BUTTON PUSHERS OR THE FOURTH ESTATE?

JOURNALISTS IN THE 21ST CENTURY

by

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Abstract

It should be possible to link the health of journalism with the training of journalists.
Yet even with the growth of formal journalism training courses in the UK, there is no
evidence to suggest that journalism is any healthier today than it was in the past.
So what exactly are journalists being taught on journalism programmes? And what is
the ideology which underpins journalism training? Are journalists being trained to be
professionals, to serve the public, or are they being trained in a craft, to do a job?
Attitudes of journalists themselves appear to have changed. The majority now believe
that that their occupation is a profession and that they are the equals of solicitors,
teachers and university lecturers, high up on the scale of professions. Yet research
shows that editors are less concerned that their new recruits have a sense of public
duty or ethics and more interested in them being enthusiastic, flexible and positive.
Training for both print and broadcast journalists in the UK is overseen by two similar,
though not identical, industry bodies, the National Council for the Training of
Journalists and the Broadcast Journalism Training Council. Yet despite these close
industrial links, many editors still recruit from a variety of different sources,
apparently clinging to the notion that journalists are born, not made.
This thesis describes the history and development of journalism training. It examines
current practice to establish which of the competing ideologies of craft or profession
holds sway today and whether editors would prefer their new recruits to be button-
pushers or the Fourth Estate.

Acknowledgements

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Journalists in the 21st Century

Introduction

The standard of journalism in Britain has often been linked to the way journalists are educated and trained. The first Royal Commission on the Press (1949) decided that the quality of the press relied on the quality of its individual journalists. By raising the educational standards of those who work within the press, the quality of journalism generally would be raised.

But this so-called 'professionalising strategy' (Curran 2000, p. 39) seems to have had little or no effect. Journalists now are viewed by the public as less trustworthy than politicians (Worcester 1998, p. 48). Regular outcries about the sensationalism and voyeurism of the press come not just from the public but from fellow journalists (Moore 1997) and this, in an era, when journalism courses are more plentiful than at any time in the past. (The UCAS website lists 237 courses in Journalism (UCAS 2000) and these do not include the industry-validated courses at postgraduate or further education level).

Of course, the first Royal Commission's vision was convincingly destroyed by its flawed offspring, the General Council of the Press which not only failed to lay down standards, but also took absolutely no part in recruitment or training, thereby leaving the education of journalists by default largely to the mercy of local newspaper editors, a divided education system and the occasional entrepreneur who had a genuine interest in the subject. Indeed, the Press Council's (and its successor, the Press Complaints Commission's) toothless attempts at setting standards to regulate the excesses of the press have only served to further confuse the issue. (1)

Where standards are seen as subject to economic pressures, market-driven in a fiercely competitive environment and linked closely to the Zeitgeist, it is no wonder that trainers and educators, who work in a public sector environment, find it difficult to reconcile both the needs of the industry they serve and the interests of the public.

Thus, the conflicts which have racked journalism for the last two hundred years and these ever-present debates about whether journalism is a craft or a profession and what journalism is *for,* find themselves replicated in journalism training and perpetuated by journalism training policy.

These tensions are further complicated by the far-reaching political, social and technological changes, which have affected both the journalism industry and the world of education, where most journalism training is carried out. Structural and regulatory changes within the press and broadcasting in the last quarter of a century have changed the nature of employment from a largely permanent to a contract or freelance basis (Keeble 1998). Technological advances have produced both huge job losses in and new opportunities for news organisations but have also brought changing skill-needs and re-framed once again the debate about standards and integrity in a cyber-world which is difficult, if not impossible, to regulate. All of these impact on journalism trainers, who are themselves working in organisations which have their own pressures. The mass education policies since the 1960s and the implications of the 'learning society' of the 1990s (National Committee of Inquiry into Higher Education 1997) are changing the nature of higher education fundamentally. Journalism education and training now find themselves grappling with the educational debates of graduateness and life-long learning and the more practical problems of catering for rising student numbers and remaining financially viable.

This thesis looks in detail at journalism training and education in Britain.
Part One traces the development of journalism as a skilled occupation and the evolution of training. It examines how, from early days, the problems of defining what a journalist is and does became a major obstacle to the development of formal training, how social factors militated against professional development in favour of white collar status, and how there was a systemic failure, both in education and in journalism, to integrate the teaching of journalism into higher education, resulting in 'training', rather than 'education', becoming the dominant characteristic.

It goes on to look at the current context within which journalism training is taking place. It traces the changing fortunes of newspapers and the rapid fragmentation of the broadcast industry both of which are exacerbating the unresolved problem of 'what is a 'journalist', and looks at the conflicts being faced by the industry-recognised training courses within the higher and further education systems.

Having established how journalism training developed, Part Two publishes the results of two major surveys carried out by the author; one among editors of local and national newspapers, the BBC, and commercial radio and television stations, the other among course directors of the training courses accredited by the National Council for the Training of Journalists and the Broadcast Journalism Training Council.

Both editors and course directors were asked a wide range of questions to establish what they want from their trainee journalists, what kind of skills and knowledge they believe are important for the job and what kind of person they are looking for. The results were then compared and analysed.

By looking in such detail at the recruitment ground for the news industry, at the very interface between trainers and employers, some of the major issues which affect journalism training were identified and explored. We can then speculate with some authority about what kind of journalist is being produced for the 21st century - button-pushers or the Fourth Estate - and, in turn, what kind of journalism we can expect in the future.

PART 1

The long and winding road to professionalism -

The development of journalism training

Systematic journalism training is a relatively new phenomenon. Training before the 1950s was left almost exclusively up to individual editors – and then it was largely of the 'sitting next to Nellie' variety. Certainly the Kelmsley group of newspapers earned the praise of the first Royal Commission on the Press for their in-house training scheme (Zbaraschuk 1969, p.9) and London University managed to run a course for a record twenty years in the inter-war years but these were notable exceptions.

Although journalism developed as an occupation early in the 19th century, uncertainty over what actually constituted 'journalism' prevented any agreement about how to prepare someone for the job. The occupation was split in every possible way – between London and the provinces, between the Oxbridge graduates and the barely educated, between the writer and the reporter. When formal training finally got underway, it was tentative, piecemeal and treated with contempt by many. The idea that 'a journalist is born and not made' has held sway for longer than a century (2). Training from the start carried with it the baggage of unresolved issues from the past. In particular it carried with it the unresolved question of whether, and to what degree, journalism was a craft or a profession – a highly skilled occupation or a public service.

The first part of this thesis looks at the development of journalism, the evolution of training and the context in which modern training for both press and broadcasting now takes place, and it shows how the contesting ideologies of craft and profession manifest themselves throughout. It concentrates only on the vocational training which is recognised by the industry; those courses, validated by industry-accreditation bodies. This is because, despite the literally thousands of media studies courses which exist in Britain (3), the industry only formally recognises those accredited by the National Council for the Training of Journalists and the Broadcast Journalism

Training Council, making these courses the interface between the industry and specialist vocational education. Having set the scene, we can then, in Part Two, go on to examine in detail the recruitment practices of editors, what they are looking for in their new recruits and how well the vocational courses meet their particular needs. In doing so, we are able to see how the debate over the function of journalism is played out through training.

CHAPTER 1

The development of journalism as a skilled occupation and the evolution of training.

This chapter looks at how journalism developed as an occupation in Britain. It examines what skills and knowledge were deemed to be important and how these changed as journalism itself changed. It details the various attempts to establish training for journalists but how, from the very start, differing views about what was required dogged all attempts to set up a recognised entry route. The tension between craft and profession, which was evident from the beginning, both in how people viewed journalism and how it was practised, and the way this tension was exacerbated by the education system, can be seen in the arguments surrounding journalism education and training.

The beginnings of journalism as an occupation

'Journalism emerged historically with periodicity of publication. Only when postal service, printing capacity and supply of material were all sufficiently and consistently developed to the point at which regular weekly, thrice weekly, or daily appearance could be assured, did journalism come recognisably into existence. *This was in the seventeenth century, when printing – but not journalism – was an acknowledged occupation.*' (emphasis added) (Smith 1978, p. 155)

The occupation of journalism as we know it, by which someone 'earns his living by editing or writing for a public journal or journals' (4), evolved from a world where printers had been the skilled workforce, often fulfilling most of the modern-day roles of writer, editor, and publisher. The concept of 'news', one of the most important products of journalism, has changed, according to the particular reigning economic,

political and social realities of the time. Today it is examined and re-defined endlessly by academics (5) but the news of today, by any definition, differs radically from the news of the seventeenth and eighteenth century. The licensing laws in the early 17th century ensured support for the Crown in publications. After the revolution of 1689 destroyed intellectual and political certainties and legitimised the non-biological succession to the throne, factional politics took hold and publications were open to be used by every propagandist (Smith, 1979, p. 45). Those who wrote for them were generally subservient to politics and were not respected (ibid). These publications were regularly used to spread scurrilous gossip and those who wrote and printed them were open to bribes (ibid).

The printer/publisher would write much of the content himself. Political diatribes or speeches would have formed much of the staple diet of newspapers, in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. These were often written by politicians who subsidised the publications. Adverts from traders, who also helped fund publications which could further their economic interests, would have supplemented, or replaced this content.

There were exceptions to this rather bleak view of 'journalism' as being in the pay of the highest bidder. Daniel Defoe, writing in the early eighteenth century is widely believed to have provided a 'landmark in the history of journalism' (Hudson 1945, p. 18) with his 'Review of the State of the English Nation' but, in general, the role of the professional journalist as would be recognised today and the job of journalism as a separate occupational area from which a full-time living could be earned had not yet evolved.

'..there were no techniques as yet developed within the business of writing by which any form of reportage was manufactured within the journalistic enterprise' (Smith 1978, p. 158)

The 'skills', if they can be called that, were the skills of persuasive writing.

<u>The growth of newspapers</u>

But as the nineteenth century progressed, the fortunes of newspapers grew and a market for a different sort of content developed. Libel laws were relaxed, stamp duty abolished, new steam and cylinder press technology allowed larger and faster print runs and rapid distribution found a substantial urbanised and increasingly literate population. By 1851, two thirds of the male population and half of all women could read (Asquith 1978, p. 102). In the aftermath of the French revolution, the Napoleonic and Crimean wars had fuelled the public's interest in information. The radical press, particularly, encouraged activists to submit reports of struggles and unrest (Elliott 1978, p. 178).

As the technology advanced, so urbanisation continued and the 'retail sector' grew. The amount of advertising in newspapers allowed them to drop their prices. The 'penny paper' was born bringing newspapers into the reach of ordinary people and making the provincial press strong. The Companies Act encouraged investment and newspaper concerns ceased to be family concerns but became joint stock companies enabling them to expand. The number of newspapers grew dramatically. Between 1851 and 1871, the number doubled to 1,390. By the end of the century there were 2,488 (Bainbridge 1984, p. 33). By the end of the century, education was free to all. Newspapers covered the full range of subjects; politics, culture and the economy. Women were seen increasingly as an important part of the market and Sunday newspapers, which had some of the biggest sales, began to carry content which interested women (Schudson 1978, p.100).

It has been said that journalism, as we understand it, is 'an invention of the nineteenth century' (Chalaby 1996, p. 304). News as a modern-day concept was able to take hold because the political and economic climate had enabled it to flourish. The financially independent press, funded by adverts and able to keep its prices down, could steer clear of political favour and shun bribes. It could concentrate on providing news of what was happening both at home and overseas. The increasingly urbanised and literate population craved news of events, rather than literary excellence (although the literary man or woman still survived) and information, rather than ideas (ibid).

By the middle of the nineteenth century, the journalist was indispensable, particularly to the London press, which was stationed at the centre of the political world and whose papers were sold the length and breadth of England. Ivon Asquith notes that at

the end of the 18th century, just one or two journalists would have been needed on a London newspaper while by 1850, journalistic staff could consist of dozens of specialists, ranging from parliamentary reporters to those covering law courts, foreign correspondents based in the major capitals of Europe and leader writers (Asquith 1978, p. 109). What is more, journalism as an occupation was beginning to attract people with high academic qualifications. As early as 1810, of 23 reporters in the Houses of parliament, 18 had degrees (Smith 1979), The growth of the press as a commercial institution (although not commercialised) enabled people to earn a living full- time from journalism, transforming it from what was, for most people, a part-time leisure pursuit or political 'bandwagon' into an occupation (Elliott, 1978, p. 173).

Journalist – public 'philosopher' or information-giver?

The changing economic circumstances of an expanding press, which was becoming ever more influential, not only brought about radical changes in the content of newspapers, but also threw into sharp relief the uncertainty about whether the journalist should be a writer and 'public philosopher' (Smith 1978) or a reporter and information-giver.

Journalism in the middle of the nineteenth century, has been described as coming 'close to attaining full development as a profession', although the writer subsequently amended this to say that by then it was respectable, though still not prestigious. (O'Boyle 1968, p. 313). But just how 'respectable' it was depended very much on what kind of journalism was pursued. Journalism would, as now, have had a variety of different meanings and 'journalist' would have referred to a variety of people all of whom performed a different kind of work which warranted payment as 'journalism' (see Chapter 6 for more on this). One form of 'journalist', who was a throw back to earlier times, was the writer who aired his observations and views in the various journals and expected to be paid for his time. In the earlier part of the nineteenth century, this could have been the proprietor himself, by definition a gentleman whose publication may well have been threatened by the number of newspapers which sprang up after the repeal of stamp duty. These 'gifted amateurs' have a particular importance in the history of journalism and their impact can be felt in any analysis of

journalism training. The Victorian middle-class supported these professional 'men of letters'. They were often critics and columnists who paid their way by their literary works. In 1841, there were 200 such people who classed themselves as 'authors' or professional writers; by the end of the 19th century, there were nearly 14,000. (Elliott 1972, p. 55). Writing was an important profession. However, there also existed those who pursued less lofty forms of journalism. There would have been the 'hack' who was needed to tell of events (Schudson 1978, p. 27) and, although even by the mid-nineteenth century journalism could be pursued as a full-time occupation by some, journalism for the hack was still a precarious route to take. While Elliott notes that some individuals could command high salaries, even at the start of the nineteenth century (Elliott 1978 p. 173), others died in dire poverty, having hawked their individual pieces around from publication to publication. (Hampton 1999, p. 186). In 1864, the Newspaper Press Fund - a benevolent fund for journalists and their families – was begun and by 1873, more than £2,282 had been provided to over 100 applicants (ibid, p. 186).

Then there was yet another type of journalist - the 'reporter' whose shorthand skills were required to report verbatim on political events of all kinds in the nineteenth century, particularly parliamentary proceedings where newspaper reporters had finally, in 1806, won the right to sit in the public gallery.

Profession or Craft? A constant refrain

It is difficult to separate any discussion of the training of journalists from arguments about the ideals of journalism and about what constitutes professionalism. It is important here to note that the two particular definitions of journalism – journalist as public philosopher, as Smith (1978) calls it, and journalist as reporter – have formed the basis out of which has grown the very kernel of the problems which continue to surround the training of journalists today, namely whether journalism is an intellectual pursuit, best served by a general education supplemented by skills, or whether it is a craft skill which should be taught apprentice-mode. This argument, in turn, cannot be separated from the economic requirements of the many (and increasing number of) industries in which journalism plays a substantial role. It is true to say that the

American journalist was also subject to the same dilemma; namely whether he should be a 'gifted amateur or a narrow specialist' (Weaver & McCombs 1980, p. 480). But the dilemma in the United States was resolved more comfortably because of the way the education system allowed journalism training to develop in America (6). All these issues are dealt with more fully in subsequent chapters.

While the 'professional' writer used his intellect and writing abilities to comment on the issues of the day, the reporter in the 19th century was a highly skilled worker whose shorthand abilities were in great demand at a time when parliamentary reporting and indeed coverage of many public events formed a large part of newspaper content. The skill required was one of being able to report verbatim. The contrast, therefore, would have been between the former "old-style cultured' reporter.... whose longhand reflected his education and intellectual predilections' and the precise reporting of the shorthand reporter. (Smith 1978, p. 162). The reporter would also have gained authority amongst readers from the growing respect for science and Positivism, as evidenced by Darwin, and the concept that facts equal truth, that reality can be observed and reported (Schudson 1978, p. 73). Shorthand was a written form of documentary photography, which was emerging at about the same time and it made the reader feel that what (s)he was reading was true. It challenged the literary-oriented journalists by giving a neutrality to journalism which had hitherto been missing. (Smith 1978, p. 162).

Shorthand is a controversial subject in today's journalism. Its value for broadcast journalists is regularly discussed by the broadcast journalism accreditation body, the Broadcast Journalism Training Council (7), which has dropped it as a pre-requisite for validation and many courses have ceased to teach shorthand to students. However, in the mid 19th century, this was the first skill in which a person could be trained with a view to earning money for providing newspaper content. Smith (1978) quotes a shorthand manual from 1869, which extols the benefits of mastering shorthand (Lockwood & Co. 1869, p. 27). More importantly, as a financially worth-while skill which also carried with it the 'values of the time', it enabled the public image of the journalist to be raised to 'the status of an engineer or philosopher' (Smith 1978, p. 162).

This then was what was regarded as valuable for journalists in the middle years of the nineteenth century; the ability to report verbatim, with absolute accuracy.

New Journalism – New Skills

New technology, coupled with social advances, moved journalism on again. The development of the telegraph and the advent of the news agencies, which began to syndicate news, meant that newspaper reporters were liberated from simply reporting events. The lobby correspondent, who mingled with the politicians, no longer simply reported what was said in parliament but found out what things meant, the 'news behind the news'. Covering news moved beyond reporting events in the belief that 'reality' could be found behind the scenes. Journalists could choose what to write about, editors could choose what appeared in the paper. Shorthand lost some of its importance. News became what Anthony Smith called a 'structured form of reality'. In the fight for readers, the ' story' was born. This in turn carried implications for the journalist in terms of social responsibility. (Smith 1978, p. 168).

Moreover, the telegraph created the modern journalistic form – short, pithy sentences which cost little to transmit. The 'inverted pyramid' news story, with its important facts at the top and succinct style, was born for reasons of economy but has come to embody a journalist's professionalism. Necessity became a virtue.

The journalism of the late nineteenth century, where the press was organised as an industry rather than in small concerns, was concerned with reaching large audiences and was driven by deadlines made possible by the telegraph. The 'Northcliffe Revolution' was an 'Evolution' – a process which saw newspapers develop into vehicles for selling.

This so-called New Journalism, as epitomised by the Daily Mail, launched in 1896, had a major effect on writing and reporting. Although the basic 'values' underpinning how newspapers operated remained the same, news-driven, financially independent, untainted by political scandal, the skills needed for the new papers were different. Writing was brighter, bolder, and crisper (Lee 1976, p. 120). Less reporting was verbatim. There was a degree of specialisation. The New Journalism needed a new type of journalist, one who could help sell the paper. It's reported that America took the style to its heart when Alfred Harmsworth (later Lord Northcliffe) brought out an edition of the Pulitzer's World newspaper with the instructions to newspaper reporters that 'no story (should be) of more than 250 words' (Evans 1999).

London, meanwhile, was becoming increasingly dominant even though the provincial press had thrived during this period. London, as centre of an Empire, was a focal point for news in its own right. Papers produced in London continued to provide national and foreign news to the provinces and career structures for journalists led inevitably to London.

This, then, was the situation, in the last two decades of the 19th century when, for the first time, journalism training was beginning to be, if not discussed, then mooted. Newspapers were emancipated from, and seen to be independent of, political parties. They were reaping the benefits not only of a well-developed transport system which allowed them to be sold throughout England, but also of a rapidly growing retail sector which required wide advertising of their brands. An increasingly urbanised and literate population was eager for news which could be delivered quickly because of the new technology which allowed news deadlines to be shortened and print runs to be extended.

It was also a time when skill -needs began to be dictated by the product, when necessity became a virtue – an imperative which may be seen to contrast sharply with the idea of impartial public service.

The Institute of Journalists and talk of training

The period outlined above has been called the mythical period of professionalism, squeezed between 'censorship, corruption and economic controls' on the press on the one hand and the commercialism of publishing for a mass audience which was to come later in the twentieth century. (Elliott 1978, p. 182)

The economic and organisational development of the press as an industry at the end of the 19th century coincided with, or helped create, two movements, namely the drive towards what has been called 'professional society' (Perkin 1989) and the development of trade unionism. The history of education and training for journalists cannot be separated from either movement.

As was mentioned earlier, the influx of reporters whose most valuable skill had been shorthand, had been a challenge to those who viewed journalism as a vehicle for their creative writing and editorial skills. Journalism was now an industry which required a workforce which could fill the expanding numbers of pages and avoid falling foul of

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the law. There were no pre-requisites for employment, not even the ability to write, it seems. Sir Wemyss Reid (1842 – 1885) said 'the ordinary reporter on a country paper was generally illiterate, was too often intemperate and was invariably ill-paid" (Mansfield 1943, p.17). Journalism was in fact an occupation which attracted a diverse spread of people from those at the lower end of the employment spectrum, on weekly provincial papers, who had a basic education, to the high flyers on Fleet Street. Remuneration would reflect this open approach to employment. Now, as then, the overwhelming view was that 'talent' would out and would be rewarded. But there were many who earned little. Bundock's jubilee history of the National Union of Journalists tells of a reporter at the turn of the century who may be expected to pay to be taken on for a five year apprenticeship during which his salary would remain at a paltry sum (Bundock 1957, p. 1).

For long periods of time, journalism had suffered from a strange mix of reputations. In some cases, editors and writers mixed with the great and the good, senior politicians and statesmen. But others regarded journalism as fit only for a 'thorough-going blackguard' (Sir Walter Scott 1829 p. 262).

It was in this period when the economic independence of the press was resulting in a new form of journalism that, in 1883, a group of journalists formed themselves into the National Association of Journalists with the avowed intention of increasing the status of journalists.

The National Association of Journalists which was incorporated as the Institute of Journalists and received its Royal Charter in 1890, and its importance in the debate about professionalisation is dealt with more fully in chapter 6 but its impact on the development of training for journalists stems for the most part from its attempts to introduce an examination system for new journalists. For the first time, attempts were being made to analyse what makes a good journalist and to decide on the best way of testing for those skills. The Institute's failure to introduce such a scheme stems partly from the difficulties inherent in such a task but also from its motives and internal tensions.

The Institute was primarily concerned with status. Their Royal Charter spells out members' intention to promote 'whatever may tend to the elevation of status and the improvement of the qualifications of all members of the Journalistic Profession' (The Royal Charter, 2(b) 1890). To do this they intended to 'devise measures for testing the qualifications of candidates for admission to professional membership of the Institute

by examination in theory and in practice or by any other actual and practical tests'
(The Royal Charter, 2(a) 1890).

The Institute's eyes were on the great professions of law and medicine which
regulated their members by way of a rigorous system of technical examinations and a
disciplinary body.

Yet an examination system, which effectively controlled entry to journalism, was also
seen as a bar to the hitherto open entry system which many members believed
encouraged people with talent to join. This stemmed partly from the notion that you
could not produce a journalist by way of education (Hampton 1999, p. 190) and that
the journalist is born not made. This notion that a journalist is somehow innately
talented has played a crucial role in the development of training and has permeated
thinking until the present day. There are many who still subscribe to this school of
thought, which is one of the reasons why, unlike law or medicine, there is still no one
way to enter a career in journalism. The idea that a 'man of letters' should have a
liberal education, possess intellectual prowess and should learn any technical
expertise 'on the job' (Escott 1895, pp109-110) is one of the reasons why a prime
source of recruitment to the journalism industry was traditionally from Oxbridge
(Gross, 1969, p. 63). The high status this confers on a journalist matches the power
which a journalist can wield in the course of his/her work. (Boyd-Barrett 1970, p.
185)

However, a more cynical objection to an entry-level examination system for
journalists in 1889 came from the proprietors who formed part of the membership of
the Institute of Journalists (a fact which was to scupper any possible future merger
with the as yet unformed National Union of Journalists). The objection was that a
closed shop would effectively result from an entry exam and this would cause labour
costs to rise.

The major reason the examination system failed was that the Institute itself was far
more engaged in the idea of professional status rather than that of professional
efficiency (Hampton 1999 p. 189). Ironically, this in turn, was probably one of the
seeds of its own ultimate defeat in the battle with the National Union of Journalists for
members. Many of the Institute's members did not want to create a scarcity of
journalists by devising an entrance exam which would keep people out. What they
actually wanted was to create journalists who were worthy of social esteem (ibid, p.
190). An article in the Globe in 1892 said that'

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'training in any department would deprive journalism of what has always been its best recruiting ground – the men who entered it because it is free and open...' (ibid p. 192)

But at the same time, there were many Institute members, who saw the value of excluding people who were dabbling in journalism occasionally and threatening their livelihoods. These splits within the Institute membership would have been exacerbated by the changing nature of the industry. Whereas before, proprietors and journalists were more likely to be interchangeable – it was quite possible for a journalist to establish a paper and, conversely, for a proprietor to sell his skills as a journalist – but as more capital was invested in newspapers, the gulf between proprietor/editors and reporters became more marked (Christian 1980, p. 262). Discussions over the exam system revealed a great deal about the diversity of journalists and the different regard in which they were held. Editors and correspondents, namely journalists, had a higher status than reporters (ibid, p. 267). Even in its founding conference, this was evident with the decision that 'it should consist of gentlemen engaged in *journalistic* work' (emphasis added) (ibid p. 267). One member had wanted to substitute 'gentlemen engaged in the literary work of newspapers' (ibid p. 267).

The Institute never resolved these problems and the practical difficulties of devising a suitable examination system, which were also substantial, masked some of these fundamental contradictions about the role and status of a journalist.

The Institute's examination

There were several attempts at producing an examination system before a proposal was presented to the Institute's conference in Edinburgh in 1892. This consisted of two separate examinations, one for pupil-associates and one for admission to membership of the Institute (Bainbridge 1984 p. 55).

The changes which had been discussed during the previous eight years were indications of the tensions within the Institute.

The first thoughts by the National Association of Journalists, prior to their Royal Charter, had included a viva voce exam in English literature and general knowledge,

the condensing of a speech, writing a short essay, making paragraphs of narrated incidents and a test on grammar - a test which a 16 year old of average intelligence could pass (Hunter 1982, p. 102). After the NAJ became the Institute, the test became harder.

The first exam for pupil associates required the candidate to write 500 words on one of six given topics, correct grammatical mistakes and be examined in English history and literature, arithmetic, algebra, the first book of Euclid and geography (with special reference to England and the Empire), translate a passage of either Latin, French or German, condense a 1000 word report by two thirds, write a paragraph about three narrated incidents and summarise a balance sheet. Shorthand was optional (Bainbridge 1984, p. 55). Meanwhile the second exam for membership required candidates to be proficient in English language and literature, constitutional and political history, political and physical geography, Latin, French or German, composition and precis writing, newspaper libel law, verbatim reporting, descriptive writing and public and legal business (ibid p. 55).

The scheme caused considerable disquiet and was revised yet again. This reflected the tensions within the Institute. On the one hand, some of the exams were not particularly taxing – calling into question the standards required by a journalist (ibid, p. 56) – on the other hand, other topics, such as Euclid, could disadvantage those who had been out of school, and working in journalism, for many years and who were not used to taking exams (Hunter 1982, p. 105). Many members would have preferred more technical testing, but the range of skills needed by a journalist prohibited such a test (Bainbridge 1984 p. 47). This particular problem has continued to challenge journalism trainers though the years. As Carr-Saunders (1933) noted,

'It has often proved difficult to describe the whole range of activities falling within the scope of a profession; more often than not they are many and various. But a connecting link can usually be found between them because it appears on analysis that these activities take the form of applying a particular technique in different spheres of practice. This cannot be said of journalists' (p. 265-266)

and Tunstall, in his study of journalists in 1971, noted that there is no 'single clear core activity' (Tunstall 1971, p. 10).

This dilemma, which continues today, about what skills a journalist should have and what sort of training is most appropriate, whether it should be a general or a technical training, were particular relevant at this time when the Institute was attempting to equate journalism with the 'great' professions. There can be no greater contrast than between the mysterious, technical knowledge required by a doctor or lawyer, which helps form a barrier between the professional and the client, and the common knowledge which is deemed necessary for the journalist to know. (Hampton 1999, p. 193).

The discussions about entry requirements for journalists dragged on for many years. In 1899, a suggestion to replace the proposed compulsory exam with a voluntary one for pupil-associates was thrown out but still nothing was implemented. (Bainbridge 1984 pp56 – 58).

It was up to those outside the auspices of the Institute to introduce training and so attempt to raise standards for journalists.

Although the Institute failed in its attempt to set a benchmark for standards in journalism, its formation indicated a real attempt for the first time to grapple with the question of professionalisation and the role and status of journalists and its efforts to introduce an examination for new journalists is the first indication of a structured approach to the occupation of journalism.

From now on, education and training were on the agenda. But it was not only the minds of some journalists which began to be exercised by the idea of education and training. The close relationship between the professions and universities now began to show itself within the area of journalism and the debate was also being aired within the academic world. However, the uneasy relationship between education and training at the turn of the century, meant that the opportunity to establish schools for journalists within a higher educational framework, which presented itself at that time, was essentially doomed.

It is true that some initiatives in training and education were set up before the journalism industry was finally told to establish a national framework for training by the first Royal Commission on the Press but it was to take another 70 years before journalism training finally moved into what many believe to be its most appropriate home, higher education.

Higher Education in Britain at the turn of the 19th Century – home of the Professions

One of the major factors affecting journalism education and training is, and has always been, the education system in Britain. The 'liberal education' system which evolved in Britain and the under developed (and, for decades, under valued) framework for vocational education have continued to have an impact on journalism education. We can contrast Britain with America where the universities recognised from the late nineteenth century the value of encouraging people to study applied subjects within their institutions and adapted their education system accordingly. Already in the late 1880s, university courses were running degree in journalism and several American editors hired only college graduates (Schudson 1978, p. 68). 'Today the college bred men are the rule' declared the Journalist, an American trade publication, in 1900 (ibid p. 68). Although the path to journalism in the States had originally been similar to that in England – namely via the printer-editor or professional writer route, formal journalism education developed as early as 1870 and was closely associated with the universities, firstly within English departments, then independently and as Schools of Journalism (Weaver 1980 p. 480). It is worth noting that the education and training for American journalists which resulted from this historical development has been criticised in many quarters. Many academics feel that the initial concentration on English has weakened the rational and investigative nature of journalism (ibid, p. 481). Some journalists on the other hand feel that the broad nature of journalism studies at undergraduate level weakens the skills development (Medsger 1996) – an argument well aired in British journalism circles about media studies courses. However, these are modern arguments and the fact that professionalism was closely linked with a university education in America, that higher education saw itself as the 'right place' to enable people to learn a profession and a mark of success would have been the ability of a graduate to get employment, gave an impetus to journalism education there at the turn of the century. It is significant that America's first school of journalism – within a higher education institution – was founded by the newspaper proprietor, Joseph Pulitzer and opened its doors in 1913. The contrast with England was marked. Oxbridge was the defining model of a liberal education system, from where the best minds would move into the civil service

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(Elliott 1972). The London School of Economics was 'training the minds' of students with a view to taking up the profession of civil servant (ibid) or 'public administrator' as LSE's Director, William Beveridge called it (Hunter 1982, p. 56). Universities in Britain were designed to 'train the pick of the youth to be the leaders of the next generation' (Morgan 1934, p. 516) while in the U.S. "higher education was a place in which any person can find instruction in any study" as Ezra Cornell put it (Armytage 1962).

The roots of a liberal education were the classics, maths and the natural sciences, and this form of education lacked what was seen as some of the crucial elements for journalism, namely the technical skills, of news writing for example. We can track this dissatisfaction with a 'classical education' and the ensuing problems for journalism training, by looking at the few attempts to introduce journalism education and training in Britain.

Initiatives in training and education of journalists 1884 – 1952

The Institute of Journalists, as we have seen, was interested in raising the status of journalists, but less successful in achieving any tangible results. What would seem to be the natural place for journalism education and training, the universities, did not encourage technical training. Courses therefore developed on a piecemeal basis, without being given the opportunity to resolve some of the fundamental issues at the heart of journalism training. With the sole exception of London University's Diploma in Journalism, which survived for 20 years until the Second World War, attempts to organise any training or technical education for journalists in Britain were short-lived. Much of the information about early journalism training courses has been uncovered by Fred Hunter, one of the UK's earliest radio journalism trainers, whose unpublished PhD thesis *Grub Street and Academia: the relationship between journalism and education between 1880 and 1940* (1982) was a main source for this section (8).

First school of journalism 1887 – 88

One of the first schools of journalism opened its doors in 1887. The London School of Journalism offered a year's tuition at a cost of 100 guineas (Hunter 1982, p 98 - 102). It was run by an experienced journalist, David Anderson from the Daily Telegraph who adopted what was to become the modern method of training. Students covered all manner of stories, Anderson would read and criticise them and encourage his students to submit them to London newspapers. He even started a newspaper himself as a showcase for students work (ibid, p. 100), a teaching device adopted by most practical journalism courses in Britain today. According to one of his trainees, Anderson favoured students who had a knowledge of English history, constitutional law, political economy and general knowledge. (Lee 1977). The course lasted a year. Its significance rests in the truly vocational nature of its teaching and there is some evidence that students did end up in journalism. Nevertheless, its existence was short-lived and does not give any indication of either the industry or education having a structured approach to training.

City of London School

A short experiment at the public City of London school is worth mentioning, only because of the involvement of one of the press barons of the day. For a three year period, between 1903 and 1906, the City of London school benefited from a £3,000 donation from Lord Northcliffe, some of which was to be awarded as a travel bursary to the best journalism scholar in each of the three years, the remainder to be used for journalism education and training. Fred Hunter remarks how this took the form of newspaper visits, various lectures and practical writing exercises organised by William Hill, of the Westminster Gazette (Hunter 1982, p. 110).

An attempt to introduce a postgraduate course at Birmingham University

In 1908, proposals were drawn up for a postgraduate course for journalists at
Birmingham University by the professor of English Literature there, John Churton
Collins. It never got off the ground but it is worth looking at what was proposed to see
what the academic world regarded as beneficial to the budding journalist. The
syllabus comprised academic subjects namely, modern history, with particular
reference to political and social developments, economics, and English literature and
had no directly relevant or technical components (ibid, appendix vii). An original
proposal by Professor Collins had included specific training in various techniques of
journalism, descriptive writing, leader writing, practical aspects of making up a paper,
and the laws of copyright and libel, (ibid, appendix vi) but this did not survive.
The course had the backing of some in the local journalism community.
The course never ran because of Professor Collins' death.

Attempts to involve other universities in a Journalism course

The Birmingham University course could, however, have been the impetus to the only
substantial course in journalism to exist before the 1950s. Despite the failure of the
examination proposals, the Institute of Journalists retained their interest in education
and training and in 1908 the President Sir Alfred Robbins, himself a Birmingham
editor who would have known about the Birmingham University course, approached a
number of universities to consider the matter (ibid p. 118). The Institute's conference
that year was devoted to the topic and in his address, the President drew the
distinction in his speech between the respected journalist and the 'hack', one who
sought popularity ' in a good story.....purchased at the expense of truth.' (Institute of
Journalists *Proceedings* 1908). These words not only reflected the concern over
standards but may also be an indication of the continuing tension arising from the
'New Journalism'. The Daily Express had been founded in 1900, the Daily Mirror in
1903. Status and regard were also now dependent on the type of newspaper for which

a journalist worked (Elliott 1978, p. 179). Yet another layer of hierarchy was starting to develop within the world of journalists.

The 1908 conference was also addressed by the Professor of the Theory of Education at the Victoria University in Manchester, Dr. Michael Sadler, and he drew similarities between the two areas, teaching and journalism, which both stressed open access. He suggested that journalism students, like teachers, should have a liberal education and practical experience, namely an apprenticeship, at postgraduate level. (It is worth noting that, while this particular mode of education was already in force for teachers, it took another 62 years before it was introduced for journalists.)

There were differences of opinion amongst delegates. Nevertheless, the London University, which already ran two-year courses in Economics at the London School of Economics, entered into discussions with the Institute about a possible future course of study (Hunter 1982, p 122).

