

University of Southampton Research Repository ePrints Soton

Copyright © and Moral Rights for this thesis are retained by the author and/or other copyright owners. A copy can be downloaded for personal non-commercial research or study, without prior permission or charge. This thesis cannot be reproduced or quoted extensively from without first obtaining permission in writing from the copyright holder/s. The content must not be changed in any way or sold commercially in any format or medium without the formal permission of the copyright holders.

When referring to this work, full bibliographic details including the author, title, awarding institution and date of the thesis must be given e.g.

AUTHOR (year of submission) "Full thesis title", University of Southampton, name of the University School or Department, PhD Thesis, pagination

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

FACULTY OF SOCIAL AND HUMAN SCIENCES

Southampton Education School

The Storytellers Tell Their Stories: The Journalist as Educator

by

Karen Fowler-Watt

Thesis submitted in partial fulfilment for the degree of Doctor of Education

August 2013

**The Storytellers Tell Their Stories:
The Journalist as Educator**

Karen Fowler-Watt

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

ABSTRACT

FACULTY OF SOCIAL AND HUMAN SCIENCES

Southampton Education School

Thesis for the degree of Doctor of Education

THE STORYTELLERS TELL THEIR STORIES: THE JOURNALIST AS EDUCATOR

By Karen Fowler-Watt

This study explores how stories of 'lived experience' are used in journalism and journalism education. As a piece of biographical research, it seeks to analyse the relationship between autobiography and journalism in an age, which has been described as 'autobiographical' (Plummer, 2001). Its principal feature is a series of in-depth interviews with high profile, experienced broadcast journalists who reflect on their experiences as journalism educators at the BBC College of Journalism.

The role of personal stories in journalism education is considered, since stories are 'hard-wired' into journalism as a craft (Marr, 2004). The research is informed by Mishler's (1999) study of craftartists' narratives of identity and the notion of journalism as craft-artistry emerges as a theme. It also considers the ways in which stories are told and re-told, referring to Denzin's (1989) concept of interpretive biography and *'pentimento'* as well as the importance of time, memory, location and the role of epiphanies in self-stories. The relationship between professional and personal identity is considered and the emergent concept of 'autobiographical journalism' is utilised to scrutinise the role of self within the context of the newsroom and the classroom. Here, autobiographical journalism as catharsis and the confessional genre provide some context. Impartiality is a key concept for the professional practice of journalists and for journalism educators and this study considers its importance through a reflexive analysis.

The post-Leveson landscape and the need to restore trust in journalism provide important context to the study. My background as a journalist, who worked for the BBC and my current role as a journalism educator inform this thesis, which seeks to ascertain the role of personal stories in inculcating good practice. The participants emphasise the importance of credibility and utility in sharing their experiences with others in a learning environment. The thesis indicates that good practice and a pride in the craft-artistry of journalism could be inculcated through placing the storied selves of self-reflexive practitioners at the heart of the learning experience.

List of Contents:

Introduction:	The Storytellers Tell Their Stories	7
Chapter 1:	Reviewing the Literature and Setting the Scene	14
Chapter 2:	Methodology	42
Chapter 3:	Storied Selves	62
	- Robert's Story: Symbolism, Credibility and Utility	64
	- Leo's Story: The Power of Words	80
	- Michael's Story: From Editor to Educator	96
	- Ben's Story: Journalist with Credible Passion	112
	- Flora's Story: In at the Deep End	128
	-	
Chapter 4:	Conclusions	144
	References	150
Appendix 1:	Interview Topic Guide	160

Academic Thesis: Declaration Of Authorship

I,Karen Fowler-Watt.....

declare that this thesis and the work presented in it are my own and has been generated by me as the result of my own original research.

The Storytellers tell Their Stories: The Journalist as Educator.....

I confirm that:

1. This work was done wholly or mainly while in candidature for a research degree at this University;
2. Where any part of this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree or any other qualification at this University or any other institution, this has been clearly stated;
3. Where I have consulted the published work of others, this is always clearly attributed;
4. Where I have quoted from the work of others, the source is always given. With the exception of such quotations, this thesis is entirely my own work;
5. I have acknowledged all main sources of help;
6. Where the thesis is based on work done by myself jointly with others, I have made clear exactly what was done by others and what I have contributed myself;
7. Either none of this work has been published before submission, or parts of this work have been published as: [please list references below]:

Signed:

.....
....

Date:

.....
.....

Acknowledgements:

This is dedicated to my family, Duncan, Laura and Adam, with my thanks for all their constant love and encouragement.

Thanks to my parents for bringing me up to respect the importance of education and for their unwavering, unselfish support throughout my life.

I am grateful to Dr Gill Clarke for introducing me to the delights of auto/biographical research and to my colleagues at the Media School at Bournemouth University for their support.

This research would not have been possible without the support of the BBC College of Journalism – especially the participants in this study, who were so generous with their time. I am indebted to them for the personal stories they shared with me and I have huge respect for their honesty and integrity.

And I give my sincere thanks to my supervisor, Michael Erben, for his wise guidance and his gentle humour.

The only thing I have wanted to do in my life—and the only thing I have done somewhat well—is telling stories

Gabriel Garcia Marquez.

Introduction:

The Storytellers Tell Their Stories: The Journalist as Educator

One learns about education from thinking about life and one learns about life from thinking about education (Clandinn and Connelly, 1998: 154).

This study explores how stories of 'lived experience' are used in journalism and journalism education. Its principal feature is a series of in-depth interviews with high profile, experienced broadcast journalists. My background as a journalist, who worked for the BBC and my current role as a journalism educator have encouraged me to consider the role of personal stories in journalism education, since they are 'hard-wired' into journalism as a craft (Marr, 2004). As a piece of biographical research, it seeks to analyse the relationship between autobiography and journalism in an age, which has been described as 'autobiographical' (Plummer, 2001). Now journalists in Western society are seen as part of the story, embedded in the reality that they are reporting. From the 1830s onwards, when the chroniclers of Victorian life, Dickens and Thackeray emphasised the importance of people's daily lives in their journalism and novels, biographical detail has played a central role in journalism, which today thrives on human-interest stories and 'case studies' to breathe life and colour into news reporting.

Through interviews with practitioners who work as journalism educators, this study aims to assess the utility of storytelling drawn biographically from personal experience in an educational context. It engages with the ways in which stories are told and re-told, so that both educator and student are involved in a learning process, which is immersive and interactive. As the self-reflexive journalist is aware that each news story is a product of 'self' and is mindful of audience, so notions of credibility are also important for journalism educators. The relationship between professional and personal identity, which for many journalists is one of symbiosis, is central to this study and as a narrative inquiry it is important to keep in view 'this sense of experiential whole' (Clandinn and Connelly, 1998:154).

The study is predicated on an understanding that robust journalism plays a crucial role in a healthy public discourse (Habermas, 1991) and is cognisant of the importance of context, both historical and contemporary. Journalism's integrity faces challenges from the collapsing business model of the press and the deplorable newsroom cultures of some tabloids, accompanied by a decline in public confidence and trust alongside a burgeoning citizen journalism driven by digitisation and social media (Allan, 2010). Whilst public service broadcast journalism (the focus of this study) fares marginally better in the trust ratings and has avoided the excesses of the press, scrutinised most recently by Lord Justice Leveson in 2012, it is still seen by some to lack confidence and originality (Horrocks, 2012; Yougov, 2010; Thomson, 2013; Marr, 2004; Davies, 2009). There is a call for journalism educators to restore the public's faith in journalism and this resonates with the academy as well as the training departments of news organisations and industry bodies connected with journalism education (Greenslade, 2012; Frost, McKay, Temple and Allan, 2012).

The focus of this study is the BBC College of Journalism, established in 2004 and a group of educators within it, who pioneered an approach to journalism education that moved away from training to adopt a style of teaching that encourages engagement and interactivity. The participants are all intelligent, self-reflexive and focused professionals who question and interpret the world they inhabit critically, so the interview materials are rich and textured. This 'narrative competence' is important as it provides 'the chance to create a relatively accurate match between their images created in their minds as we try to understand their expressions' (Gudmundsdottir, 1996:293-4). It is hoped that the voice of the five journalists working in the world of journalism education is heard with clarity and honesty. They have an in-depth quality to them and the scope of this study cannot capture every element, but has focused on the responses, which are central to discovering how journalists use lived experiences in journalism education and whether they see them as useful. It embraces the core tenet of impartiality, which provides the remit for broadcast journalists to provide balanced, fairly represented journalism; this affords the

subject (s) of their stories what the BBC defines as a 'due impartiality', in accord with notions of fairness and closely aligned to philosophical concepts of objectivity and truth. There is also an ethical sense of an authentic 'fit' for the project, so that I draw on personal experience as a journalist trained to be impartial. Aware of the dangers of friendship narratives, I seek to employ the self-reflexive approach evident in the participants, whilst retaining my own voice and 'the right to say something that was mine' (Krieger, 1983).

This research engages with notions of memory, self and identity. The role of memory is crucial in a biographical study, since stories are the product of our ability to recall our earlier interpretations of past experiences. This is rarely an ordered, formalised process, it is ragged at the edges, since 'images are not neatly stacked away in memory in a kind of "mental filing cabinet" waiting around to be placed in a narrative' (Gudmundsdottir, 1996:224). This study acknowledges the temporal quality of memory, which shapes and forms the stories that are told. The interview process needs to be sympathetic to the vagaries of our powers of recall and to incorporate the importance of time.(see Chapter 2). It also takes into account the ethical issues arising from the need for clarity when writing up the accounts of others and the crucial question of whose memory is speaking through the text. Political activist and Holocaust survivor Elie Wiesel (1979) reminds us of the potential dangers of writing for others and urges us to 'think before you substitute your memories for theirs' (Wiesel, 1979: 246-7). Rather than a call for silence this reminds us that writing for others is a collective and an individual act of recall (Coffey, 1999). The act of remembering in a biographical interview 'is a mutual process which requires understanding on both sides' (Thompson, 1988:135 in Roberts, 2002:148).

The definition of self as core being informs this study. As Taylor (1989) reminds us, the language used to describe 'self' is historically conditioned, but there is

a sense of the term where we speak of people as selves, meaning that they are beings of the requisite depth and complexity to have an identity (Taylor, 1989:32).

The notion of self, which connects to a sense of identity is characterised by the 'crucial feature of human agency' and 'what I am as a self, my identity, is essentially defined by the way things have significance for me'. A sense of self is constituted by our interpretations of ourselves, which are never fully explicit (Taylor, 1989:33-4). In auto/biographical texts the account of self is 'consubstantial' with who the participant is so that the researcher (and reader) can get as close to an actual experience as possible through the personal story. Facts about an individual's life such as background provide a context, which helps us to understand stories as told by a 'culturally understood self', a self that is grounded in a larger story (Denzin, 1989).

Identity is taken to mean what we make for ourselves out of that concept of self, whilst aware that 'identities can no longer be seen as rigid categories' (Clarke, 1996:195). The concept of self-identity is located in the '*personal order* – that is, the integration of 'inner' and 'outer' world in individual experience and behaviour' (Erickson, 1975:46). The participants in this study also share their sense of professional and personal identities, highlighting the crucial importance of context and location. Identity is located in '*social order*, jointly maintained by personal organisms sharing a geographic-historical setting' (Erickson, 1975:46). Individuals are located within a 'social and cultural matrix' (Mishler, 1999: 16). Sometimes professional identity can act as a brake on the expression of deeper emotional discourse. This is applicable to journalists, trained to be impartial where 'the self of autobiographical journalism is restrained from excessive fabrication by the conventions of the profession' (Coward, 2009:244). Our personal constructs are a vital part of our 'world-making' and narrative constitutes an essential method of understanding our own lives; we have no sense of self without a narrative (Ricoeur, 1992; Bruner, 1987).

Sharing stories can illuminate personal experience and understanding and can create a sense of community. For this researcher, 'just witnessing – really hearing, understanding and accepting without judgement – another's life story

can be transforming' (Atkinson, 2006:235). For journalists, bringing autobiography into their practice can be a cathartic experience especially for those who have borne witness as foreign correspondents or reporters in the field where the compulsion to tell stories that have been 'felt with pain' is most marked (Di Giovanni, 2011). Journalists understand the identity-shaping nature of bearing witness and reporting on the human stories from conflict zones (Beaumont, 2009; Colvin, 2012; Di Giovanni, 2011; Keane, 2005). The BBC acknowledges the importance of retrospective writing for its journalists and has devised the Radio 4 programme *From Our Own Correspondent* to allow them to reflect on the way they reported stories at the time and to retell them in a personalised way. This model of journalism in action, this way of thinking about life can be applied to ways of thinking about education where journalists reflect on and share their experience as a route to good practice through the retelling of stories, for example the teaching of writing for broadcast, where the power of words to paint pictures in the mind is conveyed through deconstructing the (written and spoken) stories of others. The confessional (and cathartic) character of autobiography in journalism is also evident in those who have experienced life changing moments, or epiphanies (Denzin, 1989). For some journalists their relationship with their practice and the form in which they present it as educators has been shaped by this highly personal experience and their route into education has been directed by a moment of crisis or illumination.

All of the journalists interviewed for this research aspire to high standards for their craft, where the ambition is to create something of value (accurate, fair and trusted) and they feel an association not unlike a potter to his pot or a weaver to her tapestry (Mishler, 1999). This study posits that there is craft artistry involved in journalism and notions of self and narratives of identity are embedded in its practice – in the newsroom and the classroom. Such narratives can exalt the participants and over-emphasise the importance of 'self' and by stepping into another person's world I have sought to avoid the trap of narcissism or, equally damaging, omission (Josselson, 2005; Atkinson, 2006; Coward, 2010). This ambition has been supported by the research participants'

humility, evident in the sharing of bad experiences, personal mistakes and examples of poor practice from their own war chest. There is an authentically expressed belief that symbolism and genuine examples of their own fallibility can be as effective as teaching tools as exemplars derived from 'good' work. The approach to journalism education that emerges shies away from a conception of teaching by role model although it does not preclude the opportunity to lead by example.

This research hopes to show that the use of lived experiences by journalism educators can help to restore a connectivity, whereby the critical self-awareness of journalists and their ability to identify with those they are teaching can spawn an emotionally intelligent approach to journalism education. This does not mean that their deconstructed stories are imposed on others like a code of conduct, but that they are shared in an immersive learning experience, which acknowledges the identity shaping characteristics of shared life experience – both for the educator and the student. There can be no dissonance in the message; it must be transparent (honestly-shared) and credible, useful to the audience (learners) and shared in the spirit of learning oneself, of self-reflexivity. All the while there is an eye to the wider context that demands swift action to restore public trust and to place an ethical and evidence-based craft back at the heart of public discourse. Whilst understanding the pitfalls of extracting generalities from individual stories, this research project hopes to provide some sense of the role that experienced journalism practitioners, who are significant interpreters of their times can play in inculcating good practice in their craft through a role as educators. In a digital, autobiographical age, where everyone has a voice and everyman is a journalist, yet few are listening amidst the noise, the storytellers who tell their stories of life as a journalism educator might help to restore the integrity of their craft.

In what follows:

Chapter 1 reviews the literature, which is relevant to this research. It also scene sets, with an explanation of the context of the study in terms of editorial codes of conduct, regulatory bodies which govern journalism and recent inquiries and reviews of journalism

Chapter 2 covers the methodological approaches employed in the study, with a focus on biographical research and a critical analysis of the concept of the research interview as discourse. It also considers relevant ethical issues.

Chapter 3 is 'data driven' and is divided into five sections. Each of the five interviews is presented sequentially as stories, allowing each to speak for itself and to have its own integrity, whilst the analysis also draws lines of comparison from the emergent themes.

Chapter 4 presents the conclusions of the study, including a reflection on the challenges of using lived experience in an educational context and making some recommendations for future good practice in journalism education.

Chapter 1: Reviewing the Literature and Setting the Scene:

'Storied selves'

We are all tellers of tales. We each seek to provide our scattered and often confusing experiences with a sense of coherence by arranging the episodes of our lives into stories (McAdams, 1993:11).

Self-identity is inextricably linked to the way in which we talk about our lives and our experiences. For McAdams (1993), in autobiography, we construct a 'personal myth,' which is unique, a heroic story of self, giving coherence and meaning to our 'lived experiences.' Storytelling forms a vital component of the human condition, so that autobiography could be said to work on the 'assumption that the self and its experiences may somehow be represented in a text' (Eakin, 1999:99). The notion of a 'storied self' as providing an insight to experience, through telling a story and putting part of oneself into it, allows us access to the lives of others as told 'in their own words,' since 'through stories we relate our lives to ourselves and others, we attempt to make sense of our experiences and give an account of who we are' (Roberts, 1998:103). For some observers, the auto/biographical approach to studying lives is authentic, since storytelling is a natural human activity, learnt in childhood and developed throughout life:

Biography has always directed us to the figure of a real person in all his or her peculiarity, accidentalness and actuality (Lee, 2005:4).

Life can be depicted as a plot, which we narrate our way through in order to give meaning to our daily actions:

We live immersed in narrative, recounting and reassessing the meaning of our past actions, anticipating the outcome of our future projects, situating ourselves at the intersection of several stories not yet completed (Brooks, 1992:3).

For journalists, there is the double imperative – both social and professional – to narrate, to tell stories. Journalists’ stock-in-trade is re-telling the stories of others, often as a result of bearing witness to events. There is a deontological imperative here, ‘to write what the journalist sees in reality’ (Politkovskaya in Davies, 2009:8).

Re-imagining journalism:

The identity of journalism as a profession lives on the assumption “I know it when I see it” (Donsbach, 2010:38).

Journalism is usually defined through people working as journalists. It is a highly human activity and as such, presents challenges for those striving to teach it as a discipline. The work of Gaye Tuchman in *Making News* (1978) has been critical in positioning academic understanding of journalism as a practice. Her work on the constructions of news and the ways in which she situated journalism in its practical circumstances conformed to a sociological way of understanding journalism through the work of journalists. More recently, academics have called for the lenses of history, political science, cultural studies and language to supplement the sociological perspective in a bid to undertake serious and multi-layered study of journalism practice (Zelizer, 2004). The academic study of journalism, the theory, is more closely aligned with the practice than ever before. It is no longer sufficient to teach the practical skills (both technical and conceptual) without reference to the academic debate that circulates around journalists, their place in society and principles they have always held as sacrosanct, such as impartiality. If a professional practitioner is defined as ‘a specialist who encounters certain types of situations again and again’ then the specialist’s awareness of self, or ‘knowing in practice’ becomes ‘increasingly tacit, spontaneous and automatic’ (Schon, 1995:60). This can lead to complacency or narrowness. A practitioner’s reflection can accommodate critical analysis and re-learning, looking at things from a different perspective and bringing a freshness of approach. Whilst an exacting activity, and cognisant

of the importance of avoiding excessive naval gazing, 'there is a constant need to reflect on one's work, what one is trying to achieve' (Moon and Thomas, 2007:7). Theory questions practice and practice interrogates theory. For journalists, the creation of a news story is an automatic activity and the feedback of a newsroom editor allows for immediate reflection, but the thought-processes, attitudes and personal values, which shape the story can only be appraised by reflection at leisure. Schon (1995) calls this reflection 'knowing-in-action', the opportunity to ponder and review the knowledge of practice, which has led to the production of, in the case of the journalist, the news story.

Journalists, like any practitioner, are 'in the world and of the world. They bring their own biographies to the research situation' (Cohen *et al*, 2007:171). Just as journalism as a practice has come under the spotlight of the academy, so journalism education is under scrutiny. Circumstances and technological developments also have their place. The digital age has prompted calls for the 're-imagining of objectivity and balance.' Many believe that the days of 'elite journalism' are over and the profession is open to scrutiny, whereby

Journalists must be active participants in the burgeoning media literacy movement, taking advantage of our channels of communication to explain, justify and, when necessary, apologise
(Stavitsky and Dvorkin, 2008: 29-30).

News organisations have responded in different ways. The BBC moved away from training and sought to bring journalists into the realm of reflective educational practice with the establishment of the BBC College of Journalism (Neil, 2004). Its key aim is to ensure that journalists within the corporation are trained to be 'fair and open-minded when examining the evidence and weighing all the material facts' as well as being 'objective and even handed in (our) approach to a subject' (BBC Editorial Guidelines, 2008). The drive to reflect on practice has spawned media academies in other news organisations such as *The Guardian* newspaper. In the United States, 'J-Schools' are well-established and in the UK, over the past decade, there has been a consistent growth in the number

and range of journalism courses offered by Higher Education institutions at undergraduate and postgraduate level, many seeking to combine the teaching of skills with an understanding of theoretical concepts.

The drive to impartiality:

Impartiality is much misunderstood, particularly by those who believe the idea of impartial journalism is a fantasy

(BBC College of Journalism, 2012).

Neither subjectivity nor objectivity has an exclusive stranglehold on truth

(Phillips, 1990:24).

Impartiality is a key concept for the professional practice of journalists and for journalism educators. It is closely aligned with philosophical notions of 'objectivity' and truth and – for some – moral imperatives, so that 'the concept of impartiality has an important place in modern conceptions of morality' (Boran, 2004:333). Impartiality is often associated with notions of justice, such as the theories of John Rawls, whereby justice as fairness is secured through impartial judgments (Rawls, 1971). Barry (1995) posits an alternative to this rational, post-Enlightenment concept of justice focused on impartiality and suggests taking into account the process of 'impartial deliberation' and the 'circumstances of impartiality.' This is a counterbalance to the idea that it is always moral to be impartial, whilst seeking to avoid a relativistic view of impartiality, but acknowledging that 'the appropriateness of impartiality is situationally variable' (Soltan, 1997:103).

In more philosophical terms, impartiality can provide an alternative to the extremes of Hobbesian egoism and altruism, which requires self-sacrifice (Fowler-Watt, 2010). It offers instead a view of morality 'which includes the limited altruism of recognising where others' interests have justifiable priority over our own' (McBride and Seglow, 2003: 218). In this context, ethics play a crucial role in the journalist's practical application of impartiality so that:

if the moral reason for using a story outweighs the moral arguments against, then the journalist should aim to publish (Frost, 2007:43).

In the arena of journalism practice, some observers accuse journalists of losing sight of the golden ideals of balanced coverage and self-awareness in a world of manipulated images and ratings-driven story selection. Bourdieu's (1996) sociological perspective on journalism and television's role in cultural life presents a searing critique, whereby

Journalists are apt to look at things rather like Thersites the ugly cowardly 'thrower of words' in the 'Iliad', who abuses everybody and 'argues nothing but scandal.' Typically they adopt a spontaneous form of a philosophy of doubt (Bourdieu, 1996:4-5).

Others believe that journalists cannot be objective, nor should they be. Editorial imperatives, commercial pressures and the rise of social media and citizen journalism all present weighty challenges to the journalist's ability to exercise balanced judgment and to operate within the public sphere (Habermas, 1991, 1992). There is a sense that 'the end of 'objectivity' and 'impartiality' as the guiding principle of an ethic of public service may soon be in sight' (Allan, 1997:319).

Broadcast journalists in the UK are required to report impartially; it is a key tenet of the government regulator, Ofcom, which oversees output and is enshrined in the regulatory code, stating that its remit is 'to ensure that news, in whatever form, is reported with due accuracy and presented with due impartiality' (Ofcom code, section V, 2011). Impartiality is embedded in the editorial codes of conduct for news organisations and at the licence fee-funded BBC the doctrine of impartiality is upheld by the BBC Trust. The concept of 'due impartiality' is invoked so that '*impartiality* does not mean that equal time has to be given to every view or that all broadcasters have to report events through a single lens'. Impartiality is not simply about balance and it is not an excuse to sit

on the fence, it is a complex concept, which in the context of practice defies simple definition in 'pro' and 'anti' terms. In a BBC-commissioned report on safeguarding impartiality, John Bridcut acknowledges these complexities and claims that the wagon wheel has replaced the seesaw, whereby the wagon wheel 'is the modern day version used in the television coverage of cricket, where the wheel is not circular and has a shifting centre with spokes that go in all directions' (Bridcut, 2007:5). Impartiality involves 'providing a breadth of view' (BBC College of Journalism, 2012) and is defined in the report *From Seesaw to Wagon Wheel*, published in 2007, as 'a mixture of accuracy, balance, context, distance, even-handedness, fairness, objectivity, open-mindedness, rigour, self-awareness, transparency and truth' (Bridcut, 2007:5). It cannot be seen in black and white terms, but must incorporate shades of grey, informing the work of journalists in the newsroom and residing at the heart of the corporation's approach to training. The BBC's latest impartiality review conducted by Stuart Preeble and published on July 3rd, 2013, analyses the breadth of opinion reflected in the corporation's output. It urges vigilance on major news stories, but concludes that 'the BBC is believed to be reasonably impartial in its coverage' (Preeble, 2013:4).

Former BBC executive, Richard Sambrook, now Professor of Journalism at Cardiff University has questioned whether impartiality and objectivity are even possible in a digital age:

Invented in an age of information scarcity, their relevance in an age of information abundance is now being questioned. Does a neutral voice hold the same value today as it did a century ago? (Sambrook, 2012:3).

Stalwarts of impartiality inside the BBC such as its Director of Global News, Peter Horrocks have subjected this key tenet of its journalism to critical scrutiny. In a speech to journalists made in Moscow in 2012, he asked whether the BBC's brand of 'global, impartial journalism' could survive:

Journalists have faced threats to their lives, censorship through intimidation or faced terror charges in their search for alternative voices. These challenges have never been so severe or varied, as the shocking deaths of Marie Colvin and Remi Ochlik in Syria have shown. Here in Russia, who can forget the killing of Anna Politkovskaya or the other journalists from 'Novaya Gazeta' and other publications who were also killed in the pursuit of their work? (Horrocks, 2012).

Technological interference, censorship and the onset of the digital age with its fragmented audiences and citizen journalists all present challenges to impartial reporting and call its relevance into question (Horrocks, 2012). As he indicates, in the reporting of war, the concept of objectivity faces its greatest challenge: journalists embedded with troops at the outbreak of the Iraq War in 2003 often felt that their ability to report with impartiality was compromised (Tumber, 2005; Horrocks, 2012). To echo Bourdieu (1996) ego also has its place and placing self at the heart of the story challenges the notion of impartial reporting. When the BBC's veteran foreign correspondent John Simpson walked into Kabul in 2001 and claimed that 'it is an exhilarating feeling to be liberating a city', for Burkeman (2001) this threw into sharp relief the dangers of losing sight of the notion of journalist as voyeur rather than player.

The proponents of a more extreme objectivity believe that journalists should hold no views at all and should merely observe and report the facts as they see them. For Johan Galtung, a leading proponent of peace journalism, news organisations such as Al Jazeera set an example by presenting 'multiple truths' free from Anglo-American propaganda (Galtung, 2010). But the champions of an extreme objectivity have also been criticised for advocating a lack of engagement, which will lead to a lack of concern and some observers believe that journalists are more likely to be accountable if they see the stories they produce as their 'creation' (Frost 2007; Glasser, 1992).

What is autobiographical journalism?

To tell this story, I had to live it, often with pain, to the end (Di Giovanni, 2011).

The highly regarded foreign correspondent, Janine Di Giovanni has lived in war zones and reported from them for most of her professional life. In her autobiography, seen through the lens of an ill-fated and protracted love affair, she describes the difficulties of leading a 'normal' life: 'I was not afraid when I was in the middle of chaos. It was real life with its vast responsibilities and wells of insecurities that frightened me' (Di Giovanni, 2011:50). The lines between her professional and personal life became blurred as she filed stories from Sarajevo, Abidjan and the Middle East and her identity was inextricably linked with her job as a war reporter. Di Giovanni's observations of self are mirrored in the autobiographies of many other journalists, particularly those involved in reporting conflict: global citizens who feel that they belong everywhere, but nowhere. Autobiography provides a sense of their place in the world and roots them in a reality, emanating from writing about self.

Fergal Keane, who spent twenty-five years reporting from conflict zones for the BBC used his autobiography to analyse his background, growing up with an alcoholic father, 'to take stock of where I had come from, examine the influences that formed me, and to look at where I might be going' (Keane, 2005:Prologue). In a lighter vein, freelance journalist and broadcaster, Sarfraz Manzoor came to terms with his immigrant status, through an autobiographical narrative, which explores his relationship with his father to arrive at the conclusion that:

There is only one country, which is truly mine. The life my father had built, the family he raised and the life I have fashioned are all due to living in Britain (Manzoor, 2007:269).

BBC journalist Frank Gardner, shot and left for dead by Al Qaeda in Saudi Arabia in 2004, uses his autobiography *Blood and Sand*, written two years later, to reflect on the day he *became* the story: 'each time he fired it was as if a giant

hand had picked me up and slammed me down on the tarmac' (Gardner, 2006:28). Gardner's 'self-story' is written in 'real time' and provides a powerful illustration of the conjunction of personal and professional identities in the journalist – autobiographer. One of the most extreme examples of 'living autobiography' is evident in the work of the fearless Russian journalist, Anna Politkovskaya, who opposed the Putin regime, reported with brutal honesty from the killing fields of Chechnya and was ultimately killed in 2006 for her writing. Politkovskaya reported for the newspaper *Novaya Gazeta*; an article she wrote just before her death, 'Her Own Death Foretold' is chillingly autobiographical. She describes a decapitation that she witnessed, in a marketplace; only to be shot through the head herself two months later – from her perspective professional and personal identities were inextricably intertwined (Politkovskaya, 2011).

