; Frith and Meech 2007; Gillmor 2016; Stephens 2006; Wall, 2015). Today’s university courses offer a combination of vocational skills and theoretical modules, together with – very often – an industry body qualification such as those accredited by the National Council for the Training of Journalists (NCTJ), the Broadcast Journalism Training

Council (BJTC) and the Professional Publishers Association (PPA) (Joseph 2009; Terzis 2009; Willnat, Weaver and Choi 2013). It is the delineation between the practical and the scholarly activities that causes the greatest debate. The proliferation of university courses has not always been welcomed by those already in the profession, many of whom argue that academia does not sufficiently prepare students for the ‘realities’ of the profession (Frith and Meech 2007), and that in any case, journalists do not need any formal education in order to succeed (Glasser 2006). Indeed, argues Glasser, “an education in journalism begins with the actual practice of journalism” (2006, p148), alluding to the “intuitive” nature of the profession. Oxford-educated journalist Andrew Marr once argued that his degree contributed nothing to his journalistic career (Phillips 2005), while then-Sun Editor Kelvin Mackenzie said as recently as 2011 that all journalism courses should be closed down, describing journalism as a “knack” (Mackenzie 2011). Conversely, it is noted that in their practical offerings, university courses may perpetuate an idealised perception of journalism, centred on the traditional tenets of the journalistic practice of news gathering, writing and reporting. Multimedia and digital storytelling techniques such as photography and video-making are new media add-ons that do little to build on the core model, it is argued, and courses tend to be taught by former practitioners who may have spent many years in the industry, adhere to standard textbooks that have changed little, and work experience or internships are encouraged in order to reinforce and preserve this quintessential vision of what a journalist should be (Bloom and Davenport 2012; Evans 2014; Macdonald 2006; Mensing 2010). But what sets university study apart from the former vocational training is its inclusion of theoretical scholarship, which is to be desired if we are to produce professional and ethical journalists who understand their public service role as defenders of the democratic process (Deuze 2006; Evans 2014; McNair 2005; Witschge and Nygren 2009). Some scholars go further, arguing that it is the responsibility of HE to engender a strong professional identity in journalism students in order to reinforce a free press and democracy in the face of commercial imperatives, as well as emphasising journalism’s epistemological role in meaning-making in society. This can only be achieved through a providing a more rounded curriculum that provides historical, cultural and political context to the study of journalism as well as nurturing critical and vocational skills (Clark 2013; Macdonald 2006; Shapiro 2015; Skinner et al. 2001).

Tensions remain between, on the one hand, accrediting bodies keen to ensure that students studying journalism in HE are introduced to and become fully aware of the practical, ethical and professional requirements of journalism as practice and, on the other, an academic perspective that deems journalism education to be less about the development of practical skills and more about critical understanding. One of the issues, argues Frost, is that “the journalism academy continues to be career-orientated. Jobs are still the main focus of students, their parents, the government, the industry, and the university faculty and staff” (2017, p211) – this, despite the fact that “in a recession-hit industry, the number of journalism jobs continue to decline”. (2017, p211). Yet editors continue to believe that graduates from accredited courses serve the industry best, and undergraduate journalism courses continue to be in demand among students (2017, p207) meaning that there is little end in sight to the balancing act of teaching of practical skills as well as critical theory at UK universities. (2017, p213).

The subject of the future direction of journalism education is varied and contested, but there is consensus that its evolution must continue against the backdrop of an ever-changing journalism landscape in which new technologies, new audiences and new business models prevail (Deuze 2004; Frost 2017; Macdonald 2006; Mensing 2010). Propositions for education’s future orientation include a greater focus on critical theory, media literacy and intellectual skills (Donsbach 2010; Gillmor 2016; Picard 2015; Servaes 2009; Skinner et al. 2001; Stephens 2006); improved technological and digital skills (Du and Thornburg 2011; Gillmor 2016; Huang et al. 2006; Pierce and Miller 2007; Richardson 2017); a community and audience-centred – or networked journalism - approach (Mensing 2010; Robinson 2013; Wall 2015). Indeed, Mensing proposes that universities should distance themselves from the journalism industry and instead focus on the community in order to “reconnect journalism with its democratic roots and take advantage of new forms of news creation, production, editing and distribution”. (2010, p512). This, would allow universities to create a “laboratory of inquiry” (2010, p512) in which research would go hand in hand with the freedom to experiment with journalism practice, ultimately leading to a reinvigorated environment and encouraging “more productive connections between the work of educators, scholars, and practitioners”. (2010, p512). Some argue that more substantial reflective insight would engender professional identity (Deuze 2005; Fowler-Watt 2014) while Shapiro debates a fundamental paradigm shift in journalism education towards journalism as “an approach to knowledge, not just a job”, contending that learning outcomes rather than career paths would be a more appropriate benchmark for success in journalism education (2015, p23). For some scholars, moves to coerce education to respond to difficulties faced by the journalism industry put an onus to resolve or arbitrate the perceived crisis on the profession, educators and even students rather than on organisations

themselves – even though the primary causes of news outlets’ demise is known to be structural, economic and technological (Creech and Mendelson 2015; Macdonald 2006; Mensing 2010). Educators too come under scrutiny, finding themselves variously seen as out of touch with the real world of journalism; hostile to the needs of the industry; too keen to place theory above practical skills on the curriculum; lacking in updated practical knowledge and techniques; and often derided for being long-in-the-tooth ex-hacks (Deuze 2006; Dickson and Brandon 2000; Greenberg 2007; Picard 2015; Wake and Farrer 2016). As Picard asks: “Why would anyone think that hiring someone from a decaying news organization, steeped in old ways of doing things, is an effective way to create the journalists and news organizations for the future?” (2015, p8). Rather, he suggests, it would be much better to hire “digital entrepreneurs in their late twenties who never completed college and think about information provision in completely different ways” (2015, p8). In light of this school of thought it would be easy to feel pessimistic about the role and future of journalism education and educators; yet in the broader context of the changing landscape of journalism it is only natural for such a debate to come to the fore. Certainly a deeper understanding of the experiences and perceptions of journalism academics as they transition from practitioner to educator are worthy of debate and analysis in the context of journalism education.

Identity and transition

The growth of university courses in the UK offering journalism at degree level has been considerable over the past 20 years, giving rise to a large number of journalists leaving the profession in order to teach in HE (Greenberg 2007; Harcup 2011a). Yet this transition appears to have been met with hostility on all sides - both within the industry and in HE, from media organisations, fellow journalists and fellow academics (Bromley 2013; Deuze 2006; Dickson and Brandon 2000; Greenberg 2007; Mensing and Franklin 2011; Picard 2015; Wake and Farrer 2016). Within HE, ex-practitioners - or ‘hackademics’ - are regarded as lacking academic ambition and unwilling to undertake research activity, with journalism regarded as a nebulous subject for academic study (Greenberg 2007; Harcup 2011a) while beyond the academy there has been the view that journalists are born, not made (MacKenzie 2011), and scepticism about the need for journalists to have degree level qualifications. For example, Keeble (2006) argues that “the best way to learn about journalism is ‘on the job’”, and points to a wariness between journalism in practice and journalism in academia (2006, p260). Literature around the transitional stage between journalism practice and education is sparse: much of the recent and current literature focuses on the crisis of the journalism industry, the journalism profession, journalism education broadly, educator identity and student experience, or – if considering the new academic at all - on the lack of research engagement by transitioning journalism educators. Harcup’s study (2011b), explores the transitional stage in relation to research, seeking to understand why only a minority of journalism practitioners-turned-educators are undertaking research into journalism and how they may be supported in this area. He alludes to the conflict between vocational journalism teaching versus the theoretical content of the curriculum, timetable constraints, a lack of research skills and limited desire to undertake research on the part of the academic, as well as a sense of unease felt by those “at the intersection of journalism, journalism education and journalism scholarship” (2011b, p168). He notes that many journalists move into HE relatively later than other academics, from an industry that appears to lack enthusiasm for scholarship (2011b, p172) and fears that this might simply serve to “reinforce the anti-intellectualism found in some parts of the journalism industry” (2011b, p173). He proposes that one solution might be to “wait for the current generation of hackademics to die off” (2011b, p173) which would allow for university-educated journalists to replace them. However, the success of the next generation of academics in terms of research inevitably hangs on their own experiences of reflection and critical enquiry (2011b, p173). Others point to similar difficulties faced by newly appointed journalism educators seeking to raise their research profile, arguing that research and publishing is crucial both for career progression and for the development of a balanced and wide-ranging curriculum that includes both theory and practice (Bromley 2013; Frost 2017; Errigo and Franklin 2004; Macdonald 2006; Wake 2015). The difficulties faced by new academics in undertaking research means that “journalism research in the United Kingdom is far more limited than it should be”, says Frost, adding that “many become trapped in a system that prevents them from becoming active researchers.” (2017, p209).

It is useful to have some insight into the tensions and frustrations that may be felt by journalism practitioners as they become journalism educators; however, their research profile alone doesn’t define them as academics nor cast light on their transitioning professional identities. Much has been said about journalists’ professional identity but little about whether and how they experience a transition in that professional

identity as they move into education. Indeed many argue that their journalism identity prevails beyond the newsroom. Calver perhaps espouses the views of many when he comments that many journalists-turned-academics “might still prefer to be identified as journalists who teach” (2013, p226). It is widely observed that journalism educators tend to be drawn from the journalism profession and enter academia relatively late in their careers; literature on mid-life career change points to altruism, a desire to give something back to society and a yearning to mentor young people who are at the start of their careers (Lachman 2004; Williams 2013). Research around mid-life career transition into academia often focuses on reasons for change and the subsequent challenges, morale and job satisfaction of a new role in education (Bruns and Larocco 2006; Evans 2001; Williams 2013) and professional identity and personal identity are also scrutinised by scholars in their exploration of career change (Beijaard et al. 2004; Meijers 1998; Teixeira and Gomes 2000; Williams 2013). The process of professional change and its repercussions on the individual is examined by Teixeira and Gomes (2000) who assert that professional and personal identity are both apposite when considering career change as they “attempt to translate a personal concept into occupational terms” (2000, p80). Meijers (1998) expresses the view that people acquire a career identity in which they link their own “motivation, interests and competencies with acceptable career roles”. (1998, p191). Teacher identity, it is argued, is an ongoing and dynamic process (Beijaard et al. 2004; van Lankveld et al. 2017; Williams 2013); in other words, it is not just about identity at a particular moment in time but also about where one’s identity will be in the future. For Williams (2013), a career change into teaching is “essentially about the construction of a new professional identity” (2013, p25). She argues that there is no such thing as one identity; rather, people have and develop multiple identities that are “influenced by a wide range of individual, social and cultural factors, past and present, and by imaginings of the future” (2013, p26). Alongside identity issues, the experiences of those transitioning into academic roles are also addressed, often highlighting the challenges faced by those entering from a professional background (Fitzmaurice 2013; Smith 2010). A study by Van Lankveld et al. (2017) found that those joining academia from any professional practice continued to identify with their former role for some time and, while they felt that their professional experience was valuable for their academic integrity, their first few years were plagued with self-doubt as they realised that “their professional expertise was not sufficient for their new role” (2017, p329).

While many of these various studies have looked broadly at teacher identity and transition into academia, the issues they raise are no less pertinent to journalism than to any other profession. Certainly it is valid to argue that at a time when the journalism landscape, the profession and education are undergoing a profound period of change there is good reason to believe that further study of the transitional stage between journalism practitioner and educator would elicit useful findings in the study of journalism and journalism education. Preliminary findings from a study exploring the transition into academia (Russell, 2018) have shown that some participants appeared to struggle with the meaning of being an academic and found it difficult to shake off their role as a journalist – one commented that “I will never be 100% academic” while another said that “if you’re a true journalist, if you’re a journalist through and through, that never leaves you”. Themes emerged around feeling fraudulent in the academic environment and being daunted by colleagues whom they felt were intellectually superior.

Conclusion

The paper has sought to explore the transition of journalists as they move from practice into education, set against the backdrop of an industry sector and higher education environment that are both experiencing periods of significant change. This transitional period can only be better understood by examining the factors that have brought journalism and journalism education to their current positions and these issues have been explored through scrutinising the causes of journalism’s turbulent state as well as relational issues such as professionalism in journalism, education and the educator. As has been identified, causes of and solutions to the so-called crisis are wide and contested with much pessimism - and great optimism – about journalism’s future articulated by those on either side of the debate. What is clear is that journalism, for a variety of reasons, is changing – and must continue to meet the challenges it faces if it is to survive and flourish. Journalism education plays a key part in the profession’s development and there is much deliberation about the curriculum and its content in terms of vocational skills and critical inquiry as well as the importance of academic research. However, it appears that the experiences of the journalism practitioner-turned-educator as he or she transitions into the HE environment are at best neglected or, at worst, forgotten in the debate on journalism’s crisis and future. It can be argued that such individuals play a key part both in journalism’s current state, having been practitioners, and in its future prospects, in terms of educating future generations

of journalists. While much analysis of the educator has focused on research capabilities and opportunities to nurture greater critical content in the journalism curriculum, little is known about the journalists' own stories in terms of their roles, views and values as they cross the divide from newsroom to classroom; how this move impacts on issues of professional identity, teacher and research qualities; and - ultimately - how this is manifested in the student experience. This, we argue, is a sphere that would benefit from further investigation if the challenges facing journalism and journalism education are to be more fully understood.

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Cuban journalism students: between ideals and state ideology

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Abstract

Cuban journalism students find that journalistic ideals learnt in university are incompatible with the media-reality they encounter during periods of practical training in state media. Journalism education in Havana pertains, in many ways, to aspects of 'Western' journalistic ideals, such as providing criticism, investigative journalism and reporting on social ills. In the propagandistic defence paradigm of Cuban state media, such ideals are very difficult to pursue. Although enjoying the hands-on experience, students also become frustrated and demotivated with censorship and institutionalised news criteria during training periods. Many thus look for opportunities in non-state outlets, where journalistic ideals are closer to those learnt in university.

Introduction

Periods of practical training can be perceived as a 'shock' for students in various fields when going from the theoretical approach of universities to real life experience (Edwards and Mutton, 2007, Parsons and Stephson, 2005).

As Heggen and Smeby (2012) note, it is important that programmes that have the education of professionals as their goal, establish for students a clear coherence between the training and the professional practice. Although coherence is a subject thoroughly researched within profession-oriented career programmes such

as teacher and nursing training, there is a lack of literature on practical experiences in journalism education.

In journalism studies, the focus is more on how periods of training reflect back on education programmes. A common conclusion is that curricula in universities ought to be changed to prepare journalism students better for a changing media environment (Hovden et al., 2016, Mensing, 2010). In Cuba, this is different, if not the reverse. Journalism students in Havana consider that the university teaches them the kind of journalism they want to practice. During training periods, students become frustrated with censorship, institutionalism and a resistance to change in the state media. In this article, I will reflect on what happens when professional journalistic ideals are confronted with a different set of rules. This may explain the reasons for the discrepancy between the expectations of journalism students and the current situation in the state media.

The article seeks to answer the research question: How is the transition from journalism education to the state media during training periods perceived by student journalists in Cuba? The article will also evaluate possible future outcomes of student discontent in a changing media landscape in Cuba.

Background

Before the 1959 revolution, the press in Cuba was dominated by US-based companies, and the island was used as a testing ground for new technology. Both radio and television broadcasting started well before the revolution (Louis, 2013, p. 75). The first journalism school in Cuba was created in 1942, and in the following years the education programme was spread throughout the country. These programmes were closely connected to US journalistic ideals. In the wake of the post-revolutionary processes in 1960, existing journalism schools were closed down. With the 1962 University Reform, journalism was again considered part of tertiary education. The first degree course in journalism at the University of Havana was opened as late as 1965 (Alonso and Pérez, 2016, p. 137).

In constructing a new type of press model separated from both the market and the state, the state media experienced a 'golden age' after the revolution, but that all changed with the 1965 constitution of the Cuban Communist Party (PCC). Thereafter, the press was aligned with politics, justified in resistance to foreign threats. Many journalists working under the US paradigm were removed from their posts, inciting ruptures in journalistic styles and genres (Louis, 2013, pp. 75-85).

The Cuban state media is financed, controlled by and serves the interests of the PCC. The state media has radio and TV broadcasters and newspapers in every province of the island. Non-state media outlets now proliferate, both online and offline. In particular, content uploaded on memory sticks is serving as an important alternative information channel. Despite the breaking of the long-standing state media monopoly, the low rates of internet connectivity in the population allows state media to continue as the most important source of information for the average Cuban (Freedom House, 2017).

Most of the non-state outlets are registered at the Foreign Press Centre. These outlets can be closed down if found to be too critical of the government. Due to the lack of a press law, non-state outlets also operate in a legal vacuum and, therefore, students cannot engage in their training periods or internships outside outlets run by the state. There also exists a body of outlets that are openly critical of the Cuban government, so-called 'dissidents'. Associating with one of these would mean closing the doors to any other job opportunity and thus is not considered a viable option among students.

This is the scenario facing journalism students entering the profession today. Journalism education is a five-year long undertaking. Throughout this time, students generally have a one-month period of practical training in state media each semester. The article is based on the experiences students have during these periods. When finishing the programme, students are obliged to take a two- or three-year internship in a state media outlet, referred to as 'social service'. Students are assigned to either a radio, television or newspaper outlet, but they are not necessarily the students' preferred type of media. A study of 142 Cuban journalist interns finds that 50% are indifferent to or dissatisfied with their placement (García, 2016, p. 93). The salary for state media journalists is one of the lowest in the country, less than 30CUC\$, which equals 30US\$. During the internship period, students make less than \$20 a month.

Despite the poor remuneration, journalism is a popular topic of study. According to the homepage of the Faculty of Communication at the University of Havana (FCOM), more than 500 students applied to study journalism in 2017. To qualify for any university study, one must pass tests in mathematics, Spanish and history. The journalism programme only accepts about 60 students annually, and the students must go through a three-step admissions process. The first is a test of general culture, which 200 students in 2017 qualified

to take. This was passed by 50% who proceeded to make a journalistic piece. Out of these, only 72 qualified for the last round consisting of individual interviews (Seguera, 2017, December 11). In January 2018 a TV studio opened on the premises of the FCOM, making journalistic practice within the university on television possible for the first time. The show *Nexos*, which can be translated *Connections*, will broadcast through Facebook streaming via the online state outlet *Cubadebate* (FCOM, 2018).

Research on journalism education

In the book *Journalism Education in Countries with Limited Media Freedom* (Josephi, 2010c), 12 countries with limited or no media freedom are examined in order to propose a framework other than journalism education acting as the 'fourth estate in a democratic country' (Josephi, 2010b, p. 1). The study concludes that 'journalism education cannot be used as a sign of how free or not free the country's media system is'. For example, both Russia and Singapore are ranked as 'not free' as far as regards media freedom, but their journalism education programmes retain standards that would allow students to take jobs anywhere in the world. According to Vartanova et al. (2010, p. 203) the ideology-laden courses in Marxist-Leninism and the like in Russian journalism education are replaced with socioeconomic and humanitarian subjects. In Singapore, educators strive towards Western ideals while also preparing students to deal with government control at home. One teacher says students need to develop 'soft social skills' in order to approach an uncooperative government strategically (Duffy, 2010, p. 41).