London University's two-year Diploma in Journalism, 1919 – 1939

This was, without doubt, the only enduring and sustained course in Journalism training before the National Council for the Training and Education of Young Journalists was founded in 1952. The course has been examined and the reasons for its demise explored in great detail by Fred Hunter (1982 pp. 158 – 299).

One can still hear the echoes of the ambivalence surrounding the London University course in journalism training today. In the course of its twenty-year history, it developed from what began as an academic programme to a more practical course incorporating much of the craft-skills which are taught in universities today. But its early curriculum dogged its reputation and did little to resolve the education/training debate which still weighs down the profession.

In 1918, the Institute of Journalists, which was a driving force in the setting up of the course, formed a university committee and called a conference to discuss the Diploma, to which journalism professors in the United States were invited. The course began a year later and was directed by a University Journalism committee which included members from the Institute of Journalists and the National Union of

Journalists, who asked to be included because of their concern about the numbers of their members who were unemployed after the war. The provincial newspaper proprietors' organisation, the Newspaper Society, subsequently joined. A major boost to the course's foundation would certainly have been government financial support for ex-servicemen, who had returned from the First World War and were wishing to pursue a career in journalism. When this money dried up, some newspaper groups as well as the Newspaper Society, the NUJ and the IOJ provided students with bursaries. The creation of the two-year diploma, for students between 17 and 21, reflected the changing relationship between academia and professional education, doubtless fuelled partly by the end of the war. Nevertheless, to begin with, the course was heavily weighted towards traditional academic subjects, such as history and science and the trainee journalists would attend classes in these subjects with students from other courses. There was little time for the specialist courses in composition, criticism and history of journalism. The programme was substantially different from the one originally planned which had contained more practical elements.

The Diploma's reputation in the newspaper world never quite recovered from these early days and it was to be criticised by the NUJ and students alike. The Institute again seemed to have sacrificed an opportunity to raise standards in journalism in its search for the high-status of academic learning. (Hunter 1982, p. 165). The course did change over the years, however, so much so that in 1921, the NUJ asked for it to be recognised as part of the qualifying period for union membership. The amount of practical journalism in the curriculum was increased and in the mid 1920s, students were to produce their own newspaper during a week of practical work, in an exercise which closely resembles current practice at journalism colleges. By the early 1930s, two part-time lecturers were employed and experienced journalists, including Frederick Mansfield from the NUJ, lectured on the course (Bundock 1957).

When Tom Clarke arrived as the first full-time Director of the course in 1935, he introduced substantially more practical work into the Diploma after studying what American universities had achieved in their schools of journalism.

His attitude towards teaching, given in detail by Fred Hunter (1982, pp230-257), shows not only how closely was his methodology of teaching to the modern-day but also how his view of journalism was influenced by what was again, in the mid thirties, being called the New Journalism. Until his arrival, the more lofty forms of journalism

had held sway – unchallenged by members of the Journalism committee, who were themselves more usually of the 'old school'. This, another indication of the unresolved tensions which existed within journalism, was giving students a one-sided picture of the reality they were to face on leaving the course. The reporter's job in the 1930s and 40s was different from the job in the early twentieth century. The move away from drama criticism, reviews and leading articles and towards reporting the news, was indicative of how the newspaper industry had changed since the First World War.

By now, newspapers were heavily commercialised and highly competitive. News styles were keeping pace and, for some, issues of sensationalism and intrusion were causes for concern. In 1934, two years before the National Union of Journalists agreed a Code of Professional Conduct to try to reign in the excesses of journalism, the National Executive Committee of the National Union of Journalists said,

"There seems to be a tendency on the part of some to assume that the world was made for the sole purpose of providing copy for the newspapers. There should be more restraint, more reticence and a greater sense of responsibility" (Mansfield 1943, p. 525).

As Mansfield says, this was not a new phenomenon and he speculates that,

'It may well be that it is the result of an ascending scale of taste and judgement applied to the Press, with a keener sense of social ethics....." (ibid, p. 524).

Journalism, and people's attitude towards journalism, was changing.

There is no doubt the London University Diploma formed the foundation of modern-day training for journalists. Under Tom Clarke's Directorship, not only was practical journalism introduced into a higher education setting, but also attempts were made to bridge the gap for students between 'academic' subjects and the practical techniques of journalism. Hunter (1982) talks of how Clarke felt education for journalists was a public service and intellectual qualifications were as important as professional skills. (p. 192).

Tom Clarke's assistant, herself a former student on the course, said that academic subjects needed to be 'taught journalistically' (Hunter, 1992) and this observation, made more than 30 years before journalism education was to find a permanent home in higher education, could serve as a definition of what actually takes place today. Moreover, the methodology Tom Clarke adopted, of transplanting the newsroom into the university and attempting to teach a number of different types of journalism are the precursors of what happens today.

However, it is indicative of the ambivalence both the university and the industry had towards the course that the programme was not to re-open its doors when the Second World War came to an end.

The National Union of Journalists and the road to a national framework for the training of journalists

There were other attempts to raise standards for journalists and to provide entry routes into journalism, but these were occasional and sporadic and had little significant effect for the industry as a whole.

Trinity College, Dublin, and the Institute of Journalists organised a series of public lectures with prominent figures in the first decade of the twentieth century (Hunter 1982, p. 125). Leeds University and the Institute of Journalists ran a series of lecturers for working journalists at around the same time (ibid p. 125). There were correspondence courses (Hunter 1998). But the major impetus was to stem, not from the Institute of Journalists, but from the National Union of Journalists, which was born in 1906 in Manchester as a reaction to the poor wages and conditions of journalists.

Already at the end of the nineteenth century, there had been murmuring inside the Institute of Journalists that nothing was being done for the poorer workers. The life of a newspaperman was in a state of flux. Economic factors were changing his working conditions. The drive for bigger circulations meant that the pressure was on for seven day working, new skills were required and the gulf between proprietors, editors, top 'correspondents' and the reporter, was widening. Life was getting harder for the average journalist. Statistics show that journalists from Fleet Street earned more than

teachers, but those in the provincial press earned substantially less. (Elliott 1978 p. 174 - 175). There was much criticism inside the Institute that nothing had been done "to improve the position, increase remuneration, and give to their members a higher standard and greater influence throughout the country" as had been promised in the early days (Hampton 1999, p.195).

The Institute's argument had been that wages would rise with qualifications, but the clear failure of this strategy meant that dissatisfaction was widespread.

The trade union movement was growing rapidly at the turn of the century and other groups of workers had benefited from common action.

The idea that the journalist was 'just a working man' as opposed to a professional worker was gaining ground and was given credence by the Victorian perception that there were 'productive' and 'unproductive' classes (Hampton 1999 p. 196).

On November 17, 1906, in a smoky room at the Albion Hotel in Manchester, around forty workers formed the National Union of Journalists, according to Henry Richardson, the first full-time General Secretary of the NUJ writing in the Journalist in 1925 (Richardson 1925).

The Union's prime concern was the living standard of its members and education is first discussed only in relation to London University's two year Diploma when they were invited to send delegates on to the Journalism committee in the early 1920s (Hunter 1982, p. 300). This prompted the Union to form a sub committee to look at the course and to consider the idea of establishing an education scheme of their own. In 1924, an Education committee was formed which was to remain as a standing committee of the NUJ, reporting directly to the National Executive Committee (Bundock 1957 p. 227).

Its influence in these relatively early days was marginal. In a move reminiscent of the Institute of Journalists in 1908, the Education sub-committee wrote to a number of universities asking about their views on educating journalists with the idea of establishing voluntary courses around the country (Hunter 1982, p. 301).

The universities gave a mixed response, many of them ill disposed to a separate form of education for journalists, others recommending the Workers Educational Association while Oxford University pointed out that many of their graduates already went directly into journalism (ibid, p. 303). The Union's main contribution at that time stemmed from the exchange of letters and publishing of articles about education in their house organ, the Journalist.

The committee agreed to give £200 to a student on the London University course. An unsuccessful attempt was made to hold a summer school. The union affiliated to the Workers Educational Association and a list of educational facilities was drawn up for members. Some practical books of instruction were written by those union officials interested in education (notably Frederick Mansfield – one of the part time lecturers at London University). An education officer, who was also a WEA lecturer, was appointed Education officer (Bundock 1957, p 228). In 1944, the Education committee ran a refresher course in reporting, sub-editing, law and local government, administered by Ruskin college, as there was 'no appropriate academic organisation for journalism' (ibid p. 228).

A national framework for training - born out of a drive for 'standards'

It was the mutual antagonism between the National Union of Journalists and the provincial newspaper proprietors' organisation, the Newspaper Society, which gave the final impetus, out of which a national framework for training was born.
Relations between the two sides were poor. The increasingly commercialised press was putting great pressure on the industry and on industrial relations. The inter-war period had seen cut-throat competition with readers being 'bought' with free gifts and free insurance (Bainbridge 1984, p. 86). The NUJ's members were being squeezed by the drive for profits and greater concentration of ownership.
One of the areas of contention was training. Both the Newspaper Society and the National Union of Journalists were concerned about the possible post-war shortage of journalists. Both organisations expressed a desire to draw up a training strategy but their mutual distrust and the union's desire to be involved with the selection of recruits led to nothing being done (Hunter 1982, p. 322). The Union referred the matter to the Joint Industrial Council and complained to the first Royal Commission on the Press which had been set up in 1947, partly at the behest of the Union, to look at the state of the British press and the standard of British journalism. As the next chapter will show, the debate over standards led eventually to the first national framework for journalism training in Britain.

It is possible to see, therefore, that, although journalism was recognised as an occupation since the early part of the 19th century, nearly 150 years later no firm conclusions had been reached as to how a journalist should best be trained. There were many reasons for this. The variety of ways in which journalism was practised meant that no consensus could be reached as to what skills and knowledge were required for those entering the job. The traditional liberal education system was not able or willing to provide the kind of environment in which journalism could be taught, (with the sole and temporary exception of London University) and the distrust between the National Union of Journalists, the Institute of Journalists and the employers, meant that no agreement could be reached on any of these issues. The inevitable result was that when formal training was finally established, it was burdened with all these unresolved contradictions.

CHAPTER 2

The media expand and the training debate continues

As the previous chapter has shown, there were several attempts to set up formal training for journalists before the 1950s, but these were, by and large, haphazard and short-lived and certainly had little consistent support from the industry as a whole. The course which had the most success, at London University, succeeded largely because of the determination of a handful of committed figures.

Chapter 2 looks at how a national framework for training eventually emerged, but how the unresolved tensions of the past continued to dog its heels, leaving it incapable of winning over the heart and minds of the industry as a whole. In the meantime, the post-war period saw a massive expansion both in the media industries and in higher education and re-awakened the debate about the ideal context for journalism education and training.

Training – post 1945

It is clear that, by the end of the Second World War, all three parties, the Institute of Journalists, the National Union of Journalists and the Newspaper Society wanted 'something done' but not enough to bury their differences. Writing in 1943, Frederick Mansfield, the NUJ's President from 1918-1919, said,

'so many 'drift' into journalism.......Some day the way will be clear for the Union to tackle the problem of a recognised and regular method of entry...' (Mansfield 1943, p. 16)

However, a head of steam was up, partly fuelled by the twenty-year long survival of the London University Diploma course. The NUJ formed its Education committee in 1924 and agreed to give £200 towards the London University course (Bundock 1957, p. 227). The union was invited to join the Advisory committee to the course and students were hoping that the two-year Diploma would count towards their three-year probationary period for union membership (Hunter 1982, p. 301). The NUJ's Education committee recommended that time off for journalists to study should be written into union agreements and that reference material be written to help in the process (ibid, p. 306). This period saw the first real handbooks on journalism being made available, largely due to individuals who saw a need for journalism education. (It is worth noting that much of the impetus for journalism education in the UK has been as a result of enthusiastic entrepreneurs working outside, and sometimes despite, the formal channels. This has continued to be the case and shows itself in the piecemeal introduction of web journalism training into courses in the late twentieth century (Bromley & Purdey 1998).

Back in the 1930s, however, when competition in the newspaper industry was at its peak, the union was desperate to limit entry into journalism and saw an entry examination as one way to achieve this. Union delegates even asked London University if it would allow working journalists to do the Diploma without attending the course (Hunter op. cit., p. 311).

The Union affiliated to the Workers Educational Association and encouraged their members to attend classes (Bundock op.cit, p. 228). The Newspaper Society was equally interested in establishing some sort of training but the antagonism between the Union and the Institute still scuppered the most hopeful developments. In 1931, for example, the Union pulled out of a joint committee comprised of its own delegates and representatives from the Institute and the Newspaper Society, set up 'to consider drafting a scheme for the training of journalists' (Hunter op. cit., p. 312).

The end of the Second World War did not lead to the kind of help from the government that the industry had received in 1918, when grants were made available to returning servicemen and women to update their education and training. London University had decided not to continue the Diploma in Journalism which, it felt, was not academic enough and would cost too much in the future (ibid, pp316-320). The NUJ organised refresher courses for ex-service members (Bundock op. cit., p. 229) and training and recruitment were very much on the agenda in 1945 for both the union

and the employers who foresaw a shortage of staff. But still the two sides could not agree over who should have responsibility for recruitment of trainees and when the first Royal Commission on the Press was set up, at the instigation of the union to examine whether the press had monopolistic tendencies, it heard that no scheme was in place for the education and training of journalists.

The Royal Commission on the Press 1947-49

The impetus for the Royal Commission was standards. As the previous chapter showed, the debate about ethical standards in British journalism had been raised, particularly by the National Union of Journalists, and the Royal Commission was damning in its conclusions. It attributed the press' shortcomings partly to the competitiveness of the industry, but also to the

'inadequate standard of education in the profession of journalism.... We do not consider the standards of education prevailing generally in the profession high enough to enable it to deal adequately with the increasing complexity of the events and the background which the modern journalist must report and interpret' (Royal Commission on the Press 1949, para 566).

The Royal Commission learned that many journalists had not had a secondary education and only a smattering of graduates were employed, most usually as leaders writers and specialists (ibid, para 623). It concluded that, with one or two exceptions, namely the Kemsley newspaper group and the Westminster Press (Zbaraschuk 1969, p. 9), the industry was making

'little organised effort to raise the educational standards of its recruits' (Royal Commission on the Press 1949, para 626).

The Royal Commission did recognise the very real problem of a profession 'grafted on to a highly competitive industry' (ibid, para 572) which, by definition, could only aspire to the ideals of the individual employer.
It placed the responsibility for ensuring that journalists were men of 'keen intelligence and sound education' (ibid, para 621) with a new body, the 'General Council of the

Press' (ibid, para 634), and stipulated that the journalist needed ' a fuller knowledge of history and English than schooling gave him, knowledge of the processes of central and local government and the courts, and a grounding in economics' (ibid, para 622). His (or her) level of education should be higher than the mass of readers.

It is crucial to recognise that the Royal Commission was reporting five years after the 1944 Education Act had raised the school-leaving age to 15 and made provision for part-time study at local technical colleges. Thus, the calibre of new recruits, who were still being taken on by newspapers at the age of 15, was beginning to fall as other students were opting to stay on for further education. It was this, coupled with the lack of skilled labour after the war and full employment that ensured that, this time, a national training scheme was to get off the ground. The Press Council, when it was finally set up in 1953, played no part in ensuring that suitable entrants were selected and given 'adequate technical and academic training' (ibid, para 634).

When the National Advisory Council on the Training and Education Scheme for Junior Journalists (9) was finally launched in 1952, it did not provide training for entry into journalism but trained those who were already employed (Bundock op.cit., p. 230). It also was to effectively kill off other courses in the country. The Diploma at Cardiff Technical College, which had been running since 1945 and where students attended a day a week, closed its doors in 1951. Other non-NCTJ courses were to go the same way (Zbaraschuk op.cit, p. 15-16). Furthermore, pressure from employers meant that the training scheme, finally agreed by the Institute of Journalists, the Newspaper Society, the Guild of Editors and the National Union of Journalists was heavily training-based (Hunter op.cit, p. 335), excluding much of what the Royal Commission had recommended. The technical college system, where many apprentices in other industries were receiving part-time education, allowed the new Advisory Council to take advantage of that level of education, embedding journalism education at that level for another twenty years (10).

The National Council for the Training of Journalists

The National Council for the Training of Journalists was initially composed of representatives from the Newspaper Society, The Guild of British Newspaper Editors, the National Union of Journalists and the Institute of Journalists. Other organisations subsequently joined, including the Newspaper Publishers Association, the Scottish Daily Newspaper Society and the Scottish Newspaper Proprietors Association. When the National Advisory Council held its first meeting on 27th November 1951, it agreed that new recruits should complete a three-year basic course in both vocational and educational aspects. A Diploma could subsequently be taken. (In reality, few journalists attempted the Diploma which was discontinued in 1972). It established five committees, including a Vocational Training committee and a General Education committee and co-opted the Head of the Further Education Department of the Ministry of Education, Frank Bray, on to the latter.

Minimum standards of 'O'-levels in English language and literature and one optional subject were agreed. Recruits would have to do a six months probationary period followed by three years training, while articled to one company. This would consist of:

Year 1:- shorthand and typing, English language and composition, central and local government and one optional subject, either a modern language or a social studies subject.

Year 2:- shorthand, English language and composition, English literature, law and one optional subject from a modern language, current affairs, international organisations or social and economic history

Year 3:- English literature, British life and institutions, economic and industrial organisation and one optional subject from a modern language or study of a foreign country or commonwealth country

Vocational training in the office should consist of shorthand, reporting, editorial work, typing and knowledge of other departments. Law would also be studied by

correspondence course. The Vocational Training committee would also organise summer and weekend schools and refresher courses.

At the end of three years, a Certificate of Training would be given and recruits could sit the General Proficiency Test consisting of an exercise in reporting, interviewing and copy writing, a general knowledge test and one on British life and institutions (11).

Three months later, the Advisory Council ratified the requirement for three GCSEs at 'O'-level and stipulated that those already working in journalism should at least acquire an English Language 'O'-level. (12)

The minutes of the meeting illustrate the level of importance given education by the Advisory Council.

The scheme should

'provide junior journalists with the minimum education which is essential for them to undertake their duties adequately as working journalists. The courses are not designed to give a wide liberal education but to provide juniors with a background of information and a knowledge of how to supplement that information by their own enquiries, on matters directly connected with their work as journalists' (13)

In 1955, the Finance committee was told that 700 juniors were working towards the General Proficiency Test and 215 Certificates of Training had been issued. But it also heard that the training was not taking place everywhere (14).

The reason for this was that the NCTJ had not made training compulsory and this had made the scheme confusing and, in some cases, irrelevant. The Certificate of Training and Proficiency Test were not an 'entry-exam', as such. There was no compulsion to pass (Royal Commission on the Press 1977, para 18.37). Hard-pressed newspaper offices could ill afford to lose their young journalists to attend college and, with full employment, could ill afford to sack them if they failed exams.

The first Royal Commission's intention to attract more highly educated people into journalism was thwarted. More young people were staying on at school and there was little incentive for graduates to join a newspaper. Wages were still low and newspaper editors were reluctant to employ them because they cost more. The NCTJ, with half

its members from the Newspaper Society and the Guild of Editors, simply contributed to the newspaper industry's policy of 'catching them young' (Hunter op.cit., p. 383).

Of 141 new enrolments onto the training scheme in 1955, just five were graduates (15). In 1958, 3% of the 500 new entrants were graduates, while 12% had an A-level, 71% had at least one 'O'-level and 14% had no qualifications. It was said that journalism was not thought of as a graduate profession (16). Attempts were made to raise standards. In 1959, the Education committee recommended that an 'A'-level should be required for entry (17). There was, according to the chairman, Brian Pook,

a 'risk of journalism being a third class profession….(there are) higher educational standards in almost every other walk of life…we, who are supposed to inform the public, are among the most backward in that regard' (18)

Some of the tensions which continue to be experienced in journalism training today, were already being felt in 1955. The Scottish Newspaper Proprietors Association withdrew from the scheme because their journalists were being poached (19). With the advent of commercial television, the NCTJ was being asked to consider training for the 'new medium' (20). At the 1956 Annual General Meeting, it was reported that even after five years, the NCTJ was not sure that everyone was aware of the national training scheme (21).

The break-through for the NCTJ came in 1961. The NUJ and the Newspaper Society agreed to write the training scheme into the national agreement for journalists, ensuring that all new recruits had to enrol (although passing the course was still not a requirement) and follow a course of indentured training.

The second Royal Commission on the Press, chaired by Lord Shawcross, criticised both the Press Council and the newspaper industry over their record on ensuring that standards were upheld (Royal Commission on the Press 1962) and urged the national press to put money into training.

A proposal was considered by the NCTJ to set up a College of Journalism, where students could take short courses of intensive study to supplement the day release and training on the job (22). Although that was not to be, it did herald the start of the first so-called block release courses for journalists in the early 1960s, initially at Harlow and subsequently at other colleges including Wolverhampton, Darlington and Preston,

all to be run by experienced journalists. Effectively the 'education' side of the training and education of journalists had been abandoned because of the higher educational standards of recruits. Of the 1964 intake of journalists, 70% had at least five 'O'-levels, while 33% had at least one 'A'-level (23).

It is worth noting, however, that the NCTJ fought any attempt to raise the entry standard for journalism, which still stood at three 'O'-levels. Even in 1968, when higher education was booming, the Newspaper Society was unhappy about a five 'O'-level entry standard even though the recommended entry qualification now stood at one 'A'-level. (24)

There are two points of significance from the block-release training, begun in the 1960s. It broke the journalistic tradition that the office was the place for training (Zbaraschuk op.cit., p. 89). Moreover, it paved the way for the pre-entry courses in journalism, which would, for the first time, see the NCTJ involved with recruiting potential journalists through their Regional Committees, even though the students would eventually have to persuade an editor to give them a job.

The boom years for the NCTJ were between 1961 and 1970. The union-employer agreement on training helped boost numbers enrolling on to the courses. Fleet Street and other media began to take an interest in training. The Printing and Publishing Industrial Training Board, set up in 1968 as a result of the 1964 Industrial Training Act, had indicated that if training could be improved, newspapers stood to earn the maximum rebate under the levy-grant system which had been introduced, (companies with approved training schemes could be exempt from the automatic training levy on their payrolls) and more and more colleges were seeing the training of journalists as an opportunity to attract students.

The move into Higher Education

The NCTJ first began to discuss the possibility of courses in higher education in 1966 when Sussex University indicated that it would be interested in developing a course in journalism (25). The expansion of the higher education sector and the higher educational standards which were being achieved in the country generally were

clearly factors in this development. It is worth noting that in 1969, the NCTJ's Director John Dodge, appealed to the Department of Education over a decision to transfer the NCTJ's course in Sheffield out of the polytechnic to a lower level of college because it was said that the entry level of recruits and the academic standard of the course was too low (26). However, alongside this was the fact that in 1965, the National Union of Journalists had reached agreement with the Newspaper Publishers Association that no new entrants could be recruited directly by Fleet Street as national newspapers were not seen as a suitable training ground for new people. This not only greatly strengthened the NCTJ's hand, it also stifled graduate employment throughout the industry. Few graduates were attracted by provincial newspaper pay and few provincial editors wanted to pay the higher rate for a 21-year old. This agreement was criticised by the third Royal Commission on the Press as effectively preventing the most highly educated people from entering journalism, except in a few specialised areas, and it urged the union and employers to reconsider (Royal Commission on the Press 1977, para 18.35)

Nevertheless, it was clear that one way forward was for graduate courses in journalism to be developed.

Sussex University, under its vice-chancellor Asa Briggs, engaged Tom Hopkinson, a former editor of the Picture Post, to look at the possibility of establishing a journalism course. The idea was opposed by some members of the NCTJ (27). Hopkinson went to the United States to look at schools of journalism and, heavily influenced by Colombia University's School of Journalism, recommended a postgraduate course. The course was eventually set up, with the NCTJ's approval, in 1970 but it was left to Cardiff to establish the programme as Asa Briggs, the idea's originator, had left Sussex by then.

The Royal Commission on the Press 1977

In 1977, when the final report of the Third Royal Commission on the Press was published, it was clear that the recruitment of and training for journalists, although now much more formal, were still viewed as unsatisfactory by many, both inside (Royal Commission on the Press 1977, para 18.10) and outside the industry (ibid, para

18.2). The minimum entry requirements for recruitment on to newspapers (5 GCE 'O'-levels) was seen as too low (ibid, para 18.28) and it concluded that it should be raised to the same level as that required by pre-entry courses, namely 5 'O'-levels and 2 'A'-levels. It also recommended that the Proficiency Certificate, which was still optional, became compulsory (ibid, 18.37). The number of graduates in the industry had risen from 5% in 1965 to 22% in 1975 (ibid, para 18.28) but broadcasting recruited more graduates and the Commission urged newspaper editors to recruit more graduates into the press. It also recommended an entry test for all recruits, to ensure some objective measurement of ability (ibid, para 18.32) but rejected a proposal by the Institute of Journalists for a Journalists' Register on the grounds that it would be a barrier to those trying to enter the profession (ibid, paras 17-32).

The Commission also noted that the proportion of women entering journalism had increased from 25% in 1966 to 35% in 1975 (para 18.32). It is worth contemplating whether the more objective recruitment methods of the NCTJ for the pre-entry courses, compared to those of newspaper editors, played a part in this increase (Boyd-Barrett 1970, p. 190).

But the main conclusion of the Commission was that 'a common approach (was needed) to training for broadcasting and the press' (ibid, para 18.19).

Although one course had been established for radio journalists at the London College of Printing, there was no other formal scheme for training radio or television journalists, except within the BBC, and that catered for tiny numbers.

The expansion in the media

What is remarkable is that discussions within the NCTJ proceeded in comparative isolation, not only from what was happening socially, in terms of education, but also from what was happening in the media generally. The organisation was to make a decision not to get involved with radio or television training. Yet the expansion in broadcast organisations with the launch of commercial television in 1954, BBC local radio in 1967 and then commercial radio in 1973 meant that the number of jobs in journalism was growing. The census in England and Wales showed that the number of

'journalists and authors' had doubled to 20,000 in the 30 years from the late 1930s to the late 1960s (Tunstall 1971, p. 12).

Views of journalists were to undergo a face-lift too. The Watergate scandal of the 1970s re-launched the journalist's reputation and a generation's imagination was touched when President Nixon was forced to resign. Alongside the seedy, flat-capped, heavy-drinking reporter, condemned for his sensationalism and intrusion, now stood the defender of democracy – the constant contradiction. Journalism was beginning to be seen as a desirable occupation.

Training for other media

Until the advent of BBC local radio in 1967, the only training scheme for journalists within the BBC was the Graduate News Trainee Scheme, run by the Journalist Training Unit, which recruited a dozen graduates annually, almost exclusively from Oxbridge, and trained them essentially for current affairs programmes (28). The course was called 'elitist' and one that took 'first class minds from first class universities' by one of the founders of the radio course at the London College of Printing, later Head of Local Radio Training at the BBC (29). Most of the trainees ended up in very senior positions.

The eight experimental BBC local radio stations which came on stream in 1967 and 1968 recruited newspaper journalists who were then sent to the Local Radio Training Unit in London, to learn radio production techniques. There was a small amount of input from network Journalist Training, but essentially the belief was that these new BBC recruits were trained journalists whose skills could be augmented by production training. The 'core skills' approach was in evidence. The training given to BBC local radio journalists initially lasted for four weeks and included studio operation, presentation, technical skills, magazine programmes and music programmes. Until the 1970s, and indeed beyond, the sustained belief was that a trained newspaper journalist would advance into local radio and from there to network radio and television.

It was the advent of commercial radio in 1973 and particularly the start of LBC/IRN as the London-based national news provider which signalled the start of the long road towards formal training for radio journalists across the radio sectors.

Commercial radio, with its shorter, 'punchier' approach revolutionised local radio. Presentation skills became much more important as voicepiece inserts became common in news bulletins, and editors realised that newspaper reporters, who were being employed as journalists, needed training in radio skills (30). A dispute at Radio Trent at the end of the 1970s involving an untrained reporter brought the problem to the attention of the National Union of Journalists (31) Although a radio journalism course had begun in 1977, initially as part of a periodicals course, at the London College of Printing, and Falmouth College in Cornwall was also beginning a similar course, there was virtually no other systematic training for radio journalists.

Individual commercial radio stations were able to access money for training. The 1973 Broadcasting Act had enshrined the idea of 'meaningful speech' into the new commercial radio stations and one of the ways in which the Independent Broadcasting Authority tried to ensure this was done was by creaming off 'excess' profits from stations, in a system called secondary rental money, and distributing it to worthwhile projects – one of which was training. Apart from two schemes which were open to all commercial radio stations, initiatives tended to be for local consumption only. However, a National Broadcasting School which ran short courses in all aspects of radio was established using secondary rental money in 1980. It received between £120,000 - £130,000 a year from the IBA and received recognition from the Joint Advisory Committee for the Training of Radio Journalists (see later in this section) until its demise in 1987 when the rules governing secondary rental money were changed. Ironically, most of its customers came from outside radio (32). Radio Trent, subsequently Midlands Radio, took up the baton and established a Radio Training Unit in 1988, again using secondary rental money, to run short courses for print journalists to convert to radio journalism but the Unit had to pursue other markets when secondary rental money was finally discontinued in 1990.

It was towards the end of 1980 that the umbrella body for commercial radio, the Association of Independent Radio Contractors, and the National Union of Journalists began to talk about training. There were calls for the BBC to get involved and for a

national validation body to be established to ensure that standards were set for training courses throughout the UK.

It is indicative of the ambivalent attitude evoked by the NCTJ that those interested in radio training had little involvement with the existing body responsible for print training, even though the Third Royal Commission had specifically recommended

'courses in higher education establishments to provide a common foundation for all forms of journalism and to run others, there or elsewhere, in subjects which are particular to the different forms of journalism' (Royal Commission on the Press 1977, para 18.22) and for a 'common approach to training for broadcasting and the press' (ibid, 18.19).

The NCTJ 's minutes report that the IBA and BBC did join the Council as observers in the early 1970s (33) and that the NUJ was concerned that radio training should not be too narrow (34). Certainly the joint consultative committee which was set up to look at radio training had asked for the NCTJ's views (35) but by then, the NCTJ had decided not to involve themselves as a body with radio and television training.

The 1980s saw cross –sector training for radio in colleges begin in earnest. A Joint Advisory Committee for the Training of Radio Journalists was established under the chairmanship of the former Managing Director of the BBC's World Service, Gerard Mansell, and involving the NUJ, the IBA, AIRC, BBC Local Radio Training (and later BBC Network), commercial radio stations and college representatives. A draft syllabus was hammered out and sent to colleges starting radio journalism courses. JCTRJ was to play a major part in broadcast training over the next twenty years and is dealt with more fully in Chapter 3.

The BBC, meanwhile, lengthened its initial local radio-training course for print journalists by two weeks and introduced journalism training as an integral part of the programme. In 1983 it began its Local Radio Trainee Reporters Scheme, initially recruiting twelve trainees.

The recruitment strategy for the Trainee Reporters Scheme was aimed at young people who had no experience of journalism and preferably no degree, certainly not one from Oxbridge (36). What was required was a good voice, enthusiasm, an aptitude and a love for radio. Print journalists had proved themselves to be good at

local sources and story structure, but creative instinct was now judged as the most important ingredient of a local radio journalist (37). Radio journalism for both the BBC and commercial radio was evolving away from the core skills approach laid down by the NCTJ.

Recruits to television were expected to come from newspapers or radio. The BBC trained its own staff in television techniques. There was no formal training at colleges for television journalists until the BBC's bi-media approach galvanised enterprising colleges into developing television strands to their courses, at which stage the Joint Advisory Committee for the Training of Radio Journalists changed its name, first in 1990 to the National Council for the Training of Broadcast Journalists and then in 1998 to the Broadcast Journalism Training Council, and took television courses under its wing.

Before 1980 training at independent television stations had been up to the individual company but the 1981 Broadcasting Act had placed a responsibility for training on companies and in that year, the Independent Television Association, the trade association for independent television companies, appointed a Training Advisor. A New Entrants Training Scheme was designed, based partly on a scheme already being run by ITN. Television companies would recruit their own new staff who would then follow a two year scheme of on-the-job training and short courses, run centrally by the ITVA.

The New Entrants scheme was aimed at people 'with a flair for journalism' (38). Most came from universities and had had some sort of work experience, either on their university paper or with local papers. The scheme was not for experienced journalists but for people who could show evidence that they were committed to a career in journalism (39). When the ITVA was absorbed into the ITV network centre in 1992, the responsibility for training reverted again to individual companies. ITN continues with its News Trainee Scheme which recruits a small number of mainly graduates each year.

The creation of the Internet and on-line journalism has seen another development in journalism training. Fuelled again by the BBC and other major news providers' on-line services, several universities and colleges have designed courses to satisfy the

need for trained recruits. Some have applied for BJTC recognition, which has taken on the responsibility for validating such courses.

Government policy

Government concern over employment training has shown itself in the creation of National Training Organisations for all industries, to ensure that the necessary training is available for industry needs. The Newspaper Society was originally the body responsible for newspapers (although this has now been revised) and an organisation called Skillset, comprised of industry representatives and unions, was set up for the broadcast, film, video and multimedia industries. National Training Organisations have developed National Vocational Qualifications, work-based qualifications which can be attained by people in employment, including freelance staff. Neither Skillset nor the NTO for the newspaper industry have responsibility for pre-entry training, although the NCTJ does act as an assessment centre for Newspaper Journalism NVQs. However, Skillset has also designed a number of so-called Related Vocational Qualifications, which are linked to NVQs, and which are designed for colleges teaching particular vocational elements. These are currently being piloted at a small number of colleges. RVQs have not yet been developed for Broadcast Journalism but have not been ruled out in the future.

The post-war period saw a number of developments which impacted directly on journalism training.
One of these was the expansion of the media. The arrival of broadcasting and the increase in people coming into journalism put particular pressures on the NCTJ which did not have the flexibility to respond to such massive changes, being, as it was, bound so closely by the narrow requirements of provincial newspaper editors. Broadcast journalism training had to make its own way. New entry schemes evolved.
Another development to have an effect on journalism training was the expansion in higher education. This meant that journalism courses began to run at a higher education level and this, in turn, led to more people with degrees entering into the world of journalism, creating a more 'professional', or at least, better educated worker.

But Britain's higher education system was historically not used to vocationalism and courses such as journalism, with traditionally high craft content, created considerable tensions both within universities and within the industry. This was one of the factors behind the slow development of journalism courses at higher education level. Postgraduate journalism courses only started in Britain in the 1970s - more than 50 years after Pulitzer opened his School of Journalism in the United States and nearly a hundred years after the first journalism was taught in an American university. In 1976, the NCTJ discussed degree courses and fears were expressed that journalism was being taken away from the people and that students would not fit in to the general intake (40). First degrees in journalism in the UK continue to attract criticism and scepticism. The first broadcast journalism degree course in the UK at Nottingham Trent University was only validated in 1992.

However, the creation of both the National Council for the Training of Journalists and the Broadcast Journalism Training Council in this post-war period had clearly led to a structured entry process for recruits into different areas of journalism for the first time in journalism history. Even so, as this thesis will show, they are by no means exclusive routes for people wanting to get a job in journalism and this, in itself, illustrates the complexity of the industry's needs in terms of new recruits.

CHAPTER 3

The current context

By the 1980s, therefore, two structured entry routes existed for the training of
journalists who wanted to enter either print or broadcast journalism. The 'older'
print courses remained in the further education sector but as higher education
expanded, more accredited programmes started in the higher education sector.
Broadcast journalism in particular became associated with universities. The
demography of the workforce was beginning to change.

But just as the NCTJ failed to adapt to industry change in the past, both
accreditation bodies and the training courses are struggling to keep pace with
industry change today. The structure of the industry has changed considerably,
particularly in the last twenty-five years. Increased fragmentation and complex
technology, mainly within the broadcast sector, are exacerbating the problem of
'what a journalist does' and what skills (s)he requires and are re-awakening the
Institute's debate a century earlier of 'what is a journalist'? This chapter sets out
the current context within which journalism training is taking place. It examines
the state of the newspaper and broadcast industries at the end of the twentieth
century and looks at the conflicts faced by vocational courses within the higher
education system.