Journalists are *used* to telling stories and so their autobiographies are a form of reportage, as observed by Keane (2005). However, some journalists question the value of autobiographical elements seeping into their colleagues' writing style. Writing in *The Times* in 2008, veteran BBC correspondent Kate Adie shunned the idea of discussing 'emotional effects'; instead she has always advocated dealing privately with trauma (Adie, 2002).

Autobiographical journalism can be a form of catharsis, as seen in the works of many foreign correspondents, it provides a way of making sense of the world as they emerge from the fog of war reporting (Keane, 2005; Gardner, 2006; Di Giovanni, 2011). It is a stated aim of the BBC Radio 4 programme, *From Our Own Correspondent*, that 'it can often be cathartic for the correspondent to sit down, compose his or her thoughts and start writing' (BBC News website). This was clearly evident in the report filed by Norwegian correspondent, Peter Svaar, who was one of the first reporters on the scene of the Oslo bomb blast and the Utoeya shootings in 2011. His report describes how he felt as he discovered that a former classmate, Anders Breivik, had carried out the attacks, killing seventy-seven people and how 'at first I could not really believe it was true' but then realisation sets in: 'was that my friend, my schoolmate? It was. And he did that' (Svaar, 2011). Autobiographical writing often contains elements that conform to

Denzin's (1989) notion of 'epiphanies' whereby 'personal character is manifested. They are often moments of crisis' (Denzin, 1989:70). By their nature they are retrospective reflections of an experience (see Chapter 2).

The concept of autobiographical journalism is still relatively new, but the work of Coward (2009, 2010) has shed light on the confessional aspects of the genre. She defines autobiographical journalism as 'experiential first person writing' (Coward, 2009: 235). It has 'powerful narrative conventions (about self and subjectivity) at the heart' and is depicted as a natural progression from the work of columnists (Coward, 2009: 242). Here, there is a sense that journalism is the perfect medium for autobiographical writing:

In a culture hungry for the real experiences, for personal intimate self-revelation, journalism's professional values appear to guarantee authenticity (Coward 2009:241).

Coward wrote a column in *The Guardian*, which detailed her experiences of looking after a mother with dementia. In her inaugural lecture in 2007 at Roehampton University, she defined 'confessional journalism' as an important companion to objective reporting, rather than a threat:

Interrogating subjectivity is now part of our culture. Even though it takes many different forms, across most areas of cultural life there's an underlying preoccupation with identity. Popular culture is dominated by questions about identity and subjectivity: about how to improve, alter or come to terms with ourselves (Coward, 2007).

In 2009, *Guardian* columnist Julie Myerson marked herself out as a champion of an extreme form of confessional journalism with the publication of *The Lost Child* an account of her son's drug addiction. In seeking to shock him out of his habits through writing about them, Myerson revealed self-publicising qualities, which run counter to the journalist's craft and resonate with Burkeman's (2001) awareness of the dangers of becoming the story. Coward (2010) highlights the pitfalls of confessional writing in the context of journalistic convention:

On the one hand it affects the forms of writing and writers preferred; on the other, it has real ethical consequences for people caught up in this type of journalism (Coward, 2010: 227).

Confessional journalism, like Myerson's, and writing as catharsis, incur ethical challenges for broadcast journalists in particular, since they are generally required to be impartial observers. Confessional writing can impede the clear reporting of an impartially observed story and obfuscates the benefits of acknowledging the presence of the journalist's character and experiences within the act of storytelling.

Autobiography and authenticity:

Because it is based in fact, autobiographical journalism brings an aura of authenticity: journalists are meant to be truthful and operate within a profession, which values veracity (Coward, 2009:241).

We are all living in a reality show; we are all living a life and telling the story at the same time (Wurtzel, BBC interview 2012).

For journalists turned journalism-educators the integration of personal experience into journalistic storytelling chimes with a cultural phase, which craves human interest and so encourages the development of a 'more inclusive and emotionally intelligent approach to human experience' (Coward, 2010: 243). The reputation of journalists as purveyors of 'truth' is a pre-requisite for 'authentic' autobiographical journalism, which is borne of accuracy, rigour and integrity. The audience is more likely to trust autobiographical journalism, which is produced by a writer or broadcaster for whom authentic and impartial reporting is second nature. In March 2013, the political journalist Andrew Marr, who had been ill for over a year, returned to the screen as a guest of his own programme *The Andrew Marr Show* on BBC 1 and told viewers:

I had a major stroke - I'm frankly lucky to be alive. I had been heavily overworking - mostly my own fault - in the year before that. I'd had two minor strokes it turned out, in that year, which I hadn't noticed (Marr, 2013).

Marr plans to write and speak in more detail about this life-changing episode and, although drawn from his own experiences, these are likely to be regarded as trustworthy, accurate accounts, due to his training as an impartial broadcast journalist. Similarly, Frank Gardner recently returned to Saudi Arabia for the first time since he was shot, admitting that it was a tough film to make and that 'it is still fairly chilling for my family and friends I have come back here' and he returned to the hospital where his life was saved to 'see if memory matches reality' (Gardner, 2013). The autobiographical tone of the film that he made for BBC2, *Frank Gardner's Return to Saudi Arabia*, and his honest, personally expressed emotions imparted a veracity and authenticity to his investigation into the political and social profile of a nation that he believes to be misunderstood. Writing about his experiences on his return he felt that:

It seemed like a different world. Saudi Arabia has clearly moved on from those dark days of the insurgency. Returning after so long to this strange and often misunderstood country felt, for me, like a form of closure. I was glad to be back (Gardner, Daily Telegraph, April 10th, 2013).

Sometimes journalists use the vehicle of autobiography to search for 'truth'. Investigative reporter, David Carr used his professional skills to piece together his own story of the years he lost to drug addiction and deceptive memory in the autobiographical account *The Night of the Gun* (2008). In a deeply cathartic venture, Carr conducted interviews and explored every aspect of his years as an addict, in an attempt to elicit the 'truth' from stories, which differed from his own recollection of events. Elizabeth Wurtzel, the author of the 'misery memoir' *Prozac Nation* (1995) sees life differently, whereby we are all players in a reality show, so that the telling of a life story is synonymous with living it out – it is life laid bare, without the filter of objectivity or self-reflective thought. Autobiographical journalism should avoid the

trap of narcissism, says Coward, who detects a difference between the ‘me’ of journalism and the ‘Me, myself and I of contemporary art’ (Coward, 2010, 243).

In September 2012, Salman Rushdie, writing for *The New Yorker*, reflected on a life lived under the *fatwa* imposed on him in 1989 by Ayatollah Khomeini. In the article he tells his story in the third person to bring a distance into the narrative process:

He also knew that his old self's habits were of no use anymore. He was a new self now. He was the person in the eye of the storm, no longer the Salman his friends knew but the Rushdie who was the author of “Satanic Verses”
(Rushdie, 2012).

The style of narrative and the voice within it can change and the experience that is related might be remote from that of the readers, but honesty is a core requirement. For Wurtzel, speaking in a BBC interview in 2012, ‘when you write a very honest memoir, amazingly, people will relate to it who have nothing in common with you.’

Honesty and authenticity should be accompanied by accuracy. A key tenet of journalism is accurate reporting of the facts that are known. The work of *The Times* foreign correspondent Marie Colvin, who was killed in Syria in 2012, provides a clear illustration of the requirements of bearing witness often involving huge personal risk in order to report accurately and with impact. On Colvin’s last assignment, having smuggled herself over the border into Homs, she explained why she took such personal risk: ‘I feel strongly that we have to include these stories of the suffering of civilians to get the point across’ (Swain in Colvin, 2012:534). Veteran war correspondent for *The Observer*, Peter Beaumont agrees that accuracy is served best by being there, but believes that in conflict zones ‘the challenge becomes to be as honest as I can’ (Beaumont, 2009:10). He is acutely aware of his ‘shifting shape’ as he arrives in a conflict zone:

As an observer, I know that I am not exempt from the same tendency to remodel the experience of conflict, sifting and listening and applying

my own interpretations and prejudices. I sample, filter and mix as I watch, effecting my own subtle and not so subtle alterations. I realise too that not only is it impossible to separate myself from the stories I collect, but that it is necessary to channel those experiences through my own to try to render them in emotions and sensations that have meaning for me (Beaumont, 2009:10).

Although a print journalist, Colvin often appeared on the BBC News to share her eyewitness accounts with listeners and viewers. For some observers - like Sherry Ricciardi (2000) - the levels of engagement required by Colvin's style of journalism challenge the edict of objective reporting and involve risk-taking which can make the journalist the story:

Her storytelling goes beyond survivors who have made it to refugee camps. Instead, she opts to record the misery of those still trapped. That means gaining access to places that have been declared off-limits by one side or the other in a conflict. It is here that she becomes most vulnerable (Ricciardi, 2000).

The interplay of autobiography and reportage is perhaps most acute when reporters are bearing witness in conflict zones and presents a challenge to the 'good practice' of the journalist's craft as observer of a reality based in facts. Colvin felt that she was able to make a difference; in her reporting, she avoided putting herself into the story but believed that total objectivity was ultimately unattainable (Colvin, 2012).

Working lives and professional identity:

One by one and two by two the sober, responsible men emerged from the main door again to go out for lunch. The Foreign Editor, the Literary Editor, the Diplomatic Correspondent and the Rugby Football Correspondent made up a party to share a taxi to the Garrick.

(Michael Frayn, *Towards the End of Morning*, 1967).

Autobiographical writing can also provide a glimpse into people's working lives, their social and historical contexts. Frayn's (1967) witty observations of the male-dominated world of newspapers, with its long alcohol-fuelled lunches were mirrored in the working practices of broadcasting organisations at the time - a world where the newsroom resembled a cosy male club. The few women who worked as journalists, wrote mainly for magazines or worked as junior researchers in the broadcast newsroom and were often portrayed as 'maladjusted' (Born, 1982). A kindlier view is presented by the novelist Henry James, whose London newspaper editor in one of his stories expected women to deliver from interviews: 'anecdotes, glimpses, gossip, chat, a picture of 'home life', domestic habits, diet, dress arrangement' (James in Hunter, 2012:206). Contrary to these stereotypes women have battled to report the news - often from the frontline - since the 1860s and the Crimean War (Sebba, 1994). Studies focusing on the autobiographical accounts of women journalists paint a picture of ambitious and professional women working within a 'traditional' newsroom context (Born, 1982). Autobiographical 'self-stories' can present a powerful challenge to stereotypical accounts of the workplace as well as shedding light on perceptions of professional self-identity. They also provide illuminating historical context.

This research project does not intend to analyse in depth gender-based issues associated with women working as journalists, but autobiographical accounts can provide rich historical insights to the working practices of a particular period. Autobiographical writing provides some understanding of the lives of legendary reporters like Martha Gelhorn, Charlotte Haldane, Lynne Reid Banks and many lesser-known women, which provides important background to the role played by women in news reporting for over 150 years. By the end of the Second World War, female reporters were still a rarity and hence part of the story themselves, but 'in general, the women were taken seriously by this time and were not used by their papers as stunts' (Sebba, 1994:149).

Veteran newspaper editor Harold Evans uses the first instalment of his autobiography, *My Paper Chase*, to paint a picture of 'true stories of vanished times,' (Evans, 2009). His description of Fleet Street as a magical place in the mid-1960s, seen through the eyes of a Northern newspaper editor, portrays a bygone age, which reflects Frayn's (1967) parody:

Nearly all the national newspapers had their headquarters in the street or nearby, with their presses roaring in the basements, the press barons barking in the penthouses, news vans and reporters racing out and enough watering holes for a thirsty newsman, gossip diarist or cameraman to run from one to another in a rainstorm without getting wet
(Evans, 2009: 269-270).

He also describes the male-dominated environment and a system of professional promotion, which resided in armchair chats with proprietors, looking to 'groom' a future managing editor. The intellectual and journalist Keith Kyle's sharply observed autobiography, *Reporting the World* (2009) is placed firmly in its historical time and is, he admits, 'held together by my memory.' It reads like a history book as well as an autobiography, because Kyle tells his story through the prism of historical events and key moments in time.

Autobiographical writing by journalists can also usefully illustrate how men and women construct stories about themselves, both in the newsroom and in the field. For many like former war correspondent, now TV anchor, Jon Snow, the professional and personal identity is intertwined – inextricably – so that his own campaigning zeal informs his craft. Often hailed as a modern-day George Orwell, Snow presents his autobiography, *Shooting History* (2004,) as a 'personal journey' and a 'tale from which this reporter emerges at least as blemished as anyone he reports on' (Snow, 2004:6). It is infused with a desire to change the world, to challenge inequality and unfairness, whilst reporting impartially for Channel 4 News.

If journalism is defined as a craft, or even a trade (Marr, 2004) rather than as a profession, these examples illustrate how individuals seek to place themselves within their working world: where the remit of impartiality reigns supreme, but 'self', as a storyteller, is also central. It is perhaps not surprising that since the days of Defoe and Dickens, many journalists have also operated as novelists. Lynne Reid Banks gave up writing news after the publication of *The L-Shaped Room* in 1962 and Martha Gelhorn, overshadowed by her husband, Ernest Hemingway, funded her literary ambitions with her job as a reporter. She claimed that, with fiction, 'you had much more time, as much time and space as you want, and can go into a degree of detail which you can never do in journalism' (Gelhorn in Sebba, 2010:116). Others have followed this lead after years of reporting in the field (Bishop, 2011;MacIntyre, 2010, 2012).

The work conducted by Mishler (1999) on the narratives of identity of craft artists shows how, rather than romanticising their craft, potters and artisans 'were keenly aware of "how the world is made" and tried to find ways to continue with their work within that reality' (Mishler, 1999:161). The same could be said of journalists, keen to stay true to the craft of storytelling, but encouraged to diversify as a result of editorial constraints (deadlines and the remit of impartiality) and economic imperatives (low pay in a digital age). Notions of professional identity must be set against a landscape of social and economic reality. For the craft artists, economic factors and institutional structures 'condition and shape what they do and who they are' (Mishler, 1999:160).

Changing perceptions of self – identity:

Autonomy of journalists on the individual or organisational level does not necessarily translate to autonomy on the societal level that is needed for democracy to function (Ornebring, 2010:574).

As artists often feel removed from the reality they are trying to reflect and to change, so for journalists there is often a gap between the democratic and

romantic 'vision' of changing the ways in which people see the world and the reality of hitting the ceaseless deadlines of the 24/7 broadcast and online news cycle, of churning out news to sell papers. Nick Davies depicts the gulf between utopian vision and dumbed-down, even distorted, reality in autobiographical terms in *Flat Earth News* (2009). Setting out as a messenger boy on the *Guardian* newspaper, he had high hopes that 'I would take a front-row seat on history unfolding and, most of all, I would change the world' only to acknowledge, after years of working in newsrooms that 'the unavoidable reality of journalism is that all of our work is tethered by a deadline' (Davies, 2009:2). His book portrays a 'corrupted profession' reliant on the churn of the PR industry, driven by the demand for intrusive stories and distorted by the tyranny of the 24/7 news cycle. For Marr (2004) his 'trade' is affected by a crisis of trust, a tendency to exaggerate and it is hidebound by a 'reluctance to correct stories. This is hard wired into journalism. We like to think of 'the story' as a single clear event' (Marr, 2004:380).

The journalist's view of self in the first decade of the 21st century is constructed against the backdrop of intense scrutiny, by critical friends, like Marr (2004), Davies (2009) and Horrocks (2012) from within the profession and most recently by the Leveson Inquiry set up in 2011 as a public inquiry into the regulation of the media prompted by the *News of the World* 'phone hacking scandal. The remit of Leveson was to analyse the workings of the press rather than broadcast journalism, but the inquiry has arguably had an impact on the confidence of broadcast-based news organisations: speaking in a recent master class at Bournemouth University, Alex Thomson, chief correspondent for Channel 4 News claimed that television is 'cowed' and risk averse because 'we talk about Leveson as though it had something to do with us. It didn't'. He argues that television has always played a different role to the press, producing 'the most credible form of news' (Thomson, 2013). Post-Leveson, some observers argue that journalism education should be a standard-bearer for good practice (see later in this chapter for more detail on the Leveson Inquiry). As media commentator, Roy Greenslade observed on his *Guardian* blog:

While the next generation of journalists may take ethics seriously, their bosses may not. That's the challenge for Leveson - to come up with a way to build a new ethical foundation for our journalism that overcomes the reality of newsroom pressures (Greenslade, 2012).

This acknowledges the roles that newsroom cultures and professional contexts play in an individual's life and indicates that the future of journalism rests with the journalists of the future and their educators (Greenslade, 2012; Frost, 2012).

Journalism education, professionalism and 'good practice':

It has never yet been a profession. It has been at times a dignified calling, at others a romantic adventure, and then again a servile trade (Lippmann quoted in AJR, 1995).

Walter Lippmann, Pulitzer prize - winning journalist and founder of the *New Republic* magazine in the United States, believed that journalism education in journalism schools was unlikely to become established until journalism became a profession, although journalism schools (J-Schools) have been in existence in the US since the beginning of the 20th century. In the UK, Fred Hunter pioneered broadcast journalism teaching at the first university journalism course in the UK at the London College of Printing (LCP) now the London College of Communication. In his book *Hacks and Dons* (2012) produced from his 1984 doctoral thesis, Hunter highlighted the tensions evident in combining journalism with its emphasis on relaying information quickly with academia and its focus on certainty (Hunter, 2012:4). But Weberian insight enables Hunter to bring the hacks and the dons together, since both engage in investigation in the pursuit of truth – 'in this respect Weber suggests journalism is normal and it is the academic discipline – with its ever-extending periods of research – that is exceptional' (Hunter, 2012:4).

There is an ongoing and lively debate about whether journalism is a craft, a trade, a profession or even an art and there is a well-argued literature around the notion of journalism as a profession (Marr, 2004; Davies, 2009; Tumber and

Prentoulis, 2005;Kovach and Rosenstiehl, 2001). Those, like Richard Tait at Cardiff University, one of the UK's longest established journalism schools, who champion the 'professionalisation' of journalism, have recently expressed a view that this is the route to accessibility as well as higher standards of ethics and practice with education playing a key role:

As journalism struggles to be more representative of society as a whole, and to be a career that is genuinely open to all talent and with universally high professional standards, going back to the old days of relying on contacts, charm and chance to get a job just opens the gates to favouritism, discrimination and nepotism. The universities have a central role in every other profession – why on earth should journalism be different? (Tait, 2007).

The different routes into journalism, acknowledged by Tait (2007) provide one of the key lines of argument against its definition as a profession (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996; McQuail, 2000). For some observers, professionalisation contravenes basic human rights so that:

Journalism cannot be fully regarded as a profession; it would be against the freedom of expression to demand some kind of legitimisation for those expressing themselves in media (Witschge and Nygren, 2009:39).

They argue that labelling journalism as a semi-profession feels more comfortable since there is a balancing act in play, between the organisational demands with standards and routines within a news organisation and the occupational aspects of professionalism – the 'values, norms and identity developing among journalists themselves' (Witschge and Nygren, 2009:41, citing Ornebring, 2008). In the United States, journalism *education* was professionalised in the first quarter of the 20th Century, with the foundation of Columbia Journalism School in New York in 1912 and the development of professional associations of journalism, such as the Society of Professional Journalism in 1909. Here the imperative was to command respect and to elevate

the practice of journalism to a level where it was not 'working class and disreputable' (Rosen, 2012).

There are now over sixty accredited journalism courses at UK universities (around one hundred and fifty courses in total) and most major news organisations have embraced the concept of journalism education as part of the landscape within which they operate – most recently, the *Guardian* launched a postgraduate course with Cardiff University's journalism department. As already noted, news organisations are moving away from regimes focused around skills training, which were often treated with disdain by journalists. The drive towards ethics and critical reflection on practice as well as a growth in research activity has provided key imperatives in this shift in the academy (Frost, 2012). The editorial of the second edition of *Journalism Education*, the newly established journal of the Association of Journalism Education, published just before Lord Leveson shared the findings of his report, posited that journalism education is more crucial than ever:

Our own industry has long enjoyed pouring scorn on journalism degrees claiming that they are a waste of time and that all a good journalist needed was a plausible manner and a steady pushbike. Those of us moved to teach after long, usually successful careers as journalists are labelled as failures – “those who can't do, teach” – but we can easily dismiss these as the comments of those fearful they would not be able to cut it either as teachers or students. More serious is that the revelations of the past two years prove beyond doubt that anyone hoping to work in journalism in the next 20 years or more is going to need excellent and rigorous higher education allied to some quality journalism training (Frost, McKay, Temple and Allan, 2012).

News organisations have also been spurred on by crisis and changing working practices inspired by new technology. The shift in emphasis away from training towards education has been characterised by increased mobility between newsroom and classroom, with leading editorial figures taking up professorial chairs in journalism departments in universities in the UK. The mood music around journalism education suggests that the academy will increasingly

become the focus for setting and inculcating high standards of practice and leading innovation in this area.

Jay Rosen, at New York University, claims that journalism education is distinguished by the fact that 'it specialises in the vernacular' (Rosen, 2012). In a speech to journalism educators and students at City University in June, 2012, Rosen put reporting (story-telling) at the heart of good practice in journalism education alongside an interdisciplinary approach, whereby the journalism school is 'conversant with every other discipline, but only speaking in the public language to the public about matters of public importance'. In this way it differs from academic disciplines, where scholars speak to each other, within the academy, since journalism in the context of Higher Education 'is the part of the university that is public facing and stands for an informed public' (Rosen, 2012). For others re-imagining journalism education is the priority:

Only by rethinking and reinvigorating journalism and journalism education will it be possible to institutionalise journalism as a profession that is equipped to fulfil its societal tasks (Donsbach, 2010:47).

A closer relationship between newsroom and classroom is seen as imperative in the dissemination of good practice and the reassertion of journalism's standards and values.

Setting the Scene:

In addition to the changes imposed by technology and re-worked business models, the context within which journalists and journalism educators operate within the UK has been shaped in recent years by crisis. The BBC College of Journalism was set up in 2005 in response to the Neil Report's (2004) review of journalism training and practice, the Leveson report of 2012 called for 'regulatory underpinning' of the press and arguably challenged the confidence of broadcasters (Thomson, 2012) and, in the same year, the BBC faced a crisis of editorial confidence over the issue of Savile and the Newsnight affair (see below). A charted and marked decline in trust in public institutions presents another key challenge to journalists and journalism educators. This contextual

detail and the editorial guidelines of the BBC relating to impartiality are relevant to this study, which explores how the 'lived experiences' of journalists can be used to share and inculcate good practice in the setting of journalism education – whether located in a university or the training arm of a news organisation.

'No ivy – clad quads:'

The BBC should establish a college of journalism under the leadership of an academic principal (Neil Report, 2004).

The BBC College of Journalism was established in 2005, after the findings of the Hutton Inquiry, which was commissioned by the Labour government into the circumstances surrounding the death of the government scientist, Dr David Kelly. Kelly had been named as the source of a story, broadcast 'live' on the *Today* programme in May 2003, by its reporter Andrew Gilligan, which claimed that Tony Blair's government 'probably knew' a dossier about the weapons of mass destruction (WMD) capabilities of Saddam Hussein's regime in Iraq had been 'sexed up' or exaggerated to strengthen the case for going to war (Fowler-Watt and Wilson, 2013). The subsequent Hutton Report was deeply critical of the BBC, dismissing Gilligan's claims as 'unfounded' and branding the editorial and management systems at the BBC as 'defective' (Hutton, 2004). The BBC Chairman, Gavyn Davies, the Director-General, Greg Dyke and Andrew Gilligan were all immediate casualties and the BBC responded with its own internal inquiry, led by the former news executive Ron Neil. The Neil Report of 2004 laid out 'guidelines to strengthen BBC journalism in the future' (BBC Press Office, 2004), it criticised journalism training at the corporation as 'patchy' and recommended the creation of a journalism college. There are no 'ivy clad quads' (BBC College of Journalism, 2012) rather a virtual learning environment. The website, set up in 2007 and the workshops on editorial leadership and core skills run regularly in regional centres around the country, place the teaching of impartiality as a mind-set at the heart of their educational activity.

This study will refer to the definition of impartiality implemented by the BBC, as the BBC College of Journalism provides the case study for this project. For BBC journalists, impartiality is a *mindset*, whereby the journalist:

- **Initially sets out to look for the facts and opinions relevant to a particular story without any bias or preconceptions.**
- **Gathers the facts and opinions that those involved in the story see as significant and relevant.**
- **Considers and weighs those facts and opinions to come to a judgment, without bias or preconceptions, as to where the axis of debate lies and which are the important arguments on that axis.**

Source: BBC College of Journalism, 2010.

The deductive teaching style used within the workshops at the College of Journalism places these definitions of impartiality centre-stage and involves the trainee journalists and editors enrolled on the courses in the process of learning. The sessions, which are led by experienced journalists who share their own personal stories to guide the learning of others, focus on scenarios and 'real-life' examples. A selection of these experienced professionals provides the primary source of data for this study. All of the learning and teaching within the college is delivered within the context of the five core editorial values of the BBC, which were re-stated by the Neil Report in 2004 and are clearly defined on the BBC College of Journalism website:

- ***Impartiality*** -- The BBC's Charter and Agreement requires its coverage to be impartial. Impartiality is not the same as objectivity or balance or neutrality, nor is it the same as simply being fair. At its simplest it means 'not taking sides'.
- ***Truth and accuracy*** -- the facts and the story must be accurately and correctly reported, otherwise the trust of the audience could be lost.
- ***Journalism in the public interest*** -- the BBC carries out its journalism in the public interest. That includes reporting and providing

information on matters of significance and relevance to a number of different audiences.

- **Independence** -- BBC journalists have to be able to show the independence of their decision-making.
- **Accountability** -- Being accountable to BBC audiences means being able to show that you had good reasons for making the decision you did. It also means that those reasons are consistent with the BBC's journalistic values and editorial guidelines.
(BBC College of Journalism website.)

The impact of Leveson:

It might be helpful at this difficult stage if lovers of editorial freedom rattled the chains that tie them down rather than demanded more chains for everyone
(Peter Preston, *The Observer*, 3rd February 2013).

At the opening of his inquiry into the standards and ethics of the press on November 14th, 2011, Lord Leveson declared that:

The press provides an essential check on all aspects of public life. That is why any failure within the media affects all of us. At the heart of this Inquiry, therefore, may be one simple question: who guards the guardians?
(Leveson, 2011).

The two thousand page Leveson Report was published a year later to a mixed reception from politicians, journalists and the public. It called for an independent regulator with the power to fine newspapers up to one million pounds or one per cent of turnover for breaching a new code of conduct and for a statutory underpinning 'to protect the freedom of the press, to reassure the public and validate the new body' (Leveson, 2012). Political wrangling and fierce debate within the journalistic community ensued, with a compromise solution of a form of regulation by Royal Charter emerging in March 2013. The final shape of the new press code is still being debated.

Broadcasters have always lived with regulation by Ofcom (as outlined earlier in this chapter), but whilst the inquiry and the ensuing report focused on the reform of the press and its regulator, the Press Complaints Commission (PCC) it is important to acknowledge Thomson's (2013) - and others' - concerns about a 'cowed' and risk-averse broadcast community post-Leveson. This is particularly pertinent within a media environment, where journalists operate across platforms and where movement between jobs and roles is more fluid than ever before – the cultures of the press and broadcasters could arguably become less distinctive as a result. The Leveson Report also sharpens the spotlight on journalism education and implies a sense of heightened responsibility (Frost, McKay, Temple and Allan, 2012; Greenslade, 2012). Questions of ethics and what makes good practice will be evaluated against this background.

A question of trust:

We'd like to believe that we can trust each other in the press to be honorable. Trustworthiness, or integrity, is one of the values we've most sought as we hire and promote. And trust has never been more a moving target as we've seen a shuffling of owners, top execs, news managers, and long-time journalists. It's easy to claim — as in "CNN, the Most Trusted Name in News" — but much harder to earn every day (Doctor, 2012).

