Breaking the Code

Journalism, Technology, Information and Education in the 21st Century

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Peer-Reviewed Full Papers

Tracing the history of *The Age's* 'institutional voice': a preliminary analysis of election-eve editorials 1969-87

Brad Buller *The University of Melbourne*

Abstract

This paper examines the history of The Age*'s 'institutional voice', as expressed through election eve editorials since Graham Perkin's editorship. While Australian research focuses on the political stance of the Australian press and especially* The Australian*,* The Age *is neglected as a subject for research. Drawing on textual analysis to examine* The Age*'s editorial endorsements, the basis for its endorsement and the themes manifested within each endorsement, this paper argues that* The Age*'s institutional voice has historically expressed a much more pragmatic and conservative position than is commonly believed. More importantly, while the idea of institutional voice has been neglected as a concept in scholarly research, this paper illustrates the way in which it exists as an editorial philosophy of culturally/politically authoritative journalism.*

Introduction

On 22 June 2013, *The Age* newspaper published a front-page editorial calling for the then Prime Minister, Julia Gillard to stand aside as leader (*For the sake of the nation*, 2013). Its publication caused a backlash against *The Age*, particularly on social media and Twitter. As a former *Age* editorial writer Ray Cassin claims, what *The Age* says in its institutional voice matters to readers (Cassin, 2004). In defending *The Age's* editorial, editor-in-chief Andrew Holden argued:

> We've been debating the Prime Minister's situation for quite some time … [Recently] what's changed us is the information we've had in the past week particularly around our own opinion polls and the details that show that it's the prime minister herself who's just not being heard by the electorate. Ah, it's as much um the fact that with the electorate not listening to her, our concern is that we won't have a good election debate, that the policies being proposed by the coalition won't be challenged hard enough … in fact it's not unprecedented for *The Age* to call for a prime minister to stand down. In fact Graham Perkin back in the 1970s called for Gough Whitlam to stand down and *The Age* also supported Peter Costello taking over from John Howard in the last year of his government … fundamentally like a respected newspaper, like a responsible newspaper we have to look at the changing dynamic of the political situation and express our opinion according to what we see (Holden, 2013).

The publication of the 'For the sake of the nation' editorial and Holden's justification of this, raises larger questions around the history of *The Age's* 'institutional voice'. In particular, exploration is needed of the relationship between editorials and institutional voice and the ways in which *The Age* has represented major social and political issues. While there is an emerging body of research on the cultural and political history of *The Age* (see: Nolan, 2001, 2001a, 2003, 2008, 2010 and 2013; Morrison, 2011, 2013 and 2014; Griffen-Foley, 2003), the history of how it has analysed elections and debated the major issues of the day has lacked in scholarly research. In particular, the idea of institutional voice appears to exist only in the memory of editorial writers and others who have a close understanding of the traditions and ideals of broadsheet newspapers especially (see Cassin, 2004; Cannon, 1971; Hays, 1997). My use of this term relies heavily on Elizabeth Hindman's notion that:

> Unconstrained by the norm of objectivity, editorials represent a space where the perspective of a particular newspaper can be articulated. Editorials are therefore "as close as possible to … an institutional voice of each newspaper … [Newspaper's] long history of editorializing … suggests that newspaper editorials provide a suitable source of institutional voice" (Hindman 2003, 545).

However, this article aims to move beyond the *idea* of institutional voice, to examine the *history* of how *The Age* has shaped major social and political issues. As Robert Hays writes, 'the role of the editorial page is valuable today for reasons that [transcend] its insights into an influential newspaper's editorial leanings; it is a useful history of events and situations' which illustrate the ways in which Australian society is shaped (Hays 1997, xxiii). This paper seeks to analyse this history closely, drawing on textual analysis of *The Age* election-eve and political protest editorials since 1966. In particular, this article seeks to discover what exactly textual analysis reveals about the way in which *The Age* has shaped major social and political issues. Before engaging with the results of this research, in the following section, I discuss the journalistic and scholarly research on newspaper editorials, seeking to draw out the relationship between editorials and institutional voice.

Editorials, editorial philosophy and institutional voice

The literature on newspaper editorials is broad. Journalistic studies (see: Liddle, 1999; Rystrom, 1999; Hays, 1997; Bartley and Morrison, 1994; Cannon, 1971; Hynds, 1994) have provided valuable contributions to understandings of the role and history of the editorial, while academic literature has tended to ignore this to focus on discourses, political allegiances and political behaviour as expressed through the editorial (see: Lee and Lin, 2006; Le, 2002; Achugar, 2004; Izadi and Saghaye-Biria, 2007; Lule, 2002). Interestingly, it tends to be within the journalistic literature where an understanding of institutional voice is found. Below, I discuss a body of academic and journalistic literature on the newspaper editorial, drawing out the relationship between newspaper editorials and institutional voice.

According to Dallas Liddle, editorials (also known as leaders) in the early nineteenth century had significant standing, expressing an editorial philosophy of "authoritative" and "characteristic" journalism (Liddle, 1999: 5). As Liddle argues, newspaper readers at this time viewed their newspapers in terms of its leading article, being the part of the paper through which its standing and influences were determined. "Whether thundered out by the *Times,* or executed with trenchant authoritative style, the Victorian leading article was a discursive creation of remarkable cultural and political authority" (Liddle: 1999: 5). This authority is clearly expressed in first edition editorials published by broadsheets such as the London *Times*, *Manchester Guardian* and *The Age* among others. *The Age,* for example, wrote in its first issue:

> The Newspaper has become the great teacher of the age. It exercises an influence more immediate, more extensive, and more powerful than that of the pulpit or the school. It directs public opinion … It is the source on which society depends for … elucidation of great principles of public polity. It is the safeguard of liberty against the excesses of power … It is the lever that moves society to simultaneous action, and gives real authority to the people (cited in Cannon, 1971: 1-2).

Like the London *Times* and similar newspapers, *The Age's* editorials in the nineteenth century manifested significant cultural and political authority. In 1971, Michael Cannon, a former journalist at *The Age,* wrote an edited volume of *Age* editorials published between 1854-1859.

Cannon's book, *The Australian Thunderer*, illustrates, in an abstruse way, *The Age's* institutional voice in the nineteenth century: "In the years following the great Australian gold rushes, the voice of *The Age* newspaper rolled like thunder ... summoning men (sic) to their democratic duties, hurling abuse at entrenched interests" (Cannon, 1971: ix). This heroic or "Golden Era" conceptualisation of institutional voice is fairly common among edited collections of newspaper editorial reporting - usually authored by former journalists. Robert Hays, for example, writes in *A Race at Bay:*

> Newspaper editorial pages gain strength with conviction; great newspapers are expected to stand for something ... while much of the editorial writer's work might be perishable, the writer has an important ally not so easily dismissed: his or her own deep sincerity and loyalty to the ideals of the newspaper .... Today, editorial writers are expected to reflect a common view; the writer and the newspaper as an institution are indistinguishable to the reader. The editorial "we" prevails. Individual editors and writers come and go, but the [institutional] voice continues uninterrupted, its influence undiminished (Hays, 1997: xxiii).

Arguably, the journalistic literature on newspaper editorials implicitly conceptualises institutional voice as a culturally and politically authoritative editorial philosophy. The scholarly literature is rather different from that cited above in its analysis of newspaper editorials. Scholars acknowledge the connection between editorials and institutional voice, but provide limited analysis of the concept.

According to Ernest Hynds, the newspaper editorial should ideally "provide a forum for the exchange of information and opinion, and provide leadership through institutional stands on issues" (Hynds, 1994: 575). This limited understanding of the role of editorials and their connection with institutional voice is echoed by much scholarly literature (see: Lee and Lin, 2006; Le, 2002; Achugar, 2004; Izadi and Saghaye-Biria, 2007; Lule, 2002). This literature has tended to provide understandings of discourses, ideological opinion, and other complex problems, as expressed through this medium. For example, Fod Izadi and Hakimeh Saghaye-Biria have provided a considered analysis of Iran's Nuclear Program, as expressed through "elite" newspaper editorials. As the researchers note, "studying editorials is of special significance when analysing the ideological role of news media" (Izadi and Saghaye, 2007: 140). From this perspective, "editorials are expressions of the broader ideological stance" of proprietors and managers (Izadi and Saghaye, 2007: 141). Strangely, the researchers provide no analysis of how this is played out. Hence many scholars take it as a given that editorials are shaped by newspaper proprietors and management. Similarly, Jack Lule, in his analysis of "myth" and "terror" in the editorial page of the *New York Times*, also dismisses the historical role and makeup of the editorial page in favour of focusing on concepts of "myth" and "terror" as expressed within the editorial page (Lule, 2002: 276).

Some scholars have argued it is necessary to take a discursive approach in order to pull apart and identify the "voice" inherent in newspaper editorials. Roger Fowler, argues:

> What is distinctive about newspaper editorials is not that they offer values and beliefs, but that they employ textual strategies which foreground the speech act of offering values and beliefs. Editorials are quite diverse in their styles or textual strategies, and *that is part of the point, to suggest a distinctive 'voice' for the newspaper*, [emphasis added] as the old *Times* 'Thunderer', the strident interrogating of the *Mirror*, the appearance of a careful balancing of alternatives practised by the *Guardian* and the *Observer* (Fowler, 1991: 208).

Hence from Fowler's perspective, newspaper editorials manifest an institutional voice which can only be analysed and pulled apart through a discursive approach. More often than not however, much scholarly analysis of the editorial page has focused on manifestations of ideology and discourse, ignoring its history, role and relationship with institutional voice.

In addition to the above, a range of Australian scholarly literature exists that has attempted to understand the editorial or political "stance" expressed by newspapers (see: Manne, 2005 and 2011; McKnight, 2003, 2005 and 2010; Roberts, 2011; Hobbs, 2007; Economou, 2008). Interestingly, these studies tend to be focused on the Murdoch press. Studies by Robert Manne and David McKnight, for example, focus on the editorial/political stance of *The Australian,* not through its editorial page specifically, but as being particularly pervasive throughout the newspaper as a whole (see Manne 2011; McKnight, 2005 and 2010). Strangely, no comprehensive study of *The Age's* political behaviour exists. While some much older studies of the media's editorial stances on the Whitlam government and the 1972 federal election exist which include *The Age*, they combine their analysis of *The Age* with other newspapers prevalent at the time (see Mayer, Thompson and Beatty, 1973; Forward, 1977 and Hasler, 1977). Hence these studies demonstrate the political/editorial stance of the political press as a whole.

Clearly the history of the newspaper editorial has been discussed from many angles. As I noted earlier, a conceptualisation of institutional voice is most commonly found in the collections of re-printed newspaper editorials. Interestingly, scholars appear to have been reluctant to provide an *analysis* of institutional voice, despite their *acknowledgement* of its relationship with editorials. The idea of institutional voice, therefore, appears to exist mainly in the memories of editorial writers who hold a close understanding and commitment to the traditions and ideals of broadsheet newspapers in particular. When asked whether a newspaper needs to have an institutional voice, former *Age* editorial writer Ray Cassin argued:

> I think if you still have a sense of a masthead, of an assemblage of stories and feature articles and comment pieces all put together under a general editorial philosophy as it were… then yes I think it's important to have an institutional voice … it's important I think for the institutional voice that personifies that editorial philosophy, it's important for that to declare where its stands. So people have a sense of *The Age* or *The Sydney Morning Herald* or *The Australian* or the *Herald Sun* not just as being places where you can go to pick up snippets of information but contributors to the public conversation as it were. That's what it's for (R. Cassin, personal communication, July 11, 2013).

It is arguable therefore, that institutional voice represents an editorial philosophy of culturally/politically authoritative journalism. Given the lack of a comprehensive study of *The Age's* institutional voice, this research makes a genuinely important and original contribution.

Methods

My research question is: what does textual analysis of *The Age* election-eve editorials between 1969-1987 reveal about the way in which it has endorsed governments? To answer this question I conducted a textual analysis of *The Age* election-eve editorials published on the eve of each election from 1969 until 2007. My sample can be seen in Table 1.

Editorials were chosen as they are one of the clearest articulations of a newspaper's political views/position and are comparable over time. Editorials were selected by identifying the

appropriate date for each election, then using that date to identify the election-eve editorial published in *The Age.* Editorials were then scanned to the computer from microfilm archives for reading and analysis.

Table 1 *The Age's* Election-Eve Editorials 1969-2007

Year	Title	Source
1969	An end to speeches	Saturday, 25th Oct. 1969, p. 11
1972	*The Age* and the election	Friday, 1st Dec. 1972, p. 9
1974	As the options close	Saturday, 18th May 1974, p. 17
1975	Our verdict	Friday, 12 Dec. 1975, p. 9
1977	A judgement without enthusiasm	Friday, 9th Dec.1977, p. 9
1980	A choice not a challenge	Saturday, 18th Oct. 1980, p. 19
1983	A choice to test one's nerve	Friday, 4th Mar. 1983, p. 13
1984	Not the time for a change	Friday, 30th Nov. 1984, p. 13
1987	Labor deserves another chance	Friday, 10th Jul. 1987, p. 13
1990	On balance our choice is Labor	Friday, 23rd Mar. 1990, p. 13
1993	Why the Coalition should win tomorrow	Friday, 12th Mar. 1993, p. 13
1996	Howard flawed, but best chance of renewal	Friday, 1st Mar. 1996, p. 14
1998	Election '98: the verdict	Friday, 2nd Oct. 1998, p. 14
2001	A time to look ahead, not back	Friday, 9th Dec. 2001, p. 16
2004	On balance, Coalition deserves re-election	Friday, 8th Oct. 2004, p. 16
2007	Two directions one decision	Friday, 23rd Nov. 2007, p. 16

The goal of this research was to examine in detail the history of *Age's* institutional voice, focusing on its endorsements/positions on elections between 1969-1987. In particular, I aim to illustrate the basis for its endorsements and examine the themes manifested within these editorials. By doing this, researchers are able to gain an insight into how *The Age* has voiced its opinion on the major social and political debates manifested within elections over a period of time.

The Age's party endorsement and the discursive themes that make up its endorsement are revealed in Table 2. In this paper, I have applied a qualitative textual analysis approach, consisting of examining the actual content of *The Age* editorials to identify *The Age's* endorsement, the basis/argument for this endorsement and the major themes within each editorial. While a full analysis of *The Age's* election-eve editorials from 1969 to the present was beyond the scope of this paper, this study nonetheless reveals larger questions surrounding the history of *The Age* and its position on social/political issues.

Table 2 *The Age's* Election Eve Editorial Endorsements, 1969-1984

Year	Endorsement	Political Position
1969	Coalition	On balance, the *Age* believes Labor's policies in foreign affairs and defence are short sighted and destructive. If Labor came to power with such policies the network of Australian relationships with its neighbours and allies might be ruptured beyond repair. It is not the time to take such a risk: it would be a mistake to entrust Labor with government.
1972	Labor	It is no longer true to say as this paper has had to say so often in the past, that Labor is neither ready to govern nor fit to govern...The coalition's past has been steadily downward into despond, disagreement and disability. We have the ultimate respect for the Prime Minister's capacity for administration, but rather less for his powers of leadership.
1974	Coalition	One measure of all the events of the past 16 months is that a vote today for the Liberal Country Party coalition would be a responsible and realistic vote and one we can now commmend. Mr. Snedden can call on men of considerable capcity and experience.
1975	Coalition	But we think, on balance, the flaws in the Labor Government far outweigh its merits. We think its stands damned by its own incompetence. We think the best reason for supporting the coalition tomorrow is more negative than positive. Could a Fraser Government make a bigger mess? We doubt it. Could it do much better? We think so.
1977	Coalition	Our own judgement – and we state it without enthusiasm – is that the coalition parties are better equipped to take the hard decisions which whill certainly have to be made. Australia does not live in a vacuum and the consensus among international forecasters is that the whole of the Western industrialised world is in for a rough passage over the next year. While there is reason to think that if Labor is elected it will provide a better administration than it did between 1972 and 1975, we do not believe that it has yet re-established its credintials to govern.
1980	None	Whichever side wins, it will not be disatrous for this country. It is unlikely to be very exciting either. The differences between a coalition Government and a Labor Government would be differences of style, emphasis and priority.
1983	Labor	Politics, like economics, is about choice. And if the choice in the end is, as it seems to us, one between the prudence and pessimism of the Fraser Government and the Opposition's inclination towards experimentation and idealism, then our choice rests finally with optimism. It is not a choice we make with confidence; definitely not with any sense of certainty. It a choice to test one's nerve, but, in our opinion, Labor deserves its chance to get the country going again.
1984	Labor	Twenty-one months ago we said that, in our opinion the Labor Party led by Bob Hawke, with its inclination toward innovation and idealism, deserved the chance to get the country going again. We ne believe that this judgement has been vindicated by the Hawke Government's record. The Liberals and their partners, still divided amongst themselves and divisive in their policies, are not yet ready to return to office.
1987	Labor	In our judgement, the coalition has not yet established its claim to succession. Despite John Howard's gritty persistence as a campaigner, his party is still unbalanced, its policies are an initation to gamble and there is little reason to trust the unity of the coalition. The Hawke Government is, in our judgement entitled to a third term.

My analysis has revealed that pragmatic policy themes have tended to dominate *The Age's* election-eve editorials and endorsements were primarily based on pragmatic principles such as economic management, among others.

Election editorials under Graham Perkin's editorship

Graham Perkin edited *The Age* with distinction for nine years from 1966 until 1975. Appointed at a time when *The Age's* management decided to shift away from the problems of the past, Perkin helped establish *The Age* as "an independent, liberal paper" (Griffen-Foley, 2003: 179). In 1975, Perkin died of a heart attack, aged only 45. Perkin had a significant impact on *The Age* during his tenure, revitalising and refocusing its reportage following the conservative years after David Syme's passing (Nolan, 2001 and 2008; Hills, 2010). The years under Perkin have commonly been called by Perkin's staff, the "Golden Age" of *The Age* (Hills, 2010). Most famously, *The Age,* under Perkin's editorship, advocated for the election of the Whitlam Labor government. As my analysis below illustrates however, despite the endorsement of a Labor government, *The Age* under Perkin, by and large, continued to endorse governments based on pragmatic principles.

Table 3 illustrates *The Age's* party endorsement and the themes that make up this endorsement, under Perkin's editorship. As shown in Table 3, *The Age* endorsed the Coalition in 1969, 1974 and 1975. Its 1969 endorsement was argued on the basis that Labor's policies in foreign affairs and defence were "short sighted and destructive". *The Age* was also concerned that Australia's international relationships "might be ruptured beyond repair". In 1972, *The Age* took a radical step and endorsed the Whitlam Labor party.

Table 3 The *Age* Election Editorials 1969-1975
Endorsements and Themes in articles

Year	Endorsement	Themes	Textual Basis for Endorsement
1969	Coalition	(1) Policies	Labor's policies in foreign affairs and defence are short sighted and destructive
		(2) International Relations	International relationships might be ruptured beyond repair if Whitlam was elected
1972	ALP	(1) National Identity	Labor's policies are better attuned to Australia's search for national identity and purpose
		(2) Freshness	Need for replenishment in the two party system
		(3) Ability to govern	Coalition's path has steadily declined into despond disagreement and disability
1974	Coalition	(1) Performance	The Whitlam government has performed with energy, initiative and competence
			Whitlam government has also shown itself to be impetuous and sometimes erratic
		(2) Policies	On defence policy the Whitlam government seems to be captive of its old dogmas
			The degree of me too in the declared strategies of the principal contenders
		(3) Experience	The ability of the Coalition to call on men of considerable capacity and experience
1975	Coalition	(1) Ability	Labor's proven incompetence has forfeited its right to be elected
			Whitlam administrations displayed a degree of economic incompetence unmatched for decades
		(2) Economic Management	Whitlam government never understood the nature of the Australian economic system
			Whitlam government miusunderstood the role of private enterprise
			Whitlam needlessly undermined the rationale for private investment

This was a major departure for *The Age*, which had had a long history of endorsing conservative governments (see Griffen-Foley, 2003). As table 3 illustrates, *The Age's* 1972 endorsement was argued on the basis that Labor's policies were "better attuned to Australia's search for national identity and purpose". In addition it argued that the Coalition's "path has steadily declined into despond disagreement and disability". In 1974, *The Age* restored its tradition of endorsing conservative governments, supporting the election of the Snedden Coalition. Its basis for this was rather interesting. While *The Age* noted that the Whitlam government had "performed with energy, initiative and competence", it argued that it had also shown itself to be "impetuous and sometimes erratic". Similarly to 1969, it argued "on defence policy the Whitlam government seems to be captive of its old dogmas".

In 1975, after the dismissal of the Whitlam government, *The Age* again endorsed the Coalition: "the Whitlam administration has displayed a degree of economic incompetence unmatched for

decades". *The Age* argued that the government never understood the nature of the economic system; it misunderstood the role of private enterprise and needlessly undermined the rationale for private investment. As my analysis has revealed, *The Age's* institutional voice was variegated but fairly pragmatic on election editorials under Perkin's editorship.

Election editorials post-Perkin's editorship, 1977-1987

The Age after Perkin's death experienced some disruption in the leadership/editorship of the paper. Between 1975-1981, *The Age* had three editors. Looking in detail at *The Age's* editorials published in the post-Perkin period also reveals that *The Age* in its election editorials expressed pragmatic and conservative ideas. To illustrate this, below I provide an analysis of the paper's 1977, 1980, 1983, 1984 and 1987 election-eve editorials. Table 4 illustrates *The Age's* party endorsement and the discursive themes that make up the basis of its endorsement in the post-Perkin period. *The Age* endorsed the Coalition in 1977 under Greg Taylor's editorship (1976-79) and Labor in 1983, 1984 and 1987 under Creighton Burns (1981-89). It made no endorsement in 1980 under Michael Davie. Its 1977 endorsement was argued on the basis that the Coalition was "better equipped to take the hard decisions which certainly have to be made". However, in 1980 Michael Davie took the unusual step of making no endorsement.

