Newcastle University e-prints

An education for independence: Should entrepreneurial skills be an essential part of the journalist's toolbox?

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News industry employers want recruits to meet their stated needs for an ever-expanding range of skills, and their wishes largely determine the form of journalism education. But traditional news work and career paths appear to be dissolving. Boundaries between work in journalism, PR and information brokerage are porous. Careers on which journalism graduates are embarking, like those of many journalists today, are increasingly likely to feature consecutive and concurrent periods of long-term employment; short-term contracts; self-employment; working in temporary clusters on specific projects - and perhaps outside media, news and communication altogether. In the light of these changes, this paper argues that educators should look beyond the demands of traditional employers of journalists and strive to give students the opportunity to become entrepreneurial self-employed agents, who might compete with, as well as serve, other media organisations. It argues that students need to gain skills and knowledge to act as reliable analysts and brokers of information in ever-more complex social and political contexts, and, in doing so, develop creative, innovative, experimental and entrepreneurial approaches to journalism. The paper concludes by highlighting several strategies to encompass these objectives within a coherent curriculum, but does not claim that these suggested solutions are exhaustive.

KEYWORDS: Journalism; education; training; freelance; enterprise; entrepreneurial;

Introduction

A key problem faces journalism educators: the industry we are educating our graduates to enter has just about shut its doors to new recruits in many parts of the world. While this is due in part to temporary economic recession, long-term systemic, economic, technological, structural, cultural and societal transformations in the news media around the world (Aldridge, 1998; Rosen, 1999; McNair, 2003; Deuze 2007, 2009; Davies, 2008) mean that when the doors reopen, they are unlikely to open very wide. Traditional news industry career paths appear to be dissolving. Boundaries between work in journalism, PR and other forms of information provision are porous (Dahgren 2001, Davies 2008 Donovan 2009). The careers on which journalism graduates are embarking are, like those of many journalists today, increasingly likely to feature consecutive and concurrent periods of long-term employment; short-term contracts; self-employment; working in temporary clusters gathered around specific projects - and perhaps working outside media, news and communication altogether. What should our response as journalism educators be to these changes in the news industry, and in the technologies and professional culture(s) of journalism? How should we prepare graduates for the future, when we can't know what sort of work will be available to them?

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In an attempt to open a wider debate on these issues, this paper argues that we should better prepare students to consider independent career paths with the skills, ability and confidence, not only to work as journalists (employed or freelance), but to establish independent enterprises in the wider communications sectors. We suggest first that we still need to teach fundamental journalism skills, (which now include telling stories in text, video and audio platforms), but we should reduce the current emphasis on preparing students to meet the stated requirements of employers. Traditional employers of journalists (print, TV, radio) have a valid contribution to make to the development of journalism education, but journalism educators should be cautious about acceding uncritically to their demands regarding programme design, and beware of taking their views on curriculum content at face value. Second, we should put greater emphasis on exploring and developing creative, innovative, non-traditional approaches to 'doing journalism'. An example might be the interactive online 'news games' which have demonstrated their efficacy in engaging audiences in the coverage of complex social and political issues (Dickinson Quinn, 2009). Finally, we should develop strategies to help students to turn their ideas into viable, independent enterprises which might rival rather than serve the needs of media organisations - the traditional freelance role. Examples of such enterprises include independent and financially viable hyper-local news and information services which are developing across mainland Europe, Britain and the USA (Ponsford, 2009; Jarvis, 2009a, 2009b). We argue that this approach would, ideally, provide graduates with skills to earn their living independently of major media organisations while enhancing their appeal as employees. Moreover, this strategy would help to build a more pluralistic, culturally diverse and divergent community of journalistic enterprises serving the wider needs of society, and foster greater creativity and innovation in journalism.

But do journalism students want to become entrepreneurs, when journalists have traditionally drawn boundaries between journalism ethics and business practices? Universities and colleges are well placed to imbue in students an 'entrepreneurial' approach to working life, but have journalism teachers the competence to foster such approaches? Can we 'teach' students to adopt creative, innovative, risky, edgy, approaches and, if we can, can we assess and evaluate work which breaks new ground?

This paper begins by addressing the fragmentation of career structures in employment and in patterns of self-employment reflected in the freelance experience. It examines the perceived conflict between the ethos of journalism and the values of business which an 'entrepreneurial journalist' might face. It then examines the growth of entrepreneurial trajectories in the British and European educational systems and considers their applicability to journalism education. Finally, through a case study, it investigates the possibility of developing curricula which better prepare journalism students for a career that does not depend solely upon employment within a traditional media organisation.

