

Postgraduate Journalists: Rediscovering Discourse and Identity

Working draft

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Abstract

Higher education has a distinct discourse in which one is expected to engage. Because of the current emphasis in the private sector on the necessity for tertiary education, one often finds professionals undertaking postgraduate degrees in an attempt to further their own careers. This becomes particularly problematic in journalism studies, as journalists tend to bring with them the writing flair needed for postgraduate research, but lack the epistemological bearings of the academic environment.

Postgraduate study, as with all professional disciplines, has its own “peculiar ways of knowing, selecting, evaluating, reporting, concluding and arguing that define the discourse of [the academic] community” (Bartholomae, 1985: 134). Consequently, in order to succeed within the postgraduate and academic environment, one is required to subscribe to the strict guidelines of discourse often imposed by the governmental bureaucracies of power within an academic institution. However, this is somewhat of a conundrum for journalism practitioners, who have developed through their own experience, a varied take on researching and writing on different subjects.

This in itself, as described by James Gee (1999), is a difficult hurdle to overcome, because once a person becomes part of a specific social network, their lives are often constrained by the structures of that network. Therefore, journalism practitioners are at a disadvantage in comparison to general students, because they are required to immerse themselves into a new social discourse, re-educating themselves in a practice which contradicts that which has become intrinsic to their professional identity. This paper explores the concept that journalists are required to re-invent their written identities to some degree, in order to navigate the discourses of this new social environment. This research aims to determine if journalism professionals who re-engage with academic study, are indeed at a disadvantage as Gee (1999) suggests, and whether they need to overcome the embedded values they have acquired within the discourses of professional life in order to achieve in an academic environment. The reciprocal relationship between critical and creative thinking is explored. The paper suggests various solutions to these problems, and whether they are unique to journalism practitioners, or to all “professional” students who are required to navigate a new epistemology.

Introduction

The modern media environment has birthed a plethora of freelance writers and publication space. As such, many journalists have chosen to undertake postgraduate degrees in order to further their careers and preserve their legitimacy within professional quarters of this more media-savvy society (Reese, 1999). Academics and journalism professionals are, however, often divided between the ways in which journalism education should be practised. Professionals argue that occupational skills should be favoured, while academics believe that broad theory is more important as it cultivates the informed and critical mindset needed within the profession (Reese, 1999). This argument stems from the two different discourses offered by each profession.

Journalism, as a profession, is centred on perfecting the art of writing and communicating information, whereas academic institutions are more concerned with producing critical thinkers. This division is often one of the most difficult barriers that journalism professionals face when embarking upon postgraduate study. This paper investigates the number of effects that these differing discourses play in the academic development of professionals. Firstly, it identifies the most common hardships journalism professionals face when attempting to adjust their identities to that of a student. Secondly, it explores the impact that varying discourses play in defining such roles, and how professionals are required to adhere to the new social “rules” of academic discourse. And finally, this paper tracks the progress of a number of journalism professionals who have chosen to undertake postgraduate degrees, namely Honours and Masters, at the University of KwaZulu-Natal between 2006 and 2009. It examines the most common problem areas that these students face, and compares these with other “normal” students. Finally, the reciprocal relationship between critical and creative thinking is explored, with special reference to the question of intellectual empowerment, on the one hand, and that of rebutting existing or potential challenges to the teaching of critical thinking skills, on the other. Following Michell (2008) two such challenges are considered and addressed, namely the charge of intellectual imperialism and the alleged danger of intellectual conformity. The results derived from this paper aim to highlight ways in which supervisors are able to assist professional journalists as they traverse the new epistemological bearings of the academic environment.

Literacy versus Academic Literacy

Unlike students who progress directly from undergraduate study into the postgraduate curriculum, professional journalists generally have a far greater ability in terms of writing. Undergraduate study is often more focussed toward exam learning and practice than it is toward training students in competent writing skills. This is confirmed by a large number of supervisors who claim that writing is one of the most prominent problem areas for students entering postgraduate study (Butler, 2009). Often, this is attested to poor language development and linguistic barriers which stifle students' writing expression (Boughey, 2005). However, in order to be successful within the academic environment, students are required to be proficient in academic language as well as in discrete language skills (Cummins & Yee-Fun, 2007).

