

new journalism educators' body

tackling the challenges of teaching journalism in Africa

the conference of African Journalism Educators (CAJE), a round-table meeting of journalism teachers from tertiary institutions, met in Johannesburg in October 2009 to discuss the issues and challenges of teaching journalism on the continent. Hosted by the Journalism and Media Studies programme at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg and supported by the Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, the participants came from 13 different countries, representing 17 universities or tertiary institutions.

The participants each produced a short paper of about 2 000 words on issues, experiences and research in teaching journalism. These provided the basis for six panel discussions, where participants presented on and discussed a wide range of topics, from issues of language and teaching to the societies in which journalists must work. Participants also shared a range of innovative teaching approaches being taken in their programmes.

At the end of the conference, the group decided to constitute itself as a network, dubbed the Forum for African Media Educators (FAME), which would focus on developing institutional ties and ongoing exchanges, with a particular focus on continuing education for journalism educators. Another key area participants identified as important was collaborating to develop research and publication in the area. FAME delegates also agreed to examine such issues as their relationship as journalism educators to their universities, the media industry and society more generally.

Lesley Cowling from the University of the Witwatersrand's Journalism Programme, summing up the conference, noted the discussions had fallen into an arc, with earlier panels outlining issues facing journalism training institutions, and the latter part dealing with the way different institutions have tried to address those problems.

One of the problems pointed out in the discussions, Cowling noted, was the divide between the media and the rural populations. The participants felt that the media mostly serve the elite in urban areas, leaving out a large number of people in rural communities either through language use, distribution, the kinds of topics that are addressed, and the type of professionalism practiced by journalists.

The other set of problems were around actual professional skills with regard to ethics, the ability to produce the kind of writing that is necessary, the difficulties of students being properly prepared when going to newsrooms and the structure of newsrooms and media themselves.

Cowling categorised the two major challenges that came up in the papers as:

- The challenge to produce proper professionally skilled journalists for the media;
- The concern or discomfort around the professional model that educators are working with and its appropriateness (or lack thereof) to majority communities.

What follows is edited versions of a selection of papers from the conference. The full version of these and other conference papers may be accessed at http://www.journalism.co.za/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=2860&Itemid=0.

Developing undergraduate journalism curricula: concerns and issues

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Traditionally, journalism training focused on the print media. In the African context, however, journalism training takes place against the background of a poor reading culture, related to lack of access to information as well as newspapers being unaffordable. As a result, media like radio and television have become more relevant to the needs of the majority of Africans. However, this has not been reflected in journalism curricula. This situation is compounded by technological threats to the existence of the newspaper as newer distribution platforms like the internet and mobile phones occupy centre stage. In the background hover old concerns about uneven flows of information between the North and the South, and therefore threats to the African identity and the likelihood of misrepresentation of African realities. In this context, there has been new talk of a paradigm shift in journalism education in Africa; hence the debate on “Africanising” journalism curricula.

Recent discussions on journalism education in Africa suggest that journalism training needs to, at the very minimum, equip journalism graduates to:

- Appreciate the political, economic and social context of contemporary journalism and communication;
- Be technically savvy and versatile;
- Gather information quickly, ethically and efficiently;
- Analyze, evaluate and process information from a range of sources;
- Write well on a variety of topics and in different formats;
- Write clearly and meet deadlines; and
- Be accurate (because “audiences” are better equipped to cross-check, counter and even originate information).

One common feature across African universities in the last decade is that resource constraints have forced many of them to get into the “numbers game”. As entry points have been lowered to accommodate more “clients”, leading to a crop of relatively weaker students from the outset, the final product appears to be deteriorating in quality. This may, of course, also have to do with other factors, such as the teacher-student ratio and inadequate teaching resources. In any case, one continues to hear complaints from industry that today’s graduates seem ill-prepared to work for today’s media.

Journalism training in Africa seeks to balance the demands of the fast-growing “mainstream” media, the “new” media, and what one may call “peripheral” or “fringe”, but extremely important, media such as rural, indigenous language and community media. Developing a curriculum brings to the fore

the tension between courses that make graduates marketable in the mainstream media, and those that enable them to serve a ready and needy majority of minimally educated and socially disadvantaged citizens, while also giving them the versatility to fully exploit the communication opportunities offered by the new media.

The average undergraduate course is three or four years. The general expectation is that journalism students must cover their broad education courses, media history, ethics, writing, editing, ethics, graphics, analytical thinking and research methods before they graduate. But 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 and governance? The latter set of knowledge and skills has been treated as peripheral in many journalism programmes (and certainly in Makerere’s); but it appears that there is a growing need there. This is partly because communities now have access to a wide range of media. Technologies like the mobile phone, for instance, can be used to bridge the gap between rural people and previously inaccessible “mainstream” media. What do journalism training institutions do to equip a journalist with both types of knowledge and skills within the limited space of three or four years?

Makerere University’s Department of Mass Communication has grappled with these issues since 2005, when it first began reviewing its curriculum. In light of the changes in the industry the Department has agreed to change its name from “Department of Mass Communication”, to “Department of Journalism and Communication”. The new name would reflect a broader and more relevant scope as well as pave the way for a variety of separate, more focused qualifications such as a Bachelor of Journalism and Media Studies and a Bachelor of Communication (Covering Public Relations and Advertising as well as Development Support Communication/Communication for Development).

Makerere’s revised curriculum seeks to initially give students a broad selection of knowledge and skills courses but enable them to specialise in either Journalism or Communication by their final year of study. All students would therefore take a range of core and elective courses. The core courses in year one, for example, are Basic Computer Skills, Economics, Introduction to Journalism and Communication, Political Science, and Writing for the Media. Electives in that year include Language, Literature and Sociology.

Some questions remain unanswered. Some

universities require “essential” subjects for admission to an undergraduate journalism course. At Makerere, for example, in the past a “B” symbol in Literature was required for admission to the journalism course. After this requirement was dropped in 1995, there has been a marked decline in the quality of students’ (and journalists’) writing. Making a specific subject a pre-requisite for admission, however, can be complicated. For instance, if Literature is considered important in relation to preparing people to write well, what about Economics, History or Geography in terms of understanding the dynamics of the world around them? Which subjects (if any) should, then, be given preference at admission? How do journalism schools ensure that students admitted have a relatively uniform body of “essential” knowledge to enable them to cope with the course?

Once on the programme, what general education courses should students take in addition to the core journalism courses to be able to make sense of today’s complex media and communication environment and to be viable on the job market? How do we accommodate all the necessary general knowledge without compromising the core journalism knowledge and skills courses? Are there ways to integrate some of this broad education into the “traditional” journalism courses rather than offering stand-alone courses?

Another persistent concern in journalism training in Africa is how to nurture good writing skills. How do we, at admission or later, deal with the issue of the quality of students’ writing? Some believe that journalism school is not the place to do remedial training in writing and that apart from the most basic writing courses (like news reporting and writing) students who need extra help should seek it in departments of language or language centres. While this sounds practical, it can be untenable in our context given that remedial courses outside journalism are likely to come with costs the majority of students can ill afford, and yet to ignore the need for such remedial assistance may affect the students’ performance in all other courses.

Yet another dilemma for journalism educators is finding the ideal balance between so-called knowledge courses and skills courses. It is a big temptation, given the rapid technological developments in the industry, to concentrate on imparting new technical skills to the extent that one forgets to adequately prepare students to understand and critique these developments.

Given that the average journalism programme in Africa south of the Sahara has less equipment than their students need, and could use more space, what strategies do we have to ensure that students get the best possible education in spite of limited resources? How, for instance, do we make writing tutorials work where space, equipment and human resource are limited, or strike the balance in training between the extremes of producing specialists and generalists? How do we provide sound journalism training while keeping an eye on the realities of the majority of our audiences, or grapple with the big political and economic questions while at the same time meeting the needs of indigenous language media and rural communities? ■

Practising journalism pedagogy as if media mattered: the gaps between the media, the state and the media the colleges train for

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Zimbabwe has four state universities offering degree level journalism training, which among them enrol more than 100 journalism students each year. Three of these universities offer post-graduate diploma and Master’s courses in media and journalism studies. In addition, a roughly equal number of students undertake diploma and certificate level journalism courses at colleges in the country. Job opportunities, on the other hand, have not been expanding; in fact newsrooms have experienced a serious decline over the past five years. At least seven media houses were shut down since 2000, leaving the government with a virtual monopoly in the media sector through the state-controlled Zimpapers (daily and weekly newspapers) and Community Newspapers Group (provincial newspapers). The market share of privately owned newspapers has remained insignificant. The government also controls the country’s only state broadcaster. Even the remaining news organisations have greatly

reduced their print runs in response to negative economic imperatives affecting the country in the post-2000 period. Their reach in terms of coverage and distribution has become increasingly urban and elitist in focus, in spite of the fact that 65% of the population lives in rural areas.

Journalism training may be likened to training someone to drive by teaching him the rules of the highway code and then issuing him with a driving license before he had seen the inside of a car, in an essentially pedestrian society where there are no cars or highways. Questions are bound to be raised about the appropriateness of the training. The content of our journalism curriculum is full of ideas that are a negation and denial of the meaning and purpose of a rural existence in a continent that is typically rural. The aim of all education, Schumacher (1973) contends, 'is to understand the present world, the world in which we live and make our choices'. Our journalism education results in the social estrangement of those who receive it.

Mano (2005) points to some of the problems and challenges that militate against the practice of professional journalism in Zimbabwe, with the result that Zimbabwe has media nobody wants: "No one (including the Zimbabwean government) was happy about the general situation and performance of the media in Zimbabwe in 2001". The situation has worsened since.