Employer-led education and training

We start with the premise that journalism education and training have foundations in a system designed predominantly to produce people equipped with skills to function as junior employees in the news industry. Mark Deuze (2006) notes of journalism education globally: "Pragmatically speaking, journalism within the context of professional education and industry training means the preparation of students for a career working in news media organisations" and studying the work of those who do. In its earlier days, Britain's National Council for the Training of Journalists (NCTJ) founded in 1951 'sought to control entry to the field of

journalism to engineer a near match between vacancies on local papers and numbers entering journalism training' (Cole, 1998, in Franklin p.69, Hanna and Sanders 2007 p.405).

Research evidence (Delano, 2001) demonstrates that most people who went into journalism as a career wanted a secure – but fun - job with a newspaper or magazine, TV or radio station. They wished to work in an industry, for an organisation, which offered a recognisable career structure with a clear progression: from the provincial to the national stage or from reporter to editor and beyond. However, workforces are being sharply cut, journalists' working practices and products are changing, and the relationship between journalism educators and employers needs to be revisited. Mark Hanna and Karen Sanders (2007) found that only 40% of students leaving British universities intending to work as journalists expected their first job to be in a local/regional newspaper - the traditional first step in the profession - and only 4% saw such a job as their career goal. It is unlikely that, today, 40% would realistically expect a first job on a local/regional paper. Regular visits to Britain's <u>Hold The Front Page</u> job site[1] in April and May 2009 found the 'No Vacancies' sign up. The 2008 Annual Survey of Journalism and Mass Communication Graduates in the USA reported that the job market had "simply crashed" and after a decade of higher than average unemployment in that sector, the unemployment level was the highest recorded. (Becker et al, 2008 pp2-4). Journalism educators need to help students find new directions into journalism, without relying heavily on traditional employers of journalists.

Even if these traditional employers were still recruiting heavily, there remain fundamental reasons to challenge a model of learning led primarily by employer demand. Employers' interests can conflict with those of employees, society at large, and the needs of the economy (de Burgh, 2003; Knell et al, 2007 pp5,6) – and in this case the wider field of journalism. Employers seek job-specific skills today which may be redundant tomorrow. Employers concentrate on employee skills and thereby undervalue the wider theoretical understanding of the media that equips journalists to make an essential contribution as analysts and brokers of information in an increasingly complicated, culturally diverse society (de Burgh, 2003). Employers' interests are varied and competing and by treating them as a homogenous group limited to, say, press, radio and TV organisations, can be misleading. NGOs, charities, local authorities - cruise companies - are among many varied organisations which employ journalists around the world to produce newspapers, websites and TV and radio content.

The disempowerment of journalists

Jay Rosen observed in 2006[2] that the internet had brought a fundamental shift in the power relationship between journalists working for traditional news-media organisations and 'the people formerly known as the audience'. These had become 'competitor colleagues' who had a grip on the tools of reporting and, alongside professional journalists, supplied content to professional media organisations. Mark Deuze (2009), citing Rosen, speaks of 'the people formerly known as employers'. These (traditionally) offered the career structure referred to above, with permanent contracts, training, holidays, maternity and paternity leave. Deuze, rightly, argues that today

… the international news industry is contractually governed by what the International Federation of Journalists in 2006 euphemistically described as 'atypical work', which means all kinds of freelance, casualized, informal, and otherwise contingent labor arrangements that effectively individualise each and

every worker's rights or claims regarding any of the services offered by employers. … This, in effect, has workers compete for (projectized, one-off, per-story) jobs, rather than employers compete for (the best, brightest, most talented) employees.

The shift in power from the journalist towards 'the people formerly known as the audience', Deuze suggests, corresponds with a similar shift from the journalist towards 'the people formerly known as the employer'. Economic power as work is 'casualised' or 'offshored'[3], wages cut, working conditions deteriorate and insecurity grows. Freelance journalists experience greater insecurity, more competition and falling fees. Cultural power, as sought-after creativity and autonomy (Scholl and Weischenberg, 1998) goes, professional standards are compromised and journalism reduced to 'churnalism' – reprocessing material from wire services and press releases rather than creating original content (Harcup, 2004, Davies 2008). Matthew Engel of the <u>Financial Times</u> (June, 2009) cites the outgoing chairman of Britain's Johnston Press, Roger Parry, stating that journalists' jobs will be done better in future "by enthusiastic amateurs for next to nothing"[4].This process is evident in the trend for regional newspapers to invest in a hyper-local business model. Professional journalists in a large area work with groups of amateur or citizen journalists, within that area, to create publications serving small communities. This demands a significant shift in the professional culture of journalists (Jarvis 2009a). It is a business model with a very low entry threshold which can be and is already being adopted by small teams of entrepreneurial journalists at low cost and without the backing of major media organisations. (For example, Novelda (digital and print, near Alicante, Spain; NeighbourNet, London, England; Growthspur USA[5]) These entrepreneurial journalists are reclaiming the power that shifted to "the people formerly known as the employers" and with it, autonomy and cultural independence. This model has the potential to open new sources of revenue - and new democratic, social, cultural spheres of communication. Journalism educators should better equip students to establish such ventures, but how?