Writing for the prestigious Nieman Journalism Lab, based at Harvard University, Ken Doctor (2012) highlights trust as a key tenet of the daily activity of journalists. But journalism as a profession in the UK has experienced a steady decline in trust. In 2010, a Yougov poll conducted for *Prospect* magazine found that trust in the BBC's journalists had dropped 21 points since 2003, down from 81 to 60 per cent. Broadsheet newspapers witnessed a similar decline, with *the Times*, *Daily Telegraph* and *The Guardian* down to 41%, *Daily Mail* and *Daily Express* fell from 35% to 21% and the tabloids or 'red tops' slumped to a trust rating of 10% (Yougov, 2010). The Leveson Inquiry's remit to explore the culture, practices and ethics of the media was devised against this background, with an immediate focus for its investigations centred around the scandals of 'phone hacking and payments to police sources. The issue of trust has exercised

journalism and its observers, both academics and practitioners, for some time. Despite occasional glimmers of hope, such as the Edelman Trust barometer's findings in 2012 that trust in the media had improved, due largely to its coverage of the financial crisis, the key issues remain. Leveson might provide an opportunity for journalists who had been drinking for far too long in the 'last chance saloon' to rebuild their image, to re-establish a relationship of trust with the public and to engage in meaningful self-regulation (Hagerty, 1992). Broadcast journalists have generally fared better in the trust ratings than their Fleet Street counterparts, but questions of trust and objectivity remain relevant in a digital age, where content is king and audiences are more fickle:

The international news media is going through a revolution that puts the audience in charge. It is a convulsion that is testing every news organisation. With web, social interactivity and globalisation, news brands are in a battle for attention and trust (Horrocks, 2012).

Since then, the BBC has faced a crisis, which has been as challenging as that presented by the Gilligan affair and the subsequent Hutton Inquiry (2004). In 2012 the corporation faced allegations of sex abuse by one of its key entertainment figures, the late Jimmy Savile and a crisis of leadership on its flagship nightly current affairs programme, *Newsnight*, where an investigation into Savile's activities was pulled from the schedules. As Lord Leveson shared his findings into the conduct of the press with the British public, the Director-General of the BBC was sacked after only fifty-four days in post as a result of the Savile and *Newsnight* affair. He is the shortest serving Director General in the BBC's history.

The corporation's woes were compounded by alarming new figures on its trust ratings, whereby 'for the first time since YouGov started tracking public trust in British institutions, more people distrust BBC journalists (47%) than trust them (44%)' (Kellner, 2012). The BBC's new director-general, Tony Hall, placed trust at the heart of the BBC's activities when he took over in April 2013. The *Daily Telegraph* reported that 'a BBC insider said his arrival was intended to sound a

“division bell” between the Corporation’s recent period of crisis and how it will develop in the future.’ (Daily Telegraph, April 1st, 2013).

This study is located against the background of change and internal scrutiny at the BBC and although it does not seek to analyse the impact of recent events, the participants in this research have operated within this context of organisational change.

Chapter 2: Methodology

The great enemy of clear language is insincerity. When there is a gap between one's real and one's declared aims, one turns as it were instinctively to long words and exhausted idioms, like a cuttlefish squirting out ink.

(Orwell, 1946)

You only have to mobilize what you have - your integrity and your moral courage. Look always to language. Don't find yourself saying something dishonest, a formulation that has been handed to you by authority.

(Hitchens, 2006)

This section intends to cover the methodological approaches employed in this study and focuses on Denzin's (1989) seminal work on interpretive biography, Mishler's (1986) approach to research interviewing and his work on analysing craft artists' narratives of identity (Mishler, 1999). It falls into three parts: an assessment of biographical approaches to research, a critical analysis of the concept of the research interview as discourse and the utility of applying the research conducted by Mishler (1999) into craft artists' narratives to this study of the narratives of identity of journalism educators. It concludes with a consideration of relevant ethical issues.

Since journalism is produced in the vernacular, this study intends to present ideas in clearly accessible language, to ensure an authentic and ethical 'fit' with the subject matter and the orientation of the researcher, as a former journalist, whilst acknowledging the linguistic conventions of academic research. As a journalist, I am committed to the concept of 'authentic communication', which, it can be argued, is embodied in the Orwellian tradition of combining 'fiction, eyewitness reportage, biography, ethnographic study, political polemic and media content analysis' (Keeble, 2005:64).

A biographical study changes and is adapted over time. As Rubin and Rubin (1995) suggest, when employing qualitative interviewing it is important 'to adapt to what you are learning' so the design is flexible and in shaping the design it is important to 'suspend your own assumptions about the way things work, and actively solicit ideas and themes from your interviewees.' (Rubin and Rubin, 1995:43). The exploratory nature of the research does not, however, detract from the need for a clear purpose.

The Art of the Interview:

I wish to treat the interview as an observational encounter. An encounter represents the coming together of two or more persons for the purpose of focused interaction. (Denzin, 1970: 133 in Silverman, 2001).

In this study, the aims and objectives (restated at the end of this chapter) were pursued through semi-structured interviews. As Squire (2008:29) asserts 'most experience-centred narrative interviewing is semi-structured,' whereby researcher involvement shows a continuum, depending on where the researcher thinks 'narratives live.'

The interview is the bread and butter of journalistic inquiry and it was considered appropriate to elicit the experiences of journalism educators using this method of inquiry – in simplest form, the storytellers tell their stories. In order to understand the role of the journalist as educator, semi-structured interviews with journalists engaged in educating other journalists aim to shed light on the practitioner-educator. This ability to observe and elicit understanding from interviews is captured by Denzin (1970) writing from a sociological perspective, also employed in his work on biography, where the interview constitutes an 'observational encounter.'

Conle (2000:58) states that 'links between life lived and work accomplished, in my view, cannot be ignored.' The autobiographical connection here is clear; a journalist may seek to educate another through use of an example selected from

his or her own life. Journalists talk to each other to find out more, they share and endorse each others' stories – in talking to them through the construct of the interview, the researcher can explore how and why they have utilised their lived experiences to teach others. A similar approach has been used by journalists researching the working practices of journalists – for example, in a study of the impact of new working practices in regional broadcast newsrooms, Wallace (2007) engaged in iterative analysis of interviews with a range of working journalists and so cast light on the role of the new breed of multi-skilled journalist.

The biographical method:

*Lives and their experiences are represented in stories. They are like pictures that have been painted over, and when paint is scraped off an old picture, something new becomes visible. What is new is what was previously covered up. A life and stories about it have the qualities of **pentimento** (Denzin, 1989;81).*

In his work on biographical method, Denzin (1989) intends to reconcile the work of those sceptical that a true picture of a person's inner life can be captured (Derrida, 1972) with the work of interpretive sociologists (Bruner, 1986) who 'study real people who have real-life experiences in the social world' so that ultimately, 'the subject matter of the biographical method is the life experiences of a person' (Denzin, 1989:13 -14). This study utilises the key tenets of the biographical method, which centre on the construction of personal stories presented as autobiographies, since these are 'conventionalised, narrative expressions of life experiences' (Denzin, 1989:17). Whilst not without its problems – as defined by Denzin (1989), re-created in Fig. (1) and acknowledged by the researcher, the biographical method as a means to establish the "real" appearances of "real" people fits the spirit and aims of this study. It allows for a dynamic and immersive approach to accessing the experiences of others, akin to the mechanics of journalistic inquiry.

Fig. (1):

Problematic propositions and taken-for granted assumptions with the biographical method:

1. The existence of others
2. The influence and importance of gender and class
3. Family beginnings
4. Starting points
5. Known and knowing authors and observers
6. Objective life markers
7. Real persons with real lives
8. Turning - point experiences
9. Truthful statements distinguished from fictions

The concept of the 'feeling, thinking, living, breathing person, as the 'real' subject of the biographical method' (Denzin,1989:22) lies at the heart of this study, where the text provides the architecture for relating the individual stories of journalists, but it is a dynamic concept, whereby the individual imbues and drives the story and its textual entity. The participants also determine the use of language, its style and tone, since the languages of autobiographical and biographical texts 'are only devices, tools or *bricolages* for creating texts' (Denzin, 1989:22). He uses Derrida's (1972) concept of the writer as a *bricoleur* who uses the means at hand to create a text (auto/biography) – there is a real person out there, but the writer has used the means at hand to find a way of telling their story (of using language) to create a text which looks autobiographical, although the researcher cannot purport to tell the 'real' person's story. The data-driven approach of this study is supported by the notion that 'the meanings of these experiences are best given by the persons who experience them' and the biographical method adopted places the importance of meaning and interpretation above the 'pre-occupation with method'. The researcher stays close to the text provided by the primary source, so that any interpretations resulting as texts are 'narrative fictions cut from the same kinds of cloth as the lives they tell about' (Denzin, 1989:26). In this way,

the storyteller's story and the researcher's re-telling of that story remain closely related throughout the interpretive process. There is an honesty, an authenticity, about the data-driven nature of a study, which allows the voice of the participant to be clearly audible – with interpretations 'cut from the same cloth' as the storyteller's. There is also a phenomenological element to this approach, which acknowledges that each story is unique, although some lines of comparison are drawn between participants' stories and general themes can be carefully extracted from the five interviews as a whole.

When writing for others, telling their 'stories', whether as a researcher, biographer or journalist, the writer as a messenger carries a heavy burden of responsibility. Macfarlane (2009), echoing Hitchens (2006) claims that it is important to be sincere when 'writing up' and emphasises that 'what is vital is that such endeavours are authentic representations of what the researcher has found out, or at least *believes* to be true' (Macfarlane, 2009:91).

The interplay of subjective knowing and inter-subjective knowing at the heart of the biographical method resides on 'subjective and inter-subjectively gained knowledge and understandings of the life experiences of individuals, including one's own life' (Denzin, 1989:28). These understandings 'rest on an interpretive process that leads one to enter into the emotional life of another' for Denzin (1989), interpreting creates the condition for understanding – being able to 'grasp the meanings of an interpreted experience for another individual.' This study focuses on the 'lived experiences' of journalists and how these experiences have been applied to their lives as educators. In line with the biographical method, it tries to capture what Denzin (1989:29) calls the 'deep' level – the inner life of a person. In Macfarlane's (2009) view, as an academic drawing on the life experiences of others, the researcher has consented to the pursuit of a 'higher standard or truth' (Macfarlane, 2009:94). This research project acknowledges the complexities of studying lives and lived experiences and seeks to focus on the experiences and narratives of identity of the participants as journalists now performing the role of journalism educators. Hence, the stories that are told in 'storied selves' are only partial stories, as they focus on 'a set of

experiences' that the individual considers important in the context of life as a journalism educator.

Unlike politicians, who may draw on the narratives of others' lives to 'sell' policy – biographical researchers must seek to interpret the stories as presented to them, not to utilise them for their own ends (Fowler-Watt, 2010). The imperatives of policy initiatives might dictate the selection of stories utilised by the politician, but the researcher adopts a performative role. Since there is 'no neutral mode of report' (Hammerlsey and Atkinson, 1983:207) the researcher seeks, through the in-depth analysis of information-rich material, to be non-judgemental, whilst acknowledging the presence of self. In 'giving voice' to others the biographical researcher seeks to retain the integrity of meaning so that the material elicited through interview can 'speak for itself', whilst affording it elements of interpretation and synthesis. The ethics section of this study outlines in more detail that this is a process, which requires a self-reflexive and dexterous approach. The outcomes are often compelling and powerful, but only 'the representations of experience can ever be captured' (Denzin, 1989:69).

A 'new' departure:

i) The research interview as discourse:

All stories are situated retellings
(Mishler, 1999:50).

This study is informed by Mishler's (1986) thesis on interviews as discourse. It is predicated on a critique of what he calls 'standard practice' in research interviewing, urging a move away from trying to standardise people's behaviour, whereby the stimulus-response model is invoked, and towards an alternative approach, which confirms to the notion of an interview as 'discourse.' The concept of the interview as discourse has four key tenets:

- i) Interviews are 'speech events'.
- ii) Discourse is constructed jointly between interviewers and respondents.
- iii) Analysis and interpretations are based on a theory of discourse and meaning .
- iv) Meanings of questions and answers are contextually grounded.

Moreover, the discourse is 'jointly constructed' so that participant and interviewer arrive at 'a mutually constructed understanding of the meanings of questions and responses' (Mishler, 1986: Preface – herein after EM).

This has resonance for the researcher as a journalist, since the concept of an interview as a conversation is central to eliciting source material or journalistic data. The news reports or features which result are arguably 'mutually constructed' since the interviewee must be represented fairly and with 'due impartiality' according to broadcasting conventions (see Chapter 1). So, Mishler's 'naturally occurring conversations' (EM:6) have a methodological fit for this research – and this has an ethical dimension, since a method which 'fits' is a key part of an ethically viable research project.

Mishler (1986) gives his own arguments important context, by outlining where the research interview has 'come from' and how it achieved 'mature status' (EM:2). He highlights the difference between naturally occurring questions and the more rigid and fixed notion of survey interviews, which adopt a Q and A format. Not only does coding these interviews depend on the competence of the coders or researchers, but also 'contextual grounds of meaning' can be suppressed in the act of coding. In biographical research, context is all-important – the analysis of lives lived is wholly dependent on an understanding of context and in this sense Mishler's (1986) work is important for this study. His emphasis on the exploratory nature of the interview as 'a form of discourse between speakers' also fits the journalistic understanding of the nature of the interview as an exercise in intellectual curiosity. Arguably the 'standardised' Q and A approach is intellectually curious, but the diminution of context reduces

intelligent and reflective are the key participants. Over-involvement or lack of self-awareness can distort the relationship between researcher and participant(s). Usher (2000) cites a self-reflexive account of a piece of ethnographic research by Jayati Lal (1996) in which the author acknowledges the impact she had on a group of garment workers. As a result of her own perceptions she believes she 'contributed to perpetuating the inequality of the workers' (Usher, 2000:33). A more valid account is attained if it is 'recognised as a possibly true account by those whose activities it describes' (Carr and Kemmis, 1986:94).

Meaning is also important – Mishler's 'new definition' posits an interview in which the meanings of questions and responses are 'contextually grounded' and 'jointly constructed by interviewer and respondent' (EM: 34).

iii) Interviews as 'speech events':

The construction of the interview as a 'speech event' is a borrowed idea, and Mishler acknowledges Hymes' (1967) earlier work in this area, using the definition of a 'speech event' as 'an activity governed by the rules of speech' (EM:35). This definition alerts us to features of the interview, which he claims were previously ignored, such as taking speech seriously, the question as part of the text and the meaning of questions as important. Transcripts become dynamic and ever-changing as the interview (which includes the questions and the pauses and the overlaps) is listened to again and again. By returning to the original recording, the adequacy of the initial interpretation is assessed (EM:48). It is as important to understand how interviewers 'reformulate' questions as it is to understand how respondents 'frame answers' and any variations in the process are significant data for analysis not problems which need a solution, as the stimuli/response model might suggest (EM:52). For Mishler, the 'variations become objects of inquiry' since:

Shared understanding between speakers and, in interview research, between them and the analysis of survey data, depends on a variety of

implicit assumptions and on mutual recognition of contextual factors
(EM:45).

This definition of the interview as a speech event validates questions and asserts their importance as equal to the answers in the interview process and in the process of revisiting text through transcription of recordings and the interpretation of data. Meaning is 'jointly constructed' so that often participants will redefine the question in the body of their answer, according to an understanding, which emanates from their own context, and their answers are framed in this arena of 'reciprocal understanding whereby meanings emerge' (EM:52). Both interviewer and interviewee are fully immersed in the process of discourse, so that 'a question may be more usefully thought of as part of a circular process' (EM:53). This 'circular process' is a process of continually trying to make sense of 'what they are saying to each other' (EM:53). The interview is a mutual process of sense-making, since 'language is inherently indexical' and 'the meanings in discourse are not singular or fixed' (EM:64). This approach chimes with the imperative not to misrepresent others, which lies at the heart of the practice of interviewing for broadcast journalism and the concept of 'due impartiality' defined in Chapter 1.

Sense-making through narrative:

If narrative, telling stories, is seen as a way of making sense of our lives, then it is useful and logical to analyse the accounts arising from the interview experience as stories. Once again, for Mishler (1986), this moves us beyond the traditional approach and stretches the boundaries affording a deeper understanding and he quotes MacIntyre's *After Virtue* (1985) in support, where 'stories are lived before they are told' (EM: 68). A narrative definition affords explanation from respondents, it gives them time to illustrate and expand on points they have made, to illuminate their own understanding and that of the researcher with narrative drawn from their own lived experiences and from contexts with which they are familiar. They become 'narratives of personal experience' (EM:79) in which the interviewer plays an integral role:

how she or he listens, attends, encourages, interrupts, digresses, initiates topics and terminates responses is integral to a respondent's account (EM:82).

This has a 'fit' for the journalist as researcher, since the 'interactive' interview as described here is the staple diet of journalism. A story becomes a 'joint – production' (EM:82) and it is clear to see how the stories told may be shaped by the relationship between the participants – the interviewer and the interviewee. There is a crucial ethical consideration here, which highlights the importance of the 'virtuous researcher' as defined by MacIntyre (1985) as one who is self-reflexive. If the interviewer is immersed in the process, then s/he is also immersed in the development of the discourse and the distinctive features of the narrative, which evolve from it. The questions, assessments, silences and responses all enter into the production of the 'story' (Mishler, 1986). Time is important – and he refers to the Labovian (1967) concept of plot as evolving as action through time, asserting that *focused interview narratives* should emphasise context and should bring out prior experience (EM:97). In this way, he argues, it embraces more of a person's life.

Location, context and meaning:

A life that is studied is the study of a life in time (Erben, 1998:13)

All writing has a context, a location and 'where one speaks from affects the truth and meaning of what one says' (Alcoff, 1991:2). If context is taken to mean the 'social location or social identity' of the author it can affect the authority of the account, whether spoken or written. This positioning is 'epistemically salient' (Alcoff, 1991:2-3). The difficulties of writing the interpretive accounts of others' lived experiences, should not deter us from engaging in the enterprise of biographical research. The immersive approach, focused around the interview as discourse has a mediating effect, as rather than adopting an observational or even transcendental role, the researcher gets her hands dirty as part of the

process. Plummer (2001) depicts this as an awareness of the importance of time as well as location. The process of researching others is not tacit, but one in which the knowledge we gain can only make sense if we can 'acquire understanding about the active processes through which such knowledge became produced' (Plummer, 2001:208). This is the double hermeneutic, whereby 'we constitute ourselves through real practices' by acknowledging our presence in the process of enabling others' voices to be heard (Usher, 2000:34).

Four of the journalists in this study were interviewed at home and one was interviewed in a journalists' club, which was deemed to be a 'second-home' and where the interviewee felt most comfortable and 'at home'. Features journalists always try to conduct interviews in the home, because it leads them to so many personal 'clues' – books on shelves, pictures on walls and desks, which provide insights to the lives and experiences of the interviewee. Location was an important consideration for this research project and is referred to at the beginning of each of the interviews in Chapter 3.

The interview process also needs to embrace the constraints imposed by time, the vagaries of our powers of recall and the temporal quality of memory, which affects the shape and form of the stories that are presented for interpretation. A consideration arising from Mishler's (1986) emphasis on context and experience raises questions about boundaries and location. How are the boundaries defined – where does the interview begin and end and where 'should' it best be conducted? The 'cultural and research contexts' of the interview will affect the experience and the narrative that unfolds, just as the 'interviewer's presence as a co-participant' does (EM:105). The issue of 'beginnings' and 'ends' is challenging and 'messy,' since there is never one 'true' account – merely the interpretation of an account and alternative interpretations must be recognised as equally valid. Then valid research is more likely to be produced. A major theme of Mishler's (1986) work on the interview as discourse, which has informed this study, is the contextual foundations of meaning, in contrast to the traditional structures, which were grounded in hierarchy. The importance of 'voice' is articulated as a means by which

respondents are empowered and by which they come to participate in a dynamic process. The corollary of this argument is that the drive to objectivity can diminish the importance of context and disenfranchise the respondent, since 'respondents may be affected by research interviews that strip away natural contexts of meaning from both questions and responses.' (EM:121). For Mishler (1986) the profile of the researcher has changed and informed consent plays a crucial part in this process, so that researchers and respondents recognise each other as 'significant others.' Respondents are empowered and their constructions of meanings are valued and recognised, so that their voices are heard and our own understanding of their stories is enriched as a result. The over-arching aim in recognising the research interview as discourse is to:

recover and strengthen the voice of the life world, that is, individuals' contextual understandings of their problems in their own terms (EM:143).

In this sense, the use of semi-structured interviews conforms to the key tenets of biographical research as a research method and enables the researcher to shine a light into corners that might otherwise remain dim, so that 'information gained through biographical research will relate to an understanding of the wider society' (Erben, 1998:4).

Narratives of identity:

The personal oral account can be a source not for knowing that something was so, but for wondering about questions that are not often considered (McCrinkle and Rowbotham, 1977:1).

The primary aim of my interviews with craftartists was to learn about how they came to their work, what it meant to them and how it functioned in their lives (Mishler, 1999:21).

This research is informed by the sense that sometimes compelling social history can emerge from biographical studies – through asking questions that might not

have been considered. In *Dutiful Daughters*, McCrindle and Rowbotham (1977) use semi-structured interviews with working-class women to provide insights to their lives and attitudes. This study also recognises, through the example of Mishler's (1999) research, that interviewing individuals about their work (in this case craft artists) can illuminate questions of self-identity and social context. The changing landscape of journalism has presented challenges to journalism educators, as the onset of mass production and standardisation threatened the lives and craft of the artists interviewed by Mishler (1999). One aspect of this study looks at the relationship between the journalist and his or her craft and how this informs a sense of identity as educators sharing their 'lived' experiences. Interviewing experienced broadcast journalists for the first time about areas of life that they had not previously considered (in this case, self-identity as an educator) and about their relationship with their craft (in this case journalism) and aiming to write this up as what Samuel Johnson (1750) might call 'a judicious and faithful narrative' constitute the core of this thesis. As Denzin (1989) reminds us, with his concept of *pentimento*, what we write (this research) must always return to the words that people speak, since 'one becomes the stories one tells' (Denzin, 1989:81).

The role of epiphanies:

Epiphanies often leave marks on lives
(Denzin, 1989:33).

Problematic moments or epiphanies are an important aspect of biographical research and form a crucial part of the analysis of experience. Each participant in this study has considered the role of epiphany in their lives and for some there have been key turning points, for others moments of intense reflection as a result of events. Epiphanic moments have been referred to within the context of the narratives of self, which focus on their lives as educators, rather than their lives as a 'whole'. Denzin (1989) divides the concept of epiphany into four main types, all of which are applicable to the work of journalists. The 'major epiphany', which 'touches every fabric of a person's life', evident in Gardner's life as a

paraplegic after the shooting in the Saudi suburb; 'the cumulative epiphany' 'which signifies emotions or reactions to experiences' over time, such as Di Giovanni's reaction to 'normal' life as a mother after years in the field; the illuminative (minor) epiphany, which represents a 'problematic moment' and the 're-lived epiphany' where meaning is attained through 'the reliving of the experience' (Denzin, 1989:71; Gardner, 2006; Di Giovanni, 2011) .

Conforming to Denzin's (1989) definition, there are elements of the 'self-story' and personal experience narrative in the stories that are related and they all have a location in a group; in this case, the context of a group of educators at the BBC College of Journalism. As Alcoff (1991) recognises, all stories have a context and a location and 'where one speaks from affects the meaning and truth of what one says' (Alcoff, 1991:2). Denzin (1989) cites Bruner (1986) in support of the notion of experience as gaining expression when the realities of a life present themselves in consciousness. By writing down the experiences (in a text) the life – and the experience that has been 'lived' - are given meaning. In this sense, the biographical researcher is a historian of selves and lives (Denzin, 1989). There is always more that can be told, stories are open-ended, but there is necessarily a process of selection, which starts with the shape and form of the interview. As a piece of biographical research the direction of each interview in this study was determined by the participant and his or her personal story, but each interview covered the same areas of questioning.

Ethical considerations:

At all times the welfare of the subjects should be kept in mind even if it involves compromising the impact of the research

(Cohen *et al*, 2007:59).

Researching people naturally involves ethical dilemmas and challenges. Building a relationship of mutual trust is fundamental to a qualitative inquiry. As researchers, we must recognise that 'those whose lives we research, may themselves be changed' by the process (Sclater, 1998:76). Since personal

narrative accounts elicited through research interviews are 'intersubjective phenomena' (Sclater, 1998:76), the researcher (interviewer) is as involved as the participant (interviewee). Writing the stories of others' lives can be illuminating and can deepen our understanding, but, whilst embracing these benefits, the researcher must always remain cognisant of the ethical implications. Lives can be permanently changed on both sides of the participant/researcher relationship; the researcher must be vigilant, attuned to the duty to build trust and transparency into the process as a natural corollary of the power that the role brings with it. This can be addressed by a self-reflexive approach and the researcher's background, as a broadcast journalist, is crucial to establishing an ethical position.

The broadcast journalist has a duty to 'step into the shoes' of the listener or viewer, to ask questions that they deem important and to represent the answers with balance and fairness. Both audience (readers of this research) and individuals involved in the story (participants) have a right to expect 'due impartiality' and have a right of reply. The participants in the journalist's work – those interviewed and edited to form part of the story - have the right of reply if they feel they have been misrepresented or have more to add. The journalist's 'self' is implicated from start to finish in the journey from set-up 'phone call to interview to edit suite and 'on air' broadcast, but she is unable to employ the ultimate test of reflexivity face-to-face. This presents the journalist with an interesting dilemma and a moral challenge – there is no time to play back the story she tells to the protagonists. This puts a brake on the reflective process and throws into sharp focus the importance of self-reflexivity – knowing who you are, where you are coming from and how you feel about the process on a daily basis and acknowledging that you are inextricably situated within it. This background could provide mitigation when considering ethical issues. My own sense of self, my own value system has been developed as a journalist. Whilst an ethical journalist might appear as an oxymoron for some (Fowler-Watt, 2010), the assertion that 'in order to win the reader's trust a journalist must show time after time that stories are accurate and truthful' implies an individual integrity is attainable, to ensure 'they are gathered fairly' (Frost, 2007:12).

In building trust with interviewees, it is important not to promise too much when offering confidentiality and it is useful to note Kelly's (2008:14) notion of anonymity as a 'negotiated settlement' and a 'default position'. All of the participants in this study signed consent forms and were apprised of the potential for identification and the remit of the informed consent process. A simple process of anonymisation has been employed where a pseudonym is used to denote each interviewee. It has already been noted in this chapter that this study requires awareness on the part of the researcher of the challenges of interviewing powerful people. There are also dangers in 'romanticising the self' (Mishler, 1999:154) particularly within a 'confessional culture.' Indeed, narrative inquiry should not exalt the lives of others, nor should it editorialise:

The writing of other people's lives 'aggrandises' them and their experiences, but can also induce shame, narcissism. Equally failure to report something, which the participant considers important can be wounding to the 'grandiose self' (Josselson, 2005:335).

Through finding a voice, a research participant should not assume an elevated position, compared with those in similar situations or institutions who have not been interviewed. Each contribution is unique and should be seen as such so that generalisations are not readily sought, although they may occur. As Josselson (2005) indicates, as researchers we must be as aware of what we leave out as what we put in – all interpretive inquiry is necessarily selective in terms of who is selected for interview as well as what is selected for analysis. This study endeavours to engage in 'good' practice in research, which indicates the importance of selecting high-quality participants, who provide information-rich contributions and engaging in 'red hot' interpretations that are embedded in the evidential data. The interview as discourse is key to this process, whereby the participants feel that they are part of a conversation, which they can review and reflect on. This is the concept of 'focused interaction' (Denzin, 1970:133 in Silverman, 2001). Once subjective meaning and interpretation reach a 'fit' then an authentic account can be accessed. It is also important to note that for the

participant (s), sharing stories can be cathartic and therapeutic, can illuminate personal experience, ignite memory and create community. For the researcher, 'just witnessing – really hearing, understanding and accepting without judgement – another's life-story can be transforming.' (Atkinson, 2006:235). We are not judging, we are facilitating by 'giving voice' as the journalist does not judge or opine, but reports all the facts of a story so that the listener or viewer can reach their own decisions.

In summary, when seeking to define an ethical 'fit', it is useful to consider that broadcast journalists' stock in trade is to sift through data, selecting key facts as evidence to make a story accessible to its audience, often with the use of 'case studies' and human-interest elements to bring it to life. If the core features of journalistic storytelling are applied to the context of journalism education, 'lived experiences' related with honesty could be useful to shed light on and to make more accessible the practice of journalism to journalism students.

The interviewees and the mechanics:

Five semi - structured interviews were conducted between March and June 2012. Four journalists were interviewed in their own homes and one was interviewed in a location, which was considered to be important to the participant and a 'second home'. Three of the interviews took place in London, one in Berkhamstead and one in Belfast. More detail about location is given at the beginning of each interview, which is presented as a 'storied self' in Chapter 3.

Four of the interviewees were men; one in his forties and three in their mid to late fifties. The woman was in her early fifties. Three of the men were from working-class backgrounds and all four of the male interviewees went to university – two of them to Oxbridge. The woman did not go to university, but secured educational qualifications later in life.

The interviewees have all played different roles at different times as journalism educators in the BBC College of Journalism and they are all highly experienced journalists, who have performed a number of jobs in newsrooms: editors, producers, reporters. The researcher conducted a peer observation and review of an editorial leadership course in June 2010, and conducted informal interviews at that time, as background research, to gain some insight to the roles performed by journalism educators within the workshops run by the College of Journalism.