Most students find academic language a difficult skill to acquire (Cummins & Yee-Fun, 2007). It is a unique way of constructing the social context of various discourses laid out by academic writers and theorists. Consequently, it aids in legitimising field knowledge in an academic context (Lillis & Scott, 2007). In other words, students need to establish two different sets of skills in order to negotiate the task of postgraduate writing and research. Apart from the conceptual knowledge required to understand basic language, students are also required to develop strong academic literacy in order to decode the meanings within academic texts (Cummins & Yee-Fun, 2007). This immediately appears to place journalists at a distinct disadvantage when compared with other students.

It can be argued that even without a formidable writing repertoire, students who have graduated into the postgraduate system possess a greater epistemological grounding than entering journalists. As Gustav Butler (2009: 293-294) explains, students within the tertiary education system are expected to:

- Understand a range of academic vocabulary in context;
- Distinguish between essential and non-essential information, fact and opinion, propositions and arguments, cause and effect, and classify, categorise and handle data that make comparisons;

- Know what counts as evidence for an argument, extrapolate from information by making inferences, and apply the information or its implications to other cases than the one at hand;
- Understand the communicative function of various ways of expression in academic language (such as defining, providing examples, arguing) and;
- Make meaning (eg of an academic text) beyond the level of the sentence.

Journalists, however, do not necessarily have the same grounding, and subsequently, are required to learn the skills that most postgraduate students are already proficient in. Therefore, these students are required to rapidly acquire radical new ways of thinking, both about themselves, and in regard to the disciplinary domain they are attempting to navigate (Niven, 2009). Ultimately this leads to a number of problems as journalists find themselves facing, not only the challenge of postgraduate study, but also the need to re-negotiate their understanding of what it means to read and write. Journalists are required to re-evaluate one of the most important aspects of their identities, that of a writing professional, and immerse themselves as junior and inexperienced writers in order to adhere to their newly formed discourse community.

Journalists Are Unique

It could be assumed that professional journalists are at a distinct advantage over other students when entering into postgraduate study. This could be accredited to on-the-job experience in researching and formulaic writing which often lacks in students emerging from undergraduate level. As already mentioned, one of the most notable problems that supervisors have with postgraduate students is a lack of writing ability (Butler, 2009). However, as Strauss (2008) indicates, in order to obtain the ideals of scholarship, skilful writing must be matched with critical analysis and thinking. If this is to be obtained, it appears that a journalist is indeed at a distinct disadvantage. This can be accredited to two main problem areas.

Firstly, journalists are unique when compared to other professionals entering postgraduate study. Unlike those who enter from fields such as medicine or law,

journalists often do not have “a common basis of shared university experience” (Reese, 1999:75). Journalists’ tertiary educational backgrounds are varied between diplomas, university degrees and certificate courses; and often emerge from a variety of different disciplines such as English Studies, Sociology and History (Reese, 1999). Problematically, each discipline carries with it its own “set of beliefs, norms, values and attitudes which impact on the ways in which knowledge is understood [and] acquired” (Niven, 2009: 1). Therefore, journalism professionals often enter into postgraduate study without a strong epistemological foundation concerning the academic journalism and communication disciplines. This becomes increasingly problematic as supervisors, who are knowledgeable in regard to the “rhetoric dimensions and content domain of their own disciplines” (Niven, 2009: 1), assume students to share the same common understandings. This misperception often leaves journalists in a state of academic illiteracy causing a disconnection from the research culture of academia, and subsequently leaves the student in a state of isolation (Watts, 2008).