In the prevailing political and economic environment journalists are losing their sense of the higher ethical standards of their calling. It is against this background that questions have to be asked about the adequacy of journalism education in Zimbabwe. Is it enough for journalism educators in our universities to continue with business as usual and let the media evolve how best they will? What contribution can media educators make over and above transmitting to their charges the requisite attitudes and skills in news story-craft? Could it be the case that our journalism schools are adept at turning out journalists who know enough to write a story well but probably too little to know why and what to write? Given the state of Zimbabwe's media, a case could be made for a more socially engaged media educator (this is not to presume that there will be consensus on the ideal form of the media for a democratizing Zimbabwe). Does being actively engaged with issues that affect one's immediate society have a place in academic work and where does one draw the line? These are pertinent questions which media scholars in Zimbabwe are beginning to ask themselves.

It would appear from the facts and statistics of who is reached and who is excluded by the media in Zimbabwe that the university journalism departments are training for a media industry that either does not exist or is on its way out of existence. How can the media as

presently configured in our countries make the claim that they have a democratizing role when they have never learned to speak the languages of more than half of the national population? How can our media claim that they have a civic role when about two-thirds of the population has ceased to have anything to do with the media as a source of information, entertainment and education? The structural dichotomies between rich and poor, urban and rural which late colonialism bequeathed to us as a legacy cannot be wished away and the upshot is that our societies and economies are not going to be transformed soon from largely rural and subsistent economies into urbanized, industrialized and middle income societies. Instead of waiting for the slow trickle down of development to transform the countryside into a booming industrial hub populated with citizens with the wherewithal to buy both the newspapers and the wares advertised therein is it not more practical to attune our media to the socio-political exigencies of our time? The media as presently configured in Zimbabwe – and by extension the media pedagogy that serves such a media – do not really matter to the majority.

For largely the same reason that our commercial media do not take an interest in the rural poor, researchers have also found communication realities of indigenous communities unworthy of their attention. A quick perusal through undergraduate dissertation topics at the Midlands State University will show that studies on different aspects of the same flawed media entities and their productions form the bulk of what is being researched. Rarely do you come across a study that focuses on indigenous forms of communication on which the rural population thrives

Much of the current research on media content and production processes as well as the impact on mainstream media of the current repressive regime of media regulatory laws is relevant and has its own value and place, but a complete neglect of the communication realities of the ordinary poor is difficult to justify. This, however, seems to be sadly the case and that may well be at the heart of the current crisis of legitimacy of the media in Zimbabwe and media education. ■

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In the Department Media Technology experiential learning has always been of the utmost importance.

Even though Experiential Learning is a credit-bearing component in the undergraduate Journalism and Communication Technology Programme, it was felt that a Campus media outlet would ensure that such practice-oriented training would be available throughout the Programme. The Campus Media outlet in essence became the in-house training facility for trainee journalists prior to entering the journalism profession.

In September 2004 – just prior to the National and Presidential Elections in Namibia – the *Echoes* News Agency was piloted. The aims of this agency were:

- To foster freedom of expression, diversity, non-discrimination, gender equality and accurate and balanced reporting in and through the media. Its target audience is the Namibian people.
- To bring to the attention of the nation the issues and news which affect the majority of the Namibian people.
- To access the voices and perspectives of women and men, girls and boys as the primary sources for its news-gathering.
- To shift the criteria of what is newsworthy from events to issues, and from those in positions of prominence and power, to the experiences of people in communities throughout Namibia.

Five years have passed, and 2009 meant another election year in Namibia. It was decided – along with the Department's print media partner, *The Namibian*, and

Missing the beat: mainstream media mirror relevance of community media in election coverage in Namibia

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Gender Links – to replicate the 2004 study. Since the Namibian media are primarily capital city focused, *The Namibian* (an English daily newspaper) sees the need for coverage which is issue- rather than event- oriented and originating in various parts of the country. Of significance in the 2004 pilot project was that newsworthiness became not so much event- but issue-focused. In this form of reporting the sources were not selected because of their prominence or power, but because they could speak with an informed voice on the issues members of a particular community were experiencing. It is this aspect which in 2004, resulted in the following comments from the Department's stakeholders:

"We decided to use copy from *Echoes* for two reasons. Firstly, we saw it as part of our social responsibility to encourage young and up-and-coming journalists. It also gave added dimension to our election coverage." (Jean Sutherland, News Editor: *The Namibian*).

Responding to the question "Is there scope for future cooperation between *The Namibian* and *Echoes*?", Tangeni Amupadhi,

the Political Editor of *The Namibian* said:

"Definitely, especially if *Echoes* is able to provide the kind of material that *The Namibian* is unable to source as happened during the elections."

In response to the question "What did you think of the issues that were brought to the fore by *Echoes*?", the Regional Manager: Freedom Monitoring for the Media Institute of Southern Africa, Zoë Titus, said: "It was genuine community journalism done from an extremely human interest angle. One of the most important things for me was that it brought a human face to the elections, something we would otherwise not have got from mainstream media."

According to Graham Hopwood, another senior journalist in Namibia, responding to a question concerning the *Echoes* page carried in *The Namibian*, it "definitely added to their election coverage. It gave a voice to often-forgotten communities, allowing them to raise their concerns and issues. It also gave political parties an idea of what the issues of the people were."

In addition to formal training through

course-work in the under-graduate journalism programme, an intensive workshop is organised for the *Echoes* journalists prior to travelling to towns in the north, south, east and west of Namibia. Approximately 19 trainee journalists participated in the training, directed by Patricia Made, a seasoned media trainer, which prepared them for utilising the two days to be spent in the identified Namibian towns effectively.

Discussions with senior staff at *The Namibian* newspaper served to direct decisions regarding the type of content for the 2009 coverage. As was the case during the 2004 coverage, it was agreed that the stories would essentially capture the views and expectations of community members about the elections, and what their needs are in relation to service-delivery, governance, economic issues, gender-mainstreaming and gender-based violence, and HIV and AIDS. To facilitate access to the communities, a local government facilitator accompanied a team of three or sometimes four *Echoes* students.

The training programme included:

- The key issues in community journalism
- The newsworthiness of issue-oriented reporting
- *Echoes* Election coverage: the Value the *Echoes* News Service brings to Namibia's mainstream media
- Politics, Governance and Elections: Namibia's governance and elections systems
- Election coverage focusing on communities: The Stories we look for – an Editor's Perspective
- News-gathering techniques: Sources; Verification of information; Interviewing
- Focus group discussions: developing interview/focus group questions
- Field-interview questions
- Photo-journalism: Capturing the right images
- Logistics for the *Echoes* field teams.

Gender Links, as the main development partner in this election-coverage project, provided funds for the travel, meals and accommodation of the trainee journalists. According to the HIV and AIDS and Gender Baseline Study, approximately 30% of sources who speak on general topics are women and 70% men in media surveyed in the SADC region.

Therefore, the stories gathered were told primarily through the perspectives of women and men; the experts (for example local councillors) were used to respond to questions such as "Why does the problem exist? What is being done about it?", or

Examples of topics covered by *Echoes* trainee journalists just prior to elections

TOPIC	FOCUS
Health and Housing Plague in Arandis	Lack of development in health and housing sectors
Bucket System Blues	Poor sanitation
Proximity of Clubs to Schools: A Crime-field	Abuse of alcohol and other drugs amongst the youth
Maintenance of Rural Roads: A Priority for development	Unless rural roads are well maintained, certain communities would be cut off from the rest of the nation
Government absent in Arandis development	A lack of involvement in community projects in Arandis
No Trust – No Vote	Characteristics of Party candidates determine whether to vote for them or not
Unemployment – The Harsh Reality	Levels of unemployment on the rise

simply to allow for 'right of reply'. Of importance too in terms of the newsmakers and sources used by the *Echoes* trainee journalists were:

- Women were given access to expression in the stories, as well as being accessed as 'experts'.
- Many of the men were accessed as citizens. In the mainstream media the converse is often the case – men are sourced as experts/and or in positions of power/authority, while women are sourced as caregivers, victims or citizens. The women experts sourced included politicians, leaders in civil society, parliamentarians and leaders or senior staff in the private sector.
- In several stories, too, the youth and the elderly were accessed as sources – these groups are often not sourced in mainstream media.

Not only is the main focus of the *Echoes* news stories different from mainstream coverage; the angle in terms of the sources accessed is different. 'Who speaks?' in *Echoes* is often a diverse group of individuals – women and men; young and old; employed and unemployed.

In the three mainstream newspapers, if it is not a representative of the Electoral Commission who is the main source of the story, then it is a political candidate such as members of the ruling Party. *Echoes* trainee journalists are taught that single-sourced stories make for poor journalism – yet it seems to be the order of the day in the mainstream media.

Upon arrival in a particular community, the *Echoes* trainee journalists would approach members of that community with a pre-designed questionnaire. Each student would be required to get about

10 people who would agree to respond to the questions. The issues identified by the respondents in the questionnaire, would serve as the basis for the story ideas. If the issue identified in one questionnaire recurred in the questionnaires completed by other respondents, this would then be indicative of the significance of the issue identified. Amongst the sources, therefore, would be a member of the Local Authority, who would be asked to comment on why the issue exists and what had been done about it.

Community journalism – as undertaken in the *Echoes* election coverage project – becomes a model for ensuring sound journalistic practice. Various sources are consulted – both women and men – and issues covered hold relevance for the nation. The approach also necessitates a response from the appointed local councillors, especially in terms of how the issues identified are being addressed, if at all. Appointed leaders, therefore, are held accountable, bearing in mind that the period prior to the elections is usually characterised by promises of a "better life," especially for the masses. The reality and pertinence of the coverage, therefore, also brings issues of governance to the fore.