Table 4 The *Age's* Election-eve Editorials, 1977-87
Endorsements and Themes in articles

Year	Endorsement	Themes	Textual Basis for Endorsement
1977	Coalition	(1) Campaign Performance	The campaign has produced lacklustre performances from both Government and Opposition On the basis of their campaign performances neither the coalition nor Labor deserves to win
		(2) Economics	The judgement should be based on the substantive policies of the two sides, particularly in the economic area
		(3) Hard Decisions	The coalition parties are better equipped to take the hard decisions which certainly have to be made
1980	None	(1) Limited Perspectives	This is an election of limited perspectives based on exaggerations of disagreements on economic policy The difference between a Coalition government and a Labor government would be style emphasis and priority It has been a short campaign concentrated on short term questions
1983	ALP	(1) Performance	The seven year record of the Coalition Government is clearly flawed as the state of the nation testifies
		(2) Economics	The election is likely to be decided on economic alternatives the contending parties' capacity to apply them
		(3) Choice	The choice is between prudence and pessimism (Coalition) and experimentation and idealism (ALP) It is not a choice we make with confidence, definitely not with any sense of certainty
1984	ALP	(1) Division	The Coalition still divided amongst themselves and divisive in their policies are not yet ready to return to office
1987	ALP	(1) Economy	The central issue in this election is who will best manage a precariously balanced and vulnerable economy It is the issue which will test the cohesion of a community which has become selfish and self satisfied
		(2) Division	A contending Coalition racked by internal dissension with policies of uncertain cost and dubious efficacy Howard's party is still unbalanced, there is little reason to trust the unity of the coalition
		(3) Talent	Few can now doubt that there is at present more talent on Labor's front bench than there is on the Coalition's

As Table 4 reveals, *The Age* in 1980 argued it was an election of "limited perspectives" with the differences between a Coalition and Labor government being differences of "style, emphasis and priority".

In 1983, *The Age* under Creighton Burns endorsed Labor, arguing the Coalition's record in office was "clearly flawed as the state of the nation testified". According to *The Age,* the election was likely to be decided on economic alternatives. Interestingly however, *The Age* took an unusual position in 1983, and argued the choice between governments was a "choice between prudence and pessimism" in relation to the Coalition and "experimentation and idealism" in relation to Labor. As Table 1 illustrates, with the exception of 1972, this was the first time – during the period under analysis – that *The Age* took an idealistic position on an election. In 1984 *The Age* endorsed Labor again with a similar position: "the Coalition still divided amongst themselves and divisive in their policies is not yet ready to return to office".

The Age's 1987 editorial endorsed Labor for the third time since it endorsed the Whitlam government in 1972. It endorsed Labor arguing that "the central issue in this election is who will

best manage a precariously balanced and vulnerable economy". Elucidating this further, it suggested the economy was the issue which would "test the cohesion of a community that has become selfish and self-satisfied". Similarly to its 1984 editorial, *The Age* also criticised the division in the Coalition, arguing it was "racked by internal dissension". However, as Table 3 illustrates, in 1987 its endorsement was less idealistic than in 1983 or 1984.

Similarly to Perkin's editorship, my analysis has revealed that *The Age's* institutional voice was variegated but pragmatic on the 1977, 1980, 1983, 1984 and 1987 elections. While *The Age* was more idealistic in the 1983 and 1984 elections, arguably, pragmatic themes such as economic management have tended to dominate.

Conclusion

This research has found that *The Age* between 1969-1987 has placed its endorsements within four main contexts: economic management; ability; performance; and, policies. These themes were particularly prevalent in the 1969, 1974, 1975, 1977, 1983 and 1987 elections. Idealistic themes, such as national identity and freshness were limited to the 1972 election. Logically, *The Age's* reluctance to endorse a particular party in 1980 reflects the theme of limited perspectives shown in Table 4. Interestingly, as noted above, *The Age* in 1983 endorsed Labor arguing the choice was a "choice between prudence and pessimism" in relation to the Coalition and "experimentation and idealism" in relation to Labor. While appearing to take an idealistic position in its endorsement of Labor, looking closely at the thematic basis of *The Age's* editorial, as shown in Table 4, reveals that its endorsement was based on pragmatic themes of economic management performance. Themes that were less prevalent were: international relationships, choice, division, talent and experience.

More importantly, this research appears to undermine the idea of *The Age* as some kind of red-ragging, left wing or radical publication. Critics of *The Age,* such as Jeff Kennett, Andrew Bolt, Gerard Henderson, among others, often refer to it as the Spencer Street Soviet or "that pinko rag" in reference to its supposed left-wing/progressive values and ideas (see Hills, 2010: 298). While by no means comprehensive, this research has illustrated the ways in which *The Age* has expressed more pragmatic principles in its election endorsements. A qualitative analysis of *The Age's* election-eve editorials between 1969-present, combined with a selection of social issue editorials, would elucidate this further. In addition, research into the history of *The Age's* editorials would help elucidate how *The Age* has shaped major social and political debates. Further research could engage with these issues and provide in-depth, nuanced insights by combining qualitative content analysis and interviews with editorial writers. This preliminary analysis of *The Age's* institutional voice, however, has revealed *The Age's* tendency to be pragmatic, more often than idealistic, in endorsing political parties.

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Defining a 'democratic elite': Key media in the battle for social responsibility

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Abstract

This paper offers a definition of elite media, arguing their content focus will sufficiently meet social responsibility needs of democracy. Its assumptions come from the Finkelstein and Leveson Inquiries and the British Royal Charter (2013). These provide guidelines on how media outlets meet 'social responsibility' standards, e.g. press has a 'responsibility to be fair and accurate' (Finkelstein); ethical press will feel a responsibility to 'hold power to account' (Leveson); news media 'will be held strictly accountable' (RC). The paper invokes the British principle of media opting-in to observe standards, and so serve the democracy. It will give examples from existing media, and consider social responsibility of media more generally. Obvious cases of 'quality' media: public broadcasters, e.g. BBC, Al-Jazeera, and 'quality' press, e.g. *NYT*, *Süddeutscher Zeitung*, but also certain community broadcasters, specialised magazines, news agencies, distinctive web logs, and others. Where providing commentary, these abjure gratuitous opinion -- meeting a standard of being reasoned, informational and fair. Funding is almost a definer, with many such services supported by the state, private trusts, public institutions or volunteering by staff. Literature supporting discussion on elite media will include their identity as primarily committed to a public good, e.g. the 'Public Value Test', (Moe and Donders 2011); with reference also to recent literature on developing public service media. Within its limits, the paper will treat social media as participants among all media, including elite, and as a parallel dimension of mass communication founded on inter-activity. Elite media will fulfil the need for social responsibility, firstly by providing one space, a 'plenary' for debate. Second is the notion of building public recognition of elite media as trustworthy. Third is the fact that elite media together are a large sector with resources to sustain social cohesion and debate; notwithstanding pressure on funds, and impacts of digital transformation undermining employment in media more than in most industries.

Introduction

This paper offers a broad definition of elite media and argues their content focus will sufficiently meet social responsibility needs of democracy. It is a response to anxiety that mass media fail in a responsibility to provide society with enough information about itself, to support democratic life. The assumptions behind such concerns are articulated in the reports of the Finkelstein and Leveson Inquiries and in the United Kingdom Royal Charter pursuant to the latter, all flowing from the *News of the World* scandal. The paper borrows thought-out understandings and prescriptions of these government-instigated actions to propose a frame or set of guidelines on how media producers meeting a 'social responsibility' standard can get recognition.

Standards as indicated by these sources: Finkelstein (2012:7), on 'common ground among all those who think seriously about the role of the news media and about journalistic ethics', considers: 'a free press plays an essential role in a democratic society …, has a responsibility to be fair and accurate …, is a powerful institution which can, and does affect the political process …, can cause harm, should be publicly accountable, and has codes of ethics regarding accuracy, fairness, impartiality, integrity and independence ….'

Leveson (2012:55-83), asserting the 'importance of a free press to democracy is surely incontrovertible' and setting out a 'framework of understanding which is relatively uncontroversial', prescribes: 'If a free press in a democracy has a special role in facilitating free

communication and in constituting a public forum, then an ethical press will want to … enable people to recognise and assess the material being provided. Where it provides information, that information will be reasonably intelligible and accurate .... If a free press in a democracy has special privileges to keep its sources secret, then an ethical press will be mindful of the reasons for and effects of that privilege …. If a free press in a democracy has a special place because of its ability to hold power to account, an ethical press will consider itself to have responsibilities to do just that …. A free and autonomous press within a democracy will be mindful of the democratic freedoms and autonomies of others.'

The Royal Charter (2013), now proclaimed, having survived legal challenges, awaits implementation following the 2015 British elections, and declares as a first principle it 'supports the integrity and freedom of the press, the plurality of the media, and its independence, including from Government, while encouraging the highest ethical and professional standards'. It is to establish a standards code, taking into account: 'the importance of free speech, the interests of the public (including but not limited to the public interest in detecting or exposing crime or serious impropriety, protecting public health and safety and preventing the public from being seriously misled), the need for journalists to protect confidential sources of information, and the rights of individuals ....' Standards of conduct will include respect for privacy … and accuracy, and the need to avoid misrepresentation …. The regulatory mechanism will include 'a service to warn the press and other relevant parties such as broadcasters and press photographers, when an individual has made it clear that they do not welcome press intrusion …', and 'subscribers [from the news media] will be held strictly accountable under the standards code for any material that they publish ….' Further, the Royal Charter contains provisions for mediation, voluntary corrections of material published wrongly, mandatory orders requiring corrections, funding of research into standards performance, and ultimately sanctions geared to the financial turnover of the media organisation, up to £1-million (A$1.84-million; xe.com 6.10.14).

This paper suggests firstly that the principle of media producers opting-in to observe such standards, and come under specific regulation, can separate them from those with other missions, e.g. all-advertorial. It will secondly support the implication of the Royal Charter, that those opting out will be known as exceptions, so that ultimately mass media, while still uniformly enjoying the right to publish, will be in two separate and recognised fields. It will suggest thirdly that the first group, opting in, and depending on how they fare under the regulatory regime, may obtain the status of elite media. It will suggest fourthly that media operations meeting that definition will adequately serve the democratic function, especially where maintaining a public record of events and publishing information in the public interest.

To make clear, this is not an argument for universal adoption of the forthcoming British regulatory scheme; it is to use it, and the formulation of standards from the inquiries, to advance the concept of elite media, identified as such by their commitment to public interest. Unlike the public inquiries, this argument has no call to consider that the code of standards is appropriate to all mass media, and it is not alarmed by the prospect of some, even most opting out. Here, it is seen as indicative that the prospect raised in the Royal Charter for perpetrators of egregious breaches of the standards, e.g. breach of privacy, if they are not subscribers, to be themselves denied access to redress and the relief processes of the charter.

Looking at examples: Existing 'quality' media outlets already get wide, informal recognition for application of the standards, referred to above, associated with serving the public interest. Characteristics of their services: focus on content, e.g. providing journals of record; on profiles of audiences, though not on consumerist or commercial models. Obvious examples are public broadcasters, e.g. BBC, Al-Jazeera, and 'quality' press, e.g. *NYT*, *Süddeutscher Zeitung*, but also

certain community broadcasters, specialised magazines, private subscription news agencies, e.g. AAP, Bloomberg, distinctive weblogs, or corporate media packages with vested interests in delivering tested information in engaging formats. These may make a claim to an elite media status.
Most observe a liberal ethic, e.g. showing maturity in their commentary - made to a standard of reasoned, informational and fair. Important branches of activity include investigative journalism. Funding is almost a point of definition, many of these services being not for profit. Alternatives are state funding (public service broadcasters), private trusts (*The Guardian*), support from public institutions, subscriptions, and volunteering (community radio).

Elite media are seen as those which are primarily committed to public good or interest, e.g. the 'Public Value Test', (Moe and Donders 2011). Other literature analyses public service media, flowing from the enterprise of public service broadcasters moving into online; see RIPE 2006 conference, Ferrell Lowe and Bardoel (eds.), and elsewhere, e.g. Debrett (2010), or Burns and Brugger (2012). Further work discusses the mixed media approach, adopted by public service and other mainstream outlets, diversifying their range of products, and integrating their business and production operations, as 'hybridisation', e.g. Barnett and Seaton (2010).

The scope of this paper is limited. In this scheme of understanding, proliferating social media are seen in two aspects: as participants in all media, and as the early stage of a new and parallel dimension of mass communication founded on inter-activity, many-to-many. Participants in all media may be subscribers to standards as specified above, e.g. 'fair and accurate', 'accountable', 'be mindful of the democratic freedoms and autonomies of others', 'preventing the public from being seriously misled'. They may be elite media. Mass and interactive media models have their built-in mechanisms for evaluating, embellishing and correcting published material, which can be sustained by transparency, and practical expectations of users, empowered to check on and challenge what they see. The present exercise hardly extends to discussion of non-elite media, e.g. commercial broadcasters lobbying for protection against public media as marginal but strategic competitors, while drawing on their innovations also. It cannot deal with the question of audiences, where issues such as psychological defences against media bombardments, and proactive using of media, would be pertinent; e.g. Renckstorf, McQuail and Jankowski, (1996); Duffield in Duffield & Cokley "Everybody could do well to become a journalist" (1996: 9).

Why propose that the services of elite media as defined here will be sufficient to meet the need for socially responsible media in society? It is firstly because these, once clearly defined, can provide a 'plenary' for debate. Many are established organisations geared to rationing of content through limited channels, dating to the era of severe shortage of space and air-time – up to the 1970s liberalising of broadcast bands and getting the Internet on personal computers after 1995. Participating in diversity now, they remain competent still to provide a digest for their followers. Given the application of the standards code, as discussed here, citizens may go to a limited number of places with confidence, and not spend too much precious time, getting ample news and related services to help them participate in the civil society. That process, of assembling at central locations for information and exchange, is yet a radical improvement on how it was under the rationing of past decades, due to proliferation of information and channels and much more participative use of media by publics. Much thinking about 'social responsibility' is about politics, (although not all; the British experience of phone hacking with *News of the World* was about criminal intrusion into privacy, and bribery of police – with political influence of the publishers a strong but secondary issue); and to date the political community mostly want 'plenary' activity, e.g. broadcasts from parliament, live media conferences, exclusive interviews with specialist writers, political panel shows.

Secondly, the notion of recognition, as conveyed in the principles of the British Royal Charter, will allay confusion. Those which sign on and can maintain the required performance will have the better status in public debate – be the ones to take most notice of. Again the Royal Charter might provide a lead, where it stipulates the membership of a Recognition Panel that oversees the setting-up of a regulator. It can be imagined that a board well distanced from media interests and involvements, e.g. funded by a philanthropic trust, could actually certify qualifying media.

Thirdly there are many such outlets, collectively well resourced and strong; a formidable force in society. That is so, notwithstanding that newspapers and broadcasting are among the industries most suffering from negative impacts of digital transformation (and other impacts of the 'new economy'), causing the extensive job lay-offs; in a labour intensive field, frequently outweighing any productivity gains, and posing a threat to the codified standards discussed here. Major organisations in the potential 'elite' column, as listed above, e.g. Australian ABC, have substantial resources and enduring strong public support, and a professional base, enabling ongoing provision of services, extensive innovation (e.g. public broadcasters going to online circa 2000), training and protection of personnel, and prepared defences against attacks on their operations, (e.g. access to political leadership; support organisations among the public). They share in adaptability of media, for example in the case of online products, exploiting the capacity of the medium to bring 'back of the book' material – arts, personality, festivals, games, personal finances – into the traditional territory of 'news' pages at the top; the subject of a current study by the present author, see Duffield and Keshvani (2014).

With digitised media, censoring, data harvesting, and the like, by governments, have become a serious global threat. Threats to the integrity of systems are posed also by criminals of many kinds, and major commercial interests manoeuvring to manipulate market conditions or the terms of public debate. Corporate strength and strength in numbers, of this well-identified sector, will continue as a useful defence strategy. In the case of dispersed new media, such as the social media model mentioned above, the multiplicity of points in a network may ward off destruction at its core, though individual parts will be vulnerable, e.g. to financial and technical constraints, through to murder of isolated journalists. An 'elite' sector overall, as envisaged, will provide resilience, and a rich diversity and volume of services, well sufficient for democratic intercourse.

Whereas this argument to a degree dismisses the putative 'non elite' sector, that is because the concept of social responsibility referred to here is limited, concerned with the essentials of freedom and communication for democracy. It is concerned with ensuring that information is exchanged and well handled, as a minimal standard. Overall, where content of mass media is at issue, most services, whether focused on dancing, cooking, other 'reality', gossip, action movies, pet animals or the races, are not immediately a part of the trade in ideas, nor a threat to it. Consumers opting to use such media is a matter of simple right of choice. A debate can be conducted around 'opinion' media such as tabloid press voicing strong editorial lines, or 'opinion as entertainment' on radio -- in the present era most of it radical right-wing politics. It may be 'about' social issues and politics of the day, but would be severely tested if trying to obtain certification as trusted elite media, 'mindful of the democratic freedoms and autonomies of others' (Leveson, 2012: 83), along the lines discussed here.

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An Institute, society or college of journalists?

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Abstract

In 1911, state-based Australian Institutes of Journalists established in the 19th century made way for a new national trade union, the Australian Journalists' Association. Henceforth, the dominant collective voice of Australian journalists would be that of the 'wages movement' (Aldridge and Evetts 2003). This paper considers the shift away from a nascent association of accredited professionals to a craft-based, unionised labour force in terms of its long-term impact on questions of journalism ethics, standards, education, professionalisation and accountability. What, if anything, can a reappraisal of the original concept of the professional institute offer journalists and society at a time of declining trade union membership, profound changes in journalism practice, and increasingly atomised employment patterns in news media industries? How might such an institution position itself in order to make a positive contribution to society and the community of journalists in the 21st century?

Keywords

Journalism – professions – occupational identity – applied ethics

Introduction

In the early 20th century, Australian journalism emerged like an occupational newborn with a lusty cry. It boasted a growing workforce, rising pay levels, political power and a clear sense of its mission and practices. Today, however, journalism and those who practise it are increasingly divided. Some are even disorientated and besieged in what has been dubbed an era of 'post-Industrial journalism' in an influential report from the respected Tow Centre for Digital Journalism, based at Columbia Journalism School in the United States (Anderson, Bell & Shirky 2012:12). As the authors of that report note:

> … there is no such thing as the news industry anymore. There used to be one, held together by the usual things that hold an industry together: similarity of methods among a relatively small and coherent group of businesses, and an inability for anyone outside that group to produce a competitive product. Those conditions no longer hold true (Anderson, et al. 2012:1).

The iconoclastic tenor of such statements is so familiar as to border upon cliché, and some scholars still doubt that much has changed in the way we gather and present the news (Gans 2004). But the message is powerfully underlined, I would suggest, by the very different receptions it receives in different segments of the 'non-existent industry'. Put simply, what some journalists regard as a tragedy, others celebrate as a liberating new lease of life. The decline of standards bemoaned by some is seen by others as a small price to pay for a journalism of conviction in which the public is not merely an audience, but a co-producer of news content (Rosen 1999; Haigh 2014).

The fundamental questions that arise from changes in news media business models and practices over the past two decades can be seen from different perspectives. On the front line, in newsrooms, the debate has been primarily focused on collapsing revenues, deep cuts in staffing levels and outsourcing of roles, and a perceived 'race to the bottom' in terms of quality

journalism (Patterson 2013). In addition to these issues, scholars' attention has focused on the challenge to journalistic expertise posed by a new generation of technology-enabled bloggers and citizen journalists (Anderson 2007, 2008; Deuze 2005; Davies 2011; Aldridge & Evetts 2003; Singer 2003); the impact of new technologies, including social media, on news distribution and business models (Jericho 2013; Keen 2008), and the concept of journalism as an act of citizenship as much as a paid occupation (Carpentier 2007; Dunlop 2013; Papacharissi 2009). The discourse of ethics in journalism permeates these publications, but is also the basis for an expanding literature of ethics in journalism as an area of study in its own right.

The aim of this paper is to shift the lens somewhat to consider what the changes outlined above might mean for the future of journalistic representation and association in Australia. I propose to do this in four ways. Firstly, by locating the discussion as a response to what I will call a crisis of journalistic representation that has emerged in recent years in line with changes in the news media industry. Secondly, by reviewing the history and objectives of journalism associations in this country, in particular, the short-lived journalists' institutes established before Federation in the 19th century and the journalist trade union that followed them. Thirdly, by surveying the impact of industry change on the main body representing Australian journalists, the Media, Entertainment and Arts Alliance (MEAA). And fourthly, by hypothesising the utility of the professional institute model in the 21st century context of increasingly dispersed journalistic employment patterns and digital news media methods.

Workers or professionals?

While it seems counter-intuitive to reach into the past for solutions to problems of the Digital Age, the history of journalism teaches us that social and economic change can rapidly render existing approaches redundant, allowing older models to be seen in a new light. For most of their history, Australian journalists have been represented by an organisation whose legal status is that of a trade union. However, in the late 19th century when journalism was emerging as a recognised occupation in Britain and its colonies, journalists across the empire began gravitating to associations of like-minded professionals. The first of these, the National Association of Journalists was founded in the United Kingdom in 1884. In 1888, it changed its name to the Institute of Journalists, and in 1890 Queen Victoria granted it a Royal Charter. The actions of the reporters covering the Royal Agricultural Society's show at York who formed the world's first association of journalists were driven by two clearly distinguishable priorities. Firstly, to ameliorate difficulties encountered in undertaking their work (access to information and events, responding to allegations of misreporting), and secondly, the need for provident funds and other measures designed to support the very contingent and poorly-paid nature of a journalist's employment in that period (Chartered Institute of Journalists 2015). Later, questions of status, professionalism and quality of journalism would gain salience.