Josephi (2010a, p. 254) considers that the Western paradigm of the media acting as watchdogs of the government and thus informing citizens is 'trending to become universal' in journalism education, largely due to NGOs gaining access to and influence of education programmes. In China, it was the economic growth and influence of the market that forced journalism education to shift from a purely political training to one focusing on the audience (Han, 2017, p. 74).

In the project *Journalism Students Across the Globe*, researchers have conducted a variety of comparative studies. One article examining eight countries in all continents except Asia concludes that the motivations for becoming a journalism student is a 'liking' of the profession, a belief in a talent for writing and a wish to contribute to social change (Hanusch et al., 2015, p. 154). While the countries in the study are ranked as 'free', with only one as 'partly free', it still indicates that the motivations for joining the profession are somewhat similar across different continents.

However, the structures of the media systems into which journalism students enter vary. A study of Swedish journalism interns shows that subcontracting and cost efficiency in news production is worrying students. The continuous pressure to produce more news, on different platforms, with fewer reporters, is experienced as straining and in contradiction to students' professional ideals (Wiik, 2016, p. 279).

The socialisation process in the newsroom is weighted as extremely important in journalism research (Breed, 1955). Donsbach (2004, p. 143) considers that persuasive processes such as pressure from seniors, managers or owners are psychological and implicit, rather than forced compliance: 'Cases where journalists consciously make news decisions against their better knowledge are the exception rather than the rule.' Gravengaard and Rimestad (2016, p. 301) studied how Danish journalism students learn criteria for a good news story during their internships. They conclude that students learned 'tacit expert knowledge' of what constitutes a good news story and became more competent members of the profession, yet also consider that 'news criteria' to assess ideas for a good story are insufficient, and as such are a deficiency in Danish journalism education.

In the discussion, the consequences of learning 'Western' ideals in a Cuban context will be debated, along with similarities and differences between Cuba and journalism education elsewhere.

Research on Cuba

In a comparative study between Cuba, Ecuador and Venezuela, Alonso et al. (2017) distributed questionnaires to 82% (N=383) of all journalism students enrolled in state universities in Cuba. About half of the students evaluate the journalism education to be good, or very good (2017, p. 254). While traditional media is still preferred by Cuban students, (television 27%, newspaper 18%, radio 9%), more than 8% claim to be oriented towards online outlets. This number is four times higher than in Ecuador and Venezuela, where

only about 2% answer the same (2017, p. 257).

In a study conducted among journalism students in Havana in 2006, participants consider that the state media is censored, politicised, boring, and lacks creativity and criticism (Estenoz and Martínez, 2006, p. 96). A decade ago, students called for a press ‘for the people, that alerts and denounces social ills’ (ibid, p. 97). In the same study, some students report that training periods are positive, despite some ‘obstacles’. Others experience being prohibited from publishing, finding the system rigid and thus becoming demotivated (ibid, p. 116).

A diploma thesis with questionnaires for journalism graduates (N=142) in Havana from the years 2010–14, found that 70% reported being ‘very motivated’ at the beginning of the programme. Upon finishing, only 23% maintained a high motivation for becoming a journalist. Qualitative interviews in the study confirm that such a sense of demotivation is provoked by the impossibility of continuing the critical environment at the university when working as a full-time journalist (García, 2016, p. 91).

Method

The data consists of five group interviews with a total of 19 student journalists in the 3rd, 4th and 5th years of their study programmes. These were conducted during a two-month period of fieldwork in late 2016. I chose not to include the 1st and 2nd year students, as I considered it useful to draw on the experiences of participants who had studied a few years of theory, and gained some practical exposure, in interviews. Participants consist solely of students in Havana, a group that may hold different opinions compared to students on the periphery due to the more developed internet infrastructure in the capital.

Following Guldvik (2002), I found it useful that participants in the group interviews could ask their own questions and discuss among each other. In that way, responses were not solely dependent on my questions, thus opening a space for information unknown to me. I also liked that the group interviews diminished my role as a researcher, as I was outnumbered by the participants. I found participants to be much more critical than I had expected.

I recruited students by presenting my project at lectures, talking to students in the library, and through a research assistant. The first group interview was composed by the research assistant, and he was present during the session. He became a very dominant figure in the interview, suppressing the voices of the other participants. For that reason, the first group interview is not used as much as the others in the findings section.

Participation was voluntary. This can affect responses, as it may be that only a certain group of students found the project to be of interest. However, the diversity of views on the topics discussed does indicate that there is some breadth in the participant group. It is, nevertheless, important to keep in mind that I, as a foreign researcher, may lack a shared understanding of symbols, meanings and vocabulary with participants (Madriz, 2003). On the other hand, being a foreigner has some advantages in that one takes little for granted and may ask questions with an outsider’s perspective (Brydon-Miller et al., 2011, p. 395).

I also gathered the curricula corresponding to the 3rd and 4th year of the programme (the 5th year comprises the writing of the thesis only), the reason being that I considered that more in-depth, less introductory curricula would be useful as a possible comparative tool to journalism education elsewhere. In retrospect, I see that the curricula of the first two years would have been useful because literature on journalistic norms, skills and social responsibility in Cuba seem to be lacking. Getting access to the curricula was dependent on a librarian uploading the content—it was not accessible for me on the FCOM intranet. The curricula are composed of a muddle of PDFs, PowerPoint and Word documents, grouped in folders. It is difficult to know if each folder pertains to one specific class, or a variety thereof. I will, however, make the assumption that the name of the folder corresponds to the name of the class. The lack of structure makes it difficult to use the content comparatively. It will therefore be presented as an overview.

The quotes in the findings section are selected as typical responses or because they show a variety in opinion. Some quotes are included if they shed light on important aspects of students’ experiences during periods of practical training. Students are anonymous; both their year of study and references that could have identified them have been omitted. I have translated the quotes in the article from Spanish to English. Translations are verified by a proofreader. The Norwegian Centre for Research Data has approved the study.

Journalism curricula

Here I will briefly go through the curricula of the journalism education for 3rd and 4th year students.

Third year: What is most striking, for both the 3rd and 4th years, is the number of subjects related to aspects other than journalism. Students go through courses in *English Language*, *Psychology* and *Latin American Literature*. The latter possibly reflects the valued trait of ‘having culture’, meaning knowing Cuban art and literature. Further, students study a variation of political subjects. In *Political Science*, the works of Plato, Aristotle, Marx, Engels, Machiavelli, Montesquieu and Rousseau are studied. In the subject *Politics*, students are presented theories about civil society from a Marxist perspective and a capitalist perspective, as well as theories about democracy.

In *Political Economy*, the syllabus focuses on the creation and circulation of capitalism. Some of the objectives of the course are: ‘identify the socioeconomic foundations of contemporary capitalism’; ‘understand the dialectic of development and underdevelopment as an expression of the crisis in contemporary capitalism’; ‘understand the role of monopolistic state regulation in the development of capitalism’, and ‘evaluate some of the economic and socio-political trends in contemporary capitalism.’ In the subject *History*, students learn about many of the former countries of the Soviet Union, such as Russia, Yugoslavia and Hungary. An objective of the course is to understand: ‘The emergence and development of imperialism, the evolution of contemporary socialism, [and] the rise and development of the anticolonial and independence movements’.

Finally, students go through four courses directly related to journalism. One, *Methods of Investigation*, goes through methodological designs for academic investigation. *Hypermedia Journalism* considers texts on how Cuba should respond to and deal with the internet in the specific context of the country. In the subject *Ethics*, lectures and texts on the relationship between the USA and Cuba are important. In addition, the ethical framework of the journalists’ union (UPEC), and guidelines from ‘the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist Party to increase the informative efficiency of the nation’s mass media’ are provided. Finally, a course related to the training periods called *Practice in Newsrooms* is given.

Fourth year: The curriculum here is less extensive. Students continue to study *English*, and build on literature with *History of Cuban Art*. Also, *Cultural Processes in Cuba* considers the development of the country from pre-colonial times to the present. Further, *Cuban Economy* is studied, particularly post-revolution, meaning after 1959. Finally, a course in *Investigative Journalism* is given, where literature on Watergate and other US investigative stories are studied.

Between ‘should be’ and practice realities

Students consider that journalism education at the university promotes journalistic ideals, where informing the public, criticism and ‘digging up the dirt’ are important components. One student says: ‘In the faculty they do not teach you skills enabling you to work in state media. They teach you to be a journalist, to “do” journalism. Of course, there are 40 professors throughout the programme, and each one of them has their own way of seeing things.’

Although some professors consider defence of the nation a primary objective, others believe journalists should write about society’s darker corners. The general impression from students is that the university studies prepare them for the ‘should be’. During practical training periods, students realise that these ideals can only be put into action in state media with great difficulty. A student says: ‘When all is said and done, they teach us a lot of things here, but when we arrive at the media institutions things are done differently, or they do the opposite. That’s the reality.’

At the same time, the periods of practice are highly valued among students, and most want more than just three to four weeks per semester. One student considers that: ‘there is not really that big of a difference between the university and the newspaper, because if there was, the training periods would be a disaster, whereas in reality we really enjoy the practice.’

Even if the training periods are valued for their insights into the profession, the division between theory and practice also frustrates students. One considers the lack of journalistic training among leaders in the state media, which is only about 50% (Garcés, 2013), a serious problem: ‘This disturbs me, because if they spend five years telling us that we need to recognise what is news and what is not, what is a good story, and what is not, then how is someone who is not a journalist, who doesn’t have any training, going to evaluate our work?’

Practice stories

The students interviewed had all completed various periods of practical training in different types of state media outlets. Students highlight that training periods allow them to take part in the entire process, from writing and editing to printing. The degree of control and the experience of professional freedom are, however, described otherwise. One says: 'In the majority of the media I have worked in, they give you quite a lot freedom to work as you wish, and they treat you like just another journalist.' Another says: 'In the practice, we form part of the media's production system, and so in the same way they censor the work of the professional journalists who are working in the media, they censor our work too.'

The student quoted above explains that she wrote a review on the presentation of a book held by a famous Cuban author who is not accepted by the state. The article could not be published. She says: 'The explanation they gave me was that [the author] has said bad things about journalists. Is that a reason to censor a story?' Similar types of censorship have been experienced by many of the students during practice. In group two, the discussion proceeded thus:

S2.1: For example, I once went on a job where I had to go to a conference. The conference was given by three intellectuals, one of whom had made statements earlier in the year that he did not like the state, and so they told me that I could only say there were just two intellectuals at the conference.

S2.2: It is like the Soviet photo where they erased people, but this is a written version.

These types of stories are difficult to obtain from more experienced journalists already working in state media. It seems that the rules of the game become incorporated, and that self-censorship is used as a strategy before superiors need to employ direct censorship. Students, on the other hand, are unfamiliar or perhaps somewhat in opposition to these unwritten rules, emerging as they are from a different set of standards at university. One student wrote a story to fulfil the requirements of the university course *Investigative Journalism*, where the objective was to write an in-depth report about 'a social problem'. He wrote a story on illegal workers who, due to the risk of losing their jobs, wished to remain anonymous: 'I mean, it is a story that is relevant, that is approved by the academy and the journalists themselves [in the practice journal]. But all because of a single aspect of the media's editorial guidelines, it could not be published.'

Non-state outlets write stories in a different way than state media. This changing media scenery in Cuba contributes to making students aware of possibilities elsewhere, where the divides between theory and practice are not as great. One student says: 'To go to a media organisation and write about, I don't know, just the facts, and that's all, they presented such-and-such work, so-and-so were present, it's not enough! I am not studying here for five years only to write these kind of stories.' With the proliferation of non-state outlets in Cuba, students have the real choice not to spend their careers in state media. Many of the participants in this study collaborate with non-state outlets or other online platforms and see it as a way to realise journalistic ambitions that are currently impossible in state media. One student says: 'So, for journalists to view society from another point of view, they have to leave the [state] media and become a blogger. I mean, a journalist cannot be accomplished in the Cuban press that we have now.'

Students want the leaders in state media to delegate more trust and responsibility to the youth, but emphasise that they do not see themselves as victims. One says that perhaps students need to stand up for their work to a larger degree:

I think that the problem has a lot to do with wanting to do it, in daring oneself to do it. I do not think we are victims either; but obviously neither do we have all the channels and the facilities open to us, it takes struggle, it takes sacrifice, but it could be worse, they don't put us in prison, they don't beat us up, they don't abuse us, there is debate.

Belief and demotivation

Despite the differences between *is* and *ought* in state media, many of the students see themselves arriving at a good time in Cuban journalism—a time when they can possibly steer state media closer to what they learn in university. One student says: 'I believe that it is up to the new dawn of journalists, marked by emigration and by the desertion [of journalism], that those who stay fight to make our profession something better.'

Another student considers that it is a 'moment of decision' in Cuba now, where the youth can be part of re-organising the press, changing it for the better: 'We can take part in thinking about the press, thinking about

what we should be doing, thinking about what we have been doing wrong all this time, thinking about how we can reach to the Cuban on the street better, how to reflect the real problems in society.’

But students have seen the previous graduates begin their work in state media without being able to change much, due to structural conditions. Some honourable exceptions are mentioned, of graduates succeeding in putting the public agenda in the news. Still, students experience that there is a scepticism towards them as journalists. One says:

Sometimes in the street they ask you: “What are you studying? Ah, journalism!” People look at you as if saying: “Ah, journalists, you never talk about what interests the people, you say what they tell you to.” And this is a disadvantage, because we are studying here, we are the new generation that will arrive in the media, and like all those who have graduated before us, hope to change things, but in the end we don’t know if we are going to succeed or not.

Discontent is accentuated by students looking for jobs elsewhere or by avoiding state media content. One says: ‘It is not common for a young person to get information from newspapers. [...] So there is a deception, it is like a divorce between an entire generation and the conventional press that is being produced in this country.’ Therefore it is and will increasingly be a challenge for Cuban decision-makers to maintain the support of the youth in a system that keeps promising change, but where real progress is yet to be seen. In group two, the students agree that the lethargy in the system is damaging motivation:

During the UPEC congress [the journalists’ union congress in 2013] we believed that everything was going to change, that everything was going to get better, but now we are disillusioned. You see moments where things are getting better; when they say things are going to change, but you end up being a cynic, they take away your hopes. And we are much too young for them to take our hopes away.

Managing a share of autonomy

Periods of practical training are just one component in journalism education, but they are important in the sense that they connect students to the realities of the work they are about to enter. No theoretical study can fully prepare for all aspects of working life, and matching university curricula to the changing world of any profession is difficult. Trying to analyse this interplay in the Cuban context is, however, different from experiences in the Nordic countries as described by Wiik (2016) and Gravengaard and Rimestad (2016). They call for university curricula to better reflect practical realities for Swedish and Danish students entering a scenario where there are fewer jobs and increasing online competition.

For Cuban students, this is happening in reverse. They are secured a job in state media, but they are not allowed to use their skills in this system. Students want the newsrooms to incorporate the ideals and values that they learned at university. This discrepancy between theory and practice in Cuba shares similarities with studies from other countries with limited or no media freedom (Duffy, 2010, Vartanova et al., 2010). A theoretical framework situated in the ‘West’ inevitably complicates a transition to a work situation controlled and regulated by the state. In Cuba, participants in this study and graduates interviewed by García (2016) share perceptions of uneasiness and discontent over not being able to put journalistic ideals into practice. In 2016, as well as in the study by Estenoz and Martínez (2006), students wanted the same: to reflect problems in society, write about necessary topics, and make pertinent criticism.

Despite the many current changes in the Cuban media landscape, with non-state actors and access to the offline internet blooming via memory sticks, the state media remains steadily resistant to reform. The official discourse of the Communist Party (PCC) often claims that more flexibility and autonomy is needed for journalists (PCC, 2011), but these words seldom translate into action. Students say they are losing hope for a future in state media when nothing happens. Thus, the pull towards exploring other possibilities in outlets outside the conventional state media increases for students. That almost one in ten journalism students are interested in online media jobs (Alonso et al., 2017), despite low rates of connectivity in Cuba, confirms this.

Considering that state media is the only option in both practice and internship periods, it may be reasonable to question whether the journalism education in Cuba is too little adjusted to the practice reality facing students. According to García (2016, p. 93), the graduates most content during internship were those continuing within academia as teachers or researchers, not those working for traditional media. In Singapore, teachers claim to attempt a balance between international and national expectations in journalism education (Duffy, 2010). However, leaving Cuba to find work outside is rare and, for many journalism students, economically impossible. In conversations with teachers and journalists, leaving the country is, to some degree,

also viewed as deserting the revolutionary project. It is therefore a contradiction that students are trained in more or less international/Western standards, when these are almost impossible to achieve when working in Cuban state media.

Viewing Cuba from the outside, it also seems probable that the political elite would be interested in controlling information in state-financed universities. While ideologically driven aspects still are part of the Cuban journalist education, why do the PCC allow a 'Western' education? For some authoritarian regimes, a certain degree of independence and autonomy in selected sectors is indeed acceptable and even necessary as a pressure release, albeit within certain limits. Lee (1998, p. 56) describes this as the case for Hong Kong media when incorporated as an administrative region of China.

Following the same line of thought, giving limited freedom to selected groups may also be a strategic choice by the PCC. The intellectuals in Cuba have been marginalised in the state media, but critical discussions in their own publications, such as the magazine *Temas*, have passed state scrutiny. The same goes for the somewhat critical publications of the Catholic Church in their magazine *Espacio Laical*, translating to *Lay Space* (Marreiro, 2014, pp. 13, 16, Karlsen, 2013).

Students do not, however, enter spaces such as those mentioned above, pertaining to similar journalistic paradigms as those they learn in university. It is possible to argue that the 'dissident' media, to some degree, also share 'Western' ideals of journalism: criticising social structures and government failures. But these outlets are far from being an option for students. The frictions experienced by students, of compromising their journalistic ideals in state media, would probably be diminished if their education was more in tune with practice realities. But encouraging a self-censoring process among students, rather than striving to change a media system frozen in a Cold War defence paradigm, would be a waste of the university's share of liberty.

The experiences students have of direct censorship seem to diminish as journalists become incorporated in state media practice. The socialisation process as described by Breed (1955) is a compelling force. Although structures of censorship in Cuban state media are more informal than forced, journalists in a Cuban context do make news decisions against their better knowledge—contrary to what Donsbach (2004) claims. It seems that self-censorship is a mechanism that sooner or later becomes a strategy if journalists are to preserve their jobs in the state media; this is also seen in other authoritarian contexts (Skjerdal, 2008; Skjerdal, 2010; Tong, 2009; Lauk, 2005). Therefore, bearing a different set of ideals learnt in journalism education can be extremely valuable. It gives students and also more experienced journalists a tool to analyse the media reality they are part of from a different perspective. If and when the possibility to make changes arrive, at least the younger journalists are ready to incorporate these.