A time of change

For many journalists working in British newspapers or broadcast journalism today,
the industry seems to be changing beyond all recognition. Technological advances are
revolutionising delivery and production methods in both sectors. De-regulation in the
broadcasting industry is fragmenting audiences and changing organisational structures
and a highly competitive marketplace is leading to new programme formats and

presentation techniques. There are fears that serious news is being ousted by consumer-driven coverage, which focuses on lifestyle issues at the expense of political and industrial stories (Barnett & Seymour 1999). Newspapers have a much longer history than broadcasting with a greater variety of approaches to news and current affairs and there have been debates since the start of journalism about their role in society. Nevertheless, they too are going through more change. Most now are turning their attention to the Web. Much of the print media now have an on-line presence, established primarily to safeguard advertising revenue but also to keep abreast of technological advances whose benefits are, as yet, difficult to predict. The Newspaper Society estimates that 85% of the provincial newspaper industry are on-line (The Newspaper Society 2000). Some newspapers have embraced the Internet, offering a portal to a range of information. Others simply re-purpose their material, with 'tekkies' responsible for the output and editorial staff providing the raw material (41).

But likely changes in cross-media ownership rules governing newspapers are conjuring up the possibility of multiple-media skills for newspaper journalists, who have, up until now, escaped relatively untouched by the recent drive for multi-skilling seen in the broadcasting sector.

Meanwhile, political and social changes in the last quarter century have produced contradictory and confusing repercussions. The anti-union legislation of the 1980s had several effects. In newspapers, the 'hot-metal' method of printing disappeared, removing an entire-level of workforce in one fell swoop, leaving journalists with the greater responsibility of inputting material directly and, as technology advanced, having to acquire more advanced design and desk-top publishing skills. In many newspapers it saw the end of the old 'indentured' system of training, whereby journalists were bound to a paper for three years. In broadcasting it removed occupational and internal- promotion barriers allowing new entrants without formal training to surge through the system, often at the expense of older, more experienced hands. At the same time, the drive towards mass education has appeared to 'professionalise' the industry with around 70% of journalists attending university or college (48% graduating) in the mid 1990s (Delano & Henningham 1995, p. 13) compared to just 30% of specialist reporters who had a degree 30 years ago (Tunstall

1971, p.58). A survey by the National Training Organisation, Skillset, showed that nearly 70% of broadcast journalists had a first degree (Skillset 1996, p. 16).

As education has expanded, a plethora of 'media' or 'journalism' courses have sprung up around the United Kingdom. The UCAS web site alone, which lists courses available at Higher Education institutions, mentions 237 courses which include Journalism in the programme, 42 which include Broadcasting, 1,626 which include Media and 1,280 with Media Studies in the title (UCAS 2000). Nor do they include the hundreds of well-established courses in 'Media' which are run at Further Education colleges around the country. Although many of these courses scrupulously publicise themselves as 'theoretical' or 'technical', students are attracted by the 'sexy' nature of journalism (42) and many academics on purely academic courses also argue that their graduates do find jobs in the media, (Monk 1996), an approach not designed to dissuade students from enrolling.

Many observers have decried the huge growth in media courses with headlines such as 'Lured by media hype' (TES 1996) and 'Students 'misled' over jobs in the industry' (Sunday Telegraph 1996). Skillset estimates that 32 thousand students were on 'media' courses in 1995 and employment outcomes varied widely between courses (Skillset 1996, p.10). These figures are contested by leading academics (43) (Winston 2000).

One of the problems is due to the confusion by the public and the industry between media courses and journalism courses which are accredited by industry-approved bodies. Nevertheless, the perception is that recruitment into and training for the industry in the past was more structured. Most print journalists completed three years of indentures on a local newspaper before completing the nationally recognised National Council for the Training of Journalists Proficiency certificate.

Most new recruits into radio journalism – few young people leapfrogged directly into television which recruited largely from radio – had either done their time on newspapers and then applied for a reporter's job on the local radio station or they had spent a year on one of the few postgraduate courses in radio journalism, validated by the Joint Advisory Committee for the Training of Radio Journalists (JCTRJ). In both cases, training was structured and validated by industry-recognised bodies.

Now journalism training generally is a 'mess', according to the National Union of Journalists, (Corbett1997) and students are faced with a complex array of

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qualifications, courses and entry routes which try to match the industry's diverse and rapidly changing requirements.

But journalism training has always been a source of contradictions and debate. Despite the NUJ's criticism of training now, training in the past has never been universal, apart from a brief span of about twenty years from 1961 when the National Union of Journalists concluded a deal with the provincial newspaper editors' organisation, the Newspaper Society, that all new journalists outside Fleet Street should complete an approved period of training (44).

And Carr Saunders and Wilson believed nearly 70 years ago that the range of activities within journalism was so great that a connecting link was impossible to find, making training difficult (Carr-Saunders & Wilson 1933). What is more, discussions about what constitutes 'merit' when employers differ in their expectations and requirements (Boyd-Barrett 1970), what should be included in a journalism curriculum and whether students are better off with vocational skills or a general education have been raging since well before formal training programmes were established for journalists in the 1950s.

These questions about how journalists should be trained mask the underlying debates about what journalism actually is, what journalists are being trained for and what is the journalist's role in today's society. Such questions are even more crucial now that journalistic practice has a far wider reach than in previous times. An increasingly fragmented industry is supplemented still further by a world of Public Relations experts and spin-doctors, who are highly trained in journalistic techniques in order to make them more effective in targeting the media. At the same time, millions of personal web sites are created and maintained by ordinary people carrying out what is often an essentially- journalistic task, passing on information to a public (45). Society is more oriented towards the media. Lifestyles are more public and people use the media for publicity. Wernick says we live in a 'promotional culture' (Wernick 1991). The former Editor of the Guardian, Peter Preston, says the press finds 'it increasingly hard to know what's real and what's phoney in the constant reprocessing from sheet to sheet and medium to medium' (Preston 2000). Ordinary people, as opposed to 'experts' increasingly find themselves on television. Daniel Hallin has described the increasing entertainment factor in so-called 'reality-based programming', which is often produced in a journalistic format (Hallin 1996, p. 250).

Many organisations are trained in media techniques in order to 'use the media effectively' (46).

'The world is bureaucratically organized for journalists' (Fishman 1980, p. 51). Looking at the way journalists are trained can provide information on what we expect from our communications media today.

The industry context

The newspaper sector in the UK has been a highly competitive industry since the repeal of all 'taxes on knowledge' in 1861. Just as technological and economic pressures fuelled competitive pressures in the 19th century, and, in doing so, dramatically changed the working practices of journalists, as described in Chapter 1, so too have similar pressures worked on journalists this century.

But whereas competition, sparked by the penny press in the latter half of the 19th century, was generally characterised by an increase in the number of newspapers, (in 1856, 530 newspapers were registered in Mitchell's Newspaper Directory, 1,798 were registered there in 1895 (Collett 1933, p.134), competitive pressures have provoked a substantial drop in the number of publications this century, fuelled particularly by 'the growth of monopolistic tendencies in the control of the press' (Royal Commission on the Press 1949, p. 3). The number of daily newspapers in the U.K. (both national and provincial) dropped from 176 in 1914 to 110 in 1971 (Lee 1976, p. 296) and currently stands at about 103, of which 13 are national papers and about 90 are regional dailies (Bromley 2000). In addition, there are about 530 paid-for weeklies and 700 free newspapers (The Newspaper Society 2000). The general circulation trend is down and concentration of ownership is intense. The entire national press is owned by seven companies of whom four account for about 90% of sales (Bromley, 2000). 78% of all regional and local newspaper titles in the UK are owned by the top 20 publishers (ibid).

It is also extremely difficult to estimate how many journalists work within newspapers in the UK. Indeed, the number of journalists generally in the UK is impossible to determine. A study published by the International Labour Office in Geneva gave an estimated figure in 1977 of 26,000 journalists (Bohere 1984). The 1981 census gave a

figure for 'authors, writers and journalists' as 5,537 (Census 1984) and Delano and Henningham (1995) gave an estimate of 15,175 in 1994. In 1990, the NUJ estimated that around 10,500 worked on local and regional newspaper and a further 5,250 on national daily and Sunday papers, excluding freelance staff (Tulloch 1990) and in 1994, estimates put the figure at 8,140 on local and regional papers and 3,282 on national dailies and Sundays (Delano & Henningham 1995, p. 28). The regional newspaper sector claims it employs roughly 8,500 editorial staff (The Newspaper Society 2000). Numbers of staff then have appeared to be falling, but not dramatically.

But the newspapers are, of course, not just in competition with each other. They also have to fight off rapidly expanding broadcasting, media, telecom and entertainment sectors, while at the same time working under media regulations stemming from the 1960s, as laid down by the Royal Commission on the Press in 1962, 'when there were very few free newspapers, only two television stations, no teletext, no internet and virtual immunity from foreign competition' (Bowdler 2000).

Commercial radio alone is expected to capture 6.2% of the total advertising share by 2002 (Radio Advertising Bureau 2000) – a huge hike over the last seven or so years (47). Now the government is coming under some pressure from the regional press to loosen the rules governing media ownership, a move which some media analysts have criticised as allowing profit to eclipse the public purpose of newspapers (Greenslade 2000) but to others seem a natural defence against the predatory attitudes of foreign corporations (Bowdler 2000). The increasing concentration of newspaper ownership has been investigated to a greater or lesser extent by all the three post-war Royal Commissions on the Press but it seems unlikely that government will change their current policy towards the media generally which is to encourage large conglomerates who can compete internationally.

Meanwhile, working practices within the newspaper industry have changed, though perhaps not so dramatically as within the broadcasting sector. The most seismic change in newspapers occurred in the 1980s after Eddie Shah introduced direct inputting on his new newspaper Today and Rupert Murdoch defeated the unions at Wapping. But that change largely affected those further up the chain of command – sub-editors – rather than the new recruit, who was always recruited as a reporter. Even today, with an acute shortage of sub-editors leading to a special commissioned course by Northcliffe newspapers for non-journalists to be trained as subs (48), many

aspiring journalists, who find themselves on courses in the Further Education sector, receive no training in subbing, lay-out or design as new journalists are expected to be employed as reporters (49).

The debate about training appears more concentrated at the moment partly because of the rapidity of change within the broadcast industry in the UK and partly because of the number of occupations which have a journalistic component.

There have been fundamental changes in the broadcast industry. Two successive Broadcasting Acts in 1990 and in 1996 which de-regulated the industry changed the face of British broadcasting. New rules on ownership within the independent television network allowed fifteen licenses to be consolidated into the hands of seven companies and it seems likely that ITV will soon be owned by two, or even one major company. The number of independent radio companies rose from about two dozen in 1980 to over two hundred in 1999, including three national stations, with a handful of major groups holding many of the licenses (CRCA 1998, p. 5). Cable and satellite services have become affordable and easily available. Technological advances mean that analogue broadcasting is being augmented in both radio and television by digital services enabling hundreds of new stations to come on stream over the next few years and the drive to digital is now gaining momentum with the Culture Secretary's announcement that the analogue television signal will be switched off within ten years (50). The interactivity made possible by digital technology will also fuel competition, with viewers able to dictate programming more obviously and rapidly than ever before. This already highly competitive market place can best be illustrated by the formidable growth of the Internet.

So-called 'light-touch' regulation has also allowed broadcasters a freer reign in the scheduling and the broadcasting of news. The Radio Authority has loosened its requirements with the introduction of format statements rather than promises of performance, signalling a less rigorous regulatory system. Chris Smith has hinted at plans to streamline what is seen as the confusing and unnecessary number of regulatory bodies (51) and is under increasing pressure from commercial broadcasters to relax regulations governing independent television in the run up to digital (52). Meanwhile structural changes within, particularly, television but also radio have meant that working practices have been altered fundamentally. The weakening of unions coupled with the concentration of ownership and the mushrooming of outlets have meant that broadcast journalists are now expected to be both multi-skilled and

multi-functional. What began in broadcasting, amid heated debate in the mid 90s, with the introduction of the video journalist who shot pictures as well as carrying out interviews, has culminated in the BBC's multi-media approach to journalism. This incorporates radio, television, Ceefax and on-line with a computer system installed in both the BBC and ITN (ENPS) which enables broadcast journalists to produce complete packages for broadcast almost single-handedly. This 'multi-skilling' approach had already been well- established in most areas of radio broadcasting for many years. Most journalists had been reporting, editing and presenting their own bulletins since the 1970s (Chantler & Harris 1997), doing away with the need for dedicated editors or newsreaders, but the advent of journalism on the Web has seen radio journalists too under pressure to extend their working practices (53) and while re-purposing material, which has already been broadcast elsewhere, for the Web is still more usual, some journalists working on-line believe that the face of journalism could be transformed by reader involvement and feedback (West & Eedle 1999) and the possibilities of convergence is thought not to have been fully recognised or explored by the broadcast industry yet (Bromley & Purdey 1998). This disintegration of independent skill areas has led to ineffectual yet heartfelt allegations of de-skilling from some areas, counted by protestations of 'up-skilling' from others but, in fact, the decade of multiskilling when broadcast journalists, particularly those employed by the BBC, were expected to excel at a variety of different media, is being replaced by a more pragmatic approach. The BBC now admits that the 'super journalist' is hard to come by and they now require what is being called a 'diversity of excellence', recognising that convergence does not mean that one person needs to have all the skills. (54)

However, the concept of 'multi-skilling' is not confined to skills. Few journalists in either the BBC or the commercial sector are any longer unaware of the implications for their own news agendas of the regular audience research undertaken both by their own employers and by research companies. Being able to interpret audience research is thought of as desirable by around a fifth of editors from both the BBC and the commercial sector (see Chapter 4)

The discrepancies within the broadcast industry between the way services are funded and the amount of money available for news and factual programming has also led to a vast difference between accepted working practices. Whereas mainstream broadcasters such as terrestrial television stations may still have well-defined career

routes or 'occupational areas', cable or community stations operate in a much more flexible way allowing new recruits to take on more responsible jobs and move through the system more quickly (55). Likewise trends in broadcasting, driven either by financial imperatives or fashion, mean new skills are needed. Journalists are required to be interviewed in live 'two-ways' as well as to conduct live interviews and to be able to process news to feed a variety of programmes. The advent of 24-hour news, started by CNN and developed both in radio and television, has led to a system whereby news itself is re-defined so as to constantly update the listener and viewer. What may not have been news before, becomes news in a world where 60 minutes of airtime has to be filled 24 hours a day, 7 days a week, 365 days a year.

The context therefore in which broadcast journalists currently operate is complex and varied and is constantly subject to the uncertainties of the marketplace and technological developments.

While this is nothing new for journalism – debates surrounding multi-skilling and new technology have dogged the industry from the beginnings of photojournalism in the 19th century (Bromley1997, p. 335-336) and reached their nadir in Rupert Murdoch's battles with the print unions at Wapping (Shawcross 1992) - the sheer volume of journalistic outlets and the number of occupations which have a journalistic component makes the debate about how journalists should be trained, and what they should be trained for, immeasurably more complex.

And while the debate is most usually focused around pre-entry training, it should not be forgotten that many new journalists begin their career by freelancing and, in common with other freelancers in the broadcast industry, are less likely to have access to – or the money for - additional training to ensure their skills remain consistent with the demands of the rapidly changing industry in which they are working (Skillset 1996, p. 1V).

The training context

Despite the plethora of 'media' programmes on offer in the British education system, the time-honoured route for new recruits into journalism is by way of training courses which bear the industry kite-mark. The National Council for the Training of

Journalists both accredits and runs courses in newspaper journalism for the newspaper industry at both Further Education and Higher Education level, while the Broadcast Journalism Training Council is the accreditation body for courses in radio, television and, more recently, on-line journalism as well.

Both organisations are long-standing and, despite concern over the narrow range of recruits coming into all branches of journalism, comprised of students able to pay the course fees – what has been called 'the Samantha syndrome' (56) - the National Union of Journalists still advocates these two methods of entry (57).

The NCTJ was formed in 1952 and designed a national framework for training local newspaper journalists. In 1994 it transformed itself into a limited company.

The NCTJ's ethos has remained largely unchanged since its inception and this has given rise to some disquiet. Some newspaper groups run their own in-house training independent of NCTJ accreditation. At least one postgraduate course has withdrawn from NCTJ validation. Dire predictions about its future have been made by some involved in newspaper training, particularly with a new drive by the Society of Editors (formerly the Guild of Editors) to re-think training (Guild of Editors 1999). In the mid 1990s, two thirds of journalists had some form of in-house or NCTJ training, although only 40% actually held an NCTJ certificate. (Delano and Henningham 1995). At the moment, the NCTJ estimates that between 850 – 1000 students enrol each year onto its courses. In 1999, 204 out of 368 students who sat the NCTJ's final examination, the National Certificate Examination (NCE), passed. (58) In May 2000, the NCTJ recognised one in-company training scheme, 8 postgraduate courses, 5 'fast-track' courses, 5 undergraduate courses, 15 pre-entry courses, 1 HND course, 3 block release courses and 2 day -release centres (National Council for the Training of Journalists 2000). It also offers distance – learning courses for trainees not able to attend a college full-time.

The range of NCTJ courses for newspaper, periodical and magazine journalists reflects a different entry system from the one for broadcast journalists. The former are sometimes recruited directly by an employer who sends them on an NCTJ block release, day-release or pre-entry course for training, so-called 'direct entrants'. Other students enrol themselves onto a college course and subsequently try to find employment, so called 'pre-entry'. The number of direct entrants into newspaper journalism is continuing to fall as more recruits attend university before enrolling on to an NCTJ postgraduate diploma course (59).

Although employers in the broadcast industry do recruit people with no training, the *opportunities for them to be trained subsequently outside their place of employment* are few and far between, although part-time courses are beginning to be established in some areas. The University of Westminster, for example, has applied for BJTC recognition for its part- time MA in Journalism Studies and, in the light of 'life-long learning', discussions are also taking place within the BJTC about validating individual modules of courses to enable students to work their way through to full accreditation. The BJTC only validates pre-entry courses and does no training itself. It issues guidelines to courses which teach radio, television or on-line journalism and in May 2000, accredited 12 postgraduate courses and 5 undergraduate courses in the UK.

Originally the Joint Advisory Committee for the Training of Radio Journalists, the BJTC was formed twenty years ago because of the growth in radio journalism and the recognition that a training in print journalism was not suitable for a radio journalist (60). The BJTC and the courses it accredits have continued to fulfil a role which both the commercial and public broadcasting sectors have in the main ignored. The BBC has largely concentrated its resources on internal training, (even though their new entrants' schemes would attract thousands of applications for about two dozen places), while the few new- entry training initiatives by commercial radio have failed in the past, largely through lack of industry-wide support. Commercial television companies have in the past recruited experienced journalists from radio or print, in much the same way as national papers recruited their staff from local papers. According to a survey by Skillset, the Broadcast Industry Training Organisation, 35% of those entering the industry in the 1990s had a postgraduate qualification in journalism, of which 35% said the qualification was approved by the BJTC (Skillset, 1996, p. v). In an industry which is geographically widespread and with increasingly diverse needs, those figures are significant.

The BJTC from its very start has adopted a 'core skills' approach to training. In this it is very similar to the National Council for the Training of Journalists. This policy, shared by both training bodies, has been informed by the industry which has insisted on new recruits being equipped to do the job in the shortest possible time. It also accepts the premise that journalists practising in any area of broadcasting essentially need the same skills and knowledge, that is reporting, interviewing, writing,

researching, relevant technical skills and a knowledge of media law and public administration.

This approach has been reinforced by the developments in internal industry training. Skillset, which developed the National Vocational Qualification in Broadcast Journalism, a work-based qualification, rejected from the outset any separate qualifications for radio and television journalism and is encouraging cross-industry co-operation in the future. A cross-industry committee, the Journalism Forum, was formed in 1997 to discuss common issues and approaches. The emphasis throughout has remained on practical journalism training. The NCTJ curriculum has remained largely unchanged throughout its history and has formed the basic framework for all journalism courses. The BJTC's guidelines for courses, which must be met for accreditation purposes, have been extended, rather than substantially altered, to satisfy industry developments. Thus television guidelines were bolted on to the original radio guidelines when the BBC signalled its bi-media initiative, and standards for on-line journalism were adopted when new media outlets were developed by the BBC and ITN. Both sets of guidelines adhere to the 'core skills' approach supplemented by additional media-specific competencies although the BJTC does 'recognise that these guidelines will need regular updating as technology and its use develops' (BJTC 2000).

The National Vocational Qualifications in both Newspaper Journalism and Broadcast Journalism have not proved very popular. Between August 1992 and May 2000, only 24 people had achieved the NVQ level 4 in Newspaper Journalism (61) and only 3 people have achieved the NVQ level 4 in Broadcast Journalism since its inception in 1995 (62).

Although journalism courses are free to choose which media to teach, nevertheless, industry convergence is having major implications for training, particularly for broadcast students. Students are expected (and expect) to grasp different working practices for different media in a limited amount of time – most of the broadcast courses are nine months long. Courses are aware that any dilution of core skills could mean the loss of accreditation. However, the more diverse a course attempts to be and the more skills it attempts to teach, the less relevant it becomes for specific sectors. Conversely, the more focused a course decides to be, the less appeal it may have for

students who want to be able to have as wide a choice of employment as possible when they graduate.

The emphasis on practical training, meanwhile, also has implications for those courses within the higher education sector which are therefore subject to the organisational requirements of higher education. At the same time as having to grapple with the rapid developments within the industry, journalism training in higher education finds itself caught up in key educational debates about what constitutes 'graduateness', the concept of life-long learning and the implications of funding a mass education system. In particular, the tensions inherent in running a vocational programme within an educational environment impact on journalism courses. The more emphasis is placed on vocational skills, the less time remains for any broader reflection of other issues. This can cause particular tensions on undergraduate courses where the twin goals of intellectual development and employability are finely balanced. Indeed, some course leaders at both postgraduate and undergraduate level are driven to emphasise that they are involved in both journalism training and journalism education, and not just straightforward skills-development (63).

It is ironic that while the 'profession' versus 'craft' debate still remains unresolved for journalism – few of the actual criteria for a profession are met (Parsons 1968) although a majority of practitioners see themselves as professionals (Delano and Henningham 1995) - journalism training within higher education is itself becoming ever more 'professionalised.' Broadcast courses are closely scrutinised by their own peer-group validation body, the BJTC, which has the ultimate sanction of being able to withdraw accreditation, tutors are required to have considerable journalism experience and are increasingly under pressure to have a degree (64) and to undertake research which can be accredited within a higher education context (65). Thus, journalism training within higher education particularly can seem at odds with what appears to be a fiercely 'craft-based' industry.

At the end of the twentieth century then, journalism training is caught in the middle of an industry which is being rocked by change. Social and political factors have led to the re-structuring particularly of broadcast organisations and have fundamentally altered employment patterns. De-regulation has opened up the airwaves, leading to an explosion in radio stations and in company mergers.

Technology has enabled new digital, cable and internet delivery systems, hotting up an already competitive market, and causing occupational areas to be re-defined.

Outside the industry, the media has become de-mystified as the public become more media-active and more media-conscious. Cheap camcorders and interactive web-sites have helped people to be directly involved. Public relations firms and 'spin doctors' have changed the face of news. The number of jobs with a journalistic element once again calls into question the definition of a 'journalist'.

Vocational training courses, meanwhile, battle to maintain their credibility with a fast-moving industry while keeping one eye on what their accreditation bodies accept as 'current practice' - and history has shown how reactive this can be - and the other eye on what higher education will accept as intellectually rigorous. Higher education is itself in a state of change. Governments are pushing for more students to go on to universities, universities are competing for student numbers and new quality assurance structures are dictating what is required at degree and postgraduate level.

What then do employers want today from their new recruits? And can any training course satisfy such a diverse industry in such a state of flux?

Part Two will attempt to answer these questions.

PART 2

Journalism Training today

The contradictions and complexities

So far, this thesis has described how journalism training has developed up to the present day. It has traced its many false starts, doomed by the inability of those involved to decide what exactly constitutes journalism and, by default therefore, what a journalist needs to learn. It has shown how the social and education systems re-enforced this dilemma so that when finally journalism training was foisted on to a less-than-enthusiastic industry, it was embedded at sub-degree level, firmly categorised by the system as a craft skill. Later, as the education system and the media expanded, the demographics of the workforce began to change. The number of graduates entering journalism grew and the training programmes too started to move into the universities. But although 'lifelong education for work' was recommended by government advisers (National Committee of Inquiry into Higher Education 1997), there has remained significant resistance to a policy which was seen as utiliarian (Cottrell 1997) and these tensions impacted heavily on courses such as journalism, particularly at undergraduate level but also to a certain extent at postgraduate level (66). Moreover, these very debates underline the continuing question of whether journalism is a subject for which professional study is necessary, or a craft skill, particularly as the industry, notably the local newspaper industry, has viewed it as the latter since the 1950s.

At the end of the twentieth century, then, despite major technological advances which have seen areas of journalism move literally into cyber-space, we are still left with the same questions as the Institute was posing a hundred years ago:-

What do employers want from their new recruits? Are they looking for intellectual skills, based in knowledge, or are they more interested in practical skills associated with the job? What kind of person are they looking for? And can the journalism training courses answer those needs?

By examining the requirements of editors, we can identify what they regard as important for a journalist and see if it is possible to, at last, define what a journalist is.

Methodology

Collecting the data

With those objectives in mind, a questionnaire was designed, to find out from a cross section of editors what they wanted from their new recruits (Appendix 1) A similar questionnaire was sent to the programme leaders of courses which are validated either by the National Council for the Training of Journalists or the Broadcast Journalism Training Council (Appendix 2).

The surveys were formally supported (by way of a covering letter) by the Commercial Radio Companies Association (formerly the AIRC), the Newspaper Society, BBC Training and the Broadcast Journalism Training Council.

The survey was field-tested in December/January 1997/98 and the first questionnaires were sent out in February 1998. A second tranche was sent out in May 1998. All returns were entered into the database by the end of July 1998. Editors were asked to categorise themselves according to the following definitions:

National newspaper; local newspaper; BBC network radio; BBC regional radio; BBC national television; BBC regional television; local commercial radio; national commercial radio; national television (commercial sector); regional television (commercial sector)

Employers

The questionnaires were sent to BBC stations via BBC Training. 51 were distributed. 46 were returned. Of these, 4 classified themselves as national television; 9 as regional television; 2 as network radio and 31 as regional radio. 7 BBC replies counted themselves as more than one sector.

The questionnaires were sent to all commercial radio stations, either directly or via the Commercial Radio Companies Association (with a covering letter from the author, who was, at that time, CRCA's Training Committee chair). 164 were sent. 97 were returned. Of these 4 classified themselves as national stations and 93 as local stations.

42 questionnaires were distributed to commercial television stations (satellite, cable and terrestrial). These were selected from the Media Guide (1997) and the ITC Factfile (1997) as broadcasting news programmes which required journalists. 25 were returned. Of these 10 counted themselves as national and 15 as local.

23 questionnaires were sent to national newspapers, all those mentioned in the Media Guide (1997). 18 were returned.

Finally, every 12th local newspaper (alphabetically) in Benn's Media UK (1997) was sent a questionnaire with a covering letter from the Director of the Newspaper Society. 205 questionnaires went out. 92 were returned.

The questionnaires were addressed to the editors. 282 questionnaires were entered into the database. This means that a small number of organisations had not ticked any classification.

485 questionnaires were sent out in all. 282 were returned, representing a response rate of 58.1% of those surveyed.

Courses

68 courses, all those registered as validated by the NCTJ and the BJTC, received a questionnaire which was addressed to the course leader. 39 replied, a response rate of 57%. Of these 18 said they held NCTJ accreditation and 11 said they held BJTC accreditation.

Results from both surveys were entered into an SPSS database (67).

<u>Supplementary interviews</u>

The empirical evidence is analysed in Chapter 4. A large number of background interviews were carried out in order to contextualise the data (Appendix 3) and are incorporated into the following chapters.

CHAPTER 4

The industry's needs and the 'ideal' journalist

This chapter looks at the empirical data collected from the two questionnaires circulated to editors and the course leaders of accredited journalism training programmes.

There are a number of major findings, one of which serves to prove that recruitment by the journalism industry is still, despite the long existence of industry accredited courses, by no means uniform. The data show that, despite the excellent employment records of both BJTC and NCTJ-accredited courses, editors generally are much more flexible about where they recruit their labour from. Conclusions drawn from the data are dealt with in full in Chapter 5.

Demographics

The research, conducted in 1998, shows that all sectors recruit some new staff every year. One or two organisations in the majority of sectors recruited up to 20 new recruits in the 12 months preceding the survey, but more than two thirds of companies recruited between 1 and 4 new members of staff in the year. The overwhelming majority of new recruits fell into the 22-30 year age bracket although 13 (14.1%) of local newspapers who responded, 10 (10.75%) of local commercial radio stations and 1 (3.2%) BBC regional radio station did recruit staff between the ages of 16 and 21. One local commercial radio company said it had recruited someone over the age of 46.

Most recruits were white women. The majority of organisations in each sector said that more than half of their new recruits had been women and, with the exception of national commercial television, that fewer than a quarter of their new recruits had been from an ethnic minority. It must be said, however, that ethnic minority publications were not targeted specifically in the survey.

Internal training schemes

Nearly a quarter (24.1%) of the industry organisations, which responded to the survey, ran a full-time in- house training scheme for new journalism recruits. The majority of these were run by the BBC. No national commercial radio station and only 7.5% of local commercial radio stations ran such a scheme. Seven national newspapers (38.9% of respondents) and 18 local newspapers (19.6%) said they did.

Recruitment

Editors in all the different industry sectors - newspapers, commercial and public sector radio and television stations - recruit journalists from a variety of different sources and not solely from the industry-approved, specialist courses in newspaper and broadcast journalism. Of the 282 replies (which represented a response rate of 58.1% of those surveyed), 198 (70.2%) said they recruited from validated courses more often than not, less than three quarters of the total.

Furthermore, as can be seen from Table 1, the industry itself is by no means uniform in its recruitment. Certain sectors are bound far more closely to the accredited courses than others. The BBC, in particular, recruits substantially more often from the validated courses than other sectors. More than 80% of BBC news editors who responded said they recruited more often than not from BJTC-accredited courses and this is supplemented by their own in-house trainees. The commercial sector, however, recruited from far more diverse sources, just over 64% usually recruiting from the validated courses and this dropped to only 52% of editors in commercial television as a whole and fewer than 20% in national commercial television. No national newspaper which replied recruited exclusively from NCTJ courses and half of them said they recruited from these courses less than 50% of the time, while more than three fifths of local newspapers recruited from them more often than not and 14.1% of them recruited exclusively from them.

Table 1

Question: When you recruit, how often do you take people on from a validated course? (Answers in %)

	Nat. paper	Local paper	Nat. BBC TV	Reg. BBC TV	Nat. BBC Radio	Reg. BBC Radio	Nat. Com TV	Reg. Com TV	Nat. Com Radio	Local Com. Radio	Ave.
Exclusively	0	14.1	0	0	0	3.2	0	6.7	0	6.5	7.4
More than 50% of the time *	44.4	62.0	100	77.7	100	74.2	20	66.6	50	61.3	62.8
Less than 50% of the time	50	21.7	0	11.1	0	19.3	70	26.7	50	30.1	27.3
No answer	5.6	2.2	0	11.1	0	3.2	10	0	0	2.2	2.5
Nos. of replies	18	92	4	9	2	31	10	15	4	93	282 **

* Those who said they recruited exclusively have been omitted from those who recruit more than 50% of the time.

** Four respondents do not categorise themselves.

Although these statistics do suggest that the commercial sector of broadcasting is more likely to cast its net wider for recruits, some BBC managers do believe that recruiting from outside the formal training courses is healthy. Reasons ranged from the equal opportunity aspects – course fees on postgraduate courses can have the effect of excluding the less well-off affecting the BBC's policy of diversity – to a feeling that some students, who were not suited to a career in broadcast journalism, were nevertheless applying successfully to these courses because there were no other formal routes into broadcasting (68).

The majority of employers surveyed (51.8%) said they required previous work experience in the media from new recruits while a further quarter said they sometimes required work experience.

A significant number of all editors said they recruited from other, less specialised, educational courses, particularly degree courses, and particularly people who had been on work experience with their organisations. (Table 2)

Table 2

From where else do you recruit? (Answers in %)

	Nat. paper	Local paper	Nat. BBC TV	Reg. BBC TV	Nat. BBC Radio	Reg. BBC Radio	Nat. Com TV	Reg. Com TV	Nat. Com Radio	Local Com. Radio
Own scheme	33.3	22.8	75	100	50	71	40	6.7	0	25.8
PG (general)	11.1	15.2	25	22.2	0	6.5	10	6.7	50	12.9
UG (Journ.)	33.3	32.6	50	66.7	50	58.1	20	53.3	75	51.6
UG (Media)	5.6	22.8	25	33.3	0	16.1	30	13.3	50	31.2
UG (general)	38.9	29.3	100	66.7	100	22.6	50	33.3	50	20.4
F.E. (Media)	5.6	19.6	0	55.6	0	12.9	10	6.7	25	22.6
F.E. (general)	5.6	12	0	11.1	0	0	0	0	25	9.7
School	5.6	16.3	0	0	0	3.2	0	6.7	0	5.4
School w/exp.	27.8	31.5	25	55.6	50	38.7	10	33.3	50	48.4
W/exp.	5.6	19.6	25	33.3	50	16.1	10	13.3	50	29
Nos. of replies	18	92	4	9	2	31	10	15	4	93

122 of the 282 editors who replied (43.3%) said they recruited from degree courses in journalism or broadcast journalism, 109 (38.7%) said they recruited from work experience through schools or colleges, 87 (30.1%) from their own training scheme and 81 (28.7%) from general degree courses. 66 (23.4%) said they recruited from degree courses which were media-related. Recruits were also taken on from other media organisations.

Thirty-seven different colleges and universities were mentioned as recruitment grounds regularly used. Of these, Preston was the most popular (17 editors expressed their preference for it), followed closely by Highbury, Cardiff and Falmouth (each mentioned by 10 editors) – all of which run accredited courses. Oxford and Cambridge were each mentioned once, both times by a regional commercial television company. The most frequently cited reasons for recruiting from a particular course were that the course was local, that it was approved, that it had close links with the industry or just that 'it turned out good people'.

The apparent disinterest in Oxbridge is significant, if only because of the numbers of people from Oxford and Cambridge who were employed by periodicals around the turn of the century (Gross 1969, p. 63). The route seemed to be from Oxbridge to assistant editor and leader writer in the days when journalism of opinion held sway (Hunter 1982, p. 265). The early days of the BBC also drew people from this public school, Oxbridge background (Bromley 1997, p 332), possibly because it was 'composed out of the values, standards and beliefs of the professional middle class, especially that part educated at Oxford and Cambridge' (Burns 1977, p 42).

Educational qualifications

Despite the fact that journalism generally is becoming a largely graduate occupation, some employers will accept a wide range of qualifications (table 3) and a tiny number (2.2%) of independent local radio news editors said they were content to accept recruits with no minimum academic qualifications, this despite the fact that, of the 17 accredited broadcast journalism courses, all are at post or undergraduate level. It is even more surprising when one considers that half a century ago, minimal educational requirements were deemed essential by the Royal Commission on the Press (Royal Commission on the Press 1949) and the National Council for the Training of Journalists indicates that it is rare for a newspaper trainee to have less than two 'A'-levels or equivalent (National Council for the Training of Journalists 1999).

What is evident from the data is that the commercial sector, particularly local commercial radio, accepts a significantly larger range of qualifications than the BBC and that local media generally also accepts a wider range than the nationals.

Table 3

Which of the following qualifications would you expect as a minimum?