The events in British journalism stirred journalists in Australia and New Zealand to follow suit. In 1889, the Victorian Reporters' Association was formed in the colony of Victoria, followed by the formation of the Australian Institute of Journalists (later the Australasian Institute of Journalists) in 1892. The formation of the AIJ led journalists in other states to form local chapters in Queensland, Tasmania, South Australia, and New South Wales (where an earlier attempt to establish an institute had failed). The New Zealand Institute of Journalists was established under an Act of Parliament in 1895. These organisations worked to advance a political and occupational agenda in which the status of journalism as a profession was assumed and vigorously asserted. In Larson's terms it was, unapologetically, a status project of market closure (Larson, 1977). The Australasian Institute's constitution, like those elsewhere, reflected the aspirations of journalists

for themselves and their profession in the Australia of the late 19th century (Australian/Australasian Institute of Journalists 1892). It stressed the following themes:

a. Improve journalists' qualifications and status
b. Monitor and provide expert advice on the laws affecting journalists and journalism and lobby for changes if needed
c. Connect journalists with those wishing to employ them
d. Mediate in disputes affecting members of the institute
e. Applicants to be tested for knowledge and skills prior to granting of membership
f. Administer a provident fund, and
g. Promote by all reasonable means the interests of journalists and journalism

The objectives of the founders of the Institute, articulated over a century ago, still feel progressive, a testament to the enduring quality of basic principles. Today's journalists will recognise immediately the concern to monitor legislation and laws affecting their work and interests.

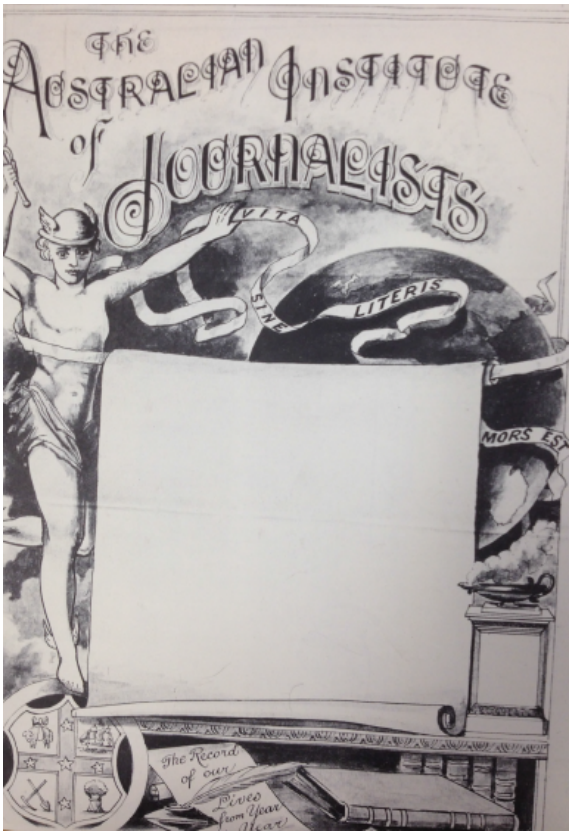

Illustration: Circa 1892. Artwork for an Australian Institute of Journalists publication. The Latin inscription reads "Life without learning is death". Source: University of Melbourne Archive

The Institute sought to engage journalists at all levels of the profession, from trainees to publishers (David Syme was one of two trustees, and Alfred Deakin, later Prime Minister of Australia, was the Institute's legal adviser). Journalists of distinction could be made Fellows of the Institute, and qualified women were not barred from membership, as they were in many other areas of public life at that time, although it is not certain that any women became active members. One of the institute's first campaigns was an intense lobbying effort that achieved amendments to the laws of libel in Victoria. But perhaps its key feature was that while the initial membership intake consisted of people already employed in journalism, future inductees would need to pass

an examination in order to be accepted as members. The clear objective was to operate a scheme of market closure in which journalists - those who belonged to the institute - would set a high bar for entry to their organisation, and by extension, to the profession. It is not clear how the AIJ's founders planned to persuade proprietors to employ only journalists who had passed the Institute's exam. The Institute would also have a kind of quasi-judicial process that could fine members or suspend them for up to two years if a duly constituted council, acting on the complaint of a member, found them guilty of 'any act or default discreditable to journalism'. The original institutes of journalists in Australia were also deeply interested not only in raising the education standards of journalists but also in seeing that journalism should be taught in universities. As early as the 1860s in Victoria, concerns about poor standards had led to calls for the establishment of a university chair in journalism (Hurst & White 1994: ix).

The Australasian Institute of Journalists represented the culmination of the first phase of efforts by journalists in this country to professionalise their occupation. The aspirations and benchmarks of excellence that they set remain embedded in our thinking and practices to this day. Yet Lloyd mocks the institutes as "flaccid, even pusillanimous" with regard to industrial issues, and claims most of their energies were directed to organising social events (Lloyd 1985: 39). The institutes failed, he writes, due mainly to 'the reluctance of journalists to recognise reality and engage in union activity. The model of the professional Institute proved ineffectual in the complex and peculiar conventions and conditions of newspaper work' (Lloyd 1985: 53). Within four years of its foundation the minutes of the Australasian Institute of Journalists do indeed record a sudden loss of confidence and energy, and by the turn of the century it was described in one press report as 'long since moribund' ('Melbourne Gossip' 1902).

Why the Australian Institutes failed and what failure signified

The explanations for this failure are perhaps not so narrowly-based as Lloyd would have us believe. The Australasian Institute of Journalists and the push towards adopting and enforcing professional standards and recognition that it represented were, in fact, swimming against the tide of three major historical developments. Firstly, the formation of the Institute coincided with the worst economic depression to hit the Australian colonies since European settlement. Between 1891 and 1893 Gross Domestic Product contracted by more than 17 per cent, triggering unprecedented industrial unrest and contributing to the growth of trade unions and the formation of the Australian Labor Party (A Tale of Two Depressions, 2012). Secondly, the institute's formation coincided with the movement towards Federation, which in 1901 saw the self-governing colonies combine to form the new nation of Australia. Thirdly, and as a result of these two prior developments, the Federal Parliament in 1904 passed the Conciliation and Arbitration Act, institutionalising a system in which trade union membership gave workers a clear bargaining advantage over non-unionised labour. In a newspaper industry which had been characterised by poor wages and conditions, and capricious acts of vengeance by proprietors whenever their power was challenged, these three related developments contributed to a shift away from the professional model of journalistic association towards trade unionism as the preferred method of labour organisation within the occupation of journalism, culminating in the registration in 1911 of the Australian Journalists' Association (AJA). In Australia, as in the UK, the main collective voice of journalism would for more than a century be that of the 'wages movement' (Aldridge & Evetts 2003:550). In both countries, institutes of journalists lingered for decades in a secondary role, in Australia dying out after the Second World War, but in Britain continuing until the present day.

Although commentators including Lloyd have been reluctant to acknowledge it, the AJA inherited a legacy of professional aspirations and priorities from the journalists' institutes that

preceded its formation. The 1920 constitution of the AJA contained a statement of objectives that reframed IOJ functions, including the monitoring of all legislative and other proposals 'which may affect journalists in the discharge of their professional duties' (Australian Journalists' Association, 1920). Despite the commonalities, however, the differences are defining. From its inception, the AJA actively avoided the Institute's aspirations to achieve market closure for the profession via a system of membership examinations. It also ruled out having proprietors as members, as the Institute had allowed, preferring to create clear lines of separation between 'workers' and 'management', to the extent of granting journalists in management roles exemptions from union membership. The costs of such a strategy, including the creation of a ready workforce of strike breakers during industrial disputes, were seen as preferable to blurring class lines. Not only did the wages movement dominate journalism but it also guaranteed that proprietors, not journalists would determine who could work as a journalist.

We can therefore identify two distinct phases in the development of representative organisations in Australian journalism. In the first, beginning in the late 19th century, journalists sought to control entry to the occupation, improve journalism education, and achieve professional status for journalists. Implicit in the objectives of the early institutes of journalists was the concern to encourage ethical practice. In the second phase, beginning in 1910, attempts to wrest control of journalism standards and qualifications from employers were all but abandoned with the predominant focus shifting towards improving the wages and conditions of journalists as employees. For the first three decades of its existence the AJA did not formulate a code of ethics. In this respect, AJA members lagged 20 years behind their American counterparts, and even trailed provincial Australian reporters such as members of the Country Press Association, which formulated its 15-point ethical code in 1927. This telling tardiness in addressing ethical issues came about despite the urgings of the respected war correspondent and N.S.W. Institute of Journalists committee member, C.E.W. Bean (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 1930).

Belated though it was, the AJA's code of ethics was a milestone in the project of professionalisation in Australian journalism. Importantly, via the agency of its internal democratic processes, the union was able to claim with authority a mandate for the assertion of ethical standards rooted in the views of working journalists. As the preamble to the code noted 'They (journalists) acknowledge the jurisdiction of their professional colleagues ... to adjudicate on issues connected with this code' (Lloyd 1985:23). But although the AJA's efforts in the field of ethics and professional practice improved from the 1940s onwards, it is clear that the ascendancy of trade unionism, for all its benefits, placed clear limits on the Association's capacity to act as an advocate of the interests of journalism, not just journalists. Employee status meant not only abandoning any hope of controlling entry to the profession, but accepting a large measure of proprietorial control over journalistic practice. Whilst journalists trained 'cadets' in the principles of accuracy and objectivity that prevailed at the time, they also taught the 'house style', which largely reflected proprietorial decisions about a publication's target audience, and the kind of journalism required to attract such readers. Journalists who objected when a publication's culture encouraged biased, salacious or inaccurate reporting, were free to work elsewhere. Those who wished to remain on the payroll made their peace with 'house style'. As Lloyd notes of journalists at the time, 'their work educated them' (Lloyd 1985: 29). In return, proprietors willingly footed the bill for the defamation cases and other legal consequences that arose from journalistic practice. The concept of proprietorial responsibility for journalists' legal and ethical breaches neatly fitted a model in which journalists worked as teams under the direction of management, and could therefore claim that they were not finally responsible for the products of their work. This, in an occupation whose ethical principles — such as objectivity — tend to justify producing what is needed regardless of one's own personal values (Aldridge & Evetts 559). The alienation of journalists from direct professional responsibility for their work

ultimately created the grounds for their marginalisation in ethical and regulatory debates and issues. The report of the Finkelstein Inquiry into the Media and Media Regulation barely mentions journalists in the context of regulation, referring instead to 'the press' and 'the media' (Finkelstein 2012). A key marker of journalists' claims to professional status (self-regulation) has come to reside as a function of the Australian Press Council (funded by newspaper proprietors) and the Australian Media and Communications Authority (ACMA).

The Past Revisited?

As outlined earlier in this paper, the power of trade unions in Australian society is much reduced from what it was for most of the 20th century. The journalists' union still plays an important role in administering and negotiating wages and conditions through the national workplace relations tribunal (since 2012, the Fair Work Commission). However, like the companies that once employed most of its members, the MEAA's business model today is in trouble. There has been a steep downturn in the union's membership, falling since the mid-1980s from about 12,000 to approximately six thousand, with the rate of decline accelerating since the turn of the century (Lloyd 1985: 306; Warren 2014; MEAA 2006/2013). In the disrupted news industry of the early 21st century, declining membership 'density' associated with staff cuts in established news media organisations, combined with the growth of employment in geographically dispersed small and medium enterprises (SMEs) has seen the per capita cost of representing journalists rise. Put simply, it costs almost as much to run a work value case before the Fair Work Commission involving a single company employing a thousand journalists, as it would to run the same case involving a company that employs only fifty journalists. The rising cost of representation per member places pressure on the union's fee structure.

Post-industrial journalism might mean post-unionised journalism, or at least, less-unionised journalism. Once employed in media 'castles' built by wealthy, quasi-feudal proprietors, journalists now increasingly inhabit the far-flung 'hamlets' of new start-ups, where contingent employment makes paying union fees a poor value proposition. The trade union model, while good for those with jobs, has not served freelancers and those in contingent employment situations very well. With contingency increasingly the norm, the union has had to scramble to develop the skills needed to cater to the new realities of journalism. At the same time, proprietors in both Australia and the UK have become less inclined to facilitate access to the workplace by union officials over the past 20 years (Warren 2014; Gall & Murphy 1996; 225-246). With pressure on union membership, certain traditional functions of the union — such as bringing unethical journalists to account — have tended to atrophy (Pearson 2013). The former president of the MEAA Journalist's section, Christopher Warren, told the author that the Australian Journalists Association (which merged with other unions to form the MEAA in 1991) had not suspended or expelled a single journalist on ethics grounds since the 1970s (Warren 2014). The decline of the once-powerful judiciary committee within the journalists' union reflects the internal contradictions of a body that aspires to protect both journalists' financial interests and the interests of journalism as an occupation or profession. This contradiction has become less sustainable as the gulf between what the union stands for and what it can deliver has grown. Surveys of public perceptions of occupational groups have consistently recorded low levels of confidence in journalists. But even if we accept the argument that something important was lost when Australian journalists hitched their wagons to the locomotive of the wages movement, why would an even more archaic organisational structure such as an institute, society or college of journalists be an improvement in the Digital Age?

The 19th century AIJ did manifestly fail, and moving back to such a model now would be a process fraught with difficulties. Socially, an institute might tend to be dominated by senior

journalists, an older and predominantly male demographic of the kind that once ruled newspaper newsrooms. By its nature, an institute devoted to high journalism standards would stress ethical values that, it must be said, are not always apparent in news organisations. As such, it would risk being out of touch with the workplace reality of most journalists. Should its membership not also represent the younger cohort of journalists working independently as citizen journalists or partners in online start-ups, it would risk reflecting an anachronistic view of journalism standards based on elitist perspectives of an earlier time. Fail any of these tests, and an institute for journalism created in the fractious, non-collegial environment of contemporary Australian journalism would face open mockery, led by proprietors who have consistently and vociferously opposed the efforts of journalists to improve themselves and their lot. A nightmare vision of retired elders presiding ineffectually over a rabble of cynical hacks suggests the worst-case scenario.

Organisationally too, an institute of journalists would face problems of scale and resources. Given Australia's relatively small population spread across vast terrain, creating an *actual* as opposed to a virtual community of professionals capable of gathering for regular consultations would be an ongoing struggle requiring considerable financial and other resources. Australia's federal structure also tends to throw up regional disparities and issues that trouble national projects. A national institute based at a university, for example, would confront substantial pressures to serve the parochial interests of its host institution and state. It would also struggle to establish its *locus standi* in any of the core fields associated with the occupation. Industry would be unlikely to welcome the views of a self-appointed body of experts if such experts were in any way critical of dominant practices and approaches. Similarly, the trade union that covers journalists, and is of critical importance in relation to the formal requirements of collective bargaining, would jealously guard its role against the predations of any new rival. Any attempt by an institute to control entry to the profession would be stoutly opposed by the union.

Universities, which now train the overwhelming majority of journalists, would likewise be unlikely to grant any external body authority over how journalism is taught or how journalism students are tested and given qualifications. This dominance would also rob any institute of what otherwise would be a major source of income, i.e. the running of training programs. Given the struggle that the long-established and respected American Press Institute has had in deriving income from its popular suite of training programs in a much more favourable climate, an Australian institute could expect heavy weather here as well (Goldstein 2012). The pathway towards establishing an institute, college or society that might inform the teaching and certification of journalists in conjunction with the universities or the higher education system as a whole might benefit from lessons learnt by other professions. But journalism is a peculiar occupation, and the path towards such engagement would by no means be easy, or untroubled by the problems of legitimacy and relevance discussed here in the social and organisational contexts.

Formidable obstacles to the successful establishment of a new and influential institute, society or college of journalists in Australia do not, however, elide the pressing need for journalists as an occupational group to respond in defence of their values in an environment that threatens them. Australian journalistic association has entered, I would argue, a third phase in its development in which the old ways of organising and associating no longer answer to new dynamics. For most of their history, Australian journalists have been represented by a trade union that attempts, within limits, to articulate and advocate professional values. The union model was been well suited to a stable industry dominated by big publishers and broadcasters, and continues to be the most effective collective presence for journalists in the industrial relations sphere. However, as legacy journalism is transformed in the Digital Age, alternative approaches to representing journalists and journalism must of necessity be considered. News organisations are becoming smaller and

journalists are increasingly self-employed or part-time employees. Fewer and fewer of them are able to rely entirely on journalism for their livelihoods. Some of the biggest growth areas of employment, such as blogging and brand "journalism", challenge existing definitions and principles of practice of the occupation. New or perhaps hybrid models of association that reinvent the way journalists relate to each other, as well as the work they do and who it is done for, may be needed.

The Future Community of Journalists

If there is to be a future for journalism as a profession – or even as a recognisable occupation or community – the process of reconstructing news media industries now underway must be complemented by a rethinking of journalism association. Such a process would inevitably have implications for the way journalists relate to employers, the state, clients, civil society, and the academy. It would also unavoidably confront many difficult questions of ethics, legal responsibility, and whether the interests of journalists as an occupational group can any longer be considered as coterminous with the interests of journalism as a profession or defining act of citizenship in the 21st century.

In this third phase of Australian journalism association, ethical dilemmas that have been papered over in previous eras may gain new force. Examples are many. For instance, if union membership and hiring by newspapers both continue to decline, the question of who defines journalism ethics will arise. In the absence of some new form of journalistic association, the answer may well be 'the state'. Or take another example, the trend towards journalists being self-employed contractors. This development re-installs the question of who is legally responsible for published journalism. In the past, journalists have conveniently tended to pass this buck to proprietors. As Lloyd put it, for more than a century proprietors have taken legal and financial responsibility for problems their publications caused. Now, and for the foreseeable future, individual journalists will increasingly fulfil the publisher's role. Once mainly classed as employees, journalists are, of necessity, adapting to the new ecosystem, becoming more entrepreneurial and leveraging the same new technologies that have bedevilled their employers to set up their own web-based businesses. But with no publisher, or even union to defend them, will the burden of paying for one's own errors be financially unsustainable?

Only forms of journalistic association that can answer to these new realities will be relevant in the years to come and could well involve uncomfortable trade-offs. The classic case is the "gate-openers" versus "gatekeepers" dilemma, seen by traditionalists as a dagger at the heart of the very notion of journalistic expertise and the possibility of maintaining standards. Another Australian journalistic dogma, that is, the "management journalist versus union journalist" binary, might need re-thinking. If small publishers are to play an important role in journalistic associations of the future, where lies the justification for 'exempting', or rejecting, journalists working in senior editorial management positions?

Given these opportunities and challenges, what might be the most likely form of journalistic association capable of addressing them? The right answer to such a question can only ever be a product of a dialogue between patient and like-minded practitioners. Ideally, such a dialogue would be an open discussion among peers interested in hearing a range of perspectives on the general questions of how journalism and journalists relate to society and each other at this particular point in our history. Given the infancy of debates about these questions, it is particularly important to avoid creating entrenched and opposing positions too early. Rushing in to create institutional arrangements without having had a wide-ranging discussion of the

objectives and appropriate means and strategies of such an organisation would produce only false starts. In this spirit, I would like to advance the following propositions.

Firstly, the principal objectives of any such organisation would be to support, enhance and advocate the professional practice and ethical standards of journalism in Australia, and to create a community of practitioners committed to such standards and ready to resist laws or any other means by which such practices and standards are undermined. Secondly, given the unfavourable legacy of an occupational group that has long resisted professional norms, and the cultural and organisational challenges facing the creation of new representational structures in Australian journalism, a successful strategy would most likely be one that leveraged its efforts off existing associational infrastructure. Thirdly, whilst leaning on existing structures, any new organisation must, in order to achieve its objectives, enjoy a high degree of autonomy in its governance and management. Fourthly, any new body would need to be transparently democratic and federal, with aims and objectives that appeal to practitioners working in a wide range of journalistic genres and platforms. Fifthly, it is inconceivable at this time that any such body would control, or even attempt to control entry to the occupation of journalism. Closing labour markets in contemporary mixed economies is ethically questionable and, in some circumstances, illegal. To best achieve its principal objectives, an institute of journalists would be a conversation as much as an organisation, a forum for practitioners old and new dedicated to protecting and advancing the highest ideals of journalism.

To return, then, to the question of what form a future institute of journalists might take, we can imagine many different models. If advocacy were the primary purpose, a *Crikey*-like ginger group or groups of passionately committed believers that would speak without fear or favour in support of enduring values of quality journalism might be the chosen path. Or, a more conservative, though no less committed organisation of cool, pragmatic engagement with journalists and the industries that employ them might serve well. However, if organisational strength and continuity of purpose were the goal, we might find a solution where we least expect it, that is, within or parallel to the framework of the existing journalists' union.

The union, recently re-badged as 'MEAA Media', has confronted many of the problems outlined above and, though currently struggling for salience, has survived and developed an array of institutional strategies for dealing with them. For example, the union has, over decades, alternated the location of its headquarters and administrative functions between Sydney and Melbourne to assuage parochial discontents. It has also been an effective advocate at times for journalism's principles and ethics. The MEAA, although it has lost some members due to industry restructuring, remains a well-managed, national organisation committed to the future of journalism. Like all organisations, it has its flaws, but the benefits of updating the current model rather than redesigning a whole new car are compelling in the challenging environment outlined in this paper.