But the ideals students hold may also become a problem for the political power block. As Bye (2017, p. 109) mentions, there is less tolerance for waiting out reforms among average Cubans, and there is a sinking confidence in the political leadership among younger generations. Economic prospects have not improved despite the reforms initiated by Raúl Castro (Torres Pérez, 2016). Venezuela has recently also withdrawn its support to Cuba due to internal economic and political turmoil, which will cause further economic hardships for the country. As noted by Hoffmann (2011), if autonomous civil action sparked by online voices are able to connect to offline public debate, it will challenge the regime's plan for the state-society relationship. Young journalists are already looking towards non-state platforms to exercise journalistic ideals closer to those learnt in university. These students may, therefore, increasingly become a driving force in defying the structures currently maintained by the Communist Party.

Conclusions

Cuban journalism is caught between rupture and continuation. New media platforms are opening up, managing to gain an unstable foothold among online consumers. The state media steadily protects its position as promoter of the Cuban revolution, the Communist Party and of anti-imperialism. Journalist students stand with one foot in each camp, learning journalistic ideals incompatible with the reality in state outlets.

Building on Antonovsky and Lev (2000), Heggen and Smeby (2012) consider that coping with new situations depends on an experience of comprehensibility, manageability and meaningfulness. This means that students must be able to understand the coherence between education and practice, must believe they can navigate it, and that the work is understood as meaningful. This perspective may be useful in analysing the uneasiness and discontent students report in relation to training periods. Education situated in the 'West', with training periods in a strict Cold War defence paradigm, makes for a difficult shift for students. When these two worlds do not meet, students experience that the abilities they have acquired in five years of study are not put to use. The manageability for students during practice is consequently reduced. Many have expe-

rienced direct censorship and are opposed to editors who belong to a different paradigm deciding over their work, in contrast to journalists already internalised in the system.

The transition from education to practice is not experienced as meaningful as students have to let go of the ideals of investigative journalism, criticism and providing information to the public. Although some are optimistic, hoping for a change soon, others look, rather, to outlets outside the conventional state. In these ideals at least partly overlap. While a discrepancy between education and practice is found in various other countries with limited or no press freedom (Joseph, 2010c) the case is somewhat different in Cuba. The situation of non-state outlets being in a position to challenge state media has only existed for a short time. Having a real choice of where to develop journalistic skills is a relatively new state of affairs, and seemingly embraced as a number students and graduates collaborate with non-state outlets on a regular basis (García, 2016). The willingness to wait out political reforms is decreasing along with the country's deteriorating economic foundation. Maintaining support from the youth in Cuba will, in all likelihood, be difficult for the political elite if they do not promote a more progressive media policy.

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Gendering Worcester News

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Abstract

This research explores gender and gender stereotypes in a local newspaper, focusing on issues such as whose voice is accessed as a news source, as well as whether female and male journalists dominate soft news or hard news articles. Using the local newspaper, *Worcester News*, detailed content analysis was conducted for six months (Monday to Saturday for the same week each month). The analysis highlighted that gender biases continue in *Worcester News* and that this has implications for training journalists. Male journalists tended to write far more articles about Politics (Political articles were written by 89% of male journalists compared with 11% of female journalists). Similarly, male journalists were more likely to write about Crime and Business (73% of these articles were written by male journalists compared with 27% of female journalists). Female journalists also wrote more about Family issues (36% male journalists compared with 64% of female journalists) and Leisure (34% male journalists compared with 66% female journalists).

These differences reinforce hard news/soft news gendered perceptions, as well as providing the readership with role models that tend to strengthen gender stereotypes, such as women being discouraged from engaging in politics and the public sphere. The sole authoritative voices used also tended to be male (49% were male compared with 14% that were solely female). Female sources were often placed alongside a male (this constituted 29% in *Worcester News*) – and although these figures tended to be better than the findings from Cochrane (2011), it is suggested that such gender disparities are continuing to reinforce hegemonic masculinity as the dominant norm for journalists and the news they produce.

Introduction

Duncan (1990 cited in Arslan and Koca, 2011, p.311) suggests that ‘of all the socialisation influences that work to shape the skills, values, norms and behaviours of individuals, the mass media appears as one of the most prevalent and powerful’ on society. Similarly, Riffe et al. (1998) propose that we are influenced through all forms of media, including through what we read, and that these tend to create and maintain our social perspectives (Fink, 1998), which can reinforce stereotypes.

Cochrane (4 December 2011) in a report for *Women in Journalism*, counted the bylines for seven national UK newspapers and found that ‘in a typical month, 78% of newspaper articles are written by men.’ Her research noted that this was the case for a wide range of newspapers including *The Guardian* (72% male, 28% female), *The Daily Telegraph* (78% male, 22% female), *The Sun* (80% male, 20% female) and *The Independent* (84% male, 16% female). In her report, *The Mail* had the highest number of female bylines (68% male, 32% female; 4 December, *ibid*) although this still underrepresented female reporters. Likewise the Global Media Monitoring Project (2015, 126) found the same gender disparity regarding newspaper reporters in the UK (27% were female and 73% were male). This is despite the higher number of women being accepted onto full time undergraduate journalism degrees (Reid, 2015).

According to Greenslade, (2012) news is still important for local people who tend to trust their local newspaper (even if this is read online). They look to local news to tell them about what is happening in their neighbourhood and tend to have more confidence in local news. Therefore, if gender disparities exist in regional newspapers they may provide stereotypes that filter through to local communities in cumulative and subtle ways. Fran Collingham (previously the Assistant Director for Communications at Coventry City Council and formerly a journalist at *Worcester News*) notes that Worcester ‘is a symbol of middle England where the Worcester Woman is looked at in relation to political balance.’ With two authors of this paper also belonging to Worcester Women’s Equality Party, it was decided to analyse *Worcester News*, published by Newsquest, which attracts an online readership of 420,783 per month (Rasheed, 2016) and an average daily circulation of 8,487 (Linford, 2015). It was given the title of the Midlands best local newspaper of the year in 2010 and has an increasing online audience having 1,575,714 unique users per day to the online *Worcester News* website (Rasheed, 2016). Thus, *Worcester News*, still plays an important ideological role

in relation to how audiences may perceive the world around them (Hodkinson, 2017). *Worcester News* also contributes to specific discourses, or ways of making sense of the world about particular issues, including how we think about men and women (Hall, 1997). Thus, if there is underrepresentation of women in the press, both in terms of content and reporting, including *Worcester News* (Shor et al, 2015, p.961), it will clearly have implications for both the local and wider society.

Bias in news sources

According to Poindexter, (2008) women in general are less likely to be used as news sources. It is much more likely that men will be used as sources. The Global Media Monitoring Project (GMMP, 2015, p.18) suggests that ‘the visibility of women as both subjects of news and reporters of news, has changed hardly at all over the past five years.’ They note that the voices of women are absent or few and far between regarding experts, professionals and politicians, and that they are far more likely to be sought in relation to domestic roles or the private domain. Therefore official sources that appear in the media, still tend to be male (Armstrong, 2004). Shor et al. (2015, p.961) note that ‘The actions and behaviours of men are more noteworthy simply because they are done by men.’ Other research (Niemi and Pitkanen, 2017, p.357) has also analysed how male sources are much more likely to be quoted, or quoted first in an article. This reinforces long standing gender beliefs that regard men as being more competent, important and worthy of consideration when compared with women (Ridgeway, 2011). It also normalises and legitimises the overrepresentation of men in authoritative positions (Shor et al., 2015, p.961). It highlights power hierarchies whereby masculinity is more dominant and hierarchically placed above femininity. This dominant position is perceived as self-evident and natural (Connell, 2003) and the underlying norms remain unquestioned. This is another reason why it is important to explore whether such overrepresentation of males (and by implication the underrepresentation of females) also happens in regional newspapers such as *Worcester News*, especially as Prime Minister Theresa May has announced a review of local and regional newspapers (McCarthy, 2018).

Gendered role models in the media

The media, including printed news, provides role models about how to be female and male. Connell (2003) notes that gender is not only socially constructed but that masculinities are defined in relation to femininity. The media provides a wider range of masculinities than it does of femininities. Thus, anything seen as feminine such as family, nurturing relationships or being emotional (Matud et al., 2010, p.254) is perceived as being hierarchically beneath masculinity. As well as this, traditional ideas about masculinity (such as competitiveness, assertiveness, heterosexuality and professionalism) are given greater prestige and are seen as the ideal standard. These gender differences are about ideological constructions rather than actual attributes of men and women (Steiner 2012, p. 209). However, the danger is that these stereotypes are seen as innate attributes to which men and women are made (or encouraged) to conform.

Thus, what is considered appropriate masculinity and appropriate femininity is highlighted by the media which continues to teach people how to be male and female (MacKinnon, 2003). People are encouraged through the media to ‘incorporate and exemplify the officially accredited values of society’ (Goffman, 1990, p.45), which are implicit (and sometimes explicit) in printed news in relation to gender identity. Armstrong (2004) notes that news stories themselves can influence public perceptions of reality. Thus, printed news also provides people with gender ideologies and stereotypes (Connell, 2003; Milestone and Meyer, 2012).

Newspapers and gender

Newspapers have tended to focus on women being described as ‘domesticated homemakers’ (Godoy–Pressland, 2014, p.160), emphasising the domestic sphere alongside sexualised images of femininity (Mulvey, 1989). This divides idealised femininity into mothers, homemakers or being sexually available. More importance is given to women who conform to these perceived stereotypical notions of femininity provided by the media (Stuart and Donaghue, 2011). Connell (2003) notes that emphasised femininity practices include being nurturing, submissive and sexualised. For males, whilst there are various masculinities on offer, hegemonic masculinity is still ‘... a standard of masculinity to which men are supposed to aspire’ (MacKinnon, 2003, p.115). The idea of masculine hegemony refers to the ways ‘in which the behaviours and traits.... such as toughness, competitiveness and aggressiveness’ are privileged by society and involves patterns of practice and control (Schmidt, 2018, p.60). This type of masculinity also reinforces male privilege and

subjugates women and gay men (Babac and Podobnik, 2016). The newspaper industry has supported a masculine/public versus feminine/private dichotomy (Harp, 2015) with a culture of discrimination against women. Thus, there is a deep gender binary that is reinforced in printed and online news which helps to perpetuate hegemonic masculinity.

Journalists and gender

Lucht (2016) notes that female journalists reported not being respected in the workplace and that the journalism profession itself tended to accentuate perceived maleness as the norm. This is despite the increasing number of female journalists 'because journalism practices are deeply rooted in a male-centred professional culture' (Greenslade, 2012, p.1150). Newsroom cultures therefore privilege male reporters (Schmidt 2018, p.59). According to North (2016, 360) '...male reporters are overwhelmingly allocated hard news stories in comparison to female reporters.' Allan (2010) asserts that there are sexist assumptions about women's professional abilities as journalists which limit the blurring of these hard news/soft news gendered boundaries.

Thus male journalists are associated with hard news consisting of 'politics, economics, international relations, welfare and scientific developments' whereas female journalists are associated with soft news consisting of 'human interest stories, gossip... arts, entertainment, celebrities and lifestyles' (Lavie and Lehman-Wilzig, 2003, p.7). Similarly, Ha et al. (2013) distinguish between hard news associations of business, finance, the economy, national events, health and medicine compared with soft news associated with arts, culture, celebrities and entertainment. Steiner (2012, p.202) notes that '...men report hard news, focus on facts, and require detached objective journalism...[whereas] women focus on features and news about or important to women.' Hard news is also considered to be the most prestigious type of journalism whereas soft news, often connected with emotions, is seen as less prestigious (North, 2016, p. 357). Franks, (2013 cited in North 2016, p.360) noted that sports and politics are two areas where female bylines are least likely to be found and this is also the case with online news (Barnes, 2017, p. 742). There has already been a wealth of research regarding sports reporting and gender (See Arslan and Koca, 2011; Babac and Podobnik, 2016; Godoy-Pressland, 2014; Green et al., 2016; Schmidt, 2018) so instead of focusing on sports, another aim was to explore gender disparities in relation to the reporting of hard and soft news (including politics) within *Worcester News*.

Women also tend to be underrepresented in the written press in terms of being reported (Shor et al., 2015). In some cases, there is symbolic annihilation of women's voices in newspaper coverage (Armstrong, 2004) where women are completely absent and are thus annihilated (Tuchman, 1978). Women are therefore trivialised, marginalised and are often entirely absent from the news (Everback, 2013). Thus, the press has traditionally overrepresented men and underrepresented women – both in terms of sources as well as in terms of writing certain types of news stories. Whilst it may be true that individual journalists' power might be gradually diminishing, editors still continue to make important content decisions and as Shor et al. (2014, p.977) note, such decisions are guided by gendered institutional norms. This means that journalists (and editors) of both genders are rewarded for conforming to such newsroom culture (Steiner, 2012, p. 214).

Method

In order to investigate whether there was any gender bias in the news reporting of *Worcester News*, six months of the newspaper were analysed, including full weeks of print (Monday-Saturday) from July 2016 to December 2016. The weeks included were 11-16th July; 8-13th August; 5-10th September; 10-15th October; 7-12th November and 5-10th December). Thus, in total there were 36 days of *Worcester News* that formed the basis of this study. The content analysis included the topics that were noted for each day including Business, Politics, Charity, Entertainment, Crime, Family, Health, Leisure and Politics. The content analysis categories were devised after a pilot was carried out on *Worcester News* to investigate which categories should be included. After this pilot, it was decided to note the gender of the journalist, gender of sources quoted, authoritative voices and any gender included in headlines. The gender of the letter writers were also noted. Only articles by a named journalist were looked at, together with Health and Business which had specific sections in the newspaper. For the purposes of this particular study, sport was not included as the pilot revealed that this reporting was extremely male dominated – both in terms of content and reporters. Thus, the aim was to explore whether there were gender differences in the rest of the newspaper that could have more

subtle implications and influence. Once the content analysis tables were collated, the results were dissected and analysed with the help of one of the authors whose expertise is in statistics.

Findings

Bylines by Gender	Females	Males
<i>Worcester News</i>	34%	66%
<i>The Mail</i> (Cochrane, 2011)	32%	68%
<i>The Guardian</i> (Cochrane, 2011)	28%	72%
<i>The Times</i> (Cochrane, 2011)	26%	74%
<i>The Daily Telegraph</i> (Cochrane, 2011)	22%	78%
<i>Daily Mirror</i> (Cochrane, 2011)	21%	79%
<i>The Sun</i> (Cochrane, 2011)	20%	80%
<i>The Independent</i> (Cochrane, 2011)	16%	84%

(For *Worcester News* n=722).

Table 1: Comparison of bylines by gender: Worcester News compared with Cochrane, 2011).

The findings are statistically significant ($p < 0.05$) if our expected values are 50-50. The articles in *Worcester News* over this six-month period tended to be written more often by male journalists (66%) compared with female journalists (34%). However, in comparison to the data from Cochrane (2011) *Worcester News* had only slightly more articles written by female journalists (only 2% better than *The Mail* which had 32% bylines written by female journalists). Therefore male journalists dominated all the newspapers highlighted and gender imbalances still remain.

<i>Worcester News</i>	Females	Males
Business	27%	73%
Crime	27%	73%
Politics	11%	89%
Family	64%	36%
Leisure	66%	34%
Charity	44%	56%
Entertainment	29%	71%
Health	35%	65%

n=722

Table 2: Article categories in Worcester News by gender of journalist.

Gendering Hard News/Soft News in Worcester News

Male journalists tended to write more frequently about Business (73%), Crime (73%) and Politics (89%) compared with female journalists. This reinforces the notion of hard news stories being associated with males (Harp, 2015) – especially with regards to politics in this regional newspaper. Only 11% of the political articles were written by females and 27% of the Business and Crime articles were by female journalists. Thus, as Cochrane (2011) noted, male domination in relation to politics is about the way the masculine establishment reproduces itself. Similarly, there were more female journalists writing articles about Family (64%) and Leisure (66%). This reinforces the notion of soft news still being associated with female reporters and maintains a gender binary in relation to hard news as masculine, soft news as feminine. This echoes with the GMMP for UK and Ireland which noted (2015, p.17):

‘...women remain significantly under-represented in ‘hard’ news stories and over-represented as parents, homemakers... thus perpetuating a normative framing of women which marginalises their contribution as experts, business people, politicians and professional people in general.’

(GMMP, 2015, p.17)

Readers of *Worcester News* may also be influenced by these subtle gender stereotypes. For example, for women this could lead to less willingness to engage in politics (Marsh, 2014) and for potential journalists to exclude political journalism as a future career. In a list of 20 top political journalists only 3 were female (Sparrow, 2009) and a lack of female political journalists is an ongoing issue for the industry (see Ruddick, 2017). There may also be a lack of opportunity for women to engage in political reporting in regional and local newspapers and therefore women interested in political reporting may find their enthusiasm waning through lack of prospects in this area. The stark figures from *Worcester News* suggest that this is likely to be the case. Women may also be perceived as the voice of popular opinion compared with men who speak as experts and professionals (GMMP UK and Ireland, 2015, p.17). Thus, it is clear from this analysis that *Worcester News* reinforces these gendered distinctions

Who ‘speaks’ in Worcester News

<i>Worcester News</i>	Female	Male	Both male and Female
Gender of authoritative expert quoted in the article	14%	49%	37%
Gender of sources quoted in articles	34%	37%	29%
Gender in the headlines of articles	7%	57%	36%
Letters written by gender	32%	68%	0%

n=722

Table 3: Representation of gender in Worcester News articles.

The authoritative voices that tended to be used in articles were often male (49%) or both male and female (37%). A sole female authority was quoted far less often (14%). This suggests that female authority figures only tend to be given credibility and status when accompanied by a male authority figure. Often there would be two male authorities alongside one female authority. For example, in an article about schools getting more space, the article quoted a female head teacher and two male authorities – the strategic commissioner and a male MP (9th May 2016, *Worcester News*). Likewise, another article about a night ending in violence (13th May 2016) had a female authority being the prosecutor, but also included a male defendant and male judge. It seems that in order to combat the authority of a female voice that male voices are used to give credibility. Females are not allowed in *Worcester News* to stand alone or to be backed up by other females. Instead, the authority comes from males being placed alongside even professional females. This can be compared with the 2015 Global Media Monitoring Project for UK and Ireland (GMMP UK and Ireland, 2015, p.12) that also found men were more likely to be quoted in stories than women. Thus, men have a more dominant voice and are placed hierarchically above women, being perceived as more credible and prestigious.

This is also represented, to an extent, in the letters pages with 68% of letters published being written by males and 32% being written by women. Whilst this is not symbolic annihilation (a complete absence of women’s voices) (Tuchman, 1978), there does appear to be a lack of authoritative female voices in *Worcester News*. A reporter for *Worcester News* noted:

‘men seem to write more letters to the local paper than women...When it comes to the criteria used to publish them, most papers I have worked for over the last 28 years are desperate for letters...regardless of gender’

(Worcester News Reporter, 2018).

Perhaps the writing of a letter itself takes a certain amount of confidence and may also reinforce the public/masculine and private/feminine discourses working at an individual level (Harp, 2015). Whatever the reasons, the letters pages highlight subtle (and less subtle) cues of heteronormativity in the way that these reports are presented. Males are seen as important in relation to local issues such as politics, housing, complaints and crime. Females are less likely to write about these kinds of issues in this particular newspaper.

The implications of this is that male voices are heard and communicated, whereas female voices are less likely to be heard. This also reinforces notions of what is and is not considered as appropriate masculinity and femininity. Females might perceive that getting involved in such issues as politics or raising one's voice to be less feminine and therefore this exacerbates a self-fulfilling prophecy of who 'speaks' in *Worcester News*.