For the journalism educator it becomes a model for an effective story structure:

- Research around the story idea;
- Identifying several (diverse) sources – ordinary voices can be primary sources;
- Ensuring that gender is mainstreamed;
- Various issues relating to life within a community;
- Issue- rather than events- or speech-focused; and
- The medium carrying the stories becomes a national- rather than a capital-city focused medium. ■

Career choices for female journalism students: a case in Zambia

Rose Nyondo, University Of Zambia

The reasons why women abandon their journey to the top of the corporate ladder in most professions has been well documented by researchers. The following are cited as some of the reasons why women fail to make it up the to the top : Starting a family, associated responsibilities of raising children, double shifts in career and home, lack of support at home and from employers, discrimination through gender-role stereotyping, male- female interaction, social norms, greater control from management.

Female journalists in Zambia have not been exempt from the pressures that their colleagues in other parts of the world face. For a media house to function to its maximum ability and be well balanced, it needs both men and women to run the affairs of the institution. What can media houses do to retain female journalists? Before this question is investigated further, and some solutions proposed, there is need to clarify the use of some key concepts. These are socialization, gender, and culture.

Gender as defined in the national gender policy in Zambia is a socio-economic and political variable with which to analyse roles, responsibilities, constraints, and opportunities of people; it considers both men and women (GIDD, 2000). Gender and sex, or gender and women, are not synonymous terms. Gender

refers to roles; sex refers to the biological state of being female or male; and women refers to adult females. Gender refers to the differences between men and women that are socially constructed, changeable over time, and that have wide variations within and between cultures.

GIDD defines **gender awareness** as a commitment to placing women's needs and priorities at the centre of development and planning programming, and analysing programmes and projects for the differential impacts that they have on women and men. **Gender equality** is a situation where women and men have equal conditions for realising their full rights and potential to contribute to and benefit from socio-economic, cultural and political development of a nation, taking into account their similarities, differences and varying roles that they play.

Socialization usually refers to the various ways in which individuals become social subjects after interacting in a given environment with a range of variables. Socialization is an ongoing process from childhood to adulthood. This author acknowledges that in the career choices of journalist there are several variables at play such as age, level of education, peer pressure, economic needs, family pressure and many more.

Culture is an elusive term to define, especially when we are looking for gender boundaries of either men or women. We will define culture as ways of life. Culture is the whole complex of distinctive, spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional attributes that characterise a society or social group. Through socialization, female students learn their roles as defined by the background of the culture they are raised in. These roles are that as a woman, you have to be a mother, raise children. This is what society expects women to be.

By the time they get to the third and fourth year of university study, it dawns on most female students of them that their career choice will be conflicting with their roles as perfect mother, perfect wife, and perfect home maker. Their socialization stands in opposition to their careers.

Barriers to women's ability to climb the corporate ladder in the media industry and negative or gender-blind and biased attitudes in the media are varied. They include: women's low status in society; traditional and cultural expectations; heavy workloads; double shifts of working at home and office; and their absence in positions of formal authority or decision-making.

Gender bias in different institutions including media houses as observed today derives its roots from the time society began to differentiate roles between women and men. These roles were defined according to societal beliefs and customs. The customs and beliefs became the norm by adoption and compliance. Society started to perceive men's roles as being superior to those of women and the status of men was given a superior position. The superior status ensured men's start to dominance in all areas of human activity with the exception of maternal roles of carrying a baby for nine months and breast feeding.

The colonial governments in Africa made it worse. Females were discriminated against in the education system and society accepted it. Interviews with older women in a literacy class revealed that females who pursued any formal education were even labelled prostitutes. The colonial system gave education and employment to males; therefore, men became responsible for policy formulation and drafting of rules and regulations. In the process their priorities did not consider women's interests. The colonial governments, by empowering men with education and employment, automatically positioned them as the sole bread winners of the families. The important role that a traditional woman held in the home was diminished more and more. This masculine culture reflected in society in general and penetrated media houses and other institutions and social sectors.

The same gender biases found in the institutions of society filtered into media houses and newsrooms. Men traditionally supervised media houses and the newsrooms, constructed the rules and regulations and set the standards of what is newsworthy and what is good professional conduct. The ethos of what we call journalism today comes from that background. The regulations and rules of conduct suited the masculine world and had little consideration for female interests. The work schedules, the shift hours and assignments of different news beats all perpetuated the old acquired and learned biases in society. Rules of the game were suited to male conditions and their interpretations worked to the advantage of men journalists. For example, female journalists find it quite taxing to meet the demands of a "good mother" and at the same time observe the long working hours demanded by newsroom culture.

However, reasons for women abandoning the newsroom are multifaceted with various variables at interplay. Reasons cited by professional female journalists who had left the newsroom included:

"I enjoyed my work in the newsroom, but the salary was too low."

"I needed a job that could help me build some financial base in life."

"At that time I was engaged and about to start a family."

"What I like about my present job is the flexible working hours which allow me to spend time with my kids."

When asked to comment on the masculine culture in the newsroom, some had this to say:

"That will always be there, you just learn to put your foot down and to prove to them that you are equally qualified."

"After rubbing shoulders with my male colleagues for a long time I eventually gained their respect".

Wouldn't the spouse help take care of the children? The response was: "Yes he does when he is off, but I still want to monitor their eating and follow up of their clinic visits for the Under Five vaccinations. In general I want to spend more time with them as they grow."

Interviews with first year female mass communications students at UNZA

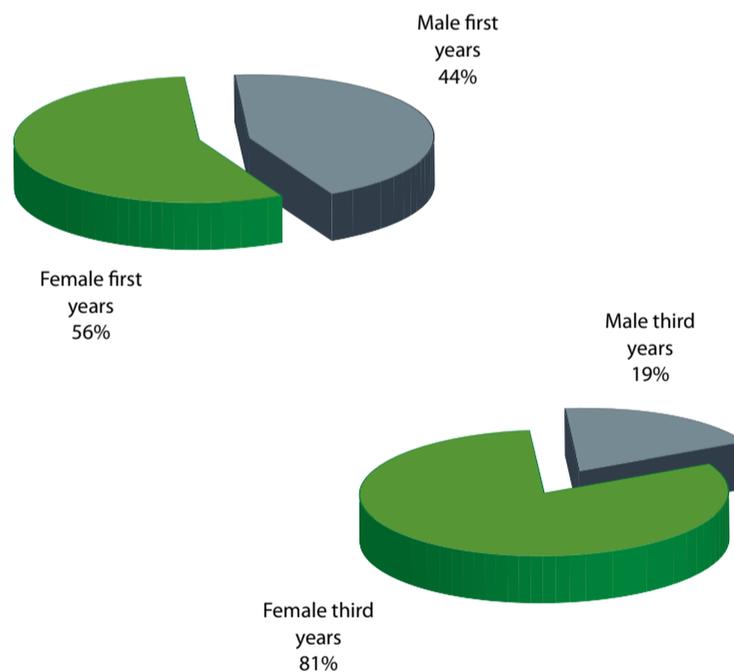
revealed that they wanted to be mass communication majors to become journalists, write stories, read news, and produce programmes. The majority simply said they wanted to be reporters, educate society and that was their childhood dream. They all had role models who inspired them. When asked to name their role models, most respondents identified journalists who are still active in industry. Not one cited a marketing or public relations practitioner, indicating that the original desire was to be practicing journalists.

However, by the third year, the same students start looking at other options. They want to work in marketing, public relations, academia and other areas. This is because a good number of their childhood models have not climbed the corporate ladder to the level they want to reach. The students start considering media attachments with banks or other companies that offer opportunities for employment. The reasons for the change of career focus include employment opportunity, better paying jobs, and the difficulty of succeeding in the newsroom. The absence of female journalists in top management positions is another factor that gives discouragement to upcoming female journalists. Fourth year female students and graduating female students' responses start reflecting cultural norms, gender roles, family responsibilities and the desire to earn a good salary. They start feeling that their career and professional choice to be reporters is not compatible to being a perfect house wife, a perfect home maker, perfect mother, but they still have the desire and zeal to succeed.

Feminist activism and gender awareness campaigns have slowly contributed to a considerable change of the stereotypical image of women in the media. However, the attitude and opinions on women and their static roles in society are far from changing and are still lagging behind the realities of the modern world. The socialization that students go through from first year to the time they graduate gives them a range of red flags in their career choices. One very clear red flag is too few models in the profession.

We have never had a women chief editor of a major daily newspaper in Zambia other than those courageous women journalist who have started their own weekly or biweekly newspapers. The broadcast industry is equally bad; women are underrepresented in top management positions in all broadcasting houses including community media. "Why fight for something unattainable," a female journalist once asked.

Paradoxically, the enrolment of female students in the UNZA Department of Mass Communication is growing. More than half of first year journalism enrolments are female. At third year level, the proportion has grown to more than 80%. This poses a question for journalism educators (see figure below).



For female journalist to survive in the newsroom, society needs change its attitudes toward female journalists. The gender roles of motherhood cannot be taken away from women; neither can they be shared. However, responsibilities of child rearing have nothing to do with gender roles. Both parents must take responsibilities in monitoring child-rearing.

Media houses should rework their work schedule to accommodate working mothers. Monetary incentives for hard working mothers would be another way to attract female journalists to stay in the newsroom. The media through its role to inform and educate society has a great weapon to help society change their negative attitudes toward female journalists or towards women in general.

There is great need to put some emphasis on curricula changes in our journalism courses to incorporate gender as course content from first year courses to post graduate courses.

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Theoretical vs practical conflicts of journalistic ethics in Cameroon

Manka E. Tabuwe, University of Buea, Cameroon

Journalism in Cameroon is mired in an unfavourable economic and political environment. As a result, many journalists are only interested in covering and reporting stories that offer them direct and immediate financial benefits.