Restructuring of the union would represent an organic and pragmatic response to the new realities, one with sturdy roots in Australian journalism's history. Re-inventing the AJA/MEAA by creating — parallel to and independent of the existing industrial wing — a completely independent, non-industrial organisation committed to representing journalism and practitioners from all genres and platforms could be a way of preserving the best of both worlds. The union's existing siloed structure which allows it to serve discrete sections of the workforce, could easily make the transition to accommodate an independent institute with reasonably minor amendments, thus retaining its economies of scale as an industrial organisation while reviving the AJA as a purely professional body representing journalism as much as journalists. Such an organisation could become the bridge by which practitioners' and industry's input into the education of

Australian journalists is restored via institutional links between the institute, industry and universities. It could even begin the long project of exploring and redefining the concept of ethics in journalism, or 'journalisms' in a way that bridges the 'pro-am divide' and maximises the inter-generational transmission of traditional ethical values and adoption of new ones, such as the aspiration of some journalists to become "gate openers" instead of "gatekeepers". A separate and distinct institution not engaged in industrial issues might also rebuild bridges that have been torn down by decades of sectarianism along corporate lines, and in the process become the true voice of all Australian journalists regardless of who they work for. In doing so, it might begin to recover and reanimate the historical goal of a professionalised journalism.

'Every issue of a newspaper represents a battle — a battle for excellence,' wrote Joseph Pulitzer in 1904. 'When an editor reads it and compares it with its rivals he knows that he has scored a victory or suffered a defeat (Pulitzer 1904: 22). For journalists in Australia today, that battle — once so effortlessly won — now seems like a much more difficult and complicated affair. For more than a century they have comprised a relatively small, white-collar occupational group with a strong self-identity. Now, that identity and the livelihoods it sustains face intense challenges. Physical dispersal could conceivably be paralleled by a different kind of distancing, that which separates journalists from the cultural, industrial and ethical sources of professional identity and support associated with legacy news companies at the height of their power and influence.

What are the implications of these changes for the way Australian journalists organise themselves industrially and professionally? Are we doomed to become isolated, low-paid contractors struggling to earn a decent living and unable to defend and advance journalism standards and ethics? Are we facing an inter-generational interregnum in which even our most worthwhile legacies will not effectively be passed on to the next generation of reporters? Fighting his battle for excellence in journalism a century ago, Pulitzer stressed the importance of education and institutional memory. Did not the 'nose for news' of a trainee journalist need to be mentored by skilled teachers who could teach 'the things that succeed and the things that fail, and above all the things that deserve to succeed, and the things that do not — not the things only that make circulation for to-day, but the things that make character and influence and public confidence?" (Pulitzer 1904: 22-3).

Pulitzer saw his college of journalism as a producer not just of successful and skilled individual journalists, but as the creator of a class of professionals, an institution whose alumni would share a common bond and engage in ongoing conversations with their peers about the best interests and future of journalism. Such a spirit would not only put 'black sheep' of the profession in an uncomfortable position, but would be 'the surest guaranty against the control of the press by powerful financial interests — not an imaginary danger by any means' (Pulitzer 1904:28). Pulitzer also saw clearly the inextricable link between healthy journalism and the health of democracy. 'Our Republic and its press will rise or fall together' he wrote. 'An able, disinterested, public-spirited press, with trained intelligence to know the right and courage to do it, can preserve that public virtue without which popular government is a sham and mockery. A cynical, mercenary, demagogic press will produce in time a people as base as itself. The power to mould the future of the Republic will be in the hands of the journalists of future generations' (Pulitzer 1904: 60).

Unless we believe that pursuit of these goals is best left in the hands of proprietors, journalists will need to intervene in the struggle. In doing so, a new approach to representing journalists and journalism may follow.

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The Power of Selfies

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Abstract

This paper explores the influence of the development of new technologies (smart phones, webcams, photo-video HD camcorders) and of social media (Facebook, Instagram, etc.) on portraying oneself. In the digital age, both the understandings of 'photography' and 'photograph' are changing. The notion and practice of artistic portrait photography has been disrupted, and new media users have been invested with 'do it yourself' portrait photographer's abilities. As the viewer (the photographer) has become the same with the viewed (the subject of the photograph), a new-constructed subjectivity comes into play, and the individual can choose how to construct and publicly disseminate his/her personal identity. However, the difference between self-perception and presentation of the self is waived within this process. Building on sociology (Charles Cooley) and social psychology (William James and George Herbert Mead) theory, this paper argues that new technologies and new media are instruments used for identity representation and construction, but the price of blurring the boundaries between amateur and professional portraiture photography is the stereotypy and conventionality of the pose, leading to generally undifferentiated portrayals of the self. Also, the spread of our social self-understanding as self-mirroring not only supports the inwards looking cult of narcissism, but influences the construction and representation of one's self based on the gaze of other media consumers.

Keywords:
Community Media
New media (including games, mobile media, social media, digital media)
Mobile or locative media

Introduction

The interest in social identity and portrayal of the self represents the cornerstone of social sciences. However, their definition and understanding are changing along with new developments that affect the individuals and put at their disposal new methods and tools for self-identifying, self-presenting and self-understanding. As core elements of contemporary daily life, social media and communication technologies' influences in the process of forming identities and presenting the self cannot be overlooked.

Theories of the Social Self

William James's seminal theory of self defines the social self of an individual as "the recognition which he gets from his mates. [...] Properly speaking, a man has as many social selves as there are individuals who recognize him and carry an image of him in their mind. [...] But as the individuals who carry the images fall naturally into classes, we may practically say that he has as many different social selves as there are distinct groups of persons about whose opinion he cares. He generally shows a different side of himself to each of these different groups. Many a youth who is demure enough before his parents and teachers, swears and swaggers like a pirate among his 'tough' young friends" (James 1950). Therefore, an individual has as many different social

selves as the many different social groups he is in contact with, or, more generally, as many as the different social contexts he experiences.

Expanding this view, sociologist Charles Horton Cooley coins the concept of "looking-glass self" to encapsulate the individual's capacity for reflecting upon his social acting and the ways in which such acting is perceived by others: "A self-idea of this sort seems to have three principal elements: the imagination of our appearance to the other person; the imagination of his judgment of that appearance, and some sort of self-feeling, such as pride or mortification" (Cooley 1902). Thus, the construction of the social self involves three main elements: the way the individual thinks he or she appears to the others; the way the individual thinks he or she is judged by the others; and the way in which the individual feels about him or her self (happiness, sadness, pride or guilt, etc.).

The defining of social self in accordance with one's capacity to reflect upon his or her behaviour and the others' perceiving of it, is crystallized by George Herbert Mead's term of "generalized other": "The very universality and impersonality of thought and reason is from the behaviouristic standpoint the result of the given individual taking the attitudes of others toward himself, and of his finally crystallizing all these particular attitudes into a single attitude or standpoint which may be called that of the 'generalized other'" (Mead 1934). Mead explains the concept of "generalized other" through the notions of 'play' and 'the game': in 'play', the individual adopts another person's role; in 'the game', he needs to pay attention to the attitudes and behaviours of the other participants. The generalized other can then be described as the influence a social group or community can hold upon an individual to present him or her self in a certain manner.

It is the idea of 'play' that was incorporated by Erving Goffman into the core of his theory. Comparing the presentation of the self with a theatrical stage show, the sociologist defines the social context as a 'performance': "all the activity of a given participant on a given occasion which serves to influence in any way any of the other participants," (Goffman 1982). In Goffman's perspective, the individual performs, in his everyday life, a role in front of an audience. As with James's social groups, the audiences vary; the individual would play a different role, according to the attributes of the public his performance is targeted at. Thus, Goffman describes the daily processes of self-presentation as theatrical acting in which individuals are engaged.

The Social Identity as Personal Identity

Collectively, these studies outline that presentation of the self is constructed through interaction with others, and that it differs according to whom the individual interacts with and to the social context the individual experiences. What is of a particular interest is the fact that most of the authors would not pay much attention to the distinction between social self and personal identity. For instance, Goffman's comparison of human interactions with a 'performance' leaves some room to explain the difference between "back stage" and "front stage" behaviour. Furthermore, the "back stage" is not strictly defined as the individual's private space in which he can develop or reveal his own personal identity, but it is generally used to refer to "the place where the performer can reliably expect that no member of the audience will intrude" (Goffman 1982). However, the "back stage" is usually shared with other individuals (the performer's 'team') that can yet impose or influence a certain social behaviour of the performer, although to a smaller extent than the front stage audience.

Notwithstanding, such stances would eventually lead up to considering social aspects as essential to the personal identity and to waiving the difference between the social identity and the personal

one. Richard Jenkins, for instance, argues that he ceased using the term 'social identity', preferring to simply refer to 'identity' as "all human identities are, by definition, social identities. Identifying ourselves, or others, is a matter of meaning, and meaning always involves interaction: agreement and disagreement, convention and innovation, communication and negotiation" (Jenkins 2008).

The New Digital Identity

If the traditional forms of human interaction might support this approach, there is certainly a field in which the distinction between social self and personal identity is sharpened, and that is the field of digital communication. Digital communication not only creates another social context for the social self to take into consideration, but a whole new identity the self can embrace: the digital one.

"Digital identity can be understood as a continuum. At one end we find the 'simpler' or 'narrow view' where digital identity is a 'collection of credentials online' used in electronic transactions …. In contrast, the other end of the spectrum is characterized as the 'fundamental side' or the 'broader view'. Here digital identity is understood to be 'the online representation of one's self' or 'one's representation in a digital space'," states Steven Warburton (Warburton 2010). If the narrow view of digital identity refers to the data used to represent an individual (such as name, email address, etc.), the broader one comprises the cluster of elements that designate the presentation of self in the online sphere.

Identity and Self-Presentation in the Online Sphere

Digital communication offers a vast array of possibilities for self-presentation, as well as for identity construction, exploration, and experimentation, or self-development. "Many more people experience identity as a set of roles that can be mixed and matched, whose diverse demands need to be negotiated. […] The internet has become a significant social laboratory for experimenting with the constructions and reconstructions of self that characterize postmodern life. In its virtual reality, we self-fashion and self-create," notes Sherry Turkle (Turkle 2008), emphasizing the opportunity the individuals have to choose, alter, shape, experiment and transform both their digital identities and their presentations of selves in online environments, such as social networking sites and other social media applications. Converting the direct, face-to-face interaction to a technology-mediated one, social media allows its users to adopt online identities and roles regardless of their real-life selves. The practice of "revealing attitudes and aspects of the self in a controlled and socially desirable fashion" is defined by Joseph Walter as 'selective self-presentation', the author warning audiences to be aware that online identities might be very different from the actual nominal ones (Walter 2007). A similar standpoint is taken by Mark Leary who argues that individuals "are more likely to selectively present" personal information in a digital context (Leary 1996).

Whereas personal identities and social ones represent two different concepts in the online sphere with little to no overlapping, the interaction involved in using social networking sites follows closely the traditional patterns designed by real-life social theorists. For instance, Goffman's dramaturgical approach of daily social behaviours can also be used to explain self-presentation and role performing in the social media environment, where various online networking sites, respectively the physical world of the users, represent the front stage and the back stage of the performance. Not only are individuals able to choose which role they would like to perform, but

they can also assume a variety of roles to impersonate at the same time. In digital social contexts, moving back and forth from one role to another is as simple as moving back and forth from one internet tab to another.

The Personal Photograph as a Non-Verbal Presentation of the Self Method

There are various methods of self-presentation adopted by social media users, among which a very suggestive one is non-verbal presentation. Extensively discussed by Leary as an everyday life self-presentational tactic, physical appearance becomes a key element in online interactions under the form of its digital replacement: the personal photograph.
If digital communication's developments, such as internet-based applications and social networks, serve as tools for identity construction and representation of the selves, the advancement of new technologies (portable computers and tablets, webcams, photo-video HD camcorders or smart phones) performs a double function, facilitating and encouraging both access to social media sites and picture taking and distributing. In the new digitized world, a picture can be taken and shared with no matter how large an audience in a few seconds. Thus obliterating the status of photographs as objects, digitization tightly associates the practice of capturing and distributing photos to the use of social networking sites, as a number of studies have shown (Kindberg et al. 2005, Stelmaszewska et al. 2005, Van House et al. 2005, Okabe 2004, Scifo 2004).

That photographs represent an instrument in identity construction and presentation of the self is previously suggested by photography theorists, such as Susan Sontag and Roland Barthes, but it was only the full digitization of the photography practice and distribution that wholly acknowledged their significance, as well as their new role in online communication and sharing everyday life experiences. However, such changes influenced a shifting in the understanding of the terms of 'photography', 'photograph', or 'to photograph' themselves. Researcher José van Dijck argues that the traditional meaning of personal photography did not change due to digitization, but due to various cultural, social and technological transformations: "Digital photography is part of this larger transformation in which the self becomes the centre of a virtual universe made up of informational and spatial flows; individuals articulate their identity as social beings not only by taking and storing photographs to document their lives, but by participating in communal photographic exchanges that mark their identity as interactive producers and consumers of culture" (van Dijck 2008).

Yet, it has to be emphasized that the availability of cameras for consumer use marks the moment when individuals ceased relying on professional photographers for having their portraits taken and began doing it themselves. The continuous widespread distribution of cameras and their new being-at-hand character, such as the cameras contained within smart phone, have further increased this tendency. Being able to snapshoot a portrait each time one has the interest to do so, it has affected the practice of professional portraiture photography in favour of the amateur one. For instance, a family that is able to capture pictures of their young children in any moment of the daily routine would rarely draw upon a professional photographer to record various little stages of their children's growth. The easiness of sharing precious moments in the family life with relatives who are not present through social networking sites enhances the appeal of 'snapshotting'. When depending on a professional photographer, it would be mainly for the purpose of documenting milestones, such as weddings, special anniversaries, rare family portraits or graduation ceremonies. The progressively higher quality of consumer-grade cameras leads to the capturing of images at professional standards by amateur or non-professional photographers. Also, the wide accessibility and convenience of photo editing and manipulation tools (such as Photoshop or other similar software) disrupt the formal understanding of artistic portrait

photography. Not only are colour and exposure adjustments, red-eye removals, spot healing brushes and cropping considerably improving shots that might not be technically correct, but the retouching and manipulation tools and options available can artistically enhance and reshape an otherwise unappealing image. However, José van Dick points out that this "tendency to fuse photography with daily experience and communication is part of a broader cultural transformation that involves individualization and intensification of experience" (van Dijck 2008). That individualization generally represents the essence of the portraiture practice is truism in the visual arts field. Not only the contemporary background, but the entire western fashion has put individuality at its very core: "The pictorial genre of the portrait doubly cherishes the cornerstone of bourgeois western culture. The uniqueness of the individual and his or her accomplishments is central in that culture," highlights Ernst van Alphen (1997).

But again, the interest in individualization and the sharing of personal experiences was aroused by the convenience of consumper-grade cameras and social media applications. In a fully digitized environment that, on one hand, encourages the users to create and alter their identities and to present their selves in whatever manner they choose on social networking sites (Facebook, Twitter, Tumblr, Instagram, etc.), and, on the other hand, puts at their disposal an array of new photographic technologies (smart phones, webcams, photo-video HD camcorders), the level interest social media users manifest in taking their own photographic portraits comes as no surprise. Nevertheless, in her 2002 visual anthropology study, Barbara Harrison already notices that photography's main function shifted from family presentation to self-presentation. The researcher suggests not only that photography accounts for personal lives, orientations and experiences, but also that "visuality is itself a method by which social actors are in the social world" (Harrison 2002). Although Harrison never intended it, she advances hitherto an explanation lying at the heart of a social media phenomenon that was to become mainstream years later: the selfie.

The Selfie

In 2013, the term 'selfie' was officially added to the online Oxford English Dictionary and defined as "a photograph that one has taken of oneself, typically one taken with a smart phone or webcam and uploaded to a social media website". At the end of the year, it was also selected as the "word of the year" by the same dictionary. A self-portrait photograph usually taken with a digital camera or phone camera at arm's length or in a mirror, the selfie is also defined by the social purpose it was captured for: to be shared on online media networking sites. Therefore, the selfie lies at the very heart of a digitization that reinterprets the understanding of the term 'photograph' and merges the effortless practice of capturing of a self portrait with its distribution. Additionally, the selfie seizes the whole cluster of possibilities that digitization has to offer to individuals in terms of creating their new online identities and of presenting their selves and continuously shaping and altering them. By the very convenience of repeating similar shots until one has obtained the intended result and selecting and deleting unwanted images, the selfie bestows on the individual the capability of thoroughly choosing the portrayal of his or her self. The fast cropping and editing tools that social media networking sites began to incorporate (such as Instagram's highly popular filters) are used to reshape, enhance and beautify an image within seconds. A black and white filter and blur represent easy recipes for artistic touches, while a vintage filter will cast an entirely different view of a swiftly captured selfie in front of an indifferent background.

In consequence, creating an online identity and choosing the way of presenting the self become a matter of clicking and screen-touching. By pressing one tab or another to capture, retouch and share a selfie, the individual selects the role he would like to impersonate or the stage of his

performance (a certain social networking site or group). Multiple self captures or different edits of the same selfie can serve simultaneously to perform a range of roles, as the individual moves back and forth from an online context to another.

There is a common belief that a photograph can betoken the true self of a person but, as Barthes argues, attempting to reach the self of an individual through a photograph leads to frustration. Generally, a selfie offers a more accurate presentation of the individual than other non-visual methods. For instance, in the absence of an image, a social media user can choose to describe his or her physical appearance completely differently from their actual real one. However, the selfie still grants the individual the possibility of presenting his or her self on a discerning base. It is not only the convenience of selecting and deleting snapshots, but also the multitude of focusing, cropping and editing choices that can bring a selfie to bear little or no affinity to the sitter. Focusing on a certain part of the body, privileging a specific angle, cropping or removing the unwanted elements, enhancing colours and lightening effects, or even using various smart phone applications that turn a photo into a drawing or painting, they all prompt to numerous, various results ranging from adding a simple cast on a shot to completely changing it with the insertion of missing features (such as rock-band hair to a bold middle-aged individual).

Discussing the capturing of a photograph, Roland Barthes underlines that there are four image-repertoires that intersect and influence each other: “In front of the lens, I am at the same time: the one I think I am, the one I want others to think I am, the one the photographer thinks I am, and the one he makes use of to exhibit his art” (Barthes 1981[1980]). Thus, having one’s portrait taken involves both internal and external image processing: the subjective image of the self and the idealized image of the self on one hand, and the photographed image of the self and the public image of the self or ‘imago’, on the other hand. For Barthes, the external stage of the picture taking and presentation raise ontological dissatisfactions through the lack of control over the captured and distributed image. It is the idealized image of the self that the individual would like to be immortalised and shared, and the matching shortfall between it and the one that it is eventually obtained is disconcerting and deceptive: “I then experience a micro-version of death (of parenthesis): I am truly becoming a spectre” (Barthes 1891[1980]).

When the sitter is the photographer, the selfie allows the individual to control the photographed image of the self and the public one as well. To begin with, the individual can choose the favourite framing, angle and focus. Among the shots captured, he can select the ones closer to his idealized image of the self and delete the others, as argued above. Also, by further editing of the favoured photographs, the individual can obtain an image that would perfectly match the one of his idealized self. Albeit the fact that such perfect matching might never be acquired, the possibility of influencing the photographed image of the self and, eventually, of selecting the image to be publicized, gives the individual control over all the four image-repertoires, a privilege earlier shared with the photographer. Therefore, the selfie empowers the individual and eventually informs his or her very sense of identity and personal abilities. The satisfaction granted by the equalling of the idealized image of the self with the resulted not only ontologically comforts the individual, but also strengthens the appeal of ‘do it your self' photographic practices. A new-constructed subjectivity comes into play, reassessing and repositioning the functions of portraiture photography. However, the downside of the process of making the idealized image coincide with the photographed, respectively the publicized one, is that it fosters self-absorption and ultimately supports the inwards looking cult of narcissism. By constant attention to the captured pictures and the steady efforts to retouch and refashion them, the individual would only develop an increasingly higher interest in the portrayal of the self and, ultimately, in his physical appearance.

The Selfie and the Audience

In the online social networking context, the role of the audience is assumed by other social media users. Lacking any direct interaction (except the cases in which the individuals previously met in real life situations), the users experience an exclusively screen-mediated interplay. If the physical world of face-to-face interaction influences individuals to perform a 'role' and to adjust their behaviours according to whom they are addressing, the virtual space similarly prompts users to amend their online conduct observing the audience's response (such as number of friends or followers, number of comments, type of comments – positive or negative ones, number of 'likes' etc.). The gaze of others becomes the ultimate judge of an individual visual portrayal of the self, manifesting itself by the way in which a selfie is assessed (the number of positive comments, 'likes', shares or negative comments the image would attract). Therefore, the control the individual has of the photographed image of his or her self and the public one is eventually undermined by the audience. It is not solely the fact that the efforts put into equalling the captured image of the self with the idealized one have to take into consideration the audience responses, but the mental, internal imagery process that leads to the initial forming of the idealized image of the self is influenced by the audience's reactions to previously publicized photographs. 'The one I want others to think I am' has to acknowledge the preferences, inclinations and options of the 'others'.

The influence the social online group or community holds upon the individual to portray himself in a certain, fashioned manner can be defined as Mead's 'generalized other' transferred into a digitized environment. Generally, it is expected that a large digital audience would put an unoriginal and unimaginative mark on the presentation of the self, as there is a stringency in accommodating most of the tastes. But such influence would only add itself up to the constraints that are already affecting the selfie, such as technological ones or artistic and professional ones. To begin with, the selfie is defined by the fact that it is captured at arm's length or in a mirror. Having the focal distance given, the individual has limited options upon the choosing of the angle of view and the depth of field (which basically refers to the way in which objects in the picture – for instance, the individual and background elements – are represented relative to each other). Lastly, the selfie does not always benefit from the best composition principles. Despite the increasingly wide availability and high quality of digital camera and image editing software, the lack of artistic or professional abilities of social media users has its say in producing similar, bland self-portraits. Therefore, the price of blurring the boundaries between amateur and professional portraiture photography is the stereotyping and conventionality of the pose, leading to generally undifferentiated portrayals of the self.

The Selfie as Experience

Along with individualization, there is another element that van Dijck considers to be accountable for the strong linking between photography and communication, and that is the intensification of experience. As Sontag (2001) argues: "Ultimately, having an experience becomes identical with taking a photograph of it, and participating in a public event comes more and more to be equivalent to looking at it in photographed form." "That most logical of nineteenth-century aesthetes, Mallarmé, said that everything in the world exists in order to end in a book. Today everything exists to end in a photograph," concluded Susan Sontag in one of the most influential studies of photography of the time (Sontag 2001).