Gendered Headlines

The headlines also provide interesting gender analysis. Most headlines, when mentioning a gender, tended to highlight males (57%) more often than females (36%) rather than both (7%). This is statistically significant ($p < 0.05$). However, even when the headlines are focused on females, 82% of those headlines frequently used the word 'Mum' or 'Mother', compared with only 15% of male headlines that used the word 'Dad' or 'Father.' This suggests that women are much more likely to be represented as domesticated and in their roles as a mother. This also happens in the content of articles. For example, on 10th December 2016, an article quoted Jamie Oliver that 'girls are much better than boys' at organisation around Christmas dinner. Thus *Worcester News*, like other media still socialises girls and women into the domestic sphere and roles of motherhood (Mitra and Mirza, 2015) and boys into authoritative, public roles (Holloway and Valentine, 2000 cited in Godoy-Pressland, 2014). Males are perceived to be important regardless of associations with gender roles, whereas women are given importance only when they adhere to appropriate gender roles (Connell, 2003).

Gendered Content of articles

Femininity and masculinity also tend to be reinforced by the content of the article, or the language that is used as highlighted by Lucht (2016). For example, on August 9th 2016 edition, the Business section was about a woman representing a cleaning firm and holding a cake sale for charity. Thus, whilst Business may be perceived as hard news stories, the actual content of this article reinforced perceived appropriate femininity. Likewise, on 9th November 2016, an article noted in Dad's world: 'and you do what adults aren't really supposed to do. Especially not men, and especially not in front of your two-year-old daughter. You start to weep.' This clearly reinforces notions of hegemonic masculinity as highlighted by MacKinnon (2003). Thus, even where articles appear to challenge the gendered stereotypes, this is only at a superficial level and deeper analysis suggests that gender stereotypes are reinforced in *Worcester News*.

There were a few exceptions to this gender divide. One was that Entertainment articles in *Worcester News* were mostly written by male journalists (71%) rather than female journalists, although this could be due to entertainment often focusing on local entertainment features. For example, in the entertainment category of *Worcester News*, male journalists reported on local features such as the Ledbury Poetry Festival (11th July 2016), musicians and singers at local venues such as *Frankly Sinatra* at Number 8 in Pershore (10th August 2016) or a band called *The Bluewater* performing at the Artrix in Bromsgrove (7th September 2016). Other reports also included events at local venues such as the comedian Nish Kumar at the Artrix in Bromsgrove (11th October 2016), a brass band in Ledbury (9th November 2016) and a new community choir performing in Pershore (6th December 2016). This could account for males being more prominent in the entertainment category in *Worcester News*.

Charity was less divided in terms of gender (56% of charity articles were written by male journalists and 44% were written by female journalists). Charity was also sometimes combined with local interest such as local people running marathons for charity, or local charities themselves such as local hospices. Overall, though, there were only two areas where female journalists tended to be given more print space – these were in the area of family and leisure. In all the other categories including topics such as Business, Crime, Politics, Entertainment and Health, there were significantly more articles written by male journalists.

Thus, the gender divide is clearly present in *Worcester News* and can suggest to readers how they should perform their masculinity and femininity as Goffman (1990) suggests. The implicit and more subtle gender cues give signals to the readers as to what is and is not considered appropriate femininity, particularly in relation to politics not being perceived as something for women to become involved in. Instead it is more appropriate for women to be 'passive, service, nurturing, home-and child- focused, and heterosexual' (White, 2015, p.7) which subconsciously underlines the hard news/soft news split, as well as the perceptions of who

will be drawn upon as experts, authoritative voices and sources of information.

Conclusion

Our research suggests that gender stereotypes are still very evident in *Worcester News*. How men and women are represented and what they report on are important, because these may implicitly place limitations in relation to self-perceptions of gendered behaviour for both women and men. Readers of *Worcester News* may also construct their worldview in relation to these gender stereotypes, perhaps reinforcing notions of the type of issues that concern men (politics, crime) and women (family). The lack of engagement in local politics is highlighted by only 28% of females being local councillors (Worcestershire County Council Website, 2018). More than this, the fact that females are placed alongside males might reinforce the notion of male hegemony as the dominant norm, highlighting men as authoritative, to be trusted and as credible sources. Females, on the other hand, might be perceived as being associated with family issues and soft news – seen by some as less important (and by implication, women themselves perceived as less important). Thus ‘what constitutes a reliable, weighty and relevant expert may be more tightly linked to masculine stereotypes than to actual gender’ (Niemi and Pitkanen, 2017, p. 356).

Our study therefore reveals the ideological workings of hegemonic masculinity which are still present in this regional paper. For readers of this newspaper, the binary divide is ever present and may reinforce stereotypical gendered perceptions of appropriate behaviours, voices and even issues that men and women should concern themselves with. For some, these implicit (and explicit) ideologies may be internalised and limit their own performance, conforming to the norms that they read. It may also limit their engagement (or lack of involvement) with local issues. To be aware of these stereotypes that come through in *Worcester News* as symptomatic of ‘middle England’ and thus the wider UK, is the first step to challenging such gendered assumptions.

Importance for Journalism Education

Whilst journalists might suggest that there is little time to pay attention to gender in relation to sources, or authoritative voices, it is ‘only by actively raising the question of gender in the day-to-day journalistic work... can inequitable practices be changed’ (Niemi and Pitkanen 2017p.365). In order for this to happen educators need to raise these issues with the current influx of students who are studying journalism at all levels, particularly if talented women leave journalism because of having to cope with entrenched masculine newsrooms cultures and lack of opportunities, or assumptions made about the kind of things they want to cover as reporters (Barnes, 2017). As Richardson and Wearing (2014, p.126) argue there is a need to reflect on the ‘gendered nature of media representation’ and surely journalists and journalism education should be leading the way.

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Autoethnography: A methodology to integrate professional and academic learning in journalism education

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Abstract

This paper explores how a professional doctorate, the Doctor of Professional Studies in Public Works at Middlesex University, was successfully completed using autoethnography as its methodology. It aims to illustrate to journalism educators the suitability of using this approach to undertake their own research, perhaps at doctoral level, as well as provide to students on journalism programmes a methodology, that while sometimes contested in the academy, is a credible and rigorous approach that can be meaningfully adopted in a practice-based field such as journalism education.

Introduction

The Doctor of Professional Studies in Public Works (DProf) requires that candidates compile a context statement (hereafter referred to as the research project) which is a critical examination of works which they have created in their professional lives and which exist in the public domain. In my case, my public works consisted of four undergraduate journalism degrees programmes in which I led the conceptualisation, design and implementation over the last 15 years.

This research project identified the opportunities and challenges inherent in creating, validating and running the journalism programmes where I was programme leader. The research project explored underpinning principles in the design and operation of journalism education, that is, how universities need to create degrees that teach practice-based skills but which, as Gregorian (cited in Connell) suggests, 'are [places] where students would acquire not only skills but the intellectual depth and curiosity and the commitment to honesty and high ethical standards they will need to uphold the core values of this vital profession' (2008, p.2).

The capabilities referred to by Gregorian (ibid) feature strongly among the key themes explored in this research project: degree design that balances theory with practice; the collaboration and comprise inherent in the process of designing and implementing journalism degree programmes; responsibility in ensuring sustainable and enhanced learning experiences. Underpinning all of these is my leadership role in each of them because in essence the research project was a critical reflection of my own professional development with insights into my transition into the academy and how my teaching and research skills evolved.

Adopting a reflective approach in research

Reflective practice, which lies at the heart of autoethnography, is a much-used term in professional life – most professions are conscious of the need for practitioners to reflect on their practice with the goal that performance, however it is defined, is improved. I subscribe to the concept proffered by the educational theorist Friere that to understand how we move forward we need to 're-cognise' (2014, p. 38) the past, taking it apart to enable us to understand, to cognise and know better 'why I do what I do'. Exploring and positioning myself and my experience in the context of my public works was hugely challenging but was aided by my growing confidence in autoethnography as an appropriate and valid methodology.

I was guided toward autoethnography by my research supervisor, in the main because the self-reflective critique required to complete the professional doctoral programme has advocated this as an acceptable, even desirable, and valid approach around which my work could be framed.

A key challenge in writing up the research was, for me, the very personal narrative that it necessitated I adopt, and which it encourages and allows. It took a significant amount of time, and trial and error in seeking an appropriate methodology, before I settled on autoethnography. Finding a methodological approach that enabled me to meaningfully articulate my work was enlightening. It was new to me but it has opened up research opportunities beyond what I believed to be credible and acceptable within the academy. Taking an autoethnographical approach facilitated the reflective work I was required to undertake.

Underpinning the decision to undertake the process of the professional doctorate was the requirement I had of it that it would inform my practice. As such it was a journey of discovery into how my past practice can re-define my future and the transformative nature of the reflection was both challenging and enlightening. In essence, its reflexive nature needed to have a proactive outcome. It needed to impact on future practice in degree development in journalism education, particularly within my own university.

As Johns states:

'Reflective practice is about becoming aware of our own assumptions, how these assumptions govern our practice, how these assumptions must shift to embrace change, understanding resistance to assumption shift, and finally to change assumptions to support a better state of affairs.' (2013, p. xv)

Reflection enabled me to see that I had begun the journey of writing this series of degree programmes based on beliefs and practices grounded in my own experience of studying journalism at university, as well as seeking advice and suggestions from others on how the programmes should be designed. Reflecting on it now, I realise how I often changed my perspective. Like many who are making such decisions, sometimes I went with my instinct, other times I went with what the HE sector appeared to be indicating was right and sometimes it felt that we were in a constant cycle of responding to shifting demands in the industry. In the midst of all of this activity there was rarely a chance to draw breath and to fully consider, and comprehend, the basis upon which decisions were being made other than a need, an expectation, to keep moving forward.

Schon (1996) puts it quite succinctly when he defines reflection as 'an act of professional artistry' and discusses how 'reflection-in-action (ibid, p.12)' can have a profound impact on behaviours and practice. In the initial phase of compiling the research project, my public works were, to all intents and purposes, historical documents that had undergone amendment. As I progressed through the doctoral project, I led the re-design of the programmes, as such the 2016 degree was framed, in part, as a result of the deep reflection I was un-

dertaking as part of writing the context statement and is reflective of the changes I have undergone as part of that process. Autoethnography requires honesty for it to be valid and I needed to reflect that I had rarely had the chance to reflect as deeply on my work as the DProf experience allowed me to do. It was a revelation.

This recognition of my learning within the context as a programme leader in journalism education has prompted me, as Smith (2011) asserts, to increasingly use critical reflection as a useful way to become more insightful in terms of my own practice and professionalism as well as gain more knowledge about the way in which the broader field of journalism education and its study, aligns itself to meet demands around learning, teaching and research.

Successfully completing the DProf required a decision on how best to present the reflective critique of the public works using a methodology that would be viewed as valid and credible within the setting of the academy with its national regulatory criteria for assessing and awarding doctorates which are fundamentally research degrees. As such, this paper looks at some of the challenges of how to 'tell' a story of a journey and derive meaning from that for my, and hopefully others', future practice, and to research it as one would any area of knowledge. A doctorate by public works is like a reversal into the research and development articulation of a doctoral award. The works have been achieved and are already in the world. What sits behind their production is doctoral level thinking combined with senior professional practice expertise. It is an examination and articulation of the context and the how and why which provide the missing piece required for the award.

Therefore, I needed a research methodology that could help me to make sense of how the reflection on my public works had evolved to meet the expected demands and conventions as a piece of doctoral work. It required me to consider research approaches within the academy and, on reflection that process has meant I have persistently constructed and reconstructed my own understanding and knowledge of my public works, my work, and my own approach to learning. Developing this research project also contributed to my reaching a point of understanding about the basis on which my knowledge is both created and claimed.

Murdock (2007) points to the work of Alfred Schutz in the early 1930s who argued that people interact with others and continually build and rebuild their own realities as they respond to the changing circumstances of their lives and the society around them. Murdock (*ibid*) identifies a constructionist approach to which I can relate in the context of my public works in both how I created them and in how I presented them as a key part of the doctoral project.

What was key from the outset was the need to understand the conceptual framework around which the research was created. From an ontological perspective my research project exemplifies Cresswell's definition of a constructivist approach where 'individuals seek understanding of the world in which they live and work (and) develop subjective meanings of their experiences' (2003, p.8). The use of autoethnography as the key methodology, illustrated how I responded to external forces and my own understanding of them to bring meaning to the design, content and operation of the degree programmes that constituted my public works. The nature of the autoethnographical methodology I adopted has enabled me to illustrate the constructivist nature of my approach in a very meaningful way whereby the 'self' is used to show how the public works, and I, as a researcher, responded to and negotiated with a broader social world. In this context, my public works included my background, my personal and professional experiences and the role and influence of the wider communities that represent the range of stakeholders in journalism degree programme design, implementation and operation.

On examining my epistemological perspective I am naturally drawn to the interpretivist position that portrays the world as 'constructed and interpreted by people – rather than something which exists objectively' (Denscombe, 2010, p.121). The key concept here that I relate to is that of objectivity, as a human being, and a researcher, I believe myself to be part of a social world, or community, I am not separate from it. My understanding of that world is therefore defined by how I construct my own meaning of it, based on my interaction with it and within it, as opposed to being outside of it. Given that my public works were created by my own experiences and inquiries rather than by what quantitative data may have told me was useful, which, to my mind would have been a more positivist and scientific approach, my epistemological stance was an interpretivist one that sat well with an autoethnographic methodology.

Methodology

This paper is a review of literature in the field of autoethnography and how it is adopted within the academy by academics across a diverse range of subject disciplines. By the very nature of the doctoral research

project being discussed, this paper is written in that first person, reflective narrative.

As such, I need to acknowledge that it is in itself an autoethnographic piece of work because I am self-reflecting on my experience and considering what I have learned from it to enable me to bring meaning to it so I can share it with others. Denzin (1989) defines research of this nature as autoethnographic research, so this paper can also be defined as a piece of autoethnography.

Adopting an autoethnographical approach

In compiling and presenting my public works, I knew the approach needed to be reflexive and it needed to stem from a qualitative perspective. I gauge the success of my public works by the impacts they have had on the students I have taught (impact statements from graduates of the programme did form part of the broader work of the research project). Being so personally and closely involved in how my works impact and needing to present a piece of research that reflected this made autoethnography a suitable choice and a methodological approach around which I could frame my work.

Ellis (cited in Jones, Adams and Ellis, 2015) describes autoethnography as being a powerful influence in the work and lives of those who adopt it, she states:

'it is not simply a way of knowing about the world; it has become a way of being in the world, one that requires living consciously, emotionally and reflexively. It asks that we not only examine our lives but also consider how and why we think, act and feel as we do' (ibid p.10).

This resonated with me because I frequently needed to acknowledge, as the DProf project continued, that my work was an extension of my own personal ambitions and aspirations and, in researching my own outputs, it helped me learn more about my professional self and improve upon it. As Ellis (ibid) states 'It (autoethnography) asks that we re-think and revise our lives, making conscious decisions about who and how we want to be.' (ibid, p.10)

Manning and Adams (2015) also support the premise that autoethnography enables us to understand that what we experience cannot be separated from a whole range of social contexts and that 'people – especially the researcher – make sense of mundane or notable life events and that lessons...learned across the lifespan (Bochner & Ellis)...with the purpose of offering wisdom and guidance to others' (ibid, p.189).

Defining autoethnography is complex – Ellis and Berger (2002) are quite clear that it is a social science research method which consists of 'stories written in an autobiographic genre about the relationship of self, other and culture' (ibid, p.849) and, as such, legitimises the role of the 'self' within the wider canon of academic research. But even Ellis & Bochner, two of its leading proponents, identify that 'researchers disagree on the precise definitions of the types of autoethnography' (2000, p.740).

What they do assert is that autoethnography is comprised:

'on the research process (graphy), on culture (ethnos) and on self (auto)' ... and that all autoethnographies exist somewhere along the 'continuum of these three axes' (ibid, p.740).

While definitions vary, autoethnography is essentially a merging of the techniques, theories and practices found in ethnography, with those of autobiography and memoir. As Manning and Adams (2015) state, autoethnography 'foregrounds the researcher's personal experience (auto) as it is embedded within, and informed by, cultural identities and contexts (ethno) and as it is expressed through writing...or other creative means (graphy).' (ibid, p.188).

A review of the literature on autoethnography supported the decision to adopt it, but I also recognised that this choice would not be without some issues. Jones (cited in Jones, Adams and Ellis, 2015), discusses the challenges around autoethnography as a methodology, she says:

'while choosing autoethnography wasn't a professional risk...telling personal stories in/as research always carries personal, relational and ethical risks ... I knew these risks were necessary not only for our research but also for living full lives and changing our world in important and essential ways' (ibid, p.19).

It was clear that I needed this critical engagement with my public works to inform my own future practice and, hopefully, that of others. Exploring my own experience was, therefore, a necessity because it provided a stronger foundation for transparent, reliable and relevant actions.

Jones, Adams and Ellis (2015) point out there is a marked difference between autoethnographic writing and autobiographic writing. As a former journalist my instinct, indeed what I was taught never to do as a journalist, was to write in any way that could be considered autobiographical.

Professionally I was immersed in a culture where the word 'I' was not welcomed in copy, where my experience was not relevant to the story and where the journalist should never be the story. More than that, it is about the need to retain objectivity because it is perceived as core to what journalism should be. However, adopting a constructionist approach as an academic researcher, I acknowledge that objectivity is difficult to attain because we are the product of all of the experiences life throws at us and this shapes the language we use, and the questions we ask. I needed to make the transition to having subjectivity at the heart of my research and feel comfortable with it against long held professional instincts. But autoethnography is nothing if not disruptive and from this disruption I learned much.

Like many journalism educators, I teach students the importance of objectivity in their journalism and acknowledge and am aware of the challenges of this. Similarly in the context of the autoethnographic approach, I acknowledge the challenge it presented but it was the most useful approach to enable me to acknowledge and critically analyse the impact my own subjectivity and value judgements have played in the creation of the range of programmes that comprise my public works. As Le Roux (2017) states the use of the 'self' in the narrative of a piece of academic research is challenging despite the fact that 'the approach is defensible, the findings...credible and the narrative contributed to the discourse...in academe' (ibid, p.201).

The autoethnographic approach afforded me the opportunity to reflect on much, for example, how I have challenged the accepted norm that we needed to adopt an industry-centred model of education or that industry professionals could almost 'dictate' what we did. From the outset of designing the very first degree, I knew it needed industry 'buy-in' but I was also determined it would have 'university degree standard' at its core. It necessitated that I consider the contribution of industry partners but, in the end, I designed a degree which put academic standards at its centre. This is not to say that they are mutually exclusive, but the two worlds have different demands and expectations and as journalism educators meeting them is a constant balancing act. Reflecting on my response to the need to meet many competing demands, I realised with hindsight that I felt vulnerable but that this vulnerability did lead to outcomes which I felt satisfied my own professional instincts, as well as the demands of a range of stakeholders in the programme.