Ethics is important for media practitioners because it encourages them to consider their moral and political principles and responsibilities. Ethical considerations have become a major preoccupation for the media in Africa, where journalists are grappling with issues of development, politics and the economy. How they balance their reporting and how objective they are is dependent on the political or economic environment. As is often the case, journalists who cannot feed themselves are more susceptible to politicians who give them money for coverage, especially during elections.

In the first decade of independence, 1960 up till 1970, there was no structure for journalism training in Cameroon. In 1970, Cameroon, in conjunction with four other Central African countries, created the International School of Journalism (ESIJY) at the University of Yaounde, Cameroon. Today, the school is called the Advanced School of Mass Communication (ASMAC), with Cameroon as the sole proprietor. Following university reforms in 1993, ASMAC stopped training journalists solely for the civil service and adopted a more conventional journalism training programme.

In 1993, with the creation of the University of Buea, which caters for Anglophone Cameroon, the Department of Journalism and Mass Communication (JMC) was amongst its first programmes. The department of JMC offers a three year B.Sc degree in Journalism and Mass Communication. The major objective of this programme is to foster journalism training in Cameroon, with the mission to provide a balance between theoretical conceptualisation and practical skills. While student enrolment has grown from 34 in 1993/94 to 273 in 2008/2009, there has been little or investment in the department. As a result, the department took a decision to control student numbers by establishing an enrolment ceiling. Over fifteen years, the department of JMC has trained more than 1 500 students who have successfully integrated themselves in many sectors of the corporate world, government and the non-governmental sector.

In spite of strategies to limit student numbers, the university decided to admit as many as 150 new students for 2009/2010. Given such numbers, the student-teacher ratio inevitably increases and one-on-one mentoring becomes difficult, given that the department has only five permanent staff and ten part-time staff members. The consequence is that fewer students will effectively benefit from

the programme. However, the larger numbers that would be graduated with poor grades are fodder for a job market that cannot pay qualified staff and would prefer to make use of mediocre journalists who accept little or no pay. The department has noticed with increasing dismay that many of these students are highly susceptible to economic and political pressures. Journalists need transportation to cover news events. They have housing and utilities bills to pay. They have to send their children to school. Their argument therefore is that ethical considerations notwithstanding, people need to survive.

Politically, the government-owned media are financed by government and taxes from all public service workers. This gives them an edge over other media organs. Nevertheless, instead of setting standards, the Cameroon Radio Television (CRTV) promotes *gombo* – or payment for media coverage – more than other media organs. The private media do not see why they should stay out of the money ring. Given such a situation, students who train in the department are eventually socialized during internship and when they graduate to accept such a practice as normal. Journalists of the public media who are paid very well seem to set the pace by collecting larger amounts of *gombo*. This therefore means that the practice cannot be explained by economic constraints only but also by high level moral bankruptcy.

The history of journalism in independent Cameroon can be divided into three phases. The first phase is from 1960 – 1966. This period is characterized by multiparty politics in Cameroon and witnessed the upsurge of the private press. However, following scholarly debates about political systems during the period, it was argued that Africa should not copy the western model of democracy. This argument suited African leaders who switched from multiparty to one-party states. Cameroon embraced the one-party system in 1966. This led to the introduction of repressive press laws, ushering in the second phase of journalism, which lasted until 1990. Journalism practice was only possible if one worked for Radio Cameroon, which was highly censored and shaped by government. As a result, no principles or guidelines for journalism practice emerged. The third phase started from the early 1990s with the inception of press freedom following the reintroduction of the multiparty system in Cameroon. Authorization for private radio and television followed 10 years after the liberalization of the media, although conditions of entry remain arduous, and the government-owned CRTV remains the dominant broadcaster.

Since the liberalization of the media landscape in Cameroon, there has been a rise in the number of newspapers, radio and television stations. This

has negatively impacted on journalism practice due to the level of competition among journalists and media houses. Another negative consequence of this process is the fact that many desperate young Cameroonians who cannot find jobs in other sectors very easily infiltrate the news media without necessary skills and values.

Some unethical practices that have inundated the field are *gombo*, blackmailing, and writing news stories based on rumour. The response of most journalists when questioned about the practice of collecting *gombo* is: “How much of ethics can one keep at the expense of going without basic necessities?” Journalists accept *gombo* as a necessary evil. This poses a huge problem for media educators who strive each day to teach students the principles of the trade, including professional ethics. Practice in the field deconstructs the notions of ethics and reconstructs notions of survival.

The ramifications and consequences of the “*gombo flu*” are enormous. First of all, when a journalist receives money to cover or report a news story, his or her objectivity is in doubt. Their first loyalty is to the person who has paid them and, as the adage goes, ‘he who pays the piper calls the tune.’

Journalists who rely on *gombo* eventually lose the drive to investigate news stories. Finding the truth is not their objective. Furthermore, the “*gombo flu*” benefits the rich to the detriment of the poor. Only those who can afford it can get journalists to write their stories. As a result, issues that concern the poor or that are of interest to them are rarely properly investigated or reported. The voices of women are not heard because few women can afford to pay journalists for coverage. The “*gombo flu*” therefore intensifies the gender bias in media coverage.

Having identified the practice of *gombo* as a major obstacle to the growth of journalism in Cameroon the department of JMC proposes the following actions to curb the practice:

- Journalism organizations should partner with media organs to reinforce ethics and sanction journalists who fail to maintain ethical standards. This can be achieved by setting up a monitoring committee to study the journalism environment, evaluate the trends and propose guidelines for media organs to follow.
- The department has decided not to send students to internships in media organisations that are highly infected by *gombo*. This is very important because that is when students quickly become socialized to ask for and receive *gombo*.
- The department will propose certain guidelines during the period on internship.
- The curriculum will emphasise ethics and news values so that students can develop a critical mind for news.
- Across the board, all lecturers in the department are expected to reinforce ethical concepts in their classrooms. Such consistency will eventually immunize some students to environmental pressures.
- Members of staff of JMC are also expected to join journalism unions through which they can raise pertinent issues of training and practice. ■

Towards a language policy for journalistic writing in Africa

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The media are an essential component of democratic governance. Democratic societies accord the media a strategic place because of their indispensable role in developing and securing democracy. So far as news is concerned, the media provide and interpret “worthy” news so as to ensure behaviour change and accountability in our societies.

Ghana has about 150 newspapers. The question, however, is whether these newspapers use language that is accessible to the broad population? An examination of newspapers in Ghana reveals two phenomena that could be

termed “semantic exclusivism” and “semantic inclusivism.” The first refers to language that a majority of the targeted readership cannot identify with or understand. The result is that such readers are alienated from the media discourse. “Semantic inclusivism” refers to language that targets an identified group within the population. Thus, such a group is selectively included in the agenda of such papers. This article argues for the development and implementation of a journalistic language policy to make information readily accessible to a broad range of Ghanaians, using journalism training institutions to prepare the ground.

Institutionalising African language journalism studies

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A number of principles underly this effort. Firstly, five elements need to be considered during any writing process: the writer, the topic, the purpose, the audience, and the context for writing. Each of these plays an important role in the writing process since they collectively determine the position adopted in writing, which affects the content and structure of the words.

The second is the language level principle. Language can be analysed as formal, informal, and intermediate. Formal language is complex and so relatively more difficult to understand. Informal language is simple and relatively easier to understand. Formal language is not readily accessible to all; it usually has long complex sentences and “high” vocabulary. Informal language is colloquial with simple and familiar vocabulary and sentences.

Against this background, the writer has analysed front page articles in two prominent Ghanaian daily newspapers: the *Daily Graphic* and *The Chronicle* (public and private papers, respectively), to evaluate whether the language style used is accessible to the intended audience.

The analysis revealed striking structural similarities between the writing styles of the two papers. Clearly, they overuse long, predominantly one-paragraphed sentences and “big” or difficult words and expressions. Some sentences have over 60 words, heavy with passive constructions, which is too much for the average mind to process immediately for understanding. The style is obviously formal and the average sentence is about 35 to 40 words. In a socio-cultural milieu like Ghana, the implication is that many targeted readers cannot understand the stories.

Obviously, one of the key tenets of liberal democracy is participation in the political and social processes of governance. This depends on knowledge and understanding of the socio-political happenings in the country. This can only be achieved through the appropriate use of language.

Writing generally refers to the art of communicating a message to an audience for a purpose. Journalistic writing must target an audience and attract readers, not only through format and paper design, but also through use of language. One is expected to appreciate newspaper messages with a minimum of effort, that is, upon reading once. Ghana has a relatively low literacy level and a challenged economy, which would not motivate reading for its own sake.

Most reporters, news editors and sub-editors appear ignorant of the use of language, particularly regarding the context, purpose and audience of the message. Interactions with some newspaper editors revealed that the newspapers think they are targeting all Ghanaians and have an idea of their readership. However, the newspapers lack the language capacity to specifically and consciously write to achieve this intention. Therefore, the print media in Ghana are consistently practising “semantic exclusivism,” and inadvertently alienating the majority of the people from the political and social discourse.

Journalism training institutions have to take some responsibility for this state of affairs. Most of the journalism institutions in Ghana do not pay adequate attention to English usage and its teaching; some even think English is not a necessary subject in journalism training. To rectify this, curricula should be reviewed to include teaching of English grammar and writing, and specifically teaching of journalistic language.