Certainly, individuals' predilection for photographing as many events and experiences of their daily lives as possible, is reinforced by the digitization of cameras. But also the wide availability of cameras and the convenience of distributing and sharing the captures with physically absent

friends or relatives play a role in enhancing and intensifying the experiences an individual can have. Cameras' character of being at-hand stimulates its increasingly frequent handling, in the same way that the easy access to social networking sites spurs their continuous use. But the expediting of picture taking and distribution can only lead to the expediting of experiences that are photographed. The intensification of experiences follows naturally the digitized world's contemporary trend of arousing, prompting or searching for new contexts, events and happenings from which the individual could benefit to develop his or her self, but also to differentiate him or her self to stand out in his or her social groups.

The practice of taking selfies supports this view on the intensification of experience. Ultimately, the selfie is used to attempt to capture an experience and acts as a tool that helps to distinguish between undifferentiated portrayals of the self. The stereotyping and conventionality of the pose that is forced upon the self-portrait by various technical or vocational constraints or groups' influences, they are in some ways condoned by the novelty and excitement of the experience the individual has at the moment of the photographic capture. For instance, despite the fact that a selfie needs to be taken at arm's length, it can still put forward an innovative image and distinguish itself from a batch of others by what it reveals on the individual's experiences: having a nice meal with friends or family, taking a trip, meeting a celebrity, visiting a museum, and others. And, as Susan Sontag brilliantly phrased it, experiences would exist in order to end in a selfie.

Conclusions

The digitalization of communication offers to the individual new venues to explore, construct or reconstruct his or her identity, to fashion his or her self, to present it, and to change, shape and experiment with the presentation of his or her self. Also, the development of new technologies and online media applications and networking sites put a new self-portrayal tool at the individual's disposal: the selfie. While it disrupts both the notion and practice of artistic portraiture photography, investing media users with 'do it yourself' portrait photographer's abilities, the selfie ultimately provokes the individual to enhance, diversify and intensify their experiences.

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1.1.1 Out-skirts and deviant women: an analysis of Australian media events involving high profile 'women of crime'

Belinda Middleweek *University of Technology Sydney*

Lindy, Schapelle and Joanne … for most of us their names are as familiar as soapie actors, cinema starlets or trusted home appliances. But this isn't a roll call of acclaim or merit but a list of out-skirts, vixens and wicked women whose stories have tickled and titillated news type and gripped the nation by the jugular. How do their narratives differ from other fascinating, deplorable and tragic stories that fill our daily news digest? What are the representational strategies and codes news workers use in their reporting of such 'media events' (Dayan & Katz 1992) across time? In an article for *The Age* newspaper journalist Pamela Bone made a telling observation about the depiction of controversial women in news reports. She said,"... any woman at the centre of any mystery or controversy, unless she is obviously old, fat or ugly, is given an element of dangerous sexual seduction" (Pamela Bone, "Why do the media judge Joanne Lees", *The Age*, 29 May 2004).

This paper will use as its case study three so-called 'deviant' women – Lindy Chamberlain, Schapelle Corby and Joanne Lees – and by way of content analysis consider the forces of desire attending their media representations. A comparative study involving 'men of crime' will also be conducted to suggest the different reporting strategies and codes used in Australian news media coverage of crime.

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1.1.2 Journalism, Moral Panic and the Public Interest: the Case of Sharleen Spiteri

Eurydice Aroney *University of Technology Sydney*

Pursuit of the public interest and the public right to know are commonly presumed to be fundamental to the practice of journalism. According to Brock (2013), public interest journalism is distinguished by a "presumption in favour of disclosure and free flow of information and a reluctance to limit communication". Yet journalists often have no clear conception of what constitutes the public interest, and professional codes of conduct offer little guidance (Morrison & Svennevig, 2009). This paper examines public interest claims made by journalists reporting the case of Sharleen Spiteri, an HIV+ sex worker forcibly detained by the NSW Health Department in 1989 after she told 60 Minutes she sometimes had unprotected sex with clients. Building on evidence gathered for a radio documentary co-produced by the author (Shutting Down Sharleen, 2010), it places Sharleen's case in the context of historical and contemporary narratives of moral panic surrounding sex work, and explores how the particular moral panic about her story was generated and sustained against the background of the AIDS epidemic in Australia in the late 1980s.

The author argues, however, that notions of moral panic in themselves are not adequate to explain the NSW State Government's reaction, or the media's role in it. The paper contends that Sharleen's story raises larger and more complex questions about disclosure in the public interest, and its impact on vulnerable or marginalized groups like sex workers.

1.1.3 A new approach to improve media coverage of HIV and other infectious diseases in Australia

Trevor Cullen *Edith Cowan University*

In Australia, the annual number of HIV diagnoses has gradually increased over the past 13 years, with 2012 experiencing a 10% increase on 2011 figures. In all states but South Australia, rates of HIV diagnosis have increased. Yet, despite the increase in HIV diagnoses, media coverage of this important health issue remains patchy and sensationalist. Research has shown that if effectively used, the media can lessen fear and stigma which are the biggest obstacles to seeking information and treatment about the disease. But the reality is that with the 24/7 news cycle, journalists are more reactive than proactive in terms of news gathering, and often rely on receiving news and information in pre-packaged media releases or videos. Besides, journalists are seldom experts in the field they report on and depend on people and experts to share their stories. While the media have a significant role to play by informing the public and holding governments to account, a more immediate problem is -- HIV fatigue -- how can journalists report effectively on a disease that has been around for more than 30 years. Is it possible to challenge this situation? In Western Australia, a new pilot project, Beyond the Red Ribbon: Improving HIV awareness through media education programs run by Edith Cowan University in collaboration with WA Aids Council (WAAC) in Perth, aims to fill these gaps in the media by empowering people who live with HIV or who work for HIV organisations, to be proactive and share their own stories and experiences of HIV with the media. The participants will do this through media education and training sessions where they learn what is "newsworthy" and how to communicate their news and stories in the media. This framework of community and media engagement that underpins the media training program, will also have broader applicability for other health promotion and disease prevention initiatives beyond HIV.

1.2.1 Reporting domestic violence

Wendy Bacon *University of Technology Sydney*

There has been increasing media and social media focus on reporting and promoting action around domestic violence in recent years in Australia. In the midst of this increased focus, the NSW government made announced funding decisions that led to the imminent closure of dozens of women's refuges. During the months of July and August 2014, the author investigated the closures and reported on them for the online media outlet New Matilda, her blog and on twitter. Drawing on concepts of reflexive practice, field theory, spatial analysis and political economy, the author will critically analyse her own attempted reporting interventions in the context of broader political, journalism and media fields. Her empirical analysis will draw on government documents, interviews, metropolitan &rural media, feminist social media and independent media sources. The research is informed by the theoretical frameworks of Pierre Bourdieu, Stuart Hall, Nancy Frazer and David Harvey.

1.2.2 Gender and news agendas: *The Herald Sun* and 'Take a Stand'

Margaret Simons *The University of Melbourne*
Gael Jennings *The University of Melbourne*

Violence against women costs Australia $14.7 USD billion a year in harm and loss of opportunity for women, including the cost of intimate partner violence as the lead cause of preventable disease and premature death among women aged 15-44. Violence against women is a largely hidden problem, yet manifests in and forms part of the backdrop to most other more visible health issues. It is, one would think, the biggest crime story in Australia and one of our biggest social and economic stories. Yet until recently violence against women was not reported prominently or consistently by mainstream media. This is of concern, since media plays a key role in forming societal attitudes to gender and gender roles. At the same time, ethnographic accounts of the newsroom and surveys of female journalists have suggested that newsrooms are sexist workplaces. These gender issues appear to be reflected in news values and decisions, and are stubbornly resistant to change. The rape and murder of 29-year-old Jill Meagher on September 22, 2012, signalled a turning point in the media's coverage of violence against women. Since then, the *Herald Sun* newspaper – Australia's largest circulation daily --- has taken a conscious leadership role in reporting on, and campaigning on violence against women. This paper reports on research about how these changes in news priorities occurred, from cursory reporting of violence against women to the 'Take a Stand' campaign, and associated in-depth, consistent and contextual reporting of the issue. The research is based on interviews conducted with senior journalists and editorial executives at the Herald Sun, as well as more junior crime and court reporting staff. We shed light on the combination of forces, conversations, considerations and internal politics behind a change in newsroom agendas and news judgements. We examine the limitations of the change in news agenda, and reasons and implications.

1.2.3 "It feels like it matters": Journalists explain the relative improvement in women's sports coverage during the Olympic Games

Dianne Jones *University of Southern Queensland*

The representation of women in sports coverage by public broadcasters in Australia, the UK, Canada and New Zealand reflects the broader and historically similar gender ideologies of those societies. Using online coverage of women's and men's sporting events as its context, and written portrayals of athletic performances as the texts, content analysis of the 2008 Olympic Games identified differences in the manner in which women's and men's sports were framed collectively and on the individual websites of four broadcasters – the ABC, BBC, CBC and TVNZ (Jones 2010, 2012, 2013). A disproportionate focus on male athletes, inferences that the female body is not well suited for sports requiring strength or endurance, frequent and gratuitous attention to women's marital and family roles, romantic and other relationships to men, and the absence of comparable coverage of men, suggest reinforcement of the traditional ideology of sport as a male domain. This paper reports on the second stage of my study of gendered sports coverage by public broadcasters. Drawing on interviews with 15 national and international sports journalists about the manufacture of sports news for their online and broadcast audiences, it argues that a cocktail of nationalism, opportunity, success and convenience accounts for relative improvements in women's sports coverage during elite contests such as the Olympic Games.

1.3.1 Contemporary radicals: Brisbane Blacks and Aboriginal activism in the era of native title and reconciliation

Susan Forde *Griffith University*

The 40th Anniversary of the establishment of the Aboriginal Embassy on the lawns of Old Parliament House in 2012 re-opened past discussions about the goals and gains made by the Indigenous land rights movement since the intense activity witnessed during the counter-culture 1960s and 1970s. While the passage of the Native Title Act in 1993, Keating's now-famous Redfern Speech in 1992 and the subsequent and ongoing 'reconciliation' agenda are considered by most to represent substantial steps forward for Indigenous rights in Australia, a social movement to continue to fight for more extensive rights is gathering new followers. This paper is drawn from research carried out for the ARC Linkage project, 'Our people, our pictures, our voices: Community representations of the Queensland land rights struggle' and focuses specifically on new forms of Aboriginal radical media. In particular, the publication Brisbane Blacks (formerly Brisbane Blacks Monthly) picks up where past radical Indigenous media such as Bruce McGuinness's Koorier, Cheryl Buchanan's Black News Service and Black Liberation, and Kevin Gilbert's Alchuringa left off (Burrows, 2009). It stands in contrast to the more community-oriented fortnightly newspaper The Koori Mail, now a stalwart of the Indigenous media in Australia; and the newer National Indigenous Times or the online First Nations Monthly. This paper draws upon interviews with contemporary activists and journalists working in the radical Aboriginal media, and examines the nature of Brisbane Blacks as an integral component of the 'Sovereignty' movement in a new era for Indigenous media and politics. It addresses a central research question: How do radical political movements use journalism and communications in this era of digital and social media? It uses a relatively new but long-awaited approach within the field which identifies alternative and radical media forms as one of the key pillars of contemporary media studies (Christians et al., 2009). It raises broader discussion about the connections between media and social movements (Downing, 2001), and the unique role of radical journalists in a somewhat non-radical era.

1.3.2 Mapping of the New Professionalism: Journalism Career Pathways Project

Glen Fuller *University of Canberra*
Matthew Ricketson *University of Canberra*

Many projects have investigated the changing character of journalism due to the effect of digital technologies on existing models of commercialisation (American Press Institute, 2013). An Australian Bureau of Statistics (2012) report indicates there has been a shift in the composition of professional roles in news-based media industry from 2006 to 2011, but there has been very little research that properly explores these changes beyond their effect on existing stakeholders. A report on the US journalism industry from Columbia University's Tow Centre for Digital Journalism (Anderson, Bell & Shirky 2012) notes:

> Journalism is not moving from A to B, from one stable state in post-war America to some new, alternate state today. Journalism is instead moving from one to many, from a set of roles whose description and daily patterns were coherent enough to merit one label to one where the gap between what makes Nate Silver a [data] journalist and what makes Kevin Sites a [freelance 'backpack'] journalist continues to widen. (110)

Moving in and out of 'journalism' from other related industry roles requires meta-level professional skills and without a broad overview of the emergence of journalistic positions in non-traditional and/or news-based media companies current journalists may not be aware of other

possible career trajectories. This paper reports on a research project in progress that seeks to produce a map of the professional capacities of the New Professionalism in journalism roles of the broader media industry.

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1.3.3 Tackling uncertainty for journalism graduates: A model for teaching experiential entrepreneurship

Renee Barnes ***University of the Sunshine Coast***

In the era of unravelling traditional business models in journalism (Downie and Schudson 2009) students must be prepared to develop the media products of the future. It has been argued that the future of journalism will be shaped by entrepreneurs who develop innovative business models and projects – either working on their own, with start--ups, or within traditional media companies (Briggs 2011). To meet these changing demands, universities must adapt the way in which they prepare graduates with knowledge, skills and attributes to succeed in this rapidly changing world. This paper outlines a trial of the multi-- disciplinary experiential entrepreneurship model (MEEM) with University of the Sunshine Coast journalism, business and design students. The MEEM centred on an industry innovation in the form of a Startup Weekend which enabled students, during one weekend, to create a start−up new media venture. Startup Weekends represent an international movement where nascent entrepreneurs meet and work on developing new ventures supported by business mentors, immersing themselves in the entrepreneurial process of moving an idea to market. During one weekend (54 hours), participants pitch ideas, form teams and ultimately launch companies. Startup Weekends have grown globally in recent years (Startup Weekend, 2013) and are used by leading universities in the US, such as Stanford, to provide experiential learning opportunities in entrepreneurship education (Pena, 2013). This project brings an international industry innovation, the Startup Weekend, to an Australian university context and embeds it within an educational experience, while empirically assessing its value. Overall, this paper will outline the use of design-based research as a method for evaluation, as it offered a systematic method of cyclical revision, analysis, design, development and implementation (Anderson and Shattuck, 2012). The concepts of design-based research are embedded in the practice of lean start-up entrepreneurship and as such formed the basis of not only the project development, but also the approach of venture development experience for students (Ries, 2011; Sarasvathy and Venkataraman, 2011).

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1.4.1 When 'off the record' means 'you're being secretly recorded': ethical and legal dimensions of *The Age* Dictaphone episode

Mark Pearson ***Griffith University***

In July 2014 *The Age* used an editorial to excuse the secret recording of conversations with sources by a senior political editor. Explaining her behaviour, that journalist wrote: "It is not illegal or against our code of ethics to record private conversations for the accuracy of note-taking -- but it was my responsibility to keep that information secure." This paper surveys the ethical and legal dimensions of a major media outlet condoning one of its senior journalists secretly recording conversations with sources. It reviews the surveillance devices and telephone interception legislation at state and federal level, before exploring the ethical implications of such practices in self-regulatory and in-house codes. It explores whether it is 'reasonable' and 'in the public interest' that conversations be secretly recorded, and considers the wider implications for source-journalist relationships and the public credibility of journalism.

1.4.2 Defining a 'democratic elite': Key media in the battle for social responsibility

Lee Duffield ***Queensland University of Technology***

This paper offers a definition of elite media arguing their content focus will sufficiently meet social responsibility needs of democracy. Its assumptions come from the Finkelstein and Leveson Inquiries and regulatory British Royal Charter (2013). These provide guidelines on how media outlets meet 'social responsibility' standards, e.g. press has a 'responsibility to be fair and accurate' (Finkelstein); ethical press will feel a responsibility to 'hold power to account' (Leveson); news media 'will be held strictly accountable' (RC). The paper invokes the British principle of media opting-in to observe standards, and so serve the democracy. It will give examples from existing media, and consider social responsibility of media more generally. Obvious cases of 'quality' media: public broadcasters, e.g. BBC, Al-Jazeera, and 'quality' press, e.g. *NYT*, *Süddeutscher Zeitung*, but also certain community broadcasters, specialised magazines, news agencies, distinctive web logs, and others. Where providing commentary, these abjure gratuitous opinion -- meeting a standard of being reasoned, informational and fair. Funding is almost a definer, many such services supported by the state, private trusts, public institutions or volunteering by staff. Literature supporting discussion on elite media will include their identity as primarily committed to a public good, e.g. the 'Public Value Test', Moe and Donders (2011); with reference also to recent literature on developing public service media. Within its limits the paper will treat social media as participants among all media, including elite, and as a parallel dimension of mass communication founded on inter-activity. Elite media will fulfil the need for

social responsibility, firstly by providing one space, a 'plenary' for debate. Second is the notion of building public recognition of elite media as trustworthy. Third is the fact that elite media together are a large sector with resources to sustain social cohesion and debate; notwithstanding pressure on funds, and impacts of digital transformation undermining employment in media more than in most industries.

1.4.3 Australian journalists and shield law: Lessons from the coalface

Joseph Fernandez *Curtin University*

Protecting journalists' sources, according to Australian journalism's peak professional organisation the Media Alliance (MEAA), "is an ongoing battle" (Warren 2014). The prevailing shield laws are "next to useless" and "ludicrous" (Warren 2014). Three jurisdictions have failed to keep pace with change, and the jurisdictions that do have shield laws "can't even agree on how to define a 'journalist', a 'source', or even what may be 'news'"(Warren 2014). Journalists' initial optimism that their longstanding cry for a statutory shield, which was partly answered through the 2007 initiative, has since been undermined by events indicating that "the current shield is not a reliable refuge for journalists working with confidential sources" (Fernandez 2014a) [1]. A lawyer who has acted in major recent shield law cases has noted: "These cases highlight the need for shield laws and uniformity" (Bartlett 2014). There is no longer any doubt that the protection of journalists' sources is "valuable and desirable because it tends to expose corruption and malpractice by bringing it to light" through better information flow (Liu v The Age Co Ltd 2010). The shield, however, is predicated on a paradoxical claim to block information the courts may need for the proper administration of justice (Fernandez 2014b). Journalists, legislators, law reformers and academics have expended considerable effort over two decades contemplating shield law, resulting in a regime offering a semblance of protection (Senate Standing Committee on Legal and Constitutional Affairs 1994; Fernandez 2014b). It has been said that what is needed now is "legislative fortitude to deliver on an effective shield law" (Fernandez 2014a). A key missing link, however, is the answer to the following questions: (a) how do journalists negotiate source protection imperatives in their daily work; and (b) what lessons may be drawn from journalists? In this study, involving a nationwide online survey aimed at practising journalists, the author will report on the findings identifying key aspects of journalists' work involving confidential sources. These aspects will include: (a) the circumstances in which journalists provide confidentiality undertakings to sources; (b) the organisational processes involving such undertakings; (c) the challenges of relying on confidential sources; and (d) the desirable legislative reforms from a journalist's perspective. The findings of this study will inform proposals for law and other reforms in this area.

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1.5.1 Journalist or novelist – how do readers receive works of literary journalism and what impact does that have on the genre's claims to truth telling and inclusion in the genre of nonfiction?

Felicity Biggins ***The University of Newcastle Australia***

Literary journalism, also known as narrative journalism, creative nonfiction and book-length journalism, is a powerful and popular literary form. But deploying literary devices to tell stories about real people and events runs the risk of blurring the boundary between reportage and the imagination, throwing into contention literary journalism's inclusion in the genre of nonfiction and challenging its claims to truth telling. Much of the critical debate around literary journalism has focussed on this fact or fiction conundrum, but less study has been done on whether understanding how readers process works of literary journalism might ameliorate those concerns. Do readers comprehend its blurred genre status and if so, how? What are some of the trigger points by which readers might care about the factual status of a work? Do readers accept the author's version of the story as the version of the story and if so, what are the implications for the genre's truth-telling claims? This paper will present a preliminary analysis of unmediated recordings of three book groups, each given one example of a distinguished Australian work of literary non-fiction: The Tall Man by Chloe Hooper, Joe Cinque's Consolation by Helen Garner and Broken Lives by Estelle Blackburn, to read and discuss. The data suggests that readers do have concerns about the use of literary devices to tell true stories, particularly the recreation of dialogue, the use of the inner monologue and the author's position in the story. This paper will look at if and how readers resolve these concerns to accommodate the inherent contradictions in this compelling form.

1.5.2 Latin America literary journalism, from Macondo to McOndo

Antonio Castillo ***RMIT University***

In Latin America, journalism has been closely tied to modern literature. Literary journalism emerges in this region in the nineteenth century. It was genre that allowed writers to keep on doing literature and journalism in one single body of work; informing with fiction story telling tools Latin American journalism has experienced lows and highs along the way. In this process, journalists have often resorted to literary works in order to tell real and urgent stories. Literary journalism has been embraced with genuine conviction by some of the most important writers in Latin America, and even some poets, such as Cuban Alejo Carpentier who once said: "Para mí, el

periodista y el escritor se integran en una sola personalidad" (for me the journalist and the writer become integrated into one personality). Latin American literary journalism reached a climax in the 1960s due to the influence of US new journalism. And then it continued for quite a few decades. This paper aims to assess the current state of literary journalism in the region – as some commentators have argued – this is the genre that is experiencing a "revival." This is due in part – as some have observed – to the social concerns and civic compromises required for some Latin American journalists. Their concerns – social inequality, migration, drug wars and other problems affecting the region – have been told in long pieces where journalism becomes profoundly informed by literature. The works of Garcia Marquez, Monsiváis and others are examples this paper will allude to. This paper will allude to three types of literary journalism that has been – apparently – shaping this revival in Latin America. One deals with the long form of narrative journalism; shorter chronic usually associated with "Sunday supplements"; and novels of real fictionalised stories. Authors and publications will also be examined. Key Words Literary journalism, non‐fiction, reportage, Latin America, Journalism

1.5.3 The Poetics of Reality: Towards a Definition of Australian Literary Journalism

Willa McDonald *Macquarie University*

In 1973, Tom Wolfe published *The New Journalism*, an anthology of long-form reportage written over the previous decade, claiming the 'new journalists' were perpetuating a style that hadn't been seen before. He used his introduction to the anthology to attempt the first definition of this 'new' form of long-form narrative journalism that he said would replace fiction in social relevance and literary importance. There have been two major developments concerning Literary Journalism since then:

a) This type of long-form literary reportage has taken off, becoming mainstream in newspapers and magazines (print and online) around the world, including Australia; and,

b) researchers in the United States and elsewhere have traced the form to antecedents much earlier than Wolfe's claim (McDonald 2014, Gonzalez 2012, Lassila-Merisalo 2010, Soares 2009, Hartsock 2000, Sims 1990).