(Answers in % *)

	Average	Nat. paper	Local paper	Nat. BBC TV	Reg. BBC TV	Nat. BBC Radio	Reg. BBC Radio	Nat. Com TV	Reg. Com TV	Nat. Com Radio	Local Com. Radio
Journalism Qualification (PG)	42.9	27.8	39.1	75	33.3	50	71	50	40	50	40.9
Journalism Qualification (not PG)	50.7	22.2	64.1	25	44.4	0	67.7	20	66.7	25	39.8
NVQ/SVQ	9.9	16.7	16.3	25	11.1	50	3.2	0	6.7	0	6.5
Degree (any Subject)	32.3	72.2	17.4	50	22.2	50	38.7	70	46.7	50	30.1
Journalism degree	14.9	5.6	6.5	25	0	0	3.2	10	6.7	0	32.3
Media degree	5	0	2.2	0	0	0	0	10	6.7	0	8.6
HND	3.2	0	0	0	11.1	0	3.2	10	0	0	6.5
Media HND	3.9	0	5.4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6.5
HNC	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Media HNC	0.7	0	1.1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1.1
A-levels / Scottish Highers	42.2	61.1	53.3	25	77.8	0	51.6	10	40	25	28
Media A-Levels/Scottish Highers	0.4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	25	1.1
B.Tec	0.4	0	0	0	0	0	3.2	0	0	0	0
Media B. Tec	2.5	0	1.1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5.4
City & Guilds	0.4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1.1
Media City & Guilds	1.8	5.6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4.3
GNVQ/GSVQ	0.7	0	1.1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1.1
Media-related GNVQ/GSVQ	0.7	0	1.1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1.1
GCSE	12.1	5.6	9.8	0	22.2	0	0	10	13.3	0	18.3
Media-related GCSE	3.2	0	1.1	0	0	0	0	10	6.7	25	5.4
None	0.7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2.2
Nos. of replies		18	92	4	9	2	31	10	15	4	93

* The total of each column will exceed 100% as respondents could give more than one answer.

A higher percentage of national broadcasters from both sectors expected a postgraduate qualification which was validated by the NCTJ or BJTC from their new recruits. This was also true generally for the BBC as a whole, both nationally and regionally (with the exception of BBC regional television). 75% of BBC national television networks and 71% of regional radio stations said they would expect such a qualification, compared to an average of 42.9% for all sectors. With the exception of BBC regional radio, however, local and regional news outlets were all slightly lower than the average, particularly BBC regional television (33.3%). National newspapers were significantly less interested in a postgraduate journalism qualification - 27.8% of them said that such a qualification was not expected.

A pre-entry professional qualification (NCTJ or BJTC), not at postgraduate level, was expected by more than 50% of editors but most of them were in the regional market with regional commercial television (66.7%), BBC regional radio (67.7%) and local newspapers (64.1%) being particularly keen. On the national scene there was a very different picture. No BBC network radio expected a BJTC qualification while no more than 25% of editors in each of other sectors expected such a pre-entry qualification.

The new post-entry National Vocational Qualification (NVQ/SVQ) was expected by 50% of BBC network radio editors, 25% of BBC national television editors, 11.1% of BBC regional television editors and just over 16% of both national and local newspapers, clearly indicating that the BBC and print sectors are coming to grips with the new scheme more successfully than the commercial broadcast sectors. This is partly due to the introduction of NVQs into the BBC's training scheme a few years ago and the success of newspapers in accessing government money for Modern Apprenticeships by which under 25-year olds can achieve NVQ units in the workplace. NVQs were however disregarded completely by both national commercial radio and national commercial television. The EMAP radio group has introduced NVQs into their training system but, generally, this government-backed qualification has met with real resistance from the broadcast sector with only 3 people achieving an NVQ in broadcast journalism since they came on stream in 1995 (69).

Well over half of national employers and regional commercial television editors expected their new recruits to have degrees. (National newspapers 72.2%; national commercial television 70%; national commercial radio, BBC network radio and BBC national television 50%) whereas the local and regional sectors largely scored below

the average with only 17.4% of local newspapers expecting their new journalists to have a degree. This is significant if set alongside the 64.1% of local newspaper editors who want a professional (NCTJ) qualification.

14.9% of editors from all sectors wanted a Journalism- specific degree, the most enthusiastic being local commercial radio (32.3%) and BBC national television (25%) while no editor in either national commercial radio, BBC network radio or BBC regional television wanted such a specific degree. BBC regional radio (3.2%), national newspapers (5.6%) and local newspapers (6.5%) were also not keen. Media-related degrees scored poorly in all sectors with only 5% of editors as a whole showing any sort of enthusiasm for them. National commercial television (10%), local commercial radio (8.6%) and regional commercial television (6.7%) were above average but six out of ten sectors displayed no interest whatsoever (national commercial radio, BBC network radio, BBC national television, national newspapers, BBC regional television, BBC regional radio).

It is fair to say, however, that the phrase 'media-related degrees' can provoke strong, negative reactions within the industry, as was discussed in the previous chapter.

The results indicate certain tentative conclusions; national and local sectors tend to have different educational requirements with local media accepting a greater range of qualifications. The commercial broadcasters accept a significantly wider range of qualifications than the BBC. National newspapers generally do not demand a professional qualification at any level and are much more interested in straightforward academic qualifications, namely a general (non-specific) degree. Local newspapers are significantly more interested in a pre-entry qualification than a degree.

When asked if their requirements had changed over the preceding three years, 48 organisations said they had, 17% of the sample. A wide range of changes was cited, from demanding more IT skills from new recruits to only taking NCTJ -qualified staff. However, none of these reasons affected more than 2.5% of the sample.

Personal qualities

Employers are not only willing to accept a range of educational qualifications; they also value the personal qualities of new recruits far more than the skills and

knowledge they bring with them. 58.2% of the industry as a whole rated them as more important than skills (31.9%) with knowledge trailing at 7.1%. (see table 4) In fact, only BBC national television rated skills more highly than personal qualities.

Table 4

Which would you say is the most important in a new recruit: Skills, Knowledge or Personal Qualities? (Answers in %)

	Ave-rage	Nat. paper	Local paper	Nat. BBC TV	Reg. BBC TV	Nat. BBC Radio	Reg. BBC Radio	Nat. Com TV	Reg. Com TV	Nat. Com Radio	Local Com. Radio
Personal Qualities	58.2	44.4	66.3	25	77.8	50	54.8	60	86.7	75	49.5
Skills	31.6	27.8	27.2	50	11.1	50	32.3	20	13.3	25	41.9
Knowledge	7.1	11.1	5.4	0	11.1	0	12.9	20	0	0	5.4
Don't know	4.3	16.7	2.2	25	0	0	6.5	0	0	0	3.2
Nos. of replies		18	92	4	9	2	31	10	15	4	93

There appears to be clear evidence that knowledge is relatively unimportant to all editors. Several sectors disregarded knowledge entirely.

Employers were particularly interested in new recruits who displayed such qualities as enthusiasm, the ability to withstand pressure, to learn quickly and to work as part of a team. Of the 282 people who responded, 275 (97.5%) thought enthusiasm was essential, 247 (87.6%) thought the ability to withstand pressure and 245 (86.9%) thought the ability to learn quickly was essential. There was a consistency in response which indicates that such personal characteristics are deemed necessary and, indeed, desirable by all sectors of the industry (table 5). More than 50% of respondents also valued the ability to do more than one task, common sense, quick thinking and teamworking.

Table 5

Which personal qualities do you think are essential for a new recruit?

(Qualities deemed essential by more than 75% of all editors)

All	Nat. paper	Local paper	Nat. BBC TV	Reg. BBC TV	Nat. BBC Radio	Reg. BBC Radio	Nat. Com TV	Reg. Com TV	Nat. Com Radio	Local Com. Radio
Enthusiasm (97.5)	100	97.5	75	100	50	96.8	100	100	100	96.8
Ability to withstand pressure (87.6)	100	65.9	75	77.8	100	77.4	70	86.7	100	91.4
Ability to learn quickly (86.9)	100	81.5	100	77.8	100	80.6	90	80	75	92.5
A positive attitude (86.2)	77.8	88	100	66.7	100	83.9	90	80	75	84.9
Commonsense (79.1)	77.8	79.3	75	66.7	50	77.4	50	100	75	79.6
Ability to work in teams (75.2)	61.1	66.3	100	88.9	100	90.3	80	66.7	100	80.6

Conversely, certain qualities, such as an enthusiasm for social reform, having strong opinions, a sense of public duty, ethics or fair play, did not strike the majority of editors as essential qualities. (table 6)

Table 6

(Qualities deemed essential by fewer than 25% of all editors)

All	Nat. paper	Local paper	Nat. BBC TV	Reg. BBC TV	Nat. BBC Radio	Reg. BBC Radio	Nat. Com TV	Reg. Com TV	Nat. Com Radio	Local Com. Radio
Recklessness (1.1)	0	0	0	0	0	3.2	0	0	0	2.2
No opinions (1.1)	0	0	0	0	0	0	10	0	0	1.1
Enthusiasm for social reform (2.5)	11.1	1.1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4.3
Cheap to employ (6.7)	5.6	6.5	0	0	0	3.2	0	13.3	0	7.5
Strong opinions (7.1)	22.2	4.3	0	0	0	3.2	10	0	25	8.6
Lots of outside interests (12.1)	5.6	8.7	0	0	0	9.7	10	26.7	25	16.1
Good personal connections (12.1)	27.8	12	0	0	0	16.1	10	20	0	6.5
Sense of public duty(13.1)	22.2	10.9	50	44.4	50	22.6	20	13.3	0	5.4
Strong sense of ethics (21.3)	55.6	14.1	0	33.3	0	25.8	40	20	25	18.3
Thoughtfulness (23.8)	55.6	13	25	44.4	50	38.7	0	20	50	24.7
Sense of fair play (24.8)	33.3	22.8	25	22.2	50	29	20	20	75	23.7

There were some anomalies, however. National newspapers were far more likely to value personal qualities which reflected a sense of personal responsibility or reflectiveness, like enthusiasm for social reform, a sense of public duty and ethics and thoughtfulness. More than one in four of respondents also valued good personal connections. The BBC too showed a stronger sense of public duty than the commercial sector of broadcasting while conversely, the commercial sector was more interested in new recruits having lots of outside interests.

What is obvious is the importance to the industry as a whole of what can be called 'can-do' qualities; those which enable a new recruit to learn new skills easily and to perform well in a work setting. What are less highly valued, generally, are reflective qualities, such as thoughtfulness and, with notable exceptions, qualities which have 'values' attached to them, namely enthusiasm for social reform or a strong sense of ethics.

Courses – how they compare.

This heavy emphasis on personal qualities, at the expense of skills and knowledge, is replicated by the recruitment practices of those journalism courses which are validated by the industry bodies.

39 courses replied to the survey. Of these 18 said they were NCTJ accredited and 11 BJTC accredited. Of the 18 NCTJ accredited, 3 awarded degrees, 4 awarded postgraduate diplomas, 1 an HND and 2 the National Vocational Qualification level 4. Of the BJTC-accredited courses, 3 were degree courses and 8 postgraduate diplomas. 11 courses which replied did not claim accreditation from either validating body. Of these, three were postgraduate diplomas, 1 a degree, 1 an NVQ level 4, 1 an HNC, I was a UPN scheme, 1 was led by an independent trainer, 1 was an in-house trainer, 1 gave no qualifications at all and 1 was the BBC News Trainee scheme.

For the purposes of this research, only the accredited college courses were analysed.

Not only do these courses value personal qualities over both skills and knowledge but they also valued many of the same essential qualities (see tables 7, 8 and 9)

Table 7

Which would you say is the most important in a new recruit: Skills, Knowledge or Personal Qualities? (Answers in %)

	NCTJ	BJTC
Personal qualities	66.7	72.7
Skills	22.2	18.2
Knowledge	5.6	9.1
Don't know	5.6	0
Nos.	18	11

Table 8

Which personal qualities do you think are essential for a new recruit? (Qualities deemed essential by more than 75% of all trainers)

NCTJ		BJTC	
Enthusiasm	94.4 (17/18)	Enthusiasm	90.9 (10/11)
Ability to withstand pressure	94.4	Ability to listen	90.9
Ability to listen	83.3 (15/18)	Curiosity	90.9
Curiosity	83.3	Positive attitude	81.8 (9/11)
Positive attitude	83.3	Ability to withstand pressure	81.8
		Good voice	81.8
		Ability to analyse	81.8
		Ability to learn quickly	81.8
		Ability to communicate	81.8

Table 9

Which personal qualities do you think are essential for a new recruit? (Qualities deemed essential by fewer than 25% of all trainers)

NCTJ		BJTC	
Recklessness	0	No opinions	0
Cheap to employ	0	Recklessness	0
Enthusiasm for social reform	0	Lots of outside interests	0
Good voice	5.6 (1/18)	Strong opinions	0
No opinions	5.6	Enthusiasm for social reform	0
Strong opinions	5.6	Cheap to employ	0
Good personal connections	5.6	Good connections	9.1 (1/11)
Sense of public duty	11.1 (2/18)	Ambition	18.2 (2/11)
Lots of outside interests	16.7 (3/18)	Sense of public duty	18.2
Strong sense of ethics	16.7		
Patience	16.7		
Sense of fair play	22.2 (4/18)		
Tenacity	22.2		
Thoughtfulness	22.2		

Such commonality between trainers and employers is testimony to the closeness between the industry-accredited courses and the industry itself. This is underlined by other close similarities in recruitment practices and in what is thought to be essential professional practice.

Accredited training courses, particularly those which teach broadcast journalism, tend to accept graduates, demonstrating yet again that journalism is fast becoming a graduate profession. Colleges were asked the same question as industry organisations, namely which academic qualifications would be expected as a minimum (see table 10). BJTC-validated courses were more likely to demand a degree but this is likely to be because broadcast journalism courses are more usually at postgraduate level. 53.6% of colleges as a whole said they expected a general degree as a minimum qualification but not one course required this degree to be in journalism, broadcast journalism or media-related. However, there is clear enthusiasm on the part of colleges for Media-related practical courses at sub-degree level. Like the industry in general, a wide spectrum of qualifications were also cited as minimum qualifications, ranging through A-levels (46.4%), Media-related B.Tecs (14.3%) and City and Guilds (10.7%) and GCSEs (7.1%) A number also cited Access courses (9.1% of BJTC courses), relevant experience (18.2% of BJTC courses and 11.1% of NCTJ courses and international equivalents (5.6% of NCTJ courses).

Table 10

Which of the following qualifications would you expect as a minimum? (Answers in %)

	Average	NCTJ	BJTC
Degree (any subject)	53.6	44.4	63.6
Journalism degree	0	0	0
Media degree	0	0	0
HND	3.6	0	9.1
Media HND	7.1	5.6	9.1
HNC	0	0	0
Media HNC	0	0	0
A-levels/Scottish Highers	46.4	61.1	27.3
Media A-levels/ Scottish Highers	3.6	5.6	0
B.Tec	14.3	22.2	9.1
Media B.Tec	17.9	16.7	18.2
City & Guilds	0	0	0
Media City & Guilds	10.7	11.1	9.1
GNVQ/GSVQ	3.6	5.6	0
Media-related GNVQ/GSVQ	7.1	5.6	9.1
GCSE	7.1	0	18.2
Media-related GCSE	0	0	0
No academic qualifications	0	0	0
Nos.	29	18	11

No college mentioned Oxford or Cambridge as a recruitment ground.

The majority of both NCTJ (77.7%) courses and BJTC courses (81.8%) insisted that their new students had done some work experience.

Far and away the most common educational recruitment ground for courses is the general degree course, with nearly three-quarters of respondents citing it as a place from which they usually recruit. But a surprising number of trainers, particularly from the broadcast journalism courses, recruited people who were working in jobs outside the media, making it the second most popular place from which to recruit (see Table 11).

Table 11

From where do you usually recruit? (Answers in %)

	Average	NCTJ	BJTC
The media	50	44.4	54.5
Other employment	60.7	50	**72.7**
PG (general)	28.6	33.3	18.2
PG (Journalism)	7.1	11.1	0
General degree courses	72.4	72.2	72.7
UG (Journalism)	32.1	27.8	36.4
UG (Media-related)	32.1	22.2	45.5
FE (general)	39.3	50	18.2
FE (Media-related)	21.4	27.8	9.1
Schools	35.7	44.4	27.3

Employers and trainers were largely agreed on both the overriding factors which would make them accept (table 12) or reject (table 13) a new recruit. These often replicated the personal qualities deemed desirable or undesirable.

BBC editors most often cited talent as the main factor behind recruitment while enthusiasm was most important for the press, national commercial television and the training courses. A good voice was the most important factor in recruitment for local commercial radio.

Arrogance, a lack of enthusiasm and, for local commercial radio, a poor voice, were mentioned by most sectors as reasons for rejecting a candidate.

Table 12

What overriding factor would make you accept a new recruit?
(Answers given by more than 10% of those who responded included)

Nat. Paper	Local paper	Nat. BBC TV	Reg. BBC TV	Nat. BBC Radio	Reg. BBC Radio	Nat. Com. TV	Reg. Com. TV	Nat. Com Radio	Local Com. Radio	NCTJ Course	BJTC Course
Enthus-iasm (27.8)	Enthus-iasm (22.8)	Talent (50)	Talent (55.6)	Talent /Quick learner (50)	Talent (22.6)	Enthus-iasm (40)	Talent (26.9)	Ambit ion/ Hunger for news/ Comm unicati on skill (25)	Good voice (17.2)	Enthus-iasm (16.7)	Enthus-iasm/ Commi tment/ Comm unicati on skill/ Cur-ious (18.2)
Talent /No answer (22.2)	Right person /No answer (10.9)	Good writer /quick learner (25)	Hunger for news (22.2)		No answer (16.1)	Ambit-ion (20)	Enthus iasm/ Initiat ive (13.3)		Enthus-iasm (16.1)	Drive/ Good writing (11.1)	
			Good commu nicator/ potent-ial/no answer (11.1)			Talent/ confid ence/ Good voice/ Determ ined (10)					

Table 13

What overriding factor would make you reject a new recruit?

(Answers given by more than 10% of those who responded included)

Nat. Paper	Local paper	Nat. BBC TV	Reg. BBC TV	Nat. BBC Radio	Reg. BBC Radio	Nat. Com. TV	Reg. Com. TV	Nat. Com Radio	Local Com. Radio	NCTJ Course	BJTC Course
No talent (16.7)	No enthusiasm (14.1)	Arrogance/ Poor English (25)	No enthusiasm (33..3)	Arrogance/ Poor communication skills (50)	No commitment/ No enthusiasm (16.1)	Poor communication skills/ weak (20)	Complacent/ No enthusiasm/ Arrogance/ No drive/ Boredom (13.3)	Arrogance (50)	Poor voice (20)	Poor communication/ Poor English /arrogance (16.7)	Poor Voice/ Poor Communication/ No curiosity (18.2)
No commitment/ No enthusiasm / No drive (11.1)	Boredom (10.9)		Poor voice/ No talent/ Poor attitude /Boredom (11.1)			No enthusiasm/ Poor voice/ Arrogance/ (10)		No drive/ Weak/ Boredom (25)	Arrogance (15.1)	No enthusiasm/ Ignorance of Journalism (11.1)	
									No enthusiasm (14)		

Knowledge and Skills

Given the lack of importance both the industry as a whole and trainers attach to **knowledge**, it is nevertheless interesting what categories of knowledge they do think are useful for their new recruits.

More than three-quarters of all employers in all sectors and all trainers looked for a knowledge of current affairs as their main priority. This ranged from 100% for BBC network editors, BBC regional television editors and BJTC trainers to 75% of national commercial radio editors. A knowledge of current affairs was followed closely by a demand for general knowledge. Again, this ranged from a demand from 100% of BBC national editors and national commercial radio editors to 60% of national commercial tv editors.

At the other end of the spectrum, editors generally were less interested in a knowledge of economics or commerce, Europe, specialist knowledge of any particular subject or ethical issues. In fact, less than a fifth of editors as a whole wanted any knowledge of ethical issues.

There were some exceptions, as can be seen from Table 14, particularly national newspapers and national commercial television and radio, who, as a rule, were more interested in such specialised knowledge.

Trainers too followed the same basic pattern as the industry with less than a fifth of them wanting a knowledge of ethical issues, economics or Europe.

The major difference between the industry and the colleges came in subjects which are taught in colleges, and are clearly valued by large numbers of editors, namely media law, sources of news, local and central government and news priorities. Fewer colleges expected students to have knowledge of these subjects.

Table 14

When you are recruiting, what knowledge are you looking for?
(Answers in %)

	Aver age	Nat. Paper	Local paper	Nat. BBC TV	Reg. BBC TV	Nat. BBC Radio	Reg. BBC Radio	Nat. Com TV	Reg. Com TV	Nat. Com Radio	Local Com. Radio
Current affairs	87.6	88.9	85.9	100	100	100	96.8	80	93.3	75	84.9
Media industry	20.9	22.2	13	25	22.2	0	16.1	10	20	50	28
Work of a journalist	63.5	55.6	64.1	100	66.7	100	67.7	30	80	75	60.2
Media law	71.6	72.2	64.1	100	77.8	100	87.1	30	73.3	75	77.4
Govt.	55	50	70.7	75	66.7	50	64.5	30	40	25	43
Europe	19.9	61.1	8.7	25	11.1	0	22.6	60	6.7	75	16.1
Politics	38.3	66.7	21.7	25	44.4	0	58.1	70	33.3	75	36.6
Commerce/ Economics	13.8	44.4	5.4	25	11.1	50	19.4	40	13.3	50	9.7
News priorities	75.5	77.8	69.6	75	88.9	50	90.3	50	73.3	100	78.5
General knowledge	75.5	88.9	73.9	100	88.9	100	83.9	60	93.3	100	67.7
Importance of sources	50.7	61.1	46.7	75	88.9	100	64.5	40	73.3	25	44.1
Lifestyle issues	29.4	38.9	19.6	25	22.2	50	35.5	20	40	75	32.3
Technical knowledge	20.2	5.6	4.3	0	0	0	19.4	30	33.3	25	34.4
Commercia imperatives	6.7	0	3.3	25	0	50	3.3	0	13.3	50	9.7
Local knowledge	52.1	16.7	55.4	50	33.3	50	41.9	10	66.7	25	62.4
Ethical issues	13.5	22.2	9.8	0	11.1	0	25.8	30	13.3	25	10.8
Specialist knowledge	6.7	16.7	4.3	25	33.3	50	9.7	0	6.7	0	6.5

Table 14 (continued)

	Average	NCTJ Course	BJTC Course
Current affairs	**92.9**	**88.9**	**100**
Media industry	17.9	11.1	27.3
Work of a journalist	60.7	61.1	54.5
Media law	10.7	11.1	9.1
Govt.	10.7	5.6	18.2
Europe	14.3	11.1	18.2
Politics	42.9	33.3	54.5
Commerce/ Economics	10.7	0	27.3
News priorities	42.9	38.9	45.5
General knowledge	**71.4**	**61.1**	**90.9**
Importance of sources	10.7	5.6	18.2
Lifestyle issues	25	5.6	54.5
Technical knowledge	3.6	0	9.1
Commercial imperatives	10.7	5.6	18.2
Local knowledge	10.7	11.1	9.1
Ethical issues	10.7	5.6	18.2
Specialist knowledge	7.1	0	18.2

The skills looked for by colleges and radio stations differed somewhat, understandably perhaps, as students could expect to learn their specialist skills while on the training courses. However, both the colleges and the industry wanted new recruits to have, above all, the ability to write and speak English well, as can be seen from Table 15.

A greater number of BBC editors looked for certain skills such as research skills and the ability to drive, than the commercial sector but, generally, there was a relatively consistent approach between all the sectors, including, with the exception of national newspapers and national commercial television, the non-essential nature of a foreign language.

Table 15

When you are recruiting, what skills are you looking for?
(Answers in %)

	Average	Nat. Paper	Local paper	Nat. BBC TV	Reg. BBC TV	Nat. BBC Radio	Reg. BBC Radio	Nat. Com TV	Reg. Com TV	Nat. Com Radio	Local Com. Radio
Written English	91.8	100	97.8	100	88.9	100	93.5	60	86.7	100	86
Spoken English	86.5	72.2	82.6	75	100	50	96.8	90	93.3	75	91.4
Reporting	74.8	77.8	77.2	100	77.8	100	74.2	60	73.3	100	72
Inter-Viewing	70.9	61.1	66.3	25	77.8	0	77.4	40	73.3	100	79.6
Ability to hit Deadlines	61.7	72.2	45.7	75	66.7	50	64.5	50	73.3	100	69.9
Ability to Drive	52.1	27.8	59.8	75	55.6	100	71	0	40	25	52.7
Research	32.6	44.4	21.7	75	77.8	100	61.3	40	46.7	25	24.7
Shorthand	29.8	61.1	66.3	0	11.1	0	6.5	0	0	0	4.3
Production	24.5	16.7	3.3	0	55.6	0	54.8	20	20	50	35.5
IT	22.7	11.1	17.4	25	22.2	50	45.2	10	13.3	50	23.7
Other Tech. Skills	16.3	11.1	2.2	0	33.3	0	25.8	30	13.3	25	28
Foreign lang.	6	22.2	2.2	0	11.1	0	3.2	50	6.7	0	3.2
Layout/ Visual/ Design	5	22.2	7.6	25	0	0	0	10	0	0	0

	Average	NCTJ Course	BJTC Course
Written English	85.7	88.9	81.8
Spoken English	71.4	55.6	90.9
Reporting	42.9	44.4	36.4
Inter-viewing	39.3	38.9	36.4
Ability to hit deadlines	46.4	50	36.4
Ability to drive	7.1	5.6	9.1
Research	21.4	16.7	27.3
Shorthand	14.3	22.2	0
Production	7.1	5.6	9.1
IT	14.4	16.7	9.1
Other technical skills	3.6	5.6	0
Foreign language	0	0	0
Layout/ Visual/ Design	3.6	5.6	0

College curricula

Similarly, trainers and employers agreed on the importance of what should be taught to trainee journalists (table 16). This is hardly surprising as the NCTJ has a very clear syllabus which needs to be followed by colleges (NCTJ syllabus, 1999), and lecturers and examiners are all experienced journalists. The BJTC issues guidelines to broadcast journalism courses as to what should be taught and stipulates that practical journalism teaching must be done by experienced journalists. The guidelines cover practical skills, professional practice such as ethics and codes of practice, and knowledge deemed necessary for journalists to possess such as how local, central, national and European governments and assemblies operate and how the law affects journalists (BJTC guidelines, 1999). As both BBC Training and the Commercial Radio Companies Association – the umbrella group representing commercial radio companies – have representatives on the Council, it would be surprising if editors disagreed vehemently with the topics covered. Editors, by and large, agreed that subjects taught were either very or quite important.

Table 16

Are the following topics which are taught on accredited courses important?

(Answers in %)

	Aver-Age	Nat. Paper	Local paper	Nat. BBC TV	Reg. BBC TV	Nat. BBC Radio	Reg. BBC Radio	Nat. Com. TV	Reg. Com. TV	Nat. Com Radio	Local Com. Radio
Writing news	98.6	94.4	100	100	100	100	100	100	93.3	100	97.8
Writing features	80.5	94.4	97.8	50	44.4	50	67.7	80	50	75	65.6
Subbing	65.6	83.3	67.4	75	100	50	58.1	70	60	100	62.4
Design	29.8	83.3	50	50	22.2	50	3.2	50	6.7	50	8.6
Production	70.9	83.3	46.7	75	100	50	96.8	90	66.7	75	80.6
Research	89.7	88.9	91.3	100	100	100	93.5	100	93.3	75	84.9
Sources of news	95	94.4	95.7	100	100	100	100	90	100	100	91.4
Study of media orgs/history	44	44.4	48.9	75	44.4	50	35.5	40	26.7	25	43
Practical reporting	96.5	94.4	98.9	100	100	100	96.8	90	93.3	100	94.6
News values	96.8	94.4	98.9	100	100	100	100	90	100	100	94.6
Newsroom practice	94.3	88.9	97.8	75	88.9	50	96.8	80	86.7	100	95.7
Technical skills	88.7	83.3	81.5	100	88.9	100	96.8	70	86.7	100	95.7
Editing (technical)	75.2	66.7	47.8	100	88.9	100	93.5	90	66.7	100	95.7
Editing (editorial)	84.8	88.9	69.6	100	100	100	93.5	100	80	100	93.5
Keyboard skills	91.5	88.9	93.5	100	100	100	100	90	80	100	89.2
Shorthand	72	94.4	97.8	50	77.8	0	74.2	20	60	50	49.5
Use of audio/ actuality	64.2	27.8	25	100	100	100	100	70	73.3	100	94.6
Camera work	28	16.7	26.1	50	88.9	100	54.8	70	80	0	6.5
Picture selection	37.9	66.7	50	75	88.9	100	48.4	70	86.7	0	4.3
Bulletin compilation	62.4	16.7	13	100	100	100	100	90	100	75	96.8
News-reading	58.9	5.6	4.3	75	100	100	100	100	93.3	100	97.8
Feature/Doc Production	39.7	0	2.2	50	77.8	50	74.2	80	73.3	75	62.4
Photo-graphy	26.6	50	48.9	25	33.3	50	9.7	30	33.3	0	5.4
Ethics	81.6	88.9	84.8	100	100	100	90.3	70	73.3	75	77.4
Inter-viewing	96.8	94.4	97.8	100	100	100	100	100	93.3	100	96.8
Public admin.	82.3	61.1	94.6	75	88.9	50	93.5	50	93.3	25	76.3
Law	95.4	88.9	97.8	100	100	100	100	80	100	100	95.7

There were some discrepancies, however.

Well under half of all editors who responded thought any study of media organisations or history important. Only national BBC television editors demurred from this lack of interest. Colleges, however, appeared adamant that these topics were important. (see table 17)

Shorthand was most important to newspapers and to regional editors in the BBC, but was thought unimportant by most other editors.

The BJTC has argued for many years about whether shorthand should be compulsory for broadcast journalism courses and has now dropped it from the syllabus but it is a skill which, for many people, provides journalists with their 'professionalism'. It was the first recognised professional skill for journalists, which enabled the early practitioners to earn good money, and it is interesting that it should still hold such sway over large parts of the occupation even in these days of electronic recording techniques. Some would say that shorthand is iconic rather than utilitarian but journalists argue that it is still vital that they can take shorthand notes in courts of law where tape recorders are still forbidden. It is no surprise that those who most value the skill are those who regularly cover the courts.

Regional media organisations thought public administration of far greater importance than the national media, while ethics was deemed less important by the commercial sector as a whole than by the BBC. Both these subjects had great emphasis put on them by the colleges.

Of all the subjects taught in colleges, those deemed most important by all editors (over 90% of all respondents across all sectors) included interviewing skills, practical reporting, news values, sources of news and writing news. These priorities were reflected in the colleges.

Table 17

College responses to how important the topics are (Answers in %)

	NCTJ	BJTC		NCTJ	BJTC
Writing news	100	100	Practical reporting	94.4	100
Writing features	88.8	54.6	News values	94.5	100
Subbing	72.2	45.5	Newsroom practice	100	100
Design	72.2	27.3	Technical skills	94.5	100
Production	61.1	63.7	Editing (technical)	72.3	100
Research	94.4	100	Editing (editorial)	77.8	100
Sources of news	100	100	Keyboard skills	94.5	100
Study of media orgs/history	72.3	90.9	Shorthand	100	81.8
Use of audio/actuality	33.5	100			
Camera work	11.2	100			
Picture selection	50	81.9			
Bulletin compilation	27.8	100			
Newsreading	11.2	90.9			
Feature/Doc Production	5.6	90.9			
Photography	11.2	36.4			
Ethics	83.4	100			
Interviewing	100	100			
Public admin.	100	100			
Law	100	100			

Different sectors obviously valued different topics, depending on their priorities.
Thus, newspaper courses are unlikely to think bulletin compilation, newsreading,
documentary production and use of actuality are important and broadcast courses will
not be interested in teaching design skills.

Of note, however, is the apparent disinterest from the NCTJ courses in photography.
There are historical reasons for the separation of photography from journalism. Press
photographers were not recognised as journalists in terms of wage negotiations until
1934 (Bundock 1957, p 127). Journalists determined what pictures should be used.
The NCTJ has introduced an amended training scheme for photojournalists without
the reporting module. Nevertheless, with the keen interest within the industry for
multi-skilling (see next section), this separation of skills, albeit traditional, could be
deemed to be short-sighted. It is clearly apparent from the broadcast courses that the
concept of multi-skilling has played a major role in their programme construction
with the addition of such subjects as camera work and picture selection, skills not
traditionally associated with the journalist before CNN's ground-breaking
introduction of the videojournalist.

The Future

Looking to the future, all sectors thought multi-skilling – being able to do a variety of different jobs – should be an essential component in a journalism course. Understandably, given the BBC's tri-media approach, far more editors in the BBC were concerned about journalists being able to work across different sectors. The BBC generally were also more exercised by new technology, both in terms of digital technology and the Internet, than the commercial sector. National newspapers too were concerned that the Internet should be taught (see table 18).

Table 18

Which of the following do you think should be essential components in journalism courses? (Answers in %)

	Aver-Age	Nat. Paper	Local paper	Nat. BBC TV	Reg. BBC TV	Nat. BBC Radio	Reg. BBC Radio	Nat. Com. TV	Reg. Com. TV	Nat. Com Radio	Local Com. Radio
Understanding of Sales	24.8	11.1	37	0	0	0	0	0	0	25	33.3
Understanding of Marketing	26.6	11.1	37	0	11.1	0	9.7	10	6.7	50	33.3
Understanding of PR (for org.)	31.9	27.8	27.2	25	11.1	0	22.6	20	13.3	50	47.3
Understanding of printing process	14.2	11.1	35.9	0	0	0	0	10	0	0	2.2
Understanding of transmission process	29.1	0	3.3	0	44.4	0	51.6	60	73.3	50	43
Multi-skilling (across media)	32.6	16.7	14.1	75	55.6	100	67.7	50	40	25	36.6
Multi-skilling (within medium)	61	44.4	48.9	100	66.7	100	71	80	60	50	72
Business skills	9.6	5.6	8.7	25	22.2	50	6.5	0	0	50	14
Digital technology	44.7	5.6	16.3	75	77.8	50	74.2	60	46.7	25	63.4
Internet	37.6	50	28.3	100	66.7	100	41.9	60	26.7	0	39.8
Electronic Publishing	16.3	27.8	30.4	50	0	0	3.2	20	0	0	5.4
Customer care	25.2	22.2	41.3	0	22.2	0	16.1	0	0	50	19.4
Time management	56.4	11.1	58.7	75	44.4	100	64.5	20	26.7	75	67.7
Audience research methodology	14.2	5.6	3.3	50	33.3	50	12.9	20	6.7	25	24.7
Audience Research interpretation	20.6	11.1	4.3	75	66.7	100	32.3	10	6.7	25	33.3
Finance	12.1	0	8.7	25	11.1	50	6.5	30	20	50	15.1
People management	44	44.4	34.8	50	33.3	50	54.8	40	53.3	75	47.3

The question attracted a wide range of other suggestions too. These ranged from specific skills such as interviewing, writing, reading the news, researching, editing, accuracy, computer skills and shorthand through areas of knowledge such as politics, history, economics, lifestyle issues and media law. There were more general topics as well, including getting students to read widely and acquire a general knowledge and to develop social skills, communication skills and an idea of ethics. However, when looked at as a whole, the vast majority of suggestions were tied up with practical skills, designed to enable students to do the job rather than acquire a wider understanding of the broader context in which they live and work.

Colleges, meanwhile, differed somewhat in their views, particularly newspaper colleges and their attitude towards multi-tasking (table 19). Whereas nearly half the industry thought it essential, only just over one fifth of NCTJ courses designated it as such. BJTC courses were much closer to their industry views, although they valued sales, marketing and PR less than the commercial radio sector.

Table 19

Which of the following do you think should be essential components in journalism courses (Answers in %)

	Average	NCTJ	BJTC
Understanding of sales	32.1	44.4	9.1
Understanding of marketing	35.7	50	18.2
Understanding of PR (for org)	17.9	22.2	9.1
Understanding of printing process	25	38.9	0
Understanding of transmission process	14.3	0	36.4
Multiskilling (across media)	46.4	33.3	63.6
Multiskilling (within medium)	42.9	**22.2**	**81.8**
Business skills	21.4	11.1	36.4
Digital technology	53.6	33.3	**90.9**
Internet	78.6	77.8	81.8
Electronic Publishing	46.4	50	36.4
Customer care	17.9	16.7	18.2
Time management	57.1	55.6	63.6
Audience research methodology	7.1	0	18.2
Audience research interpretation	17.9	5.6	36.4
Finance	21.4	22.2	27.3
People management	50	50	45.5

Some colleges had also broadened their curricula by teaching different practical subjects such as teamworking, writing for the freelance market, visual storytelling, the business of journalism and advertising. However, a few, about eight, had introduced such topics as the politics and sociology of news, discourse analysis, cultural concepts and the language and literature of journalism and this contrasts markedly with suggestions by the editors as to how colleges could improve their courses (see next section).