As I accepted the practice and process of autoethnography I also needed to be assured of the rigour and validity of it. Pathak (2010) discussed how she devised her own guidelines to ensure rigour in her autoethnographic work and this proved helpful and reassuring. Similarly Forber-Pratt devised a checklist to ensure her autoethnographic work met criteria around the credibility and validity expected in academic research. Adopting a similar approach was both useful and supportive. She stated: 'the beauty of autoethnography is creating your approach yourself and finding your own voice' (Forber-Pratt, 2015, p.832).

As Le Roux (2017) p202 states 'the researcher should be regarded as primarily responsible for ensuring that academic rigour of...her research' – as such responsibility fell to me to ensure that the work achieved this and that the outcome, as with that of any piece of research, became of value to a wider community of practice.

While autoethnography puts the researcher at the heart of the research project, as Ngunjiri, Hernandez & Chang state, this does not mean it is 'self in a vacuum' (2010, p.3). In the context of researching my practice it is clear that I needed to consider and recognise the impact of a multiplicity of others in how I acted and reacted and how this influenced the decisions I made when designing and implementing the programmes. As Hernandez, Sancho, Cruces & Montane state:

'it meant paying attention to moments of personal and professional transits such as learning processes, crises, migrations, beginnings and ruptures, new contexts and relations and so forth' (ibid, p.5)

They write about how our re-telling of our experiences are unique to us but they inevitably draw others in and have the potential to show to them a perspective on events they may/will not share.

Denzin (1989) also states that autoethnography is often about life changing events or epiphanies and while I would not categorise my own interrogation of my practice in these terms, I realised that I was exploring, examining and analysing periods of profound professional challenge that demanded I acknowledge my limitations as well as my success in stretching these and in doing so alter my own perception of my self, from both a professional and personal perspective. Much of the autoethnography I read was of a deeply personal and private nature and while I felt I was publicly declaring moments of great professional doubt, from that place of vulnerability I gained useful insight into how my professional practice did evolve and improve as time progressed. If autoethnography is about helping ourselves and others learn, as much of the literature supporting it professes, then the lessons I realised I was learning included how to grow in professional confidence through years of practice and effort, and getting things both right and wrong.

In my desire to assure myself that autoethnography met the criteria of validity and reliability in terms of

research conventions, I searched for the 'right' way to do it. There was no clear-cut answer, instead I discovered a myriad of approaches that ranged from vivid accounts of personal crises to systematic representations of data. What became clear was that, as Manning and Adams (2015) state: 'there is no single way to do autoethnography', there are instead many approaches that can be adopted.

However, for all my anxiety around the robustness of autoethnography, Anderson & Glass-Coffin (2015, cited in Jones, Adams and Ellis p.64) state that a positive aspect of autoethnography is 'its methodological openness' while at the same time acknowledging that inherent in the method is the challenge around understanding the need to still gather data in a rigorous way.

Anderson & Glass-Coffin (*ibid*) discuss the need for those undertaking autoethnography to reflect on how they engage with their field of research and how this engagement enables them to more fully understand and perhaps know themselves. Key here is the concept that reflecting on my experiences has changed my public works, my professional practice and my perception of myself. They cite Richardson who says 'writing is also a way of 'knowing' – a method of discovery and analysis. By writing in different ways, we discover new aspects of our topic and our relationship to it' (1994, p.516). This has been my experience and my perspective on my discipline has been deepened and revised as result of this process, evidenced by my willingness to challenge perceptions of how journalism education should be taught within my own university.

What is clear is that the body of autoethnographic work is extensive and spans the scientific to the creative. What is encouraging in this significant body of work, as detailed by Ngunjiri, Hernandez & Change (2010), is that life in the academy is well documented in autoethnographic research and I found this supportive in terms of identifying the autoethnographic nature/aspect of the doctoral project.

Ngunjiri, Hernandez & Change (*ibid*) also highlight the elements of self-disclosure and exposure that autoethnographic research can involve. In the context of my own work I needed to acknowledge that the greatest challenge for me was how I, and my work, are perceived in a professional rather than personal context. I am conscious of the need to have readers understand that this had the potential to be limiting in my career as much as it could be liberating. The very nature of the autoethnographic approach demands honesty, with a recognition of both professional and personal vulnerability being a factor in how the work is written and presented.

Pathak (2010) discusses how undertaking autoethnographic research gave her the opportunity to tell stories that she herself wanted to read. She acknowledges the challenges, as she puts it, that telling her own story was a challenge because she wanted it to be 'research and not merely me-search' (2010, p.3). This resonates strongly with me, as I suspect it would with many within the academy who are undertaking research.

Exploring, sharing and analysing my professional experience in this way was by turn terrifying, exciting and liberating. My professional life is bound by 'rules' of systematic methodological approaches to both academic and journalistic research – autoethnography provides an opportunity to be more than autobiographic and less than the academic discourse referred to by Ngunjiri, Hernandez & Chang (2010).

While autoethnography presents an exciting opportunity it also presents a challenging one. As Forber-Pratt states: 'how does one actually do this?' (2015, p.821). I identified strongly with her concerns over the practicalities of presenting research in this way.

Ellis (2009) talks about autoethnography as an approach that does result in the researcher becoming vulnerable in the face of others, and perhaps oneself. This has been my experience, as I realise/reflect that others will read my work and perhaps criticise both my practice and the academic integrity of the autoethnographic approach I adopted. Manning and Adams (2015) agree there is risk inherent in the honesty that autoethnography requires.

Ngunjiri, Hernandez & Chang (2010) also identify that autoethnographies will often present challenges in terms of ethical dilemmas faced by participants, particularly when sensitive, personal issues are explored and could impact on others. Manning and Adams (2015) refer to this as relational ethics and the consideration that requires to be given to anyone likely to be impacted by what is explored in the research. In terms of my work this relates to any comment I made about the contributions made by others involved in the design of the degrees that form my public works, so care did need to be taken around how much was disclosed about other participants in my experiential journey with very minimal comment made about them. I agree with Forber-Pratt (2015) that the prospect is scary but this was necessary to enable benefit to be derived from my doctoral experience.

Autoethnography required that I confront how 'I' met and merged with the requirement to produce academically sound work (Johnston & Strong, 2008). Just as the discipline of journalism education is still continuing to establish itself within an HE context, so too it seems is autoethnography. The literature suggests

it needs to solidify its place within the academy as a more widely adopted methodological tool, particularly in humanities and social sciences, and the range of ways in which we understand and contextualise our experiences and understanding of ourselves in a range of social, political, cultural, economic and educational contexts.

Pathak (2010) makes the point that autoethnography is disruptive in the context of traditional academic research and it is not without its pitfalls. For example, care needs to be taken to avoid falling into autobiographic memoir. Pathak also stated: 'autoethnography gives voice to my life in a way that never seems to be articulated in academic writings in which I searched for myself' (ibid, p.2). What I related to most strongly was her recognition that she has been schooled to accept her lack of voice was 'the most legitimate form of knowledge' (ibid, p.2) – and as already discussed, my professional training had similarly taught me to silence my own voice in my work. For me, autoethnography legitimises my experience and the role of the 'self', of myself, in my work and that exploring it and finding meaning in it and direction from it can be credibly defended as academic research, which has been critically examined and can rightfully take its place in the canon of work in the field.

More than this, Pathak (ibid) passionately argues that the validity of the knowledge gained as a result of an experience is as relevant as intellectual knowledge and is not separate from it. As she stated: 'to know is not merely an abstract, omnipotent, intellectualised process. To know is to engage an experience fully... knowledge then is a vaster, more multi-dimensional realm than we often recognise' (ibid, pp.4-5).

Her position is that intellectual and experiential knowledge are equally valid, which was important to me professionally. So, the more I understood that autoethnography calls for an 'active intellectual voice' (Pathak, ibid, p.8) to assert this credibility, the safer I felt about using it as a means of re-telling experiences to create a space between the author and the story and remain intellectually critical. Manning and Adams (2015) also asserted that 'personal experience becomes valid, viable and vital kind of data from which to make meaning and use in research' (ibid, p.190).

I am attracted by autoethnography because it lays the foundations which enable personal, lived experiences to become part of the world of scholarly research and investigation. In this respect it has come to be viewed as a research method and methodology that has relevance within the academy despite Delamont's assertion that it is 'essentially lazy', lacking in 'analytic outcomes' and 'impossible' to undertake 'ethically' (2007, p.2).

Critics of the autoethnographical approach, such as Delamont assert that autoethnography 'abrogates our duty to go out and collect data' (2007, p.3). I would contest her definition of data as overly narrow and, in my view, it is a mistaken understanding of data. In the context of an autoethnography, the 'data' is the recollection and narrative around the experience. Part of the reflexive processes undertaken as part of my doctoral journey, and as part of everyday life, does illustrate that the data is analysed, assessment was made of the impact of the degrees I had written in a rigorous fashion and changes are made as identified and required as part of the on-going re-profiling, moderation and re-design of the programmes. In that sense the approach taken as part of my professional responsibility is akin to a more 'scientific' approach to research.

Critics of autoethnography point to the potential of a perceived lack of critical analysis (Delamont 2007) in such work. As a former journalist I can understand why it is contested and I can see where, as Pearce states 'the alleged laziness of autoethnography is levelled against the often overly evocative nature of autoethnography' (2010, p.4). However, the challenge lies in achieving a balance between the 'narrative' and analytical aspects of the work.

That required meaningful analysis of my work and my behaviours to provide the legitimacy that will be expected within the academy as well as to enable me to develop habits of research that can be built upon. So, while I explored the experience, I measured it against the data (my public works) and derived outcomes that can be more widely shared and tested, if required. Decision-making was based around data derived from very formal processes, such as student module evaluation forms, pass rates and progression rates. This provided hard data that identifies what performs well, and that university managers liked the quantitative data that illustrates success in this way.

For my part, I am more interested in the qualitative data – and it was this that also drove the development of aspects of the degree programmes. Feedback comments from students and other stakeholders are of greater use to me. This dual source of feedback informs my decisions around programme and curriculum content and pedagogical approaches and is the basis for action around programme development and change and offers opportunities for active and proactive decision-making.

In seeking to produce academically legitimate work, I was concerned about the credibility and validity

of a remembered experience because this forms a large part of autoethnographic work. I had to trust my own recollections and mounds of old paperwork that constituted informal/formal records of how work was progressed. As Ellis & Bochner state 'there is no such thing as an orthodox reliability in autoethnographic research. However, we can do reliability checks' (2000, p.751). Therefore, throughout this process I have analysed documentation, discussed, remembered and reminisced about my experiences with colleagues, students, family and friends to help build trustworthiness in the development of my public works and the impacts these have achieved.

The purpose of undertaking the DProf was to find different – and better – ways of having a positive impact on the design and delivery of the journalism degree within my own university. Wright (2008) asserts observing ourselves and 'telling' the story of that experience does provide a way in which to do make progress in how one does things.

Manning and Adam (2015) provided further support that auto-ethnography was a valid way of undertaking research because, as they state, experience cannot be separated from a range of cultural, social and environmental contexts and in the telling of how this experience has brought meaning 'becomes an acceptable, feasible and indispensable kind of data' that can be researched.

Autoethnography to prompt action

As Ellis & Bochner assert auto-ethnographers are required to look both inward and outward to gain the greatest understanding. They talk about a 'dual identity' (2000, p.74) where the academic and personal selves are working in tandem to reflect on some experience. They say 'the goal is to write meaningfully and evocatively about topics that matter and may make a difference' (ibid, p.748).

Rossing & Scott (2016) talk about the role of playing an insider who also needs to stand back and reflect from a professional perspective. This is not without its challenges because it meant critiquing my own work and decisions, but as Ellis & Bochner (2000) state, autoethnography is about allowing oneself to be vulnerable, they state it is 'the self questioning autoethnography demands is extremely difficult' (ibid, p.738).

What I am clear on is that the 'self questioning' has a purpose. Jones et al (2015) talk about the reciprocal nature of autoethnography and that work of this nature often includes calls to action – indeed my own experience has called me to action to the extent that, in designing an updated degree during the time in which I was undertaking the doctoral programme. As such, I have challenged myself and colleagues to consider the role of journalism education within a university environment and have sought wider discussion about this.

Ellis, (cited in Jones et al 2015) says 'Autoethnography requires that we observe ourselves observing, that we interrogate what we think and believe, and that we challenge our own assumptions' (Ibid, p.10). It necessitates that we 're-think and revise' our behaviours and learn from them to achieve a more meaningful outcome or future. Bochner (2015, cited in Jones et al) says 'the burden of the autoethnographer is to make meaning of all the stuff of memory and experience – how it felt then and how it feels now...The past is always open to revision and so too, are our stories of the past and what they mean now (here he is citing Ellis 2009)' (ibid, p.54).

The purpose in undertaking an autoethnographical approach was to enable me to make meaning of my experience and to have confidence that the research was pitched at the appropriate level. Articulating my experience and acknowledging the value of experiential learning at doctoral level was a revelation but it also illustrates it is an approach which has a place in the field of journalism education.

Conclusions

Initially, the autoethnographic approach challenged me, as Stanley who puts it very succinctly when she writes: "the complexity and conventions of academic writing work, in part, as gatekeeper. If you don't write like us, you can't come in" (2015, p.146). What I have learned from reviewing the wide body of literature on the matter is that there are many ways of presenting my research and that it can still make it a meaningful, useful and legitimate contribution to the discourse around journalism education.

Proponents of autoethnography acknowledge the body of work incorporates 'quirky, unconventional text' (Stanley, ibid, p.148) that are far removed from the almost stoic nature of academic writing. If I am to view the compilation of the research project as a journey from which I emerged transformed, for me it meant

becoming more 'academic', and attaining the perceived professional status that will enable me to further develop my own career. What I now realise is that autoethnography, for all it can be disarmingly personal in its content, it does necessitate criticality at its core.

What I have achieved in the process of using auto-ethnography has been 'me' using both an academic and a personal voice to analyse, write and reflect on what I have learned from the my own practice over a long period of time (Rossing & Scott, 2016).

A benefit of using autoethnography is that it allows personal experience to be shared and so contribute to the development, either professional or personal, of both the producer of the autoethnography and to others who may benefit from reading it. From my perspective, undertaking autoethnography enabled me to examine my own professional strengths and weaknesses at a point in time when I needed to create another new degree programme over a short period of time and I needed to reflect on what I had done well previously. For others it is about presenting a piece of work that documents and analyses a process or an experience in a way that is more useful and meaningful than mere anecdote would be.

My autoethnography provides insights into the 'big' aspects of developing undergraduate degrees in journalism education in my own university as well as the minutiae of what needed to be considered. I would not go as far as to say it is a blueprint, because it is very specific to my own institution, culture and environment, but if I had been able to have read such a document 15 years ago, my journey through the academy would have been much different. In this sense, autoethnography has enabled me to produce relevant and related research for other journalism educators.

Throughout the duration of completing the DProf I moved from having a sceptical view of autoethnography to one where I now believe it can have a very useful place in the field of journalism education. It requires a number of criteria to be considered 'autoethnography' and that list is large, at the basic level it does need to be personal, it does need to be reflexive, it requires an acceptance that experience brings meaning and knowledge to our lives that is not in isolation but is related to our individual environments and experiences and that with careful analysis of how these experiences impact on our lives and practice we can bring meaning to others, in the case of my research, largely from a professional perspective.

The reflexive nature of the analysis does need to be grounded in the underpinning theoretical perspectives that frame the development of journalism education and there does need to be strong evidence that the experience being analysed is supported by artefacts or interviews or observations of practice and behaviour.

Autoethnography could be used far more widely in the field of journalism education to explore a variety of topics, for example, in looking at audience reception of news, journalism students and educators could study themselves as the consumers and/or producers of news to help understand responses or consumption patterns or behaviours. Autoethnography could be used to measure exactly how influential the news media is in election campaigns by exploring its impact on how journalism educators are voting and why. It could be used to assess the impact of the endless stream of health and lifestyle advice that proliferates in the news media. It provides an opportunity for journalism educators to use their own experiences to reflect more broadly on the role of the news media in society by analysing our own reactions and responses to it. The choice of topics that could be explored from an autoethnographical perspective that could help us more fully understand the news media is, I believe, infinite.

Autoethnography has at its core a sense of transition being made and in my experience of using it, I did indeed move from a place of deep discomfort to one where I would argue that given the right conditions, the right 'story' and using the required rigour, it offers much to the journalism educator who wishes to research and interrogate the field, and their experience of it, in a different way.

Undertaking this reflection on these public works has led me to a place and perspective that challenges some of the accepted norms and practices in journalism education. However, it has also led me to acknowledge that my voice and experience should be heard, as should a myriad of views and experiences, and that while my views may run counter to the prevailing voices, both in my own university and more widely in the academy on journalism education, it is nevertheless grounded in my lived experience, and research, and therefore needs to become part of the shared discourse around the development of the subject area.

Adopting the autoethnographic approach, as I have acknowledged here, was challenging not least because I felt my work may be more critically judged by peers and because I had not adopted a more traditional research method. What autoethnography has been for me has been formative and transformative because it has enabled me to look at my public works in quite a forensic way. It has forced me to consider what drove the decisions I took and how I negotiated various challenges around meeting stakeholder expectations, designing a relevant curriculum and, most importantly, how I will respond to similar challenges in the future.

By its very nature autoethnography is disorienting, especially for a former journalist, but I have learned through the process that my views are also disorienting because they do not present the prevailing views on journalism education within my own team and more broadly in the academy.

Autoethnography forced me to recognise in the context of compiling these public works, and subsequent reflective critique of them, that I drew deeply on the well of my own experience and I came to understand that this is acceptable and credible research at doctoral level. As such, as we advance the discipline of journalism education in the academy we need to draw on a range of voices and understand that merit lies in hearing a multiplicity of views, approaches and experiences.

I see no value in seeking absolute answers to the challenges inherent in developing journalism education programmes to meet the needs of a changing world, what I understand is our need to be more reflexive and fluid in our responses. Similarly, the ways in which we research the field needs to be able to adopt an ecology that lets it come to maturity by acknowledging different approaches.

Ultimately, I gauge the success of the autoethnographic approach in how it has changed me, my perspective, how this will impact on future provision at my university and on the confidence it has given me to believe in this contribution to the body of work around journalism education and that it can be adopted by journalism educators with confidence that it enables the field to be studied in many ways.

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Identity crisis vs. Ethical dilemmas: The struggle of practicing journalism in a small hill town of India

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Abstract

Small town journalism is often about telling the good and the bad stories pertinent to everyday life of a town. It defines and reflects the perspectives of the people living in a

place closely knitted socially and culturally. Dharamshala, a small hill town at the foothills of the Himalayas spread over 70 acres, more than 7,000 ft. above sea level is globally known as the home of the Dalai Lama. A cosmopolitan town of tech savvy monks and scholars from across the globe frequently visiting the place to know and learn the Tibetan Art and Culture, the local newspapers are still the most sought-out sources for information. This study looks at how journalism practices in their classical form emerged and evolved from the socio-political economy of a small town and intends to explore the ethical and the professional dilemmas of local journalists reporting stories of institutions, organizations, agencies and people whom they know personally. The study further investigates the social and the cultural ties of the journalists with their communities and the way this conflict of interest influences the decisions of the journalist to cover local issues and events.