Secondly, there is often a tension between a journalist’s “embodied habitus and the epistemological characteristics of the discipline” (Bangeni, 2009: 65). This is most typically highlighted when examining the way in which journalists carry out research. As with all students who embark on research, journalists “hypothesise about the people, organisations, events, and phenomena they intend to cover” when writing a news story (Stocking & Gross, 1989: 59). However, research has shown that journalists merely seek information which confirms their initial thinking and that they rarely negate their original presumptions during the news gathering process (Stocking & Gross, 1989). This is in direct conflict with the ideals set out by scholars in regard to critical thinking. This is especially evident when one considers the different ideas surrounding the concept of giving an opinion. As the fourth estate, the opinion of journalists is often highly regarded among the general public. This opinion, however, is often based on a journalist’s viewpoint rooted in the “unexamined assumptions and beliefs” regarding society at large (Boughey, 2005: 237). Academia, on the other hand, requires one to construct an ‘opinion’ out of the critical works of professional authorities and one’s own experiential research in order to build a valid argument.

Academia, Critical Thinking and Creative Thinking

This paper argues, however, that critical thinking and creative thinking cannot (and should not) be separated in any ultimate sense. Michell (2008) argues that to assume that they can, could be the basis of various misconceptions of the nature and role of critical thinking courses. “And conversely, a grasp of their reciprocal relationship may serve as a vital education foundation, both of our assessment of such courses and of our presentation of them” (Michell, 2008). One writer who as lucidly and convincingly spelled out the terms of this reciprocity is Richard Paul (1993), who specifies two fundamental characteristics of a well-developed or “fit” mind. Firstly, he argues that “it is productive of ideas; and secondly, [that] it is skilled in assessing [such ideas]” (Paul, 1993: 121). He postulates that “creativity ... involves more than a mere haphazard of uncritical making, more than the raw process of bringing something into being. It requires that what is brought into being meet criteria intrinsic to what we are trying to make” (Paul, 1993: 121).

Michell (2008) suggests that the relationship between critical and creative thinking may be paralleled with Immanuel Kant’s view of the relation between understanding and experience in the acquisition of knowledge, namely that experience without understanding is blind, while understanding without experience is empty. Where the postgraduate journalist is concerned, then, one could argue that not understanding what one is writing or why one is writing it, is both futile and potentially dangerous. “Journalism’s bland, corporate notions of objectivity (the true purpose of which is to make information inoffensive, rather than balanced) have removed contemporary media from the centre of debate on civil and social issues, and isolated it from younger generations. Informed subjectivity – researched, substantiated point-of-view – would permit journalists to balance arguments, but free them from the role of social stenographers, bring them back to their opinionated roots” (Katz, 2002). And conversely, the pure academic researcher, a student of critical thinking, should constantly be reminded that critical thinking alone is not enough – in isolation, it consists of a set of lifeless tools. “In addition, we need fresh and warm (living) experience, beliefs and assumptions (religious and otherwise) which need critical ordering and evaluation in their daily application” (Michell, 2008).

Michell (2008) argues that this reciprocal structure and the collaborative insights it affords could provide a framework for the attainment of a clearer understanding of the ways in which it can be used: not only as an instrument for empowerment, but also as a rebuttal against existing or potential challenges that may be levelled at its propagation. Concerning the first issue, critical thinking cannot be taught in a vacuum. “Students need to see and feel its holistic relevance to their everyday lives and work, otherwise it will be empty and devoid of genuine meaning” (Ibid). Where postgraduate journalists (and “academic” postgraduates too) are concerned, this means making explicit links with their interests, beliefs, problems and fears during the teaching process, using concrete examples, controversial everyday issues and so on. “Instruction that is mindful of the reciprocity between generative and critical thought will provide for a network of assignments in which the students must both generate thinking and then assess it” (Paul, 1993: 2). Where the second issue is concerned, it could be claimed that critical thinking is a Western preserve and should consequently not be foisted on other cultures and their different ways of thinking and relating to the world; that critical thinking, in particular as it pertains to academia, is yet another form of Western imperialism. However, Michell (2008) argues that not only does the link between critical and creative thought facilitate a context for their teaching, but the necessity of surviving in a global world makes it unavoidable.