Each interview – lasting between 90 minutes and 120 minutes - was recorded and transcribed. Each participant signed a consent form and was advised of the ethics protocol of the research project, offering anonymity, and of the remit of the work. They were sent outline questions in advance and made aware of the aims of the project. Each interview was conducted face-to-face and recorded on location and the participants were given the opportunity to advise which elements, if any, should remain 'off the record' and assured that although transcribed, these would not be used or published. Hence full transcripts are not included as appendices, but the data driven nature of the study ensures that the bulk of their contributions are represented in the analysis and findings. The outline interview schedule form is included as Appendix (1).

The participants are all intelligent, self-reflexive and focused professionals, so the interview materials are rich and textured. They have an in-depth quality to them and whilst the scope of this study cannot capture every element, it has focused on the responses, which are central to the research question.

Emergent themes:

Each interview was analysed in the context of the research questions:

1. How do journalists use their lived experiences in education?
2. Why do they see them as useful?
3. How does this align with the need to be 'impartial'?
4. How does autobiographical journalism affect the practice of journalism education?

Key themes emerged through the iterative process of analysis, mapping on to the research questions as noted:

- The telling and re-telling of stories (1,2)
- Time, memory and location (1,2)
- The role of 'self' (1,2,3)
- The role of 'others' (1-4)
- The relationship between personal and professional identity (1,2)
- Autobiography as catharsis and confession (1,2)
- Epiphanies and 'life changing' or problematic moments (1,2,4)
- Impartiality and self-reflexivity (1,3,4)
- 'Good' practice in journalism and in journalism education (1,4)

Chapter 3: Storied Selves:

*It might be said that each of us constructs and lives a 'narrative' and that this narrative **is** us, our identities (Sacks, 1985:110).*

In order to build a picture of the role of autobiography in journalism education, five high-profile (and here anonymised) journalists reflect on their practice through telling stories about their lives and sharing how they use life experiences in the education of others. This conforms to the notion that 'self stories are told by a person in the context of a specific set of experiences' (Denzin, 1989: 43).

The journalists interviewed are naturally self-reflexive people and so the accounts are more than just descriptions, they are often rich and textured analyses of their own sense of self, their own perceptions of how they operate as journalists and as educators, as professional people and personal 'selves'. As intelligent individuals for whom analysis and critique is a way of life, these five journalists – each selected for the different roles they have played within the BBC College of Journalism and the different skills they bring to the process of journalism education - shared an understanding of their own work and their own world through the ways in which they answered the questions.

This section is 'data driven' – the data is rich and this study has only been able to cover certain areas - it is necessarily selective and much more could be elicited from the stories that have been told. For the purposes of this study, certain themes (see Chapter 2) have been extracted from each individual tale and the stories are presented sequentially, as this allows each to speak for itself and to have its own integrity, whilst there are also some lines of comparison to be drawn from them. These are discussed in Chapter 4.

The themes that have emerged - some of which feature more strongly in certain interviews than others – fall broadly as:

- the role of 'self'
- the role of 'others'
- the relationship between personal and professional identity
- time, memory and location
- autobiography as catharsis and confession
- epiphanies and life changing moments
- the telling and re-telling of stories
- impartiality and self-reflexivity
- good practice in journalism education

As a knowledge-producer, the researcher is an expert, whose proximity to the data allows for analysis, which affords real knowledge of the material. For Lincoln (2002) our respondents are the 'genuine producers' and we are the channels through which their lives, perceptions and views are conveyed. It is as vital to acknowledge the 'situatedness' of the researcher at the heart of the process of data analysis, as it is to recognise the centrality of the participants to the research process. This is the double hermeneutic, whereby 'we constitute ourselves through real practices' by acknowledging our presence in the process of allowing others' voices to be heard (Usher, 2000:34). The interviews should speak for themselves as much as possible, so the researcher in this study has strived to illuminate themes emergent from the journalists' individual stories, whilst still positioning 'the self of the storyteller centrally in the narrative that is given' (Denzin, 1989:43) and focusing on 'shareable experience' (Denzin, 1989:45). Crucially, each 'storied self' is linear and focused on personal experience.

Each interviewee is denoted by a pseudonym and the biographical detail at the start of each story is intended to illuminate the experiences related and the sense of self, not to be used as a key to identification.

Robert's story: Symbolism, Credibility and Utility

You've got to find some way of saying it, without saying it.

Duke Ellington.

Location:

I met Robert in his attic study, lined with books and with more books trickling down the winding staircase into the rest of the house. The wide windows and clear light afforded us views across London. It had the feeling of a garret.

A sense of self - power and responsibility:

If I am completely honest with myself, I think I went in to journalism because I liked the notion of myself as a journalist you know, I could visualise myself as a journalist and I quite liked it ... I felt a strange mixture of incredible responsibility but incredible power.

Robert fulfilled a range of senior roles at the BBC, working at home and abroad as a leading editorial figure. He says that he felt 'almost God-like at times,' when he was a foreign editor, as he would see his ideas come to fruition quickly:

I would say, "I think we should do something about suicides in Russia" and the next day a piece on suicides in Russia would appear on television and you occasionally thought, "bloody hell, this is really frightening actually!"

He was also keenly aware of the responsibility that these powerful jobs incurred:

I think you feel, as a journalist, I think you feel quite important actually. I think you feel like you are at the heart of things and that you feel like you have some influence over things, or I did when I got into senior jobs.

A sense of self-importance, of wielding power responsibly imbues Robert's sense of self – of how he defines himself, which he describes as important to him. As a

journalism educator he feels less important, although he does feel that he has had 'far more impact on far more individuals as a journalism educator.'

Context:

As already outlined in Chapter I, the BBC set up the College of Journalism in 2005, in the wake of the government-commissioned Hutton Report and the internal BBC response in the guise of the Neil Report (2004), which criticised journalism training at the corporation as 'patchy' and recommended the creation of a journalism college. According to Robert, who was asked to help set up the college, the report made the key recommendation that 'training was too diffuse, absolutely nothing was mandatory' and 'there was no training at all for senior editors' and so he was given 'a very large cheque' to set up the college.

An 'older, wiser version of myself':

Robert's career and his sense of self as a journalism educator were located initially in the establishment of the college and the tone it struck:

I saw my own role to begin with to try to establish something that everyone would think was new, of serious intent, that was very credible and so a lot of what I initially did was kind of using symbolism.

The notion of 'being credible' is important to Robert, as he needed to distance the new style of training represented by the college from the old, more discredited notion of something that was 'done in a building over there somewhere by people who hadn't been in a newsroom for a very long time', in other words 'a complete backwater'. This 'older, wiser version of myself' set out to construct a college, which drew on lessons learned in his own career and incorporated them as examples into training sessions:

I was able to make up a lot of time setting up the College by not making mistakes I had made before.

The new style of journalism education offered by the college had to be, in his view, credible and associated with excellence:

So what I tried to do, symbolically, was associate all the top and most credible names in the BBC with the College. I also felt it was very important quite quickly to get on board some very experienced senior journalists.

The notion of 'symbolism' is a recurrent theme for Robert – he deems it important not always to explicitly communicate ideas, but to use symbolic gestures, which have integrity, to express meaning. In the context of setting up a new educational department and acknowledging the tarnished reputation of 'training', it was important to show that the people involved in the college were respected and experienced journalists, who were still engaged in practice. The 'cast list' was of symbolic importance. Later in the interview Robert refers to the importance of symbolism in leadership, a concept that he refers to in his teaching of others. Robert recounted a story, which he has used in his teaching sessions and which, he felt, made the learning point that:

People often make the mistake of talking about things instead of doing things and the point I wanted to make was that symbolism is hugely important

Detailed to merge the World Service with domestic news and current affairs, he set off to the headquarters of the World Service at Bush House in London with a Power Point presentation:

Having completely underestimated the depth of feeling ...that there would be about this and when I got to the room that I was doing the presentation in I could barely get in it was so crowded and the level of hostility towards me was just off the scale - not to me actually I think it was because of what was happening to them ... And we had an incredibly difficult meeting. It felt like me versus the rest of the world and I had barely got through one slide of the PowerPoint before the aerial bombardment of questions started and it

was very interesting because what I had set out to do was to give them a presentation about how it was all going to work. Well, that wasn't going to work. What I eventually said, which I made up on the spot, was, of course, I have got to come and work here for six months so it is vital for me to understand and that really took the sting out of it and what I learnt from that was that if you deploy symbolism effectively it is much more effective than saying something - you know knocking a wall down would say a lot more about openness.

Robert uses this story in his leadership session to try and establish in the participants' minds 'the difference between doing something and saying something.'

Sharing life-experience:

It was also important to Robert that the college was forward-looking, with a website, that showcased good practice shared through the experiences of the journalists working within the BBC, since:

it seemed inconceivable to have a modern training arm, as it were, without some online presence and that grew like 'Topsy' with a whole series of films and articles and things.

Previous experience with holding master classes, whereby seasoned journalists would share their life stories with their colleagues in 'question and answer' sessions, was the initial inspiration for Robert to become involved with setting up the college. He considers the use of lived experience as central to educational activity:

I was somebody who had already put a lot of thought into how to translate your experience as a journalist into something that is useful for people.

Credibility and utility are important themes for Robert's approach to his work: An individual needs to have credibility in the eyes of others – the master class

premise – in order to be able to pass on experiences, which are useful and valued: ‘how much can you teach anything when you haven’t had any experience of it?’ But it is not simply descriptive it is about the telling and re-telling of stories from his life experience in a way, which is useful and educational:

I tried to take the experiences that I have had, or the knowledge that I have so that knowledge might be about sentence structure in the storytelling or it might be an experience about a situation that I have been in, in the field and translate it into something that is usable for people that are on that course or in that master class or whatever it is. So it's not simply a description of what happened to me or something that happened to me it's what can you learn from this.

The telling and re-telling of stories leading to ‘good’ practice:

Robert illustrates his point by using an example from a session that he runs on editorial leadership, where he shares ten things that have gone ‘really well’ and - as he says ‘more importantly really badly’ with the participants, who are all journalists. The spark for the idea came from reading about the life of the legendary jazz musician, Duke Ellington, which made him realise that ‘you absorb in your career a fantastic amount of stuff that you don’t really think about.’ He believes that drawing lessons from life experiences and passing on those lessons through re-telling the experiences themselves, through the prism of self-analysis, which embraces the concept of educational utility is important. It is not enough ‘simply to talk about your experiences’ but to consider

How you can convert your experience and your knowledge into something that is usable by the people listening and actually has some kind of learning outcome at the end of it.

He believes that sharing experiences **usefully** is something to cherish, since it is a rare skill – not every journalist could be used as a journalism educator simply on the basis of experience, since

some people are fantastically good at what they do, but they don't know how they do it. Some people are fantastically good at what they do but they are really not very good at sharing it with other people.

There is a double hermeneutic involved here: Robert's experience of recalling these stories from his own life and utilising them in an educational setting to encourage other journalists to reflect on their own leadership style, also involves a process of deep self-reflection. He defines himself through his practice (Usher, 2000).

The role of 'self':

Through sharing his own experiences of leadership – such as the example of the World Service merger - he hopes to alleviate the self-doubt that senior leaders often feel and to share his wisdom, drawing on knowledge that he wishes that he had possessed at the time he was making decisions as an editor himself.

A session which focuses completely on 'bad days' and aims to 'provide some short cuts for people' is used to illustrate the importance of striking a work-life balance: again this message is relayed through the re-telling of a story from his own experience as a 'panicky producer who just worked 18 hours a day'.

Working on a report with a senior correspondent in Moscow, he was persuaded to take a break and go down in to the Metro:

It was the most beautiful journey I have ever undertaken, I think, and it just made me realise how much I just worked all the time and I forgot to enjoy what I was doing, really. and I think everyone needs reminding of that from time to time.

The stories may sound simple, to use Robert's own words 'a cliché', but the stories he tells are often intimate and they do not always reflect well on his own judgement. He admits to feeling nervous about sharing these experiences, whilst sensing that 'it would be the most powerful thing' to stand up as a highly experienced and respected individual and to tell tales of failure. He has reflected on his own character, on his own professional identity. There is a strong

element of theatrical performance: the session is presented without notes; some themes and 'learning points' develop from stories and sometimes Robert delves into his memory to find stories to support a specific learning point. Everything is grounded in experience and the bemused sense that 'I never really know whether people know who I am or not, or even whether that matters, actually.'

But do these sessions have any educational value? Can they inculcate good practice, in his view? The 'old training regime' had used 'a whole language of their own' to represent journalism education: the language of 'learning outcomes' and the location of training in Human Resources, bred suspicion and created barriers, because:

it was precisely the kind of language that journalists have been told all their lives to explain and to break down in English and so, if you're not careful, journalists - because they are so dismissive of the language and of the people speaking the languagewill throw all of that out and will just do fantastically inspirational talks in which there is no real learning point and you have to be quite careful about that.

This suggests that Robert is not advocating a 'role model' approach to journalism education, whereby experienced practitioners share experiences or tell 'war stories' devoid of educational value or learning points. However, he acknowledges that it is difficult to extract precise 'learning outcomes' from his intuitive approach, which aims to draw out points, which are relevant to his audience, with reference to his own experiences. It is a teaching style, which engages in empathy, so that the final session on 'bad days' has a precise learning point. Symbolically it suggests that examples do not always need to come from positive experiences, since the reality of editorial leadership is complex and challenging:

The idea is to pull together all the themes of the week through the eyes of someone who has been there, where they've been, where they are at the moment.

There are also elements of therapy; 'at best I hope that it just makes people feel more confident that they are not alone in this.' The learning points are not necessarily tangible, falling into 'quite a touchy feely kind of area' and self-reflexively, Robert admits his concern that educational purists might question the value, saying 'well it is all very lovely but what have you really taught anybody?'

Audience and the role of 'others':

It is in this forum, that the consideration of others comes into play, becomes part of the plot. Journalists write for an audience, telling the stories of others to the reader, listener or viewer. In order to have impact, the experiences recounted by Robert cannot simply be retold as 'this happened to me' rather 'this is what happened to me and this is what I learnt from it and this is what you might want to think about'. It becomes an art of 'trying to translate the experience into a format that you can learn something from.' As a highly experienced journalist, he is immersed in the art of storytelling, both as storyteller and interlocutor. From his perspective, learning can emanate not only from the translation of experience into an accessible format, such as learning points' drawn from good and bad experiences, or more theatrical moments, such as the session on 'bad days' but also from interactive sessions where experiences are shared, where he asks questions:

Who is managing this team, what did it feel like, how did he cope? And so you have a discussion constantly going on in the room, which just makes them feel more relaxed and open to questioning. To me that level of interactivity is a very important element of teaching.

Whilst Robert's stories about teaching leadership draw on experience and its application, he also uses his knowledge - his craft skills - to teach storytelling. It is a body of knowledge formulated through 'lived' experience and the imperative to improve the craft skills of the journalists on his team. It developed over time and as a result of different factors, firstly the realisation that there was a need for

improvement:

It wasn't anybody's fault necessarily, but there was some dreadful storytelling going on and yet I found that I didn't necessarily have the vocabulary to help people get better.

Then there was the realisation that he had an instinctive sense for what sort of storytelling could win industry awards:

I will immodestly say that I became really good at knowing what would win awards but I couldn't really articulate what it was about them that was so good.

Finally, he developed the skill of giving feedback to reporters on their storytelling techniques as a result of writing down his thoughts and finding the vocabulary to help reporters improve: 'that is what all this stuff is about, it is about making them better'. This was nothing to do with training, 'it was part of my job'. Once again, the idea of translating knowledge – in this case knowledge developed through the critical analysis of craft skills – into something that is **useful** shines through his narrative:

There is some kind of teacher in me somewhere that was coming out, but what I wanted to do was translate all that stuff into something that would be useful for people ...in order to make them better.

Robert sees himself as more of a coach than a teacher, as there is 'an element of therapy to the whole thing'. This sort of coaching of experienced people requires the coach to be credible and reporters listen, not only because they want to retain their jobs and secure promotion, but also because

I was who I was, because I had done a lot of war zone stuff, I had worked with (leading foreign correspondents) and so I had a degree of credibility

This concept of credibility raises the question of whether, in order to be an effective journalism educator, it is important to have a 'good' reputation, as a working journalist. This is a question, which puzzles Robert, who reflects on whether the most effective coaching is delivered by the more credible people or whether it is just delivered more 'quickly' (so that meaning is effectively communicated to the 'students') if the coach has credibility. Clear and articulate communication is a key component of effective journalism and communication, which is clear and meaningful, is also important to effective teaching. Robert explored his craft by writing a book about storytelling in order to find the vocabulary that he required 'to be able to say very specific things that "if you do certain things with your sentences, your work will be much better"'.

The question of role models:

The approach to education employed by Robert and instituted at the college, is founded on the concept of teaching through credible exemplars. If trainee journalists are learning from someone who has respect as a result of a successful career and a high profile within the organisation, they are more likely to aspire to operate in a similar way or to adopt some of the 'tricks of the trade' that are shared with them through – for example – Robert's storytelling session. There is an element of the role model in this approach – although the role model concept evokes conflicting emotions in him – there is an implicit notion that journalists can learn their craft from working as an apprentice, by being inspired in practice by the experiences of their 'masters'. For Robert, this brings into sharp focus his sense of self:

I may be a role model to some people, in fact I think I probably am actually, if that doesn't sound utterly unbelievably arrogant, I don't consider myself a role model at all I have never, and that leadership session I put together, I didn't dream that people would see it as coming from a role model, not least because there were a lot of things that I had done wrong that I was sharing with them, so ... I honestly don't and have never seen myself as a role model.

He does not see himself as a role model, but he is aware that others may consider him to be one. Human beings are contradictory and this moment in the interview highlights the complexities of perceptions of 'self' and perceptions of self as seen by others. There is also not a clear sense of master journalist and apprentice for Robert, since the storytelling techniques that he shares with trainees have been developed through building his own knowledge base and modes of language, rather than through working as a reporter. In this sense, he is not instantly 'credible' since the classes are not borne out of experience, but through the application of his professional and personal self to an element of journalism, which *matters* to him, he has

established in my own mind the vocabulary for dealing with the kinds of things that come up, you need to be able to emotionally weave your way through some quite difficult situations quite quickly.

A different type of credibility is evident – his approach to teaching storytelling techniques emanates from a sense of 'self' rather than direct reference to lived experience. Being a journalist is not associated with shift patterns or work: 'I don't think, now I am going to be my professional self.' Being a journalist is intrinsic to him, storytelling is 'fundamental to journalism' and his 'feel' for storytelling is instinctive: 'there is a huge amount of me in everything I do, a huge amount'. He is emphatic that he would not try to be a different type of person in order to perform a role at work, that his professional self is an extension of his personality. He has a strong sense of when he felt that his personality and his professional profile were most closely enmeshed – in his role as a foreign editor:

Robert still believes that the role that defines him as a professional most clearly is that of foreign editor and he appraises his capability to perform the role initially with stark honesty:

*I absolutely adored that role, I was very passionate about it. You have to stop doing it after a while because it just does you in - it is 24 hours a day **ad nauseam**, so you have to stop doing it after a while, but, and if I am*

completely honest there were times when I knew it was a good thing to have done, it wasn't always brilliant doing it at the time. I mean, I felt totally out of my depth occasionally, I was promoted to that job far too quickly actually through a bizarre series of circumstances, so I had to learn very quickly which is fine, except I did feel out of depth a bit quite a lot to begin with.

He had a well-established sense of 'self' working with reporters in the field on foreign stories:

I also had a very heightened sense of self when I was a field producer, you know saying goodbye to everyone and trolling off to some crappy place and then coming back, so I think that also was an incredibly formative period for me and not one I particularly wanted to give up, it just became incredibly difficult with a family.

His approach to journalism was shaped by his experiences in reporting from conflict zones:

If one is completely honest, and this is very therapeutic-oriented, my experience of death and stuff in the field was awful. I would never ever want to repeat it. But it gave me extra credibility, there's no doubt about that there is just no doubt about it. And so completely coldly and brutally, it actually developed my career I think, not in a you know I didn't get jobs that I wouldn't otherwise have got, but I think people thought 'oh ... he has done quite a lot'. So I think that added to my credibility.

The imperative of impartiality:

As outlined in Chapter 1, one of the key tenets of journalism education at the BBC College is to imbue trainee journalists with an understanding of the remit of impartiality. It is here, that 'lived experience' and a sense of self appear to come together in Robert, who combines a life of experience as an editor dealing with impartiality issues with his own personal 'take' on the concept of 'impartiality':

You go through these jobs in senior leadership and you absorb a tremendous amount of experience and knowledge and so you know you handle a crisis where (a correspondent) in Iraq is perceived by the media to be completely biased against the British government in what he is saying so that gives you experience in deconstructing a script and dealing with the media. Your team gets arrested in China for something or other and you go to the Chinese embassy and start grovelling to them and apologising but actually only up to the point where you do not say 'and of course there are no human rights problems in China', and through each one of these things you accrue more and more experience, you don't think of it like that but in every issue or crisis that you deal with you get a little bit more experienced and it gives you a little bit more confidence to deal with it the next time.

He believes that he has a personality, which is suited to working at the BBC - there is a 'fit':

I think I am probably by nature someone who sees both sides of something and therefore I am probably more suited to an impartial approach anyway.

This combination of lived experience and personality is used in the context of teaching on the editorial leadership course. A mode of delivery has evolved from Robert's sense that 'most people don't know how much they know.' After he left the BBC, he realised, on reflection that, 'I completely underestimated my experience and what I know'. This self-awareness is applied to an experiential style of teaching which encourages the participants in the course to apply their own experience to situations and to embark on a voyage of discovery, to find out how much they do know. An understanding of impartiality, which is not about black and white issues, but areas of grey in between, emerges from a sense of self and the application of lived experience to 'real life' situations.

What you bring to impartiality is a whole load of experience of being in difficult situations - those are not necessarily what you use from the formal teaching of impartiality.

Robert believes that the right examples have to be used to encourage people to apply their own experience, their sense of self and their instincts to a given situation. The educator's experience is applied to asking questions, which will encourage trainees or students to think about and to apply the key tenets of impartiality to their journalism. It is an organic approach to teaching, which is borne of experience:

If you get the right examples which are quite knotty to unpick then in a sense you use your experience to ask questions of the people that you are training so you are not using your experience in a direct way ... but actually your background knowledge if someone says something, it may well be something you have said yourself in the past.

So that:

You are using your experience to guide the kind of questions that you are asking people but you are aided by really fantastic examples of quite difficult things and I do think the format is fantastically important.

Learning is facilitated through the blend of 'current good examples' and experience, which is applied to guiding the group towards their own thinking about issues involving impartiality. It is an immersive way of inculcating good practice, not through 'top down' teaching, but through a deductive process. Robert has also used a courtroom context, to 'teach' impartiality; once again utilising an element of theatre and role-play, to promote learning:

The learning point is actually how casual we are most of the time and when you get a formal complaint how much work it is for someone in the BBC to go through it all.

It is a self-reflective process, guided by a self-reflective educator: the trainees are encouraged to apply their instincts and their experience, but that process is directed by the experience of someone else, in this case, the journalism educator (trainer).

The relationship between personal and professional identity:

The experience of being involved in journalism education has prompted Robert to think about himself as an educator, having always been interested in teaching: 'I have learnt a lot more about education' and he says that the session, where he shares examples from his own life 'was quite profound for me because actually it was pulling together my experiences and my way of trying to help people'. The theme of being helpful, of utility is an important one for Robert and threads through his story. He thinks this comes from his own life:

I come from an incredibly working class background and I feel like I have been frightened quite a lot in my career, not physically frightened, but actually I am talking about: 'Oh God what am I going to do here?' So I genuinely like trying to help people.

The drive to be helpful chimes with Robert's commitment to the 'utility' of his experience-led approach to journalism education. He says that it in his personal life too, "I quite like helping people really'. His sense of self as an educator is founded on the desire to help and to build confidence in others. When asked what he felt students benefited from most in his teaching, he chose to answer 'through the prism of feedback' ('student' feedback is given by each participant at the end of the course), whereby participants say that they feel empowered by knowing that their concerns are understood by a senior editorial figure:

It is fantastic to see that someone from a senior position suffers all the same things that I do, and that bizarrely that gives people a lot of confidence actually, that they don't feel that they are alone in this dreadful world of managing people.

Robert doubts that educational 'purists' would recognise his teaching style, which is based on empathy, utility, credibility and the use of experience, but it is possible that he is making a fundamental pedagogic point. He aims to make

people better at their jobs, to help them. A recent survey by Google on leadership (2012) found that the number one quality in a leader was the ability to coach the people who work with you. For Robert, 'that really speaks to me and the way I like to operate.' Perhaps he is a coach rather than a teacher, for the journalists at the college?

I just so agree with that. It doesn't mean that you have to be able to do what they do, it doesn't mean you have to be better than them, but it does mean you have to have the wherewithal, the vocabulary and the time to make them better than they are in whatever way it is, so that ... I may not be a Science Editor, but I have got all the vocabulary to make a Science Editor look at what he or she is doing and give them two or three things that they can think about doing better than they are.

Once again, the vocabulary comes from experience, but the ability to do it comes from personality – not everyone who has experience is necessarily a good coach, or an effective communicator. Some are too didactic. For Robert, it all comes back to credibility – a word, which occurs with consistent regularity throughout the interview:

This issue of credibility, I think, is a much bigger one than people in the training community are willing to admit, or it is in journalism anyway. Journalists are a bloody cynical bunch of people, to try and teach anything, but experience would seem to show that if the training is really good then they love it, but they by and large do seem to want take it from people that they respect.

Leo's Story: The Power of Words

*Here dead we lie
Because we did not choose
To live and shame the land
From which we sprung.*

*Life, to be sure,
Is nothing much to lose,
But young men think it is,
And we were young.*

A.E. Housman

Location:

Leo was interviewed in a room at a journalists' club in London, which he describes as a second home:

This room contains the story of our times, a story that we're trying to, in a piecemeal and fragmented way, to chronicle as it was happening. So it's a comfortable place for me. There are bits and pieces that belong to all sorts of my friends. There's a flag over there that I brought back from Romania in 1989. There's a flag that I brought back from Libya last year.

An exciting life in interesting times:

Leo became a journalist because he thought it was 'exciting, adventurous, and good fun.' He is not sure that his memory is accurate, or whether

I'm projecting onto the past attitudes I've acquired subsequently – I think that's the nature of memory – but I think I was excited by public affairs. I think I wanted to live in the public life of my time. I wanted to be connected

to big events, and I thought it was exciting, and to be honest I thought it was a bit glamorous as well. That's definitely part of it. And I'm just, you know, really interested in what was going on in the world, and I want to be connected to it.

The sense of 'self' and professional self identity were inextricably linked for him, but now this has changed with age and time passing:

I think as I've got older, that's changed, and now I've got several lives, one of which is my working life, and several identities.

He says that he had a life in the countries that he has lived in (as a foreign correspondent) but that he now has a 'much greater sense of distance from what I do for a living than I did for a long time.'

Leo reported from areas of crisis and conflict throughout his career – for him the decision to do so, starting with coverage of the Gulf Crisis of 1990 and subsequent war in 1991 gave him an opportunity to test himself professionally and personally - it was a voyage of self-discovery and one which was necessary in terms of defining himself as a journalist. He asked himself:

Why am I doing this? Why am I doing this?" And the only answer that I could come up with at the time was because if I don't, I'll never forgive myself. But actually, I think what drove me in that direction was a desire not to show other people what I was made of, if you like, but to find out for myself what I was made of, to see whether I could do it, to test myself, and to see if I could do it...to see if I had the character to withstand the stress of it, and the fear, and the...all of that; but also to see whether I could do it professionally. And when I first went Baghdad, when I first got that big assignment in 1990, it was the biggest thing I've been asked to do. I was frightened for two reasons. I was frightened because I was an alien in a dangerous part of the world. It was clearly life-threatening to do it. But equally, no less than that, I was frightened because I didn't know whether

I'd be up to it, whether I'd be able to do it professionally. I didn't know whether I was good enough, and I had to find out for myself whether I was good enough to do it.

Memory and self-identity:

Here we see the role of memory in telling his own story – he recalls his reasoning *at the time*, but gives what he senses is a more honest appraisal with hindsight and presents a more authentic account of himself.

This and his subsequent reporting from Bosnia, gave him a strong sense of personal identity and professional worth:

Of all the experiences I've had, that period was defining for me in terms of my sense of who I was, and certainly in terms of the way I was perceived at work.

Leo thinks that a working class background made him lack confidence and created the sense that he was 'scared' - Robert refers to this too- for Leo 'it is connected to 'coming from my working class background, having gone to comprehensive school.' At the BBC he was surrounded by well-educated people with 'this quality of self-confidence that you don't have when you come from a poor background.' His experiences of covering conflict, in particular the situation in Baghdad in 1990, helped to form his identity and constituted a 'life changing experience':

I came out of that and I felt, I am as good as you are! I am as good as you are! And I started to believe in myself for the first time.

The profile of a foreign correspondent is 'classless' – there is no baggage and self-identity is fashioned within an alien context. Other foreign correspondents have sensed what Robert calls this 'heightened sense of self-identity' as a result of reporting from conflict zones (Beaumont, 2009; Di Giovanni, 2011; Keane, 2005).