Key Words

Journalism, Small Town Dynamics, Journalistic Identity, Ethical Dilemmas, News Coverage

The notion of a small town has long been central to the concept of community journalism and attracts attention from researchers who want to understand the decision-making processes in journalism practice, especially related to conflicts of interest and ethical pressures.

This study investigates the professional and ethical issues of small town journalists who are mostly untrained and struggle between the twin identities of a community member and a journalist and face small-town pressures and reservations often compelling them to duck an issue to avoid confrontation due to their easy accessibility to readers.

The Ethical Dilemmas

Most of the interviewed journalists of the town newspapers didn't have a formal education in journalism but have a fair professional understanding of then when and how of the local occurrences and their importance to print. In many cases, the situation becomes difficult for the town journalists to report the cases that are sensitive and there is no policy to handle the situation (Allan, 2005). Since most of them were not formally trained in mainstream newsroom they often struggle to keep a balance between the public interest and news value of the story and their own fear of disturbing/offending the people whom they know closely.

The small town newspaper editors in Dharamshala seldom have the understanding that

it is the duty of the journalist to tell the story of the diversity and magnitude of the human experience however difficult it is to do so. Further, the community pressures and the struggle to survive and to run the show often conflict with journalism ethics. Most of the stories published in town newspapers from Dharamshala are the stories of ordinary happenings which interest the local readers and are not covered by the big mainstream newspapers. Being the most trusted source of local news, the town newspapers of Dharamshala mostly reflect the perspective of the local community and this is where the loyalties of the journalists working in these newspapers comes into conflict with the decisions to publish controversial issues. Sometime even though the journalist knows the truth he/she is compelled to duck the issue because of community pressures and reservations and to avoid conflict (Lauterer, 2000).

Most of the newspapers published from Dharamshala are owned by independent owners and don't have enough financial backup, the owner in many cases decides to shy away from controversial issues as it will offend his/her own relationship with the prominent members of the community. Since, the notion of community is central to the town newspaper's concept of circulation and readership, the journalist's/editor's/owner's own community connections creates ethical dilemmas to the decision-making processes regarding conflicts of interest and societal and economic pressures (Anderson, 1987). The struggle to define the role as community members and journalists often clash with journalism ethics. To understand the struggle of small town journalists to follow media ethics it is important to explore the relationship a town journalist have with the town people. In a small place like Dharamshala, people know everyone working in the local newspaper. The trust and rapport of the journalist with the local people often pose conflicts of interest, which most journalism code of ethics warn about (Deuze, 2005). The Code of Ethics suggested by the Press Council of India and the Editors Guild clearly states that conflicts of interest are to be avoided, but in contrast, it is very common for the journalists working in Dharamshala to get involved in civic organizations and many of them also hold elected positions. How the journalists serving in the board of community organizations, schools, and colleges keep themselves fair, objective and balanced when reporting the stories of the same is interesting for the researchers who look at community connections and the ethics of news reporting. The competing loyalties of small town journalists is more problematic than working in a big city newspaper as often the credibility of small town journalist as impartial is questioned especially when their involvement in the community creates problems with conflict of interest (Stamm & Cambell, 1983).

The Identity Crisis

Most of the journalists interviewed by the researcher for this study admitted that often they have to decide their role first as a community member then as a journalist and their bonding with the locale replaces journalism motives. The stress to strengthen democracy in their role of a journalist, their involvement in public life and their stake in the community they cover pose a challenge to their own approach to journalism (Merritt, 1995). Their involvement in the community they cover sometimes distances them from the truth. Most of the journalists interviewed admitted that they don't have a life outside the office of the newspaper if they aren't involved in civic activities. The dynamics of a small town pose serious ethical dilemmas for journalists as they have a face in the community and that's why working in a small town newspaper is different from working in a big city newspaper where the journalist is faceless to his/her audience (Ornebring, 2010). Reporting on local religious/communal issues becomes difficult when community pressures influence the content (Fitzgerald, 1996). Even though knowing it well that a story like Karmapa is not in the Gyuto Monastery from last eighteen months or news related to the deteriorating health of his Holiness The Dalai Lama is newsworthy, the local newspapers of Dharamshala handle them differently from the larger dailies. Often they prefer to bypass the difficulties of reporting the sensitive issues of Tibetan settlement by implementing a blanket policy of not reporting them as the Tibetan community has lot of political and economic influence on the local community. Further, nor the journalist neither the newspaper wants

to upset the Tibetan community as it matters in Dharamshala.

The Socio-Economic Pressures

Newspapers must be prepared to print all the news if they are to survive (Pumarlo, 2005). This can be true with any big city newspaper but in a small town newspaper office in Dharamshala, the socio-economic pressures from the community often influence the content. The 85 per cent of editors of the Dharamshala town newspapers interviewed for this study admitted that often they receive internal pressures to kill a story. Further they have to withdraw a story or modify it accordingly as per the directions of the advertisers because of their vulnerability to advertisers' threats as the number of advertisers is limited and the dependency of newspaper on advertising is more because of small circulation. There is no policy to deal with the socio-economic pressures related to news decisions and that is why the decision of the editor to publish news can be easily tested and questioned from ethical and moral point of view.

The livelihood of the studied town newspapers largely depends on the town businesses as 90 per cent of the advertising revenue comes from the local merchants. Without merchant's advertising, it is very difficult for the small newspapers to survive (O'Brien, 2003). Although the newspaper makes the community's economy work by advertising, the community had least concern for the economic growth of the newspaper.

Methodology

The study follows qualitative research approach with an objective to explore how Dharamshala based journalists distinguish between their identities as community members and as journalists and how often and to what extent the social, the cultural and the economic ties of the journalists to their respective communities affect decisions about news coverage.

Interviews and observation techniques were used to collect the data. Interviews were conducted with the journalists/editors/owners of the local newspapers published from Dharamshala and further interactions were conducted in the form of focus group discussions to explore the ethical concerns of small town journalism. Seven daily newspapers are published from Dharamshala and all of them are published in Hindi language only. The Tibetan settlement doesn't have any print version but a number of web newspapers and portals are operated from McLeodganj, covering the news related to the Tibetan government in exile.

Six daily newspapers were selected for the study having a circulation of less than 10,000 copies and cover a population of 25,000. The total number of interviews conducted was 21 – 9 working journalists, 3 advertisers, 5 editors, and 4 owners of the newspapers. 90 per cent of the questions were open ended, and the subjects were interviewed one-by-one. A tape recorder with a microphone was used with the interviews and after the data was collected, the tapes were transcribed. The data was then coded into thematic blocks as – conflict of interest, community pressures, identity crisis, and ethical dilemmas and were analyzed accordingly to the identified themes. The data was further validated by cross-checking with the interviewed participants.

Grounded theory is used to identify the themes that arose from the data collected at the field visits. The theory was derived from the data, systematically gathered and analyzed through a logical process (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Without having any preconceived notions, the author used the inductive characteristics of grounded theory identified by Strauss and Corbin (1998) to critically analyze situations to enhance understanding of the research objectives.

The data collected through interviews and focus group discussions was in narrative form and the themes were culled from the interviews by using the narrative approach. Experi-

ences of newspaper editors, owners and journalists were critically interpreted to obtain deeper meaning to the research. The questions prepared for the interviews were framed on the basis of thematic identification of issues for study and the views were presented in narrative form to bring consistency to the study. The narrations were further triangulated with the observation conducted at the newspaper offices to increase the validity of the research.

Analysis

The analysis of the data collected through interviews shows that the levels of community involvement of the journalists have a notable conflict with journalism codes of conduct which clearly says that the journalist should remain uninvolved in community affairs. Most participants of the study were connected to their communities through home ownership, business ownership, social networks, and active social and political organizational involvement.

Talking about the difficulties of separating their community life from their professional journalistic life, several participants admitted that they had often experienced conflicts of interest with their newspapers and organizations to which they belong.

"We are aware that our closeness with the community put pressures on the news decisions we made but it also makes our job easy and we have quick access to certain things which otherwise is not possible.", said one.

These identity assertions are mainly centered on the idea that they (journalists) never did any effort to distinguish between their roles as community members and as journalists (Rosen, 1993). They were in the assumption that it was difficult separating the two.

Seven out of the nine journalists said that they were actively involved in various community affairs and have formal engagement in the form of membership.

"We are first community members rather than journalist. We are same both at home and in the office. How can we hide our identity as everyone in the community knows us personally? People talk to us not because that we are working in press rather because we are one of them."

One third of the interviewed newspaper staff including reporters, editors and owners said they found it difficult to separate their personal life for their job, as their direct community involvement make their job easy as the representatives of the newspapers they work. It further enhances their accessibility to the community people and their prominence as journalists.

"We are often approached by community members when we are off work as the people didn't distinguish us separately as a journalist and as an ordinary community person. For them we are always newspaper people. Our prominence in the community hardly allow us to separate our job from our personal life. People never separate us from our job and to stay in the business you always have to be a newspaper person."

The ethical dilemmas that influence the decision of publishing or withdrawing news in the newsroom of the newspapers, the participants have varied experience in the term of rate of occurrence. Some of them said they dealt with the problems every second-third day. Others said once in a week or less frequently.

"Sometime it becomes very difficult while reporting the organizations where we were involved as members. Getting involved in a community, organization and event often brings more benefit than a conflict of interest. Involvement helps us to generate stories. We hadn't heard much about Journalism Code of Ethics as most of us don't have a formal education in journalism. We really don't know when and how to avoid involvement or public office."

Interestingly, the owners and editors of these newspapers do not bother about the involvement of their staff in public offices. They won't discourage them.

"What is wrong if a journalist is involved in a community organization? Journalists are responsible people and they are in tune with what is going on in the town. Their involvement often makes it easy to get news and advertisement also. It could be problematic for a big newspaper, but for a small newspaper like us, it is very difficult to follow the ethics of journalism as we don't pay much to our journalists. They need other means to survive."

Despite having a high level of involvement in the community affairs, the majority of the journalists interviewed said they believe that they are carrying their role as news providers

in ethical ways and they mostly try their best to be objective while covering the news of the events where they are directly involved.

"We don't know what kind of objectivity is required from us. We put the stories straight-forward, matter-of-fact way. People don't tell all sides of the story. Talking to everyone helps you to tell the truth. That is what we were concerned. We give both sides of the story and puts the facts out there."

While analyzing certain stories related to the conflict of interest, it was found that the personal feelings of the journalist for a particular organization or event have influenced the coverage of the story. In many cases, the stories were less hard hitting than ideally they should be. So, balancing community involvement with journalistic detachment is a challenge for most of journalists consulted for the study.

Discussion

The participants of the study, especially the journalists and newspaper editors/owners admitted that being involved in community affairs creates problem for the credibility of the journalists. But in a small town like Dharamshala if you really want to know the context of various community events/affairs, you have to be engaged. The pressure of getting the news as soon as possible pressurises the journalists to be involved in community affairs which further the ethical challenges by showing the visibility of the involvement. Avoiding ethical conflicts requires constant oversight, and potential conflicts can especially be a minefield in small town newspapers (Pumarlo, 2005). In Dharamshala, especially when the reporter/editor of the newspaper himself was involved in certain civic organizations, navigating regular news coverage have lots of ethical concerns. To deal with them, you have to be square with the public. You have to communicate regularly with readers when these potential conflicts arise. You also have to convene internal discussion inside the newsroom to explore the best course of action. Some of the editors of the newspapers surveyed for this study admitted that consistency and fairness is required when sensitive news issues are to be covered and the newsroom also needs a plan. But in a small town newspaper, the newsroom is neither professional nor mature enough to define the news issue and to identify the values. The precedence of covering sensitive community issues and getting the story without disturbing an individual's privacy, requires journalistic maturity which comes through wider exposure to such situations. In a small hill town like Dharamshala, where most of the journalists do not have a formal training in journalism and have no experience of working in a sophisticated newsroom, dealing with the ethical principles of decision-making is the toughest challenges one faces in his/her professional life. How to assess their loyalties as journalists, what kind of business/professional decision is required to publish a story needs a deeper understanding to study the ethical dilemmas of small town journalists (Yarros, 1922). Taking a decision to publish a story and following a set of ethical guidelines are essential for any newspaper operations but the hows and whys of a journalist approach to a story differs from newspapers to newspapers. The editors participating in this study argued that in many cases it is not possible for the newsroom to think ethically but efforts are certainly required to develop a policy to deal with ethically challenging issues. Regular discussion with the people within and outside the newsroom is not a standard practice in the surveyed newsrooms, although it has a scope to develop common consensus in the newsroom and to have different perspectives before making a final call to publish or withdraw a news story.

On the question of the Journalists Code of Ethics saying that a journalist should always act 'independently' (Ward, 2010), the interviewed journalists argued that following too much ethics will make them aloof and uncaring about the community and they will have the risk of being unable to learn of events, issues and trends in the community. Differing from this, the surveyed editors said that they mostly decide to publish a story if it serves a valid public interest even though it might offend someone prominent in the community. In the case of small town newspapers like the ones published from Dharamshala, ethics is not a field of black and white where one position is ethical and all other are unethical, every time and in every situation the editor/owner and the journalist have to weigh values and make decisions and have to be honest with the community people about those decisions (Carlson, 2015).

And this certainly makes journalism ethics in small town newsrooms a complex issue.

Conclusion

Ethical issues in the newsrooms of a small town like Dharamshala is more common than the newsrooms of big newspapers published from other parts of the country. Out of the studied newsrooms, 95 per cent of the journalists have no idea of the scope of journalism ethics and interestingly none of the surveyed newspaper offices have published a code of ethics and never have they posted it for their journalists to examine. The newspaper's newsroom doesn't have any kind of policy understanding to deal with the pressure of withholding a story or changing the scope of the story. One of the most prevailing issues often faced by the newsrooms of the studied newspapers is the conflict of interest aroused due to the involvement of the news people in community affairs and this often produces bias in news coverage and presentation. There are different ethical guidelines proposed by various media agencies but the editors of these small newspapers have less idea how to implement them in small, close-knit newsroom operating in a small place where people personally know each other and journalists are not exceptions. The small town social and cultural dynamics hardly allow the journalism profession to draw a clear separation on newspaper employees' participation in community institutions (Carlson, 2015). In Dharamshala, the newspapers are more vibrant and the employees of the newspaper regularly contribute in community initiatives. It becomes difficult for the journalist to separate his/her identity as a journalist and as a community member and this often creates serious conflict of interests, ethical dilemmas and credibility issues. The ethical challenges to control or stop community participation by newsroom employees is not possible in a small town setting. The only way to handle this is to take the tough decisions to publish a story if the arguments were convincing by declaring the potential conflict of to the readers. To bring transparency in news coverage, the newspaper should be square with its readers (Ward, 2010). The other challenge is to avoid alienation of news sources or advertisers to maintain traditional journalistic integrity (Anderson, 1987). In the process of making everyone happy in the community, the small town newspapers often violates the moral code of journalism. The approach to smooth over controversy and avoid conflict often ceases the interest of the reader of the newspaper and over a period of time the paper has a possibility to lose its importance as a trusted source of information. Small town journalism ethics pose decision making challenges for both the reporter and the editor all the time and the only solution is to discuss this within their newspaper operations and to convince the reader about the potential conflict of interest related to a news-story. For any small town newspaper, the only strategy to exhibit pride in the community as an honest information provider is to publish a story of public interest without any bias and prejudices.

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Developing International Development Journalism programmes

Kenneth Pratt, University of the West of Scotland

Like many ordinary hacks, I'd never actually heard of the term IDJ (International Development Journalism). It was only when reading *The Guardian* and its invitation to submit to its prestigious IDJ competition (professional category) that I decided to give it a go.

The research initially involved surfing a range of NGO (non-governmental organisations) and latching on to a story. A 53-year old grandmother in DR Congo had been gang raped at gunpoint by a gang of teenage boy soldiers high on drugs. My story, 'Child Killers of DR Congo' came first in its category and I was then invited to visit Uganda to write more material. The only problem was, I hadn't read the small print. The genre of International Development Journalism demands positive and intelligent problem solving in conjunction with the host organisation (and in the context of *The Guardian*) in association with DFID (Department for International Development). I like problem solving. I like intelligence. And I like cooperation. So onward I went to Kampala to begin my next assignment.

On my return I found myself teaching a module called *International Perspectives*, a fourth year module on the BA Journalism course at UWS (University of The West of Scotland). It was whilst emerging myself in the literature of international reportage that I came across the work of Terje Skjerdal (NLA, University College Bergen). In it he concludes:

'there seems to be no single media or journalism model that is likely to resolve the diverse challenges of a transitional media society. Instead, a combination of models should be considered. To the extent that development journalism is applied as one of the approaches, particular attention must be paid to avoiding problems of politicisation in reporting, and to securing overall media freedom.' (Skjerdal 2011: 70)

I took comfort from Skjerdal's conclusions. Media pluralism is key. I re-emphasised its definition and effectiveness with my students. However Skjerdal hadn't fully addressed one key issue - the manipulation of the press. Keen to call upon my own vocational experiences I began to reflect on the NGO control mechanisms I'd witnessed. I wasn't the only IDJ journalist to do this. Before speaking at the 2018 AJE Winter Conference at City University I contacted some of my old international development journalism colleagues. Some had already taken steps to circumvent the worst excesses of media manipulation by NGO's. Award-winning Libby Powell for example is Founder and CEO of *On Our Radar*, a London-based organisation that co-produces digital media features on uncovered issues in developing countries without NGO's. Libby told me:

"Too often NGO's have their own slant on things. It's time to cut out the middleman. Too many journalists for example are being employed to ghostwrite as if they are there in the field. It is heart breaking to see the other side of things when you break loose from the NGO. I would never have seen that if I hadn't broken away."

Reflective practice

After my conversation with Libby it was hard not to reflect momentarily on my own experiences in the field. Such as the assignment in a leper colony in India for *The Sunday Times* where I witnessed a church organisation charity cherry picking for treatment lepers from a slum village based on their family connections within the church. I still recall the furious row that erupted with one of the village elders (himself a

leper) and the dash to safety we had to make in the priest's 4x4 chased by angry village lepers, desperate for treatment in the charity-run leper hospital - or the time in St Petersburg where food aid was distributed according to local peoples' political affiliations. There were many other assignments too where controlling NGO's presented their case studies to me (local people groomed for media attention) - then set about preventing me following up sharp news leads extracted from the interviews. This manifested itself in various ways. For example, no access to the real people who wanted to tell their real stories, and negative or silent responses to previously collegiate and constructive discussions.

Around this time I was asked to write a concept paper for a proposed MA in International Development Journalism. The first point to make was simple. IDJ is a caveated genre distinct from International Journalism for example in that it specifically focuses on working alongside NGO's and government. By delivering IDJ courses journalism educators are therefore opening the door to employment opportunities for our new graduates in a range of fields including humanitarian communication, NGO communication, Development Journalism and media communication, within an expansive range of national and international NGO's such as Oxfam, UNICEF, British Red Cross and Save The Children. While theoretical input will play an important part, our graduates will be vocational practitioners trained to operate in NGO environments to professionally develop internal and external communication and media networks. The course would also offer participating students some excellent opportunities to engage with our growing/developing international cohort and so spotlighting a range of international projects ripe for IDJ coverage. International development is a thriving, expanding sector, continued the spin. It can offer new frontiers, scattered with stories and the chance to chronicle real change. The ethical justifications behind the teaching plan were clear. According to Amartya Sen (1999) 'no substantial famine has ever occurred in any independent and democratic country with a relatively free press.' But on reflection one significant recommendation is missing from the above concept paper - our IDJ students will be trained to evaluate:

(A) The shifting and often flawed symbiosis between NGO's and journalists; and

(B) New theories of censorship in a post (post) Leveson environment in which Culture Secretary Matt Hancock has said the government will not implement the second stage of the Leveson Inquiry.