Some believed that other topics such as legal rights, safety issues, radio as a business and how to get a job should also be taught.

The main changes that courses had made over the three years preceding the survey had been to add more practical work to the programme, to extend the technology or to introduce multi-skilling – a clear indication that courses were aware of industry needs. Six BJTC courses (out of 11) said they had introduced multi-skilling and eight said they had introduced digital technology, several years before the BJTC specified that digital technology must be taught (BJTC guidelines, 1999). The main reason for the changes in the BJTC courses had been because of developments in the industry while NCTJ courses said their changes were student or college led.

Tutors were in no doubt that better facilities and more resources would improve their courses. More support from colleges and the industry were also mentioned as needed. Lack of money was seen as the biggest problem, followed by lack of college support. The government's attitude and education in the 1960s were also seen as barriers to improvement.

Seven BJTC courses and seven NCTJ courses planned to change their curriculum in the year following the survey. Almost all of the broadcasting courses planned to encompass more multi-skilling, digital technology or new media while the NCTJ courses had a broader range of changes planned which included the introduction of desk top publishing, magazine journalism, multi-skilling and new media.

Employers, when asked how they would improve college courses and with no answers suggested to them, wanted more practical work. Although only 26.6% of editors actually used the words 'introduce more practical work', many other responses were associated with practical topics, including understanding legal pitfalls, getting rid of poor tutors, more voice training, having more work placements, keeping up-to-date with industry practice, getting 'real journalists involved' and understanding the

audience's requirements. 89% of editors in all opted for practical work as a way of improving courses.

12.4% mentioned improving recruitment policies to get students with 'the right attitude'. There were just 2 other suggestions, representing 0.7% of responses, one mentioning an understanding of ethics, and the second asking for better financial backing from companies.

One of the conclusions which can be drawn from this particular section of the data is that employers would like training to be controlled very tightly. They want very specific skills taught and they want the person to be a very specific sort of person. Colleges, by and large, fulfil this role. Although what may be termed 'intellectual subjects' have been introduced by a small number of colleges, these are heavily outweighed by the practical content of courses. Having said that, the fact that some colleges do teach such subjects as sociology and discourse analysis underlines what has been one of the key issues in journalism training throughout its history, namely the tension between the demands made of journalism training by the industry (for practical training) and the demands for 'scholarliness' from the education system within which training is carried out – a tension made more complicated today by the higher educational qualifications of new recruits. This is further explored in the next two chapters.

The Recruitment Process

The emphasis on ensuring that the 'right sort of person' is employed is reinforced by the recruitment process adopted by employers.

The most popular ways of recruiting staff were through newspaper adverts, through unsolicited applications and by word of mouth. 143 (50.7%) employers said they recruited by placing adverts, 122 (43.3%) by unsolicited applications and 105 (37.2%) by word of mouth. 64 (22.7%) said they recruited through college recommendation. More national newspapers and local radio stations recruited through word of mouth than any other means while more BBC stations, national commercial radio and television and regional commercial television favoured newspaper adverts over the other methods. Local newspapers also recruited via unsolicited applications and were most in favour, out of all the sectors, of recruiting on college recommendations.

Table 20

How do you recruit in the main? (Answers in %)

	Aver-Age	Nat. Paper	Local paper	Nat. BBC TV	Reg. BBC TV	Nat. BBC Radio	Reg. BBC Radio	Nat. Com. TV	Reg. Com. TV	Nat. Com Radio	Local Com. Radio
News-paper ads	50.7	44.4	52.2	75	88.9	50	71	70	80	50	33.3
Unsolicited applications	43.3	55.6	52.2	25	33.3	50	35.5	20	53.3	25	34.4
Word of mouth	37.2	61.1	22.8	25	22.2	50	32.3	20	33.3	50	54.8
College recommend-ation	22.7	16.7	35.9	25	33.3	50	16.1	30	0	0	18.3
Radio ads	8.2	0	2.2	0	0	0	0	0	0	25	22.6

These results are significant for several reasons. It is no surprise that the BBC, in particular, rely on newspaper adverts to attract recruits. Their equal opportunity policies rely heavily on equality of access and it would be against their public service remit to recruit heavily, as other sectors do, from unsolicited applications or word of mouth.

The reliance on unsolicited applications, particularly in the local newspaper sector, is traditional. A survey carried out in 1969 among 99 trainee journalists from what were then Harlow Technical College and Sheffield Polytechnic, two training centres in the UK, showed that 62% of the trainees had obtained their first job by writing unsolicited letters of application to newspapers (Boyd-Barrett 1970, p. 189). Furthermore, their success rate was based on the number of applications they had made. This rewarding of perseverance and enthusiasm reflects the personal qualities deemed by employers to be of most value to the journalist. However, as Boyd-Barrett points out 'high motivation does not necessarily correlate with high ability' and he adds there is no evidence to show that the most suitable candidates are being selected (ibid p. 190).

Anecdotal evidence, on the other hand, seems to show that this ad hoc method of selection does pay dividends, or at least gives the employer, the editor, the 'kind of person he wants' (regardless of the recruit's level of competence). An experiment was carried out in the Journalism school at the University of Stockholm whereby students were recruited on to journalism courses on the basis of the results of their school-leaving certificate, rather than after interview. The resulting year performed more badly than any other year in the past (70).

This would seem to indicate that there is no objective level of competence in journalism and that 'success' is down to what an editor says about a journalist's work. This peer-group assessment is a vital factor when considering the obligations a journalist may have towards his 'customer' or 'client.' His/her success is measured not by the reader or audience (the public sector responsibility) but by his or her peers (Breed 1955, p. 281). This argument may well explain the failure of the National Vocational Qualification to be accepted fully by both the newspaper and broadcast industries.

This 'objective level of assessment' has been criticised, more or less across the board by editors, as measuring 'adequateness' rather than 'excellence'. It tests particular skills rather than the personal qualities and 'talent' of the candidate, which are more highly valued.

Interviews, either by themselves or combined with another method of selection, are the most popular way of selecting new recruits (see Table 21). 96.8% of news editors across the board use this method. More than half of all editors, and 83.3% of national newspapers, rely partly on personal recommendations, more evidence to show that getting someone who will 'fit in' and who is the 'right sort of person' is of paramount importance. That notwithstanding, neither BBC network radio nor BBC regional television takes personal recommendations. The second most common form of selection is through examples of work. 67% of all editors require proof of competence. Academic reports count for little. 16% of editors use them as a way of selecting new staff, although in local papers this rises to 26.1%.

The BBC nationally and regionally both rely heavily on tests (nearly 100% for all BBC sectors). Work experience and freelancing are also used as a route to recruitment but the range of use is not great. 12% of local newspaper editors for example said they used work experience as a selection method, 10% of national commercial television and 6.7% of regional commercial television editors used work experience or freelancing but the majority of sectors did not use these methods.

Table 21

How do you select applicants? (Answers in %)

	Aver-Age	Nat. Paper	Local paper	Nat. BBC TV	Reg. BBC TV	Nat. BBC Radio	Reg. BBC Radio	Nat. Com. TV	Reg. Com. TV	Nat. Com Radio	Local Com. Radio
Interviews	96.8	94.4	97.8	100	100	100	100	90	93.3	100	95.7
Team Exercise	13.8	0	2.2	50	88.9	50	64.5	10	6.7	0	11.8
Test	46.8	11.1	41.3	100	100	100	96.8	10	46.7	75	43
E.g.s of work	67	72.2	80.4	100	66.7	100	51.6	50	66.7	50	61.3
Academic work	16	5.6	26.1	0	11.1	0	9.7	20	13.3	25	9.7
Reference	45.7	44.4	56.5	25	33.3	50	22.6	50	53.3	100	40.9
Personal recommen-dation	52.5	83.3	54.3	25	0	0	19.4	60	53.3	50	57
Work experience	5.7	0	12	0	0	0	3.2	10	6.7	0	1.1

Editors gave a variety of reasons for wanting to interview candidates. These included having to opportunity to dig beneath the application form, to assess a candidate personally, to get an insight into strengths and weaknesses and because the first impression is vital.

Reasons given for accepting personal recommendations include the assertion that the profession soon weeds out bad people, that it is a guarantee of quality and that those already in the profession are the best judge.

These reasons, all be they odd remarks made by one or two editors, again reinforce the thesis that editors essentially want to replicate the people who are already in the business; that what is wanted is 'one of us'. By constantly recruiting the same 'sort' of person, editors may be accused of 'cloning' journalists and, in turn, cloning the sort of journalism which is produced. This is discussed in detail in the next chapter.

Colleges, meanwhile, recruit mainly by word of mouth, which would seem to mean by reputation. Three quarters of colleges said that this was their main method of recruitment followed by the use of promotional literature or college prospectus.

They also selected their applicants by interview, but relied heavily also on tests, mimicking the BBC's selection procedure. Academic qualifications were particularly important to BJTC courses, reflecting their mainly postgraduate nature. The interview was mentioned as the best method for the same reasons as the employers favoured it; because it allowed tutors to dig beneath the application form, to assess the character of the student personally and to give an insight into strengths and weaknesses.

Table 22

How do you select applicants? (Answers in %)

	Average	NCTJ	BJTC
Interview	92.9	88.9	100
Team exercises	32.1	5.6	72.7
Test	85.7	88.9	81.8
E.g.s of work	60.7	66.7	45.5
Academic qualifications	64.3	61.1	72.7
Other qualifications	3.6	5.6	0
Reference from employer	35.7	33.3	36.4
Reference from school, college or uni	46.4	50	36.4
Personal recommendation	14.3	11.1	18.2

Demographics of colleges recruits

Most NCTJ courses recruited up to 25 students per course but six recruited between 32 and 59 students. Most BJTC courses recruited 30 students or fewer, but four recruited between 32 and 55 students. The recruits mirrored those taken on by the industry.Three-quarters fell into the 22-30 year age bracket and a quarter into the 16-21 age group. Most recruits were white women. All the BJTC courses and most of the NCTJ courses said half or more of their recruits were women and fewer than a quarter were from ethnic minorities.

In examining how the different sectors of the industry recruit and how journalists in the late 20th century are trained, various conclusions can be drawn and a number of important issues identified.
There is real evidence that the training delivered on both NCTJ courses and BJTC courses matches industry requirements and, while it is impossible to equate numbers of students graduating from accredited courses to actual recruitment by the industry, there is a correlation between the kind of person recruited onto the courses and the kind of person the industry wants to recruit.

Colleges appear to imitate the industry's recruitment processes and practices. Similarly, there is general approval for what courses teach to students and courses appear to be aware of the industry's requirements for the future.

But these very similarities could lead to accusations of 'cloning' and this would be further emphasised by the preference of both the industry and the training courses for particular personal qualities in their recruits over more objective criteria of assessment, namely skills or knowledge.

Certainly what is clearly evident is the anti-intellectualism of most employers. Knowledge is regarded as relatively unimportant. 'Can-do', rather than reflective qualities are preferred. This would seem to reinforce the concept of British journalism being largely news- and events-driven, rather than ideas-driven. Trainees are generally not expected to analyse issues but to gather and report the news. Thoughtfulness is not as highly valued as enthusiasm and the ability to learn quickly.

The close relationship between the courses and the industry is not necessarily as healthy as it sounds. It can result in a homogenous industry which excludes those who do not fit the mould, thereby failing to reflect a diverse public.

It is also not as cosy as it would appear. There are signs from the data that some sectors are bypassing the accredited courses in their recruitment process. There are also some clear differences between the various sectors which suggest that they are being influenced by a number of different factors. Commercial broadcasters and national newspapers, for example, are less inclined to recruit from validated courses than the BBC and local newspapers; national newspapers tend not to want a professional qualification but demand academic results; both commercial broadcasters and the local media accept a wider range of educational qualifications than the BBC; sectors differ marginally over the importance of ethics and social awareness in their new recruits. Some of these differences can be attributed to historical factors, others to differing objectives. The findings indicate some of the tensions within journalism itself, an occupation which is not only physically fragmented and uncertain of its future needs but is also torn between the different aspirations, expectations and requirements of a changing and competitive industry and the demands of society at large. The conclusions from the data and the issues they reveal are explored in detail in the next two chapters.

CHAPTER 5

What the data tells us -

The socialisation process

Much of the evidence suggests that both NCTJ and BJTC-validated courses
match closely the industry they serve. The programmes are carefully constructed
according to industry requirements and they take great care to acquire the latest
industry-standard hard- and software, often at considerable expenses
(particularly in the case of the broadcast courses) in order to keep pace with
industry needs. The demographics of new recruits to the workforce match almost
exactly those of the students taken on by the validated courses. Most industry
recruits are white women, between the ages of 22 and 30, as are the students
taken on to NCTJ and BJTC courses. The personal qualities, skills and
knowledge which the industry says it wants are the same as the training courses.
Future needs are apparently recognised by both sides.

However, the research also reveals a more complex relationship between the
industry and the courses in which editors in all sectors, but particularly those in
the commercial broadcast and the national newspaper sectors, take their new
recruits from a variety of different routes, of which the industry-validated
courses are simply one. Although this is not a new phenomenon, it is another
indication that different sectors may have different requirements from their
journalists and therefore different objectives. This would make journalism if
classed as a 'profession' unlike any of the classic professions where
organisational objectives are subordinate to professional imperatives.

The chapter begins with revisiting the context within which journalism training
and education is taking place without which none of the arguments can be fully
understood.

The value of training

Debates today continue to revolve around the value of training and education. Even now, after fifty years of formal training schemes for journalists, the questions, not only of what kind of training (or education) is most useful, but whether there should be any training, continue to dog the industry. It must be said that, even in the United States, where journalism training in an education context began more than half a century earlier than in Britain, training was also always regarded as something which would be unlearnt ' on the job', (Schudson 1978, p. 80), a sentiment still heard in Britain (Miller and Allen 1994, p. 230). The uncertainty over the value of training has particular resonance in Britain. This stems from the long-ingrained view that journalists are born and not made, an opinion first aired by Harry Flint, a founding member of the Institute of Journalists in 1910 (Bainbridge 1984, p. 58) and that 'it's like riding a bike; if you stop to think about it you'll fall off' (Hetherington 1985, p. viii). This was more often a rationalisation on the part of employers because the industry became so competitive that companies were reluctant to spend their own money on training new staff because they left or were poached by competitors (71). This attitude that training was not needed also served as post-hoc reasoning when companies in the 1980s and 1990s axed staff and cut back internal training schemes in massive cost-cutting exercises.

Journalists working for the new commercial television sector in the 1950s were shamelessly enticed from the BBC, where they had received their training (Burns 1977, p. 51), and commercial radio in the 1970s did the same. At least one commercial radio manager was loath to send any of his staff for training in case they were talent-spotted by rival stations (72). The only two experiments in formal training within the commercial radio sector both closed when external funding was stopped (73). This continuing lack of commitment to training by many companies, particularly in the commercial broadcasting sector, has been a major factor in the work of Skillset, the National Training Organisation for the broadcasting sector, which is responsible for the introduction of the work-based qualification, the National Vocational Qualification into the industry. It is telling that the data show a marked lack of interest in all sectors of the industry for the NVQ (see Table 3 in previous chapter) and this is supported by the facts. Only 3 people have achieved an NVQ in broadcast journalism

since they were introduced in the mid 1990s (74) and 24 have achieved an NVQ in newspaper journalism (75). The higher success rate for newspaper journalism NVQs is partly due to the involvement of the Newspaper Society, the employers' organisation, which originally was responsible for developing newspaper journalism NVQs and partly because of the Modern Apprenticeship scheme, whereby companies could access funds for training young people to achieve NVQ standards. This had less success in the broadcasting sector, partly because the bureaucracy required stretched the more informal structures in commercial organisations and partly because almost all BJTC courses are at postgraduate level, leaving less time for new recruits to achieve the NVQ before they hit the upper- age ceiling for accessing funds.

Historical patterns

It is clear that the development of formal training courses, however closely linked to the industry they may be, has not altered completely the recruitment patterns of employers which have been evident since the beginnings of journalism.
As we have already seen, recruitment has always been an informal process, with editors unable to agree or quantify exactly the skills, qualities and knowledge they want from their new staff. Because of the way journalism training generally has evolved, this was never challenged, and the specific likes, dislikes and needs of individual editors still play the major part in deciding an applicant's fate (Boyd-Barrett 1970). In the print sector, the standardised training scheme, the National Council for the Training of Journalists, only came about through outside pressure, when the first Royal Commission on the Press reported that journalists needed to be highly skilled to fulfil their public accountability role (Royal Commission on the Press 1949). It was not the result of employer demand. On the contrary, as we have seen, commitment to training was patchy from the start. The system which developed for print journalism of block release courses and pre-entry training run by colleges, left responsibility for recruitment firmly in the hands of employers.

This particular aspect, which is fundamental to the training debate, has never been questioned in the UK. Unlike other 'professions' such as Law or Medicine, a particular course of study is not a pre-condition of employment for either journalism or broadcast journalism.

Thus, despite the attempts of the Institute of Journalists to introduce an examination for aspiring journalists in the late nineteenth century, by not linking pre-entry courses directly to employment, employers have been able to tailor their recruitment to their organisational needs (Bainbridge 1984).

Even local newspapers, at which the National Council for the Training of Journalists continue to target their training and whose owners formed part of the training body's Council and part-funded it, do not recruit exclusively from NCTJ courses (see Table 1). National newspapers are substantially less likely to do so (ibid). There are several reasons for the national newspapers' stance. Some of the reasons are systemic and historical. The National Union of Journalists reached an agreement with the Newspaper Proprietors' Association (the national newspapers' umbrella body) in the 1960s that they would not recruit students directly from college. At the same time, the Union reached an agreement with the Newspaper Society (the provincial newspaper employers' association) to build training into the indenture system. Thus, as the progression route for journalists moved inevitably from the provinces to London – London having been the centre of the press world since the early nineteenth century – national newspapers could be relatively sure that their new recruits had already been trained. That notwithstanding, it is also clear that many national newspapers place little importance on a professional qualification but would rather have a general academic qualification, such as a degree. One reason may be the especially heavy emphasis in NCTJ courses on skills training. NCTJ courses, particularly those in Further Education are firmly geared towards the preliminary examination. It could be argued that this tight formatting can lead to formulaic reporting and story coverage and precludes the kind of journalism which Cyril Bainbridge called 'a truly creative art, demanding a combination of literary ability, general knowledge and considerable powers of argument' (Bainbridge 1984, p. 37).

These different views about what journalism should be are crucial to this thesis. The findings of the survey clearly show that different sectors want different forms of training or education. This would suggest that the training courses do not deliver the 'right' sort of person to every sector.

The next sections will look more closely at the training courses, how they operate and which sectors benefit most from them.

Socialisation in the workplace

The success of the validated courses can be tracked throughout the data and is due in great part to the close relationship between the teachers and employers. Indeed courses are carefully controlled in a number of different ways to ensure that the student experience is as closely geared to a newsroom experience as possible. Tutors, when hired, are required to have recent and extensive experience of the industry (Broadcast Journalism Training Council 2000). This guarantees that, when the selection of students takes place, the selection criteria match that of the industry employer. Students are recruited to 'fit in' because those involved in the selection process are recent employees of the industry. Indeed, it is in the course tutors' interests to ensure that the students recruited are 'suited' to the industry as, in the case of the BJTC, course validation partly depends on employment outcomes and, more generally, course reputations are dependent on recruits getting jobs. We have seen from the data that a significant number of courses recruit 'on their reputation' (see Table 22). The data also shows that tutors respond to the need for particular qualities from their trainees. The basic traits of enthusiasm, the ability to withstand pressure and to have a positive attitude are shared by employers and trainers alike (see Tables 5 and 8). Likewise, trainers and employers look for similar skills and knowledge when they recruit (see tables 14 and 15).

The recruitment process too, dominated by the interview rather than by any objective measurement of ability, ensures that a particular sort of person is taken on. Indeed, comments made by editors who responded show that 'digging beneath the application form' is essential to find out what kind of a person is being recruited. The particular character of a recruit is of huge importance. Personal qualities override all other aspects. The interview, therefore, is one way of ensuring the 'right sort of person' gets in.

However, this rigorous process can only succeed at the expense of diversity. This lack of diversity shows itself not only in terms of ethnic mix, age and gender but also in terms of personal qualities, skills and knowledge and this not only limits opportunities for the students, it also gives a fragmented industry, with in some cases, little in common, less choice over whom it employs. The 'truly creative art' may well be stifled by the conformity of the recruits.

And the 'truly creative art' is arguably much more important to the national press than to the local newspapers which would go some way to explain why the NCTJ courses are significantly more popular with the local media than with the nationals (see Table 1). After all, national newspapers, although fiercely competitive with each other, are less vulnerable to the vagaries of the advertisers because they have larger markets to cushion them than do local papers. The local media tend in the main to be less politically partisan in their coverage than the nationals so as to avoid antagonising the smaller pool of advertisers and readers available to them. This is historically the case (Asquith 1978, p. 105). They tend to concentrate on news events, with the occasional campaign, rather than news analysis and editorialising. This, arguably, requires a less 'creative' turn of mind. National newspaper editors are more likely to be opinionated than local editors who have been likened to bank managers (Boyd-Barrett, Seymour-Ure & Tunstall, 1977, p. 325).

Of course more obvious reasons for the popularity of NCTJ courses with local newspapers are the close historical link they have with each other - NCTJ courses were set up specifically for local media – and the understandable reluctance for national media to recruit freshly-trained students.

Professional socialisation is also achieved through the tightly formatted course curricula. As we have seen, both NCTJ and BJTC courses share the same 'core skills' approach which is modelled around occupational practice and concentrates on practical training. Trainee journalists must be prepared on graduation to be able to 'do the job' immediately. The data show that this approach has complete backing from the employers. Indeed, the one improvement employers would make is the introduction of still more practical training.

The NCTJ's curriculum demonstrates just how vocationally orientated the courses are. Its distance learning pack lists the following modules;

the reporter's job; your newspaper; introduction to keyboarding; introduction to shorthand; sources of news; story construction; style book; writing for newspapers; face-to-face interview; telephone interview; weddings, anniversaries, retirements and obituaries; rewriting handouts; covering events; introduction to local government; introduction to law (National Council for the Training of Journalists 2000).

The seven preliminary examinations, which are a compulsory qualification for those going on to the final professional examination, the National Certificate Examination, consist of:

a handout (to write into a news story with follow-up questions); newspaper journalism (one writing question and two re-writes); public affairs parts 1 and 2 (four questions on local government and four on central government); law parts 1 and 2; shorthand. (ibid)

The National Certificate Examination, taken after two years full-time employment, consists of:

news interview; speech; newspaper practice. (ibid)

Guidelines given to the broadcast journalism courses meanwhile are similar. They consist of:

practical training (one full day in every eight or two half days of not less than 4 hours each) to include writing to be heard; writing in a range of styles; understanding news values; knowledge of health and safety; news sources and research methods; newsgathering and reporting; 'pitching' ideas; interview techniques; bulletin editing (content, structure and order); use of actuality; preparation of short news packages; features and documentaries; use of portable audio and video equipment; digital audio editing; integrating words and pictures; practical video editing; voice work; script and bulletin presentation; computer, IT and keyboard skills; three weeks of placement.
In addition, students must be taught professional studies including ethics and codes of conduct; knowledge of news and current affairs; public administration; understanding of economic, business and industrial relations; awareness of contemporary social issues, the law and the structure and history of the British media (BJTC 2000).

The NCTJ's courses – whether at college, through their distance learning material or by means of practical training in the workplace – are aimed clearly at enabling students to pass the NCTJ's preliminary examination and, finally, after a period of full-time employment, the National Certificate Examination (NCE). Teaching is geared very specifically towards this objective, so much so that 'stock answers' are drilled in to students, to be repeated 'by rote', for some aspects of the exam (76). This may appear over restrictive but the Guild of Editors reported in 1995 that editors

listed the ability to rewrite handouts as the most essential competence required of trainees after six months (Guild of Editors 1995) a fact which Bob Franklin notes 'is a telling indictment of the pedestrian and uncritical grind which much of the new journalism has become' (Franklin 1998 p. 65). Nevertheless, it is clear that courses are designed to cater for what provincial editors believe is important. It is worth noting at this point that at least one postgraduate newspaper journalism diploma, which specifically aims to place its graduates into <u>national</u> newspapers, has opted to be 'de-recognised' by the NCTJ because of its approach to training, another indication that formal training for local newspapers may be too limited for national newspapers (77).

<u>Dolly the journalist? Are journalists being cloned?</u>

The main teaching methodology which has been adopted by all courses, namely to recreate a 'real' working environment within which students operate as 'real' journalists, further serves to cement the socialisation process. This method ensures that students think of themselves as journalists and, as with trainee doctors, helps create a sense of professionalism (Elliott 1972, p. 87). It is also highly praised by the industry.

But it could be argued that recreating a working environment stifles any challenge to traditional professional paradigms and effectively 'clones' the student journalists. Some employers have criticised the 'learning on the job' approach as leading to imitation, rather than challenge (Miller and Allen op.cit., p. 230).

A study of broadcast journalists on the postgraduate diploma at Cardiff University has illustrated how professional practice is transmitted to trainee journalists and how certain skills and techniques, such as 'news sense', although a social construction, is presented as inevitable or 'natural ' (Parry 1991, p. 229). Although broadcast students appeared to work independently of staff in the second term when they ran their own radio newsroom, 'right' and 'wrong' ways of doing things were identified by tutors. Discussions and decisions about the newsworthiness of certain stories, the balance within bulletins, the structure of the programme etc. were based around tutor expertise and experience. In other words, what appeared to be independent learning was actually 'stage managed'.

'radio production days.....were managed in such a way that 'overt discovery' learning concealed the covertly structured teaching arrangements that reproduced the occupational practices of the employing agencies' (ibid p. 228).

In the old professions such as medicine or law, tightly constrained occupational training is carried out on the basis of well-established procedures, precedent or a body of case law which has been developed over a period of time and generally has public support.

News values are tacitly agreed by the news industry. The boundaries only really become visible when organisations break the rules. Cases like the outcry against the News of the World for publishing a list of convicted paedophiles 'in the public interest' (Wells 2000), or against the Sun which lost millions after people in Liverpool boycotted the paper for accusing Liverpool fans of hooliganism at the Hillsborough disaster, only serve to reaffirm the generally accepted rules. It is rare for the Press Complaints Commission to uphold complaints against the press and no serious body of 'case law' has ever been developed. Indeed, the Press Complaints Commission has been criticised for;

'being less concerned with developing new ethical guidelines for the newspaper industry and more with its role as broker between the newspaper industry and government. In this role its operating brief has been to do all that is necessary to keep at bay the threat of further statutory press regulation' (Stephenson 2000, p. 94-95).

This sort of occupational training for print or broadcast journalism, then, coupled with regular and tight deadlines and assessment geared around professional practice criteria militate against much reflection on, discussion of, or experimentation with current working practices as carried out within the industry. Not only is professional socialisation guaranteed but also journalistic practice is perpetuated.

A job in journalism – intellectuals not required

While the personal qualities desired by employers – enthusiasm, the ability to learn quickly etc - may be those which any employer in any industry would wish for, the unimportance of 'knowledge' for both course tutors and employers bears some

examination, particularly as we are looking at an industry which is at the cutting edge technologically and which has the responsibility for keeping the citizens of a democratic society well informed. The comparative unimportance of reflective qualities and sense of public duty, shared by editors and tutors alike, at the expense of more 'go-getting' qualities, and the emphasis placed by both employers and tutors on only the most basic of skills, written and spoken English and a knowledge of current affairs and general knowledge, suggest that great intellectual prowess is not required. What is required is the ability to 'do the job'. What the job is is more complex. Tunstall (1971) argued that news organisations had three 'goals'; audience 'revenue', advertising revenue and non-revenue goals, 'the legitimacy of the news organisation' (p. 49 – 51).

The emphasis on skills-training highlights the anti-intellectual approach of courses and this reflects in turn an industry which is 'news-driven' rather than 'ideas-driven' (78). The British media, while not alone in this approach, has nevertheless been wedded to this sort of journalism since the mid -nineteenth century (Chalaby 1996). On-the-job training took a firmer root here than elsewhere in Europe (Reus and Becker 1993) and university courses were late in coming on stream. There has always been great concern about ensuring that journalists were not better educated than their public (Taylor 1961, p. 131). As early as 1923, editors were noting that

'it is difficult to train a man who looks at everything from an academic standpoint.....in the majority of cases, therefore, it would seem that an academic education is not only NOT an advantage; more often than not it is a positive drawback' (Warren 1923, p. 22).

Many, particularly local, editors worked themselves up without a university education and had low educational qualifications (Boyd-Barrett, Seymour-Ure, Tunstall 1977), although top national editors tended to have much higher qualifications (Tunstall 1971, p. 47). Some still feel antagonism towards graduates entering journalism (Sands 1996 p. 16). Only recently has mass education meant that a higher proportion of journalists have a university education than the general population (Delano 2000, p. 267). Nevertheless, there is still a hard core of anti-intellectuals in the industry. As late as 1997, the Guild of Editors withdrew the word 'thesis' from their green paper entitled 'Tomorrow's Journalist' because

'this may have sent out the wrong signals, especially to those editors to whom anything tainted with academia is anathema' (Guild of Editors 1997, p. 9).

It should be noted at this point that the positioning of some courses in higher education has seen a conflict arise between the organisational requirements of higher education, notably the pursuit of scholarliness, and the practical emphasis in journalism courses and these have resulted in some minor changes to courses. Thus, the introduction of some of the topics mentioned by college courses in the data – the sociology of news, discourse analysis, cultural concepts - can be seen as an attempt to square this circle. In other courses, the study of ethics and the various codes of practice are being emphasised as a way of underpinning the intellectual component of the programme. However, it must also be recognised that this last approach is also a neat response to the structural changes which have taken place in the industry, namely the increase in freelance staff and, in the case of broadcasting, independent producers, and the subsequent training gap. Employers are particularly concerned that freelance staff may not be aware of regulations covering broadcasting, for example, and have pushed for more ethics to be taught on courses (79). In other words, the increased emphasis on ethics is as a result of professional imperatives and is based around an understanding of the codes of conduct rather than any debate about the ethical issues at the heart of journalism today.

Large parts, but not all, of the industry appear to want journalism courses to be as practical as possible. The way this is achieved gives little scope for originality or creativity.

One of the major roles of the accredited colleges is to ensure that students do understand what the job of a journalist is actually like in Britain. Professional socialisation must provide new recruits with a realistic view of their future career, rather than the idealistic vision often peddled by the media themselves. There must be no gap between expectation and reality.

The ideal much loved by the film world of the investigative reporter, uncovering a president's dirty deeds, is quickly replaced by the reality of covering weddings and funerals and re-writing press releases (Head 1995, p. 66). This 'reality gap' was remarked upon as early as the 1930s by students on the University of London Diploma in Journalism - the first attempt to educate journalists formally. Students

complained then that some of the academic elements were 'too highbrow', giving them an 'exalted opinion of our future importance' (Hunter 1982, p. 187).

As early as the 1890s, editors were reported to hammer home rules and procedures in order to break new journalists of their 'arrogance' (Schudson 1978, p. 81). Editors today have no illusions about a journalist's role. 50% or less of editors felt a sense of public duty was important for new recruits and virtually none wanted enthusiasm for social reform. Colleges echoed those beliefs (see Tables 6 and 9). Most journalists themselves believe delivering information to the public as quickly as possible is their most important role while, at the same time, almost half saw providing entertainment as very important (Delano & Henningham 1995, p. 17).

This conflict over what journalism is is at the heart of the debate. Certainly the public service ideal of keeping the public informed, ensuring democratic debate and keeping the powerful in check is one version. Clearly though the competitive market in which journalism is practised leads to a race for audiences and market-driven journalism (McManus 1994). In Bob Franklin's words, 'serious news journalism has been replaced by newszak' (Franklin 1997, p. 49).

Ideas of 'success'

The way training is organised mimics the way journalism is practised. Inherent in this system is the idea that success is judged by a more experienced journalist. Journalists operate to please other journalists and, most importantly, the news editor or editor, someone they respect and someone who can help (or hinder) their career. Warren Breed (1995) has identified six elements which lead to conformity in a newsroom, among which are 'feelings of obligation and esteem for superiors', ambition, the attractiveness of journalism as a career and the dedication of journalists to the job. He calls this 'reference group behaviour' and argues that it leads to a new recruit modifying his/her behaviour, beliefs or ideals, in order to conform to the norm and so bond with his/her peers and superiors (Breed 1995, p 280).

Similarly, trainee journalists depend on their tutor for praise and to approve their work. The tutor is someone who, in the trainees' eyes, has industry –authority. He or she also has power over their marks and future references, both formal and informal. We have already seen from the data that personal recommendations are important

factors in recruitment for some sectors of the industry (see Table 21). The tutor is the key to the job students desire. This is not to say that 'favouritism' operates in colleges. What is a factor, however, is a common understanding between student and tutor as to what constitutes good journalism. That means that trainee journalists must conform to current practice or risk being classed as a poor student.

This is particularly important in journalism because of the notion of 'the client'. If journalism carries the burden of being in the public interest – and the codes of conduct all support that view - one would expect the client to be the public, rather than the editor. Yet journalism training, originally advocated by the Royal Commission to help 'bridge the gap between what Society needs from the Press and what the Press is at present giving it' (Royal Commission on the Press 1949), is modelled on a system where journalists themselves define success.

Thus an interesting and complex set of sometimes-contradictory motives for those involved in the process is revealed.

Trainee journalists are drawn to an industry which they perceive to be glamorous and 'sexy' (80) but which wants little more than diligence and conformity from them. Colleges, meanwhile, recruit trainees on their 'get up and go' personal qualities but are seen by students as merely a route to a job. The industry looks on society as a market place while society expects the industry to act as a watchdog and to have a social accountability role. Society also expects the colleges to play their part in the system and the colleges expect Society to support their role (81).

The strongest links – the colleges, local newspapers and the BBC

The sectors most closely bound to the NCTJ and BJTC are local newspapers and the BBC respectively. The data does gives us some clues as to why this should be.

The NCTJ and local newspapers

The historical connections between the NCTJ and local papers and the closely-knit working practices of the training and industry organisations have already been identified and the data also gives an indication that courses do have some awareness of future industry needs.

Almost a half of all courses examined showed that they thought an understanding of sales and marketing were essential for a journalism course. About a third thought training people to work across sectors was important (see Table 19). This way of thinking matches that of the Society of Editors (formerly the Guild of Editors) which recommended a new approach to journalism training, one which touches on all branches of the media including broadcasting. It wants a modular approach which would also be suitable for those with management capabilities with a strong element of commercial training including an understanding of demographics (Guild of Editors 1997).

Likewise, half of NCTJ courses thought internet publishing should be an essential component, a prescience born out by the fact that the Newspaper Society estimates that 85% of its members have an online presence (Newspaper Society 2000). However, the NCTJ has also come in for criticism. The Guild, while praising the NCTJ for resisting pressure to lower standards, adds that,

'in essence, the ground which needs to be covered to pass the NCE, has changed relatively little in the past 40 years...there does seem to be a dawning realisation that the days of the NCE in its present form may be numbered.' (UKPG 1996)

Some newspaper groups have 'gone it alone', training their own staff. One editor within such a group said it was the reluctance of the NCTJ to recognise in-house training which soured the relationship (82).

The BJTC and the broadcast industry

Editors in the commercial broadcast sector not only take their recruits from a variety of routes, of which the industry-validated courses are simply one, but are a lot less likely than the public broadcasting sector to recruit from BJTC courses.

The data shows that 70% of national commercial television editors, 50% of national commercial radio editors and 30% of local commercial radio editors recruit from validated courses less than 50% of the time (see Table 1). That contrasts sharply with the BBC. Moreover, the commercial sector accepts a greater variety of educational qualifications than the BBC. Indeed local commercial radio will accept someone with no academic qualifications (see Table 3).