This sense of self and his experiences of reporting in the field combine in his teaching, in his life as a journalism educator. At the BBC College and in master classes at universities and in other institutions, he teaches Writing for the Spoken Word and he is:

*quite surprised to hear myself even use the word, the term "I teach."
Because when I was younger, I was rather contemptuous of people who taught. I thought, you know, those who can, do, those who can't, teach. And if you want to be a journalist, be a journalist.*

He has found teaching *through experience* the most rewarding thing he does:

*I find it very satisfying. I'll tell you why. I try to teach people about the effective use of English, and I've never been taught **that** myself. And so I try to teach them through my own experience. For example, the first golden rule I teach them is that if they want to be a good writer, they have to be a good reader.*

As Robert found the vocabulary to coach people in reporting skills, although he had never worked as a reporter, so Leo uses experience rather than a skill set (since he had not been taught these skills himself) to teach students the art of writing for broadcast. It is learning 'in action' through experience.

The discipline of self-scrutiny:

Through experiential teaching, Leo conveys a basic skill of journalism – it is about immersion in reading, the application of experience and the use of memory and recall:

So, I go back over my own life and try to instil in them what conclusions I've drawn about good and effective writing. So one rule, for example, is a cliché filter.

Leo seeks 'rules' or key elements of good practice through applying his own judgement to writing that he has read – it is highly subjective in the first instance, since he is deciding as he listens to a radio bulletin for example, what is 'unattractive, unpleasant, cranky' in a dispatch. Rather than setting out rules as a result of these examples, Leo encourages the students that he is teaching to critically analyse their own work in the light of writing that he has highlighted as - in his opinion and from his experience – poor journalism or 'bad practice'. As for all of the practitioners interviewed for this study, the analysis of bad practice is useful to engender good practice:

I try to encourage the habit of self-scrutiny, of self-interrogation. Go through your scripts and look for redundant words, take out redundant words, and all the rules I teach come back to this one thing: self-scrutiny, discipline. Look at your own work critically. Because this is kind of what I learned to do, I think.

It is a critical practice, which he admits is driven by pride; 'I wanted to be admired, I wanted my work to be admired.' The focus of his work has changed over time. Initially, he confesses, he was ambitious and he wanted to be admired by his bosses, as they were the route to promotion and new challenges, but now in his middle age, he is more reflective and wants to 'put something back' – this is a common theme amongst the journalism educators interviewed for this study: they have lived full and challenging professional lives and want to share their experiences and reflections on their practice with the younger generation:

I really care about what young people think. I really enjoy young people who have listened or have seen something I've done, and want to emulate it. That's really, really motivating.

Despite this sense of pride, he refrains from constantly drawing on his own experiences and trading 'war stories', opting to use 'other people's work' to illustrate quality. His selections are revelatory in themselves: A.E. Housman's poetry to emphasise the importance of simplicity, since 'very simple words used

in the right combination can be much, much, much more powerful;’ Churchill’s speeches to ‘illustrate the effect of reaching back into the oldest parts of the language’ and the ‘Anglo-Saxon core of the language’; the role of French vocabulary in our everyday lives. In using these examples, Leo stresses that he does not aim to teach ‘how to be a good writer’, since he does not think this is possible. However, young journalists can learn if they interrogate their own work through applying ‘the discipline of self-scrutiny’ and ‘an inquiring imagination to your own work’. The examples from great writers are used to spark this curiosity and to provide a touchstone for the budding young writers to engage with and to assess their own work against. The ‘teaching’ style is simple in terms of method - a flip chart and a pen, with which to write up key words, such as ‘clarity’ or ‘precision’ or ‘cliché’, as well as the great poetry and excerpts from the speeches. There are no visual aids ‘because it’s about the spoken word, I only use the spoken word as a tool.’ The concept of credibility evident in Robert’s approach to journalism education is also evident here – Leo adopts a ‘teaching’ style which ‘fits’ the subject – an audience has to grasp the spoken word first time around, it cannot be re-read as in a newspaper or a book, so the teaching style aims to instil this in the students. He writes up the A. E. Housman poem, for the students to look at and to read out:

And then eventually, one of them says, “Oh, it is all one syllables.” Yes, correct. And some...usually someone says, “Oh, it’s iambic pentameter.” And why does iambic pentameter work? Because it mimics the rhythm of the human heart: da-dum, da-dum, da-dum....And they get it themselves. And you watch this moment when they start to contribute. It’s fantastic. It’s really, really fantastic, that moment when they get it, and the penny drops and you’ve got...you can see them nodding their heads.

Leo’s enthusiasm for this educational experience is palpable and infectious, and although he resists using examples from his own writing in the classroom, the core tenets of his message are drawn from his lived experiences in the field. The key words on the flip chart and even the selection of poems and speeches are all expressions of Leo’s character and his approach to his own work. The principles

that he has devised for his students have emerged over time as a result of his own practice. He recalls a story where the drive for simplicity was starkly evident in his own writing. He remembers how, during the first Gulf conflict twenty years ago in Baghdad an air raid shelter was hit and 400 women and children were killed.

I was one of the first to get there, and I thought this is really huge. I'm going to be...I'm going to describe what I've seen and nothing else. Maybe one or two sentences at the end, speculating about what it means, what the impact would be. But this is an occasion for pure eyewitness journalism. And to get the tone right, short sentences. Because with the short sentence, you are signalling to the audience, stop, listen, take in what I've just said.

Autobiographical story - telling as the route to self-understanding:

From the experience of reporting in a conflict zone Leo draws the lessons that 'if you want to say something big, say it in short sentences' and 'tone is achieved through the structure of the language that you use.' This means taking the journalist out of the story, even if it is 'eyewitness' reporting, since the removal of the first person strips away sentiment, 'because sentiment would have diminished the impact big time'. Even when the storyteller is immersed in the story, Leo believes that self and sentiment have to be removed from the reporting in order to have impact. If sentiment is a 'driving force' of the story 'it's quite important to capture and describe the sentiment, but in an unsentimental way'. He gives the example of Bosnia or Central Africa, where 'sentiment was driving events. Grief, revenge, anger were described, were driving what was happening.'

Leo believes that there is more room for sentiment and self in retrospective reporting, for example a *From Our Own Correspondent* piece on BBC Radio 4. The programme embraces the concept of cathartic writing for foreign correspondents (see Chapter 1). This experience of recall plays a cathartic role for him too – it allows him to assess the experience of the time through the prism

of memory and to reach judgements about his own work. It is also an example of practising what he advises his students to do: interrogate their own work. It is a deeply autobiographical process. Leo selects an extract from a radio talk he wrote in 1992 and reads it out:

One morning I watched the procession of men and women emerge from a forest. They'd been driven from their homes two days earlier and had fled with what they could carry. Most were on foot. Some were crammed into the backs of ancient farm vehicles drawn by donkeys. There were perhaps 40,000 of them. Their hometown had fallen to a Serb advance that had come without warning. Among them, one man seemed close to collapse. He stopped to speak to us. 'The whole town has fled,' he said. He'd become separated from his wife in the long trek to safety, and was now worried that she hadn't made it. His pale, almost translucently white skin was stretched across the bones of his face like parchment. His forehead was livid blue from a fall. And I asked him how old he was. He said he was 80. 'May I ask,' I said finally, 'are you a Croat or a Muslim?' The memory of it shames me even now as I hear in my mind his answer echo down the years: 'I am,' he said, 'a musician.'"

He sees this as an example of putting himself, the storyteller, into the story – this is the essence of autobiographical journalism:

*What I wanted to invite the audience to conclude was that I felt rebuked by that answer. He wasn't doing it to rebuke me; he just misunderstood the question. But what I took from it was, oh God, I'm just trying to reduce this old man at the worst moment of his life to his ethnic stereotype, and he's a grandfather and a husband and many things before he's a Muslim or a Croat. He's a musician and he's lost his **home**. Then he started talking about how he'd lost his musical instruments; he had a grand piano that his grandfather had bought in Dubrovnik in 1948 and then shipped it to the Central Bosnia. He had a violin that he wants to leave to his grandson. He'd lost them all.*

The elements of catharsis, evident in the autobiographical writing of other journalists (Gardner, 2006; Keane, 2005; Di Giovanni, 2011) are powerful for Leo, since 'the important thing is the emotion recollected and the tranquillity.' The journalist can make sense of deeply personal emotion through the process of retrospective writing, which contains more of the 'self':

A piece of writing like that is a process of explaining to yourself what is happening, what's going on, and what you've made of it.

It is a completely different experience from eyewitness reporting, but Leo believes that often for journalists cathartic writing is an important route to self-understanding, as are conversations with reporters who have gone through similar experiences: 'That could be cathartic as well because you can hear yourself working out in conversation.' Leo thinks this is a 'very useful' tool for retaining a sense of self and working out one's professional identity, and even future ambition; for him 'this is a similar much more solitary process of catharsis.'

These reflections provide illuminating insights to how a journalist might work through personal emotions, the experience of reporting a story in 'real time' which is 'of its time' and the catharsis of reflection through retrospective writing. These are rich areas for the researcher seeking to understand the layers of experience which constitute the essence of an individual journalist's approach to teaching, to passing on deeply personal experience in ways which are useful, accessible, educational and, crucially, credible.

Immersive 'lived' experience:

For Leo, a keen sense of self-identity was developed through his experiences in Bosnia, where he lived and worked as a reporter for three years. This sort of immersion presents a different experience to the life of the 'fire-fighter' - the reporter who flies in to report the story and flies out as soon as it is 'over'. The

lived experiences of this era have shaped him as a journalist and as a person: ‘it kind of defined me and I loved it and ... whenever I left, I couldn’t wait to get back.’ It infuses his world-view and he quotes the legendary war reporter, Martha Gelhorn to explain how he felt that he was able to change policy, through revealing injustice to the world. He thought that ‘bearing witness would be directly consequential’ and was dismayed to discover that this was rarely the case. But there was the need to try and make people understand the individual stories, what he describes as ‘this visceral need to be understood’ and Leo thinks that journalists ‘answer that need’ through being there and reporting on what they see. The activity of bearing witness highlights the tussle between professional and personal self: the journalist has to get the story out, but the sensitivities of reporting the human stories presented by war affect the personal self:

And quite often when I’ve been in that kind of situation, I felt a bit like a vulture, picking over the scraps of other people’s misfortune. I felt my livelihood is plundering other people’s misery. And it’s felt difficult sometimes. Sometimes, I have to walk away from it. But actually, people want a conduit to the outside world. They want their story acknowledged.

Leo articulates a tangible sense of unease, whereby the experience of bearing witness contains an uncomfortable notion of ‘self’. There is some comfort in the sense that the journalist’s stories throw the human condition into sharp focus: Leo quotes Primo Levi’s book on Auschwitz, where he claimed that: *“The need to be understood by the world outside is as immediate a need as the need for food and shelter”* (Levi, 2007).

The reporter’s role carries with it the burden of responsibility and there is a sense throughout the interview that Leo feels he cannot escape this – both in terms of understanding himself and doing his job. It is this ‘self’, which also permeates his teaching, with a piercing, lyrical and questioning honesty. Honesty is a word, which he often uses, and he perceives it to be central to his work as a journalist: there is no substitute for bearing witness, despite the

uncomfortable sense of intruding on others' grief. His identity is shaped by the suffering that he has witnessed as a reporter in conflict zones around the world: 'I can't imagine what I would be like if I hadn't done it.'

He feels strongly that being situated in his storytelling, gives it a veracity, which cannot be questioned by 'mythmakers' or undermined by propaganda. This is crucial in a conflict situation, for example the bombing of the Baghdad shelter where he accompanied the late Marie Colvin, who was reporting for *The Times*, to count the bodies in the morgue in order to counteract the propagandist reports of the Iraqi regime and the Allies:

And I was able to say, "Because I saw." It's not eleven hundred like the Iraqis claim. It's not soldiers like the Allies claim. It's women and children, and it's about 400.

The craft of storytelling:

The stories you tell are you. I am my story.

Journalists, for Leo, are craftartists, (Mishler, 1999) and their craft is storytelling, which is instinctive. He echoes Marr (2004) by describing it as 'hardwired into our system. Storytelling is like a song or dance.'

It's a fundamental way, an almost defining way of expressing yourself, of defining yourself as a human being. The stories you tell are you. I am my story. And one of the differences between human beings and other forms of life is that other forms don't really have a biography. That bird in the tree might sing beautifully. I don't think it's got a biography. Singing serves a function for it. But human beings have biographies and stories, and expressing them defines them. So yeah, I think we're storytellers and that's all, not much more really.

This is central to Leo's view of his craft and conveys with a direct simplicity how an individual journalist's lived experience or 'story' is defining of 'self': both the stories that he reports as a journalist and the life story that he possesses as his own biographical self. This dualism is powerful and suggests that journalism is the most human activity: 'self' is always present in the stories that are reported and for the journalism educator, 'self' is always present in the storied experiences which are shared with others, even if these are tailored to audience. As he points out, 18-24 year olds studying as trainee journalists are unlikely to grasp the full detail of some of his lived experiences, so he has to 're-tell' them in a focused and targeted way for them to be useful as educational tools. All digital journalists have to learn technical skills, but his interest is in inculcating something less tangible and less easily defined:

There are also skills that are, I suppose more about attitude and philosophy and approach. You have to learn to listen. And how do you teach somebody to listen? You have to find that out for yourself.

For Leo, the sharing of 'lived experience' and learning from others by watching them represents a sort of apprenticeship, where the master craftsman, the experienced journalist shares good practice through doing his craft – that of writing and telling stories:

These are craft skills but they're not a profession. There isn't training ... But you can learn them; you can acquire them; you can serve an apprenticeship in a way, an informal apprenticeship; and most of all, you learn from watching other people, asking yourself, "Why was that?"

Leo 'leads' his students through this 'informal apprenticeship' by drawing on his own experiences, using examples - but within a framework, as defined by the remit of broadcast journalists – including the key tenet of impartiality.

The challenges of bearing witness:

He refers to the problems of bearing witness when he is teaching the concept of impartiality. It is a concept which can be complicated, when working 'in the field' by the limitations of geographical location and freedom of manoeuvre so that only 'a bit of the story' can be told. Again, honesty underpins his approach:

You just level with the audience and say, "This is where I've been. This is what I've seen." There are other things going on in this story that nobody has seen, and what we have for that is claim and counterclaim.

In his teaching, Leo uses examples from his experiences of reporting conflict zones to show when only part of the story can be told and suggests that as long as the audience **knows** this is the case, then the remit of impartiality is covered. He also uses philosophical reasoning and relates stories told by philosophers to encourage the journalism students to evaluate the complexities of impartiality in reporting; Manson Piri is a favourite:

He said, if you're going to a bar and two men are arguing, one is arguing two plus two equals four, and the other one is arguing, with equal conviction and passion that two plus two equals six, it's never right to say the truth lies somewhere in between. That's just a cop-out. You've got to make a judgement based on your own experience about the quality of evidence upon which a claim is based. The quality of evidence upon which you claim two plus two equals four is based is far higher than the quality of the evidence upon which the claim two plus two equals six is based. And so, it's never...it's not always wrong to give more weight to one account, to one side, to one argument.

It is interesting that Leo, as an impassioned war reporter does not appear to find the requirements of impartiality constraining. He has no desire to operate as an advocacy journalist, as a campaigner and, like Robert, feels that impartiality is a key part of his self-identity. He adopts a different stance to those who practise a

journalism of 'attachment' (Bell in Kieran, 1998) Now in his fifties, he has worked at the BBC since he was 23 years old: it would be difficult to determine whether he has assumed the character of the organisation in this sense, or whether its remit suited his character profile from the outset. He sees it as 'defining' and admits that 'it has stuck'. The attachment to the concept of impartiality and the desire to imbue trainee journalists with its philosophical underpinning is striking.

Self-reflexively, Leo acknowledges that he puts his whole personality into his craft (reporting), which is symbiotic with his biographical self:

It's the only way I know to do it, which is probably why I had to stop. Because I've found that I can't swing in and swing out very easily.

He can only cover the story if he is fully immersed within it, and he knows that he has 'never really been able to do it any other way'. This is different to putting himself into the story, or making himself the story – but as the potter's ceramics are an extension of 'self,' so for the journalist the story is an extension of 'self' – there is a great deal of the journalist's biographical self within it. For Leo, it is different to being a salesman, who visits a country to 'sell widgets' and leaves again – the story, the country, and its people all form part of the journalist's personality because s/he has 'lived' it. Honesty is an important aspect of the journalist's craft and he echoes Robert's emphasis on credibility and authenticity:

I believe it's about honesty. To come back to that, it's about honest behaviour and it's kind of about fairness as well; it's about giving a fair account of people.

A journalist enters into a pact with the people whose stories s/he is reporting, which has its foundations in mutual trust – for Leo his educational approach is motivated by explaining the importance of fair and honest conduct:

That's important to me, that honouring that pact, that agreement you made: the implicit, implied agreement – tacit agreement – that you made when somebody agrees to give you their story. When they give you their story, they are giving you a part of themselves. They're handing over a bit of themselves to you, and you've got to be careful with it. You have to look after it. I think that's important.

The biographies of others:

There is a sense here that the journalist is the guardian of people's biographies, of the 'part of themselves' that they share with the reporter. Another crucial aspect of the journalist's craft constitutes trying to understand why people act in the way they do; 'It's about what makes people tick, what drives people to be who they are, and to do what they do.'

When his journalism students question whether this is relevant to them, as they are not immediately reporting from war zones, Leo tells them that he believes that this sort of empathy is crucial to the reporting of any story – even the mother campaigning to save the local ice rink on behalf of her community:

What it gets back to again and again is trying to understand what motivates people, why they care. Why does this mother care so passionately about this ice-rink?

For Leo, the journalist enters into a pact, a covenant, with the interviewee and honesty underpins the transaction. Here personal self and professional self merge and whilst it would be easier to be cool and objective, Leo is unable to engage in the *transactional* process of sharing and telling someone else's story as a voyeur. His view of journalistic storytelling is that it is an immersive, honest process. It is rigorously authentic:

I think you could make an argument that it's much better to be very distanced and very cold about it. You could make a sound argument for

that. I don't really know the answer to that, but what I know is that I can't...never really been able to do it any other way.

Q: So then, your self-identity and your professional identity are the same in so far as the way that you operate? And would you say the way you operate in your daily life is pretty much the way you operate as a journalist?

Yeah, absolutely.

The concept of **fairness** constitutes a central theme in Leo's life as a journalist and he emphasises the importance of exposing issues to the world so that 'in the end if you can't change policy, what you can do is to say to people, don't you dare say you didn't know,' since 'it's about upholding honesty'. Honesty and fairness are central to his conception of 'good practice' and infuse his approach to life as a foreign correspondent and as a journalism educator.

Michael's story: From Editor to Educator

*Late in the evening I stood by the pond
Huge was the carp that heaved among big lilies
And sank again, like a whole chest of treasure
How shall I catch her, the beautiful summer!*

*I stared at the pond, I stared at the pond
Till the sun slid from my fingertips
The sun sank under a golden field
And the moon climbed up my back.*

From *Hunting the Summer*, Ted Hughes.

Location:

Michael was interviewed in his study in his flat, which was book-lined and the computer on which he was writing a book was the only thing on the desk. On a stand beside the bookshelves, there was one book on artistic objects, which was open. Michael told me that he turned over to a new page each day to absorb the information and to learn about a new object.

The outsider

Michael did not intend to become a journalist and he believes that 'separateness' from others is a defining aspect of his craft as a journalist. This extends from his sense of self as the 'outsider'. Education and upbringing made him aware, even though he was educated at Oxford, as he went through his professional career at the BBC that 'all these guys have kind of played by the rules that I don't even know exist, I don't understand them'. Robert and Leo shared the same sense of 'not belonging' in their interviews. Michael did not feel a sense of vocation to become a journalist, preferring a career in politics, but his family wanted him to

be a policeman. He was inspired to aim to work at the BBC after his grandfather bought him a radio for his twelfth birthday, where he discovered the Home Service, radio drama and books:

It was like someone had punched a hole in the wall separating my universe from them. I just heard all these people talk about books and plays.

Listening to the radio – as the Home Service became Radio 4 - formed a theme of his teenage years:

For me this was the height of highbrow. I mean I didn't realise this was sort of middle class, middle brand, middle England talking to yourself. For me this was amazing.

His early experiences at the BBC, working in a small office to produce radio news and current affairs confirmed his commitment to the corporation. The first editorial meeting with the veteran broadcaster Robin Day and others made him feel that 'I want to stay here forever. You know that was kind of important.' It was a life-changing moment, a 'major epiphany' in Denzin's (1989) terms. Michael worked for the BBC for thirty-three years. He is a loyalist, who feels that currently there is a renewed sense of 'self-belief' where 'the newsrooms are buzzy' and 'you've still got that sense of the story being told.'

From newsroom to classroom:

Michael was one of the outstanding editors of his generation, who decided to embark on journalism education as a new challenge after years of leading teams to produce radio news and current affairs programmes at the BBC. He says he was tired of editorial roles after twenty-five years at the helm of major national radio programmes and, whilst acknowledging that training can be seen as a backwater in an organisation, he was really keen to 'do something else.' Initially, his main focus was the development of online educational tools and a website for the College of Journalism with the remit of delivering 'the basic

minimum that a good teaching website would have for journalists.' He also developed elements of a course in creative leadership.

Michael provides an interesting case study, because he was central to the Hutton inquiry of 2004, which was a life changing experience for him. In *Journalism: New Challenges* (2013), Fowler-Watt and Wilson outline the remit of the inquiry, which focused on:

Events surrounding a 'live' two way on Radio 4's Today programme when reporter Andrew Gilligan claimed that the British Government 'probably knew' a dossier about the weapons of mass destruction (WMD) capabilities of Saddam Hussein's regime in Iraq had been 'sexed up' or exaggerated to strengthen the case for going to war. The story was also reported on the BBC's 10 O' Clock News and on Newsnight. There was intense media speculation as to the source of Gilligan's story and on 9th July 2003 a government scientist, Dr David Kelly was named. Eight days later, Dr Kelly's body was found in a field close to his home. He had apparently taken his own life. Tony Blair's government set up an inquiry to investigate the circumstances surrounding his death, chaired by Lord Hutton. Its findings, published on January 28th, 2004 were critical of the BBC and found that Gilligan's claim that the government probably knew the report had been 'sexed up' was 'unfounded' and the editorial and management processes of the BBC were 'defective' (Hutton, 2004). The immediate result was three resignations in three days: The BBC's Chairman, Gavyn Davies left on the day the report was published, the Director General, Greg Dyke resigned two days later followed the next day by Andrew Gilligan. In the wake of the Hutton report and its fallout, editorial and management processes at the Corporation were rapidly reviewed.

As mentioned previously in Robert's story, the ensuing internal Neil report of 2004 set up the College of Journalism at the BBC.

As a speaker on the College's editorial leadership course, Michael shared his own lived experiences as an editor before and after the Gilligan affair. He talks about this period of crisis with honesty and reflects on the impact that it has had on his personal and professional life. He defines two different ways in which 'lived experiences' can be used to educate others – a process which he describes as 'really, really complex,' so that at one level:

It's using anecdotes and stories, you know, things that have happened to illustrate a point. That's kind of the easy thing you know. You can say: "I remember the time when, you know, we had a briefing from Number 10 that x was true and so what I did was this ... "

Using experience in an illustrative way allows people to try to align their lives with the storyteller's life and to look for lines of comparison in their own professional lives. As the journalism educator (in this case, Michael) deconstructs a personal experience, so the delegate on the editorial leadership course can look for ways to apply it to his or her own professional environment; they can seek parallels and apply these 'illustrations' by example to their own lives.

For Michael, the next stage, the more complex and rewarding use of 'lived' experience, emerges through a recognition that personal biography threads through his teaching:

Everything that happens to you, every experience that happens to you whether it's something that goes well or something that goes badly, it leaves a kind of trace, you know, and it makes you more likely to act in one way or another. And I think the most important thing to try to bring into teaching is that kind of experience.

Experience as identity-shaping:

This analysis of how experience shapes identity and affects future behaviour is the keystone of Michael's approach to journalism education. Whilst there is a place for teaching that is about 'anecdotes and signs' it is also crucial to consider the 'traces' that these experiences have left. Michael uses the example of the Gilligan affair and covering stories involving child abuse to illustrate how he has been shaped by these lived experiences and how they have informed the decisions that he has made subsequently. These are intensely personal and psychologically deep-seated concepts, which can be challenging to deconstruct and present to an external audience within the educational arena. Michael uses the example of teaching original journalism:

The thing I find hardest to teach was, you know, your experience tells you that you have to be connected to everything all the time. You have to bring really quite weird things into the discussion and then something new will spark.

In a creative leadership course at the College, he drew on the work of the American biologist, Tom Seeley, who claims that bees can teach us about decision-making and leading groups, since they are constantly finding original ways of doing things in the hive (Seeley, 2010). Michael utilises Seeley's findings to illustrate how creativity can be engendered in organisations; in doing so, he stresses the importance of cognitive diversity within news teams and the counter-intuitive role of the editorial leader in opening up debate to allow original thinking to flourish. This example of drawing on science to develop 'good practice' in journalism, by encouraging journalists to think creatively and inspiring editors to develop original thinking in their news teams illustrates an interdisciplinary approach to journalism education.

For Michael, using lived experience as a teaching tool, also requires an understanding of self, which includes 'understanding your role models' and an

understanding of audience, which includes ‘understanding the way people think’ since:

You can't just apply your own experience deconstructed and then expect anybody to just pick it up and run with it. You've got to have a sense of who is receiving the message.

He uses the analogy of a journalism educator as a scriptwriter, who has to consider ‘when I share this experience, what is this group of people going to take from it?’ This is important because:

We all talk in shorthands, and so I think you do have to analyse your lived experience, try to deconstruct it a little bit, try to make out what are the important things here. But then you have to sort of, as it were, go around the other side and look at it and say, okay, so what would a 20 year old new journalist, what would a 30 year old news editor, what would they make of it?

Good practice can be inculcated in others with the sharing of stories and experiences in this way:

I don't mean just sit there and recount your experience, even a deconstructed experience. I think you really have got to add on a layer – and this is how I'm trying to make you connect with it.

This approach to journalism education is illustrated in a master class on a leadership course, in which Michael shares his belief that one of the most important aspects of leadership is ‘not getting in the way.’ He tells his audience of seasoned editors stories of times when he has ‘rolled up my sleeves’ and been ‘so keen to get a story out there’ that his enthusiasm has impeded the work of those in his team:

You achieved what you want to achieve but you absolutely dulled the creativity of everyone around you because they're all sort of you know too scared to get involved because you're there with your elbows flying.

Connectivity and leading by example:

As Robert uses his teaching sessions to focus on things that had gone badly as well as things that had gone well, so Michael believes that it is important to show fallibility and to share disasters as well as successes. This educational style is necessarily selective and seeks to find examples, which will resonate and connect. Teaching young trainee journalists requires different examples of experience to teaching senior editorial leaders. Audience matters. Selectivity is important in order to achieve a connection, which will resonate – experience in itself is not sufficient: ‘you can’t just chuck your experience in there. You’ve got to kind of think, “well, how do I make this connect?” Michael clearly explains what he perceives to be the difference between his method of using experience in teaching and the ‘role model’ approach to using experiences:

You’ve got to go and take something different from that. I mean it’s a key thing about teaching – not just teaching with a capital T, but teaching life, you know. You might think that it’s quite obvious what you’re doing, why you’re doing it, what your goals are. But of course everybody takes something different away from every event, you know. And a number of times, I sort of come out of a programme thinking, “Yeah, it was really, you know, really well-made, really good,” and somebody else that’s been in the same programme thinks, “Well the show’s a bit tacky, you know, we made some of the wrong decisions. I didn’t really understand what was going on.” And so you do have to understand that. And I think that’s part of the problem with the kind of role model, teaching by role modelling. I mean it’s fine. “This is the way I want it. This is the way I do it.” See, one of the things that I learned quite later on was you have to have a sort of camera running on yourself, looking at what it is that you want other people to see. And I realise that this was quite an important part of leadership, that you had to

be aware of, you know, what other people are saying about you. And if you want, say for instance, at a very simple level, if the important thing that you are trying to get across is to be creative, you've really got to read widely, watch widely. Then you've got to do that yourself, knowing that you've wanted people to see that.

Q: So leading by example?

But it's by a very, very deliberate example. You know, if you want your message to be, "We are meticulously accurate on this programme, on this newspaper," then you have got to be seen to be being meticulously accurate. There's no point in just saying, "I want everything checked to the nth degree," and then, you know, praising somebody who hasn't done that, which happens quite a lot. You can't have that sort of dissonance in your messaging.

This 'take' on the importance of leading by example and using experiences, which have connectivity, links with Robert's emphasis on symbolism, whereby a key tenet of his educational approach emphasises the clarity of the message. Within a classroom context, Michael selects experiences where he feels that he has led by example to teach leadership skills. He selects and recalls stories from the era of Labour government in the 1990s, when the media was 'manipulated' by the Prime Minister's press secretary, Alastair Campbell. Michael cites one example when a Cabinet minister's marriage was collapsing and 'Downing Street tried to plant three stories in Sunday papers to knock it off the front pages'. This was a learning experience for him, as an editor, which he now shares with his students:

What I learned from that experience was that, you know, you've got to keep coming back to reality, what's really going on here. And to understand that just because the crowd is rushing off in that direction doesn't mean that you've got to.