How should educators respond?

Three general trajectories are evident from news industry employers towards qualities sought in recruits. One is to ask for candidates with a traditional skill-set. A second is to call for candidates with a wider skills base. The third is to seek candidates who are innovative and creative, rather than those with an extensive skills portfolio.

The first response is exemplified in a quote from Paul Durrant, deputy editor of Britain's <u>Eastern Daily Press</u> in an NCTJ seminar (Amos 2008) on tips for job-seekers: "I'm not bothered about a degree. I'm bothered about NCTJ qualifications; I'm bothered about vocational training … in terms of currency in the industry, I need to know someone's got 100wpm shorthand; that they know what a section 39 is."

The second response is exemplified by the following list of looked-for skills garnered in a brief and unscientific survey of similar seminars and job advertisements:

online research techniques; "an in-depth knowledge of a subject alongside generic reporting skills is a 'two-for-the-price-of-one' offer"; multi-platform experience; computer-assisted reporting (CAR); "you now need skills which are not taught in mainstream journalism: how to download data, how to analyse it, and probably basic business skills like reading a company balance sheet and where to find company information".

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But these skills are in addition to traditionally-taught skills - one advert stated:

> Baylis Media Ltd is after an all-rounder equally comfortable picking up a notepad or video camera… applicants must hold an NCTJ pre-entry certificate or equivalent, including 100wpm shorthand, and have multi-media broadcast skills. A full driving licence and your own car are essential. (Holdthefrontpage.com. May, 2009)

The National Convergent Journalism Skills Survey (Skillset, NCTJ 2008 p12) states: "In addition to the traditional skills required to enter any of the main sectors employing journalists, new entrants also need the skills both to work across all of the others, and deploy their content on the web."

> *The third response* is exemplified by Mark Harrison, Head of Digital Production, BBC Vision[6]:

> … multi-skilled, but not predictable patterns of multi-skilling … Production teams will gather in creative clusters round projects rather than programmes … I am looking for creative people … the most valuable quality will be the ability to walk into a team, adapt to the needs of the project and acquire the skills needed …When I was head of Arts at the BBC, I had young producers whose big ambition was to produce a perfect Arena programme. I told them that I was doing that 30 years ago – you need to bring the creativity you use in your home life to a production for the BBC … I am looking for mind-set, rather than skill-set…

Harrison's focus is not on rafts of skills, but on the creative process: innovation and a willingness and ability to gain skills strategically. He is speaking about content–creation areas in general, but his comments apply equally to journalism recruits, and possess a commercial logic. When every organisation is producing content in audio and video and text, do you most need people who can do what you and your competitors already do, or people who distinguish what you do by finding new ways to engage with audience(s)? Harrison echoes Bill Nuty, president of Cisco Systems Europe, "… in the internet economy ... it's about creativity, it's about cross-functional thinking, cross-functional acting…" (de Burgh, 2003).

If journalism educators try to meet the first demand, we need make few changes. If we try to meet the second, programme content will just keep growing. If we try to meet the third, we move from building ever more skills to developing creativity and innovation – a qualitative change which is potentially much more demanding. It reinforces the need for the development within curricula of a theoretical, analytical consideration of journalism's role in society and raises further pedagogical implications which need to be addressed. In assessing students' work, for example, it is no longer sufficient to evaluate proficiency in tasks which reflect current industry practice (crafting a news story, shooting and editing video) in line with current industry norms. Instead, we must ask students to look beyond current practice; take risks with stories, audiences, established forms of journalism; experiment with familiar and unfamiliar technologies. Students need, then, to gain skills, knowledge and understanding that allow them to predict and respond to economic and technological as well as social and cultural changes in media use and production. This requires the development of valid methods to assess creativity and innovation as well as critical awareness, cognitive abilities and confidence and competencies in professional practice. This is a subject for a separate

paper, but the development of new teaching, learning and assessment strategies could (and, we argue, should) be informed by those deployed in music, fashion, design or fine art subject areas, which value and assess creative and innovative outputs and practices, alongside higher cognitive abilities and professional/craft competence.