There are other discrepancies between the BBC and the commercial sector where BJTC courses reflect the BBC rather than the commercial sector. The commercial sector was not as interested in research skills or a knowledge of ethics. They were slightly less interested in the Internet and digital technology than the BBC. They wanted people who were sociable (and cheap), neither of which were high on the BBC's list of desirable qualities, and they were less concerned about new recruits having a sense of public duty. BJTC courses were closer to the BBC rather than the commercial sector in all these aspects.

BJTC validated courses and the BBC were also more committed to multi-skilling (across sectors) and placed a higher value on tests for applicants than the commercial sector.

The differences are even more obvious if we look specifically at radio.
78.1% of BBC news editors recruited from the BJTC courses more often than not, while 67.7% of editors in commercial radio did. More crucially, 17.7% of commercial radio editors rarely recruited from validated courses compared to just 3.1% of BBC editors (see below).

How often do you recruit from a validated course? (Answers in %)

	BBC radio	Commercial radio
Exclusively	3.1	6.3
75-100% of the time	46.9	38.5
50 – 74% of the time	28.1	22.9
25-49% of the time	15.6	12.5
Rarely	3.1	17.7
No answer	3.1	2.1
Nos. of replies *	32	96

* Some stations categorised themselves as both national and local stations

Commercial radio, particularly local commercial radio, seems to have a wider recruitment base than the BBC. It recruits more people from work experience, accepts a more diverse range of educational qualifications and requires less knowledge generally from its new recruits.

As already noted, digital technology and the Internet which are high priority for the BBC, are more likely to form part of a college course than sales and marketing, which are thought essential by around a third of the commercial radio sector. The personal characteristics of students match slightly more closely to the BBC than to commercial radio. 17.7% of commercial radio editors stressed the importance of teaching a commercial radio style of broadcasting, not just a BBC style, when asked how courses could be improved. The BJTC stresses that both commercial radio and BBC styles must be taught on college courses but, clearly, the perception within commercial radio is that the BBC style is still dominant.

The data shows that for the BBC, the major training need is for the digital future. The pre-occupation in the BBC for multi-skilling and familiarity with digital technology and the Internet clearly shows that the BBC sees the biggest training challenge to lie in this area. Colleges are responsive to this and appear to be tailoring their training accordingly. The BJTC has recently developed guidelines for courses in on-line broadcast journalism in what is seen as a clear response to online services run by the major news providers, the BBC and ITN.

Much of the data, therefore, shows a closer affinity between the BBC and the industry-validated course than between the commercial sector and the courses, this despite the fact that the cross-industry Council has never put a greater emphasis on the public-sector. Indeed, it has expanded its commercial sector membership by increasing its commercial radio representation and inviting Channel 4 to join.

These discrepancies revealed in the data give a measurement of the radical changes which the commercial sector, and commercial radio in particular, has undergone in the last twenty years since the BJTC was originally founded as the Joint Advisory Committee for the Training of Radio Journalists.

In 1980 fewer than two dozen independent radio stations existed (Commercial Radio Companies Association 1998, p. 5). Today there are nearly 250 stations, including three national stations. News now is geared to the perceived needs of the target audience and commercial radio stations have great flexibility over how they handle

their information and news output because of the new 'format statements' which have replaced the 'promise of performance' on licence applications.

The BJTC's guidelines, meanwhile, have changed only marginally in the last 20 years. Clearly they have been adapted to include certain developments in the industry, such as bi-media broadcasting. They have not, however, matched the fundamental changes in philosophy underpinning news in the commercial radio sector particularly, but also in the commercial sector as a whole.

JCTRJ in 1980 had roughly the same aims as the NCTJ in that radio students had to be trained to do the job. Its courses were similar to those in existence today (although, of course, many since then have added training in television journalism and on-line journalism). JCTRJ was not identical to the NCTJ. It never ran courses of its own, nor set exams. Nevertheless, its philosophy of professional training was the same and it absorbed the same values as its print journalism predecessor.

There is a direct line linking journalism training to the concept of public service. One of the earliest building blocks of professional journalism training in Britain was the 1949 Royal Commission on the Press which led to the creation of the NCTJ. The report said:

"the problem of recruiting the right people into journalism, whether from school or from university, and of ensuring that they achieve and maintain the necessary level of education and technical efficiency is one of the most important facing the Press, *because on the quality of the individual journalist depends not only the status of the whole profession of journalism, but the possibility of bridging the gap between what Society needs from the Press and what the Press is at present giving it.* The problem is the common interest of proprietors, editors and other journalists' (Royal Commission on the Press 1947-1949) (emphasis added).

Professional training was acknowledged then as important not just for journalism but for the health of society.

This factor is echoed in the BBC's public service ethos and was absorbed into the fabric of radio journalism training from the beginning. JCTRJ was originally formed to set standards for new recruits to both the BBC and commercial radio (83). The original committee was cross-sectoral, a structure which remains the same today and has been extended to television. However, JCTRJ's guidelines for training were

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culturally related to the BBC (84). This was not surprising. Commercial radio news around 1980, when JCTRJ was formed, was in essence little different from BBC local radio news. News or 'meaningful speech' was an integral and valued part of the output. There were no inter-sector arguments within JCTRJ as to what young journalists should be taught. Different styles were accepted but these were superficial differences. As one original member said, 'there was no point in re-inventing the wheel' (85). Thus, historically, radio journalism training, under the auspices of the BJTC, had its roots firmly planted in vocationalism, with strong cultural links to 'traditional broadcasting' and an ingrained sense of professionalism for the public good. It could be argued that, like the BBC, it was 'composed of the values, standards and beliefs of the professional middle class' (Burns 1977, p. 42).

We have seen how professional socialisation is guaranteed and journalistic practice is perpetuated through training. But as far as broadcasting is concerned, both the journalistic practice and the professional socialisation reflect a 20-year old tradition, when both commercial and public sector broadcasters had largely similar outputs and differences were slight and only matters of style (86). This approach is increasingly under pressure in a broadcast news industry which is fragmented and intensely competitive and in which individual companies are using new technology and delivery systems in ways which can change their output fundamentally. Increasingly, as interactivity becomes possible, the debate too is about how much the journalists job is changing (Yelvington 1999).

What is news in a fragmented industry?

Crucial it seems, in the eyes of both editors and tutors, to new recruits being able to do the job when they are taken on is an understanding of news values, sources of news and the skills associated with covering a story (see Tables 16 and 17). It has been shown how trainees are taught these in a variety of different ways, both obvious and subtle. The knowledge of the tutor, an experienced journalist, is passed down through the system largely unchallenged. But a news story is a social construct, open not only to debate but also to manipulation. Any shared idea of 'news', which may have existed in the past, is under serious threat as competition and de-regulation shred the market place and technology and globalisation shrink the world. Even prestigious organisations occupying the middle ground like the BBC have found themselves

agonising over how to represent all their license payers (Kumar 1975, p. 86). Public Relations experts and politicians spin the news. News values change. Journalists themselves become personalities (ibid, p. 84 and Wernick 1991, p. 101). What is news for one person is intrusive, or insignificant or public relations puff for another.

It could be argued that it is beyond the bounds of any course to reflect the news values of the countless outlets which exist for news today and this argument gains credence from the fact that the industry as a whole does not recruit exclusively from the accredited courses.

Of course, there has never been a time when journalists were recruited exclusively from a particular source or course but the accredited programmes, since their inception, have done their utmost to ensure that they reflect the industry they serve. They have perfected a training system which would seem to socialise students into the world of journalism completely.

However, it could be argued that this very rigidity, which has always conflicted with some areas of the industry, notably the national newspapers, is now chafing with other large sections of the journalism world. The data shows up some of the cracks which are appearing and which appear to show that the core skills approach, adopted by the validated courses, may be ceasing to be relevant to all except the larger, more traditional broadcasters and the newspaper companies which are not yet affected too greatly by new media.

These cracks could signal that the training courses are feeling the effects of a fragmented and splintering industry. The fragmentation of journalism and the subsequent changing nature of journalism are key issues affecting journalism training.

CHAPTER 6

Unresolved conflicts, unresolved tensions

It is clear that journalism training has a long history of internal tensions, hostilities with the occupation it serves and unresolved conflicts over what it should provide, all of which continue into the 21st century.

This chapter re-visits and explores in more detail some of the problems and paradoxes at the centre of the issue and demonstrates that training merely reflects the competing ideologies which still exist within journalism.

The Paradox of Professionalism (87)

One of the few national surveys of UK journalists' attitudes revealed that today most journalists think of their occupation as a profession. (Delano and Henningham 1995, p. 3; Delano 2000, p. 264). That is in contrast to the way journalism has been taught for fifty years (as a craft-skill) and the previously widely-held premise that journalism is a craft, more suited to the guilds than the great professions of the 18th and 19th Century. Certainly, if rigid definitions of a profession are applied, it is easily argued that journalism has none of the criteria, as laid down by Ernest Greenwood (1966), namely: a) a systematic body of theory, b) professional authority, c) community sanction, d) ethical codes and e) a professional culture.

Editors have constantly opposed any theoretical study of the media for practitioners (Tunstall 2000, p. 42). Professional authority is weakened, as no specific qualification is necessary to practise journalism. Community sanction hardly exists; even when the then-editor of the News of the World, Piers Morgan, was found by the PCC to have blatantly broken the code of contact by publishing photographs taken without permission of Countess Spencer, Princess Diana's brother's wife, he was not sacked by the paper's publisher, Rupert Murdoch (Stephenson op.cit, p. 89) and few journalists would have expected him to have been.

The Press Complaints Commission has not been able to develop a code of conduct which would allow a body of 'case law' to be developed, which would go some way to aiding real self-regulation (Stephenson 2000 p. 91).

Some people, however, argue that professions are more like social movements in that they only recruit a certain type of person, develop highly elaborate ideologies, have status, shared values, codes of behaviour and the training involved provides the basis for a process of socialisation (Jackson 1970 p. 5). If we were to apply such a definition, journalism may indeed be a profession or, at least, display some of the characteristics of one.

Certainly the Delano conclusions owed much to changing demographics in the journalistic world and the fact that nearly four fifths of journalists were graduates in the mid 1990s (Guild of Editors 1994) compared to only 12% of regional newspaper recruits in 1967 (Tunstall 1971, p. 60).

That notwithstanding, questions about whether journalism is a profession or craft are only relevant in that they allow us to ponder whether journalism has a higher calling or is simply a skilled way of earning a living; is indeed the 'Fourth Estate (88) or a way of making money. Such questions can serve to highlight the concept of 'professionalism' in journalism and allow us to contemplate what is meant by 'good' journalism and, therefore, what ideals and values should be instilled in the news journalist.

Professionalism in journalism is often equated with the idea of public service, as epitomised by the BBC 's ethos and certainly the ideal of public service plays heavily in the old professions (Elliott 1972). This particular definition closely resembles the concept of 'social responsibility', which the Hutchins Commission in the USA in 1947 decided was the main aim for American journalists (Hallin 1996, p. 244). It differs from the emphasis placed on British journalists by the Royal Commission on the Press, reporting in 1949, which identified exposing the truth as a key objective (Elliott 1978 p. 189), an ideal in journalism stemming back to the 17th century and articulated by John Milton in his classic poem Areopagitica, an appeal for freedom for the press from the shackles of Crown (ibid, p. 189). Layered on top of these fundamental ideals are such values as objectivity, impartiality and fairness.

The idea of professionalism in journalism can be traced through its history.

As we have already seen, the Institute of Journalists, which in the last decades of the 19th century made the first attempt to form a professional association of journalists, was more concerned with raising the status and reputation of journalists than their practical efficiency (Hampton 1999, p. 189), a key concern for a profession. It is partly this focus on status and reputation and, partly the Institute's inability to agree on what skills and knowledge were required by a journalist and their subsequent failure to institute an entry examination system – a failure which set back training for journalists by more than fifty years - which have served to confuse the issue of professionalisation in journalism.

The failure to decide on what skills and knowledge a journalist should have meant that the job of a journalist could be defined according to need – an effect which has had great consequences not just throughout the history of journalism but, particularly in the twentieth century when occupations using journalistic techniques have multiplied significantly. It is, of course, unfair to blame the Institute of Journalists for this particular dilemma. Their inability to define a journalist stemmed from there being different interpretations of the job since it first became an occupation.

But by concentrating on the issue of status rather than efficiency, professionalism for journalism became a moving target because the status of journalism and the journalist has fluctuated ever since the 17th century.

The fluctuating status and reputation of journalists

There have been times when some forms of journalism and some journalists had the high status and reputation, if nothing else, which are demanded of the professional. The change in status of the journalist from 'blackguard newswriters' (Lord Colchester 1798) to someone who' ought to be sought rather than avoided as associates, and treated with the courtesy and respect to which their character and attainments entitled them' (Lord Lyndhurst 1839) owes as much to the development of newspapers in the early part of the nineteenth century as to the type of person employed.

Even in the late eighteenth century some journals had a high reputation, mainly those written and read by the educated classes, but generally, newspapers of that time were prey to economic and political corruption. At the turn of the nineteenth century, journalism was neither dignified nor reputable (Aspinall 1945, p. 216). In fact, an attempt was made to ensure that no one who had ever written for newspapers could subsequently be called to the Bar! (House of Commons Journal 1810). But by the middle of the nineteenth century, journalism was socially respectable and had its own code of professional ethics (O'Boyle 1968 p. 309). The economic independence of the mid-century newspapers, created by the industrial revolution and an increasingly literate population, meant that political and economic corruption became unnecessary for the press to survive. Newspapers could be believed. Journalists, now being engaged full-time, were generally trusted and papers were read for the excellence of their writing and their accuracy of reporting. The radical journalists, who had worked for the unstamped press, had done nothing to dispel the respectability of the press. On the contrary, they had helped bring about social change which had led to the repeal of government stamp and advertising duty, the 'taxes on knowledge'. Not only were the journalists of this time admired for their writing but the reporters were admired for their skills in shorthand and their ability to accurately record events of the day. There may have been writing of a particular political hue, but bribes were no longer taken and favours were no longer bought (although even in the 20th century, there are examples of politicians and political parties buying newspapers to peddle their opinions (Boyce 1978, p. 28-29). Some of the great men of letters were also 'gentlemen of the press' though largely employed by the monthly reviews and periodicals. In the 1850s and 1860s an unprecedented number of serious journals of opinion took root and the quality of some Victorian journalism was very high (Gross 1969, p. 63).

With the penny newspaper came fierce competition between the burgeoning numbers of newspapers and it was in this age that some of the core 'values' of English journalism were laid. Economic viability ensured political independence Unlike in France, where journalists and the press were allied to, and often paid by, the many political factions, English journalism was not party political in character (Chalaby 1996 p. 304). The competition at this time ensured extensive coverage of domestic and foreign news. According to Stephens (1996, p. 251),

'by the middle of the 19th century, to be competitive a newspaper in England had to field a dozen parliamentary reporters, six court reporters, correspondents in the provinces and the major European capitals, and a team of editorial or 'leader' writers'

The press' organisation of their news-gathering services, their use of press agencies, their emphasis on facts, rather than opinion, England's, and in particular, London's centrality to world affairs, all helped to establish newspapers first and foremost as news organisations, rather than propaganda or literary vehicles (Chalaby, op. cit., p. 310). Most important of all, the lack of overt party political propaganda, squeezed out by the market's need for facts and information and a broad spread of opinion, meant that journalists could claim to be neutral and objective. Opinion was banished to the leader columns. Journalistic practice centred on fact-finding techniques, such as reporting and interviewing (Chalaby, op. cit., p. 311). It was the Times which first articulated the idea of objectivity as an ideal and the distance between the state and the 'Fourth Estate' (The Times 6 Feb. 1852).

At the same time, however, the increase in the numbers of newspapers brought in a strange mixture of people 'of diverse qualities and aspirations' (Bainbridge 1984, p. 36). A writer in the Journalist and Newspaper Proprietor said that the new age was bringing in 'many good men but flooding it with a host of the wholly uneducated and the half-instructed' (ibid, p. 34). This gulf in status and reputation between different kinds of journalists was to continue in different forms until the present day.

Just a few years later, the status of the journalist changed once again. As more capital was required to meet the demands of mass circulation, now servicing a largely literate population, no longer could a journalist be both 'buyers and sellers of labour power' (Christian 1980, p.262). Whereas Editor-Proprietors had been possible, and journalists in the main were close to the owners of newspapers, both professionally and geographically, the economic environment had changed. The development of the newspaper chain and the increasingly routinised work of the (particularly provincial) journalist changed the status of the majority of journalists to workers. This was when the formal drive for 'professionalisation' by the Institute of Journalists lost out to the struggle over pay and conditions waged by the National Union of Journalists; when increasing numbers of journalists identified with their white-collar colleagues (ibid, p. 267).

The status of journalists at this time remained contradictory.

The rise in the press barons and the 'New Journalism' continued the economic independence which had done so much to 'liberate' the press from political influence and ensure its reputation. And although newspapers remained dependent on the loyalty of certain social classes (Smith 1979 p. 161), the newspaper proprietors, generally, put the economic health of the newspapers over the desire for direct political power, despite having the means to wield huge political influence.

But, although the proprietors had social respectability, they lacked the prestige of those in other professions (O'Boyle op.cit., p. 315). Their main professional objective, to maximise revenue, would not have been compatible with the objectives of traditional professions, namely the ideal of public service. Moreover, although the papers themselves became more complex with heavy black headlines and crossheads, interviews and gossip columns, (Smith 1979, p. 152), all of which demanded higher skills (Bainbridge op. cit., p. 70), the changing nature of the business meant many ordinary journalists having to work in newspaper chains, churning out mainly routinised news assignments for a distant employer. The pay gap between proprietor and working journalist widened, with no hope of it narrowing. Journalism had become a commodity. The greater the capital investment, the more predictable the product had to be. Journalists had little autonomy, a key factor in a profession. They turned to the National Union of Journalists, more concerned with their standard of living than with status and increasingly identifying with class issues (Christian, op. cit, p. 291). The competition which grew as the century progressed and radio and television evolved, and the increasing concentration of ownership tended to re-enforce this - although the growth of broadcasting and related fields such as marketing and Public Relations did have the effect of somewhat widening journalists' choice of employer – and this situation lasted until the Thatcher years revolutionised ideas of status, broke the unions' powers and, in doing so, weakened yet again the barriers within occupations.

Stratification within journalism – different roles, different status

These swings from disreputable to respectable, from low status through respectability and on to 'white collar worker' have never been entirely consistent because the very term 'journalist' has countless meanings and these meanings themselves often define whether the person is regarded well or poorly. The stratification of the occupation has

led to some areas being regarded as high status, highly skilled and 'professional' and to others being viewed as low status, relatively unskilled and 'non-professional'. For example, the 'journalist', correspondent or leader writer is viewed as more prestigious than the 'reporter', the 'specialist' as more important than the 'generalist', the journalist at national level as more highly qualified than the local reporter, and the broadsheet journalist as more reputable than the tabloid worker (Christian 1980, p. 268; Tunstall 1971, p. 11).

We can see this stratification throughout the history of journalism, with the writer, the 'man of letters' and the 'gentleman of the press' at its highest echelons, and it continues to affect how the public – and journalists themselves – regard their 'professional' position. This is a factor which can affect other professions but, arguably, not in the same way. The consultant may have higher status over the doctor but as a result of lengthier training. (S)he may be paid a higher rate but both belong to the same highly regarded profession. There is no Harley Street 'type' whereas the perception in the 1960s was that there was a BBC 'type'; 'charming, very well dressed, very cultured, very clever, very refined' (Burns 1977, p. 44). This is a perception which the BBC is today at pains to dispel.

One reason behind this stratification within journalism is that the status of the journalist, as perceived by outsiders, is affected not only by the organisation for which (s)he works but for the client group served (Jackson 1970, p. 176). Thus a BBC journalist, bound by public service ethics, working for a speech-based station and listened to or watched by a broad spectrum of the public, has greater status than, for example, the local commercial radio journalist, whose audience is segmented and generally younger, and whose work fits in to a music environment. Additionally, a journalist who works for an organisation which allows greater identification with the professional values associated with journalism, will feel (s)he has greater status than someone whose day to day work is driven more strongly by the requirements of the organisation. The autonomy, demanded by a profession, is more likely to be satisfied in that setting. Thus areas of journalism are seen as more 'professional' by both the public and the journalist, than others. Professionalisation is defined by organisational structure. But several of these arguments prove to be spurious when examined more closely. The idea of any journalist, in whatever organisation, being autonomous, creative, individual, and thus identifying more easily with professional ideals, stems from the 'golden years' of incipient professionalisation, the late 1890s (Bainbridge

1984, p. 37) and can be traced through the autobiographical works of various editors. But, in fact, the reality is very different. Few editors – and even fewer journalists – have the freedom they think they have (Boyd-Barrett, Seymour-Ure & Tunstall 1977) and it can also be argued that close identification with the professional ideals of journalism may serves the public less well than the ability to give the public what it requires. Some people argue that professional values have led to 'top-down' journalism, focusing on 'authoritative experts' rather than the 'ordinary' citizen and on event-led reporting, rather than analytical interpretations (Hallin 1996 p. 254). Indeed some of the accepted tenets of all Professions, including the ancient ones of law and medicine – namely the right to self-regulation and community sanction – have been questioned increasingly in the last three decades, as their privileges have been challenged, and a climate of greater openness in the public's dealings with such occupational areas has been demanded (89).

Training and Education - their relationship to the craft / profession debate

One major, lasting effect of this stratification of journalism and the journalistic ideal was the failure of the Institute of Journalists to implement an examination system for new recruits. It was partly this uncertainty about what journalism is and what skills and knowledge a journalist requires which defeated the Institute's plans. It is also a major reason why the entire journalism industry has never been able to agree with – or conform to - a standard training system for all journalists.

In fact, the impetus for training came from outside the newspaper industry with the first Royal Commission on the Press' recommendation that a system of training and education should be set up for new journalism recruits. It is ironic that, at a time when the development of newspapers had more or less cemented journalism into craft status rather than a profession – at least in the minds of the vast majority of journalists - the Royal Commission, in its report, linked journalism training to the concept of public service. However, the General Council of the Press, which it spawned, had neither the moral nor legal authority to act as an effective regulator (Curran 2000, p. 40) and its inability to protect the public has damaged journalism both in the public's and politicians' eyes. Hence the constant threat of a statutory regulation.

The ideal of journalism as a profession had glimmered through occasionally and, of course, has continued to do so in many areas. The Institute of Journalists continues to exist. Its attempts to set up a Council to deal with professional ethics and foster professional training, to establish a state register for journalists in 1934, and to initiate a Journalists Registration Bill in1938, although unsuccessful, were all attempts to 'raise journalism to the status of a recognised profession' (Mansfield 1943, p. 538). The National Union of Journalists, in its heyday, spoke occasionally of the profession of journalism, as when they declared to the first Royal Commission on the Press

'we seek above all else as a body of professional men and women, that the industry in which we serve the community should be directed and managed primarily in the public interest' (National Union of Journalists 1947).

Many union members worked through the general strike in 1926 (Hudson 1945 p. 47), identifying with the public's need to know, rather than more narrow class interests (although the printers strike of 1959 and the journalist strike of 1978 witnessed a greater solidarity amongst workers) and the Royal Commission on the Press in 1962 was explicit in its belief that

'there is still widespread among Pressmen a sense of vocation – they feel the call as sailors feel the call of the sea' (Taylor 1961 p. 148-149).

But the grip of trade unionism for much of the twentieth century on the majority of journalists and the identification of journalists as workers within an industry, rather than autonomous operatives, (assisted by the employers association, the Newspaper society who preferred to negotiate with one trade union) affected how training for journalists developed, serving to reinforce the concept of craft over profession. We have already briefly discussed how the system of education in Britain militated against a university education for journalists and how several efforts to base journalism education within higher education failed until finally in 1970, the first postgraduate course was developed at Cardiff. The contrast with both the United States and some countries in Europe is marked, but hardly surprising given the different approaches and history. As we have seen, journalism degrees in the States were founded as early as the 1880s (Schudson 1978; Stephens 1996, p. 255), helped

greatly by the Morrill Act of 1862. By allowing the federal government to financially assist states where agriculture was taught in colleges, the idea of practical public service was embedded into university curricula (Reus & Becker 1993, p. 6). European countries too were more advanced in placing their journalism education within a higher education institution. In Finland, academic programmes began in 1925, (Nordenstreng 1990 pp.5 -10) and in Germany in the 1920s (Stephenson and Mory 1990, p. 179). Britain was, and has until recently remained, the centre of the on-the-job-training philosophy (Reus & Becker, op. cit, p. 5), helped immeasurably by the organisation which in 1952 established the framework for vocational training in Britain, the National Council for the Training of Journalists.

The development of courses for journalists has, broadly speaking, followed the development of education generally. The Education Acts in the last decades of the nineteenth century, which made education compulsory for all, delivered a more literate society which fuelled the growth in newspapers and the subsequent agonising over journalism standards by the founder members of the Institute of Journalists. The 1944 Education Act ensured that all children were educated until they were 15. But the higher echelons of a university education were clearly not seen as appropriate for journalists. Only when the Robbins report in the 1960s triggered the start of a mass higher education system and began the phenomenal growth which has seen the number of universities grow from 31 in 1963 to 176 today did some entrepreneurs begin to see universities as a possible base for journalism education. This prescience was based partly on experiences of the American education system (Tom Hopkinson modelled the Cardiff postgraduate course on the Columbia School of Journalism) and partly on the realisation that journalism would be left with the least-qualified recruits if more students went on to higher education.

As we have discussed, the classical and abstract mathematical traditions were very strong in the universities of the early nineteenth century, making them unsuitable for educating journalists for the events- and news-based journalism which was evolving in Britain. British journalism was not a journalism of ideas, as has developed in other (mainly Southern) European countries (90) and this made universities unsuitable venues for journalism education. Hence the few attempts made by both the NUJ and the IOJ to interest universities in journalism met with little success. Even the temporarily successful two-year diploma at London University was deemed to have too little academic rigour to survive (Hunter 1982).

Practical applications were not part of the universities' remit.

' ..the university attitude, when it was explicitly thought out, was that they should teach people to *think*' (Barnard 1947, p. 111).

But even in the 19th century, there were men who were interested in the new science rather than the old humanities and business people who believed in a useful rather than a traditional or cultural tradition (ibid, p. 99). Out of this were born the seeds of what became a technical education system and into which training for journalists became embedded, thanks to the influence of the first organisation to take responsibility for the training of journalists, the NCTJ.

The National Council for the Training of Journalists

It would be difficult to over-emphasise the part played by the NCTJ on the professional status of journalists. To begin, its frame of reference was not what was originally intended by the Royal Commission, with its emphasis on 'recruiting the right people'. The National Council had no responsibility for recruitment which was left squarely in the hands of the employers (Boyd-Barrett, 1970) and the employers' view of the education a journalist needs can best be illustrated by the words of one well-established journalist in the middle of the twentieth century,

" If daily journalism suffers disadvantages by reason of a deficiency of journalists of the higher standards of education, situations arise in which there is an advantage in the educational standard being maintained at a point not too loftily above the level of the national average' (Taylor 1961 op.cit, p. 131)

The NCTJ could not – and still cannot - be accused of 'maintaining the educational standard too loftily above the level of the national average'. The minimum educational requirements for acceptance on an accredited course, even now, when the number of people in higher education in the UK stands at one and three quarter

125

million (Higher Education Statistics Agency 2000) remain at five GSCE passes at grade C or above (National Council for the Training of Journalists 2000), although the Council accepts that most colleges running such courses do require two A-levels.

It can be argued that the NCTJ was, in fact, the inevitable result of the history of journalism and a very real product of the times.

Not only was it was formed largely as a result of outside pressure from the Royal Commission (although the lack of experienced journalists who had been lost to the war, was also a factor), but the industry's lack of enthusiasm for the idea is self-evident by the length of time it took before the Council was established – nearly four years. Its role was ambiguous to say the least. The Council was made up of newspaper figures and must have been influenced by the industry's reluctant attitude towards training. Thus, its training scheme and end -qualification were, from the beginning, voluntary, allowing hard-pressed newspaper offices to avoid taking part. This, coupled with the Council's confused approach to what education and training were actually required, fundamentally undermined the Council and irrevocably marked training and education for journalists as, if not irrelevant, then dispensable and open, if not to challenge, then to debate.

The Council was also formed at a time when the concept of the journalist as a worker, rather than a professional, had held sway for nearly half a century. Indeed the NUJ had been instrumental in the training debate and were key figures on the Council. This embedded any education for journalists firmly outside a university system and into the most usual route for school-leavers, who were not destined for university and a traditional profession, of day- or evening-release courses at technical colleges.

This also served to re-enforce the idea of a 'worker', as opposed to a 'professional' as unions saw such colleges as recruitment grounds.

The irony has been that, whereas educational qualifications gradually increased – and increased by leaps and bounds post Robbins – newspaper employers were still satisfied with the few 'O'-levels they had come to expect (Zbaraschuk 1969, p. 6), not least because new recruits with relatively few qualifications were less expensive and more inclined to come from the immediate area. Even now, provincial newspaper editors prefer someone who knows the area (91). This 'technical college' image, coupled with low pay, re-enforced still further the low status of the provincial newspaper journalist. National newspapers simply played no part in the Council. There are reports of the Council's finance committee trying to interest Fleet Street

editors in the NCTJ Diploma in 1955, with no success (92) Even though the second Royal Commission on the Press (62) recommended that Fleet Street should give more financial backing to training, those editors who did respond preferred to train their own, rather than back a national system (Zbaraschuk 1969, p. 72). Some provincial editors see this as a symptom of the industry's lack of confidence in the NCTJ's ability to transform itself into the kind of body which the industry actually wants and which can respond to the industry's needs (93). It is also likely to reflect the continuing chasm between national and provincial papers.

By renouncing any part in the employment of journalists, the NCTJ also gave away one of the most important tenets of a profession, namely control over entry. This passed directly into the hands of the employers, who have viewed it as very much part of their job (Boyd-Barrett, Seymour-Ure & Tunstall 1977, p. 334). It is clear, both from the original research and from a variety of different sources (including Delano and Henningham 1995), that employers do not recognise an NCTJ qualification as a prerequisite of employment. Rather, enthusiasm is constantly mentioned as important. Oliver Boyd-Barrett, in Journalism Recruitment and Training: Problems in Professionalization (1970), noted that editors often recruited those people who were most persistent and who 'knocked on doors', rather than those with relevant qualifications but he also noted that this sort of policy does not necessarily yield the most talented recruit.

Training has always been not just a way of raising standards in a profession, but also of maintaining control of what skills are needed by the profession (Turner & Hodge 1970, p. 20) and, because of the reluctance of the NCTJ to insist either on control over entry or the training itself, neither of these concepts were exploited.

At no point in its history has the NCTJ grappled with such 'professional' issues as the status of journalists (and journalism) or their public duty. Whereas, in the early days, discussions did focus on what education and training were needed and how they should be delivered, discussions rarely strayed from the nuts and bolts, that is what Jackson in the introduction to Professions and Professionalization (1970, p. 4) called a 'lesser activity', compared to the objective knowledge and general theory required by a profession. A one-off remark at the very first meeting of the National Advisory Council on the Training and Education Scheme for Junior Journalists on 27 November, 1951, that music, art and drama should be considered for inclusion in the three-year education programme for journalists was rebuffed in favour of a basic

programme which included shorthand, English grammar, literature, essay and summary writing, central and local government, law and British life and institutions – a curriculum which would be largely recognisable to new journalism trainees today (94). The vocational aspect, to be carried out in and by newspapers, would be totally recognisable by today's trainee; namely reporting, editorial work, shorthand and typing. As the meeting on 26 February 1952 heard, education was

"to provide junior journalists with the minimum education which is essential for them to undertake their duties adequately as working journalists. The courses are not designed to give a wide liberal education, but to provide juniors with a background of information and knowledge of how to supplement that information by their own enquiries, on matters directly connected with their work as journalists" (95)

Most of the debates of the NCTJ in the first 20 years revolved around new training schemes – pre-entry training, block release courses and the advent of university courses - or 'new media' and whether the NCTJ should take responsibility for broadcast training - discussions which are regularly still echoed within the Broadcast Journalism Training Council 40 years later.

Only occasionally did the higher concepts associated with a profession creep into the early discussions of the NCTJ. The Vocational Training committee (interestingly) mentions that 'public service' should be at the back of their minds and that training should engender a 'sense of vocation' (96); two retiring chairmen in the 1950s made speeches which hint at the limited nature of what was being demanded of trainees. One, Mr. Hamilton, said the

".....national training scheme stops short at the point where the junior completes his apprenticeship and takes out Certificate. Good and thorough though I feel our junior training system to be, it is no more than any intelligent and democratic society should insist on as the essential basic training which its journalists ought to receive, since without properly trained journalists, no society can remain truly intelligent and democratic for long" (97).

As we have already noted, Brian Pook, chair 1958-59 said at the AGM that there was

a"risk of journalism being a third class profession – or third standard craft. (There are) higher educational standards in almost every other walk of life,....we, who are supposed to inform the public, are among the most backward in that regard" (98).

It is worth remembering that even with this rudimentary level of education and training, there was no obligation on editors to train their staff and in 1956, it was acknowledged by Council that they were still not sure if everyone was even aware of the scheme (99). Only in 1961 did the NUJ and the Newspaper Society agree formally that every junior entrant must follow a course of indentured training and one of the effects of this was to lock the training of journalists into the Technical College system. Furthermore, the National Diploma, acknowledged to be of a higher standard and the hallmark of a fully trained journalist, was an obvious failure. In 1961, nearly nine years after the Council was formed, just 15 people had been awarded the diploma (100). It was left to wither on the vine and was formally abandoned 11 years later (101).

When the block release courses began in the early 1960s, the artificial split between 'education' and 'training' crumbled. Training moved into the Further Education colleges and journalists were employed to teach.

What we have seen, then, from the early 20th century until the 1970s was journalism being solidified into a distinctly skills-based occupation – far removed from the concept of a profession. This was due to the capitalisation of newspapers, the remarkable competitiveness which followed, the chains and monopolies which were formed and the position of the journalist within this framework. And this solidification was aided hugely by the NCTJ's approach to education and training. Journalists were increasingly harnessed to employers engaged in a highly competitive and commercialised business and had none of the autonomy demanded by a profession. Nor could they be counted on to work with the public's interest in mind. But it can be argued that 'feeling' like a professional is also an important aspect of professionalisation and the emerging interest from the BBC in journalism training, coupled with the expansion in higher education after the 1960s brought other influences into play.

<u>Higher Education – a move nearer professionalisation?</u>

Journalists working for the BBC were confident with their remit of providing a public service and, because of the organisation's stated *Reithian* objectives, had a reputation amongst the public which was arguably better than any other area of journalism.The rolling out of local BBC services meant that local journalists could also share in the feeling of belonging to a professional organisation, untrammelled by any organisational objectives which may conflict with those of journalism and the service of the public. These attributes fall quite happily into what has been called ' a happy integration of professional and civil culture' (Shils 1963).

Furthermore, as we have seen, the professions are closely associated with universities and mass education, and rising standards of qualifications have led many graduates into journalism. In the mid 1990s, around 70% of journalists attended university or college, 48% graduating (Delano & Henningham 1995, p. 13), and a survey by the National Training Organisation for the Broadcasting Industry, Skillset, showed that nearly 70% of broadcast journalists had a first degree (Skillset 1996, p. 16).

This is in contrast to the situation in 1958 when 3% of the 500 new entrants, registered with the NCTJ, were graduates (102). The Council acknowledged that journalism was at that time not regarded as a 'worthwhile profession' (103). Wilenski (1964) argues that there is a typical sequence of events surrounding professionalization and the forming of links with universities is a crucial step. Academic degrees and research expand the base of knowledge. Universities and early teachers have an innovative role in linking theory with practice. Professional associations begin to be formed (Wilenski 1964, p.144). These steps can be identified within journalism training.

But, it has to be said, the rise in graduate journalists simply mirrors what has been happening in other occupations. These too may, in the past, have recruited non-graduates but now find themselves having to upgrade their standards in order to keep pace with the rest of society. The university population as a whole increased from 50,000 in 1938 to 750,000 in 1992 (Council for Industry and Higher Education 1995) and more than doubled up to the year 2000 (Higher Education Statistics Agency 2000). The pressure on journalism was explicit when the NCTJ was urged in 1973 to

define 'the relationship journalists training should have with the upper echelon of the technical education system' (PPITB/NCTJ 1973, pp19-23).