This latter objection to the teaching of critical thinking is raised by Walters (1987), who raises the question of “the danger of intellectual conformity”, and warns against “an overemphasis upon the techniques of reductionistic analysis in college courses” which “can instil certain attitudes which are diametrically opposed to the stated aims of both critical thinking and, in the long run, of a pluralistic society” (Walters, 1987: 102). However, we would argue that rightly understood, that is in a symbiotic relation to creative thinking, critical thinking need never be (mis-)applied in this way. And indeed Walters (Ibid) is not in disagreement on this point, advocating the need for a balance “by exposing students to non-reductionistic and more open-ended learning strategies and methodologies, thereby impressing on them the fact that there is no one ‘correct’ method of gaining knowledge and insight”. This is vital when it comes to postgraduate journalists concerning the crucial relationship between critical and creative thinking. We need to experience a world before we can think

about it. And as Michell points out, “we all experience it in different ways and therefore will think in different ways too, before we embark on critical reflection upon this thinking.” This position is corroborated by Paul (1993: 111) who notes that critical thinkers “routinely scrutinise their thinking as an act of on-going creation ... in this way, [they] maintain an acute and abiding interest in their own intellectual self-improvement. They carefully attend to their personal concept-creating and concept-using practices. They exercise special discipline in taking charge of their thinking by taking charge of the ideas which they are generating and using to create an ordered set of meanings.” With respect to both the creative aspect of this thinking and the personal nature of taking charge of it, Walters’ fears of a narrow intellectual conformity are allayed. Critical thinking is about thinkers being responsible for the standards of their own (creative) ideas, and it is such a discourse we argue would ease the path of postgraduate journalists, both in an academic and professional context.

Discourse Communities

Stuart Hall (1997) describes how the process of making meaning is dependent on particular situations, contexts and institutional regimes. Each of these is determined by discourse, and as such, vary the way in which social roles are constructed. Every discourse in which one engages is shaped by a multitude of ideological-laden practices (Gee, 1990), each of which aids in reinforcing specific representations of knowledge and maintains a specific type of social structure (Lillis & Scott, 2007). These ideologies dictate the way in which its participants are expected to interact, and are generally shaped by a distinct language system (Gee, 1990). Such a system creates a unique discourse community in which participants possess a collective understanding surrounding the meaning of various subjects.

Participants within these communities aim to fulfil two goals. Firstly, they attempt to elevate their status so as to be ‘accepted’ by those who maintain power (Gee, 1990). This is achieved through an adjustment of individual identities and ideologies in order to adhere to those held by the upper echelons of a discourse community’s hierarchy. Research has shown that students, for example, attempt to use more prestigious forms of language when speaking and writing in an academic context. This type of action is an attempt to gain respect from their lecturers and University peers (Gee, 1990). Simultaneously, however, community members also

attempt to achieve a form of solidarity with their contemporaries (Gee, 1990). Often this appears “as they enter more local, informal contexts...with their peers, whose values and norms they identify with at a more local level” (Gee, 1990: 128).

Generally, this leads to an inconsistency in their identity as individuals struggle to find a satisfying compromise between each ideal. Journalists, especially, would find this a difficult problem to overcome because not only are they expected to conform to the discourse communities found within the academic environment, but also to those which match the student ethos. Entering journalism professionals are therefore required to occupy a number of varying subject positions within two different types of discourse communities. Norman Fairclough (2001: 31) proposes that within education “occupying a subject position is essentially a matter of doing (or not doing) certain things in line with the discursal rights and obligations of teachers and pupils. Therefore, we can recognise that journalists are restricted by the subject positions that are set up within each discourse community; subsequently undermining their ‘normal’ high societal status that has been accredited by the general public toward their journalistic opinion and judgement (Stocking & Gross, 1989).

Journalists ‘lose’ their authoritative voice as academics and lecturers adopt the role of ‘expert’. And while it can be acknowledged that social structures require some form of hierarchy, the most significant problem that this type of order develops is that the subject becomes “indivisible from the roles assigned by institutional power” (Tolman, 2006: 193). Unlike general societal discourses, in which there is a continual hegemonic struggle between ideologies, the academic environment leaves very little room for such resistance. What one can conclude is that “those with beliefs that do not match the one in power are asked to change even when the one in power claims plurality” (Tolman, 2006: 194). Journalists, therefore, are required to minimize their individual voice in favour of the academic collective, and oppose their established identity. The pedagogical norm of the university environment legitimises the supervisor as the overall expert within a discipline and undermines any ‘real-world’ knowledge that a student may possess. Subsequently, journalists are forced to abandon their professional knowledge and immerse themselves in a “condition of repression” (Tolman, 2006: 192).