This said, meeting employers' demands for creativity and innovation will still not guarantee a job. A senior BBC executive states that the BBC's Connect and Create Partnership with universities and colleges in the North of England is designed to "develop creative people who would be very good at what they did with the BBC – but could equally be very good at working for someone else – or themselves"[7]. Harrison (2009, above) sees the way forward in terms of "creative clusters gathered around projects". Many BBC jobs in journalism are now on fixed term contracts. The BBC might well be prepared to compete for "the best, brightest, most talented" but workers will still be competing for "projectized, one-off, per-story jobs" (Deuze 2009, above). There is little evidence to suggest that this pattern will be significantly different in other areas of the news industry – or in other parts of the world.

Are not freelances journalism's entrepreneurs?

Self-employment – freelancing - is a key characteristic of journalism work, so looking at the freelance experience might clarify the skills and knowledge which could support self-employment.

The introduction of digital technologies to news production in the late 1980s and early 1990s led in Britain to 'direct inputting' by journalists and the elimination from newspapers of compositors. It was followed by widespread de-unionisation (Gopsill and Neale 2007), and, during the recession of 1990 to early 1993, widespread redundancies among national and provincial journalists. By the mid 1990s two interlinked trends in the wider UK labour market affected journalism: one towards greater self-employment, the other towards working from home and, in particular, taking advantage of recent developments in information technology. (Baines and Robson, 2001). Individuals were exhorted to take greater control of their economic activity and to become more "enterprising" (Bridge et al, 1998). While it was acknowledged that unemployed men from manufacturing industries would suffer, it was believed that networked people with creative and information-intensive skills, working with IT - such as freelance journalists – would be more fortunate (Handy 1995). They were, after all, working in the "knowledge economy" and opening opportunities in the expanding world of digital media. Around one journalist in eight was a freelance in the 1980s, but the proportion by the mid-1990s was estimated to be one in four (Tunstall, 1996) and that has, by one reading, remained the case until today. Of Britain's National Union of Journalist's 27,414 full-fee-paying members, 7,302 (26.6%) register themselves as freelances[8.] But many freelances' earnings fall below the threshold for full fees and of the total NUJ membership of 37,759, which includes those who do not earn enough to pay full rates, 15,201 (40.25%) are listed as freelance (NUJ, March 16, 2009). *Media Guardian* reported on April 6 2009 (Luft and Robinson) that the number of NUJ members registered as temporary freelance had risen from 64 in 2007 to 318. The figures above do not take full account of continuing UK news industry redundancies.

Research into the working lives of British freelance journalists at the end of the 1990s (Baines, 1999) found them to be heavy users of IT. Most worked alone, but nearly two thirds engaged in some sort of collaborative work, at least occasionally, resonating with both Harrison's concept of "creative clusters" brought together to work on a project and Handy's vision of the "virtual organisation" - working in a relationship of mutual trust. These

"energetic networkers" were most likely to talk "about their own working lives in terms of personal freedom and opportunity". But freelancing does not always resonate with entrepreneurial discourse (Baines, 1999, 2002; Baines and Robson, 2001). Work for newspapers, magazines and broadcasting is overcrowded and competitive, trust and working relationships are eroded by fears of others behaving opportunistically; working alone is the norm; networks, vital to getting work, exclude as well as include; freelances must supply their own equipment, pay for training; negotiate rates – then chase payments. Self-employment (when the freelance is insecure, powerless and in a dependent relationship with clients) and entrepreneurialism (in which the freelance is perceived as having a sense of independence, empowerment and self-direction) might overlap, but are not necessarily the same. Baines and Robson found that, although freelances highlighted their need to gain skills in new technologies, business skills and the ability and opportunity to take control of their working lives were equally, if not more, necessary:

> The adoption of new technology was just one aspect of the ways in which they worked and, while it may be the most visible, it is not necessarily the most difficult … varied, broken and changing career histories are the norm … for media freelance workers … Weakness in the market was suggested by histories of redundancy and considerable dependence on single client organisations … All these factors together predict that they could be among the losers in a changing world of work despite their high levels of education, their extensive industry networks and even their enthusiasm for the technologies of the information age. (1999,p29)

Overall, Baines and Robson (2001, p360) found, "images of being enterprising … are bleak".   In the wake of the above findings, the NUJ introduced business skills courses for freelances, which continue to be over-subscribed. The British Government's Business Link organisation reports that 20% of start-ups fold within a year and 50% within three years and lays much of the blame for failures on avoidable mistakes and lack of knowledge[9]. Today, the shift in power from journalists towards 'the people formerly known as the audience' has resulted in an increasing crowded and competitive marketplace as citizen journalists provide content for media organisations at little or no cost. And the consequent shift in power from the journalist to "the people formerly known as the employers" has heavily disadvantaged freelances.