He advocates recourse to the Cartesian method of evidence and factually-based practice (the core skills of 'good' journalism') and uses the government

minister's failed marriage story to illustrate the importance of leading by example, by not following the press pack, but constantly remaining curious and seeking facts. Authenticity and honesty are once again important themes in Michael's analysis of self as an educator and he defines his central concern as a journalism educator to be 'to distil the essence of what good leadership is' with one-to-one coaching of editorial leaders as a crucial aspect of his drive to teach how to lead by example.

The telling and re-telling of stories:

To return to the analogy of the journalism educator as a scriptwriter – these stories also need to be plotted so that a connection can be made to facilitate the learning experience, since 'it's not just about telling the internal stories. It's how those internal stories then become part of the connection'. A critical self-awareness must also be evident in the storyteller, when recounting lived experiences, since 'you have to be aware of your own impact on the other person.'

He does, however, believe, like Robert, that others see him as a role model, which he 'accidentally' presented to them and which they could 'respond to'. This did not mean that they wanted to *be* him, but that he presented modes of operation, which could be emulated, such as asking disruptive questions to encourage original thinking at editorial meetings and building a team of creative journalists to work with him. This was particularly crucial to Michael, who felt that:

We established sort of things like, the kind of editorial discussions we had, the kind of stories that we did, the kind of things we were looking for.

Although the programme team and its leaders were all 'very, very different human beings' there were 'areas where the contact or the connection was absolute.' Michael's experience of leading a programme team of reporters and presenters, which worked well together and was often seen by others within the BBC at the time (the early to late '90s) as highly successful and agenda-setting,

informs his understanding of 'good' practice. His experience of leadership at this time is one he shares in his teaching of editorial leaders and it touches on intangible, 'unspoken things' and deeply psychological elements, which are not easily taught. Michael reflects on how the chemistry between a corps of people was key to his own understanding of 'good' editorial practice, something that he never had to explain to them, but has used as an exemplar in the classroom:

It ripples out; that corps of people who really, really know what you're about...what the game is about, what you're doing. They can interpret it differently. And I think when you have that kind of critical mass, I suppose it is, people start to attach themselves to it, so then... everyone knows it would be good.

Michael sees the 'role model' aspect of this leadership experience as emanating from leading by example, risk taking and from his support for the creative ideas of individuals within the team. However, this reputation for taking risks and 'pushing the boundaries' cannot accommodate maverick behaviour, in his view:

Q: So you don't see yourself as a maverick?

No

Q: No?

Absolutely not.

Q: No?

No.....I was quite cautious in many ways.

Moments of epiphany:

Michael's journalistic career was transformed by the Gilligan affair - a moment of minor - or 'illuminative' - epiphany, (Denzin, 1989). He was challenged professionally by Gilligan's faulty journalism and personally by the subsequent death of Dr David Kelly, the government weapons inspector who had been misquoted by the BBC reporter. Michael has shared the impact of these experiences freely with delegates on the editorial leadership course at the

College. He recalls the sequence of events in detail and explains how Kelly's death affected him on a personal level as the editor who had put Gilligan on to the story:

This was a real-world thing. This is a real guy who really died, you know. And I did get the feeling that everybody else was kind of slightly grandstanding and sort of treating it as if it was remote from reality.

It is an example that he uses in his teaching to show the challenges presented to leadership by crisis, when 'you become two people' because 'the programme had to carry on and people had to see you still as a strong leader.' On a personal level, he says that 'I did not bring it home with me, I didn't share anything with people here.'

This story was a life-shaping series of events for Michael, but he had resolved from a young age to confine work issues to the workplace. In re-telling the story of the Gilligan affair, he reveals that the fallout over the Hutton report had the greatest effect on his life, because of its 'injustice'. The 'absolutely sort of epiphanic' moment, which led Michael to move away from editorial leadership and towards journalism education, came at a conference on sustainable development. This was the response to crisis through the prism of memory and time, in Denzin's terms (1989) the experience of 'cumulative' epiphany:

I sat by the lake and this kind of carp just jumped out, this huge carp just jumped out, sort of twisted and splashed. For some reason, it's almost like someone clicked their fingers and sort of brought me out of a twenty-five year old coma.

He suddenly realised that he had always walked up a staircase, as he describes it and 'it had never occurred to me to get off that staircase, to go back the other way, to jump the wall.' He felt 'tired and jaundiced' until the conference, where he attended seminars and felt like a student again. The 'world of journalism educators' re-energised him and 'the gap between the things that I really enjoyed

doing like lecturing, writing, blogging, talking to people and the day job was just growing bigger and bigger and bigger and bigger.'

There is not a sense that journalism education was a vocational calling or an obvious extension of personality. Michael does not believe that his professional and personal selves are conjoined in the way that Robert and Leo do, since he claims that he is still 'the little schoolboy who's the smallest person in the room':

With teaching people or being an educator, there's always been a bit of me that has always asked myself, you know, 'who the hell are you to tell people how to do things?' So that's always been there ... that's something that is absolutely huge in my personal self. But it's something that you do, try to sublimate your professional self because actually, you'd be crippled...

He does not define this as humility, but as an essential personal characteristic.

A personal sense of professional ethics:

Michael's professional and personal identities are more clearly intertwined in his emphasis on the importance of ethics, where elements of self are projected on to the professional context. It is core to his sense of self as a journalism educator. He claims that his attachment to the importance of ethics grew over time and that:

Many journalists don't understand the power they have. I don't think a lot of journalists really get the fact that they're kind of shaping people's view of the world.

His views were shaped by environment: the changing landscape of journalism. The 'phone hacking scandal and 'lies, poison and bile' as he sees it in some parts of the press made him 'jaundiced about how it worked' about 'just how bad some of the ethical standards of journalism was.' Reporting in the public interest is a key imperative for Michael's professional life and he became increasingly

concerned about standards – as a result of a personal experience where a master class that he delivered to a group of forty people was reported in the newspaper as a one-to-one interview - and as a result of Hutton and his role at the College of Journalism. For Michael, a keen focus on the public interest and what constitutes it, shaped by professional and personal experience, was encapsulated in his educational role at the College of Journalism. Here he integrated ‘ideas that were half forming’ as they became more acutely clear to him into the set of five values which are published on the website as an educational tool and editorial guide. An educational artefact grew out of personal experience:

It was a kind of personal journey, what I personally started to feel about journalism and the press, that I then began to translate into teaching.

The key is explanation – Michael sensed that many BBC journalists knew that the organisation was *different* to other news organisations, due to its guidelines and editorial values, but ‘they don’t necessarily know what they are.’ The concept of impartiality is a difficult one to teach and one he teaches as ‘an **active value**’, which is ‘about fairness, it’s a bit about balance and it’s almost objective, but it’s none of these things.’

Put simply, ‘it’s something you have to go out and do.’ He uses an example from a reporter’s claim that he had witnessed a massacre in Northern Iraq in 1992:

...That to me is still impartial, because he’s gone out and he’s looked for the evidence that you need to show. I mean, you can be an impartial investigative journalist. You go out impartially, you do not have a view as to what the outcome is going to be. No, but at the end of it, you have to come to the truth.

Once again, Michael tells a story to make the point about impartiality and uses an example from a reporter’s lived experience to explain what he means by an ‘active value’. Ultimately ‘you’re always telling stories’ since ‘most things get salience, most things get impact because of the story.’ The ‘phone-hacking

scandal, which led to the Leveson Inquiry, ultimately hit the headlines when a story about a young girl's 'phone being hacked (Milly Dowler's) was reported:

It gets the impact that journalism has to have. Journalism isn't just facts, it's facts with impact.

The centrality of stories:

As a journalism educator, Michael claims that 'storytelling is fantastically important' and he describes it as 'an increasingly underrated skill', partly because of the impact of the web and the drive to produce content. He seeks to place storytelling back at the centre of journalism as a craft, since mere content or web-based information 'will never get traction, it will never get salience because, you know, it's not telling stories.'

Michael defines his craft as 'separateness' and 'what goes into that is both the ethics and the ethic.' The daily programmes that he led teams to create were distinguished by a 'separateness' which might be described as a purity, since 'there's things that you're doing to make it separate from everything else in the world.' As the potter sees his pot as a clearly defined entity, so Michael describes his programmes in the same tangible terms:

It's defining everyday why I suppose like a potter defines why that pot is. There's a point where the universe ends and the pot begins. In the same sort of way there's a point where the world ends and the [programme] that you're making that day begins. And making a difference is kind of what it is all about, so there's separateness, certainly.

It is also a craft that is defined by complexity: the imperative of ethical context and the tension between 'truth and impartiality': 'We're kind of building something that's complicated as a house, without the plans.' The daily news agenda is constantly shifting, so each programme was bespoke, like a handcrafted single edition. As the craftartist resides in the final product – the

potter in his pot, the reporter (like Leo) in his reporting - so the editor is closely aligned with the programme that is created and goes 'on air' but there is a difference:

I don't think the programmes are made in my image. Maybe they were a bit .. I mean they are certainly very different now I think they were different with different editors. But I was never consciously aware of making anything.

Any reflection of personality is subconscious:

To go back to the potter analogy, maybe the potter thinks that, when it's my hands in that clay, then it's the pot that's going to come out, without consciously thinking that it's your style.

A focus on journalism education within the BBC has played a part in the refreshed appetite for storytelling, but there is a wider goal for the educator, which transcends any institutional remit: 'Journalism education has got to get across that journalism is different. It's a very specific, closely-defined thing'. For Michael, journalism educators need to disseminate the concept of journalism as more than information and facts or social media, as a clearly defined story telling, which verifies and provides salience:

Having a band of people who you trust to go out into the world, go to places you can't go to, get the access you haven't got, to think about things in a way that you couldn't necessarily think about then because you haven't got the time to do it, to verify what they had...and to report back to you what they found and to do it in a way that captures the salience of the moment, that captures your attention, that tells you this is an important thing to be thinking about today and tells it in a story.

Journalism is a profession, it is craft-artistry - for Michael: 'It's the pot. It's a made thing. It's not a force of nature. It's a thing you have to make.' It is the role

of the journalism educator to 'stand up for journalism' and to take on 'all the people who say you don't need journalists anymore.' So it has campaigning zeal as well as clearly defined outcomes – telling a truthful and accurate story.

Ben's Story: Journalist with Credible Passion:

The whole of life is just like watching a film. Only it's as though you always get in ten minutes after the big picture has started, and no - one will tell you the plot, so you have to work it out all yourself from the clues.

From Terry Pratchett's, *Moving Pictures*, 1990.

Location:

Ben was interviewed in the open-plan sitting room of his light, airy, suburban house, with photos, magazines and all the paraphernalia of family life scattered around. He spoke in a very animated way, with great energy and passion. When Robert set up the College of Journalism, he insisted on the involvement of journalists like Ben, as educators. It was important, therefore, to include him in this study.

The importance of evidence:

Ben started his career in newspapers then moved to train with the BBC, working initially as a regional correspondent, then as a current affairs producer. When asked to describe himself as a journalist he gives 'an argument rather than a description':

I think journalism is about evidence. It's about finding out what's going on and telling people about it. It's that simple. And evidence comes in lots of forms you know: Personal experience, anecdote, emotions.

Journalists watch and package up this evidence – that is their craft – but Ben is most concerned with the way they use statistics:

*This enormous piece of evidence, which we don't really think of as enlarged components of what we do, which is **data**. It's the numerical, quantified stuff that describes what's going on at the level of populations.*

In his teaching, he aims to impart his own passion for data journalism - the accurate use of data in storytelling - to new recruits and editorial leaders, because 'you can't avoid it.' He is concerned that the journalistic profession is 'a profession of anecdotes' since 'that's basically the way we do news. We're a profession of gossip down the pub.' Ben feels that journalism education and news organisations should offer more guidance on the use of data in storytelling, because 'we're not very good at working out what's going on in the world' and we do not consider:

What kind of evidence is this, how should we treat it, how does it behave, how should we understand it, what tricks does it get up to?

He gives an example of the process of questioning, which he believes journalists should engage in, using transport as the subject matter:

How many cars are there on the road? How bad is congestion? What's the average speed of the traffic? You know transport is all about this. What's the likelihood of dying if you ride a cycle or a (motor) bike? Is it getting better or is it getting worse? Is it worse in London or is it worse driving in the countryside? You know which are the most dangerous roads? These are all quantified.

Ben's biographical profile does not naturally indicate an interest in data – as an English graduate he was:

a normal sort of journalist who did all kinds of anecdotal things. I thought I love what's in there - take that bit of a story, that bit of a story, bind them together and produce a meaning.

Working with a statistician on a story, Ben was inspired by his clarity when answering his questions, which were borne out of 'lazy journalist assumptions.' This working partnership shaped his journalism and his career at the BBC, producing a programme about statistics, which was initially seen as idiosyncratic, because 'it wasn't really the language in which we do almost all our journalism' but rapidly became part of the fabric of BBC Radio 4's output and sought to explain issues using data, despite a lack of graphics or visual aids. He retells the story of the programme about Gordon Brown's five economic tests for entry into the Economic and Monetary Union of the European Union (EMU). One of the tests was difficult to measure, as it involved tracking the movement of people, yet for Ben it raised interesting questions for journalists seeking to understand how the five tests might work in practice:

if Greece goes horribly wrong, large numbers of people could move to where things are better. Can they, do they, how easy is it to do? You know, how much of that is there in our country compared with other countries? How well does it work? No idea. So, it wasn't part of anybody's assessment, really, of whether the EU was going to work. But it seemed to be the most fundamentally important assessment. But we couldn't measure it. Well this is rather interesting, you know, this kind of funny little pantomime going on around these numbers.

Ben believes that journalists are scared of numbers because of their humanities-based educational backgrounds and the subsequent bias towards the arts within the media world. He seeks to mitigate these characteristics by encouraging delegates on courses at the College of Journalism to handle numbers with confidence, to understand them and to use data responsibly within their storytelling. In this sense, Ben is teaching by example but he is projecting his own highly credible passion for evidence-based journalism onto the training of others in a bid to instigate change at an individual, programme and institutional level. This in turn will have an impact on stories reported to audiences and the ways in which they receive them.

The professional 'self':

Ben relishes his role as an educator, because the journalists that he is teaching are very responsive and open-minded to his message – he feels that he is 'pushing at an open door' when sharing his ideas about data journalism with them.

I think it is because nobody has ever said to them before: "Maybe you need to think about this in a slightly different way." So they're not defending anything, they've got no established practice. They've got no 'never did it like that in my day.' They just never did it.

It is rewarding, as a teacher to open people's eyes to new ways of thinking, but there is ambivalence at the heart of his sense of professional 'self'. Ben feels 'jaded' at the amount of journalism, which is still lacking a base of sound evidence and 'these are mistakes that have the potential to make a really serious dent in somebody's life.' Ben uses examples to illustrate his points; he recalls the detail of stories and how they were reported to highlight what is, in his view, faulty journalism. This is a slightly different approach to the use of 'lived experience' evident in the interviews with Robert, Leo and Michael, but the stories that he selects are meaningful and his storytelling technique emanates from a passionate desire to communicate the importance of using data responsibly. For Ben, journalism is an act of 'social responsibility' and as an educator he uses the stories, which present themselves to him as good examples of bad practice or which he holds up as examples of 'good' practice to infuse colour and life to the imperative to utilise data. He shows the potential impact of failing to use contextual data in news stories with the example of a report on a contraceptive implant by mainstream news organisations, which found that there had been 584 pregnancies over a number of years. The reports were illustrated with case studies of people whose marriages had fallen apart as a result. Ben supports the use of human-interest stories to bring reporting to life,

but the reports claimed that the implant was ineffective, when it was more effective than any other form of contraception:

You know there was just this number, 584, which pretended to say something about the systematic problem with the contraceptive, but actually said nothing whatsoever, no sense of whether this was a high number or not, whether it was a high risk or not.

For Ben, this is an example of journalists failing to ask the 'right' questions and so exercising their responsibility to the audience – many of whom are likely to change their methods of contraception as a result of the reports.

You know, go home without any conscience, or actually don't, don't go home with that on your conscience. You know, as a journalist.

Ben uses this example, and others like it, to convey to journalists the essence of 'good' practice – a forensic and questioning approach to information is central to his personal sense of self and to his professional self – it is a credible passion:

It doesn't get much more basic than asking whether something is a large number or not and how you would be able to tell that. And we don't do that. Too often, too many cases you know, where those kind of simple things slip through. They should be like putting full stops at the end of the sentence, I think.

The role of others:

Ben's educational style is to try to 'touch' each individual that he teaches, by encouraging them to question how they utilise data and to invest the concept of ownership into each individual journalist. This is a method, which is focused on tackling the institutional issues around specialists and generalists. A specialist reporter might be expected to have more of a 'handle' on the statistics and the impact of reporting stories like the contraceptive implant story, but a general

reporter might report the story in a more case study-led and superficial manner. It is also focused on encouraging every individual journalist, whatever their job title to interrogate the data that they are reporting, to question **how** they tell their stories. Editorial leaders can 'force the teams to reflect on these kinds of things. They could set high standards for scrutiny for this sort of data' so that every reporter is led by example in aiming for clarity and accuracy. In this way good practice is inculcated by Ben in using examples to illustrate key points about evidence-based reporting and editors are encouraged to teach their teams by setting high standards and leading by example. Ben is also leading by example as an educator – through his personality and his consistently questioning approach to information before it is used as evidence in the context of news reports. His 'mission' is complicated by the aversion of many journalists to numbers and the predominance of journalists with humanities-based educational backgrounds:

I think there are two sorts of dominant attitudes in journalism towards numbers. One of them is to say 'they're all lies and damned lies' and can't trust anything and it means nothing anyway and the other is to say that they are kind of 'killer facts', if you know what I mean: 'Up 40%' wow! And there is almost a sexual thrill that you can put that in a headline and think you've done it. That's it.

Ben detects that this aversion feeds into the culture of the newsroom and journalists tend to fall into two camps:

*One of these is this ridiculously naïve killer fact idea, is it that strong? Does it mean what you think it means? I don't know but my God it's a big number isn't it? And the other one is giving up altogether. I don't know what it means frankly – probably a load of rubbish - but let's just pump it out anyway, you know what does **that** do for your audience?*

In his teaching, he seeks to use examples to look for 'something in the middle' asking whether there is 'something in the middle which just asks very basic

questions to try and get, to establish, you know the merit in this number.’ On one level, Ben adopts a pragmatic approach to journalism education, which defines the key as asking questions in the first place:

I’m not asking you to come up with the gospel truth about what is going on in the world, just to ask some pertinent questions, to do the sort of challenging thing the BBC is supposed to pride itself in doing. Even if it’s all you can achieve, then let’s do that. At least let’s do that on a regular basis.

Once the concept of asking questions is established, then he goes on to ask ‘what kind of questions?’ and supports this element of his teaching with ‘piles and piles of examples.’ Ben seeks to inculcate good practice by deconstructing ‘real’ examples, which he has necessarily selected – and tries to get ‘under the skin’ of what could have been done to report the stories more effectively. As Robert found an emphasis on bad experiences useful, so most of Ben’s examples highlight mistakes because:

Mistakes are the things that people seek ... they’re easiest to illustrate. I use a few sort of very positive uses of data, but on the whole, it tends to be through, you know, bad examples rather than good ones.

Ben recalls examples of ‘bad journalism’ most readily to illustrate his passionate and almost zealous approach to using data in storytelling. He is self-aware that it is important not to suggest that ‘this is all rubbish’ and that numbers are only ever used badly in news reporting, but his own forensic approach is most clearly thrown into sharp relief against a background of examples which highlight inadequacy and poor practice. When he does use an example of data being used in a positive way, he is excited that it is ‘cool’: ‘one that I love using is you can show the time of day at which people die’. Using graphs and the example of the notorious serial murderer Dr Harold Shipman he illustrates how data can provide a source of evidence for ‘what Shipman did’ – one of ‘the most chilling graphs I’ve ever seen in my life’:

This is good stuff. I mean, it's not as if every journalist is going to go out and discover the next Harold Shipman, but it's just sort of a way of trying to persuade people you know, it's not 'lies and damned lies.'

Changing mindsets:

Accuracy is a key tenet of 'good' journalism and Ben's stance indicates that he is serious about encouraging journalists to be self-reflexive in the drive to produce impartial, fair and honest reporting. When using data, they have to ask themselves: 'when does it tell you something and when doesn't it? And what would you rather do?' The challenge for Ben as an educator is that the journalists he is teaching are immersed in a newsroom context, driven by constant deadlines, pressurised by staff cuts and expected to break stories to beat their competitors. He is sympathetic to this problem, but he is driven by a passion to change the mindsets of journalists:

If the choice is filling your bulletin with rubbish and filling it with something real, you know, can you find a real story instead and how much trouble does it really take is a very significant question. It's an important question you know.

Fellow educators at the College of Journalism use their lived experiences to encourage the 'students' to think differently, with an emphasis on leadership, impartiality, originality. Ben uses examples, which have struck him as important - sometimes specific stories, sometimes themes to encourage students to revisit their relationship with data. His 'self', his personality is projected onto his teaching and he is defining his professional self, as a journalism educator through the examples that he selects. The stories that he recalls have a learning point, but they are also the product of his own energetic engagement with his subject. It is an immersive process, with features of Leo's approach to teaching writing skills. Sometimes he selects themes, rather than individual stories. In this passage, Ben selects the example of 'strikes', which indicates his passion for the *correct* reporting of strikes, devoid of assumptions and falling into what he

calls the 'story groove', where 'the more often it's told the deeper it gets' and changes or shifts in the pattern of stories are missed as a result:

Over the past four years, we have had, almost every quarter, headlines saying 'This is the new winter of discontent' or 'the new autumn of discontent' or 'the new spring of discontent' or 'the new summer of discontent.' You know, next one. And I've got headlines for all of these. I've got about, you know, I really have in four years, I've probably got about 16 of them, you know, one for every quarter since 2008. All the papers, BBC, everybody does it, the left, The Guardian, The Times, the works. Discontent, discontent. Data anyone? When was the winter of discontent? It's 1979. How many strike days were actually lost in 1979 compared with now? And so, what I do on the course is you know, we run through all this stuff and it gets a laugh because people are thinking, 'oh yeah, cliché.' You know, the typical type cliché. But it's not just a linguistic cliché, it's a sort of, it's a conceptual cliché that whenever there is a whisper of industrial unrest on any scale, it must be huge, particularly during a recession or coming up to an election. It must be huge. Is it? By what standard? So, again, people say, oh, you're not going to tell me there are no strikes, really. Oh, no. Come on, you know, you've got to leave us that story. So, I show them the data. And I show them the data for the past four years to see if there's been any sort of growth in discontent. It's just before the couple of strikes that we had in 2011 because you may remember we had a teachers' strike and we had a civil service, small civil service strike. So, I say, let's leave those aside for the moment. So, let's look at the last four years before that, see if we can see any increase. We can't see any increase, actually. It's down a bit. But it's not, you know, it's not down a bit, nothing. Nothing. When was the winter of discontent? '79. And so, I have to change the scale on the graph and what you see at one end of the graph is the '79. There's this line that goes up through the top of the ceiling. Now, what you see for the last four years is something that you can hardly see at all. Hardly see it. They barely nudge above the bottom of the axis. Although this is kind of the simplest representation of scale that you could imagine.

How does it compare, given the metaphor we're all using, with real events that our metaphor was coined to describe? It doesn't. So, then we say, okay. Let's put last year's two strikes on. They creep a fraction higher above the line. And then, I say, okay. Let's take that big strike because you know, the people said there were two million out. There might have been two million out but you know, some of them were only part time, some of them didn't actually have a job but they were union members and so on. And actually, the ONS (Office for National Statistics) reckons that about a million working days were lost, full time working days were lost. And that's the same measure that it uses from 1979 and so on. So, let's say a million people. Let's say that the unions do this again. There's another strike. A million out again. Let's say that the strike holds strong and they do it again. And let's say, there are no compromises from the government or compromises from the unions and they do it again. And again and again and again. And they're still 80% short, eighty, eight zero per cent short of the 1979 figure. And 'oh, but you've wrecked our story'. Let's have another look at the graph. And you see that one end of the graph, around the '70s and the '80s, these lines are jumping up and down. Way up, way, way up. And for the last 20 years, they've been flat. Now, you're telling me there's no story in that. How many stories might there be and what's happened in Britain's industrial relations in the last 20 years? Something enormous has changed. What is it? Is it the feminisation of the workforce? There's a story for you. Is it contracting out in the local government where, you know, you've got all these private companies and then this eroded the power? There's a story for you. Is it just the diminishing numbers of people in trade unions? Is it because they have no power anymore? You know, talk about bringing countries in, you couldn't get half a dozen blokes around a brazier any more. Is that what's going on? You know, is that the story? Is it political realism that struck you? Well, just don't strike anymore. There's another story for you. You've not done a story? No, I haven't. I've not...there wasn't a story. I've given you six more stories. If you want stories, there are six stories in there. Go and find out what's really happening. You know, don't peddle the old.

The 'story groove':

Ben believes that one of the main problems with journalism is that 'people fall into the groove time and time again.' The concept of a 'story groove' is drawn from Terry Pratchett's *Discworld* series, where everything is driven by stories and characters fall into the groove of doing the same things again and again, such as slaying dragons dependent on their position in the family, or always winning when the odds are stacked against them - so in the example of reporting strikes:

The winter of discontent is just a story groove, which avoids all thought. You just get in the groove and you make a bucketful of assumptions and you say 'isn't it terrible?' And you miss one of the most profound changes in Britain's economy that we've had for decades. And people say I knock down their stories.

As Michael uses counter intuitive techniques and disruptive questioning to stimulate original journalism, so Ben urges journalists to interrogate data and to look for stories that are not 'in the groove' as a result. Otherwise, he says, habits form which are hard to break, leading to inaccurate journalism such as reporting that 'these are the worst strikes for a generation. There haven't **been** any for a generation.'

Self-awareness is seen as a key characteristic of the journalist's craft – but Ben discerns a fundamental disconnect between the ways in which journalists perceive themselves to be operating and the essence of journalism. Journalism is about 'going out and getting evidence', but in reality journalists resort to simple assumptions such as 'it's all about strikes' and fail to ask 'how many strikes are there?' Ben's message is simple 'go and get the data.' He does not dismiss the concept of stories and constantly uses stories to illustrate his point. He sees stories as being built through the gathering of evidence and the creation of a narrative arc, data are threaded on a string and fitted together to construct a story.

Data allow the journalist to 'get under the skin' of a story – it is not 'superior' to recording the human interest stories, the real life experiences of people, but they must fit together:

You need to make sure that the numbers make some kind of sense in real life and you need to make sure that the slice, the little slice of real life that you have observed when you've been out with your tape recorder or your camera is representative of the data before you start saying so.

The stories reported by journalists are the product of:

A little bit of selection and a little bit of tunnel vision and a little bit of gut instinct and maybe a good old groove just to guide us.

Ben urges a definition of 'story' and spots a distinction between 'storytelling and thinking that stories are the way the world works.' Stories are driven by evidence or data, rather than facts being selected in 'magpie' fashion to 'stand a story up according to an existing model paradigm'. For Ben, this is a 'corrupting notion,' which does not represent the professional practice of journalists: 'That's politics. That's not journalism. It's bad politics as well.' He does believe that journalists are 'master storytellers' and that all the techniques of storytelling in order to inform, educate and entertain audiences are important elements of the journalist's craft, but it is important to find out primarily 'what is going on' and to ask 'what do I want to find out?' so that the evidence speaks for itself, through the medium of the storyteller, rather than the storyteller imposing a narrative on flimsy evidence – as in the example of the reporting of strikes - because 'I don't want to know what you think. I don't want you to impose yourself on the data.' He advocates a constructive, methodical storytelling, which coincides with the remit to be impartial. This method encapsulates his approach to the requirement that self-reflexivity is a crucial precursor to impartiality and thereby the exercise of good journalistic practice. He resists the cognitive psychological concept of 'confirmation bias' whereby 'we seek the things that we already know'. Using this model of operation, which Ben feels characterises a great deal of journalistic

activity, journalists can be led ‘very badly astray’ because it is a journalism that is predicated on preconditioned expectations of what a story is likely to be and created by ‘our sense of emotion, or the significance of current events and how they are likely to play out.’ In his model of good practice, evidence cannot be used just as ‘a cover for our own feelings.’