Leveson's work had had a massive impact on public life, but there was also a need for a free press that could properly hold the powerful to account, Secretary of State for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport Matt Hancock said. "Britain needs high-quality journalism to thrive in the new digital world. We seek a press, a media, that is robust and independently regulated, that reports without fear or favour." Hancock's quote may be predictable, however its essence should be built-in to the teaching framework of new IDJ courses throughout the UK to specifically empower IDJ students to tackle the power structures present within global NGO frameworks, while constructively working within the organisations to enhance the good work they already undoubtedly conduct.

A quick tour of Higher Education IDJ provision in the UK demonstrates this point. Let's begin with arguably the flagship MA Media and International Development course at UEA (University of East Anglia). A well-designed introductory video by Martin Scott and David Girling clearly explains why media matters for international development. However, as with my own concept paper, while Scott and Girling mention the importance of investigative journalism within the international development framework, they arguably aren't specific enough in explaining how investigative journalism can best be used to examine the required symbiotic shift in NGO and journalism relations. To achieve this a change in thinking is arguably required. To hold power to account we firstly have to define what power is and who holds it? Power is routinely associated with government. And government routinely plays a part in various forms of IDJ. What is missing in our analysis is that, although NGO stands for non-governmental organisation, the entire concept of IDJ is built around NGO's and governments working in harmony. We therefore have to begin to shift the focus of our IDJ investigative journalism teaching inwards to reflectively expose corruption and/or abuses of power within the host organisations our students often aim to represent upon graduation from an IDJ Masters. Look at London South Bank University's Journalism with Development Masters. Its overview is impressive.

It states:

'Development issues such as migration, poverty, the environment, aid and governance are increasingly relevant in journalism, and this course develops a theoretical understanding of these issues alongside practical journalism skills.'

This is an interesting sentence. But is there perhaps also room for a module that combines journalistic practice and theory and equips students with the tools to work within NGO's developing their media coverage in a cutting edge and transparent way, using, for example, the experiences of *On Our Radar*, or develop-

ing new practical journalism standards to reporting on the internal weaknesses of the host NGO not within a negatively based construct but in a constructive, consultative context to build stronger journalistic outputs that refuse to merely ‘front-up’ the NGO, but which deal with the real issues both behind the scenes of the organisation and, of course, in the field itself.

Recent research

The Aid Industry - What Journalists Really Think Report published by the International Broadcast Trust (2014), paints a dark picture of relations between reporters and agencies. In it journalists accuse NGO’s of ‘neglecting individuals on the frontline of conflict zones to focus on relatively safe refugee camps - as well as exaggerating the scale of disasters to attract donor money.’ According to the report, Tim Miller, former foreign editor at *Sky News*, calls for greater scrutiny on aid agencies using donations. ‘The nadir in NGO activity was the tsunami in 2005 when it became apparent that aid money had been raised and no one knew where it was going,’ he says. Nevine Mabro, head of foreign news at *Channel 4 News*, was one of many interviewees to suggest that the media was now more prepared to scrutinise the work of NGOs.

‘In the past there was perhaps a feeling that they were untouchable because the majority of what they do is good so they weren’t worthy of investigation in the way that a big corporation would be,’ she says. ‘But I can’t think why or when that might have changed. If someone came to me with a story now about corruption [within the aid industry], I would definitely look into it.’

Other recommendations in the report show journalists urging NGOs to be more transparent in their dealings with the press, and to focus on emergency, rather than development aid. In a *Guardian* article by Joe Sandler Clarke *Corporate, Patronising and obstructive: what journalists think about NGO’s (2015)* Head of media at Christian Aid, former *Sunday-Times* journalist Andrew Hogg, is quoted as agreeing that the relationship between reporters and aid workers can be unnecessarily strained: ‘I’ve spoken to journalists who think we’re the enemy – that aid agencies are trying to pull the wool over their eyes, that just isn’t the case. Transparency and accountability is key to the way we operate.’

But Hogg admits that the suspicion goes both ways. ‘There are undoubtedly some people working for aid agencies who hold journalists in disdain, citing sensationalism, or superficiality,’ he says.

The relationship between journalists and NGOs is symbiotic - both need each other to do their best work in developing countries.

‘The truth is, we need each other,’ says Hogg. ‘The relationship may at times be uneasy, but it is mutually beneficial. Journalists want access to stories and first-hand accounts which aid agencies can supply, and the agencies want to draw attention to issues of concern, as well as promote their work.’

Hogg’s points are of interest. But they fall short of informing journalism educators how we can best *teach* the re-balancing of this symbiosis to ensure the scales of both journalistic and development justice are properly re-aligned. The insights of Tobias Denskus, senior lecturer for development at Malmö University in Sweden, are more helpful in pointing us toward a curriculum for excellence in teaching IDJ. In an interview for *humanosphere.org* Denskus talks about the ‘increasingly competitive and corporatized environment’ in which both NGO’s and IDJ journalists have to operate. He points to journalists and development professionals having similar goals - from critically engaging with power structures to helping citizens to make meaningful decisions in their lives. But it is Denskus’s points about ‘the communication biotypes’ of capital cities that perhaps provide the real foundation upon which IDJ journalism educators can really begin to build curricular progress. He writes:

‘The communication biotopes of capital cities are made up of the same people. I can see that in my network clearly: Some friends work in PR in Brussels, other work for NGOs in London or the U.N. system in Geneva and New York—or in Swedish academia. So at some point we probably need to talk about filter bubbles, privilege and power in media-related work.’

Denskus’s point about privilege and power in media-related work is worth noting. It’s time we faced up to the fact that an elitist culture exists within both media and NGO work. While this is no great revelation in itself, the way forward as IDJ educators may be to begin to create new reading lists that consciously (and more subtly) investigate the cultural and psychological processes that occur when progressive entities such as IDJ and NGO’s begin to merge. George Orwell’s *Animal Farm* is an account of a group of barnyard animals that revolt against their vicious human master, only to submit to a tyranny erected by their own kind.

Without having to point to who the pigs are in this particular analogy, the point is clear - power corrupts. In the recent BBC documentary *Putin - The New Tsar* Scots neuroscientist Professor Ian Robertson examines how Putin's brain may have been "profoundly changed" by the trappings of office. What neurological impacts occur when NGO chiefs arrive in disaster zones to become all omnipotent men and women with their hands firmly on the purse strings surrounded by drug and prostitution sub-cultures for example? (* see note below). The formula or experience is often further complicated by the added, often self-absorbed assumption that they are the good guys, the aid cavalry coming to the rescue of famine or earthquake victims. In addition they also may believe they have controlling rights over the aid journalists (potentially our IDJ students) with whom they come in to contact. As journalism educators in HE institutions many of us will be familiar with the use of the reflective log to encourage students to reflect on their vocational progress in terms of, for example, newsgathering techniques. In terms of the teaching of IDJ it is time to promote this technique to encompass the use of first person narratives within which our students can examine and evaluate their interactions with NGO activists, particularly media offices. But they must be armed with the cross-curricular insights to fully augment their evaluations. In terms of our IDJ teaching that could mean for example, recommending reading list works of literary reportage or political allegories or even works of psychology and neuroscience, as well, of course as the already established social scientific insights into power relations within political structures in western democracies (with the caveat that IDJ/NGO relations and operations are apolitical - a human experience that partly exist outwith the confines of class as well as outwith the boundaries of capitalism and or religion).

In 2014 the IBT (International Broadcast Trust) published a paper entitled *The Aid Industry - What Journalists Really Think*. Its findings point to NGO's setting unrealistic development objectives and making exaggerated claims about what they can achieve; they restrict their activities to the safety of refugee camps and do not address the needs of those on the frontline in conflict zones; the aid sector has become too big and competitive; NGO's are overly concerned with their corporate image and pay their senior executives too much - all of which tends to undermine their core message; although aid workers are often self-questioning in private, they are reluctant to discuss issues openly when confronted by the media on the record; despite the increased criticism, NGO's still enjoy too close a relationship with the media and too often set the agenda. In the paper's executive summary Helen Magee writes:

'Interviewees were asked how NGOs could best respond to these criticisms. There were a few comments about the practical day-to-day business of media relations, but in many cases this seemed to work well. Journalists were equally concerned about the fundamental way in which the aid sector operated. They made the following suggestions:

- *There should be greater honesty and transparency – a willingness to tell it how it is.*
- *The larger aid agencies in particular should be better at explaining the way they now operate.*
- *Agencies should adopt a less patronising tone when dealing with the media.*
- *The aid sector should be restructured to achieve more specialisation amongst the different agencies and less competition between them.*
- *NGOs should rethink their role in society – a choice between taking government money and remaining closer to their roots.*
- *They should stop development aid altogether and focus on emergency aid.*

The three NGOs interviewed for this briefing also gave their recommendations for improving the response to media scrutiny.

- *Rise to the challenge and do not be afraid to campaign against the government's aid policy when appropriate.*
- *Acknowledge the realities of operating in the global aid sector and be prepared to explain the necessity of spending money on salaries, administration and logistics.*
- *Find ways into the mainstream media with stories that resonate with a UK audience and open up communication with journalists who might otherwise not talk to NGO.'*

The above findings provide a platform for a new dynamic approach to International Development Journalism teaching in HE institutions across the UK. In particular, the report points to 'a growing academic literature which questions the value of development aid and the shift away from the belief that charities are necessarily a "good thing". Works such as Cracknell's *Evaluating Development Aid Issues, Problems and Solutions* (Sage Publications, 2000) or Easterly's *The White Man's Burden: why the West's Efforts to Aid The*

Rest Have Done So Much Ill and So Little Good (2006). But of course the key to a progressive IDJ teaching plan is not simply the reliance on economics texts but a cross-disciplinary approach that also embraces works of literature such as Orwell's *Animal Farm*; works of neuroscience such as *The Winner Effect* by professor Ian Robertson; works on best reflective practice within journalism itself such as *Reflective practice in action: preparing Samoan journalists to cover court cases* by Mark Pearson (Bond University, Australia), and *From Knowing How to Being Able* by Sarah Niblock (2007); as well as works that show literary reportage at its best including *The Great Reporters* by David Randall or the ground-breaking work by Dr Monica Chibita, senior lecturer journalism at Makerere University in Uganda. In her paper *Developing Undergraduate Journalism Curricula: Concerns and Issues* she asks "for a journalist looking at practicing in an African context, though, what about understanding community problems and dynamics? What about applying their understanding of the workings of the media to poverty, maternal and infant mortality, HIV/AIDS, energy, environmental degradation, unemployment, governance etc?" As with the excellent work being conducted at *On Our Radar* Chibita points to the growing number of Ugandan communities who do now have access to a wide range of media technologies and how IDJ can engage with this by directly training citizen journalists in the field on how to best use digital technology. But it is the task of arming such communities too with the intellectual confidence to critique the NGO's that may be trying to help them - a rebalancing of the symbiosis between the power relations of the poverty stricken people on the outskirts of international aid - that must also be addressed, and should certainly be addressed at any IDJ curricular design stage.

* Breaking News

A few weeks after speaking at the AJE 2018 Winter Conference about international development journalism, and the need to review the shifting symbiosis between NGO's and journalists, as if by perfect timing, the Oxfam scandal erupted. It was a story that dominated the headlines and one that highlighted exactly why the big aid powerbrokers cannot be allowed to function unchecked. International Development Secretary Penny Mordaunt has instructed aid charities that 'now is the time for action.' At a London summit attendees were told how they were to change the culture to tackle 'power imbalances.' But yet again the government has missed a real opportunity to affect real change. Surely any serious discussion about power imbalances has to involve those whose job it is to hold power to account in the aid sector. That, of course, is the role of the journalist. That is why an enquiry should now be held to investigate the role IDJ journalists also played in seemingly (consciously or sub-consciously) turning a blind eye to the types of sexual abuses that have now been well documented. As my own research is beginning to show there are wide and complex reasons for journalists themselves feeling restricted and or repressed in the international aid environment. But surely now is the time for journalism educators to step-up to provide new recommendations for an improved symbiotic relationship between NGO's and journalists in the field. It is incumbent on us to begin to work such recommendations into the core of the new learning outcomes we develop for international development journalism courses in the UK and beyond so that, for example, our students will:

- * Reflect critically on the role played by your host NGO in implementing transparency in the field.
- * Evaluate a range of cross inter-disciplinary literature that engages progressively with a range of core intellectual issues at the cutting edge of IDJ.
- * Create a portfolio that demonstrates the highest critical engagement with detailed insights into the symbiotic relationship between your host NGO and its development journalists.

Only then can we begin to look ourselves in the mirror and say that's what journalism educators do, and that's why we can make a real difference.

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Reviews

The reviews pages are edited by Tor Clark. If you have a book you would like to review or have come across a new book we should know about please get in touch. Also if you have recently had a book published and would like to see it reviewed, please contact Tor on tclark@dmu.ac.uk

Reviews section introduction

By Reviews Editor Tor Clark, University of Leicester

Welcome to the latest Journalism Education Reviews Section which has an appropriately ‘start of term’ focus on aspects of journalism which lecturers and educators will want to be discussing in the lectures and seminars of the 2018-19 academic year.

Pioneering former Guardian editor Alan Rusbridger was at the centre and forefront of many of the most interesting and significant changes in journalism over the last 25 years, not least in turning his newspaper’s website into the one of the most-read journalism platforms in the world. His very recently published book *Breaking News: The Remaking of Journalism and Why it Matters Now*, is, says reviewer John Mair, part memoir and part manifesto. Students of the recent history of journalism and of its future will want to find out more.

Football journalism has grown and grown over the decades and has come to dominate journalism’s sports coverage. The phenomenon is examined in impressive depth by Roger Domenech in *From the Back Page to the Front Page*, offering us, as reviewer Professor Richard Keeble notes, a mirror on society as much as on journalism. With sports journalism – and football journalism in particular – now playing such a major part in journalism education, this new book offers excellent context for students and lecturers.

Well-known AJE event attendee Angela Phillips, working alongside Eiri Elvestad, has a new book out looking at that all too topical question of how social media is affecting journalism. Frances Yeoman picked up this text with trepidation, but was pleasantly surprised by the positive message it offered on the centrality of good journalism to its digital platforms.

And finally, to end at the end, as it were, journalism ethics expert (and co-editor of this journal) Professor Chris Frost, has enjoyed another new book, looking at the reporting of death, including how it too has been transformed by social media.

Reporting Bad News: Negotiating the Boundaries Between Intrusion and Fair Representation in Media Coverage of Death has been written by two AJE stalwarts, Sallyanne Duncan and Jackie Newton, and delves deeply into an often avoided area of journalism, which both academics have been researching for many years and which will be useful both practically and ethically to journalism students everywhere.

Journalism Education is always keen to review as many new books about journalism as possible so, if you would like to review a book which will be of use to journalism educators and students for the next edition of *Journalism Education*, please contact tor.clark@leicester.ac.uk.

Alan Rusbridger, *Breaking News, The Remaking of Journalism and Why it Matters Now* Canongate £20.00 September 2018

Review by John Mair

Alan Rusbridger is a quiet giant of modern British journalism. Like it or loathe it ,he and the Guardian that he edited set the agenda for the two decades. Phone hacking, Wikileaks, Snowden, The Panama Papers et al, the ‘Graun’ was at the heart of most of the big stories.

Now he has written a memoir (of sorts) and a manifesto for the future of journalism. It is a cracking read as you would expect of a great writer. This is a tome that all journalism educators should buy(yes!),read and digest. As Rusbridger changed the way we perceived journalism-making it international,digital,inclusive and more do,this should change the way we teach what we call ‘journalism’

By definiton, every journalism lecturer is teaching historical truths. One week out of modern newsroom and you are out of date. Keeping up with the New World requires hard work, stretch and imagination-Reading this book is a good start

On the very positive side of the AR register, he led the Guardian, blinking , into the digital future until it became the third most read news website in the English language, was garlanded for its exclusives and won a coveted Pulitzer Prize(the first for a British newspaper) in 2014. British award juries were more churlish. I have served on many-where they barely disguise their hatred of the paper.

Alan , like John Birt at the BBC, saw the future and it was digital. Simply, the internet was going to transform journalism and lead to the (near) death of print as a platform. ‘Dead Tree journalism’ was simply in the intensive care ward. His view, bolstered by the intellectual capital provided by Emily Bell, then of his paper and now at Columbia University,was very prescient

Right long term, less so short term.

The days of industry bodies claiming ‘print will come back’ seem a long time ago. They were whistling whilst the Titanic sunk. Where, now, is the Oldham Evening Chronicle?

Transformation took bravery and it took money. News and digital labs were set up to run alongside and away from the print Guardian. Whisper it gently but some of them manned by non-journalists, computer programmers even! Cue mutual suspicion. Eventually the two became totally integrated in the newsroom and Rusbridger adopted a policy of ‘digital/web first’ for all news. Free too-no pay wall. Thereby, lies the rub. Free news at the point of delivery.! That set the market price at zero.It led to the Guardian/Observer bleeding money as the anticipated new flow of digital advertising revenue did not arrive in time to make up for lost print. Indeed ,that point has only just been reached in 2018.

From the small acorn of Guardian Unlimited ,the first online iteration.the ‘paper’ has expanded to the huge digital treasure trove it is today; full of content and good journalism,full of comment as well as sacred facts, full of innovations like data blogs and data journalism and longer form video and ,multinational with Australian and American editions making it truly 24/7.

It is hard to remember a time before the Guardian Online. Also, hard to remember the last time I bought a print copy. Circulation of that is down to less than 140,000 in July 2018.Digital is now at 25 million monthly hits in the UK alone.

On the not so positive AR ledger side, the digital path ate up the reserves of the Scott Trust who ‘own’ the Guardian. The six hundred million pound legacy of owning and selling Auto Trader (a wonderful investment and a cash cow)was depleting year by year. Fleet Street sages, already up in arms over the Guardian’s expose of their dirty phone hacking laundry and the Leveson Inquiry, were getting ready to jump on the paper’s grave with some glee.

Rusbridger, who displays a surprising commercial savviness in this book, ignored the premature obituaries and continued to innovate ...and to spend. Solvency was just around the corner he promised.It was along corner.He left on a high in 2015 after winning the Pulitzer Prize for the Snowden revelations. That had required resolve with the British government arriving at the paper to smash up laptops with dangerous subversive info. Fortunately, digital copies existed in the US and elsewhere where governments were less ham fisted. Snowden saw the light of day worldwide.

Now AR is the head of house at Lady Margaret Hall in Oxford, still innovating, still disrupting the status

quo. I went to dinner there last term and met some students who had done a 'foundation year' to get into the elitist Oxbridge. One black young woman could not contain her excitement.