The unease with which the NCTJ regarded universities was evident from the start. As late as 1976, during a discussion on the journalism degree course proposed for Preston, concern was expressed about who would control the course, whether students would fit into the general intake of new recruits and whether degrees would 'take journalism away from the people' (104).

But it is significant that in 1995 most journalists did see themselves as members of a profession (Delano and Henningham 1995, p. 9) and having the same social status as lawyers, doctors, civil servants, teachers and university lecturers (Delano 2000, p.264), despite the fact that journalists were respected only marginally more than estate agents by the public (Mori 1995).

Certainly a university education will engender such confidence but other factors may well come into play.

Training, as we have seen from the chapter 3 has also moved into higher education, not exclusively it is true, but to an ever greater extent, universities, rather than colleges of further education, are the context for new journalism courses.

This changing context for journalism training has itself created tensions in the debate over professionalisation.

The Professionalisation of Training

One of the most recent developments in journalism training is its increasing professionalisation, an aspect, which is producing tensions with an industry which itself, continues to debate whether it is a profession or a craft. Some of the hallmarks of professionalisation are becoming more evident. In his introduction to Professions and Professionalisation, J.A. Jackson (1970) quotes Denzin who argues that professions are like social movements. "They recruit only certain types of persons, they develop highly elaborate ideologies and supra-individual values, they have their own mechanisms of socialisation and they often attempt to proselytise and bring new persons into the field" (Denzin 1968, p. 376). Other definitions apply. "Professional authority is that enjoyed by those who have been appointed to a "sphere of

competence" on the basis of qualifications attested by a professional group of peers" (Halsey 1970, p. 25).

Journalism training increasingly fits this definition. Much of it, particularly for the broadcast sector, is firmly ensconced within higher education, "the institution of the intellectual" (Parsons 1968, p. 539). Journalism courses are increasingly being developed within universities, rather than at Further Education colleges, breaking the long tradition of technical college training, exploited in the 1950s by the NCTJ. Staff, who are only employed if they are experienced and 'recent' practitioners, are being asked to produce academic research to underpin their teaching, a sign that, after joining the university, they are regarded as lecturers, rather than journalists. They are not only being subjected to the organisational requirements of universities but they also show signs of aspiring to professional status by raising their own educational standards (Harries - Jenkins 1970, p. 69).

In many universities, the study of ethics and the various codes of practice associated with journalism are being emphasised as a way of underpinning the intellectual component of the courses. Programmes in Investigative Journalism, the pinnacle of 'ideal journalism' are coming on stream. Courses themselves are converting to higher levels. Some postgraduate diploma courses are becoming MA courses, partly, no doubt, because of the continuing expansion of higher education and the fear that other professions will compete for high- calibre students, but also in a desire to raise standards. Professional organisations are being formed, such as the Association of Journalism Educators to discuss common issues. It is a hallmark of a profession that it perceives itself as serving the public interest (Elliott 1972). The regular conferences of the AJE, which encourage academic papers on topics such as the effects of the media on children and how journalism is the first draft of history, is an indication of this professionalisation process.

That notwithstanding, this may also be part of a process of 'casualisation' within higher education teaching, which sees external professionals being brought in to many fields, a process which may build bridges between vocationalism and academic learning but can also be seen as an increasingly utilitarian approach to education. While this 'professionalisation process' is gathering speed, journalism lecturers are simultaneously finding themselves caught between the organisational demands of their employers, the universities, who want to increase student numbers while maintaining their educational and intellectual focus, and the industry and the

validating bodies, none of which show any evidence of wanting to develop along those lines. On the contrary, the research shows that knowledge in its broadest sense is of far less importance than skills and personal qualities (see Table 4 in chapter 4) and that the industry wants journalism training to remain practical. Moreover, the very talents for which journalism lecturers are employed are then put under severe pressure by employers who both want them to continue displaying high-level journalistic skills while at the same time developing an equally high academic profile. And this is particularly problematic for journalists-cum-lecturers who have in all likelihood come directly into journalism from school.

It is ironic that while journalism itself has such a complicated relationship with the idea of professionalisation, journalism training is increasingly finding itself in a context which is exercising demands of professionalisation.

Conflicts within Higher Education

Education itself is undergoing huge changes and this, in turn, is impacting on the education and training of journalists.

The implications of funding a mass education system have a direct effect on the kind of person able to access higher education. The introduction of tuition fees at undergraduate level, and the cost of postgraduate education has led to organisations like the BJTC directly petitioning the Department for Culture, Media and Sport for grants for journalism trainees on accredited courses (105), fearing the so called 'Samantha –syndrome' (106).

Some leading professionals and influential educationalists have expressed fears that competition for students can lead universities to design courses which they know will attract students but which may not have the facilities or the 'know-how' to gain the industry's respect (Cole 1996; Woodhead 2000).

The drive towards vocational education, set in train by Sir Ron Dearing's Inquiry into Higher Education in 1997, while appearing to be heaven-sent for journalism courses, is also causing problems.

Some professionals disapprove of vocational undergraduate courses in an area like journalism which not only limit a young student's career choice at an early age (107)

but may prove counter-productive in an occupation like journalism where employers value personal qualities over skills and knowledge and where an 'agile mind and the ability to assess, make connections and rapidly draw conclusions' are requirements (Phillips & Gabor 1996, p. 63). There is also the issue of skills training at the expense of broader reflection – a particular problem on undergraduate courses where the concept of 'graduateness' means that intellectual rigour is balanced against employability.

Vocational journalism education, particularly broadcast journalism education, requires state-of-the-art equipment to be genuinely job-oriented and funding such courses impacts either on students (causing problems of equality of access) or on departments where resources are limited and other programmes may suffer.
The reluctance of the industry itself, with the exception of the BBC, to systematically fund training is indisputable and the lack of support from the national newspaper industry is criticised by journalism trainers (Christmas 2000).

Skillset, the National Training organisation for the Broadcast Industry, runs a Freelance Training Fund for upskilling freelancers, into which the BBC, along with other organisations, contribute, but even the BJTC, whose very existence is to ensure the high quality of broadcast journalism training courses, in its submission to the Department of Culture, Media and Sport, repeated its opposition to an industry levy for training purposes (108). One reason has to be, as Tim Crook points out in his book International Radio Journalism (1998), that the broadcast industry is used to a steady stream of recruits, who have self-funded their way through a journalism training programme.
The idea of life-long learning, a key concept linked to the fast-moving world of information technology, is also posing problems for higher education, particularly in the field of journalism where 'up-skilling' is a continual necessity (109).

Industry fragmentation

The broadcast news industry, in particular, is an increasingly fragmented, highly competitive world in which individual companies are using new technology and

delivery systems in ways which change their output fundamentally. And, although we tend inevitably to think in terms of broadcast news when we talk about new technology, the arrival of the Internet makes readership fragmentation an equally major issue for newspapers.

The question must arise, therefore, what kind of a job are we training new journalists for?

The changing function of journalism is not new. Journalism has always been subject to the aims of the individual employer. Thus debates about the tabloidisation and dumbing down of news are rife, as are conflicting views of what the function of journalism should be (Delano and Henningham 1995, p. 17, Splichal & Sparks 1994, p. 169; Sparks and Tulloch 2000) and how these can best be achieved. However, the fragmentation of outlets today means that industry requirements have become a moving target. Even educational requirements differ sector by sector (see Table 3 in chapter 4). This makes any attempt at formal, systematic training for the whole industry almost impossible and this has to call into question the long-term relevance of any accreditation body which, by definition, is reactive to the requirements agreed on by the whole industry – the traditional 'core-skills' approach.

The fragmentation of skill-needs is most obvious in the field of broadcast journalism, particularly as de-regulation has encouraged competition and led to increased narrowcasting.

We have seen how the BBC is much more enthusiastic about accredited courses than the commercial sector (see Table 1 in Chapter 4). Whereas a core skills approach may still be relevant to the more traditional broadcasters, smaller companies may feel they do not need the broad range or complexity of skills which are being taught on validated courses.

It must be said that one consideration which makes the validated courses more of a training ground for the larger, traditional broadcast organisations is the cost factor. A recent survey said that most students expected to leave university with debts of £3,700 (The Observer 1999).

Postgraduate-accredited courses attract no local authority grants and, whereas a new recruit at a small to medium-sized commercial radio station outside London can expect to earn around £11,500, the equivalent wage at a BBC regional bi-media centre would be £15,000 plus up to £4,000 unpredictability payments (110). This discrepancy makes a job at the BBC a more desirable prospect for a student in debt.

However, students who are able and prepared to pay for a course are likely to be from middle-class backgrounds, another factor affecting the diversity of entry and one which particularly concerns the BBC (111).

More indications of how editors differ in their needs and preferences are evident from a series of informal interviews with editors in several of the different sectors.

As technology enables programmes to be made by fewer people, the demand for students to be able to master techniques previously handled by 'specialists', such as editing and camera work, is increasing the pressure on courses to teach those skills. Those students who possess such skills are in demand from newer broadcasters, such as OnDigital and Channel 5 who are keen to attract multi-skilled, multi-functional journalists. Such students are able to take advantage of flexible promotion systems which allow them to progress quickly. The 'Channel 5 effect', as it's been called, is already driving 'traditional' broadcasters down a similar route and the 'fast-track', multi-skilling route has been taken up by other independent broadcasters enabling some individuals to pursue a programme idea to completion single-handedly (Pile 1999).

However, there are some editors who feel that allowing journalists to fast track through the system eventually leads to lower professional standards and do a disservice to journalism. They argue that there is insufficient time for courses to teach both highly specialised craft skills and the pure journalistic skills of investigation and research and have accused courses of colluding with companies by 'giving the industry what it wants but not training journalists' (112).

In other cases, highly trained students find the skills they have learned at such cost to themselves are unnecessary or inappropriate. Work in many different news organisations is now largely processing, re-versioning or 'information sequencing' and the hopes of young journalists who are highly trained and want to report and present, are frustrated (113). Likewise, while the ability to conduct a challenging, in-depth, live interview is prized by some news organisations, for others, it is an irrelevant skill.

Editors in some organisations complain that newly trained journalists are still wedded to 'old' ideas of news which are in conflict with audience desires and expectations. They say journalism should be reporting on what interests the audience, rather than what interests the professional journalist. This is a view which is influencing many news organisations to review their news agendas (114).

An employer from an independent production company, said that he never recruited from training courses as he wanted non-standard people (115) and a commercial radio manager agreed that he preferred to train people himself (116). One television editor complained that students from validated courses were identical with the same ideas and the same c.v.s. (117).

These contradictory views cannot fail to impact on the training courses. One experienced trainer confessed that it was impossible to know whether his programme was doing the 'right sort of training' and whether it was training students for the industry or for his own vision of what journalism should be (118). It is clear that industry fragmentation and differing perceptions of the role of broadcast journalism in today's media have serious repercussions for training courses.

Fragmentation leads to a breakdown of the 'rituals' and any core values for journalism (Carey 1969) and, as a result, for training. This, in turn, means that training effectively becomes 'amoral'. Any moral imperatives are linked directly to the particular organisation for which training is being provided. This undermines any core-skills or cross-industry training, particularly that which has grown out of a public service tradition.

New Media, New Skills?

Increasingly, as interactivity becomes possible, the debate is about how much the journalist's job is changing (Yelvington 1999) and, by extension, what skills the training courses should be teaching.

The National Union of Journalists has identified some fundamental challenges which face journalists – and journalism trainers - over the introduction of new media, particularly in the area of professional practice and ethical standards.

As a marker of the importance the NUJ attaches to this, the union is part of a project involving organisations in the UK, Ireland and Germany, called JetPilot, which originated in 1996 to consider 'a Europe-wide approach to the issues of journalism standards and what might be called 'ethical best practice' which had been identified in connection with the growth of new media (119). A report by the Project manager for JetPilot, Gary Herman, emphasises a need for what he call ' a standards-based

approach' to entry-level training. Ethical questions of copyright and the manipulation of images and text, which are commonplace to 'old media' are supplemented by what he calls 'less tractable problems such as the place of accurate reporting in on-line news, the identification of sources, the changing nature of the editorial function, and the convergence of print and broadcast formats' (120).

The report calls for a strengthening of the union's commitment to professional standards, codes of practice and –' *above all – training'* (emphasis added). A protocol for new-media training has been developed by the NUJ (Appendix 5) which is based on what it calls the AAIA approach – accuracy, authenticity, integrity and accountability, which the union says is the only way to guarantee quality of content which in turn is 'the only way to inspire confidence in the media and their democratic role' (121).

But crucial though this issue is, other more practical considerations need also to be considered when looking at training for new media.

New Media is the home of convergence, and training in the future could well be partly driven by the need for new recruits to be able to use all the multi-media opportunities offered by the Internet.

The challenge of fully merging audio, text, still and moving pictures and graphics, and the need for creative design and navigation skills for web authoring could put still more pressure on training courses struggling to meet the demands of an increasingly diverse industry. Many broadcast journalism trainers are vocal about the need for students to be proficient in more than one medium (Reeves 2000). New media again exposes the issue of multi-skilling for journalists, as it did when the BBC became bi- then tri-media and CNN began to employ video journalists.

The dominance of technology and its influence on journalism is another issue which resurfaces with the consideration of new media.

A JetPilot workshop on 'Professional and Ethical issues in Digital News Media' (122) concluded that many on-line jobs were essentially journalistic, but unacknowledged as such, threatening journalism as a discreet occupation and leaving it vulnerable to unethical practice. Furthermore, participants observed that web sites were mainly design-driven and that journalism was becoming a low-status job on the Web.

It is ironic that the NUJ, while recognising its own Luddite past (123), calls for technophobia amongst journalists to be addressed so that the Web can be used effectively, at the same time warns that the new media agenda should not be dictated to by technologists (124).

Yet this 'cult of the technically possible' and concern about technology driving content was evident before the Web. The advent of live reporting sparked a flurry of articles, warning about the driving of the news agenda by technology (Tuggle & Huffman 1999) and John Pilger has warned more than once about what he calls the 'camcorder period' of dumbed down television (Pilger 2000).

The democratic nature of the web means that anyone can be a journalist, leading to a blurring between the professional and the non-professional. This so-called 'elevation of amateurism' (125) calls into question the rituals of professional behaviour which form the basis of the journalistic profession and eliminates one of the hallmarks of a profession, namely the exclusion of outsiders (Elliott 1972, p. 129). However, these very rituals of professional behaviour can also stand in the way of legitimate exposure, best illustrated perhaps by the reluctance of the traditional media to investigate President Clinton's affairs before being 'bounced into it' by the less professionally-constrained Drudge Report, an example of how the Web has changed journalistic rituals – for better or worse.

More particularly though, on-line journalism, represents the epitome of audience fragmentation and consumer choice and this has serious repercussions for the core-skills journalism taught in accredited colleges.

The Broadcast Journalism Training Council, when it took on-line journalism into its remit in 1999, made a conscious decision to add the new skills on to its 'core-skills' programme and in its guidelines, recognised the need for students to be able to use audio and video as well as have 'a full understanding of on-line design and a familiarity with HTML technology and authorising software' on top of the core journalism skills of researching and writing (Broadcast Journalism Training Council 2000).

However, these standards to which accredited courses train journalists, however good, may simply not be required, particularly if the audience is more interested in the design of the web site or the avenues of navigation. The effect is to loosen the bonds between the employer and the professional training courses. On-line media can only

exacerbate this trend which has already been identified in the more traditional commercial sector. Commercial radio, in particular, can form a useful example of the likely impact.

Content and style in commercial radio are driven by the organisational requirements of the stations, that is, the need to keep people listening. That in turn means listening to the audience and reacting to its needs rather than responding to the professional journalist's definition of what news is. Journalists must identify with the needs of the audience rather than with the requirements of a profession. News in commercial radio does not have the same function as within the BBC. Surveys within GWR, one of the largest commercial radio groups in the UK, have shown that audiences for their services are most interested in particular subjects, such as health, education and environmental issues and news editors are informed of these preferences (126). In a world where future prospects – both for the station and for staff - are informed by audience figures, it is unlikely that news editors would easily ignore such information. And while the BBC has placed the mission to inform at the heart of its news policy, many commercial radio managers see news as having a different role, namely that which 'glues' the listener to the station. News takes its place alongside other information to keep the listeners informed (127). News, after all, is a niche market. Not everyone would choose to listen to it (Yelvington 1999).

This example of commercial radio is a likely indicator of the pressure journalists in on-line media will be under. Some of the skills and knowledge laid down in the BJTC guidelines, such as an awareness of different types of interview situations, the ability to make features and documentaries and a knowledge of the structure and function of public administration systems, may well be redundant for on-line media, whereas others, not compulsory, such as knowledge of audience research and segmented markets may be of far greater importance. The definition of public service as 'community involvement', at the service of a community, is becoming ever more prevalent in a society where consumers are increasingly able to choose the information they want when they want it. Journalists working in a world where consumers are empowered may well be under even more pressure to interpret 'public service' literally; supplying whatever information is needed at the time it is needed, rather than turning out information which contains a journalist's definition of news. So-called 'people's journalism' will be used to help surfers to find what they want, what is important for them, what is true and what is useful (Yelvington 1999). News

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will be too narrow a term for the information which is being given. Certainly it will no longer be controlled by "broadcasters who ...claim to know 'what the public needs'.....where success and reputation are mediated through the judgement of professional colleagues, not of clients"(Lewis & Booth 1989, p. 69).

This re-definition of public service as 'people's journalism', a way of helping people find their way through the information available and making it relevant to them as individuals is a new interpretation of how to bridge the "gap between what society needs from the press and what the press gives it" (Royal Commission on the Press 49).

Such news, though somewhat different from the journalism taught on accredited courses, could be viewed as a re-definition of professionalism which is more relevant to the highly segmented audiences of the 21st century, who have greater expectations, greater choice and can also control what they want to know about to a far greater extent than ever before.

There is an alternative argument, however, about the skills needed by journalists, in a world dominated by the Internet and this view also bodes ill for the accredited training courses.

We have seen how anti-intellectual the media is in the UK; how it is events-driven rather than ideas-driven, and how the training courses mimic this working style. This dominating characteristic is fuelled by the current drive for vocationally driven education and the government's enthusiasm for National Vocational Qualifications. Yet many observers feel that specialist, vocationally oriented skills are not necessarily the most appropriate for journalists today and advocate far less of a 'craft-based' approach to training.

The information age calls for much more sophisticated information management and analysis training for journalists (Johnson 1994). Data collection and analysis, with traditional library research skills augmented by computer skills in order to identify information, search databases, compile information and analyse material should be compulsory for all journalism students (ibid). Routine single-source stories are no longer appropriate for a highly-sophisticated world where spin doctors and news manipulators attempt to influence the news agenda and influential 'movers and shakers' in the world of politics and commerce are able to conceal information which should be in the public domain (Jurgensen & Meyer 1992). Likewise, journalists need

to be far more aware of legal pitfalls and arguments to obtain information than most preliminary training covers.

'Journalism education needs to move towards the professional model at some cost to the craft model' (ibid p. 272)

While few journalism trainers would deny the importance of these skills, there is a real problem for colleges over how feasible it is to provide the necessary education. Not only do trainers themselves need training - and upskilling of journalism trainers is an issue in itself - but choices again have to be made about how much can be taught in a limited time.

There is, indeed, a paradox here. New media clearly does require new skills. Yet, in many ways, it could be argued that many journalistic jobs are becoming de-skilled.

Upskilling, Multi-skilling or De-skilling ?

The technical developments in the industry generally, for which most journalists, particularly in the broadcast sector are being trained, coupled with the increasing number of graduates entering journalism, the drive towards multi-skilling and the professionalisation of training, appear to suggest that the job is becoming more highly skilled.

But the occupation is still associated with low pay (Cole 1996; Franklin 1998 p. 50; Keeble 1998, p. 5) and many of the actual jobs which are done by journalists are not only routine, but relatively unskilled. The journalist's day is more often than not governed by a diary, in which pre-arranged events are reported. News coverage for traditional newspapers, radio and television is relatively formulaic. This has been blamed on competition, leading in newspapers to a concentration of ownership, which in turn has led to a homogenisation of news content with fewer sources and less opportunity and money for investigation (Gaunt 1992).

In some areas of journalism, notably the 'higher' end of the professional spectrum such as investigative journalism or multi-media on-line sites, it could be argued that multi-skilling is a reality because of the highly specialist and multi-faceted knowledge required. In other areas, it is more likely to mean becoming a general operative rather than mastering more than one specialist skill. The arguments against bi-media in the

early 1990s focused on journalists being forced into bi-medial working because of organisational (and financial) demands, being unable to be as proficient in both radio and television and having to settle for adequate competence rather than excellence. Indeed, it is said that the really highly skilled people at work in the media today are the computer 'tekkies' who ensure that the computerised equipment works effectively and at least one editor has complained that what is actually required are technically adept young people rather than good journalists (128).

One factor in the de-skilling argument has also been the increase in freelance and contract working, which has been a feature of journalism since the deregulation and union derecognition of the Thatcher era (Franklin 1998, p. 53). De-regulation and subsequent competition, according to Harry Christian (1980), leads to a demise of the profession because journalism becomes a commodity whose marketability must be predictable. It also leads to less structured pay scales, more fluidity, less security in employment and, crucially, to less structured internal training leading to skills gaps.

'Reactive training'

The increasing sophistication of journalism, both in terms of technical skills, computer literacy and professional knowledge, leads some educationalists to suggest that a general education is of far greater value than particular skills training (Phillips & Gabor 1996). But it is clear that vocational training is still a surer way of getting a job in most occupational areas of journalism than a non-specific education (see original data).

The constant criticism from the British media generally has been the lack of vocational training in favour of academic credentials for would-be journalists. (This argument is now gaining ground in the birthplace of journalism liberal education – the United States - where the wealthiest journalistically-based foundation, the Freedom Forum, recently published research criticising the emphasis placed on academic qualifications at the expense of what it calls professional experience (Medsger 1996). This criticism has in turn been staunchly refuted by educationalists who believe that 'the ultimate objective of journalism education should be to improve the practice of journalism, not only by training skilled practitioners but also by

teaching how journalism impinges on other areas of public life and illustrates critical social issues' (Reese 1999, p. 70).

The problem, it seems, is that training, as organised by the accreditation bodies, is by its very nature reactive to a media industry which is itself so fragmented as to be unable to give an unambiguous message to the training community (Bromley & Purdey 1998).

A survey carried out in 1997-8 in the UK found that, even though there was a substantial presence on the Web from newspapers and the BBC, training for the web on journalism courses was inconsistent and patchy and it was left to a few faculty members interested in pioneering this 'new' form of journalism to develop courses at universities (ibid). This problem is not limited to the UK. A recent study into the teaching of digital imaging skills on journalism programmes in the United States, showed that, despite a clear need for educators to move away from chemical processing and focus on digital skills, many journalism courses still focused on these traditional processes for reasons of cost or inertia (Russial & Wanta 1998) and this had been found to be the case with database reporting as well (DeFleur & Davenport 1993).

The fragmented media organisations in the UK today are driven by a diverse set of imperatives which makes it difficult, if not impossible, for the validating training bodies, traditionally carefully linked to the labour demands of the media industries, to maintain credibility with all their customers. There is also a systemic problem with journalism training which takes place in a slow-moving educational context, as opposed to the media's technologically-fast - changing world, which is under-funded and which relies on practitioners-turned – lecturers to keep apace of industry trends. These are serious challenges for the training sector and embody some of the contradictions inherent in journalism training.

CONCLUSION

Button – pushers or the Fourth Estate?

It could be argued that the rise in educational standards, the migration of training into higher education and the numbers of graduates entering journalism is leading to the occupation finally becoming recognised as a profession. Certainly a majority of journalists in the UK now believe journalism is a profession rather than a craft (Delano and Henningham 1996, p. 9). Yet this thesis has shown that there is no evidence to suggest that this evolution has actually taken place. On the contrary, editors today appear to be more concerned that their new recruits will fit in than in any abstract notion of high ideals and public service.

Yet the myth of the 'professionalisation' of journalism still abounds. Throughout the history of journalism training, up to and including the present day, we can see the same questions arising again and again. What does a journalist actually do? What kind of skills does a journalist need? What is a journalist's role? What can society expect from a journalist? These questions would not need to be posed in relation to other occupations such as the law, medicine, teaching or accountancy and this uncertainty about what a journalist is and how (s)he should be trained shows that the contesting ideologies between profession and craft remain as much in play today as they have done since journalism became a recognised occupation in the mid nineteenth century. The way in which journalism developed in Britain and the social and economic structure of the country all militated against journalism developing as a profession yet the occupation continued to be racked by the conflict.

In the early days, it was the great 'men of letters', many from Oxbridge, who held a special place in newspapers for their opinions and wordskills but they were largely overtaken by the rise of the skilled worker. This person could shape the news and headlines into a product, which would not only sell to an increasingly literate public but also carry the paid advertising which had emancipated the press from party politics. Journalism became news- and events-driven rather than ideas-driven (Chalaby 1996). As the New Journalism of the early twentieth century took hold, this

conflict over what journalism should be began to show itself in the first arguments over training. The high ideals of a profession with its social obligations came into conflict with the pragmatic requirements of a craft. The education system in Britain, reflecting the schism between education and training, merely served to exacerbate the issue. The Institute of Journalists, comprised of proprietors, editors and reporters, could not decide what was required and their efforts to establish a syllabus failed miserably. The few attempts at training over the next fifty years met with varying degrees of success but none of them succeeded in persuading everyone of their relevance.

The tensions persisted, undampened by the recommendations from the first Royal Commission on the Press. A weak 'General Council of the Press', dominated by editors, failed to establish an effective moral framework for the press, thus leaving questions about standards unresolved. A weak National Council for the Training of Journalists failed to establish an effective training framework which was supported by the whole industry. Neither organisation was either able or helped to resolve the conflict between profession and craft; between journalism as a public service with social obligations and high ideals, and journalism driven by the organisational needs of the employer as a means to an end.

The National Union of Journalists and the Newspaper Society further influenced the move towards a craft, rather than a profession, as union members identified with their white-collar colleagues in bitter struggles over pay and conditions.

The birth of public service broadcasting became a constant reminder of the high ideals of professionalism – the BBC's first recruits came largely from the home of the professions, Oxbridge (Bromley 1997) - but the competitive reality of the market place was to see BBC journalism also torn between its public service remit and its need for large audiences to justify its licence fee.

The conflicts increased, rather than diminished, with the expansion of higher education. Although journalism training began to extend from its traditional base in the technical college/further education sector and move into the universities, its vocational nature sits uneasily in the "institution of the intellectual" (Parsons 1968). It is true that graduates may see themselves as coming from a professional culture but the vocational training courses validated by the two accrediting bodies, the NCTJ and the Broadcast Journalism Training Council, are themselves under contradictory pressures. On the one hand they need to remain practical, and skills-based to feed an

industry which regards itself as practical and skills-based. On the other hand they need to conform to the organisational requirements of higher education with its emphasis on intellectual rigour. This contradiction, too, continues to be played out. Developments in the news industry, meanwhile, have further served to feed the contesting ideologies of profession and craft. Increased fragmentation, driven by de-regulation and new technology, has led to the differing requirements of the various sectors becoming more evident. This thesis has shown how different sectors need different qualities from their new recruits. These differences may be marginal in some cases, but they are nevertheless real and show conflicting requirements, particularly between the broadcast sectors and the national and local print sectors.

Many people believe that new media will require a whole range of different qualities and skills from its journalists. Some believe a more 'professional' approach is needed to training. The National Union of Journalists are concerned about journalistic ethics on the web where what it calls 'the elevation in amateurism' threatens professional standards. Other commentators see a need for journalism training to move towards a 'professional model' and away from its craft-base to enable journalists to use information technology to do their jobs effectively in the expanding world of the Internet (Jurgensen & Meyer 1992).

On the other hand, journalism for many is still a routine operation, formulaic in its approach and far from the glamorous world of Woodward and Bernstein. Certainly many editors seem convinced that journalism students need 'the basics' rather than anything more.

It is clear that journalism is having to adapt to change but the evidence implies that the leap from 'craft' to profession' has not yet been made. What is happening is that social developments, in particular rising educational standards, technological developments and political and economic pressures, are changing the context within which journalists have to work and causing the age-old arguments to be re-visited and re-worked. Journalism training simply reflects these conflicting views of what journalists should be – button-pushers or the Fourth Estate.

END NOTES

1. One example of this is the PCC's refusal to investigate complaints against newspapers by 'third parties' – yet another of its 'hands-off policies which shift the balance of power in favour of newspapers and against private individuals who may be unwilling to create more publicity by lodging a complaint (Stephenson 2000)

2. Harry Flint, founding member of the Institute of Journalists and reporter on the Manchester Courier 1876 – 1905, moved a conference motion in 1910 that 'The journalist is born not made' (Bainbridge 1984, p. 58)

3. The UCAS website lists 1,626 courses in Media and 1,280 courses in Media Studies. These do not include those at further education level (UCAS 2000).

4. Definition of a journalist as quoted in Hudson (1945, p. 8) and in the Oxford English Dictionary

5. For definitions of what makes news, see in particular, Tuchman, G. (1972):'Objectivity as Strategic Ritual: An Examination of Newsmen's Notions of Objectivity', *American Journal of Sociology*, 77 (4) 1971-72, 660-679; Golding, P. and Elliott, P. (1979): *Making the News.London:* Longman; Shlesinger, P. (1992): *Putting 'Reality' Together.* London: Routledge

6. The American system of journalism education has recently come under fire from the journalistically-based foundation, the Freedom Forum, which alleges that journalism programmes are increasingly concerned with theory at the expense of practical skills. The Freedom Forum is part of, but independent from, the Gannett newspaper chain, the largest newspaper group in America. (Reese 1999)

7. The author is currently vice-chair of the Broadcast Journalism Training Council

8. The author wishes to thank Fred Hunter whose research has been invaluable for this opening chapter.

9. The Council changed its name in 1955 to the National Council for the Training of Journalists

10. Interview with Professor Hugh Stephenson, Professor of Journalism, City University, 5 June 2000

11. Minutes of the National Advisory Council on the Training and Education scheme for Junior Journalists, 27 Nov. 1951

12. Minutes of the National Advisory Council on the Training and Education scheme for Junior Journalists, 26 Feb. 1952

13. ibid

14. Minutes of the NCTJ's Finance and Survey Committee, 11 July, 1955

15. ibid

16. AGM speech of the NCTJ 1957-58

17. Minutes of the NCTJ's Education Committee, 20 May, 1959

18. AGM speech of the NCTJ 1958-59

19. Minutes of the NCTJ, 10 Oct. 1955

20. Minutes of the NCTJ, 1 Nov. 1956

21. ibid

22. AGM of the NCTJ 1961

23. Minutes of the NCTJ 6 Feb 1965

24. Minutes of the NCTJ 27 May, 1968

25. Minutes of the NCTJ 24 Feb, 1966

26. Minutes of the NCTJ 27 Feb 1969

27. Minutes of the NCTJ 28 April 1966

28. Telephone interview with Robert McLeish, former Head of BBC Management Training, 22 August, 2000

29. Speech made by John Herbert, former senior lecturer in radio journalism at the London College of Printing and, later, Head of Local Radio Training at the BBC, at an NUJ conference on broadcast journalism training at the London College of Printing in December 1980.

30. Interview with John Herbert, 23 August 2000

31. Telephone conversation with John Foster, General Secretary of the NUJ, July 1999

32. Telephone interview with Michael Bukht, former Principal of the National Broadcasting School, 6 January 2001

33. Minutes of the NCTJ 26 Feb, 1970

34. Minutes of the NCTJ 28 June, 1973

35. Minutes of the NCTJ 25 June 1981

36. Interview with John Herbert, op. cit.

37. ibid

38. Telephone interview with Sue Davis, former Training Advisor of the Independent Television Association (ITVA), 16 August 2000

39. ibid

40. Minutes of the NCTJ 3 March 1976

41. Interviews with Jeremy Plews, Editor, Mansfield CHAD, 19 May, 2000 and Alan Powell, Editor, Sheffield Telegraph, 6 June, 2000

42. Interview with Professor Hugh Stephenson, op.cit.

43. Interview with Professor Peter Golding, Head of Social Sciences, Loughborough University, 4 September, 2000

44. National Council for the Training of Journalists, Minutes of the AGM, 1961

45. Report from a *JetPilot workshop 'Professional and Ethical issues in Digital News Media' on 5-6 Feb, 1999 identified the 'elevation of amateurism' associated with the web .
*The JetPilot project involves organisations in the UK, including the NUJ, Ireland and Germany and is looking at a European-approach to the issues of journalism standards in connection to the growth of new media.

46. For five years, the author ran a training unit, owned by the Midlands Radio/GWR Radio groups, which trained organisations in media techniques

47. Interview with Paul Brown, Director of the Commercial Radio Companies Association, 1st December 2000

48. Interview with Terry Wootten, lecturer, NCTJ course at Norton Centre, Sheffield College, 15th May, 2000

49. ibid

50. The Rt. Hon Chris Smith, Secretary of State for the Department of Culture, Media and Sport, in a speech to the Royal Television Society in Cambridge, as reported in *The Guardian,* 20 May, 1999

51. ibid

52. Richard Eyre, former chief executive of ITV, in the 1999 James MacTaggart Memorial lecture, 27 August, 1999

53. Conversation with commercial radio news editor, 17th September 1999

54. Telephone interview with BBC Managing Editor, 20th July 1999

55. Telephone interview with executive television producer, 9th August 1999

56. The phrase was coined by Professor Brian Winston, now at the University of Westminster, to express the growing concern at the limited range of students who can afford to take a postgraduate course in journalism.

57. Interview with Jeremy Dear, National Organiser for Training in the National Union of Journalists, July 1999

58. Interview with Rob Selwood, chief executive, national Council for the Training of Journalists, 1 June 2000.

59. ibid

60. Interview with Gerard Mansell, first Chair of the Joint Advisory Committee for the Training of Radio Journalists (JCTRJ), 15th July 1999

61. Figures from the NCTJ, 1st June 2000

62. Figures from Skillset, 28th July 2000

63. Interviews with BJTC course trainers, 21st July and 11th August 1999

64. Job specifications for journalism lecturer posts in Higher Education

65. The Research Assessment Exercise assesses the quality of research in colleges and universities.

66. A national framework for postgraduate courses is being developed by the Quality Assurance Agency. There is some discussion about whether postgraduate diploma courses, at which level the majority of the journalism courses are to be found, should be re-categorised as graduate or conversion courses.

67. My thanks go to Calvin Hemmings for his assistance in inputting the data.

68. Telephone interviews with BBC managers, July and August 1999

69. Information from Skillset, the National Training organisation for the Broadcast Industry, 28th July, 2000.

70. Interview with Professor Hugh Stephenson, op. cit.

71. Interview with Professor Hugh Stephenson, ibid

72. The author's own experience running the Radio Training Unit, 1988 – 92

73. The National Broadcasting School was set up to train people in radio in 1980, using ' secondary rental money' which was money deducted from wealthy commercial radio stations by the Independent Broadcasting Authority for various 'worthwhile' causes. The NBS closed in 1987. In 1988, Radio Trent set up a training centre, the Radio Training Unit, at Leicester Sound. This had two years of secondary rental money. It survived for a further eight years only because it turned itself into a commercial operation, training people who wanted to get into radio and companies in media skills.

74. Statistics from Skillset, 28 July, 2000

75. Statistics from National Council for the Training of Journalists, 1 June, 2000

76. The author observed a session at an NCTJ 'fast-track' course at the Norton Centre, Sheffield College, 15 May 2000

77. City University's Postgraduate Diploma in Newspaper Journalism

78. Interview with Professor Hugh Stephenson, op. cit.

79. This resulted in more comprehensive guidelines for the teaching of Professional Practice on BJTC courses and a special seminar on ethics being arranged by Channel 4 for independent producers, 1999

80. Interview with Professor Hugh Stephenson, op. cit.

81. My thanks to my supervisor, Professor Peter Golding, Head of the Social Sciences Department at Loughborough University for articulating this idea.