Journalism educators, in confining curricula largely to skills in journalism sought by traditional news media employers, rarely include business skills superfluous to an employer's needs. But, given the extent of self-employment in the industry and the trend towards more episodic and fragmented work, there is a strong argument for journalism programmes to provide business skills necessary to support periods of self-employment.

Do journalists want to be business-people?

The journalistic ethos in Britain and the US is reflected in a discourse privileging professional principles and differentiating them from business values to indicate the worth journalists place on their independence and primary duty of public service. The issues raised above beg the question: what makes us journalists? Research on the construction of professional identity is not conclusive. Nevertheless, it is clear that occupation, role in the working world, which groups we see ourselves as part of and which we do not, are crucial elements in occupational self-identity. It is not just what journalists do – bloggers, citizen

journalists, and others now do much the same. It is very much how they see themselves and how they tell the "story of me". Anthony Giddens (1991, pp3,5) suggests that "the self has to be … reflexively made … the sustaining of coherent, yet continuously revised, biographical narratives". Meryl Aldridge (1998) writes of journalists as "enthusiastic (auto)biographers, myth-makers and myth-feeders" in creating their identity as journalists. The narrative of "me the journalist" is not the same narrative as "me the businessman or woman". Tracy Russo suggests (1998) that journalists identify themselves more with the profession of journalism than with the medium or media company that employs them and Mark Deuze (2005) that that professional self-definition can be summarised as "discursively constructed ideal-typical values which journalists feel give legitimacy to what they do: public service; autonomy; objectivity; immediacy and ethics". Wendy Weinhold (2008) points to the credo for US journalists contained in standard textbook, The Elements of Journalism (Kovach and Rosensteil, 2001) which functions to "isolate print journalists from the business of their business". In Britain, the NUJ Code of Conduct[10] and Code of Working Practice (Frost 2007 p305) and the PCC code[11] focus on similar principles. The Kovach and Rosensteil code, says Weinhold, was created because of "journalists' growing desire to stave off and separate from the demands of business". The NUJ code was to prevent employers, in pursuit of sales, expecting journalists to behave in a manner "incompatible with the honour of the interests of the profession" (Harcup 2007 p129). This suggests that journalists identify doing business to be in conflict with doing journalism - and their sense of identity "as a journalist".

But Weinhold concluded, with regret, that following workplace socialisation in a group of US community newspapers, senior journalists' news-sense was determined primarily by a story's market potential. Hanna and Sanders (2007), found only 17% of those British students most sure that they wanted to be journalists when they started their courses, and only 15% of those most sure when finishing, cited public service motives. The most common motivation was the wish for a career which would "suit their personality" or be a most desirable/ interesting/ suitable/ satisfying job and specifically the non-routine, challenging, exciting, sociable aspects of it. Hanna and Sanders point to Boyd-Barrett, who found in 1970 only 1% of his sample of British journalism students citing public interest motivations, against 35% who cited journalism's non-routine, non-conventional, sociable nature and Henningham and Delano (1998) and Delano (2001) who found a public service commitment offered by 2% of journalism students in Britain and 4% in Australia. So while the public service and professional ethos are embodied in discourses which self-define journalists – and contest business values – many working journalists appear to treat professional and business values as negotiable – and only a few would-be journalists appear to see public service as a major motivating factor. Hanna and Sanders further found that the number of students who were sure they wished to be journalists fell from 75% on arrival to 53% on completion and cited turn-off factors such as poor pay; cynical employers; insecurity; difficulty of career progression; perception of journalism in practice as boring, routinised /not creative and with limited opportunities to write autonomously. When students perceived that their ideal of journalism as a creative, non-routine job was in many respects a myth – and the hell-raising they expected might be very tentative indeed (Aldridge 1998) many lost interest.

It would seem that ideological factors which might have militated against would-be journalists espousing business values are less strong than might appear; that some students are motivated by the ideal of public service, but most who really want to go into journalism do so because it offers an exciting non-routine job with a degree of autonomy - and the prospects of poor wages, routine grind and limited opportunities for creativity turns them off. We suggest that there is a resonance here between would-be journalists' ambitions and

discourses which relate to an entrepreneurial identity: independence, risk-taking; non-routine; autonomy; creativity; control (and in some cases the prospects of high earnings). Furthermore, the social enterprise model can position the entrepreneurial venture – and journalism graduate - centrally within the sphere of public service (Chell, 2007). Examples are offered by Nick Davies: "We have to start thinking about mini-media, small groups of journalists gathering together to cover a particular area"[12] and by Gordon Roddick and John Bird's much copied <u>Big Issue</u> magazine which helps homeless people to leave the streets.