This paper examines the first stage of a project that aims to define Australian Literary Journalism (ALJ) and trace its history, beginning with the creation of a representative online archive in 2014 of colonial ALJ. Analysing the research contained in the archive, it aims to define the genre of ALJ as it was practised in the colony from Settlement till Federation by writers including: John Stanley James, J D Melvin, Henry Savery, Christina Smith, J F Archibald, Ellen Clacy, Marcus Clarke, Banjo Patterson and Henry Lawson.

2.1.1 The Evolution of Australian Newspaper Circulation and Ownership - From Punctuated Equilibrium to Threatened Species

Rod Tiffen *The University of Sydney*

Stephen Jay Gould's conception of evolution as punctuated equilibrium fits the development of Australian daily newspaper circulation and ownership very well. In most periods there is near stability, but sometimes there is dramatic and decisive movement. In ownership, the trend has been overwhelmingly towards ever-greater concentration, such that now two companies account for almost 90 per cent of daily circulation, almost certainly a greater concentration than in any

other country. The advent of television in 1956 did not dramatically impact on newspaper circulation, which in absolute terms kept rising. However, in relation to population, newspaper circulation began to decline from soon after World War II. Despite this and despite shifts in the press's share of the growing advertising market, it remained a broadly profitable industry for several decades. Only from around 1990 did total circulation begin to fall, principally due to the closure of all the afternoon papers. It is only in the last decade that, due primarily to the digital revolution, the fall in print circulation (and advertising revenue) has become precipitate, such that now the future of the industry is very much in doubt. The paper presents systematic data on both total newspaper circulation and metropolitan and national circulation, and seeks to explain the key trends.

2.1.2 An unseen weakening of Fairfax's journalism culture: The impact of copy sharing in *The Age*, *SMH* and *Canberra Times* book pages

Matthew Ricketson *University of Canberra*
Sybil Nolan *The University of Melbourne*

The value of covering new books and literary culture in Australian newspapers has been widely accepted even if it has not been widely studied in journalism scholarship. The massive transformation in recent years of the Australian press has affected it in numerous ways, ranging from the collapse of the business model that has long sustained it, to the need for companies to offer print journalism online and through mobile devices. The industry's proprietors no longer describe their products as 'newspapers' but as 'newspaper media', acknowledging the panoply of digital versions that now surrounds the original mastheads and which is gradually subsuming them. The impact on newspaper journalists can be seen immediately in the large numbers that have been made redundant or have taken packages in recent years. More difficult to assess is the undoubted impact of such wholesale change on journalism culture and on the cultural authority associated with print journalism. This case study focuses on one aspect of newspaper journalism in an effort to engage with these questions. It asks how this transformation has affected Australian newspapers' coverage of books and literary culture. This paper focuses on Fairfax Media's newspapers and in particular on the expansion of copy sharing in the books pages in the company's three metropolitan daily newspapers, *The Age, The Sydney Morning Herald* and *The Canberra Times*. The paper examines the impact copy sharing is having on the diversity of views and ideas about books available through one of Australia's two major newspaper publishers.

2.1.3 Breaking the code: Blueprints for journalism reform

Penny O'Donnell *The University of Sydney*

Business models, newsroom restructuring and workforce flexibility are key discussion points in the academic debate about the future of journalism in mature capitalist societies such as Australia, but scant attention is dedicated to the pressing issue of addressing the media's democratic deficits through journalism reform. While there are no agreed models for achieving progressive change in professional journalism, the literature reveals an unexpected, interesting and growing array of blueprints for change, including Alain de Botton's critique The News: A User's Manual (Penguin, 2014), the Tow Center for Digital Journalism's Post--‐Industrial Journalism manifesto (Tow Center, 2012) and the New York Times Innovation Report (NYT, 2014). This paper presents a typology of these blueprints for change, critically analyses the strategies chosen to address professional journalism's known limitations and contested news

practices, and critically evaluates the prospects for achieving change. I argue journalism reform initiatives did not start with the internet, are not just about citizen access and participation (even though citizen journalism offers many useful examples of innovation and experimental practice), and, instead, provide an urgent and credible rationale for renewing professionalism for the digital news environment.

2.2.1 Rwanda 20 years on: reporting genocide - PTSD and journalists, camera operators, and editors

Helen Vatsikopoulos *University of Technology Sydney*

It is acknowledged that journalists who cover traumatic events on the ground are susceptible to post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) -- but only recently has the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM) panel recognised that editors -- remote from the action but having to spend hours in a dark room editing packages -- are also at risk. Background: Twenty years ago SBS Dateline sent me to Rwanda in the immediate aftermath of the Genocide. Assisted by a cameraperson and a sound recordist, I researched on the ground, reported and produced the story, wrote the script and sent it to Sydney. There the packages were assigned to an editor who would follow my instructions and edited the story for broadcast -- by which time I was in South Africa covering the next story. I was prompted to revisit this traumatic experience when Dateline approached me for an interview on the 20th anniversary of the Genocide. In preparation, I felt it prudent to watch the story -- for the first time since I filed it. The viewing prompted me to reflect upon the decisions made by the cameraman and myself about what to film in order to bear witness to this tragedy. But it also shed light on the impact of the images on the editor and on the decisions she made about what to put in the final story. Approach: Using Schön's approaches to reflection (Schön 1991), and drawing on concepts including Barthes' impact of images (Barthes 1980), Bearing Witness (Tait 2011), the Civil Contract of Photography (Azoulay 2008) and "pornographies of violence" (Tait 2008) this paper explores the risks, impacts and value of shooting, editing, and showing images of genocide. The paper will present results from interviews with SBS team members including editor Kathy Drayton, and cameraman Simon Toben. Findings/results: When considering the impact on myself of covering traumatic events for Dateline I realised that my coping mechanism was to pull down the shutters and move on. Next! Reflection has led me to acknowledge the impact of the cumulative stress and trauma. Kathy Drayton says she has ‘probably” suffered from PTSD. After Rwanda, Simon Toben quit his work as a cameraman with SBS and moved to an ashram in India. I have also interviewed psychologist Cait McMahon, the managing director of Dart Centre for Journalism and Trauma, Asia Pacific. Preliminary conclusions: In the 11 years that I worked on Dateline, management did not enquire about my mental health and the toll that reporting on civil wars, conflicts and genocide would have on reporters and crew. Bearing witness (Tait 2011) was the overriding motivation. While most of us knew that we suffered from such assignments, we were too proud or too scared that we would be replaced if we were found “not to have coped”. We never considered the editor too was susceptible to PTSD. Kathy's decision to censor some images may have been one way of protecting herself as well as commenting on the way those images were going to be viewed by others as the ‘pornography of the real’ or as she put it the ‘pornography of death’.

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2.2.2 Voices of the faceless: Personalising stories in ethically challenging situations

Scott Downman *The University of Queensland*
Kasun Ubayasiri *Griffith University*

Journalism often involves telling the stories of people who have been traumatised, or have experienced suffering and exploitation. However, often expressing the stories of these people is ethically challenging. Identification has the potential to re- traumatise and further exploit the news talent. In an industry where visuals are increasingly important, this poses a tremendous dilemma for ethically-minded journalists. This paper investigates the coverage of refugees, asylum seekers, the victims of human trafficking and other vulnerable people and explores how their voices are covered within the media. It will be argued that traditional models of journalism that have relied on identifying victims or using screens to hide identity are not necessarily the best ways to tell these complex stories. This paper applies a human rights journalism approach to present creative and innovative methods of advancing this aspect of journalism. The paper will draw on examples from alternative media in Brisbane, Southeast Asia and Great Britain to propose a best practice approach for reporting these kinds stories and to ensure the human rights, dignity and integrity of the news talent remain in tact.

2.2.3 'Cannot Be Named For Legal Reasons': Breaking Ethical Codes in Identifying Suspects

Steve Lillebuen *Monash University*

Rolf Harris was an unnamed "82-year-old Australian entertainer" when the media first reported on his arrest over child sex abuse allegations. The self-imposed media blackout on revealing his identity, however, ended as soon as The Sun newspaper took the lead in naming him on its front page. The decision was a direct challenge to the Leveson inquiry's recommendation to ban naming suspects before criminal charges have been laid, but one supported by many other newspapers, politicians and justice campaigners who were concerned the continued secrecy was protecting a child abuser, putting further children at risk and preventing others from coming forward.
But what happens when the police are wrong? In February 2009, a volunteer firefighter was named as Australia's biggest mass murder suspect, leading to saturation media coverage. He had been questioned at-length over the Black Saturday bushfire that destroyed Marysville, killing nearly 40 people. Two years later, police had to publicly clear him, admitting he had been wrongfully accused. Despite the fallout, the naming (and shaming) of criminal suspects has continued to be a fundamental and entrenched code of media practice. This paper will highlight the ethical hurdles for the media when dealing with naming as a pressing social issue: balancing press freedom and personal privacy. It will outline and describe a current research project in Australia aiming to understand the editorial process in naming suspects and its consequences. Furthermore, the presentation will discuss media ethics, media law, and accountability in

choosing to name a suspect. It will give an overview of how naming is beginning to be seriously challenged following the "right to be forgotten" ruling in Europe recognising how harmful the spread, accessibility and permanency of sensitive information can be in the digital age.

2.3.1 Journalism as a research method within a political ecology framework

Nicole Gooch *Monash University*
Chris Nash *Monash University*

Political ecology is a broad conceptual framework that seeks 'to understand the complex relations between nature and human society, through careful analysis of social forms of access and control over resources' (Peet and Watts, 2004). In the words of Richard Peet and Michael Watts (2004), political ecology also highlights the politics of scales of environmental issues, 'from the body to the locally imagined community to state and intra-state struggles to new forms of global governance'.
This conceptual investigation does two things: firstly it proposes that the theoretical work of David Harvey (2006), Henri Lefebvre (1991) and Pierre Bourdieu (1992) brings a needed rigour to the political ecology approach that otherwise can tend towards imprecision and organicist metaphors. On this basis, and drawing on earlier work by Chris Nash (2013, 2014) on journalism as a research methodology, it secondly explores the relevance of political ecology as a framework for journalism research into environmental issues. For Nash, journalism is a research practice in so far as 'it originates truth claims of significance to publics about the state of the world in some particularity' (Nash, 2013). However, like history, journalism as research is almost infinitely broad in its empirical range and 'requires a conceptual framework specific to the field of empirical focus, and that can only be supplied from the relevant field and associated discipline(s)' (Nash, 2014). As such, journalism deployed within a political ecology framework can help to answer the questions of 'how' and 'why' identified by James Carey (1996) as frequently left unanswered by journalism. Both approaches can be used in tandem to explore the different structures and processes involved in knowledge, space and power production that are at the core of environmental conflicts.

2.3.2 Journalism, Research and Disciplinarity

Chris Nash *Monash University*

Barbie Zelizer, in a series of publications beginning in 2004 with the landmark Taking journalism seriously, has squarely confronted the issue of journalism's place in the academy. She identifies five major disciplines within which journalism is explored as an object of their scrutiny – history, sociology, political science, language and cultural studies – but argues that journalism itself is 'nowhere' in the academy. Zelizer, along with such distinguished North American scholars as Carey, Adam, Ettema and Glasser, celebrates journalism's role as a craft in the Jeffersonian tradition of democracy. However, journalism cannot develop and prosper in the academy unless it recognises itself as the subject as well as the object of its own scrutiny, that is to say, unless it develops itself as a discipline (Nash 2013, 2014). This paper addresses some aspects of that challenge.

Disciplinarity itself can be located as an historically and geographically specific phenomenon in the field of knowledge production, and has been recently much discussed with respect to interdisciplinarity in principle and at the interface of specific disciplines (Messer-Davidow et al.,

2010; Finkenthal 2001, 2008; Frodeman, Klein and Mitcham 2012; Repko, 2012). It may well be that the measure of disciplinarity lies in the capacity to contribute to that discussion, without fetishising disciplinarity itself. This paper explores disciplinary debates within and among history, sociology and geography, and relates these debates to journalism.

The author has previously suggested that the major intellectual challenges that journalism faces relate to the empirical status of its truth claims, the temporality of its practice and the politics of knowledge (Nash, 2014). Referencing the work of Tuchman, Harvey, Lefebvre, Trouillot and Bourdieu, it argues firstly that journalism's challenges are amenable to theoretical exploration comparable to that of other disciplines, and secondly that the very specificity of journalism's challenges is what generates its disciplinary status and distinctive contribution to the democratic development of knowledge and society.

2.3.3 A College or Institute of journalists?

Christopher Kremmer *The University of Melbourne*

In 1911, following similar moves in the United Kingdom, state--based Australian Institutes of Journalism were absorbed into a national trade union, the Australian Journalists' Association. Henceforth, the dominant collective voice of journalists in both countries would be that of the 'wages movement' (Aldridge and Evetts 2003: 550). This paper reviews the literature around a pivotal event in the formation of Australian journalists' occupational identity. The shift away from a nascent association of accredited professionals, to a craft--based and unionised labour force is considered in terms of attitudes to journalism education and ideas of ethical practice and associated accountability mechanisms. What in this regard can a reappraisal of the original concept of journalism as a professional activity offer contemporary journalists and society at a time of declining trade union membership, profound changes in journalism practice, and increasingly atomised employment patterns in news media industries? How might an institute or college of journalists— constituted independently of publishers, trade unions and governments— change the way practitioners and regulators approach issues of journalism education, ethical practice, and the social responsibility theory of journalism generally?

2.4.1 Journalism education and visual storytelling - A new 'golden age' for press photography?

Helen Caple *The University of New South Wales*

The digitization of journalism today has resulted in a dramatic shift to the visual – both in terms of new and innovative ways of visual storytelling and in the sourcing of this visual material from multiple, professional and amateur, sources. This should be the 'golden age' of press photography, with a plethora of platforms, creative options for visual storytelling and nearly unlimited space online to showcase quality photography. Instead, the position of tenured press photographer is becoming the stuff of legend (see for example AP 2013, Bowers 2014), as is the quality product that such professionals used to provide to news organisations (Caple 2014).

For journalism educators, the photograph has never occupied a central space in journalism teaching and with more and more images being sourced from organisations and individuals outside the journalism profession there may be little motivation to elevate its position in the curriculum. In this paper, I argue that now, more than ever before, we need to educate our future

journalists about the central importance of the photograph in the telling of the news and about what high quality visual storytelling might mean. I do this with reference to the teaching of image composition and its aesthetic value as well as the storytelling potential of image news galleries (drawing on Caple & Knox 2012, Caple 2013).

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2.4.2 Audio Storytelling in Journalism Education

Siobhan McHugh ***University of Wollongong***

Audio remains a comparatively unexamined aspect of recent digital/social media movements. Key innovators in online multimedia sites such as Francesca Panetta (The Guardian: Firestorm (2013) re Tasmanian bushfires, The Shirt on Your Back (2014) re Bangladeshi clothing industry) and Amy O'Leary (New York Times) nominate AUDIO as the crucial spine that collates the visuals, data analysis, printed text and infographics of their complex interactives. Panetta and O'Leary started as audio producers, and know the strengths and characteristics of the medium and how to tell story through sound. Audio storytelling is an under-theorised area of journalism studies, but this gap in scholarship has started to be addressed, with the launch of the first international journal of radio documentary studies and a growing body of reflective analysis by esteemed practitioners.

Drawing on emerging theory and her own and others' practice in audio documentary production, the author will demonstrate two practical adaptations she has developed for a Journalism Education context: 1. A pedagogical model, the Emotional History (EH), introduces undergraduates with no prior experience of audio to the essential elements of the medium and enables them to devise, record and produce short (2mins) audio stories to a high standard within a five-°©-week module. The EH model harnesses the highly affective power of audio to gather personal narratives, whose force and intimacy incentivise students to learn about craft, ethics and narrative. 2. Audio-as-conversion of scholarly knowledge.

Most scholarly research is still published via printed articles. But some research can be extended and enhanced by being presented in an audio format. Audio delivers meaning beyond words, via tone, accent, or sound itself. The author's recent ABC radio collaboration with an anthropologist achieved much wider dissemination and greater impact than the primary data could have. You don't even have to be literate to 'get' audio.

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2.4.3 Re-theorising the Archive: The potential of digital storytelling within the culture and practice of journalism

Milissa Deitz *University of Western Sydney*

Drawing upon anthropology and cultural studies, Elizabeth Bird is interested in the ways media is consumed in everyday life. She argues that news and journalism are constantly being corrupted by a preoccupation with personality-driven reporting. In this paper I wish to argue for the redemptive power of the personal. Following Henry Jenkins' extensive work on understanding the effects of participatory media on society and culture, I believe there is not only a place for "the personal" in the news agenda but that the future of Australian journalism depends on the rejection of the adversarial as the only legitimate agenda.

My current digital storytelling project involves families dispersed by war, conflict and natural disaster who have reunited in Australia through the efforts of the Red Cross Tracing Service. While there is little doubt conflict has enduring appeal, both within news and entertainment, this project has encouraged me to consider whether an acceptance of the potential of the digital storytelling archive with the Australian mediasphere may add to a broadening of the news agenda. Could a digital archive of personal stories (supplemented by other, more traditionally credible archival material), available to be used as part of news stories and integrated as visual evidence, help produce a more balanced approach in public debates? By widening the scope of representational narrativity, could the stories contained in the files of the Red Cross contribute to current Australian debates surrounding asylum seekers?

2.5.1 Australian and Canadian public service media: an investigation of international newsgathering missions and capabilities

Colleen Murrell *Deakin University*

Public service media (PSM) international newsgathering is under threat in Australia and Canada from a combination of ever tightening government budgets and competition from cheaper alternative coverage via the internet. Australian ABC and CBC-Radio Canada have many similarities as organisations in terms of history, culture, resources and geographical reach. However they are funded differently and have adopted different strategies to deal with their own particular challenges. This paper will compare and contrast the international newsgathering missions of ABC and CBC and the strategies they are employing as they try to maintain their positions as global reporting organisations. For this paper qualitative interviews were carried out with the companies' heads of international newsgathering and with senior managers and correspondents working for different news strands at both organisations -- taking in television, radio and online services in Australia and Canada.

2.5.2 Code breaking by Australia's fly-in fly-out journalists

Alex Wake *RMIT University*

Anyone who has worked in another country knows immediately that the journalistic "rules of engagement" differ in each port. Foreign correspondents argue passionately for the freedom of the press and that by "bearing witness" to crimes against civilians that they will be able to create change. However in taking risks to report on such events, these fly-in fly-out journalists recognize that if their reports displease a particular country's power elite, they can quickly find themselves deported, banned from future entry, languishing behind bars or in a worse case scenario, killed. Using Bourdieuan considerations, this paper concentrates on the young (mostly freelance) journalists who have absorbed Western news values – including the myth of the heroic war reporter and truth seeker - and suggests that they need greater exposure to the cultural and political nuances of countries they are reporting from. This thinking has been outlined in some ways by Edward Said in his book Orientalism. Using journalism as a methodology, this paper looks at several countries where reporters have found themselves in difficulties, and suggests that journalism educators consider three lessons in code breaking: know your employer; acknowledge local differences; and learn risk assessment.

2.5.3 Travel writing and modern journalism: exploring the legitimacy of the relationship

Ben Stubbs *University of South Australia*

Travel writing is a nonfiction form that uses subjective, immersive and narrative-based techniques. It is often seen as a more creative and literary pursuit with less journalistic value (Hanusch 2009, Forsdick 2014) despite its influence on a plurality of forms such as history and ethnography (Baine Campbell 2002, Youngs 2013) and its contribution to the understanding of global tourism and the 'other' (Hanusch 2009). My aim in this paper is to explore the possibility that travel writing, when utilising various academic suggestions such as a contract of truthfulness (Lejeune 1975), evidence of a double story (Grafton 1997) and a more open acceptance of rigorous subjectivism within the form (Ankersmit 2001), might serve to not only enrich modern journalism but to also provide a plurality of perspectives in this era of uncertainty and 'deep change' according to Josephi (2014, p.115) because of the travel writer's unique position writing from a more patient and 'from below' (Darnton 1984) point of view.

2.6.1 Rolling with the punches: why it's ethical to practise 'death knocks'

Lyn Barnes **Auckland University of Technology**
Janet Tupou **Auckland University of Technology**

The public perception of journalists is at its lowest ebb, especially after the Leveson Inquiry, which uncovered unethical tactics such as phone tapping to get a story. Considering the current public perception of journalists, it can seem incongruous that editors continue to expect novice journalists to do 'death knock' stories, where they are expected to interview the victim's next of kin, to find out more about the person and track down a photograph as well. Rather than training students how to deal with these sensitive interviews, most novice journalists practise on the public. Research available through the Dart Centre for Journalism and Trauma shows that if journalists are not appropriately prepared to deal with grief and trauma, they may do more

damage. Simple role-play exercises at Auckland University of Technology – using professional actors – highlight the importance of why students should not 'wing' it. The lack of training in how to take on challenging but routine duties including death knocks can lead to emotional exhaustion, burn out and traumatising victims even more. This paper focuses on the concept of emotional labour (Hochschild, 1983) and how it can affect journalists. According to Hochschild, emotional labour refers to the process by which people are expected to manage their feelings in accordance with work defined rules and guidelines. In other words, this term is used to describe the strategies people adopt that go beyond physical or mental duties. With journalism ethics increasingly coming under scrutiny, it is important that educators consider emotional labour, not only for the sake of graduates who will cover traumatic events but also for the reputation of journalism as a profession.