The ‘good educator’:

Ben combines his own passion for data and evidence-based storytelling with some of the key concepts of journalism education articulated by the other participants in this study. They are all self-reflexive in their approach and emphasise self-awareness as a key attribute in the good practice of journalism; they all aim to select and to utilise experiences and examples, which are useful to their students – they do not see the use of examples and ‘lived experience’ *per se* as helpful unless it is making some wider, key point. And for Ben, it is not about these examples being ‘right’ but being ‘useful’ since ‘this is always more important in journalism.’ This echoes Robert’s concept of utility as a key component of journalism education, which inculcates ‘good’ practice. Ben does not see himself as a soothsayer, a truth-giver. These are difficult concepts to teach – and to learn – particularly in a half-day seminar:

We have to become more aware of the way that we think. That’s hard. It’s like saying to a fish, how aware is a fish that it swims in water? It’s not aware at all. It thinks that’s all there is. You know, we think the way we think. How are you supposed to become aware of the way that you think, when all you can do is think the way that you think?

Hence, Ben does not seek lofty learning outcomes or instant transformations and acknowledges the unscientific nature of the teaching methods, which use ‘shocking examples’ to ‘shake people up’:

Maybe the best effect is you just lug a big rock in the pond and create enough sort of sense of disturbance. You create enough uncertainty about how to do things that it causes people to tread a bit more carefully.

The ambition is 'changing the prejudice' it is not an attempt to equip his students with all the requisite tools to interrogate data in all their shapes and forms, but by throwing the rock into the pond, Ben hopes that he can 'shake things up enough for them to begin a career of questioning and discovering for themselves about how numbers behave.' He also believes that a 'good' educator tries to strike a balance between a didactic approach and a prescriptive one, but he is concerned that he often comes across as a 'guru', telling people **how** to do things, rather than trying to lead them to think for themselves, because he uses bad examples and because he feels so strongly about bad practices. He aims to mitigate this problem by sharing this awareness with his students, by stating that questioning is important since it avoids the 'arrogance in journalism' and it is stating this ambition that is the key to his teaching:

It's sort of treating evidence with respect, it's about accepting a certain amount of humility and say, well, I don't really know what's going on about that but I think I know how to go about finding out.

Good practice and social responsibility:

Ben appears to be tussling with the challenges facing the other educators – how to teach curiosity – but accepts that his task has been facilitated by a general sense amongst journalists of the importance of data. Investigative journalism is now more widely taught and stories such as the MPs' expenses investigations broken by *The Daily Telegraph* in 2009, have highlighted the importance of evidence-based journalism. There is still an uphill climb ahead, and whilst it is important to Ben that he does not come across as someone who thinks that 'the whole profession is rubbish' because 'there are lots of shining examples out there' he does believe that the work that he and others at the college are involved in is driven by social responsibility and says that 'I really don't want to be part of a profession that doesn't care'. He admits that his teaching is driven by 'wanting to encourage self-respect about the trade.' These sentiments resonate loudly in the post-Leveson landscape. He wants to seek clarity where

assumption-led story telling is 'chucking mud' over people's understanding' and he asks, 'what good is this? Go weave raffia mats. Do something useful'.

Ben's sense of 'self' appears to be intertwined with his approach to his profession as a journalist and as a journalism educator, although he sees himself as 'lazy' and 'just sticking bits of information together', claiming that curiosity is the key imperative and that he is not 'driven'. Michael was described as 'driven' by his contemporaries and accepted this description, but Ben's curiosity is a passion and it is presented as a credible passion through the example-infused narrative of the interview. It is authentic and seeks to understand and avoid falling prey to cognitive biases, apart from when they are useful – learn to sift them, because we are 'susceptible to grasping at, striking individual instances and thinking that they're representative' but equally, 'a lot of cognitive biases have important uses':

It's just genuinely how I see the world, how I think about ... and in my own life as well. So I might sit there and think, sort of try and understand what I want to do or where life is going or what are the big questions. I think you're just telling yourself a story about how actually. You are just chucking together a few associations.

He uses one final example to make his point:

If you're in the jungle and you see something that looks like a tiger, run. (Laughter) Don't say, well, it could be a pattern of the leaves. You know, chance association, maybe we should study this. Find out how often these patterns occur and you run. But on a population level, you know, when you're trying to describe the things that are changing in the country and so on... There are some journalists that come in and say, I saw a tiger in the garden the other day, you know. (Laughter) Did you?!

Ben feels strongly that the news cultures of organisations still need to develop in order to give journalists the infrastructure and skills to have reasonable

expectations of their behaviour. He believes that this should be a serious objective, which involves a change of mindset and organisational imperatives, which are 'not just about viewers,' but about stories. This has resonance - even for broadcasters - in a post-Leveson landscape:

I'm very keen that we shouldn't be in the position of particularly blaming individuals for these kinds of problems. We can start blaming them when we've got sufficient structure in place to suggest that actually we've given you the skill and we've created the editorial leadership in order for these things to be reasonable expectations. At the moment, I don't think there are reasonable expectations. So, we can't blame people when they, you know, when they do things badly.

He wants journalism to escape from the 'strand of thinking' that says that 'you work for the organisation, for the boss first' and to enter a world where storytelling based on evidence is the guiding principle. This is his credible passion and Ben hopes that the next generation of journalists understands that it should not be driven to toe the editorial line, to adhere to the idea that:

*You give them what they want. What do they want? Now, okay, if you want to do that. I don't want to **read** you.*

Flora's story: In at the Deep End.

Legends are part of great events, and if they help keep alive the memory of gallant self-sacrifice, they serve their purpose.

Walter Lord, author of *A Night to Remember*, quoted in *The New York Times*, 20th November, 1955

Location:

I interviewed Flora in the sitting room of her family home in Belfast, where she has lived all her life. There were photographs of her children, now grown up and of other family members. Her garden is an important part of her home and gardening is an important aspect of her life.

A new departure:

Flora embarked on a career in journalism education with a one year 'attachment' at the BBC College of Journalism teaching on the editorial leadership course. She felt compelled to apply for the opportunity after experiencing a huge leap in the expectations placed upon her as a journalist. Flora was vaulted from the role of producer into a leadership position without any real experience and so sought independently to learn how to become a better editorial leader, through the experience of teaching others about her own professional life. Her own team, based in the Belfast newsroom, worked as 'journalists not as leaders' and she wanted this attachment to help her improve herself and her team through sharing her leadership experiences with others. She aimed to learn how to become a 'good' leader who could take what she learned back to her team - 'I wanted my own team, my senior staff, never to have as big a gap to jump.' Flora was both student and teacher at the College of Journalism as she felt that she was learning about her own qualities as an editor, whilst facilitating sessions on the leadership course. She joined the teaching team at the college because she

wanted to do something for the next generation of journalists, but also she wanted to find out about herself - professionally and personally - and to ask 'have I anything to share of my experience?' This is a key question at the heart of this study – whether experienced journalists involved in journalism education feel that there is anything *useful* in their lived experiences that they can pass on to others through recalling, reflecting upon, distilling and articulating their personal stories.

The trouble with impartiality:

Flora's life and the experiences that she shares as an educator were shaped by the violence and conflict of the Troubles in Northern Ireland, which started in the late 1960s. She was affected personally: 'I was put out of my home when I was young, I had a relative shot' and professionally: 'Most of my journalistic career has been involved in the reporting of murder, attacks, atrocities.' Her journalistic focus also had to change as peace came to Northern Ireland in the years after the Good Friday agreement of 1998 and news and current affairs programmes focused increasingly on peacetime stories. This was a shift of emphasis that affected her personally and professionally:

As well as dealing with that (peace), actually, as a human being living and experiencing that, also my sons, the agenda for the programme had to change. So, you know, the programme was always filled as I grew up with death, murder, funeral, death, murder and funeral, a bit of politics, death, murder, funeral.

So Flora took with her to the College, 'the background of the conflict and the Troubles' but also a 'growing experience that was certainly about ten years of ordinary stories.' This particular blend of experiences supported Flora in teaching the key tenets of impartiality at the College of Journalism since you leave personal politics 'with your coat at the door' in Northern Ireland, as all broadcast journalists should, wherever they work. In Belfast, the application of

the rules of impartiality to any story are overlaid with the context of conflict and partisan politics:

What we have to try to find is a way to tell as best...unless our reporter physically sees something, they have to report what you say, what the other people say. And then whatever the police say in the middle.

Whatever the colour of her politics and her sense of self, Flora's professional identity is that of an impartial broadcast journalist. She was able to place this experience into an educational context and to learn herself from what was 'a really good learning experience' where she also tried to be a 'sponge', soaking up the shared experiences of her students and colleagues to give a wider context and to 'flesh out' her own sense of professional self. Her students were learning from someone who was learning herself.

For Flora the teaching of impartiality is the most complex and challenging concept. She believes that an individual's understanding of the meaning of impartiality is affected by the context of the newsroom that s/he works in and regional journalists have a different sense of the issues to journalists in the newsrooms in London. Flora brought this regional perspective to the work of the college and feels that her time there had a profound impact on her: 'It was mostly the people who were in London, I thought had more of these journeys to Damascus than people who were in, say, Manchester and Leeds or even Scotland.'

Flora's time at the college took her on a personal journey, where she was 'sucking it all in and putting it in my back pocket as well.' She learnt more about impartiality as a result of exposure to the thinking in national newsrooms; she also reflected on the role of social media in journalism and she was inspired by Ben's teaching of data journalism. This questioning is something that she has now taken back into her own day-to-day journalism in Northern Ireland and has become part of her professional make-up, where she challenges her team to interrogate data, so that 'I'm getting a bit of a pain in the arse!' The experience of

being student and teacher sharpened her awareness of the need to inculcate good practice through sharing her experiences.

Emotional journalism and catharsis:

At the College Flora shared her own experiences of emotional journalism – of interviewing the victims of violence and trauma - with trainee journalists. Her personal background and experience fed directly into her teaching in a way that she feels was ‘good sharing’. This conforms to the notion of an authentic ‘fit’ – she was drawing on experiences which were very real and often very personal to communicate to others ways of dealing with victims of conflict situations. Flora used various techniques to teach interviewing in traumatic situations, drawing on her own experience in a newsroom and as someone who had reflected on these issues through working with the Dart Foundation (the US-based Dart Centre for Journalism and Trauma encourages innovation and education on the ethical reporting of violence and conflict). A self-reflexive attitude to the teaching leads Flora to consider several different approaches: the use of actors to train journalists directly in the interview technique required with people who are traumatised and the use of examples to illustrate and deconstruct stereotypical views of victims. One example that she employs is that of the Omagh bombing, which is often cited as Northern Ireland’s worst terrorist atrocity. On 15th August 1998, a splinter group of the IRA, the Real Irish Republican Army planted a car bomb in Omagh in County Tyrone that killed twenty-nine people and injured over two hundred. It had a massive impact on the community:

First of all you have the victims who will talk to you and victims who won't talk to you. And it is very easy to equate those with the good and the bad victims. If somebody's very angry they're the 'bad' victims. So I said to them it would be fair ... they're entitled to be angry if something has happened. So that doesn't make them bad you know. You have to think about where they are coming from and draw them out.

Flora also shares her experience of entering the home of victims' families and the ethical approaches that are required, even though the journalist 'wants the best line':

First of all explain what you're going to do. They're in trauma and they're in shock. So you have to be very clear and you have to keep reassuring them how you're going to use it [the interview.] If they want to stop they can do that. It's okay to stop.

The responsibilities of the journalist are taught through using these experiences to show how encouraging an interviewee to use memory to 'go back to the moment' can cause stress. This results in a poor interview where 'you won't get a lot of light about the person they're talking about,' so Flora shows her students how to guide their interviewees to share their best memories of the victim with them: 'So you're bringing them out of the blackness and helping them remember in a good way.' This style of interviewing can evoke catharsis for the interviewee, as the journalist is the first 'outsider' that they have spoken to:

But I think we have to treat those interviews with great sensitivity. And we shouldn't be badgering them. If someone is breaking down, you might say, 'why I see a lot of cards here. What has the support been like in the community?'

But Flora insists that the potentially cathartic experience for the interviewee does not sanction journalistic intrusion:

Sometimes journalists will say, 'oh, you know they really want to talk to us and get it off their chest.' I mean that's fine, but we're not there in the dark nights, when they can't get it off their chest when they're very upset.

She takes a clear, ethical stance, which exemplifies 'good practice', advising against lengthy interviews and making it clear to an interviewee that 'they're not obliged to talk to you.' These examples illustrate a belief that journalists can be

trained to apply a balanced and fair (impartial) approach to any interview. Through using her own experience of dealing with victims of conflict, Flora is able to bring to life the journalists' understanding of the ethical and moral issues involved in seeking interviews with victims of trauma.

Learning through others' stories:

A multi-layered approach to journalism education can be discerned in this style of teaching, whereby, journalists are taught techniques of interviewing through applying the experiences that Flora has shared with them to eliciting stories from interviewees (played by actors) themselves. They are learning through her experience (shared as storied examples) how to gather the stories of others using the art of the interview – the staple of the journalist's craft.

Through facilitating sessions where trainee journalists experiment with different interview techniques, in which Flora guides the students to reflect on their own practice, she is sharing her own life experiences of reporting conflict. She feels that this is an effective way of teaching, since the students were able to engage with some of the most challenging issues faced by professional journalists in a learning environment with an experienced journalist, but it was not classroom-based, it was close to real world experience, through the use of actors and the stories that Flora told them:

I think the young, particularly, the young budding journalists got a lot out of it and they felt safe that they can ask questions in a safe place and weren't being judged by their boss ... they could ask me about, 'well, if I did this, what do you think?' Or 'what would that be like?'

Flora champions the facilitator approach to teaching as a good fit for journalism education, which encourages a didactic style of learning, since it reflects the context within which journalists work in a newsroom environment, where they constantly share ideas:

I work with a very talented group of people and always have done. And they're not slow to speak their mind. So, although I am quite strong and passionate, they're also strong and passionate. So we've always been able to kind of you now bounce off each other.

This style of teaching is very human and relies on emotional intelligence, so that the facilitator can draw questions and debates out of the students, whilst guiding with her own experience. Flora became more comfortable with the approach with practice:

I would notice when people wanted to say something or were very closed. And I would say, "no, you're thinking about this. What's your thought or what's your experience?"

As a result of adopting this 'facilitator' style of teaching (what Robert refers to as 'coaching') Flora learnt herself about dealing with others, about coaching, about 'having those difficult conversations with people' and about leadership. She says that she finds it difficult to gauge the impact of her teaching, since she was one of a team and displays a humility, which appears to be characteristic, asking herself 'did anybody learn anything from me at all?'

Life-long learning:

The concept of teaching, using her experience was daunting for Flora, and she felt like an outsider to the mainstream of the BBC – in terms of education, background and professional experience. This is a theme which runs through most of the stories in this study – Robert, Michael and Leo all felt the same in some way - but once she had taken control, she found it rewarding: 'you know I enjoyed it, I have to say I really did.' She also used personal stories to teach social media on the course and it made her reflect on the difference that social media could have made to the reporting of the Troubles:

What would have been the benefits of having it? Would people have talked more? Would people have shared more information? Could we have got the stories better? Could we have got to families more? So there's loads of stuff. And so, that was the kind of biggest, I suppose, eye-opener and brain-widening aspect.

Flora reflects on her own professional life through the prism of her experience as a journalism educator, who is listening to and incorporating the stories of other educators within the college into her teaching and her role back in Northern Ireland's newsroom. The experience of journalism education for her is self-reflexive on different levels. Her role at the college, as an educator, enabled her to reflect on her profession and her own role within it:

It made me think about how important journalism is or reminded me. And also where is the journalism of the future and where's that going to be and why it's important. And so being in the college, where people were so passionate about journalism and the quality and standard of our journalism at the BBC, I felt that had helped me pass that on in a kind of passionate and fun way to the senior leaders but also the juniors as well when I had that opportunity.

The word 'passionate' features consistently in Flora's story and infuses the tone of all the stories in this study. It is closely aligned to the sub-conscious desire to be credible:

I've been told that I can be too passionate about things. I don't know whether I'll ever stop being that. So I try to curb it.

The journalists interviewed for this study are all enthusiastic and passionate about their craft and the ways in which they share their experiences with editorial leaders and trainee journalists on the course at the college.

The storytellers use their stories:

For Flora, finding stories to use as examples away from her experiences of the Troubles was also challenging but 'trying to tell stories as a way of sharing information was interesting.' She always looked for the learning point in the selection of an example. Does she feel that it is a good way to learn, that story telling is an effective educational tool? Flora suggests that she does by referring to Irish folklore:

*In Ireland, the **seanchai**, the storyteller, was a really important part of life of the king's court. They told the story about what was happening to the king. But they told the story of what was happening, you know, in life. There was life and death and happiness and sadness. And so, they told the stories and learned the stories. And they were very important because they were kind of almost the first journalists in some ways because they were imparting what information they knew from one place to the next. Suppose I see that's what journalism now is, we have to impart what is happening, why it's happened, some context around that, but also what the implication of that is. And you know, it is a bit what's in it for me? And if I can explain or my team can explain a story then somebody can make a decision about it and might change how they were going to act as a result of it. And I think that's why it's important that I think you learn, you know, you learn at your parent's knee, the story, you know, **Jack and Jill** and **Cinderella**.*

The story is central to the journalist's craft, so there is an authenticity about using stories to teach key skills to journalists (such as impartiality or the core tenets of interviewing) since this is how they impart information on a daily basis:

The Troubles is about stories, it's about how people's lives were affected. When we do our journalism every day, it is how people are affected by something, how you share that information. And then if the government is making changes, what the story is and how that will affect people.

For Flora, as Robert also emphasises, being a journalist does not start and end with a shift: Being a journalist is integral to self-identity and curiosity is crucially important. Flora does not see herself as 'a very academic person' but her life as a journalist is a continuum and guided by a curiosity about people:

We have to remember we're journalists. We get up in the morning and we have to ask questions all day. Even when you're standing and shopping at Tesco's, you know the kids who bag your groceries - I have to say, 'what were you doing before?' Where were you doing it? Who's your leader? Or, can I take your number? Because somebody might be of interest. You know, it's just the way it is. People are really interesting. People have done the most interesting things in their lives or have amazing connections in their lives and we never find out if we don't ask or are actually interested in people.

She refers to a programme marking the history of the sinking of the *Titanic* as an example that she used to illustrate her point about the importance of curiosity in her teaching and about the centrality of storytelling:

I couldn't tell you how big the boat is. I don't know how much it weighs. I don't know about the steel doors. I know there were a hell of a lot of people on board who died and they all had stories. And the people who they left behind had stories. And the people who survived and went on, they had different stories. And that's what I'm kind of interested in. Why and how and when.

Flora's sense of self as a journalist chimes with her sense of self as an educator - as a facilitator. She does not feel that she is 'naturally a storyteller, even though I know that's what we do.' Drawing on the example of the *seanchai*, she believes that:

The storytellers are the journalists who appear, the reporters and the correspondents who tell the story, who explain and break down the story, who use beautiful words.

Flora sees herself as a journalist, but as a producer, someone working behind the camera. 'I know I facilitate storytellers':

I try and make it easy for them to tell the story and I try and put in place all the technical knowhow and the new technology that help them share the story, tell the story and share it in as many diverse platforms as possible.

The 'wonderful writers' are the storytellers, but Flora uses stories to teach others how to perform her role and the roles of reporters and correspondents. Leo uses his own writing skills and sometimes stories that he has covered to teach the power of good writing to journalism students. Flora uses the examples of others' stories but also leads by example through showing what makes a story and by telling stories as a facilitator. Each interviewee for this study adopts a style of teaching, which 'fits' their sense of self, both personally and professionally. Flora articulates her sense of self as a journalist as:

The person behind the scenes who provides the pen and the pencils and the inks for the storytellers to tell their story - and the paper, if there are pictures, so I provide the canvas and the ink and the paint and they (the reporters and correspondents) do it.

The reality of the workplace:

In her role as an educator, she is 'educating as I go along' but feels that to do this within a newsroom environment, the infrastructure needs to exist to give journalists the confidence to be passionate about teaching others 'on the job'. Sometimes the constraints and the competitive nature of a newsroom environment can restrict the free flow of ideas and the application of a passionate, risk-taking approach to imparting new approaches to storytelling. So

the dissemination of what she had **learned**, as an educator, was not straightforward when she returned to the workplace. This affected her confidence and has been 'quite traumatic' as she has faced resistance to change and the new ideas that she was keen to implement. She has found the adjustment of returning to a newsroom from the college difficult and states candidly that:

Coming home, while I knew I would have the adjustments, was actually much more difficult in the end than I anticipated.

For Flora, regardless of the obstacles presented by the work environment and habit, it is important to consider the audience when seeking to innovate and educate journalists to shift their working practices and she uses the analogy of a garden - 'I do enjoy gardening' - to make her point:

A garden never just stays the same. Because people say, why can't things stay the same? Why do we have to move this? And I say look, go back and think of the garden. When I move roses aside, something's not working in that particular area and moved in another area. But something gets out and it works. And you get bored looking at the same thing all the time, so you're changing around. And that's what we're in the business of doing. You know, supplying a really wonderful garden for our audience all the time - but you have to move around it, make that happen and make the journey.

Teaching the need to change and to innovate with social media and to incorporate the demands of online presents an educational challenge when taken out of the classroom and applied to the workplace of a news organisation. For Flora, embracing change and the new ideas developed in the 'laboratory' of the college environment is crucial to building trust between audiences and journalists, since they are accessing news in different ways - for example, on Facebook or tablet devices - rather than sitting down to watch television news at a set hour. If journalism that is 'clear' and 'accurate' is still produced across new platforms then the news organisation that is producing it and the individuals within it will still be trusted. Michael also considered the establishment of a

relationship of trust between journalists and audience to constitute a key tenet of 'good practice.'

Transformative experience:

The experience of working as a journalism educator – the year away from her newsroom role – was transformative and her return was life-changing. It affected her very deeply, both professionally and personally in the nature of a *cumulative epiphany* (Denzin, 1989) where her emotional reaction to the experience was identity-shaping. She missed the educational environment, she found it challenging to implement all of the new ideas that she had returned with and she was encouraged to reflect in an elemental way about her own profile as a journalist. In this way, her story is a narrative of identity. Her sense of self was transformed by the experience of sharing her 'craft skills', her passion for storytelling within the college and so her professional identity shifted. It was initially daunting:

You're basically taking your life in your hands going to a whole new team who are, in my view, some of the top trainers that there will be in journalism.

But the positive feedback from students and the trainers on her collaborative teaching style and the experience of reflecting on her own practice was life-changing. Her sense of personal self is unchanged; she remains passionate:

I've been told that I can be too passionate about things. And I don't know whether I'll ever stop being that I suppose I could be slightly more poker-faced, slightly more passive where people can't see what I'm thinking about, you know, automatically. But in the end people get what they get from me really.

Professionally Flora believes that whilst journalism is crucial to democratic freedom, 'it's not heart surgery' but through her reflections, she is concerned for

the future and the next generation of journalists, who are ‘processors’ who never get ‘out of the building’:

I do worry about where our journalism is because people aren't hungry to do stories. People aren't bringing in stories. People don't have contacts anymore.

This feeds a concern about the future of investigative journalism, which is about ‘lifting’ and ‘opening doors’ but Flora fears that the new generation of journalists may not have the appetite or the contacts to conduct this sort of journalism in the public interest. Hence her restlessness and her passion to keep encouraging people to remain curious to avoid the pitfalls of ‘churnalism’ (Davies, 2009). So what is the essence of Flora that she brings to her work, as an educator and as a journalist or ‘facilitator’ of others’ stories? ‘I think people have to be really interested in people,’ because:

Your life and my life have little moments of happiness and joy and learning and excitement and you know. So that's what our viewers are like. And we have to reflect.

The example of the *Titanic* programme which was based on human interest stories is an example for Flora of how journalism and programme making must reflect the realities of peoples’ lives in the stories that are told – this is her key educational point for journalists – it is about human stories:

It's about people. It's about their emotions – you share their sadness, you share their joy. That's what we do and that's the storytelling of it, you know.

The role model aspect of journalism education is not so clear for Flora – ‘it’s very hard for me to say whether I’m a role model.’ Here she echoes the sentiments of Robert, who had not considered himself a role model, although he sensed that on reflection others might portray him in this way. But there is clarity around the personal characteristics, which she would like ‘students’ and colleagues to

identify as elements of self, which are manifested in her professional life – being ‘straight’ and ‘honest’:

I don't promise anything I can't deliver on. And I won't tell anybody a lie. I might be economical on occasions with the truth, but I won't actually tell a lie. And I think you know, she did her best, I think that's probably as much as you'd want anybody to say. But that you're a good example for somebody, that somebody would say, "she lived with her personal values." And I think that's important. You know, you try to be honest and straight and have fun.

For this reason she stresses learning as an essential of editorial leadership:

People talk about strategy and vision, you know. I kind of know where it should be and what it should look like and I try and impart that. You know, I talk a lot but I think I'm a fairly clear communicator; they know where we're going to go and what we have to do to achieve that. And whether that's difficult or not, I don't shy away from that.

Learning is an important aspect of Flora's sense of self as an educator and what she wants to instil in others – the concept of ‘learning from learners’:

The learning has brought learning to me personally. But learning that you have to change to adapt to the future and to be flexible.

She believes that she has applied this to the workplace, in terms of technological innovation and working practices, whilst encouraging journalists to open themselves up to learning about new ways of telling stories:

I think, trying to communicate it, trying to tell and share that it's okay to learn, it's okay to make mistakes because I've made them. But you have to learn from them, not to do them again. And I think being enthusiastic and having fun with colleagues along the way.

An emotional response:

Flora's story is infused with emotion, it is a human response to the experience of learning whilst teaching and learning about teaching through the act of sharing her experiences as a journalist. At times it is painfully honest and always in touch with the idea that journalists are normal people and their craft must be kept in perspective:

You need people who are outside the business, who don't think journalism's any more important than anything else. Well, I think that's quite important, too.

Her experience as an educator was transformative, in Denzin's (1989) terms, it constitutes a 'cumulative epiphany' and she engages with the concept of a biographical approach to education with passion, honesty and integrity. Her life as a journalist mirrors her life as a human being:

It's about people. It's about their emotions – you share their sadness, you share their joy. That's what we do and that's the storytelling of it. So that's what I would like to be known as. I don't think I'll ever write the book. But it's just about that.

Chapter 4: Conclusions:

Stories then, like the lives they tell about, are always open-ended, inconclusive and ambiguous, subject to multiple interpretations (Denzin, 1989:81).

The individual stories of how journalists use their lived experiences in journalism education are all interesting as discrete entities. Some place more emphasis on certain themes than others, not all have experienced moments of epiphany, each has lived a different life. They are all 'their own people' and the extrapolation of any generalised themes should be conducted with care and a respect for the personal character of their 'narrated identities.'

The context of each interview gives a sense of *location* and each of the participants employs *memory* and a concept of *time* when recalling stories from their personal and professional lives, reminding us that 'all stories are situated retellings' (Mishler, 1999:50). Sometimes, the interviewees show a critical awareness of the role that time has played in affecting the shape of the story as they retell it. Leo refers to the tricks that time can play on memory and the role of critical reflection over time. In this sense, even though this study deals with partial lives, it acknowledges the importance of time and the understanding that 'a life that is studied is the study of a life in time' (Erben, 1998:13).

All of the participants convey a belief that the use of stories in journalism education can lead to 'good practice.' Robert's story focuses on notions of credibility and utility. Here, the concept of sharing lived experiences that are 'believable, that are authentic (in his terms, 'credible') and translating them into something 'useful' can inculcate good practice in others. Each of the participants defines themselves through journalism practice (Usher, 2000) but crucially acknowledges that not everyone is able to engage in or suited to this method of teaching. The simple act of *telling and re-telling* stories is not sufficient; it has to be a product of reflection on self-identity (Schon, 1995). Leo's belief that 'the stories you tell are you' supports this idea and as it is important for the journalist to recognise that s/he should not become the news story, so the stories that they

report and the stories that they re-tell in an educational context are *extensions of self*. Michael grapples with the *re-telling of stories* as shared lived experiences as a complex process – the ‘easy’ part is using anecdotes and stories in an educational context, but the complexity is apparent in the recognition that every experience ‘leaves a trace’, that every experience shapes identity and so an understanding of *self* and *others* is vitally important. As a journalism educator, a deconstructed personal experience cannot simply be imposed on others in the shape of an anecdote because it is crucial to consider how it might be received just as a journalist considers the audience in reporting news stories. This requires a sense of what messages your own experience create and how others will pick them up and use them (see Michael’s story) and chimes with Robert’s belief that not everyone is suited to an educational style that focuses on storytelling through sharing lived experiences, since they may lack this awareness.

The role of others is central to the ways in which an experience might be translated to make it useful. Stories are not simply re-told, but analysed and interrogated into a format that others can learn from – they have to be useful. Flora emphasises that she is ‘always looking for learning points.’ This is important in terms of the authentic communication required by journalism as a craft: journalists are used to questioning directives and imposed policies, it is core to their activity, so an educational style that is ‘top down’ or directional is unlikely to work. Involvement in the process, the sense that ‘we are all in it together’ in an interactive and honest exchange of experiences (as newsroom cultures are ideally based on the sharing of ideas) can create a credible, useful educational experience for educator and student. There is an authentic ‘fit’ between journalism practice and educational practice here, as Ben reminds us that good journalism should avoid imposed narratives, telling stories where the evidence ‘speaks for itself’ – *self-reflexivity* is core to ‘good’ journalism and to ‘good’ journalism education.