As Norman Fairclough (2001: 38-39) explains, the power in discourse is determined by those who are deemed powerful “controlling and constraining the contributions of non-powerful participants”. Within the student-supervisor relationship the supervisor “has the right to give orders and ask questions, whereas the students have only the obligation to comply and answer, in accordance with the subordinate relation of student to [supervisor]” (Fairclough, 2001: 39). However, this is highly problematic if one considers firstly, the nature of discourse, and secondly, that of intellectual inquiry. The power within discourse should continually shift and evolve. If one was to examine general societal discourses, for instance, it is possible to observe how dominant ideologies have changed to incorporate aspects of subordinate discourses. Globalisation, for example, has forced many dominant voices to adopt new stances on various issues in order to appease the growing number of subordinate discourses; thus expanding the hegemonic battle of culture and ensuring a continuation of societal growth. Because universities are positioned to study and track the causes and effects of such growth, it could be assumed that they too would attempt to nurture certain subordinate discourses within their boundaries, thereby expanding their knowledge economy.

However, this is rarely seen within the university context, especially when attempting to validate the importance of practical skills over that of critical thought. Janice Tolman (2006) argues that this is somewhat closed-minded. Excluding the intellectual voices of professionals often results in a narrowed field of study, as well as reinforcing the thorny relationship between academia and journalism practitioners. She continues to state that a true scholar should adapt and be willing to adopt new forms of discourse and ideology. They should not be afraid to “cross outside of traditional disciplines and contemplate old questions in new contexts” (Tolman, 2006: 189). Therefore, there should be some form of discursal dialogue between contrasting communities, in order to acknowledge the importance that they have on the context of academic inquiry and development.

Teaching critical journalism

Drawing from some of our own teaching experiences at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, journalists entering at the postgraduate level tend on the whole to write far more easily and fluently than students coming through the academic system, and this

has encouraged much debate within our department about course offerings. Curricular or pedagogical renewal at this level presupposes the disillusionment of seasoned journalists in practice, who are no longer willing – or no longer around – to offer their services of mentorship. Because of the inevitable cost-cutting exercises, as well as the exodus of more experienced journalists from newsrooms, universities and journalism schools are having to take the place of this, and it is this mentorship gap in journalism which universities are trying to fill – and failing, for many obvious reasons, not least being sheer numbers. Schell (2002) argues that we learn best by working with and absorbing the ways of more senior exemplars through actual work, not necessarily by sitting in lecture halls taking notes. “The antidote to such pedagogy is small classes and as much one-on-one editing, counseling and mentoring as possible. And that mentoring should, of course, stress independence and reporting that evinces neither fear nor favour. But does not a younger journalist best learn such traits by watching someone he or she respects actually in the lists themselves, jousting with all the forces with which working journalists must invariably joust?”

In the Media and Cultural Studies Department at the University of KwaZulu-Natal’s Pietermaritzburg campus, we aim to train critical journalists for the South African media environment, as well as equip students with academic competence in order to pursue media research, MA and PhD studies, and content is thus partly practical and partly theoretical. The journalism component of our programme has a particular focus on news and investigative journalism, as well as issues related to media, democracy and human rights. The educational model deployed in the programme is referred to as the “Gimlekollen Model”, where three legs make up the foundation: the interrelation between theory and practice, an emphasis on issues of democracy and human rights, and the importance of ethical consciousness. There is a fair amount of flexibility in the programme from the lecturer’s perspective. Using my one course – print and web journalism – as an example, the students enrolled in the course co-determined, after some discussion, a civic journalism approach: they wanted their stories to bring about what Ettema and Glasser (1998: 189) would consider the three accomplishments of investigative journalism:

- Publicity – bringing to public attention serious instances of systematic breakdown and institutional disorder that have been mostly unnoticed or intentionally concealed.