2.6.2 (Un)welcome memories: An exploration of the implications and ethics of republishing the past online

Isabel Fox *Charles Sturt University*
Peter Simmons *Charles Sturt University*

As regional newspapers explore opportunities arising from digitization some are combing their archives from previous decades, scanning images and captions and republishing them online. The weekly republication is popular, as images are tagged and shared across 'geo-social' online communities. Many of the images were originally printed when newspapers were micro, situated and quotidian ('tomorrow's chip wrapping'), but online they are now macro, global, sharable, and persisting. People featured have moved on, their circumstances and relationships have changed, and sometimes the images take them back to times they would prefer were forgotten. So what are the ethics of republishing these photographs online and what impact may this have on the people involved? Who makes decisions on which images to republish and by what criteria? What historical knowledge is available on people in the images and on possible sensitivities around publishing them? These photo re-presentations are generally created by journalists, but they are not news in a conventional sense. Codes of journalism practice generally require some compassion for those affected by coverage but many provide little guidance on the use of images at all. If harm is perceived, ordinary journalistic justifications of truthfulness, democracy or public interest would appear irrelevant compared to issues of privacy. This presentation discusses early stages of research into implications of republishing photographs from printed editions of local newspapers in online editions, using Bathurst's The Western Advocate and its popular 'Throwback Thursday' (#TBT) as a case example. The analysis will refer to ethics frameworks for traditional and new media.

2.6.3 Eye of the Storm: Reporting on Cyclone Trauma in Australia's Deep North

Deb Anderson *Monash University*

Media International Australia recently amplified the need for critical, empirical engagement with the role of journalism in reporting extreme weather events, prevailing discourses of risk and blame and a lack of ethical consensus among reporters (North & Bainbridge 2010). This paper extends that discussion to an under-researched topic: cyclone reporting in Australia's Wet Tropics. In 2013 and 2014, a series of in-depth interviews were conducted with local and fly-in reporters who covered Yasi -- a (maximum) category-five cyclone that in 2011 devastated Queensland communities still recovering from category-five Cyclone Larry (2006). Spotlighting

the role of region (locality, community) as frame in cyclone news, these interviews cast a critical eye on popular forms of storytelling: the immediate public crisis, disaster marathon or conflicted media event.

Interviews probed the heavy reliance on the universal imaginary of cyclone -- the 'Monster', 'Nature's fury', 'her wrath' -- in media coverage, where community members symbolise 'ordinary' responses to the consequences of social-environmental risk (Cottle 2000). The goal of interviews was to spark reflexive debate over the ways newsroom culture and journalistic presence and ideals of practice not only shape coverage of cyclones but also, critically, play into the belief politics that shrouds the 'scientisation' of climatic risk. With international studies suggesting the frequency of the most intense cyclones has increased in regions around the globe, this paper considers the need for ethical guidelines in reporting on weather-related disaster and trauma — especially given the media's centrality in communicating global risks to the public (IPCC 2012).

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2.7.1 Spinning out of control?

David McKnight ***University of New South Wales***

After his departure from the Rudd government in 2010, former minister Lindsay Tanner wrote a highly critical book about the media coverage of national politics. The news media, he argued, was now preoccupied by entertainment values which meant that politics was being dominated by 'stunts' and that 'emotional display [was] replacing genuine leadership' (2010: 2). One of the consequences of this was the rise of 'spin'. Tanner argued: 'In essence these techniques, though highly manipulative, are inherently defensive. The more the media set out to trap politicians in order to generate entertaining content, the more politicians have to resort to dubious artifice to do their jobs,' (2010: 93).

Tanner's interpretation of spin is not widely shared in the scholarly literature. Most journalism scholars adopt the fourth estate framework which sees journalists as performing a public service in keeping governments accountable. But how realistic is this framework? For example, it tends to supplant analyses which foreground the influence of news media as an instrument of power.

It also ignores the significant areas of co-operation between journalists and media advisers.

As well, much of this debate has been seen through a narrow journalist-centric lens. Yet the rise of professionalized media relations has been part of broader social and cultural changes. A

number of scholars have identified a long-term process of 'mediatization' in which politics adapts to the needs of the mass media (Kepplinger, 2002: 973). Others have positioned the rise of spin doctors as part of the growth of a broader 'promotional culture' in which the commercial techniques of advertising, marketing and promotion now dominate not just political communication but other fields such as universities and higher education (Wernick, 1991).

If spin is here to stay it poses a question for the advocates of the theory that the news media acts as a watchdog scrutinising government action. To the extent that this is accurate it suggests that the rise of spin has significant negative implications for democratic functioning. Yet little attention has been paid to how such a dilemma might be resolved. Most supporters of the watchdog theory tend to follow a strategy of delegitimisation of spin. But complaints by journalists that they cannot play their accountability role because of 'spin' tell only half the story because they fail to recognise that the routines of journalism are also partly responsible. Media advisers are able to keep one step ahead of journalists because the definition of what constitutes news is so predictable, formulaic and 'organised around pre-established story lines and frames,' (Tanner). While most studies of political communication focus on journalists and the press gallery, this research focuses on in-depth interviews with 25 media advisers who worked for ministers in the Howard and Rudd governments. It poses the question: is 'spin' is a legitimate tool of government in the face of a hyper-adversarial news media or a manipulative technique which undermines democratic practice?

2.7.2 Journalism versus the Information Bubble on National Geographic Dot Com

Lyn McGaurr *University of Tasmania*

Although anxieties about the influence of public relations on journalism have inspired much important research already, this paper finds the sheer volume of information provided by large media websites can further problematise the relationship. Taking the National Geographic Society's website as a case study, my research considers some of the implications for the public sphere of aggregating vast amounts of journalism and non-journalism copy across mastheads, mediums, genres and subject categories. My initial data are the first 10 results returned from each of five searches of the website, where one of the search terms is an environmental conflict with connections to the other four terms. Environmental conflicts can be interesting topics for journalism and public relations research because government tourism offices in nature-based destinations often enter into copy-generating media partnerships that are more ambiguous than traditional advertising. Ostensibly non-partisan, such expenditure of public money may nevertheless help shape how environmental problems are constructed in times of political conflict, sometimes in competition with the partnering media organisation's own journalism. In the case of the non-profit National Geographic Society, whose stated mission is to inspire people to care about the planet, a partnership with the oil company Shell adds to the complexity. Through textual and contextual analysis, my research reveals how a single environmental dispute is exposed, obscured, re-imagined and/or extended via National Geographic's journalism, photojournalism, partnerships, hyperlinks and reader-engagement campaigns. Although I find ample evidence that environmental problems can be buried in expected and unexpected ways by prolific celebratory travel content, I also find examples of tourism helping to shape the construction of environmental concerns on both sides of the debate, and journalism made durable in ways that resist the power of non-media partners. I conclude by comparing these findings to the some of the results of my earlier research.

2.7.3 The advocacy continuum in journalism

Caroline Fisher *University of Canberra*

In the journalism and public relations literature the goal of advocacy is often used as the point of distinction between the two communications roles. For example, Spence et al. (2011) contend the goal of journalism is to inform in the public interest, whereas the goal of public relations is to advocate in the client's interest. PR scholar Kevin Moloney (2006) states the difference between PR and journalism is based on advocacy of interests versus scrutiny of interests. However, in contrast to advocacy being seen as the primary goal of PR, there is a long tradition of advocacy reporting in journalism (Atton, 2008; Janowitz, 1975; Keller, 2013; Waisbord, 2008). This paper draws on the concept of 'contingency theory' from public relations that posits a range of variables can influence the degree of advocacy present in an act of PR (Cancel et al., 1997, 1999). In a similar vein, this paper argues that a range of contingent factors present in the creation of journalism - including, but not limited to: personal bias; the act of selectivity; news values; and, commercial pressures -- can also influence the degree and type of advocacy present in reporting. Combined with reflections of practitioners who have worked in both journalism and political public relations, this paper argues that the goal of advocacy is not an accurate way to distinguish journalism from PR. Instead, this paper argues that each act of journalism falls along a continuum of advocacy. Depending on the strength of a range of contextual variables those acts of journalism will be either distinguishable or virtually indistinguishable from acts of PR.

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2.8.1 "Don't read the comments": Developing a Hybrid Methodology of Big Data and Discourse Analysis

Glen Fuller *University of Canberra*
Matthew Ricketson *University of Canberra*

Participating in political discourse can take on many forms, from preparing senate inquiry submissions to the traditional letters to the editor. The ubiquitous 'comment field' – often found below articles, but seldom the focus on a website page – is one way that news---based media

websites invite users to participate. Comment fields have largely been replaced by social media commentary, but they still offer a useful site of analysis for understanding participatory engagement in political discourse. There are a number of ways to analyse comment fields (Trice 2010; Canter 2012). Discourse of 'current affairs' commentary can be extracted from the archive, textually sampled, qualitatively coded, and analysed in terms of the patterned articulation of power relations. The problem is that any work above a certain scale becomes prohibitively time consuming to do manually, proceeding by a "progressive necessarily incomplete saturation" (Foucault 1991: 77).

One solution seems to be to use a 'big data' or 'analytics' approach to present an aggregate account of engagement across different channels. The problem is that much of the nuanced detail (that currently requires a human researcher) is lost because machines don't read the comments. This paper reports on some preliminary findings and work on how to carry out research using a hybrid 'cultural analytics' methodology that combines big data analytics with discursive analysis for the purposes of a comparative analysis of commentary across three websites. The research process is split into three stages: 1. Sampling, cleaning and assembling a data set using RSS feeds of news websites and counting of comments and social media shares. 2. Provisional coding of dataset into 'news events' (i.e. the main stories for that week) that combines multiple texts (i.e. news articles) and participatory commentary (i.e. comment threads). 3. Analysis of these coded news events as discourse events, focusing on micro-scale frames of references by individual participants.

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2.8.2 Interested Publics: The Growing Role of Media Users in Governing Media Content

Margie Borschke *Macquarie University*
Catharine Lumby *Macquarie University*

Contemporary media users not only produce, distribute and consume content online, they also play an important role in the regulation, classification and moderation of online discourse. This paper will consider the role that media users and user communities are playing in governing and managing media content in the convergent era and apply insights from this study to the growing importance and prominence of audience engagement and social media practice in a journalist's skill set. Grounded by our analysis of the wide---ranging literature on the nature of contemporary democracy, news media and participatory citizenship, we will ask how we might conceive of digital citizenship and to what extent the concept has practical applications in a world where the volume of media content has seemingly outstripped our capacity to control it.

2.8.3 More than two cents worth: the political and economic value of inclusive news commenting systems

Fiona Martin *The University of Sydney*

In a recent report on international best practice comment moderation by the World Association of Newspapers, over 93% of publications surveyed had enabled comments, with 61% claiming they were available on "all or almost all" stories (WAN- IFRA, 2013). Yet WAN-IFRA has no comparable publication about best practice in facilitating online comments, despite studies showing that only a small percentage of overall readership or audience post comments on news articles (Beyers, 2004; Bergström, 2008), and that editorial intervention can increase that involvement (The Engaging News Project, 2014). Indeed despite the growing media interest in Web 2.0, social media and participatory technologies, there has been little comparative analysis available on the accessibility, usability or inclusiveness of the news media's in-house commenting systems. This is a critical area of study for researchers and policy makers wanting to examine the democratic claims made for participatory journalism, but also essential to understanding the news media's economic focus on developing audience interaction. It is also a significant area of concern for journalists and editors wanting to increase user and journalist interaction around news reporting.

This study argues the political value of news commenting lies in providing inclusive, internally governable platforms for user participation. Drawing on Nico Carpentier's (2011) framework for understanding the participative capacity of political systems, it presents a four-factor schema for analyzing participatory news: how news media recognise users as participants, how they structure their online access, what aspects of user control they enable, and what aspects of dialogic participation they enable – including elements of co-creation and governance. This approach is then used to guide an inclusion analysis of the news commenting systems of the top 10 online news services from four countries: UK, US, Denmark and Australia, including broadcast, newspaper and digital native origin publications.

The research finds clear corporate, sectoral and national differences in the inclusiveness of online news services, with a strong emphasis on hosting of comments by third party social media services. However the analysis also indicates the growing influence of social media management services on the semiotic resources and functionality incorporated in news media commenting systems. Given the central role of these companies in brokering news commenting, the paper raises the economic and governance implications for news journalism and its user interactions.

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2.9.1 National standards for Journalism, Media and Communication degrees: Challenges of developing universal Threshold Learning Outcomes under the Australian Qualifications Framework

Angela Romano *Queensland University of Technology*

This paper outlines the challenges faced by the JoMeC (Journalism, Media & Communication) Network in developing Threshold Learning Outcome (TLO) statements for Australian Bachelor-level programs in the disciplines of Journalism, Public Relations and Media & Communications Studies. The JoMeC Network was formed in 2011, in response to requirements that from 2014, Australian universities would have to demonstrate that their degrees and qualifications complied with the threshold learning standards set by the Australian Qualifications Framework (AQF). This paper focuses on the complexities faced by the JoMeC Network team in creating TLO statements that have national applicability despite the diversity of discipline communities both inside and outside university settings.

The AQF's threshold standards define the minimum types and levels of knowledge, skills and capabilities that students must demonstrate in order to graduate. The Tertiary Education Quality and Standards Agency (TEQSA) uses these threshold standards as a key tool in assessing the performance of higher educational institutions, and determining whether they should be registered as Australian Higher Education Providers under the Higher Education Standards Framework. The Federal Government places the onus on discipline communities to collaborate in order to develop and 'own' the TLO statements that can define the minimum learning outcomes expected of university-level programs in their field.

This paper outlines the processes that the JoMeC Network team undertook in attempts to produce TLO statements that would resonate with discipline communities in journalism, media and communications, while also capturing the core principles expressed in the AQF and Higher Education Standards Framework. At the same time, it was necessary that the TLOs would not promote standardisation of curricula or other undesirable outcomes. The paper also explores the potential for the JoMeC Network to provide ongoing platforms for discipline communities to do more than simply comply with regulatory systems, but to deliberate about learning and teaching standards and issues at intra-disciplinary, inter-disciplinary and trans-disciplinary levels.

2.9.2 Towards an ecological model of both journalism and education

Marcus O'Donnell *University of Wollongong*

Journalism and education are both industries that are facing technological disruption a process management guru Clay Christenson (2011) has described as "disruptive innovation". Both industries are torn between innovators who have embraced the new models which technological web-based interactions make possible and those who either ignore or actively resist them. It is only in recent years that there has been a broad institutional realisation in both the media and the education sector that these changes are not a matter of choice they are a matter of survival. Journalism educators have been at the forefront of recognising and promoting innovations in both media and higher education. In this paper I argue that innovative journalism education is not merely educating graduates with twenty first century skills such as data journalism, multimedia adaptability and entrepreneurship, nor is it only adopting innovative methods such as problem-

based, authentic and/or blended learning. Genuine innovation demands fundamental new models of both journalism and teaching and learning. In this paper I look at the work of educator and technologist George Siemens (2010) and his model for teaching in technological environments. I argue that his model for a new approach to teaching and learning as amplifying; curating; wayfinding; socially-driven sensemaking; aggregating; filtering; and modelling is also a best practice model for contemporary journalism. One of the key questions that the affordances of the web forces both journalists and educators to ask is: how do I make everything I do more sharable? Importantly this isn't just about product or information it means making the processes of journalism and education transparent and sharable: moving from a delivery model to a co-creation model; from a simple transmission model to a complex ecological model.

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2.9.3 Role performance in Australian journalism

Folker Hanusch ***Queensland University of Technology***

Over the past decades, various journalism models have been theorised according to varied expectations about the role of journalism in society. In particular, professional role conceptions have been of great concern for journalism scholars worldwide who have empirically measured the set of expectations and functions journalists regard as important in informing society, and how these roles have changed over time and across different cultures. However, much less attention has been paid to conceptually and empirically linking role---conception studies to actual journalistic performance. Journalism culture consists of both elements—the evaluative and performative components, and scholars therefore have to consider both the norms and practices that shape it. This paper will present preliminary results of a study of the performed roles in Australian newspaper journalism, conducted as part of a global project in 28 diverse countries. The project's purpose is to closely scrutinise whether there is a link between professional views and news content, and the extent to which any such link may be affected by organisational and systems---level influences. The paper will focus on the preliminary results of the content analysis phase of the study, which compared news coverage in The Australian, The Courier---Mail, Herald Sun and the Sydney Morning Herald. The presentation will focus on comparing the newspapers' use of sources, news values, as well as the performance of six hypothesized roles: the disseminator/interventionist role, the watchdog role, the loyal-facilitator, the service model, the infotainment role, and the civic role.

2.10.1 Teaching Number Crunching: What's Best Practice?

Kayt Davies ***Edith Cowan University***

This early--stage paper presents a lit review of 'math for journalism' experts and summarises leading views about best practice in the rapidly changing world of journalistic content creation. Set against the backdrop of looming numeracy benchmarking requirements and the upturn in demand for meaningful data visualisation, the study will tackle questions such as: What should

we be teaching? How is math being taught and assessed? And what resources are available to overcome the widely acknowledged problems of math aversion among students, and limited math teaching ability among journalism educators? The project aims to identify hurdles and gaps preventing more comprehensive teaching of numeracy in Australian journalism programs and, in its final stages, to develop useful resources, such as in-class activities, assessments and rubrics. The project follows on from a paper presented at the JEAA in 2013, and published in AJR in 2014. It takes the next steps in identifying specific mathematical processes that are deemed by employers and other experts to be useful in the production of quality journalism in fields such as health, political, science, business, weather and sport reporting. As well as addressing the need for journalists to be able to synthesise and summarise data, it will look at the need to understand processes in order to perform the journalistic tasks of critique and 'sense-making' in the interpretation of data presented to newsrooms by sources.

2.10.2 Newsroom as Office Room: A Historical Evolution of the ABC television Newsroom

Akhteruz Zaman *University of Technology Sydney*

Journalism is said to be the first draft of history. However, the draft is always incomplete or even inaccurate. This inadequacy is ironically true in the case of journalism's own history, which is at best a poor draft and patchy. In such a context, it is fair to say that the history of the physical office of news work is patchier. In fact, the scholarly treatment of the news office matches the inattention suffered by the office in general. Only recently, a thin body of literature is emerging in this particular area (Nerone & Barnhurst 2003, Wilke 2003, Høyer 2003, Josephi 1998, Wallace 2000). The newsroom is essentially an office in its contemporary sense, although its features, processes, and stories are slightly different to those of a business or public office. Newsrooms are familiar features in every sizable urban area of this planet. Yet, it slips our imagination and attention in the humdrum of exciting events and issues its inhabitants work on so arduously.

This paper discusses the historical trajectory of the newsroom as the quintessential office of news work and various ways in which journalists relate to their offices. It uses the Australian Broadcasting Corporation's (ABC) television newsroom in Sydney as its case and traces its evolution over time to relate to the general history of the newsroom. The discussion begins with a review of the historical scholarship, however scant, on the newsroom and then proceeds on to the specific newsroom and journalists' perspectives on their offices of work. The diverse ways in which journalists relate to their workplaces allude to the complexity of the relationship between the notion of space and practice of journalism (Zaman 2013). The historical developments of the ABC television newsroom in Sydney and the journalists' perspectives indeed dispel simplistic ideas about the passivity and irrelevance of physical spaces to news work.

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2.10.3 Cracking the Code of the Newsroom: Professional Ideologies of News Production in the Twenty-first Century

Josie Vine *RMIT University*

Because of rapid change in work practice and work place, mostly brought about by digital technology, the newsroom appears to be becoming obsolete. Therefore, undertaking an examination of the newsroom as a cultural conduit of journalism's value and belief system is becoming increasingly urgent. Using urban semiotics, this paper 'cracks the code' of three Melbourne newsrooms in the pre-digital era, to examine what journalism may be losing in shifting professional practice out of the newsroom, and what, if anything, can replace it as a vehicle for professional micro-cultural ideology.

2.11.1 Citizen journalism

Margo Kingston *Griffith University*

In 2013 the new Twitter-based citizens journalist website No Fibs asked for volunteers to report the Federal Election in the seat where they lived, in furtherance of the site's belief that a collaboration between professional and citizen journalists could assist the survival of the mainstream media - or at least the place of professional journalists in modern democracies. The site aims to foster interaction and engagement in the political system through collaboration between its editor, a professional journalist, and citizen journalists committed to complying with the Media Alliance code of ethics. Macquarie University sponsored the project with a grant allowing its editor and site manager to work full-time for six months. This paper explores the experience of the volunteers, innovations in reporting, interaction with the Mainstream Media and impacts on democratic engagement. It focuses on coverage of Indi, the safe Liberal seat which fell to a community-driven campaign using social media to help elect the independent Cathy McGowan. The paper outlines No Fibs' professional-amateur collaborations inspired by the project, and suggests possibilities for future collaborative experiments.

2.11.2 The Citizens' Agenda – Lessons for Political Journalism

Margaret Simons *The University of Melbourne*

Contemporary accounts of the health of advanced democracies identify important challenges for political and media organisations. Both are charged with loss of public trust and legitimacy. In this context, the concept of a 'citizens' agenda' has been advocated by NYU Professor Jay Rosen as an alternative to what has been more widely criticized as an increasingly stage-managed, spectacle-based politics. Rosen suggested that prior to the election, journalists should begin with 'a simple question: not, "who are you going to vote for?" but "what do you want the candidates to be discussing as they compete for votes at this year's election?"' (Rosen 2010, N.P.).