Education in enterprise

There is an extensive literature on the identification of the self as an entrepreneur and it is beyond the scope of this paper to conduct a full review of the terrain, but we have followed Laurie Cohen and Gill Musson's (2000) argument that entrepreneurial identities in the UK are primarily shaped by a "discourse of enterprise", and Simon Down (Down, 2006; Down and Reveley, 2004) in recognising the importance within this process of negotiating "markers of sameness and otherness". Down regards this self-identification in the way people see and talk of themselves as entrepreneurs to be of critical importance because it provides both the catalyst for the decision to create an entrepreneurial enterprise and the identity to sustain the person in that transition from security to risk. Down and Reveley's "young guns" differentiate themselves from "old farts" in the community of the workplace: they see new ways to do business and feel the old farts prevent modernisation. But they also recognise that they had learned from the older generation and reflect "a strong sense of continuity and engagement through shared practice".

Journalism students are not in the workplace, but in universities, (ideally) less conflicted spaces. So can a university - a community of learning, rather than practice - encourage students to identify themselves, to tell the story, not just of "me, the journalist", but "me the journalism entrepreneur" which would support them in establishing and developing an independent enterprise?

Universities can be seen as entrepreneurial spaces where students and staff engage creatively and collaboratively in testing boundaries of knowledge and understanding; where students can take risks they could not take in a workplace. This section examines examples of enterprise education in British universities and suggests one way in which an already-crowded curriculum can be adapted and supplemented to encourage entrepreneurial qualities in journalism students.

It should be noted that of the UK's 18-24 year-olds – students now entering university - 26.73% have already begun training in enterprise at school (Cowling,. 2009). Enterprise education is now embedded in the national curriculum in all subject areas at primary and secondary level in UK (age five to 18)[13] and across Europe[14] . In the Higher Education sector, the National Council for Graduate Entrepreneurship (NCGE) was formed by the British Government in 2004 to raise among students and graduates the profile of entrepreneurship and the option of starting a business as a career choice. Its brief is to foster understanding and to develop and promote a culture of entrepreneurship in HE through research, education and facilitation[15]. The NCGE funds and publishes research, disseminates best practice in research, teaching and learning and supports strategies and provides resources to help graduates start businesses. It maintains links with organisations fulfilling similar roles in the US and Europe. The NCGE's first commissioned report – the Institute for Small Business and Entrepreneurship (ISBE) Consortium Paper (2004)[16] noted that enterprise education had been delivered in UK universities since the 1980s and that at the time of publication there

were 92 entrepreneurship courses in British universities. In July 2009, there were 290 such courses offered by 60 universities[17] - a more than three-fold increase in five years. Many institutions also provide business nurseries to give students business start-up facilities.

The following examples illustrate three strategies for encouraging entrepreneurial qualities in British students:

1 Enterprise embedded in programmes: "White Rose Centres for Excellence in Teaching and Learning Enterprise" co-ordinate activities and share expertise and practice at Sheffield, York and Leeds universities. Jean Broad of the White Rose Centre in Sheffield says enterprise there is embedded within modules and programmes in each faculty in a discipline-specific manner. She says this makes enterprise more relevant and interesting for students, and academic staff become better aware of its value within their subject. Moreover the Sheffield Enterprise Zone, a dedicated enterprise teaching and learning space for students, researchers and staff, forms a focal point for enterprise activity in Sheffield University. (Broad 2007). Yorkshire Universities publish an annual report on entrtepreneurialism among their students and graduates[18].

2 Specialist support outside subject areas: "Futures" at the University of Central Lancashire (UCLAN) is a combination of UCLAN's Careers Service and business start-up incubator, Northern Lights[19]. The careers service offers employability advice and guidance, arranges work placements, internships, voluntary opportunities, part-time employment and live projects and hosts workshops, seminars and events to help develop skills, and provide advice on starting a business or working freelance. The incubator offers work space, telephones, computers, network events etc to students starting a business. The university reports that around 250 students each year begin the business start-up process and around 120 successfully start trading.

3 Research-led spin-offs: "Enterprisers" and the Cambridge/MIT Institute (CMI). The CMI was founded in 2000 to explore how academics, industrialists and educators could collaborate to inspire innovation, competitiveness, productivity and entrepreneurship in the UK (2008: Accelerating innovation by crossing boundaries). CMI fosters Knowledge Exchange as a synergy of research, education and industry. One outcome has been the "Enterprisers" programme; founded in 2002 – a week-long series of workshops with entrepreneurial elements and interaction from local business leaders designed to build on the student's self efficacy and degree skills while promoting innovation and creativity in their chosen subject. Its achievements are listed in its publication The Cambridge-MIT Institute Working in Partnership [20].