- Accountability – demanding an account of the situation from those who are responsible.
- Solidarity – establishing an empathetic link between those who have suffered in the situation, and the rest of us.

Of these three ideals, in terms of traditional journalistic practice, the latter may seem the most alien. However, at the current time in both South Africa and internationally, this value may also be the most urgent, as it entails writing stories that remind humans of their shared vulnerability to suffering and injustice, and thereby enhance our tolerance for differences of politics, race, religion and so on. “But more than that, the very best investigative reporting can help us envision forms of journalism that not only accept such differences but more fully and effectively confront them in an attempt to establish common ground.” (Ibid: 200).

Our postgraduate classes are small, ranging from 10 to 20 students, so it is relatively easy to connect with a group, with one-on-one meetings, phone calls and e-mails, the way a good editor would connect with a writer at a good magazine or newspaper, with the object of getting pieces published. It allows a lecturer to mark pedantically, picking out every mistake, from the concept through to spelling and grammar (an enormous advantage –indeed, almost vital - when teaching English second-language students). My most recent group wanted to focus on specific problems both in the student community and the larger communities of Pietermaritzburg. Having class discussions similar to those that would take place in a newsroom, stories (both hard news and features) were identified, and I followed them through the process, on occasion even accompanying some as they pursued stories. In the classroom, we could then discuss the context of each story, the culture of the community affected (if relevant) and the sensitivities involved, and the group could follow each story through the writing and editing process. The students themselves were very aware of the need to attract readers from the wider university community, and came up with a number of innovative ways of “attracting” this predominantly young audience, with suggestions often involving the Internet and e-mail.

What we have learned from teaching our postgraduate students is a pedagogy which allows, in a sense, for the co-creation of a course based on shared goals between students and lecturers. We think – we hope! – the students found this empowering. It

necessitates a more flexible syllabus, but most importantly it requires the students to get out of the classroom environment and into the community at large. “As public communicators, journalists have enormous power to advance communities, and there are huge ethical challenges they face as they commit to this role.” (Frantz, 2004). Students at some institutions are regularly asked to collaborate with peers, but are seldom taught to collaborate and communicate effectively with people outside the university. It was also important to me that they gained some insight into the complex challenges faced by different groups of people – the ability, if you like, to empathise with people who were completely different from them. And lastly, I like to think the course stretched their writing abilities and challenged their research skills. Apart from feature stories, they also produced research projects and dissertations involving some sort of media research.

Conclusion

Ettema and Glasser (1998: 201) argue for solidarity as a regulative ideal, a standard of performance intended to guide journalists by insisting on insight into others as a goal of good reporting. At the same time, they realize that such an understanding of solidarity poses a challenge for journalists which is commensurate with the needs of a culturally plural society, such as South Africa, and a global order in which nations and national identities compete for recognition, legitimacy and authority. It is not supposed that either journalists or the corporate executives who pay them, let alone some academics who teach them, will, however, easily accept solidarity as the key to a set of values that can transcend “objectivity”. It is a new concept for journalists, with none of the easy routines of “objectivity”. “And for media managers, objectivity has long been the basis of news as a commercial product, whereas solidarity and the other values are of uncertain economic advantage.” (Ibid).

Finally, some reflections on undergraduate as opposed to postgraduate teaching of journalism. Perhaps for some types of journalism – community newspapers, for example – undergraduate training could be sufficient. But for a journalist wanting immediate employment at a major national daily newspaper, or international magazine, or wanting to specialise in some area, we believe they need training at post-graduate level. The best journalists are curious, independent, critical thinkers. They are voracious readers, keen observers and clear writers. “An education in journalism

should teach students how to think, not what to think.” (Lee, 2002). You aren’t going to teach a student how to think by teaching him or her how to write hard news in an inverted pyramid style. Quinn (1999) argues that postgraduate programmes are starting to flourish internationally, and many journalism schools no longer offer undergraduate programmes at all, as undereducated journalists realise they need more specialised knowledge. “The future in education belongs to universities that can offer these courses – even online, in some cases.” (Ibid).

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