The “language of journalism” course could go beyond helping students to acquire and use concrete, specific, active, clear, democratic, non-sexist, non-racist language in journalism to include real grammatical and communicative language study geared towards writing to fit particular audiences. This will lead to a language policy in journalistic writing aimed at broadening access to news to help deepen democracy. ■

In the book *Minority Language Media: Concepts, Critiques and Case Studies* (2007), co-edited by him and Niamh Hourigan, Mike Cormack notes that minority language media studies are energised by two sources: the practicalities of how the media can be used to support languages under threat and the rather more academic view of minority language media as an intriguing example of the media’s role in society. This assertion is true for all languages that I refer to as the languages of the fringe. While the first source of energy for the study of (minority) language media is unarguably the concern of most of those involved in indigenous language media studies, the second source provides the link with more mainstream media studies. Cormack identifies seven purposes for indigenous-language media: to rescue the language; to increase self-esteem; to combat negative images; to work for greater cohesiveness and, through this, for political influence; to provide a visible and audible symbol of indigenous society; to provide an outlet for creative production; and to provide a source of employment.

While much has been said about the importance of local-language media for the sustenance of such languages, there is little empirical evidence for this assertion. The focus here, however, is to present indigenous language journalism as a category of its own, with its distinctive problems and issues, while keeping it within the mainstream of journalism practice and studies. It is possible for us to begin to lay a foundation for a theory of indigenous language media, or at least the development of a framework within which such media might be considered. Cormack (2007) notes that the field is delineated by the politics of language and the media’s relation to that. It is driven by the attempt to understand the role of minority languages in contemporary society, intending to contribute to their survival.

Every educational programme should be socially relevant and culturally sensitive. In other words, application of learning outcomes should benefit the immediate community of the learner; and should suit and impact on the learner’s cultural background. Any educational programme that seeks to isolate the learner from his cultural background should be held suspect. After all, as Ehindero (1986) notes, the aims of education and curriculum are to serve the society in some important ways, which include preserving, rediscovering and critically transmitting the cultural heritage; and contributing to the improvement of the society by helping to refine and redefine national aims and techniques.

Every curriculum, therefore, should strive to be sensitive to and reflect this important value. Communication is not possible without language, while language occupies a central position in culture. Thus, any curriculum for communication education, or more precisely journalism education, should prioritise the issue of language. For a journalism curriculum to be socially relevant and culturally sensitive, it must emphasise teaching in the indigenous language(s) of the society. While the universality of education is recognized, the social and cultural specificity of the nature of training cannot be disregarded. While it is not out of place for a journalist to be global in orientation and application, thereby equipping himself with proficiency in a very international language like English, it will, however, be out of place for him if he is not able to, effectively, communicate with his own people. While we appreciate and grapple with the use of information technologies for better communication within and around the world, our indigenous languages still remain relevant. The appreciation of technologies does not discard our languages. What we rather need to do is to harness the opportunities and potential of the hardware and let our languages as software use them as vehicles for transmission.

Unfortunately, in most African countries journalism curricula have not prioritised indigenous languages. In Nigeria, for example, English overshadows indigenous languages in teaching and learning. The question we may ask is this: to what extent is the current journalism curriculum in Africa assisting the student journalist to see the value of the past in relation to the present and the future? The current journalism/mass communication curriculum for Nigerian universities as drafted by the National Universities Commission (NUC) provides for the teaching of a course in African indigenous communication systems. The National Board for Technical Education (NBTE) journalism/mass communication curriculum for Nigerian polytechnics does not make any provision for this. Even in certain Nigerian universities where mass communication-related disciplines are offered, no regard is given to the African indigenous communication system in the undergraduate programme.

The aim of the African Indigenous Communication Systems course is to teach students about how Africans in the past, before the advent of printing and broadcasting technologies in the continent, were communicating with one another in diverse settings. But beyond this, a curriculum must equip the child with the necessary skills for modern living while yet keeping the child a fully integrated member of his community. Modern communication modes are characterized by printing, broadcasting and the internet. A modern African journalist must avail himself the use of all these, but to remain a fully integrated member of his community, the journalist must be able to communicate in the language of his community; language being the totality of expression of his

people's culture.

At the risk of over-emphasis, language is central to culture. If a culture must survive, the language must be constant. If a language must have life, the media must be seen to be using it. In other words, the survival of our language is dependent on the media. And if the media, print especially, must use it, the practitioners must be trained to use it. Therefore, we must tailor our curriculum towards achieving this objective.

In Yorubaland, Nigeria, today, there are a myriad of Yoruba newspapers serving the people. Among them, *Alaroye* is a phenomenal success. In South Africa, there is a daily Zulu-language newspaper, *Isolezwe*. And, among the 125 newspapers in Ethiopia, 108 are in Amharic, two in Oromo and one in Tigre. Ethiopia is one of the three countries in Africa (with Tanzania and Somalia) where a local language is used as a medium of instruction to a high level and for official and administrative purposes. It is needless to say that indigenous languages are very well present in broadcast media across Africa. All these attest to the viability of teaching Journalism in Indigenous Languages.

One of the trappings of globalisation is the emergence of global media.

Crystal (1997) has argued that one of the key linguistic results of the dominance of trans-national media is the emergence of English as a global language. African languages and other marginalised languages of the world including now those of Europe have never had a common ground. However, the onslaught of English may provide the needed impetus for collaboration in research and curriculum development among scholars of the embattled languages and their media. ■

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Broadening horizons: putting theory into practice for a student newspaper

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The University of Botswana's Media Studies Department (MSD) was started in 2002. The programs in the department are both practical and theoretical and therefore highly intensive. Students are expected to write, read, observe and discuss constantly the media as they see and use it. High standards of commitment to the programme and absolute professionalism with deadlines and well presented assignments are some of the goals expected of the students.

The aim of *UB Horizon*, an intentional learning tool, is to provide practical print journalism and thereby fill a training vacuum in the journalism industry in the country.

The newspaper was envisioned as the department's most powerful journalism teaching tool, providing students with real, hands-on journalism experience on deadline that will qualify them for media jobs after graduation. It would also serve to strengthen the university as a whole by providing fair, balanced and accurate news to the UB community of students and staff.

The newspaper would help the print media students practice what they had learnt in theory in courses such as beat reporting, health, science and technical reporting, business, finance and tourism reporting, editing, feature and magazine writing, and investigative reporting. Other courses that benefitted from the paper were media management, desktop publishing and advertising. The media management course would provide market research and monitoring for the paper, the desktop publishing course would aid the newspaper with design work, while the advertising course would help get adverts for the newspaper. Whereas the students would not be paid for their work, those who got adverts for the paper would be paid a 10% commission.

MSD partnered with the McGee Foundation, a US private foundation dedicated to promoting sound journalistic practices in Southern Africa, in its efforts to build an excellent journalism education center. Until last year, when the recession affected the foundation, it sent at least one fellow – a media professional – every other semester to teach journalism skills and provide general assistance to the department. The paper was to be published three times a semester except the last month when students are busy with assignments and exams. It was to be run entirely by students of the Media Studies Department, but with supervision by departmental staff.

Before the newspaper began, a college-wide survey was conducted by students in the Media Management course, to find out whether it was a

viable project and if so, what the students wanted to see in the paper. Based on the results of this survey, the paper decided to give the following prominence to student politics; academic issues; social problems on campus; economic issues; administration and management issues; school gossip; sports news; local advertising; academic staff issues; editorial/opinion pieces; off campus effects affecting UB; cultural effects; UB support staff issues; off campus events not affecting UB; and others (religion).

UB Horizon would be a 16-page, full-color tabloid published monthly during the academic calendar and although it would publish under the supervision of the MSD, it would strive to be an independent voice for the students and staff. Students would generate the stories and photographs in the department's journalism classes, participate in story editing, design and lay out the newspaper and web site, sell advertising, distribute the paper and manage the business. It would carry news stories relevant to students and staff including sports, politics, feature stories related to student life and arts and entertainment. It would have a full editorial page including student-written editorials, cartoons, letters to the editor and guest opinions.

The newspaper was to serve a community of 15 000 students and 1000 staff. The first issue, hit the streets on 21 March, 2007. While the initial issue was free, the second was sold for P2 (ZAR 2) in the college and a number of newsstands. Out of 3 000 copies, however, only 900 were sold and many of the initial advertisers threatened to withdraw their ads; as a result, the editorial board decided to distribute it free but seek strong adverts to help run it.

The fact that those who wrote or designed for the newspaper did so on a voluntary basis without any incentive, except seeing their bylines on the newspaper, soon became problematic, especially since the advertising team was getting commissions whether the advertising money was paid or not.

Students would promise to deliver articles, work in the design team or get ads but if they had a lot of class work too, their class work took priority and delivery for *UB Horizon* took a back seat. We reached a point where I was literally begging to get the newspaper moving from writers, to designers to advertising. The advertising team was the worst. They had realized that the paper actually depended on them for survival and they started calling the shots. As I tried to bring professionalism into the newspaper, I started putting in a few rules here and there. For example, to ensure the advertisers were delivering their payments, I made it clear that the commissions would only be paid after a cheque was delivered. The

response of the advertising team was to refuse to solicit ads. That month the newspaper was printed with only one single ad – an ad that a computer company customer had signed a contract for a year to appear on page three. The only way we were able to publish that month was the fact that we had a relationship with the publisher, Mmegi Publishers, which printed without being paid upfront.

However, the rule on advertising was to prove a plus as I stuck to it and the money started coming in. But the advertising team, still didn't cooperate fully. As a result, a partnership agreement was concluded with a company, Simply Marketing, in terms of which we were to produce the stories while the company was to get adverts, market, publish and distribute the newspaper. An advantage of this partnership was an increase in circulation from 3 500 to 10 000.

The partnership soon ran into censorship problems when Simply Marketing unilaterally removed some stories it believed would anger the government and college leadership. However, we insisted on sticking to the initial agreement where there would be no censorship and if the company was unhappy with a story or picture, they informed us in advance. Without taking matters into their own hands.