Alan Gibb (2005), in an NCGE strategy document, advocates embedding the concept of entrepreneurship education in all faculties, and integrated into the curriculum.

Entrepreneurialism and journalism teaching at Newcastle University

Newcastle University has adopted elements from all the above approaches. It has embedded enterprise in the curricula of many degree programmes in both science subjects and the liberal arts, such as Music, where graduates enter a field of employment with a tradition of self-employment and casual engagements. There are facilities and service bodies dedicated to training students and graduates to start their own businesses and supporting them through the process with master-classes in business skills, intellectual property rights, sourcing finance, etc. The University Careers Service's Entrepreneurial Development Unit (EDU) works with undergraduate and postgraduate students and graduates to encourage innovation, generate business start-up ideas and help students to put these into practice. It

also runs modules to develop entrepreneurialism which can be adapted to specific subject groups and disciplines. The 'Solvers' course, developed by Newcastle University Careers Service assistant director Gareth Trainer, is delivered in four two-and-a-half-hour sessions over four weeks, to help students see themselves as entrepreneurs and, working in small teams, generate a business idea, develop it and pitch it to experienced entrepreneurs in a (supportive) version of BBC TV programme *Dragon's Den*.

Solvers was developed as a pedagogical tool to impart enterprise education to postgraduate students and student feedback so far shows that they typically become enthusiastic participants; many leave with the intention of starting a business and all students so far have left with the confidence that it is a choice open to them. This supports the conclusions drawn by Erkko Autio (Autio et al 1997) that university students' degree of intent to start a business is contingent on: (a) their perception of entrepreneurship as a viable career choice; (b) their confidence in the level of university training and support, and (c) their engagement with successful entrepreneurial role models. Solvers avoids the silo approach to teaching business (marketing; operations; finance) and combines several interactive methods to build self-confidence; give students the opportunity to think of ways to start their own enterprise; give them an understanding of what such a step entails and introduce them to supportive business networks.

In introducing entrepreneurial to the journalism programme, course developers at Newcastle have adopted two strands. Journalism teachers on professional practice modules encourage students to innovate, to look beyond current practice in journalism and reflect on their ideas as possible foundations for independent enterprise. But business practice and entrepreneurial approaches are presented by non-journalism staff with expertise in these fields. But using media world contexts and visiting 'real-world' media entrepreneurs. Newcastle's journalism curriculum is busy and it would be difficult to introduce a new module (subject area) without dropping an existing one. The need to accommodate multi-media platforms has already put pressure on the programme. So business-orientated entrepreneurial elements are offered in which participation is voluntary. Students have shown themselves willing to engage in extra-curricular, voluntary activity designed to expand their career opportunities.

Extracurricular elements: Journalism programmes feature regular after-hours master classes delivered by media professionals. A Visiting Professor in Media and Journalism, a senior broadcasting executive and former investigative journalist, delivers master-classes focusing on investigative journalism and creative idea-development for TV programmes / series and investigations. Through the BBC partnership, (see above), master-classes are delivered by senior BBC journalists and students compete for BBC internships, typically by proposing innovative strategies in story-telling and audience engagement. A further series of master-classes will be delivered from 2009-10 on business practice and development.

Embedded in the curriculum: Masters students take a compulsory two-semester multi-media journalism module, the first half of which develops core journalism and multi-media skills and the second is devoted to group projects to create multi-media packages on a given theme: reflecting Harris's concept of 'creative clusters [gathered] round projects … the most valuable quality will be the ability to walk into a team, adapt to the needs of the project and acquire the skills needed'. They are expected to demonstrate the skills taught on the module (news writing, feature writing, interviewing, creating and editing audio slide-shows, shooting and editing video)– *and* to 'acquire the skills needed [to] bring the creativity [they] use in [their] home life to [the] production'. (Harris, 2009 above).

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Further development: The 'Solvers' programme (see above) is being adapted so that all its references and the visiting entrepreneurs are from the world of media and journalism and this will be delivered in the academic year 2009-10. Students will develop ideas for an independent journalism enterprise and work through the processes of turning an idea into reality. It is too early as yet to report outcomes for these strategies, but two Masters students from the academic year 2008-9 have announced plans to turn their multi-media project into a journalistic enterprise which they intend to develop as a franchise across Britain.

Conclusions

This paper has addressed the stark but systemic deterioration of traditional news industry employment prospects, argued that journalism educators must enable students to develop independent, entrepreneurial approaches to journalism, and concluded that this is possible within existing constraints.