The interactive approach to education is the product of honest self-reflection. Honesty and credibility are strong themes and closely related to the humility

that infuses all of the stories (even though this is not always recognised, by the participants, even when questioned about it.) All of them use 'bad times' or examples of 'bad practice' to highlight their own fallibility and sometimes they share *life – changing moments, moments of epiphany* (Michael, Ben and Flora). Whilst these are unlikely to be repeated in the lives of others, the self-reflection required to share them with others usefully enables the journalism educator to extract learning points from these deeply personal stories.

Each of the journalism educators in this study evaluates the process of recall, reflection and the application of their experiences to pedagogy as '*cathartic*'. Leo's appraisal of how the emotions evoked by retrospective writing as a journalist can be shared as a cathartic and sometimes confessional experience - the notion that reporting after the event can contain more of the 'self' - has resonance with journalism education. The sharing of experiences through the self-reflexive prism of hindsight and the process of distilling them for consumption by an audience (students) can also be cathartic for the journalist working in an educational context. This brings a highly personal and emotional quality to the process of sharing lived experiences – which could be criticised for being narcissistic or overly-emotional (Coward, 2007; 2009; 2010; Adie, 2002). However, it is not about sitting on a stool and telling 'war stories' since it involves the development of principles that have emerged over time as a result of practice. The notions of utility and credibility and the awareness of the importance of audience articulated by all of the journalism educators in this study mitigate the danger of falling into the trap of self-indulgence.

Encouraging students to critique examples of 'bad practice' provides another method by which the educators can share their own principles derived from practice that have emerged over time. In Leo's case this is manifested in a critical analysis of the writings of others, through the prism of his own experience as a reporter and correspondent to elicit 'rules' or codes of practice for 'good' writing as an educator (in this context, news reports and features.) The students engage in a process of critical analysis of the stories of others in written form to develop their own approach in conjunction with the experiences that the journalism

educator (in this case Leo) shared with them. For some (Robert, Michael, Flora) the vocabulary that they use to educate others is developed through a sense of self, rather than through direct experience. At these times, the educators see themselves as 'coaching' - Robert's work on storytelling with reporters, Michael's work on original journalism - or 'facilitating' - Flora's notion that as a producer she provides the 'canvas and inks.' When they are teaching values, which are intrinsic – such as *impartiality* – the examples come from their own experience as editors and producers and from the vocabulary that they have devised to work with reporters and correspondents – from direct and indirect experience. Flora feels that sharing her own experiences 'brings to life' a personal sense of ethics, Michael uses storytelling to 'teach' *impartiality* as an 'active value'.

Where the educators are teaching 'what they do' the master/apprentice construct provides a useful model for the application of experience to journalism education. This is particularly evident in Leo's story, where journalism is depicted as a craft that is fashioned through instinct, learning and acquisition of skills through 'informal apprenticeship' and taught by those who draw on and share their own experiences.

There is no drive to professionalisation (Tait, 2007; Donsbach, 2010) evident in the five stories in this study but there is an awareness of context, a recognition of the challenges facing journalism and a desire in all of the journalism educators interviewed to help to shape the future by inculcating 'good practice.' They do not seek to impose models of good practice, based on rules and codes, and the educational value of an immersive, experience-centred approach could be questioned on this basis - as Robert notes, there are no obvious, tangible 'intended learning outcomes' that can be written down. The sharing of lived experiences in an educational context flirts with the realm of therapy, it is transactional and immersive and highly personalised.

None of the interviewees hold themselves up as role models, and there is an element of conflict here, with Robert and Michael recognising that, they might be

perceived by some in this way – aspirational modes of conduct might be taken away from the experience by some students, but it is not an intention of the educators. They all manifest a passion for the craft of journalism, which is projected onto the education of others and in this sense, lead by example. But it is not a blind passion. Ben articulates a sense of ‘ennui’ about the state of journalism and the impact that ‘bad’ journalism – journalism that lacks trust, that is based on flimsy or faulty evidence - can have on people’s lives. There is a feeling of dissonance and a sense that connectivity must be restored (Michael, Ben, Flora) with each offering different approaches to routes out of the mire, but they are all driven by a sense of social responsibility and the desire to ‘give something back’ (Flora’s story). For Ben, it is important to focus on ‘changing the prejudice’ and ‘breaking habits’ with a return to evidence-based storytelling, rather than assumption-led journalism so that the standard approaches to the use of data in journalism practice are challenged. Robert and Michael seek to break down conventions through encouraging journalists to ask ‘disruptive’ questions and so attain originality in their storytelling. Leo seeks honesty and fairness through the recognition that journalists are part of the stories that they tell; they can report with *due impartiality* with a fair-minded and honest approach to the lives of others. This is particularly challenging in conflict zones, where the concept of impartiality is complicated by the experience of bearing witness and the journalist’s craft is thrown into sharp focus. Sharing these ‘uncomfortable notions of self’ (Leo’s story) with honesty, acknowledging that identity is shaped by the stories that journalists report - in this case stories of conflict, often partially ‘known’ as a result of the fog of war – can provide an exemplar, which usefully illustrates *good practice* in journalism and in *journalism education*.

Storytelling is placed at the centre of their practice as journalism educators - it is ‘hard wired in’ (Marr, 2004) - as they define it as an essential characteristic of journalism as a craft, as Leo explains, like ‘a song or dance.’ For Michael:

Journalism education has got to get across that journalism is different. It’s a very specific, closely defined thing.

Journalism is craftartistry, a thing that is made. In order to create something of value (accurate, fair, trusted) journalists need journalism education to imbue them with a sense of confidence (Flora's story) and the multi-layered experience of learning through the stories drawn from the lived experiences of others in what Flora calls a 'safe place' in a classroom environment can have a powerful effect. Removed from the competitive and deadline-driven context of the news room (Davies, 2009), individuals can reflect through interacting with the experiential, therapeutic form of education, on how they are personally affected by the culture of the workplace. Their understanding of self and - in tandem with this self-reflexive process - of key tenets such as *impartiality* can be heightened, as the journalism educator is also continuing to learn about '*self*' through sharing personal experience with others. They do so primarily through translating their experiences into a format that others can learn from.

As journalism is a human activity, so *good practice* in journalism could be encouraged by the exercise of an approach to journalism education, which centres on the narratives of identity of journalists who are aware that they are shaped by the experiences they share within an educational context, experiences, which in turn shape the personal and professional identity of student and educator alike. It is in these terms that the research presented in this thesis will go to inform the methods and culture of journalism education at the university in which I teach. This virtuous circle of learning about self through the lived experiences of others does not allow for the construction of a specific educational model, predicated on learning outcomes but it does indicate that good practice and a pride in the craft-artistry of journalism could be inculcated through placing the autobiographies, the storied selves, of self-reflexive practitioners at the heart of the learning experience.

References:

- Adie, K.**, 2002, *The Kindness of Strangers*, London: Headline
- Alcoff, L.**, 1991, The problem of speaking for others, *Cultural Critique*, Winter, 5-32
- Allan, S.**, 1997, News and the Public Sphere: Towards a History of Objectivity and Impartiality, in M. Bromley and T. O'Malley (eds.) *A Journalism Reader*. London: Routledge.
- Allan, S.**, 2010, *News Culture*, New York: Open University Press
- Atkinson, R.**, 2006, The Life Story Interview as a Bridge in Narrative Inquiry, in Clandinn, J, (ed.) 2006, *Handbook of Narrative inquiry: Mapping a Methodology*, California: Sage
- Barry, B.**, 1995, *Justice as Impartiality*, Oxford: Clarendon Press
- BBC College of Journalism**, Impartiality, 2012
<http://stakeholders.ofcom.org.uk/broadcasting/broadcast-codes/broadcast-code/impartiality/>
(Accessed, 29.4.2013)
- BBC College of Journalism**, core editorial values,
<http://www.bbc.co.uk/academy/collegeofjournalism/values/bbc-standards/bbc-standards>
(Accessed, 22.7.2013)
- BBC Editorial Guidelines**, 2008
<http://www.bbc.co.uk/guidelines/editorialguidelines>
(Accessed, 6.5.2013)
- Beaumont, P.**, 2009, *The Secret Life of War*, London: Harvill Secker
- Bishop, P.**, 2011, *Follow Me Home* London: Hodder
- Boran, I.**, 2004, On Distinguishing Between Types of Impartiality in *The Journal of Value Inquiry*, **30**: 333-339
- Born, D.**, 1982, 'The Woman Journalist of the 1920s and 1930s in Fiction and in Autobiography', paper presented to the Qualitative Studies Division, Association for Education in Journalism Annual Conventions, Athens, Ohio. July 1982.
- Bourdieu, P.**, 1996, *On Television and Journalism*, London: Pluto Press

- Bridcut, J.**, 2007, *From Seesaw to Wagon Wheel, Safeguarding Impartiality in the 21st Century*, BBC Trust Report.
- Brooks, P.**, 1992, *Reading for the Plot*, New York: Random House
- Bruner, E.M.**, 1986, 'Experience and Its Expressions' in Turner, V.W., and Bruner, E.M., (eds.) *The Anthropology of Experience*, Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press
- Burkeman, O.**, Simpson of Kabul in *The Guardian*, 14th November, 2001
<http://www.guardian.co.uk/media/2001/nov/14/terrorismandt>
 (Accessed, 12.3.2010)
- Carr, D.**, 2008, *The Night of the Gun*, London: Simon and Schuster
- Carr, W., and Kemis, S.**, 1986, The Interpretive View of educational Theory and Practice in *Becoming Critical: education, knowledge and action research*, London: Routledge
- Clandinn D.J. and Connelly, F.M.**, 1998, Personal Experience Methods, in Denzin N.K., and Lincoln, Y.S., (eds.), 1998, *Collecting and Interpreting Qualitative Materials*, California: Sage
- Clarke, G.M.**, 1996, Conforming and Contesting with (a) Difference: how lesbian students and teachers manage their identities, *International Journal of Disability, Development and Education*, **6:2**: 195-214
- Coffey, A.**, 1999, *The Ethnographic Self: Fieldwork and the Representation of Identity*, London: Sage
- Cohen, L., Manion, L., and Morrison, K.**, 2007, *Research Methods in Education*, Abingdon: Routledge
- Colvin, M.**, 2012, *On The Front Line*, London: Harper Press
- Conle, C.**, 2000, Narrative inquiry: research tool and medium for professional development, *European Journal of Teacher Education*, **23:1**: 40-63
- Coward, R.**, 2007, Me, Me, Me: The Rise and Rise of Autobiographical Journalism, inaugural lecture at Roehampton University on 15th May 2007
<http://www.roehampton.ac.uk/news/roscoward.html>
 (Accessed 10.2.2012)
- Coward, R.**, 2009, Me, Me, Me: The Rise and Rise of Autobiographical Journalism in 'News making: Rules, Routines and Rituals' in Allan, S., (ed.) *The Routledge Companion to News and Journalism*, London: Routledge

- Coward, R.**, 2010, Journalism Ethics and Confessional Journalism, *Journalism Practice*, 4:2, 224-233
- Davies, N.**, 2009, *Flat Earth News*, London: Vintage
- Denzin, N.K.**, 1989, *Interpretive Biography*, California: Sage
- Denzin, N.K.**, 1970, *The Research Act: A Theoretical Introduction to Sociological Methods*, (1st edition). Chicago: Aldine in Silverman, D., 2001, *Interpreting Qualitative Data, Methods for Analysing Talk, Text and Interaction* (2nd edition) London: Sage Publications
- Derrida, J.**, 1972, *Positions*, Chicago: Chicago University Press
- Di Giovanni, J.**, 2011, *Ghosts By Daylight*, London: Bloomsbury
- Doctor, K.**, 2012, The Newsonomics of Trust, News Trusts and Murdoch Trustworthiness for the *Nieman Lab* website, May 2012
<http://www.niemanlab.org/2012/05/the-newsonomics-of-trust-news-trusts-and-murdoch-trustworthiness>
 (Accessed 8.10.2012)
- Donsbach, W.**, 2010, Journalists and Their Professional Identities in Allan, S., (ed.) 2010, *The Routledge Companion to News and Journalism*, Abingdon: Routledge
- Eakin, P.J.**, 1999, *How Our Lives Become Stories: Making Selves*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press
- Edelman Trust barometer**, 2012
<http://www.scribd.com/doc/79027949/2012-Trust-Barometer-Press-Release>
 (Accessed, 15.1.2013)
- Erben, M.**, 1998, *Biography and Education: a reader*, London: Falmer Press
- Erickson, E.H.**, 1975, *Life History and the Historical Moment*, New York: W.W. Norton and Company
- Evans, H.**, 2009, *My Paper Chase*, London: Little, Brown
- Fowler-Watt, K.**, 2010, paper for Philosophical Issues in Educational Research, Doctor of Education programme, Southampton University
- Fowler-Watt, K.**, 2010, the right we have to write for 'others' – paper for Doctor of Education programme, Southampton University.
- Fowler-Watt, K., and Wilson, A.**, 'Editorial Leadership' in Fowler-Watt, K., and Allan, S., (eds.) *Journalism: New Challenges* e-book published by Centre for

Journalism and Communication Research at Bournemouth University
<http://microsites.bournemouth.ac.uk/cjcr/publications/journalism-new-challenges/>

From Our Own Correspondent on BBC News website:

http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/programmes/from_our_own_correspondent/

(Accessed, 1.2.2011) and in Grant, T., (ed.) 2006, *From Our Own Correspondent*, London: Profile

Frayn, M., 1967, *Towards the End of Morning*, London: Flamingo

Frost, C., 2007, *Journalism Ethics and Regulation*, Edinburgh: Pearson Education

Frost, C., McKay, J., Temple, M., and Allan, S., *Journalism Education*, 1:2, 6-7

<http://journalism-education.org>

(Accessed 7.2.2013)

Galtung, J., 'Truth or Propaganda?' – Galtung's peace journalism and views on propaganda discussed by Kim Paul Nguyen in a blog post on September 28th, 2010

<http://kimpaulnguyen.wordpress.com/tag/johan-galtung/>

(Accessed, 10.2.2012)

Gardner, F., 2006, *Blood and Sand*, London: Bantam

Gardner, F., 2013, *Frank Gardner's Return to Saudi Arabia*, BBC2, April 11th, 2013 (transcription of quotes from 'live' viewing of programme) and article in *Daily Telegraph*, April 10th, 2013

<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/travel/travelnews/9983771/Frank-Gardner-the-changing-face-of-Saudi-Arabia.html>

(Accessed 29.4.2013)

Gelhorn, M., 1994 cited in Sebba, A, 2010, *Battling for News, women reporters from the Risorgimento to Tiananmen Square*, London: Faber and Faber

Glasser, T.L., 1992, Objectivity and News Reporting in Cohen, E.D., (ed.)

Philosophical Issues in Journalism New York: Oxford University Press

Google survey, the eight most important qualities of leadership

<http://www.realtimeperformance.com/RealTimeLeadership/2011/the-8-most-important-qualities-of-leadership-at-google/>

(Last accessed, 25.7.2013)

Greenslade, R., *Why teaching journalistic ethics is only the start of a cure*

20th February 2012, *Guardian* blog

<http://www.guardian.co.uk/media/greenslade/2012/feb/20/journalism-education-leveson-inquiry>

(Accessed May 14th, 2012)

Gudmundsdottir, S., 1996, The Teller, The Tale and The One Being Told: The Narrative Nature of the Research Interview, *Curriculum Inquiry*, **26:3**, 293-306, Ontario: Blackwell

Habermas, J., 1991, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press

Habermas, J., 1992, Further reflections on the Public Sphere in Calhoun, C., (ed.) *Habermas and the Public Sphere*, 421-461, Cambridge Massachusetts: MIT Press

Hagerty, B., 1992 'Showdown at the last chance saloon' in *British Journalism Review*, 1992, **3**: 26-29

Hammersley, M., and Atkinson, P., 1983, *Ethnography: Principles in Practice*. London: Tavistock

Hitchens, C., 2006, 'Orwell is a Journalistic Guide' lecture at Indiana Memorial Union, 27th September, 2006.

<http://www.idsnews.com/news/story.aspx?id=49614&search=prize§ion=search>

(Accessed, 26.7.2013)

Horrocks, P., *Delivering International News: Challenges and Opportunities*, speech to World Media Summit in Moscow on July 6th, 2012.

<http://www.bbc.co.uk/mediacentre/speeches/2012/horrocks-moscow.html>

(Accessed 8.10.2012).

Hunter, F., 2012, *Hacks and Dons* Essex: Kultura

Hutton Report, published on January 28th 2004,

<http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20090128221550/http://www.the-hutton-inquiry.org.uk/>

(Accessed, 7.2.2012)

James, H., 1898, *John Delavoy in Cosmopolis*, Jan-Feb cited in Hunter, F., 2012, *Hacks and Dons* Essex: Kultura

Josselson, R., 2005, On Writing Other People's Lives: Self-Analytic Reflections of a Narrative Researcher, *Biographical Research Methods*. **4**: 331-341

- Keane, F.**, 2005, *All of These People*, London: Harper Collins
- Keeble, R.**, 2005, Journalism ethics, Towards an Orwellian critique? In Allan, S., (ed.) *Journalism: Critical Issues*, 2005, Maidenhead: Open University Press
- Kellner, P.**, 2012, 'The BBC is not alone in losing public trust' in *The Guardian*, Tuesday 13th November, 2012.
<http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2012/nov/13/bbc-not-alone-losing-public-trust>
 (Accessed, 28.3.2013)
- Kelly, A.**, 2008, in defence of anonymity: rejoining the criticism, *British Educational Research Journal*, 1-15
- Kieran, M.**, 1998, Objectivity, impartiality and good journalism in Kieran, M., (ed.), *Media Ethics* London: Routledge
- Kovach, B and Rosenstiehl, T.**, 2001, *The Elements of Journalism*, New York: Crown Publishers
- Krieger, S.**, 1983, *The Mirror Dance* cited in Plummer, K., *Documents of Life 2: an invitation to a critical humanism*, Chapter 10, p.215, *The Moral and Human Face of Life Stories: Reflexivity, Power and Ethics*, London: Sage.
- Kyle, K.**, 2009, *Reporting the World*, London: Tauris
- Lee, H.**, 2005, *Body Parts: Essays on Life Writing*, London: Chatto and Windus
- Leveson Report:** Culture, Practices and Ethics of the Press, published November 14th, 2011
<http://www.levesoninquiry.org.uk/about/the-report/>
 (Last accessed 25.7.2013)
- Levi, P.**, 2007, *Survival in Auschwitz*, www.bnpublishing.com
- Lincoln, Y.S.**, 2002, Emerging Criteria for Quality in Qualitative and Interpretive research in Denzin, N.K., and Lincoln, Y.S., (eds.), 2002, *The Qualitative Inquiry Reader*, California: Sage
- Lippmann, W.**, 1995, quoted by Cleghorn, R., in 'Lippmann on the New Objective Journalism, *American Journalism Review*, May 2005
http://www.ajr.org/article_printable.asp?id=934
 (Accessed, 8.10.2012)
- Macfarlane, B.**, 2009, *Researching with Integrity*, New York: Routledge
- MacIntyre, A.**, 1985, *After Virtue*, 2nd edition., London: Duckworth

- MacIntyre, B.**, 2010, *Operation Mincemeat* London: Bloomsbury
- MacIntyre, B.**, 2012, *Agent Zigzag* London: Bloomsbury
- Manzoor, S.**, 2007, *Greetings From Bury Park*, London: Bloomsbury
- Marr, A.**, 2013, on *The Andrew Marr Show* BBC 1, March 2013.
<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-22141372>
 (Accessed 27.4.2013)
- Marr, A.**, 2004, *My Trade: A Short History of British Journalism*, London: Macmillan
- McAdams, D. P.**, 1993 *The Stories We Live By: Personal Myths and the Making of the Self*, New York: William Morrow and Company
- McBride, C., and Seglow, J.**, 2003, Introduction: Egoism, Altruism and Impartiality. Papers presented at the Association for Legal and Social Philosophy's annual conference on *The Ethics of Altruism* at Royal Holloway College, University of London in April 11-13, 2002.
- McCrindle, J., and Rowbotham, S.**, 1977, *Dutiful Daughters, Women Talk About Their Lives*, Middlesex: Pelican
- McQuail, D.**, 2000, *McQuail's Mass Communication Theory (4th ed.)* London: Sage
- Mishler, E.G.**, 1986, *Research Interviewing: Context and Narrative*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press
- Mishler, E.G.**, 1999, *Storylines, Craftartists' Narratives of Identity*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press
- Moon, J., and Thomas, G.**, 2007, The Challenge of Reflective Writing for Media production Students and Some Proposals to Encourage Better Practice, CEMP research paper, Bournemouth University.
- Myerson, J.**, 2009, *The Lost Child*, London: Bloomsbury
- Neil, R.**, 2004, *The Neil Report*, BBC publication.
- Ofcom** Broadcasting Code, 2011
<http://stakeholders.ofcom.org.uk/broadcasting/broadcast-codes/broadcast-code/impartiality/>
 (Accessed, 22.7.2013)
- Ornebring, H.**, 2010, 'Reassessing Journalism as a Profession' in Allan, S., (ed.) *The Routledge Companion to News and Journalism*, Abingdon: Routledge

- Orwell, G.**, 1946, in *Shooting an Elephant and Other Essays*, 2003, (re-issue edition) Penguin Classics.
- Phillips, D.C.**, 1993, Subjectivity and Objectivity: An Objective Inquiry in *Qualitative Inquiry in Education: the continuing debate*, 1990, 19-37
- Plummer, K.**, 2001, *Documents of Life 2: an invitation to a critical humanism*, London: Sage
- Politkovskaya, A.**, 2006, Her Own Death, Foretold, previously unpublished essay for *Another Sky*, Profile Books
- Politkovskaya, A.**, 2011, *Nothing But The Truth*, London: Vintage
- Pratchett, T.**, 1990, *Moving Pictures*, Doncaster: Corgi
- Prebble, S.**, 2013, Trust Review of the Breadth of Opinion Reflected in the BBC's Output, published 3rd July, 2013
http://www.bbc.co.uk/bbctrust/our_work/editorial_standards/impartiality/breadth_opinion.html
 (Accessed, 25.7.2013)
- Preston, P.**, 2013, 'After the Hutton Inquiry, How can any broadcaster claim to be free?' *The Observer*, Sunday February 3rd, 2013.
- Rawls, J.**, 1971, *A Theory of Justice*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press
- Ricchiardi, S.**, 2000, Highway to the Danger Zone in *American Journalism Review*, April Issue
<http://www.ajr.org/article.asp?id=746>
 (Accessed, 6.2.2013)
- Ricoeur, P.**, 1980, Narrative Time, *Critical Inquiry*, 'On Narrative', **7:1**: 169-190, University of Chicago Press
- Roberts, B.**, 1998, an auto/biographical account of educational experience in Erben, M., (ed.) 1998, *Biography and Education: A reader*. London: Falmer Press
- Rosen, J.**, 2012, 'What Should Journalists be Taught?' lecture at City University, June 21st, 2012
- Rubin, H.J., and Rubin, I.S.**, 1995, *Qualitative Interviewing: The Art of Hearing Data*, California: Sage Publications
- Rushdie, S.**, 2012, 'The Disappeared' in *The New Yorker*, 17th September, 2012
http://www.newyorker.com/reporting/2012/09/17/120917fa_fact_rushdie

- Sacks, O.**, 1985, *The Man Who Mistook His Wife for a Hat and Other Clinical Tales*, New York: Harper in Eakin, P.J., 1999, *How Our Lives Become Stories: Making Selves*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press
- Sambrook, R.**, 2012, Delivering Trust, Impartiality and Objectivity in the Digital Age, paper delivered to the *Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism*, July 2012
- Schon, D.A.**, 1995, *The Reflective Practitioner*, Surrey: Ashgate
- Sclater, S.D.**, 1998, Nina's Story: An exploration into the construction and transformation of subjectivities in narrative accounting, *Autobiography*, 1998, **VI: 1 & 2**: 67-77
- Sebba, A.**, 2010, *Battling for News, women reporters from the Risorgimento to Tiananmen Square* London: Faber and Faber
- Seeley, T.**, 2010, the five habits of highly effective hives, *Harvard Business Review*, November 11th, 2010.
http://blogs.hbr.org/cs/2010/11/the_five_habits_of_highly_eff.html
 (Accessed, 9.1.2013)
- Shoemaker, P.J., and Reese, S.D.**, 1996, *Mediating the Message: Theories of influence on mass media content* New York: Longman publishers
- Silverman, D.**, 2001, *Interpreting Qualitative Data, Methods for Analysing Talk, Text and Interaction* (2nd edition) London: Sage Publications
- Snow, J.**, 2004, *Shooting History* London: Harper Collins
- Soltan, K.E.**, 1997, Impartiality, Objectivity and Justice, *Social Justice Research* **10 (1)**: 99-108
- Squire, C.**, 2008, *Approaches to Narrative Research*, National Centre for Research Methods Review Paper, University of East London
- Stavitsky, A.G., and Dvorkin, J. A.**, 2008, Objectivity and Balance: Conceptual and Practical History in American Journalism, CPB Research White Paper.
www.cpb.org/aboutcpb/goals/objectivity/whitepapers.
 (Accessed, 31.3.2010)
- Svaar, P.**, 2011, Norway Shooting: The Anders Breivik I Knew on *From Our Own Correspondent*, BBC Radio 4.
http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/programmes/from_our_own_correspondent/9550635.stm
 (Accessed, 24.7.2013)

- Swain, J.**, 2012, Marie Colvin: The Last Assignment in Colvin, M., *On The Front Line* London: Harper Collins
- Tait, R.**, 2007, 'Journalism is a Profession and Universities have a Role' in *Press Gazette*, 6th May, 2007
<http://www.pressgazette.co.uk/node/37525>
 (Accessed 7.2.13)
- Taylor, C.**, 1989, *Source of the Self*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Thompson, P.**, 1988, *The Voice of the Past* in Roberts, B., 2002, *Biographical Research*, Buckingham: Open University Press
- Thomson, A.**, 2013, *Bearing Witness in the Digital Age*, lecture given at Bournemouth University on March 4th, 2013
- Tuchman, G.**, 1978, *Making News: A Study in the Construction of Reality* University of Michigan: Free Press
- Tumber, H.**, 2005, Journalism and the War in Iraq in *Journalism, Critical Issues*, Stuart Allan (ed.) New York: Open University Press
- Tumber, H., and Prentoulis, M.**, 2005, Journalism and the Making of a Profession in de Burgh, H., (ed.) *Making Journalists*, London: Routledge
- Usher, P.**, 2000, Feminist Approaches to a Situated Ethics in *Situated Ethics in Educational Research*, London: Routledge
- Wallace, S.**, 2007, *Introducing VideoJournalism*, M.Phil thesis, Bournemouth University.
- Wiesel, E.**, 1979, *A Jew Today*, (transl. M. Wiesel) New York: Vintage
- Witschge, T., and Nygren, G.**, 2009 Journalism, A Profession under Pressure? In *Journal of Media Business Studies*, 6 (1): 37-59
- Wurtzel, E.**, 1995, *Prozac Nation*, Riverhead Trade and interview for *One To One* BBC Radio 4, October 2nd, 2012
- Yougov:** *Trust in Journalists in Steep Decline*, Yougov poll for *Prospect* magazine reported on journalism.co.uk website on September 23rd, 2010
<http://blogs.journalism.co.uk/2010/09/23/trust-in-journalists-in-steep-decline-says-yougov-research/>
 (Accessed 8.10.2012)
- Zelizer, B.**, 2004, *Taking Journalism Seriously, News and the Academy*, California: Sage

Appendix 1: The Storytellers Tell Their Stories: The Journalist as Educator

Interview Topic Guide

Researcher: Karen Fowler-Watt

Outline Interview schedule – version 1

As a piece of biographical research, the direction of the interviews will be determined by the participant and his/her personal story – but these are the areas which the researcher will aim to cover, with areas of prompting/supplementary questions.

1. What have you taught at the College of Journalism? How?
2. How have you used your personal experiences as a journalist in your teaching? Can you give some examples?
3. Are there particular moments in your life which you draw on in your teaching?
4. Why do you think these stories come to mind?
5. Could you reflect on how you reported the stories at the time? What memories?
6. How do you feel about sharing these experiences with others? Sense of self?
7. Do you think they are useful, educationally? Why?
8. Do you think that a journalist should use personal experience in a professional context?
9. Do you believe that this can encourage good practice in others?
10. Do you think of yourself as a role model in any way?
11. Do you think journalists are storytellers?
12. Do the stories change with the re-telling/once they have been ‘used’ as a teaching tool?
13. Do you think that this is a ‘good’ way of inculcating ‘good’ practice?
14. Does this make being impartial difficult?
15. What is your sense of ‘being impartial’?
16. How do you view yourself as a journalist?
17. Why do you think that is?
18. How do you view yourself as a journalism educator?
19. Why do you think that is?
20. How has sharing your ‘lived experiences’ affected you – professionally? personally?
21. Anything else to add?

8.11.11/version 1.