While the partnership was a financial relief, allowing us to concentrate on reporting and design, the voluntary work in getting stories and design work started becoming a nightmare. Other academic work took precedence and *UB Horizon* work would take a backseat, as there was no great incentive to write or design for the newspaper. We therefore decided to fully incorporate the writing of stories into the Print Courses' assessment from the academic year 2009/2010. The stories are marked by the lecturer as an assignment but the electronic copy of the same is given to the student editors to edit and then return to the lecturer for final editing before it is ready to be placed on a page by the design team.

A deadline for the stories/assignment is given and this has at least ensured the stories come on time and those that do not meet the deadline are not used. Students have to share up to four bylines and it is up to them to learn partnership skills so as to present the best stories. For every group, it is required that the students say who did which work towards the story.

My experience in a commercial newspaper in Nairobi never prepared me for what I encountered at UB running a newspaper. A number of important lessons were learnt. Firstly, When you start a student newspaper, you need to know where the money will come from. Secondly, if it is to be a student learning tool, there are two options: either you incorporate it into the curriculum, or you ensure the college finances the newspaper fully so that you minimize your problems of printing, distribution and news desk communications.

The many challenges that the *UB Horizon* faced have helped our students realize that the world of work is difficult and also that, apart from the obvious factors of skills and resources, there are many economic, political and social factors which impact upon the production of a newspaper. ■

Investigative reporting is the most challenging and difficult form of journalism. Any journalistic medium that wants to perform its social justice and crusading function creditably must engage in investigative reporting. It is only through investigative reports that news organisations can stay ahead of competitors by giving audiences exclusive and thought-provoking stories. For this reason, it becomes imperative to include Investigative Journalism as a course in the overall journalism and mass communication curriculum. The syllabus must include topics such as the purpose and nature of investigative reporting; sources; and writing structure of investigative reporting.

Spark, (1999:4), defines investigative reporting as reporting which seeks to gather facts which someone wants suppressed. According to Spark, “investigative reporting seeks not just the obvious informants who will be uncontroversial or economical with the truth, but the less obvious who know about disturbing secrets and are angry or disturbed enough to divulge them.” Onanuga, (2001:3), the Editor-in-Chief of *The News Magazine*, based in Lagos, Nigeria, defines investigative reporting as “when a journalist goes beyond merely scratching reports on the surface, when he digs deeper; raises questions; checks and cross-checks information; unearths the hidden and the concealed”. From these two definitions it is clear that investigative deals with the uncovering of wrong-doing and exposing the evils (and some of the good) that men do.

In teaching investigative reporting, it should be emphasized that this type of reporting seeks to expose crimes and other wrongdoing in order to bring about social reforms and ensure justice and equity in society. The investigative reporter seeks to fight the readers’ or listeners’ or viewers’ battles for them, especially that segment of the media audience that is poor, voiceless, and which lacks access to the media. Investigative reporting upholds the interest of the general public by holding the rulers accountable for their actions to the public. In designing the investigative journalism syllabus, then, the **purpose** of investigative journalism as a topic should precede other course contents.

Following the purpose of investigative journalism in the syllabus should be an exposition of the **nature** of this brand of journalism. Students should be made to realize that investigative journalism could be dangerous, as people in privileged positions can sometimes go to great lengths to ensure that their secrets are not exposed, including bribes, or even threats to life. In Nigeria, Editor-in-Chief of *News watch Magazine* in Lagos, Nigeria, Dele Giwa was killed by a parcel bomb while investigating a story linking some of the military rulers with the drug trade in the 1980s.

Investigative reporting is also expensive and time-consuming. The investigative reporter may need to travel to distant places to get documents or meet sources. This may cost huge amounts of money. Depending on the complexity of the enquiry, some investigations can take weeks or months to conclude. The investigative reporter should not be required, like a beat reporter, to turn in a story every day.

In this kind of reporting, there is no neutrality. The investigative reporter actually should pin-point a guilty party. Unlike straight news, which leaves the reader to form his own judgment, the investigative reporter must prove and lay bare the guilty party based on incontrovertible evidence and overwhelming facts he has been able to unearth in the course of his enquiry.

There are many types of issues that lend themselves to investigation in the domain of public affairs and life. But whatever aspect of life the investigative reporter is investigating; one common thread that runs through them all is the occurrence of misdeed. This may occur in the political, governmental, corporate, non-governmental or criminal arena.

Politics, political affairs and the politicians are prime subjects for inquiry. Within the short time that Nigeria has returned to civil democracy rule, the newspapers and magazines have unearthed monumental scandals in the political arena. The most famous of

Teaching investigative journalism: towards a model curriculum

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these was the case of perjury and certificate forgery, unearthed by *The News Magazine* against the first Speaker of the House of Representatives, Alhaji Salisu Buhari, who lied about his age and qualifications in his application to contest a seat in the House of Representatives. He resigned and left the House in disgrace.

Following closely behind the politicians and politics are the various tiers of government. In the case of politicians, the reporter concentrates on the private lives and affairs of the politicians, but focusing on government, the reporter probes the handling of the affairs entrusted to public office holders. Doing this, the reporter will have to rely largely on informants, whose identity he may keep anonymous while investigating misdeeds in governmental circles and businesses.

Companies, government corporations and parastatals are set up as money making ventures. Often, hundreds of millions of naira are invested in such companies, with the hope of getting returns. Because of this, they often provide rich material for the investigative reporter.

In a country suffused with so many fake products, consumer affairs are a prime subject of inquiry by the investigative reporter. Consumer goods are products that people use that have direct bearing on their lives. These range from food, water, drugs, to clothing and electronic gadgets. Investigation into consumer affairs by the journalist can be quite rewarding as he can measure the services being rendered to the society directly.

In investigative journalism lectures on ‘what to investigate’, It should be emphasized to students that crimes such as murder, robbery, drug trafficking, smuggling and other, are fertile areas of inquiry. While investigative reporting is generally a dangerous enterprise, investigating crime is more so. This is because people involved in crime are extremely dangerous. Someone who has committed a murder will only be too willing to kill more people to cover his tracks. This necessarily implies that criminal investigation requires a lot of caution and precautions. Reporters do not apprehend criminals – that is a job for the police - but they can pinpoint crime perpetrators through meticulous investigation and by raking up concrete, irrefutable, evidence along the way.

In teaching investigative journalism, students must be made to realize that the basic rules that govern all types of journalistic writing also apply to writing the investigative report. These include simplicity of language, attribution of sources, accuracy, and description. However, investigative reporting breaks the rule against editorialisation, which the reporter must obey when writing straight news. In investigative journalism, the investigative reporter must make his opinion known.

The structure of writing and presenting the investigative report is still within the framework for presenting journalistic stories: the attention-grabbing headline, the lead, which showcases the most important information, the body, in which the reporter marshals the evidence, and the conclusion, in which the reporter makes his indictment based on the evidence. ■

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Fit for *purpose* – educating journalism students for democracy and development

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The Journalism, Democracy and Development – Critical Media Production (JDD-CMP) course was developed at Rhodes University's School of Journalism and Media Studies in response to a perceived lack of congruence between the 'academic' and 'vocational' streams of our undergraduate curriculum. Taught over the past five years during the last semester of the third year of study, the JDD-CMP is premised on the idea that differing conceptions of democracy and development have implications for the way journalism is conceived, organised and produced, which in turn shapes journalistic form and content. By exploring this relationship between ideas about journalism's role and the alternative assumptions and practices of various 'journalisms', JDD-CMP aims to bring together – through critique – the Media Studies and Media Production components of the third year curriculum into something described as 'critical media production'.

Asked to contribute in some way to the goals of 'democratisation' and 'development', students have over the years experimented with 'reformist' approaches to journalism (like investigative journalism, development journalism and public/civic journalism), as well as with more 'alternative' approaches to media production (for example, radical advocacy journalism, participatory/citizen journalism, and communication for development). All these approaches are predicated, in one way or another, upon critiques of 'mainstream' journalism, and offer diverse theories and methods for producing 'better' – more purposive, civic-minded, principled, engaged, inclusive, bottom-up, exhaustive, systematic, innovative, oppositional, and reflexive – ways of doing news work. In other words, scholarly work is seen as 'practical' and doable for journalists.

The Term 3 JDD course maps out key theoretical, historical and conceptual contexts for the course including a thorough critique of classical liberal perspectives on the role of journalism in democracy and development. This inevitably leads to an accent on a number of 'reformist' and 'alternative' approaches to journalistic production which are then practiced by the multimedia groups in Term 4.

In this article I will focus on just one approach – public journalism – taken by one of the multimedia groups in 2008, when the theme was the local environment. The example shows that while the students' experimentation with alternative journalistic approaches can lead to serious and unexpected 'mistakes', the praxis-orientation of the course can, through rigorous critique, transform these 'mistakes' into important learning points.

In 2008, one of the nine multimedia groups investigated Makana's municipal commonage lands, which surround Grahamstown and provide thousands of landless, urban residents with essential resources. The group explored various issues affecting commonage users (mostly stock herders and traditional healers, etc.) and other stakeholders. The results of their efforts, which included a 'mockumentary' and other audiovisual documentary work, a number of audio slide shows, posters, pamphlets, a magazine, and a series of feature articles published in the local newspaper *Grocott's Mail*, were exhibited at a 'Moo-vie premiere' held at a university venue towards the end of the course. A diverse and surprisingly large audience of over 150 people attended, including seven commonage farmers, various local government and environmental officials, community activists, academics, postgraduate researchers, and interested students.