82. Interview with Alan Powell, Editor, Sheffield Telegraph, 6 June, 2000

83. Interview with Gerard Mansell, former Chair, Joint Advisory Committee for the Training of Radio Journalists, 15th July, 1999, London

84. ibid

85. Interview with Peter Baldwin, former member, JCTRJ and Director of Radio for the former Independent Broadcasting Authority, July 1999 and 3rd December 2000

86. Interview with Gerard Mansell, op. cit.

87. This phrase was taken from Philip Elliott's (1972) *The sociology of the professions'*, London: Macmillan

88. The press as Fourth Estate, namely 'a power, a branch of government, with inalienable weight in law-making', Carlisle, T. (1907) *On heroes, hero-worship and the heroic in history* London: Chapman & Hall, p. 164, as quoted in Boyce G. (1978) 'The Fourth Estate: the reappraisal of a concept' in *Newspaper History: from the 17th century to the present day,* J. Boyce, J. Curran and Pauline Wingate (eds.) London:Constable.
The Times (1852) first recognised the higher calling of the press when it differentiated between the purpose and duties of politicians and the press, which it said, 'are constantly separate, generally independent, sometimes diametrically opposite', 6th Feb 1852.

89. We can see this trend in the current debates about the time it takes for complaints against solicitors to be investigated and, most clearly, in the doctors' vote of no confidence in their General Medical Council.

90. Interview with Professor Hugh Stephenson, op. cit.

91. Interview with Jeremy Plews, Editor, Mansfield CHAD, op.cit.

92. Minutes of the National Advisory Council on the Training and Education scheme for Junior Journalists, Finance Committee, 10 Oct. 1955

93. Interview with Alan Powell, Editor, Sheffield Telegraph, op.cit.

94. Mr. B.D. Whiteaker, Minutes of the National Advisory Council on the Training and Education scheme for Junior Journalists, 27 November 1951

95. Minutes of the National Advisory Council on the Training and Education scheme for Junior Journalists, 26 Feb, 1952

96. Minutes of the Vocational Training Committee, National Advisory Council on the Training and Education scheme for Junior Journalists, 26 Feb, 1952

97. Mr. Hamilton, in his report on his year of office as chair, AGM of the National Council for the Training of Journalists, 6 June, 1957

98. Brian Pook, in his report on his year of office as chair, AGM of the National Council for the Training of Journalists, 20 May, 1959

99. Minutes of NCTJ, 1 Nov. 1956

100. Minutes of NCTJ, 1961

101. Minutes of NCTJ, 1972

102. Minutes of NCTJ AGM, 1958

103. ibid

104. Minutes of NCTJ meeting, 3 March, 1976

105. The Broadcast Journalism Training Council was asked to submit its thoughts on broadcast journalism training in the UK to the newly formed DCMS Audio Visual Training Group

106. See end note 56.

107.   Professor Hugh Stephenson, op. cit.

108.   BJTC op.cit.

109.   BJTC op.cit.

110.   Interviews with BBC and commercial radio editors, July 1999

111.   Interview with BBC manager, 20th July 1999

112 - 117 Interviews with commercial and public sector broadcast news editors, 20th – 27th July 1999

118.   Interview with Jim Latham, Course Leader in Journalism Studies, University of Westminster, 11th August 1999

119.   The report and papers on the JetPilot project were given to the author by Jeremy Dear, National Training Organiser for the National Union of Journalists

120. ibid

121. JetPilot Protocol (see Appendix 5)

122. 5 – 6 Feb., 1999 in Manchester

123. The NUJ strongly resisted changes in new technology, a policy which led to Wapping

124. JetPilot Report op.cit.

125. JetPilot workshop op.cit.

126. Interview with Simon Cooper, Director of Policy and Public Affairs, GWR, 30th June 1999

127. Ibid

128. Comments made by an editor in commercial television 26th July 1999

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JOURNALISM TRAINING IN THE FUTURE

☐ ☐ ☐

PLEASE TICK ☑ YOUR SECTOR:

National newspaper	☐	BBC regional television	☐
Local newspaper	☐	Local commercial radio	☐
BBC network Radio	☐	National television (commercial sector)	☐
BBC regional radio	☐	Regional television (commercial sector)	☐
BBC national television	☐	National commercial radio	☐

Question 1

If someone was applying today, which of the following academic qualifications would you expect as a MINIMUM? (Please tick ☑ no more than three).

Postgraduate qualification in journalism validated by the <u>N</u>ational <u>C</u>ouncil for the <u>T</u>raining of <u>J</u>ournalists OR the <u>B</u>roadcast <u>J</u>ournalism <u>T</u>raining <u>C</u>ouncil ☐

Journalism qualification (NCTJ or BJTC) ☐
Journalism qualification (NVQ or SVQ[Scotland]) ☐

Degree (any subject) ☐
Degree in Journalism/Broadcast Journalism ☐
Media-related degree ☐

Higher National Diplomas (HNDs) ☐
Media-related HNDs ☐

Higher National Certificates (HNCs) ☐
Media-related HNCs ☐

A-levels or Scottish Highers ☐
Media-related A-levels or Scottish Highers ☐

BTECs ☐
Media-related BTECs ☐

City & Guilds ☐
Media-related City & Guilds ☐

GNVQs or GSVQs (Scotland) ☐
Media-related GNVQs or GSVQs ☐

GCSEs or Standard grades (Scotland) ☐
Media-related GCSEs or Standard grades ☐

Other (please specify) _____ ☐
_____ ☐

Question 1a

Have your requirements changed over the last three years?

NO ☐   Go to Question 2

YES ☐

If YES, please say how (briefly)

_____

_____

_____

Question 2

Do you require previous work experience in the media from your recruits (paid or unpaid)?

NO ☐   Go to Question 3

SOMETIMES ☐

YES ☐

Question 2a

If YES or SOMETIMES, which of the following would you accept?

School newspaper	☐	School radio station	☐
College/university newspaper	☐	College/university radio station	☐
Newspaper newsroom	☐	Hospital radio	☐
Cable television	☐	Restricted service licence	☐
Television newsroom	☐	Radio newsroom	☐
Other (please specify)	_____		☐
	_____		☐
	_____		☐

Question 3

When you recruit, how often do you take people on from a course validated by the NCTJ or BJTC?

Exclusively? (100%) ☐

Most of the time? (75-100%) ☐

Often? (50-74%) ☐

Sometimes? (25-49%) ☐

Rarely? (under 25%) ☐

Question 3a

From where else do you recruit?

Own training scheme ☐

Postgraduate courses (journalism) ☐

Postgraduate courses (general) ☐

University degree courses (journalism/broadcast journalism) ☐

University degree courses (media-related) ☐

University courses (general) ☐

Further education (media-related courses) ☐

Further education courses (general) ☐

Schools ☐

Work experience placements (through schools/colleges/universities) ☐

Non-formal work experience placements ☐

Others (please specify) _____ ☐

_____ ☐

_____ ☐

Question 3b

Are there any particular universities or colleges from which you recruit on a regular basis?

NO ☐   Go to Question 4

YES ☐

If YES, please specify and say why (briefly)

_____

_____

Question 4

How do you recruit in the main?

Newspaper adverts ☐

Radio adverts ☐

Unsolicited applications ☐

Through the internet ☐

Through college recommendations ☐

Word of mouth ☐

Jobcentres ☐

Question 5

When you are recruiting, what do you look for?

Skills		Knowledge	
Use of English (spoken)	☐	Current affairs	☐
Use of English (written)	☐	Media industry	☐
Research	☐	Work of a journalist	☐
Layout/visual/design	☐	Media law	☐
Ability to drive	☐	Local/central government	☐
Production	☐	European/world issues	☐
IT	☐	Politics	☐
Other technical skills	☐	Commerce/economics	☐
Shorthand	☐	News priorities	☐
Reporting	☐	General knowledge	☐
Interviewing	☐	Importance of sources	☐
Ability to hit deadlines	☐	Contemporary culture, ie. lifestyle issues	☐
Foreign language	☐	Technical knowledge	☐
Other*_____	☐	Commercial imperative of employer	☐
_____	☐	Local knowledge	☐
		Ethical issues	☐
		Specialist knowledge of particular subject	☐
		Other*_____	☐
		_____	☐

Question 6

Below is a list of personal qualities. Please tick ☑ those you think are ESSENTIAL for a new recruit:

Curiosity	❏	Positive attitude	❏
Enthusiasm	❏	Ability to work in teams	❏
Ability to do more than one task	❏	Ability to solve problems	❏
Ability to learn quickly	❏	Ability to listen	❏
Ability to analyse	❏	Creativity	❏
Patience	❏	Persistence	❏
Ability to withstand pressure	❏	Strong opinions	❏
No opinions	❏	Tenacity	❏
Sociability	❏	Ability to think quickly	❏
Lots of outside interests	❏	Adaptability	❏
Thoughtfulness	❏	Commonsense	❏
Diplomacy	❏	Self-confidence	❏
Good voice	❏	Ability to absorb criticism	❏
Smart appearance	❏	Good personal connections	❏
Sense of humour	❏	Strong sense of ethics	❏
Single-minded commitment to job	❏	Sense of public duty	❏
Ambition	❏	Enthusiasm for social reform	❏
Sense of purpose	❏	Sense of fair play	❏
Recklessness	❏	Cheap to employ	❏
Ability to communicate fluently	❏	Other*_____	❏
		_____	❏

* please specify

Question 6a

Please list the three personal qualities you think are most essential in a new recruit

1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

Question 7

Which would you say is the most important in a new recruit?

Skills	❏
Knowledge	❏
Personal qualities	❏
Don't know	❏

please tick ☑
one only

Question 8

What overriding factor would make you accept a new recruit?

_____

_____

_____

Question 9

What overriding factor would make you reject a new recruit?

_____

_____

_____

Question 10

How do you select applicants?

By interview ☐

By team exercises ☐

By test ☐

By examples of work ☐

By academic report ☐

By reference ☐

By personal recommendation ☐

Other (please specify) _____ ☐

> please tick ☑ all those which apply

Question 10a

> please specify one only

To which of those do you attach the most importance?

_____

Why? (please explain briefly)

_____

_____

_____

Question 11

Listed below are the main topics taught by <u>accredited</u> journalism colleges.
How important do you think they are?

	Very	Quite	Not at all	Not relevant to my sector
Writing news	☐	☐	☐	☐
Writing features	☐	☐	☐	☐
Subbing	☐	☐	☐	☐
Design	☐	☐	☐	☐
Production	☐	☐	☐	☐
Research	☐	☐	☐	☐
Sources of news	☐	☐	☐	☐
Study of media organisations/history	☐	☐	☐	☐
Practical reporting	☐	☐	☐	☐
News values	☐	☐	☐	☐
Newsroom practice	☐	☐	☐	☐
Technical skills	☐	☐	☐	☐
Editing (technical)	☐	☐	☐	☐
Editing (editorial)	☐	☐	☐	☐
Keyboard skills	☐	☐	☐	☐
Shorthand	☐	☐	☐	☐
Use of audio/actuality	☐	☐	☐	☐
Camera work	☐	☐	☐	☐
Picture selection	☐	☐	☐	☐
Bulletin compilation	☐	☐	☐	☐
Newsreading	☐	☐	☐	☐
Feature/documentary production	☐	☐	☐	☐
Photography	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ethics	☐	☐	☐	☐
Interviewing	☐	☐	☐	☐
Public admin	☐	☐	☐	☐
Law	☐	☐	☐	☐

Question 12

How successfully do you think accredited colleges teach these
skills?

please tick ☑
relevant boxes

	Very	Quite	Badly	Not relevant to my sector
Writing news	☐	☐	☐	☐
Writing features	☐	☐	☐	☐
Subbing	☐	☐	☐	☐
Design	☐	☐	☐	☐
Production	☐	☐	☐	☐
Research	☐	☐	☐	☐
Sources of news	☐	☐	☐	☐
Study of media organisations/history	☐	☐	☐	☐
Practical reporting	☐	☐	☐	☐
News values	☐	☐	☐	☐
Newsroom practice	☐	☐	☐	☐
Technical skills	☐	☐	☐	☐
Editing (technical)	☐	☐	☐	☐
Editing (editorial)	☐	☐	☐	☐
Keyboard skills	☐	☐	☐	☐
Shorthand	☐	☐	☐	☐
Use of audio/actuality	☐	☐	☐	☐
Camera work	☐	☐	☐	☐
Picture selection	☐	☐	☐	☐
Bulletin compilation	☐	☐	☐	☐
Newsreading	☐	☐	☐	☐
Feature/documentary production	☐	☐	☐	☐
Photography	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ethics	☐	☐	☐	☐
Interviewing	☐	☐	☐	☐
Public admin	☐	☐	☐	☐
Law	☐	☐	☐	☐

Question 13

Which of the following do you think should be essential components in journalism courses?

Understanding of sales ☐

Understanding of marketing ☐

Understanding of promotion/PR for the organisation ☐

Understanding of the printing process ☐

Understanding of the transmission process (tv/radio) ☐

Multi-skilling in other media (ie. radio, tv, newspapers) ☐

Multi-skilling (ie. being able to do a variety of different jobs) ☐

Business skills ☐

Digital technology ☐

Internet ☐

Electronic publishing ☐

Customer care ☐

Time management ☐

Audience research methodology ☐

Audience research interpretation ☐

Finance ☐

People management ☐

Other (please list) _____

_____

_____

Question 14

Is there anything else colleges should be teaching journalism students?

NO ☐   Go to Question 15

YES ☐

If yes, please specify

_____

_____

_____

Question 15

In one sentence, how would you like to see college courses improved?

_____

_____

_____

_____

THIS FINAL SECTION CONTAINS GENERAL QUESTIONS ABOUT YOUR NEW JOURNALIST RECRUITS.
PLEASE COMPLETE AS MANY QUESTIONS AS YOU CAN, AND INDICATE WHETHER YOUR REPLIES ARE
ACCURATE OR ESTIMATES. EITHER IS ACCEPTABLE.

Question 16

Does your company run a full-time in-house training scheme for new journalist recruits
lasting at least three months?

NO ☐ Go to Question 17

YES ☐ Continue to Question 16a

Question 16a

About how many applications did you have for the last training scheme for which
you recruited?

☐ number of applications

Question 16b

When did this training scheme start?   ☐ ☐

month   year

Question 16c

How many people did you recruit onto it?

☐ number of recruits

Question 17

THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS APPLY TO ALL YOUR NEW JOURNALIST RECRUITS IRRESPECTIVE OF WHETHER THEY WERE RECRUITED ONTO A TRAINEE SCHEME OR DIRECTLY INTO YOUR NEWS OPERATION.

About how many new journalism recruits have you taken on in the last 12 months?

[_____] new journalist recruits

Question 17a

About how many of these recruits were female?

almost all (75-100%) ❑   most (50-74%) ❑   about half (50%) ❑
between half and a quarter (25-49%) ❑   less than a quarter (0-24%) ❑

Question 17b

About how many of these recruits were from ethnic minorities?

almost all (75-100%) ❑   most (50-74%) ❑   about half (50%) ❑
between half and a quarter (25-49%) ❑   less than a quarter (0-24%) ❑

Question 17c

What was the average age of those recruits?

16-21	22-30	31-45	46+
❑	❑	❑	❑

The replies from Question 16 are: accurate   ❑ | please tick ☑ as |
                                     estimates   ❑ | applicable |

Thank you for taking the time to complete this questionnaire. Please return it in the SAE provided.

JOURNALISM TRAINING IN THE FUTURE

☐ ☐ ☐
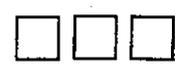
PLEASE TICK ☑ YOUR SECTOR:

Course accredited by the <u>N</u>ational <u>C</u>ouncil for the <u>T</u>raining of <u>J</u>ournalists ☐

Course accredited by the <u>B</u>roadcast <u>J</u>ournalism <u>T</u>raining <u>C</u>ouncil ☐

Name of qualification awarded (degree, postgraduate diploma, HND, NCTJ certificate, etc): _____

Length of course: _____

Name of course: _____

Name of institution*: _____

* If you wish to remain anonymous, please leave blank

Question 1

If someone was applying today, which of the following academic qualifications would you expect as a MINIMUM? (Please tick ☑ no more than three).

Degree (any subject)	☐
Degree in Journalism/Broadcast Journalism	☐
Media-related degree	☐

Higher National Diplomas (HNDs)	☐
Media-related HNDs	☐

Higher National Certificates (HNCs)	☐
Media-related HNCs	☐

A-levels or Scottish Highers	☐
Media-related A-levels or Scottish Highers	☐

BTECs	☐
Media-related BTECs	☐

City & Guilds	☐
Media-related City & Guilds	☐

GNVQs or GSVQs (Scotland)	☐
Media-related GNVQs or GSVQs	☐

GCSEs or Standard grades (Scotland)	☐
Media-related GCSEs or Standard grades	☐

Other (please specify) _____	☐
_____	☐

None	☐

Question 1a

Have your requirements changed over the last three years?

NO   ☐   Go to Question 2

YES   ☐

If YES, please say how (briefly)

_____

_____

_____

Question 2

Do you require previous work experience in the media from your new journalism students/trainees (paid or unpaid)?

NO   ☐   Go to Question 3

SOMETIMES ☐

YES   ☐

Question 2a

If YES or SOMETIMES, which of the following would you accept?

School newspaper	☐	School radio station	☐
College/university newspaper	☐	College/university radio station	☐
Newspaper newsroom	☐	Hospital radio	☐
Cable television	☐	Restricted service licence	☐
Television newsroom	☐	Radio newsroom	☐
Freelance work	☐		

Other (please specify) _____ ☐

_____ ☐

_____ ☐

Question 3

From where do you usually recruit?

The media (people already working in the media) ☐

Other employment (people working in non-media jobs) ☐

Postgraduate courses (journalism) ☐

Postgraduate courses (general) ☐

University degree courses (journalism/broadcast journalism) ☐

University degree courses (media-related) ☐

University degree courses (general) ☐

Further education (media-related courses) ☐

Further education courses (general) ☐

Schools ☐

Others (please specify) _____ ☐

_____ ☐

_____ ☐

Question 3a

Are there any particular universities, colleges or schools from which you recruit on a regular basis?

NO ☐   Go to Question 4

YES ☐

If YES, please specify and say why (briefly)

_____

_____

_____

_____

Question 4

How do you recruit in the main?

Newspaper adverts ☐
Radio adverts ☐
Through the internet ☐
Through UCAS ☐
By means of promotional literature or college prospectus ☐
Word of mouth ☐
Jobcentres ☐

Question 5

When you are recruiting, what do you look for?

Skills		Knowledge	
Use of English (spoken)	☐	Current affairs	☐
Use of English (written)	☐	Media industry	☐
Research	☐	Work of a journalist	☐
Layout/visual/design	☐	Media law	☐
Ability to drive	☐	Local/central government	☐
Production	☐	European/world issues	☐
IT	☐	Politics	☐
Other technical skills	☐	Commerce/economics	☐
Shorthand	☐	News priorities	☐
Reporting	☐	General knowledge	☐
Interviewing	☐	Importance of sources	☐
Ability to hit deadlines	☐	Contemporary culture, ie. lifestyle issues	☐
Foreign language	☐	Technical knowledge	☐
Other*_____	☐	Commercial imperative of employer	☐
_____	☐	Local knowledge	☐
		Ethical issues	☐
		Specialist knowledge of particular subject	☐
		Other*_____	☐
		_____	☐

Question 6

Below is a list of personal qualities. Please tick ☑ those you think are ESSENTIAL for a new journalism student/trainee.

Curiosity	☐	Positive attitude	☐
Enthusiasm	☐	Ability to work in teams	☐
Ability to do more than one task	☐	Ability to solve problems	☐
Ability to learn quickly	☐	Ability to listen	☐
Ability to analyse	☐	Creativity	☐
Patience	☐	Persistence	☐
Ability to withstand pressure	☐	Strong opinions	☐
No opinions	☐	Tenacity	☐
Sociability	☐	Ability to think quickly	☐
Lots of outside interests	☐	Adaptability	☐
Thoughtfulness	☐	Commonsense	☐
Diplomacy	☐	Self-confidence	☐
Good voice	☐	Ability to absorb criticism	☐
Smart appearance	☐	Good personal connections	☐
Sense of humour	☐	Strong sense of ethics	☐
Single-minded commitment to job	☐	Sense of public duty	☐
Ambition	☐	Enthusiasm for social reform	☐
Sense of purpose	☐	Sense of fair play	☐
Recklessness	☐	Cheap to employ	☐
Ability to communicate fluently	☐	Other*_____	☐
		_____	☐

* please specify

Question 6a

Please list the three personal qualities you think are most essential in a new journalism student/trainee.

1._____

2._____

3._____

Question 7

Which would you say is the most important in a new journalism student/trainee?

Skills ☐

Knowledge ☐

Personal qualities ☐

Don't know ☐

please tick ☑
one only

Question 8

What overriding factor would make you accept a new journalism student/trainee?

_____

_____

_____

Question 9

What overriding factor would make you reject a new journalism student/trainee?

_____

_____

_____

Question 10

How do you select applicants?

By interview ☐

By team exercises ☐

By test ☐

By examples of work ☐

By academic qualfications ☐

By other qualifications ☐

By reference from employer ☐

By reference from school, college or university ☐

By personal recommendation ☐

Other (please specify) _____ ☐

please tick ☑ all those which apply

Question 10a

please specify one only

To which of those do you attach the most importance?

_____

Why? (please explain briefly)

_____

_____

_____

Question 11

Listed below are the main topics taught by <u>accredited</u> journalism colleges.
How important do you think they are?

> please tick ☑
> relevant boxes

	Very	Quite	Not at all	Not relevant to my sector
Writing news	☐	☐	☐	☐
Writing features	☐	☐	☐	☐
Subbing	☐	☐	☐	☐
Design	☐	☐	☐	☐
Production	☐	☐	☐	☐
Research	☐	☐	☐	☐
Sources of news	☐	☐	☐	☐
Study of media organisations/history	☐	☐	☐	☐
Practical reporting	☐	☐	☐	☐
News values	☐	☐	☐	☐
Newsroom practice	☐	☐	☐	☐
Technical skills	☐	☐	☐	☐
Editing (technical)	☐	☐	☐	☐
Editing (editorial)	☐	☐	☐	☐
Keyboard skills	☐	☐	☐	☐
Shorthand	☐	☐	☐	☐
Use of audio/actuality	☐	☐	☐	☐
Camera work	☐	☐	☐	☐
Picture selection	☐	☐	☐	☐
Bulletin compilation	☐	☐	☐	☐
Newsreading	☐	☐	☐	☐
Feature/documentary production	☐	☐	☐	☐
Photography	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ethics	☐	☐	☐	☐
Interviewing	☐	☐	☐	☐
Public admin	☐	☐	☐	☐
Law	☐	☐	☐	☐

Question 12

Add any other topics you teach and tick their importance

Topic	Very	Quite	Not at all
_____	☐	☐	☐
_____	☐	☐	☐
_____	☐	☐	☐
_____	☐	☐	☐
_____	☐	☐	☐
_____	☐	☐	☐
_____	☐	☐	☐
_____	☐	☐	☐
_____	☐	☐	☐

Question 13

Do you think any of the following should be taught to journalism students?

please tick ☑ all those which apply

Understanding of sales	☐
Understanding of marketing	☐
Understanding of promotion/PR for the organisation	☐
Understanding of the printing process	☐
Understanding of the transmission process (tv/radio)	☐
Multi-skilling in other media (ie. radio, tv, newspapers)	☐
Multi-skilling (ie. being able to do a variety of different jobs)	☐
Business skills	☐
Digital technology	☐
Internet	☐
Electronic publishing	☐
Customer care	☐
Time management	☐
Audience research methodology	☐
Audience research interpretation	☐
Finance	☐
People management	☐

Question 14

Is there anything else journalism students/trainees should be taught?

NO ☐   Go to Question 15

YES ☐

If yes, please specify

_____

_____

Question 15

Have there been any significant changes to your course during the last three years?

NO ☐   Go to Question 16

YES ☐   Continue to Question 15a

Question 15a

What changes have been made (briefly)?

_____

_____

Question 15b

Why were these changes made? (Please tick ☑ all those which apply)

The changes were industry-led	☐
The changes were funding-led	☐
The changes were student-led	☐
The changes were technology-led	☐
The changes were university/college-led	☐

Other reasons (please specify) _____

_____

Question 16

In your opinion, what three things would most improve your course?

a) _____

b) _____

c) _____

Question 16a

What prevents these from happening?

a) _____

b) _____

c) _____

Question 17

Have you any plans to change your course in the next year?

NO ☐ Go to Question 18

YES ☐

If YES, please specify and say how (briefly)

_____

_____

Question 18

THIS FINAL SECTION CONTAINS GENERAL QUESTIONS ABOUT YOUR TRAINING SCHEME. PLEASE
COMPLETE AS MANY QUESTIONS AS YOU CAN, AND INDICATE WHETHER YOUR REPLIES ARE
ACCURATE OR ESTIMATES. EITHER IS ACCEPTABLE.

About how many applications did you have for the last training scheme for which you
recruited?

☐ number of applications

Question 18a

When did this training scheme start?

month	year

Question 18b

How many people did you recruit onto it?

[   ] number of recruits

Question 18c

About how many of these recruits were female?

almost all (75-100%) ☐   most (50-74%) ☐   about half (50%) ☐
between half and a quarter (25-49%) ☐   less than a quarter (0-24%) ☐

Question 18d

About how many of these recruits were from ethnic minorities?

almost all (75-100%) ☐   most (50-74%) ☐   about half (50%) ☐
between half and a quarter (25-49%) ☐   less than a quarter (0-24%) ☐

Question 18e

What was the average age of those recruits?

16-21	22-30	31-45	46+
☐	☐	☐	☐

The replies from Question 18 are: accurate   ☐

estimates   ☐

please tick ☑ as applicable

Thank you for taking the time to complete this questionnaire. Please return it, with one of your brochures if possible, in the SAE provided.

Appendix 3

Primary sources

Interviews

Many of the people I talked to for this MPhil preferred to remain anonymous. However, those who have agreed to be named are as follows:

Emma Agnew, Editor (Newsgathering), BBC Midlands

Peter Baldwin, former member, Joint Advisory Committee for the Training of Radio Journalists and former Director of Radio and Deputy Director of the Independent Broadcasting Authority

Dan Barton, Editor, Central News East

Tom Beesley, current chair, BJTC

Sue Brooks, former editor, ITN News at Ten, News at 6.30

Paul Brown, Chief Executive, CRCA

Michael Bukht, former Principal, National Broadcasting School

Rona Christie, former Head of News Training, BBC

Ron Coles, Director Saga Radio

Simon Cooper, Director of Policy and Public Affairs, GWR

Phil Dixon, Station Manager, Leicester Sound

Sue Davis, former Training Adviser of the Independent Television Association

Jeremy Dear, National Training Organiser for the National Union of Journalists

Robert Gough, Channel 5 News

Julie Hadwin, Head of News Training, BBC

Mike Hapgood, Managing Editor, BBC Southern Counties Radio

John Herbert, former BBC's Local Radio Training Officer and former senior lecturer in radio journalism at the London College of Printing

Marie Kinsey, BJTC course director, Northern Media School

Jim Latham, BJTC course director, University of Westminster

David Lloyd, former Director of Programming, Radio Authority

Andrew MacDonald, Foreign Editor, Channel 4 News

Gerard Mansell, Former chair, Joint Advisory Committee for the Training of Radio
Journalists and former Managing Director, World Service

Bob McLeish, former Head of BBC Management Training and Local Radio Training

Gill Moore, BJTC course leader, Nottingham Trent University

Fran O'Brien, Commissioning Editor, Channel 4

Jeremy Plews, Editor, Mansfield CHAD

Alan Powell, Editor, Sheffield Telegraph

Tom Roberts, October Films

Duncan Rycroft, Executive Producer, Digital Factual, Carlton TV

Rob Selwood , Chief Executive, NCTJ

Professor Hugh Stephenson, Department of Journalism, City University, London

Terry Wootten, NCTJ course tutor

<u>Archives</u>

The National Council for the Training of Journalists in Harlow

APPENDIX 4

Main points arising out of the data

<u>Demographics</u>

- The demographics of new industry recruits and journalism students are almost identical. The industry, by and large, recruits white women, between the ages of 22 and 30. The courses, by and large, take on white women students of that age.

<u>Recruitment and Qualifications</u>

- Although recruitment is by no means exclusively from the accredited courses, nevertheless, just under three quarters of those surveyed recruited from them more often than not.
- Having said that, the way into a job is varied. The industry generally recruits from a variety of different sources.
- The BBC appears to recruit predominantly from the postgraduate validated BJTC courses, from their own training schemes and from degree courses.
- The commercial sector of broadcasting and national newspapers are least inclined to recruit from validated courses.
- National newspapers generally do not demand a professional qualification at any level and are much more interested in academic qualifications, most notably a degree in a non-specific subject.
- A pre-entry professional qualification (not at postgraduate level) was more in demand by the local and regional media. This was particularly obvious in the newspaper world which was much keener on the professional qualification than on a degree or any other academic qualifications.
- National and local sectors tend to have different educational requirements with local media generally accepting a greater variety of qualifications.
- The commercial broadcasters accept a wider variety of qualifications than the BBC.

- Commercial radio accepted a far greater spread of educational qualifications than any other sector, ranging from a postgraduate journalism qualification through A-levels, City and Guilds, GCSEs to no academic qualifications at all.
- No sector showed much enthusiasm for media-related degrees, as opposed to general degrees, but there was still some recruitment from such courses.
- There was a lack of enthusiasm generally for the National Vocational Qualification, the government-backed work-based qualification.
- Work experience was a requirement for most of the industry and is used as a source of recruitment.
- Most of the courses expected a degree from their students. This was marginally less evident from NCTJ courses than from the BJTC, a fact which again reflects the local newspaper world. Generally, however, courses, like the industry, accepted a range of qualifications.
- Courses also expected work experience.

Qualities required

- The industry generally and the courses value personal qualities above both skills and knowledge
- Personal qualities most highly valued by the industry and courses alike were 'can-do' qualities such as enthusiasm, having a positive attitude, the ability to withstand pressure and the ability to learn quickly.
- Personal qualities least valued by the industry and courses alike included an enthusiasm for social reform, strong opinions and no opinions.
- There were some anomolies. National newspapers and the BBC generally valued a sense of public duty and thoughtfulness higher than local newspapers or the commercial broadcasters.
- National newspapers were also more concerned about recruits having a sense of ethics than other industry sectors.
- The courses matched closely their relevant industry sectors as far as overriding reasons for accepting or rejecting a new recruit
- Enthusiasm, talent and good communication skills were most often cited as reasons for accepting a new recruit.

- Arrogance, a lack of enthusiasm and poor communication skills were most often cited as reasons to reject a new recruit.

Knowledge required

- All sectors and all courses said knowledge was least important to them
- Having said that, general knowledge and awareness of current affairs were most important to all sectors and courses
- Media law was also important to the industry
- National newspapers were marginally more interested in recruits with specialised knowledge such as Politics and Europe than other industry sectors and course tutors
- Local media and the courses were marginally less interested in recruits having specialised knowledge than the nationals generally.
- A knowledge of the media industry was not deemed a priority by anyone

Skills required

- The skills looked for by colleges and the industry differed somewhat (largely because students would learn specialist skills on the courses)
- Everyone, however, wanted good written and spoken English from their recruits.
- Shorthand was much more important to newspapers than broadcasters
- The BBC were more concerned with the ability to drive and research skills than the commercial broadcasters
- Modern languages were deemed non- essential by most people

Course programmes

- Course curricula were generally approved by most of the industry
- The industry and courses disagreed markedly over the importance of studying media organisations and history. Courses put much more value on the topics than the industry generally.

- Regional media thought the study of public administration more important than the national media
- Commercial broadcasters put less weight on the study of ethics than newspapers, the BBC and the courses
- Subjects viewed as most important by editors were reflected in college priorities. These included practical reporting, news values, sources of news and writing news.

<u>The future</u>

- Multi-skilling (multi-tasking) was the highest priority across the sectors as a whole, although digital technology, time management and people management also scored quite highly.
- The BBC were slightly more exercised about the Internet and digital technology than the commercial sector
- BJTC courses were as adamant as the BBC about how essential multiskilling and digital technology were in a journalism course
- The BBC were also concerned that multiskilling (across media) was essential and the BJTC courses mirrored this concern
- Far fewer NCTJ courses than local or national newspapers thought multi-tasking was essential
- More NCTJ courses than newspapers thought digital technology and the Internet were essential
- Local media and the commercial sector of broadcasting were more enthusiastic about recruits having an understanding of commercial factors, such as sales and marketing, than the BBC or national newspapers.
- NCTJ courses thought commercial factors were much more important than BJCT courses
- Customer care was not a high priority
- Audience research methodology and interpretation was not deemed essential by many newspapers nor by NCTJ courses
- Changes recently made in courses had been to accommodate more practical work, to extend the technology or to introduce multi-skilling

- Most BJTC courses said these changes had been industry-led
- Changes to be made in the future included more multi-skilling, digital technology and new media

Improvements

- Most editors thought courses would be improved by adding more practical work
- Course tutors identified better facilities and more resources as being needed to improve their courses and said a lack of money was the biggest problem

Recruitment process and practice

- Newspaper adverts and unsolicited applications were the most common methods of recruiting new staff to the industry, particularly for local newspapers
- However, more national newspapers and local comercial radio stations recruited by word of mouth than by other means
- Most colleges said they recruited by word of mouth, which probably means by reputation
- Interviews are the most popular way of selecting recruits , both for the industry and for colleges
- Reasons given include being able to assess the candidate personally and that the first impression is vital
- However, more than half of editors surveyed and more than three quarters of national newspapers rely partly on personal recommendations.
- Personal recommendations are not common practice in the BBC but the BBC does rely heavily on tests
- Colleges too rely heavily on tests

A Standards Based Approach to New Media Training for European Journalists

Protocol

- All journalism training should take account of the Information Society.

- The training of journalists in new technologies and new media should recognise the need to raise awareness of the ethical issues associated with these technologies and media.

- The introduction of new technologies and the development of training programmes must acknowledge that unions and employer organisations respond unevenly to the challenges and that this unevenness is caused by a number of factors including organisational culture, geographical location, industry structure, and perception.

- Where existing codes of conduct and professional standards are general enough, they should be interpreted to incorporate situations and issues peculiar to the new media and should not be abandoned or unnecessarily modified.

- All codes of conduct and professional standards should be tested to see whether they can be interpreted in the light of these four essential characteristics of published information:

  1. Accuracy - information should be correct and should be seen to be correct; information should not be used to deceive or defame.
  2. Authenticity - information should be seen to originate from an identified source; authors are entitled to be identified; details of origination should not be removed or altered; information should not pretend to originate from other sources.
  3. Integrity - information should be complete and coherent; statements should not be taken out of context; alterations should not be made to information so as to distort its meaning.
  4. Accountability - there should be an acknowledged system of liability to protect against the failure to maintain standards of accuracy, authenticity and integrity; editorial policies (including hyperlinking policies) should be clearly stated and accessible.

  These four characteristics cover all situations *peculiar* to new media and their adoption as goals encourages the responsible application of new technologies

- Awareness of the AAIA issues - accuracy, authenticity, integrity and accountability - as applied to new media is a key area for ethically-based training.

- The following areas should all be covered implicitly or explicitly in any professional code, code of conduct, code of practice, or ethical guidelines for on-line journalists. They represent a minimum set of editorial issues identified by the JET Pilot project:

  1. Image manipulation: manipulated images should not be passed off as original
  2. Repurposing of text: the original outlet for any text should be identified
  3. Authors' rights: rights of 'paternity' and integrity should operate
  4. Identification of sources: the original source of any previously published material should be identified (journalists' informants have a right of anonymity which comes under privacy policies)
  5. Date and time-stamping of material: the date and time of first publication should be identified
  6. Data protection and privacy policies: policies on the use of personal data gathered about readers and the disclosure of information about readers, journalists' informants or news subjects should be made explicit. Where legal measures apply, these should be identified
  7. Right of reply: policies on the right of reply for news subjects and on reader feedback should be declared
  8. Links policy: policies on hyperlinking should be declared (for example, selection procedures, identification of links, placing of links, aging of links and whether links are checked)
  9. Integrity of archive material: policies on the admissibility of altering or removing archive material should be declared (for example, whether an archived story will be changed or deleted in the light of a libel judgement)

- Quality of content can only be guaranteed by reliance on the standards and principles of responsible journalism and quality of content is the only way to inspire confidence in the media and their democratic role.

-ends-