Cultural changes in the role of media in society and technological advances which allow almost anyone to become a producer of media content have damaged many news media organisations. Work within the industry is consequently less secure, jobs more casual and project-based, and to take advantage of opportunities which do arise in traditional news organisations, journalists continually need to acquire new skills, often on their own initiative and at their own expense. Freelancing, the traditionally model for self-employment, is not always a model for entrepreneurial agency and independence. But the lowering of financial and technological thresholds to the arena makes possible new forms of journalism, which are already taking place in new ways, in new contexts and within new communities. These developments offer opportunities to individuals and small teams of journalists to develop enterprises such as hyper-local net/print publications which engage directly with audiences and are not dependent on the traditional freelance model of dependency on other media organisations. These also offer the potential to extend the plurality and diversity of journalism - and journalists - serving society. The establishment of such an enterprise can offer the autonomy, independence and routine-free career sought by many would-be journalists and which is often no longer found in traditional hierarchical corporate media organisations. It has been shown that on close inspection, the traditional divide between the values of journalism and those of business need not create an insurmountable barrier to developing an entrepreneurial approach to a career. But to take advantage of these opportunities, journalism students need to develop skills, knowledge and qualities which are not supplied by a traditional journalism programme, tailored in large part to meet the needs of a specific group of employers. Journalism educators can prepare students for an independent, entrepreneurial, career by encouraging within their curricula innovation and experimentation in 'doing journalism'. But to turn their innovative ideas into self-supporting enterprises, students also need to acquire business skills and knowledge and the opportunity to develop enterprising qualities and approaches that journalism educators are rarely qualified to deliver. Enterprise is now part of the curriculum in primary and secondary schools throughout Europe and universities are introducing entrepreneurship to students as a career option through a variety of strategies. Journalism educators have the opportunity to co-opt expertise available within their institutions to help their students acquire entrepreneurial qualities – as part of the tool kit they take with them to build a career in journalism.

NOTES:

1) http://www.holdthefrontpage.co.uk/jobsnav.aspx
2) Jay Rosen's Weblog at:
   http://journalism.nyu.edu/pubzone/weblogs/pressthink/2006/06/27/ppl_frmr_p.html (Accessed June 12, 2009)
3) Press Association employees in Howden, Yorkshire, produce all British Newspapers' TV listings pages   and some work is carried out at their centre in Mangalore, India. The Australian (August 28, 2008) reported that Fairfax Media was outsourcing much of its editorial production for its Sydney and Melbourne newspapers to Pagemasters, a subsidiary of Australian Associated Press. ABC News reported (august 2007) that the New Zealand Herald and other APN newspapers, was outsourcing up to 70 subediting jobs to Pagemasters.
4) FT, February 27, 2009
5) Novelda: http://www.noveldadigital.es/seccion.php?s=13
    Neighbournet: http://www.neighbournet.com/
   Growthspur: **http://growthspur.com/** (All accessed September 26, 2009)
6) BBC Connect and Create conference, Liverpool, January 19, 2009
7) Seminar at Newcastle University on October16, 2006
8) From NUJ membership services, March 16, 2009
9) Business Link**:** http://www.businesslink.gov.uk/bdotg/action/layer?topicId=1075219484
            (Accessed May 10, 2009.
10) NUJ Code if conduct: http://www.nuj.org.uk/innerPagenuj.html?docid=174 (Accessed May 13, 2009)
11) PCC Code of Practice: http://www.pcc.org.uk/cop/practice.html (Accessed May 13, 2009)
12) Nick Davies at the NUJ Jobs Summit, January 24, 2009. Headland House, London. He suggested that public funding might support small groups of journalists.
13) National Curriculum: http://curriculum.qca.org.uk/key-stages-3-and-4/cross-curriculum-dimensions/enterprise/index.aspx (Accessed July 2 2009)
14) Oslo Agenda for Entrepreneurship Education in Europe.
    http://ec.europa.eu/enterprise/entrepreneurship/support_measures/training_education/doc/oslo_agenda_final.pdf (Accessed July 2, 2009)
15) NCGE**:** http://www.ncge.com/home.php. (Accessed June 9, 2009)
16) Making the Journey from Student to Entrepreneur: A Review of the Existing Research into Graduate Entrepreneurship. Institute for Small Business Affairs Consortium. September 2004 http://www.ncge.com/files/biblio589.pdf (Accessed June 9, 2009)
17) UCAS http://search.ucas.com (Accessed May 19, 2009)
18) http://www.york.ac.uk/enterprise/cetle/docs/papers/EIS_0708_Executive_Summary.pdf
19) http://www.uclan.ac.uk/information/services/kt/futures/about_futures.php
20) http://www.cmi.cam.ac.uk/downloads/working_in_partnership.pdf See also http://www.cmi.cam.ac.uk/ (Accessed September 23, 2009)

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