Despite the irreverent tone of the mockumentary, a serious and animated debate followed the screening. However, the event lacked a crucial ingredient: meaningful participation from any of the commonage users present. Towards the end of the event, two of the commonage users were eventually persuaded by the (student) chairperson to speak to the plenary. They obliged, but spoke very softly in isiXhosa, a language not understood by the majority of the people in attendance. A translation was offered, but was not easily understood by the audience, and the deliberative process began to stutter and break down.

A few days later, we attempted to address the 'mistakes' made at the 'Moo-vie' event by following in class the work of public journalism advocates and theorists Tanni Haas and Linda Steiner (2001), whose work attempts to close the gap between academic scholarship on the public sphere and journalistic work in the public. Haas and Steiner argued that 'subaltern counter-publics', like the commonage users, are better served by first being given the opportunity to deliberate among themselves in a more 'exclusivist' discursive domain rather than being forced to participate on unequal terms in an overarching public sphere.

Following this approach, our students could have made better use of their time by nurturing a 'discursive domain' for commonage users where they could deliberate exhaustively amongst themselves, before deliberating jointly with other commonage stakeholders, who may then come to better understand how particular social locations affect certain groups' sense of problems and solutions. Journalists would then finally be in a position to produce journalism reporting back on these more encompassing inter-group deliberations, which would stand a better chance of helping audiences compare conflicting concerns, as well as identify possible points of overlap that might subsequently form the basis for joint public problem-solving.

This example exemplifies the power of a praxis-based approach for journalism education. While it would be possible to hone and purify students' conceptual thought around the concept of the public sphere in a 'theory-only' Media Studies course, the concept of praxis is based on the view that knowledge requires more than this process of honing theory and instead "grows out of the mutual constitution of conception and execution" (Mosco, 1996:38 cited in Wasserman 2005).

As the JDD-CMP has shown, students and lecturers learn together through critiquing journalistic practice in the light of the rich theoretical frameworks on offer in the course. Critique helps students to push the envelope on in terms of journalistic method, style, form, and structure because they develop a deeper appreciation not only for the 'rules', but also for when it is appropriate to bend, break and ignore them, and when and how to create new frameworks, styles and methods. Theory and practice, intellectual life and social intervention, academic endeavour and political action are all seen as integrated.

In this sense the JDD-CMP contributes to more than just the intellectual growth of students through the "mutual constitution of conception and execution" in a praxis-based approach – it also helps to reshape the 'professional' and personal-political identities of many of the students.

Through the JDD-CMP students engage with the wider community and develop much stronger sense of attachment to Grahamstown and its

problems. They develop deepened relationships with their sources which can lead to stronger feelings of empathy, solidarity and a better appreciation of diversity. They also develop a sense of agency, a sense that they can make a contribution, 'a difference'. And all of this leads to a re-evaluation of their values, ethics and sense of social responsibility.

Some students report that they are 'surprised' by the ideas underpinning non-mainstream approaches to journalism and that this led to the evolution of their journalistic identities:

"The JDD/CMP course has exposed me to many alternative kinds of journalisms and the ideas they're premised on were surprising yet intriguing. As the course progressed I started realising how little I actually knew about journalism and its role in society, and of course, in turn, my ideas of myself as a journalist and role in society changed as well... My identity as a journalist evolved. Now, as a journalist, I do not merely want to report facts and write as succinctly and objectively as possible, I also want to maintain the values of democracy and contribute to the development of the country as well as the people of my country... (Extract from student 1 exam, 2008)

It is perhaps unsurprising that students are surprised by non-mainstream journalisms, since these approaches are not well known, highly regarded or enthusiastically embraced by most journalists. But this does not in itself make them less legitimate or interesting. The primary value of studying and practicing non-mainstream approaches in the curriculum is in destabilising the idea that there is a coherent, universally accepted and superior way of doing journalism. Non-mainstream approaches achieve this destabilisation by deviating from the 'objective journalistic stance', foregrounding epistemology, emphasising the social construction of 'facts' and knowledge and striving to develop critical thinking and reflexivity. They force students to probe their political position by asking questions like, 'what do journalists stand for (and against)?'

The JDD-CMP encourages students to evaluate different theories and reflect on them in the light of meaningful personal experiences, practices and critical incidents. Students reported that, for the first time in a three year undergraduate course, the relationship between the theoretical and practical streams of the curriculum had finally begun to "make sense".

Ought there to be such a thing as a radical alternative or public/civic or development journalist in Africa? If yes, oughtn't we educate some? To what extent are we responsible for the woeful paucity of media produced by and for 'subaltern counter-publics' in our countries? If advocacy is a legitimate part of a democratic media system, as is argued by a wide range of media theorists, why are we as journalism educators so scared of it?

Are journalism educators willing to give their unequivocal support to a more radical conception of the democratic role of media as a means to balancing the playing field of journalistic (and democratic) practice in our countries? If the classical liberal approach is dominant, why not give some impetus and credence to theoretically compelling approaches that have so much to offer? What do we lose by locating ourselves in this place of advocacy, at least for part of our curriculum? I hope I have shown that there is much to be gained. ■

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This paper addresses what it sees as a “problem”: the lack of an effective organisation of African journalism educators. That of course prompts the question: a problem for whom? Not everyone would agree that this is in fact a problem, particularly because a “solution” can, and should, be found. It may well be that, given the territorial vastness, weak economies and disparate character of Africa’s countries, no solution can realistically be found. In the conditions of the better-off, more mediated and more homogenous USA, it has been easier to organise journalism educators – as is evident in the Association of Journalism and Mass Communication Educators that is now approaching its centenary of existence. Compare this to the whole of Africa, and taking into account the poor record of sustaining an organisation called the African Council for Communications Education (ACCE), one can see that there are salutary lessons for any contemporary efforts to network African journalism educators.

This diagnosis suggests that there should be a different point of departure to the “problem”, in order to avoid naïve dreams of a “full” solution to overcoming the obstacles against successful networking. At the same time, just because a vibrant Pan-African Association of Journalism Educators is surely a pipe-dream, this does not mean that partial fulfilment of networking is impossible. In other words, we can return to a qualified understanding of asking for whom the weakness of African journalism education networking is a “problem”.

The answer is that it is a problem for *everyone*. The weak state of journalism education impacts directly on the deficits in local, national and continental media which could – with a different educational basis – leverage all kinds of knowledge in the interests of development and democracy. All this is also a problem from a global point of view, because information from and about Africa in global discourse is scarce, partial and often problematic. The continent is too often marginalised and misunderstood, and its potential contribution to the world’s stock of knowledge and culture is not being fulfilled.

A “full-on” organisation of African journalism educators could certainly help address some of these issues – for instance, by sharing experiences and elaborating appropriate teaching materials, providing peer review and external examining systems, engaging in joint research projects, etc. But if such an organ is not feasible, are lesser options not possible? After all, this is, we are often told, the age of social networking – so, can a broad community of African journalism educators be crystallised into meaningful interaction using Web 2.0 facilities?

Social networking is not an end in itself. The rationale is to build “social capital”. While this concept can be understood in various ways, suffice it to say that it refers to value that can generate further value, in the course of the interconnections between human beings. To provide an illustration: a Ugandan journalism educator and a South African educator establish a relationship, which then unlocks funding enabling people in their respective institutions to travel to Salzburg, Austria for media literacy “camp”. This experience and the connections developed or deepened there, lead on to further value – like student exchanges.

Further distinctions are made in the literature between realms of networking: bonding, bridging and linking. “Bonding” refers to connections between similar people. Applied to relationships within journalism education, an example could be that the potential to link up within a common mission and to have regular conversations is – at least in theory – strongest with one’s immediate colleagues within a given journalism school. An example of “bridging” would entail developing trusted and reciprocal connections with colleagues at other journalism schools. The third level, “linking”, might be assessed in terms of the growth of ties between journalism educators located in other national contexts.

Experience in South Africa suggests that not bonding, but rather bridging with industry, has been a greater priority for journalism educators. The country has tried and failed to set up South African associations of journalism educators over the years. More successful has been the congregation of some senior journalism educators around the centre of gravity of the South African National Editors Forum. In other words, bridging with the industry has been seen by educators as more important than bonding with each other, and there are reasons for this. There is the attraction to the powerful, as well as potential value via industry lectures to students, newsroom internships and site-specific knowledge.

Linking (as distinct from bonding and bridging) is an interesting dynamic in terms of networking journalism educators. The process of development of UNESCO criteria for excellence elicited involvement by journalism schools from around Africa by means of participation in a Yahoo discussion forum <http://groups.yahoo.com/group/UNESCOA/>, over a period of approximately two months. The primary reason for this networking activity, it can be proposed, was the potential linkage it provided to UNESCO. The prestige of this international organisation, and the potential to acquire resources through it, seem to have been a driving force for people to make the time for participation. Indeed, the contribution made by the different institutions paid off when UNESCO funded a conference of the 19 schools that were identified as having “potential”. This was hosted in South Africa at Rhodes University, in March 2008, and most of the 19 institutions were represented by the heads of the respective schools. The UNESCO meeting was a highpoint of networking, and several participants

Social organising of African journalism educators

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there argued strongly that relationships should be formalised by setting up an organisation. UNESCO, however, would not provide resources for such a purpose.

The initial report on the Centres of Excellence recommended to UNESCO that the organisation assist the designated schools to network with each other, and especially to develop their use of ICTs. It also urged support for schools to build relationships with industry, and for capacity-building for school heads and teaching staffers. The view was that the UNESCO-recognised status could help them move closer to excellence by bridging them to sectors with resources.