Post hoc, there has been somewhat of a thrashing of Rusbridger's reputation at the paper and wider afield. He lost the chairmanship of the Scott Trust - his reward for the long editorship - after a battle and a period of deadlock. Now he is just a contributor from down the M40. That is a pity. His lasting achievement is there in cyberspace for all to see.

The paper has survived on all platforms; thrived on some.

For educators, Rusbridger also offers lessons for all journalism on how to adapt and not die. British newspapers have been woeful in their embrace of the web. Woeful and wrong. Too little, too late. The audience and the advertisers have long drifted from them to there. Only niche publications like the FT and the Economist have truly survived the digital tsunami by lassoing their audiences behind a pay wall. Facebook and Google are the new Masters of the advertising universe. They have eaten the lunches of the legacy media tout court. The cadaver with little revenue and lost jobs is all that remains. Little strategy, little imagination. Where is the Rochdale Observer - in the newspaper graveyard that is where. The editor told me a decade back that his policy was to 'bung the paper on the net'. Not a wise move, then or now.

America has fared little better with only the New York Times and the Washington Post truly holding their heads above the digital tide; one by a clever semi porous paywall, the other thanks to a very wealthy sugar daddy from Amazon. Most have drowned. In July 2018, the New York Daily News announced the retrenchment of half of its' journalists, the latest chapter in the not so slow death of US City journalism.

So, what is there to learn from Rusbridger's Guardian Glory Days? Good journalism always shines through but needs imagination, will power and money. It also needs to be realistic. Some of the Rusbridger innovations like Open Journalism, creation of on-line communities were perhaps an idea too far - expensive ones too.

You always need to find a way to pay.. Rusbridger never solved that conundrum and his successors only just are at the price of rowing back in scale, range and ambition, simply begging from readers and lost jobs.

But, none of that takes away from Rusbridger's greatness as an editor. Buy this book, read it on any platform you can find. Pass it on to your students.

It is an important text; a bright light in a very foggy future.

***John Mair is the editor of twenty five books on journalism. The latest 'Anti-social media?' (with Tor Clark, Neil Fowler, Raymond Snoddy and Richard Tait) will be published in the autumn by Abramis.**

From the Back Page to the Front Page

by Roger Domeneghetti

Review by Professor Richard Keeble, University of Lincoln

Rave reviews greeted the first edition of this text in 2014. Indeed, in tiny type, selected highlights from 17 reviews pack the first two pages of this updated edition, from Hugh McIlvanney through the likes of the *New Statesman* and Roy Greenslade to Professor Martin Conboy, of Sheffield University.

It's easy to see why this study of the English media's coverage of football should have won such praise. In Domeneghetti's hands, the subject matter is vast. Not only are the histories of newspaper, magazine, radio, film and television reporting brought bang up to date but there are impressive sections on betting, the manufacture of heroes, novels about football, women's football, fanzines and even comics. The background research is awesome: I counted more than 240 references at the end while bottom-of-the page notes are used discreetly throughout to add not only intriguing information but often witty asides.

A journalist for almost 20 years on titles as different as *Daily Star Sunday* and the *Morning Star*, Domeneghetti, now a university lecturer, writes in a way that students might well seek to emulate. With the effortless ease and elegance of Liverpool's Mo Salah dribbling his way past defenders to tap the ball into the goal, he blends fact-packed historical narratives with sociological analyses and human interest profiles.

The section on Roy of the Rovers comic character (pp. 282-287) is typical of Domeneghetti's approach beginning with fascinating and detailed historical context – then moving on to explanation and analysis. He traces the origins of English comics to 1832 with the publication of *The Boys' and Girls' Penny Magazine*. It ran for just 23 issues but claimed a sale of 835,000 at its peak. *The Boy's Own Paper* was launched in 1879 by the Religious Tract Society to provide 'first class stories for boys of all backgrounds'. It spawned

a new wave of publications which presented an idealised image of masculinity: “The main characters were fair-minded, plucky, athletic and had upper lips of the stiff variety.” Then, in the 1950s, all changed with the birth of Roy of the Rovers in *Tiger*.

Roy Race went on to enjoy an amazing 44-year playing career (in various publications) for Melchester Rovers during which he won three European Cups, ten League titles and eight Cup Winners’ Cups. But Domeneghetti shows how the comic, while extraordinarily popular, reinforced sexist and xenophobic attitudes. “There was a place for women in his world but it was mainly on the periphery. When fans were occasionally shown watching Rovers on TV they were male with women (sister or mothers) only in the background, either disinterested or providing tea for their menfolk.” Moreover, Roy Race tapped into a worrying distrust of outsiders. “The comic’s implicit message was clear: abroad is a dangerous place and foreigners, just like women, are not to be trusted.” The chapter ends with this conclusion: “The biggest irony of all is that the most heroic of all English footballers – Roy Race – is also the most synthetic; he was the one who never existed at all.”

All that said, the handling of the references is somewhat idiosyncratic. They only appear bunched together at the end so it’s impossible to know while reading where the information comes from. Professor Stephen Wagg is interviewed at length (pp. 145-148) and his seminal text, *The Football World* (1984), is mentioned but it does not feature in the bibliography. There is a fascinating exploration of BS Johnson’s avant-garde novels (pp. 248-249) but the wonderful biography by Jonathan Coe, *Like a Fiery Elephant* (2005), is not referenced. The English businessman/spy, Edgar Sanders is misspelt as Saunders (p. 146). And while Domeneghetti says it is ‘now pretty clear’ Sanders did have links with British intelligence, this was also known at the time in 1949 after the *Daily Telegraph* inadvertently leaked the information.

These are minor quibbles. It was George Orwell who said that the football pools – along with fish-and-chips, tinned salmon, cut-price chocolate, art-silk stockings, the movies, the radio and strong tea – had helped avert revolution in Britain. Reading Domeneghetti’s super study one gets a sense of the importance of footie in the life and soul (and media) of the country – and how right Orwell was!

***From the Back Page to the Front Row: Football’s Journey Through the English Media*, Glasgow: Ockley Books, 2017.**

Misunderstanding News Audiences: Seven Myths of the Social Media Era by Eiri Elvestad and Angela Phillips

Review by Frances Yeoman, Liverpool John Moores University

The difficulty with writing an academic volume about the myths of news in the social media era is that the evolution of those myths will always outpace publication.

As they acknowledge in the conclusion of their excellent book, Eiri Elvestad and Angela Phillips set out to examine and challenge what was only recently the prevailing wisdom around journalism and democracy in the internet age – largely utopian ideas around the web’s democratising potential, the participant audience, the enfranchisement of marginalised communities and the creation of global citizens – and found themselves facing a very different climate by the time their book neared completion.

“In the final months of writing,” they note, “it has been an effort to side-step a new wave of myth-making, with almost daily news updated on stolen elections, oligarchs of the Internet with secret plans to manipulate data, and moral panics about fake news.”

They should be applauded for that effort. In avoiding the temptation to turn on a sixpence and repackage their ideas to fit our most recent (and perhaps fleeting) preoccupations, they have instead gathered a wealth of disparate academic research on digital news consumption, their own and that of many others, into a more durable and useful text that says much about the wider fundamentals of modern society and democracy.

Their central thesis is around the importance of ‘bridging media’ – mainstream outlets, especially public service media, which can generate a core shared reality around which myriad alternatives can orbit.

“Without the centre they cannot be a periphery,” they argue, only a series of unconnected, often mutually exclusive world views. That might sound both familiar and somewhat depressing. Yet *Misunderstanding News Audiences*, for all its critiques of the ‘Californian oligopoly’ and the myriad problems of our digital world, is fundamentally an optimistic book, in that it makes that case that we are not powerless against the

transformational force of the internet.

Journalism educators in particular can take heart from several of its themes. One is that the world still needs the journalists we educate and train. No, everyone is not a reporter, they argue, highlighting studies showing how uninterested in user-generated content many consumers are, and pointing out that while “the power of mobile technology in the hands of ordinary citizens has transformed witnessing,” it takes a journalist to interrogate, sift, curate and contextualise that mass of Tweets, viral videos and Instagram posts, just as reporters have always dealt with evidence and sources. Publishing is not the same thing as journalism.

Another theme is that our students still need us, to teach them how to do journalism but also how to consume it. The ‘digital native generation’, instinctively equipped to deal with the challenges of the internet, is a dangerous myth, Elvestad and Phillips contend. More than ever, in this era of information overload, young people need experienced and trusted adults to guide them. “We should not take it for granted that being born into the net generation brings with it the skills to navigate online,” they write, “any more than being born into the car generation ensures that their parents knew how to drive”.

As domestic news consumption habits become more private and personalised, thus reducing their socialising force – a parent might read the Guardian app on their phone rather than the paper at the breakfast table – that guidance will have to be more pro-active. The implication is we must teach our students how to identify quality news, as well as generate it. And if young people are not as devoted to news as we might like, lest we forget: young people have never really liked news anyway. The evidence put forward suggests today’s youth are not less trusting of the news media than older people, and are showing more signs of being prepared to pay for journalism. There is hope.

There are also many difficulties ahead, of course. They include, for the researcher and the educator, the dominance of US research in this field. This means our understanding of the evolving news landscape, and the readily-available resources for teaching about it, are skewed towards a market and a set of challenges not necessarily replicated elsewhere. Elvestad and Phillips make a valuable contribution towards correcting this by drawing on evidence from around the globe wherever possible, although more primary research still needs to be done outside the USA.

In addition to this important cultural corrective, they offer a concise, highly-readable digest of the literature on news audiences in the social media era, a diagnosis of what ails us and at least the beginnings of a prescription for improvement. No mean feat in a book of just 169 pages, which would be a useful addition to the reading lists of many students and lecturers alike.

Misunderstanding News Audiences: Seven Myths of the Social Media Era by Eiri Elvestad and Angela Phillips, published 2018 by Routledge, 180 pages, 9781138215191, £29.99.

Reporting Bad News: Negotiating the Boundaries Between Intrusion and Fair Representation in Media Coverage of Death, Sallyanne Duncan and Jackie Newton

Review by Professor Chris Frost, Liverpool John Moores University

Little charts a student’s progress through a good Journalism undergraduate course like their approach to ethics and the view on the balance between individual privacy and the right to publish and this is particularly true when that potential intrusion involves the death knock.

Classes of first year students are often adamant that the death knock is wrong: insensitive, intrusive and unnecessary. By the third year, most have come to terms with the need for it; one or two may even have done one whilst on work placement. The few who still see it as wrong do not usually go into journalism.

Duncan and Newton’s new book, based on their extensive research published in several well-received papers, looks at the death knock and the poor reputation it has following highly-publicised examples, usually at places of disaster and mass death. The Manchester Arena bombing, reporting the Grenfell Tower disaster, Hillsborough and the Liverpool fans; all tragedies that attracted much criticism for the way they were reported and the methods some reporters used to get interviews. More can be added to make a long list, one

long enough and painful enough to make anyone condemn insensitive reporting.

It is this condemnation that Duncan and Newton hope to challenge by exchanging insensitivity for good practice. The aim of their new book is to:

Turn this focus around by looking at what works in the relationship between journalists and the bereaved, survivors and the vulnerable. It is hoped that by examining good practice in contemporary death reporting, explaining its public service role and proposing a new model of ethical participation we can help change the wider perception of the practice. while offering journalists a tool with which to assess their actions."

The book starts with an examination of the public approach to death over the past few centuries and the media's part in that as public mourning especially as it becomes more fashionable towards the end of the 20th Century. Huge outpourings of grief following the death of Princess Diana and other celebrities were noted as television brought us closer to people many had long admired from afar.

I've done death knocks whilst working as a reporter and felt much the same anxiety as others as I approached the door of parents whose child had just been killed, or the wife of a man who, along with three others, had been shot to death at work by a former colleague early on one Valentine's Day. *Reporting Bad News* interviews reporters dealing with even more gruesome stories such as Dunblane or Hillsborough. No more or less painful for the bereaved relatives, but far more difficult for witnesses and for the reporters than a simple murder or accident. Just writing the review brings back to me some of the horror of those and similar stories and leads me to tip my hat to Duncan and Newton for not only reporting such stories themselves in the past but for writing such an important book that involved gathering evidence by taking witnesses, the bereaved and journalists back through the most traumatic periods of their lives. It is not surprising that they have included a chapter about the need for trauma counselling and training for reporters.

It is Duncan and Newton's thesis, and one I have long supported, that sensitive reporting can be of benefit to the bereaved, giving them the opportunity to praise their loved ones. Cynics might say that every such story becomes a hagiography of the golden girl and boy who was as kind, thoughtful and generous as they were fun, and laughter-loving and were certain to enjoy a happy-ever-after future. But in the mind of the bereaved that is what they are and we should be as happy to tell their story about their loss as we should be to report the facts of the incident that caused their death.

The book goes into some depth in chapter six and seven about why a death knock might be important to the bereaved and considers how best to approach them both to minimize distress and maximise access. The bereaved should have considerable control over the memorializing of their loved one and many (but not all, as we should remember) want that opportunity. Duncan and Newton talk through how this is best achieved based on their research with a number of bereaved relatives and with reporters over several years. The book discusses interview techniques and the ethical issues they present. The book also discusses writing and looks at potential narrative styles, modes of representation and the different characters available. It also looks briefly at the use of image – a matter worthy of a book of its own.

Finally the book looks at better ways of training and educating students to both assist them in their future careers and to ensure better representation of death knock stories in the news. With this book on your bookshelf, and its research and advice in your mind, and the mind of colleagues, there will be better reporting of tragedies in the future allowing the public better understanding of the reality of disasters and the bereaved a better chance to commemorate their dead.

Sallyanne Duncan and Jackie Newton, *Reporting Bad News: Negotiating the Boundaries Between Intrusion and Fair Representation in Media Coverage of Death*, Peter Lang, 222 pages

Style guide

Please provide a title and an abstract and author details together with a 50-70 word biography for each author on a separate sheet to allow for anonymization. This sheet will be separated from the article before being sent to referees so please put the title only at the start of the article.

- Sub-heads should be in bold
- Second order sub-heads should be in bold italic
- Please use single quotation marks (double quotation marks for a quote within a quote)
- Indent long quotes of two lines or more.
- Please do not use the enter button to insert space between paragraphs or headings.
- All illustrations, tables and figures should be sent separately either at the end of the MS Word file or as attached JPGs. Clearly label approximately where they should be placed with fig 1, table 1 etc.

Citations and bibliographic references should be in Harvard style.

Part I: Citations

Place references in your work in the following order: Name, Date: page number(s)

For example,

1. Directly quoting an author

It is sometimes forgotten that 'English is one of the most flexible and expressive languages in the world' (Hicks, 1993, p.1)

He goes on to say, 'In brief, the reigning media consensus has been characterised either as overly liberal or leftist or as conservative, depending on the view of the critic' (McQuail, 1992, pp.255-6).

2. Indirectly quoting an author (where you sum up what is being stated in your own words). This must be grammatically correct, as well as accurate.

E.g.: Hargreaves (2003, p.47) believes that Henry Hetherington's populist journalistic techniques, employed by him in the 1830s, were the basis of tabloid journalism.

3. Referring broadly to ideas you have read in a publication (not to a specific point/quote). You don't need to cite page number in this case. E.g.: Franklin (1997) has highlighted the effects and reasons for so-called dumbing down in the media.

4. If the same person is referred to immediately after a previous citation, you can use *ibid*.

5. If there are more than two authors, you can use *et al*.

Part II: Bibliographic References

A list of Bibliographic References is required at the end. Please provide the FULL name of the author (including first name) and provide references in alphabetical order of surname. With an author who has written a number of books and articles that have been cited, list them all separately, with the most recent first (see Manning).

Examples of how to present Bibliographic references for Journalism Education are given below

Bibliographic references

Franklin, Bob (2003) 'A Good Day to Bury Bad News?': Journalists, Sources and the Packaging of Politics in Simon Cottle (Ed.), *News, Public Relations Power*, London: Sage pp. 45-61

Hall, Stuart, Critcher, Chas, Jefferson Tony, Clarke John, and Roberts, Brian (1978) *Policing the Crisis. Mugging, the State and Law and Order*. London: Macmillan

Harcup, Tony (2004) in Susan Pape and Sue Featherstone (2006) *Feature Writing*, London: Sage.

Information for contributors

We accept original articles about journalism education and topics linked to journalism and education that are not offered for publication elsewhere at the time of submission. Articles for peer review should be in the range of 5000-7000 words.

Articles for Comment and Criticism should be shorter at about 3,000 to 4,000 words.

The copy deadline for the next issue is: February 28, 2018 but material sent earlier would be appreciated. Articles should be submitted to the editors at ajejournal@gmail.com together with a 100-150 word abstract and 100 word bibliography. Comment and criticism articles can be more polemic and do not require an abstract.

Presentation and submission:

A detailed style guide is available on the website and should be followed carefully but a redacted version is on the left. Articles should be produced in MS Word format, set in Times New Roman 12pt with the minimum of formatting. Please **do not** press the “enter” button to put a double space between paragraphs or add additional spaces and do not use specialist templates. Referencing should be in standard Harvard form. Please ensure surname and forename for all authors. Notes should be set as endnotes. All **tables and figures must be** produced separately either at the end of the article or in a separate file. Each should be clearly labelled Table 1:..... Table 2:..... Fig. 1:.... Fig. 2: etc and a note inserted in the text identifying approximately where it should be placed.

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Reviews of appropriate books should be approximately 400 words. We do not accept unsolicited reviews of books, but are always grateful to be given the opportunity to consider a review proposal. Please contact Tor Clark, the reviews editor, if you wish to submit a review. All book reviews should include author, title, ISBN number, publisher, number of pages and price.

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Authors should confirm they have cleared all copyrighted work for publication and agree that they will indemnify the editors against claims for defamation, copyright infringement or plagiarism. All authors will be asked to sign a contract confirming this.

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Papers are sent to at least two referees for comment. On return your paper will be accepted, accepted following editing as identified by the referees or refused. Comment and criticism pieces and book reviews will be decided by the editors but may be accepted on the basis that they are edited as identified.

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Once accepted, authors are expected to return proofs within 72 hours of receipt.

Journalism Education

The Journal of the Association for Journalism Education

The Association for Journalism Education is a subject discipline membership association of journalism schools in higher education institutions in the UK and Ireland.

Volume Seven, number one. Inside this issue:

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Cuban journalism students: between ideals and state ideology, Anne Natvig, *University of Oslo*;

Gendering Worcester News, Barbara Mitra *University of Worcester*; Leisa Taylor, *Women's Equality Party*; Coral Milburn-Curtis, *Green Templeton College, University of Oxford*; and Jem McCarron *Women's Equality Party*;

Autoethnography: A methodology to integrate professional and academic learning in journalism education, Margaret Hughes, *University of West Scotland*,

Comment and criticism

Identity Crisis v Ethical dilemmas: The Struggle of practicing journalism in a small hill town of India, Pradeep Nair;

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Breaking News: The Remaking of Journalism and Why it Matters Now by Alan Rusbridger, reviewed by John Mair; **From the Back Page to the Front Page** by Roger Domeneghetti, reviewed by Richard Keeble; **Angela Phillips and Eiri Elvestad, *Reporting Bad News: Negotiating the Boundaries Between Intrusion and Fair Representation in Media Coverage of Death*** by Sallyanne Duncan and Jackie Newton reviewed by Chris Frost

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