The March 2008 meeting recommended that the schools work towards developing their potential through partnerships, but also through internal “collective projects such as critical research around African media issues and journalism education-training networking projects such as around Highway Africa and around media-conflict-and-security”. It also gave support to Rhodes University’s bid to host the World Journalism Education Congress in July 2010. At the subsequent September 2008 meeting, reports were delivered on progress around partnerships by the participating schools. This allowed for common areas of research to be identified, such as media and democracy, journalism production, environmental journalism, ICTs in journalism and reception studies. The gaps were in: media and development, journalism and subaltern culture (i.e. the place of journalism in the non-elite social space), re-visioning journalism in Africa, gender and media, and history of media.

Common project ideas that were suggested included community media, principles of journalism, a textbook on media and society issues in Africa, and exploring what epistemological and ontological issues informed journalism education on the continent. A research colloquium and workshop was proposed for Namibia on 3 May 2009. In theory, all these activities would have contributed huge social capital to the emerging UNESCO schools network. However, the plans to develop the databases, develop syllabi, resource exchanges and publish scholarship came to naught. Several calls to the schools to send in their data were made, without results. Still, the meeting in Namibia did take place. It covered issues of strategic leadership, and it also engaged with how new media impacted on curriculum. The event also planned for the World Journalism Education Congress (WJEC) preparatory conference (“Prepcom”) that was set down for September 2009 at Rhodes University. At the same event, UNESCO announced their new website for African journalism educators, which includes social networking dimensions.

Assessing the experience to date, one can point to drivers of effective networking, and to factors that limit the success thereof.

The drivers of successful networking hinge on simplicity, focus and resources. They are activities that kindle interest and passion in interacting as a community of practice around focused projects such as that of defining “excellence” or of working on papers for presentation at the World Journalism Education Congress. The drivers would include interest in possible real benefits, such as an association with UNESCO. Opportunities to travel and network in person are at least enablers, possibly drivers.

Limitations on successful networking appear to be when follow-up activities involve complex and time-consuming work, such as collecting and sending data without specific benefit in sight. There is also lesser interest in activities other than “grand projects” like Africanising the curriculum, getting on top of new media, or presenting a strong African front at the WJEC. Language barriers, lack of resources and time constraints also inhibit networking amongst Africa’s journalism educators.

To conclude: while bonding is good for unleashing certain value propositions, exceptional value can be gained by connecting people and constituencies that are not alike. The WJEC event itself can trigger a range of bridging between African journalism schools and offshore counterparts. The fact that the WJEC event will parallel Highway Africa may lead to linking with the media industry. It could also be that the WJEC will see some bridging between African journalism educators of different languages and regions. Whether it will generate a level of bonding, however, within African parameters, is going to be a function of how well the constituency understands and executes the importance of social networking among itself.

Success in building networks to benefit African journalism education should encompass bonding, bridging and linking. Although South Africa’s historical experience of journalism education suggests that linking (to industry) is more successful than bonding, it is possible that intra-African bonding could be pre-condition or foundation for all kinds of effective linkages (internationally, to local industry, or to donors)... and vice versa. ■

Teaching the future: a case study in preparing journalism students to work in a new (and multiple) media future

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In common with journalism schools around the world, Wits Journalism finds itself having to balance the need to train journalists for entry into a traditional newsroom with the need for them to have the flexibility to adapt to major likely changes to newsroom production. Do we train them for next year, when they are likely to be tested in a conventional newsroom, or for the next few years, when newsrooms and the demands made on journalists are likely to be radically different?

Wits Journalism's main course is a one-year Honours (4th year) programme which prepares graduate students for entry into newsrooms. In 2006, Wits Journalism embarked on a Television and Mobile Journalism course which grew out of a partnership with a major media company, Multichoice, which shared with us an interest in having students experiment with new media technologies. It involved the students not only in content production, but in the study of audiences, markets and the management of a media operation, and demanded the acquisition of high levels of new skills in a very short time.

Multichoice's DStv Mobile has run an extensive pilot project in South Africa with some 10 channels broadcast to mobile phones. The partnership provided a basis for exploring not only television but also some of the world's most advanced new media technologies including mobile television (DVB-H), and 'mobisites' (websites designed specially for mobile phones) as well as utilising bluetooth as a broadcasting medium.

Key to our approach has been project-based collaborative learning, with students taking responsibility for a finished product, working in an environment modeled on professional working conditions, but largely under their own control. The critical education difference, apart from the presence of mentors, was regular and structured individual and group reflection and criticism.

Our course in 2007 gave the students the opportunity to make short programmes (usually less than three minutes), which were scheduled and programmed on one of the dstv mobile broadcast channels. The 2008 course was more ambitious. As well as being responsible for making content, the students created their own media platform, marketed it to their target audience and managed it on a daily basis. The course consisted of a three-week training programme (full time) followed by a further eight-week practical (part time). After the practical, the students were required to submit a project portfolio of work and to write an essay that captured their learning on the course.

The students were set an objective at the beginning of the course: to create a mobile news and information service for students at Wits. They were given access to sophisticated resources, including a mobile internet site using a platform developed by Boost, a Norwegian company that is a leader in developing mobile journalism sites; a Content Management System (CMS) operated online from three PC workstations in a student newsroom; a Bluetooth broadcasting network installed at five sites across the campus run from a CMS server in the newsroom; one Final Cut Pro editing suite running on an Apple G4; and five Nokia N95 phones – donated by Nokia – with tripods, capable of recording audio, stills and video with specially developed software to enable direct uploading of media from the phones to the mobile site. In addition, they were given a small budget for marketing.

In the first three weeks the students had to establish their media product, identify their audience, create a media brand, conduct pre-launch audience research through questionnaires and focus groups, design their mobile web site and plan a marketing campaign to launch their service to their intended audience. Over the subsequent eight weeks the students had to produce content daily, moderate forums on the mobisite, manage the platforms, and conduct further audience research and marketing to build and maintain an audience.

The key journalism-specific skills that students applied were story gathering, story selection, story writing and story editing. The students had previously researched and written stories for the student newspaper and many had had editorial responsibility for assigning and editing stories. But the experience of applying these skills differed greatly from their newspaper experience. There was very little 'in-depth' journalism. As one of the students put it, they were in the business of producing 'bite-sized news'. This was partly a product of the medium, but mostly was result of the students' own decisions about the media product and brand that they designed, based on their analysis of what news and information their audience – fellow students – would want delivered to their phones.

The key media skills the students gained were those needed in designing media for audiences, conducting and analyzing audience research and marketing media. In our view this is an important area of learning which is likely to become increasingly important for journalists amongst other media professionals. In the new media landscape, understanding audience requirements and creating products for those audiences are no longer the prerogative of large corporate national or international media groups.

The key skills the students learnt in relation to the medium they were working in – specifically mobile media – were in mobisite design and content management, creating and adapting content for the mobile phone. A number of the students also gained skills in shooting and editing video.

Students also gained management skills, by which we mean the skills required to organise others, to work within a system of division of labour, to manage a project and indeed to organise oneself.

It was clear that, within the constraints, it was not possible to teach technical skills in the medium to the same level of depth as the students are taught in print. The most significant constraint was time. Another was that in mobile media the medium specific 'rules' of design, layout, writing etc. are not well established.

The course was successful in enabling the students to learn how to analyse a medium and the relationship between content and the medium, and also to apply editorial decision-making. It confirmed that, given the tools, students were able to produce new media content to a high standard. The course also demonstrated that students could experiment with and research new media, creating insights that were in some cases original and in other cases consistent with studies undertaken both by researchers and by industry.

The course also underlined the complexity of the range of skills and knowledge required. What emerged was the difference in practical teaching within an established medium such as print, or even television, and teaching in a new media context where these norms are still 'under construction'. In established media, journalistic values, norms and practices have been formed within the profession itself and indeed codified and documented. Some of these may indeed apply to all or at least many media (ethics for example), but many may not.

The course demonstrated the challenges of having students undertake practical work in more than one medium simultaneously. The stress of being responsible for both the student newspaper and the mobile journalism platform at the same time was at times too great and threatened to compromise the students' learning. This has significant implications for debates concerning adapting the curriculum to take account of new media. Where teaching is focused around practical experience, and there are only so many hours available during the year for this practical work then, if new media platforms are added into the curriculum, this may well be at the expense of experiential learning on the traditional platforms.

We would suggest that the way that 'theory' and 'practice' are combined in the curriculum should be reconsidered, and specifically that there may be an important opportunity to look at ways of integrating or combining these in new ways. We should balance the need to prepare students for the job market and the need to prepare them for the fact that those working environments are likely to become unrecognisable within their own working lives. If we aim to prepare students for an uncertain future simply by adding to an already crowded curriculum, we are likely to compromise the depth of our teaching. Instead, we need to consider a radical re-organisation of the curriculum.

The core curriculum should move away from the print bias that has dominated almost all journalism teaching, to a more 'media-neutral' position. To do this, we need to distinguish the 'rules' and skills of journalism into those that are platform-specific and those that are platform-neutral. At the same time, we need to offer students the opportunity to produce journalism in as wide a range of media as possible so that they themselves experience applying general journalistic principles in a wide range of media-specific contexts. An approach to be considered is to create an integrated newsroom with a (media-neutral) newsgathering hub feeding media specific output desks (radio, print, television online, mobile, etc.).

Finally, our engagement with a media organization (Multichoice) affirms our view that these challenges in fact represent a significant opportunity for journalism schools. After decades of stability, professional news organizations now have a pressing need for high quality research on how to use new media tools and how to organize their resources to meet audience demands. Journalism schools have an opportunity to become leaders in providing such research, and we have found that Honours students are capable of participating in such research. As teaching institutions, we need to be at the leading edge of experimenting with these changes, not fighting to catch up. This points to a new research role for journalism schools in the future – one that enhances, rather than competes with, our pedagogical responsibility.