Rosen has been a prominent and influential advocate of the empowering possibilities of social media platforms. Between 2012/13 the authors commissioned and researched an intervention in mediated politics, the 'Citizens' Agenda', carried out by the citizen activist group 'Our Say' in 10 seats in the run--up to the September federal election. In this paper we report on the results and their implications for journalistic practice. We found that the Our Say CA intervention engaged mainly those who were already politically active, both online and offline. We found evidence that the CA intervention did make public "sleeper" issues that were not part of the dominant party political agenda and were not being reported on by the media in the election context. However, journalists reporting on the CA emphasised "events" rather than the process of the CA or the issues raised. A number of other innovations and interventions offered alternative ways of securing a 'citizens' agenda' in the 2013 election, for example, Fairfax Google HangOuts, the ABC Vote Compass and various local newspaper initiatives. We report on the motivations of those initiating these interventions, and their impact and relevance to continued attempts to refresh political reporting through social media.

2.11.3 Media entrepreneurship: the value of SNS for alternative media producers

Janet Fulton *The University of Newcastle Australia*

"... [the blog] doesn't work in isolation, you've got your social media networks around it and the idea is that's how you bring your readers into the blog ... this is the key when you're trying to work out what social media to be on; you need to know where your readers potentially are hanging out" (Nikki Parkinson, Styling You, i/v 11.5.14). Nikki Parkinson from lifestyle blog Styling You has neatly described how important an audience is to alternative media producers and the value of social network sites (SNS) in engaging and interacting with that audience. This presentation will report on one part of an ongoing ethnographic study that is investigating how media producers in the digital space are employing different ways to disseminate information. Different opportunities have opened up for media producers because of new technologies and the study is examining how these producers work in the digital space. Media producers in this space, including bloggers, online magazine producers and web publishers, have been interviewed and asked what platforms they use, how they monetise their work, and how they have adapted their skills to work in the online environment.

While there have been a broad range of responses to the questions, particularly how they monetise their work, one consistent theme is how active these respondents are on SNS and how critical these sites are in their success. While respondents noted using SNS, including Twitter, Facebook, Instagram and Pinterest, is important in how they connect with an audience, it was clear from the responses that these producers would not be successful without this interaction on SNS with their audience. This presentation will discuss the respondents' social media use and its value including a discussion on how the use is crucial in building and maintaining an audience.

2.12.1 Justifying surveillance: Liquid frames and terrorism in the news

Martin Hirst *Deakin University*

This paper brings together news framing analysis and surveillance studies to examine the mediatized 'war on terror' as a dominant news frame in which an embedded frame of 'necessary surveillance' is operationalized. The paper is an interjection into the conversation between

Zygmunt Bauman and David Lyon in their book Liquid Surveillance (2013) arguing that the 'fluid' framing of 'the war on terror' includes an embedded frame – 'necessary surveillance – which involves the 'synoptic gaze' of journalists as one aspect of the 'mental structures' used to develop news frames. Through content and framing analysis, two distinct types of news article that promoted synoptic surveillance were discovered: those that were explicitly framed around the synoptic surveillance of social media and those in which the 'synoptic gaze' was embedded in the journalist's point of view – the mental structures of framing, rather than physically present in the text. Using content and framing analysis to analyse a three--month period – July--September 2014 – the paper presents a quantitative and qualitative study of Australian print media using *The Age* and *The Australian* as the dataset. These publications were chosen as they are both 'broadsheet' in tone – though *The Age* is physically a tabloid or 'compact' size – and they represent the two major news companies in Australia, News Corp Australia and Fairfax Media respectively. A search of the two chosen mastheads was conducted in the Newsbank newspaper database using the keywords "terror*" and "surveillance". A total of over 200 was captured for the sample; including news stories, news features, opinion articles pieces and editorials. The paper uses this data to argue that the techniques of panoptic, synoptic and ban--optic surveillance are present in the editorial framing of the threat of terrorism. Surveillance is directed at suspect individuals (as 'data subjects'); so--called suspect communities, such as local Muslim youth in 'danger' of being 'radicalised' to 'jihad' and Australian Muslim families who are expected to justify their commitment to Australia over a commitment to their faith. The paper examines how individuals are socially sorted through surveillance into being either 'good' or 'bad' Muslims. The paper examines how the news frames of 'the war on terror' and 'necessary surveillance' work together to reinforce each other and make an increase in state powers of surveillance seem like a normal and required response to perceived terror threats. While much of the 'necessary surveillance' framed in the sample of news articles was either panoptic or ban--optic – that is, directed at suspect individuals involved on the Syrian and Iraqi battlefields and preventing their return to Australia, the study also found that there is frequent use of synoptic surveillance – that is the monitoring of the 'few' by the 'many'. In this way readers were invited to engage in necessary surveillance interactively. The discussion of the 'synoptic gaze' and surveillance through social media vectors demonstrates how news frames are dynamic and 'liquid', after Bauman, in the way that they connect and interact to reduce complex issues into easily understood key messages. The paper concludes by presenting a new taxonomy of 'liquid' frames and their interaction. This taxonomy establishes several types of news frames – meta--frames; embedded frames; covalent frames and keyed frames – which are able to flow into and around each other to reinforce key ideological positions. Some frames are physically present in the text; others operate via the mental structures of the journalist and are implicit, rather than explicit in the text. One such implicit frame is the 'synoptic gaze' of the journalist

2.12.2 Freedom of Information 2.0 – assessing FOI reform in Australia – a comparative study

Johan Lidberg *Monash University*

The last seven years have seen major reforms of half of the Freedom of Information (FOI) laws in Australia. The first generation "pull" FOI systems where journalists and other users had to employ FOI requests to pull the information from agencies are increasingly being replaced by new "push" systems where government agencies are required to make public information by default, unless they can justify why it should not be available. The question posed in this paper is; have the reforms made a difference in practice? To answer this a number of novice FOI users where asked to seek similar information in all Australian FOI systems comparing the FOI 1.0

"pull" FOI jurisdictions with the reformed FOI 2.0 "push" systems. A diary method was employed and the findings indicate that some new generation FOI regimes deliver better and faster access. But the studies also indicate that FOI 2.0 demands more of its users in terms of web and general IT literacy. The results pointed to great discrepancies between agencies in how the information was made available. Accountability theory is the framework used to analyse and discuss the findings. FOI 2.0 has created a new information access code in Australia, a code that has the potential to increase government accountability by facilitating quicker and better information access to the public and journalists. It is an inevitable fact that access to information remains a fundamental provision in the practice of journalism; regardless of the upheavals the profession and the industry are currently experiencing. The new code is also open to misuse by governments that could hide behind the proactive disclosure of PR-like sanitised information.

2.12.3 Total Digital Surveillance: Edward Snowden, Journalism, and the Global Public Sphere

Tom Morton *University of Technology Sydney*

Edward Snowden's revelations about the scope of the NSA's surveillance and data retention activities have ignited a global debate about the balance between individual privacy and state security in the digital era. In the words of German Chancellor Angela Merkel, "the possibility of total digital surveillance" which the NSA's activities represent "touches the essence of our life". This paper argues that Snowden's revelations also touch the essence of journalism. Daniel Soar suggests that "Snowden is more journalist than whistleblower" and that he acted as "a journalist of the most impressive kind" (Soar 2014). Snowden has certainly given new life to the debates about the nature of journalism which were prompted by Wikileaks. More importantly, however, the spectre of "total digital surveillance" also opens up new possibilities for the creation of a "global public sphere" (Habermas 2000, Castells 2008, Lynch 2013), and opportunities for the practice of global journalism (Berglez 2008).

2.13.1 'Just write more positive stories' – PR and journalism in student Indigenous affairs reporting

Bonita Mason *Curtin University*
Dawn Bennett *Curtin University*
Michelle Johnston *Curtin University*
Chris Thomson *Curtin University*

The recognition of flaws in the Indigenous affairs reporting of large media organisations has often been followed by calls for more positive stories about Indigenous people. While such calls are based on solid findings about the perpetuation of colonial discourse and racist stereotypes, some – particularly those from beyond the journalism field – also rest on a misreading of journalistic ethics, norms and assumptions which stress sceptical and critical thinking over the production of PR-led stories. While laudable in intent, moves to gain positive coverage for Indigenous people through public relations undersell the power of rigorous, comprehensive Indigenous affairs reporting. Standard public relations tactics may lead to stories that lack journalistic credibility and fail to connect with an audience. Such stories, however positive, fail to express the symbolic power that comprehensive, independent journalism has to offer and therefore do little to address negative perceptions of Indigenous people. Equally problematic is the habitual retreat by some journalists from such public relations overtures to an arms--length

form of objectivity that equates the voices of Indigenous people to the missives of a lobby group. This approach fails to recognise the special status of Australia's first peoples and the power relations that lead to their misrepresentation and, in Bourdieu's terms, the misrecognition of their interests and dominated position.

Drawing on case studies arising through a Curtin University Aboriginal Community Engagement action research project, that since 2013 has partnered journalism students with Perth's Noongar community, this paper shows that, as students tell stories arising from their partnerships, a degree of pro-Noongar publicity is inevitable in some students' drafts. Rather than dismissing this as counter-journalistic, such drafts can be a major transformative step in the process toward robust pieces of journalism, built on a foundation of cross-cultural collaboration and understanding. Lessons from successes and challenges of the case studies -- such as increased student cultural awareness and confidence and negotiating community organisation expectations -- will be offered.

2.13.2 Social media as an alternative public sphere: Bhutan uses Facebook and blogs to serve a 21st century democracy

Bunty Avieson *The University of Sydney*

The small Himalayan kingdom of Bhutan provides a fresh perspective to examine the decline of newspapers and the rise of social media in creating a public space for discourse. In Europe and elsewhere the media revolutions of print then electronic and digital occurred over centuries, along with the political and social transformations they facilitated. In Bhutan these revolutions are occurring simultaneously. Bhutan is traditionally an oral culture and reading and newspapers are not part of their cultural habit. While the western world grapples with the loss of the old newspaper business model, to which western societies are economically and emotionally attached, Bhutan has leapfrogged the print capitalism stage of development. In this paper I investigate the thoroughly modern, culturally distinctive media landscape that is developing in Bhutan, creating a dynamic public space for discourse to serve a 21st century democracy. Specifically I will show the crucial role that social media is playing in creating this space, which is so necessary for this young democracy. Bhutan offers a compelling case study for media scholars because the landscape that is emerging comes without the baggage of print capitalism that underpins media landscapes in other parts of the world. Further, the dynamic public space that is opening up via social media offers insights into the role of digital literacy, as distinct from print literacy, over the long term.

2.13.3 How objective is the geographic picture of the world in the ABC news?

Akhteruz Zaman *University of Technology Sydney*

Objectivity/bias in news is an age-old debate, but these notions still have tangible and theoretical relevance to the practice and study of journalism. Objectivity and bias are usually relevant to the description of events, ideas, and assertions in news content and procedures of news work. Very rarely they extend to the material condition of the practice, such as the place of news work or the picture of the geographic world found in news.

Geographers study news in a sustained manner, but many studies are confined to the simple notion of proximity as a straightforward news value (the nearer the news-worthier). However, a

growing awareness of the complexity of nearness and distance as determinants of news is becoming evident, with allusion to a similar complexity in the case of geographic objectivity/bias in news.

This paper thus ponders about the possibility or necessity of objectivity in news in terms of the geographic space. It takes the Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC) as its case, and specifically asks whether the ABC news is geographically lopsided or balanced. With a mix of qualitative content analysis and in-depth interviews, the study also considers the ABC journalists' views about the picture of the geographic world found in their news. Journalists seemed to possess a mixed view about the geographic picture. Some said the overall picture of the world in the news was, in fact, lopsided, while others defended their organisation's effort to present the world in as balanced a way as possible by this contemporary Western news organisation. These perspectives are cross-examined with the analysis of news content found in an online archive of the ABC. This scrutiny is not so much to validate one of the above contentions, but to put these into a broad context of the relationship between space and journalism. The study suggests that it is beneficial to avoid simplistic ideas about proximity, objectivity, and bias in news in relation to material and geographic spaces.

2.14.1 Facebook in the Australian News: a corpus linguistic approach

Penelope Thomas *The University of Sydney*

In 2013, the social network site Facebook underwent a major shift transitioning from a private company to a public one: Facebook Inc. To date, research on Facebook considers its applications, its prominence as a leading social networking site (Boyd & Ellison, 2008), and the language and behaviours of its users (DeAndrea, Shaw & Levine, 2010). The focus of this project, however, is on language about Facebook – specifically news language. This research project aims to describe the way language about Facebook appears in Australian news text by using corpus linguistic analysis. It makes use of a specialized corpus (Hunston, 2002) consisting of Australian news text that appeared around three main events in the company's history: 1) the launch of Facebook in Australia, 2) the listing of Facebook Inc. on Nasdaq, and 3) the introduction of Graph Search. Quantitative findings and linguistic patterns that emerge will be considered in terms of diachronic change and news values (Galtung & Ruge, 1965; Bell, 1991, and others), using the Discursive Framework of Bednarek and Caple (2014). Providing this linguistic description of news text about Facebook will be useful for future research on the role of social networking sites and changing media practices (Dwyer, 2010), given that Facebook is already seen by some researchers as a primary news source for its users.

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2.14.2 The power of selfies

Crisia Miroiu *The University of Sydney*

This paper explores the influence of the development of new technologies (smart phones, webcams, photo-video HD camcorders) and of social media (Facebook, Instagram, etc.) on portraying oneself. In the digital age, both the understandings of 'photography' and 'photograph' are changing. The notion and practice of artistic portrait photography has been disrupted, and new media users have been invested with 'do it yourself' portrait photographer's abilities. As the viewer (the photographer) has become the same with the viewed (the subject of the photograph), anew-constructed subjectivity comes into play, and the individual can choose how to construct and publicly disseminate his/her personal identity. However, the difference between self-perception and presentation of the self is waved within this process. Building on sociology (Charles Cooley) and social psychology (William James and George Herbert Mead) theory, this paper argues that new technologies and new media are instruments used for identity representation and construction, but the price of blurring the boundaries between amateur and professional portraiture photography is the stereotypy and conventionality of the pose, leading to generally undifferentiated portrayals of the self. Also, the spread of our social self-understanding as self-mirroring not only supports the inwards looking cult of narcissism, but influences the construction and representation of one's self based on the gaze of others media consumers.

2.14.3 Learning and Teaching in the Fifth Estate: Social Media and Journalism

Catharine Lumby *Macquarie University*

This paper will draw on a research project conducted by Macquarie University that investigated the best way to incorporate social media skills into student learning and assessment. The project's findings were used to develop new curriculum in social media for journalism and media students. The paper will explore the opportunities and risks of engaging students in live social media projects and outline our findings about best practice approaches to teaching social media skills to prepare students for their careers. The paper will discuss current research in learning and teaching social media and suggest further directions for future research.

2.15.1 To what extent do journalism programs cater to the needs of prospective employers?

Stephen Tanner *University of Wollongong*

This paper draws from the final report of a study funded by the Federal Government's Office for Teaching and Learning (ID11-1998). The project draws from the experiences of, and interviews with, journalists anticipated that there is a strong industry/academic divide in the answers, and journalism educators to answer a number of questions: (1) To what extent do tertiary-based education programs cater to the needs of industry when preparing graduates for a career in journalism? (2) Is there such a thing as an ideal journalism program? And (3) To what extent is there a uniformity of offering among and between Australia's tertiary education providers.

Critically, the project also explores the questions: (1) should journalism programs be generalist or journalistic?; and, (2) should they be theory-oriented or practical. The report produces some interesting findings that suggest that there is a broad church of views when it comes to these questions. While it might be the final results produce a different picture -- one that might make it difficult to produce an ideal journalism curriculum.

2.15.2 Doing it for real: designing experiential journalism curriculum that prepare students for the new and uncertain world of journalism work

Jeanti St Clair *Southern Cross University in Lismore*

The world of journalism in the digital age is changing faster than university curricula can keep up. News is now produced in forms and on platforms that were non-existent 10 years ago. Journalists may increasingly generate their own work opportunities in entrepreneurial news outlets and start-ups, rather than as employees in legacy newsprint and broadcast media. Substantial workforce contraction has also occurred since 2012 as revenue in print and other traditional media has found new homes in social media and search engines, and over 1000 journalists (or 15 per cent of the journalism workforce) were made redundant. Journalism graduates seeking to work in the media therefore need to be flexible, innovative and enterprising to survive professionally in this evolving setting. Additionally, financial and funding pressures on universities are leading them to reduce course costs and deliver more courses online.

Elongated unpaid internships provide real world experience despite their potential for exploitation but access to these will likely reduce as workforces continue to contract. This article considers student feedback from three authentic experiential journalism projects in light of these changing times in journalism. It explores how the performative and very practical nature of traditional and digital journalism skills may be developed through a learning-centred curriculum anchored in authentic and experiential activities and settings. The article briefly considers some of the challenges facing journalism educators in delivering such a curriculum in e-learning settings, and sets out a simple framework for supporting the development of digital media workforce readiness.

2.15.3 Magazines: A Problematic Pedagogy

Megan Le Masurier *The University of Sydney*

Magazines are one of the oldest continuous media formats; yet they are possibly the least studied media within the disciplines of Media and Communications or within the field of Journalism Studies. Nor is it common to find magazines taught as a production-based subject within journalism schools or Media and Communications departments. There might be units of study on ‘magazine journalism’ but courses that teach magazines as a coherent entity are rare in Australia. Why might this be the case? It seems especially strange given the magazine sector remains vibrant (if volatile) and provides employment for many of our graduates.

This paper will look at the curious status of magazines within the academy, their role in the journalistic field, and whether they even belong in the journalistic field. This would depend on how we define journalism and how we understand its function in society. For most magazines, the fourth estate watchdog role of journalism is not relevant to their mission. While many provide journalism for their readers, it is a journalism of service, of entertainment, of inspiration, of

culture, rather than 'public interest' as usually understood. Using models and ideals based on newspaper production and journalism is not helpful for teaching and studying magazines. The role of advertising, the function of editors, selection rationale for content, the relationship with particular niche readerships, slower periodicity – all are different to newspapers, as are the business models that magazines use.

Teaching and researching magazines is complicated by the fact that this media (print or digital) involves more than journalism. Sometimes magazines are home to fictional or purely visual content. Magazine production and study also requires an understanding of visual communication, typography and graphic design, necessitating skills from other disciplines for the journalistically-based teacher of magazines. In an era of digital and convergent media, where print has not disappeared, teaching and analysis become even more complex. In short, this paper will discuss the problems that accompany the teaching of magazines in the academy.

3.1.1 Challenges Facing Investigative Journalism Training: The case of the MENA region

Saba Bebawi *Swinburne University of Technology*

This study seeks to assess the extent to which investigative journalism training for Arab journalists in the Middle East North Africa (MENA) region can be regarded as a knowledge and, in turn, a democracy building tool within the Arab world post the 'Arab Spring' protests. Specifically, the project is focused on how investigative journalism training and, in turn, practice can be developed to provide in-depth news reporting in order to foster a democratic and transparent environment, which could lead to a sustainable and peaceful existence in post Arab Spring regions. Through interviews with Arab investigative reporting trainers, supervisors and journalists, this project aims to uncover the issues, challenges, and opportunities facing investigative journalism training in the Arab world, and in turn produce a set of recommendations that would provide a framework for improving investigative journalism in Arab countries.

Specifically, this study is conducted through interviews with trainers, supervisors and journalists at the Arab Reporters for Investigative Journalism (ARIJ) organization, which is a nuclear training organization based in Amman, Jordan. ARIJ was established in 2005 as the first investigative reporting organization which seeks to train, support and fund Arab journalists wanting to learn and practice the skills required for investigative reporting. The organization was set up before the Arab Spring protests when investigative reporting was limited to basic social and economic issues, now however these issues have been expanded to more crucial political matters as a result of the changes brought about by the Arab Spring. This has meant that the political environment should be appropriate for the rise and prominence of investigative reporting. This paper will report on the findings of this study, outlining the challenges and issues facing the industry.

3.1.2 "Wogball", or the world game? Race and soccer in Australian journalism

Nasya Bahfen *Monash University*

In the Australian media, football (soccer) competes for attention with more established or dominant codes such as Aussie Rules and rugby league. Where coverage is accorded to football, it is underpinned by negative contexts. In addition to associating football with violence and

hooliganism, Australian sports journalism's overriding theme when it comes to football is to portray the code as foreign, a sport followed by migrants, and a code mired in cultural division. This is despite attempts by the sports' administrators to nationalise the sport and move it away from the ethnic origins of several community and state level clubs -- efforts that have been criticised as whitewashing the Australian grassroots of the beautiful game. This paper looks at reporting of a fight between the players of two Victorian state league football clubs with predominantly ethnic bases and the take over by a foreign consortium based in the Middle East of a Melbourne based national league club. By looking at these two case studies, the paper hopes to examine how race and ethnicity has been present in the discourse of football as engaged in by Australian journalism.

3.2.1 Does putting 'people first' count? Exploring disability representation as part of journalism pedagogy

Shawn Burns *University of Wollongong*

Is discussion about 'people first' language important when examining news media representation of disability as part of journalism pedagogy and curriculum? In essence, does it matter if journalists use the term "disabled people" instead of "people with disability"? Proponents of the people first language (Dattilo & Smith, 1990; Snow, 2008), argue 'yes, it does matter' because it puts the person before the disability and presents disability as something a person 'has' rather than 'is'. Others argue people first language is flawed because it asks us to put disability aside to prove the presence of a human. People with disability, disability and media academics and disability advocates continue to debate the pros and cons of people first language and journalists, often criticised for the way they represent disability, find themselves caught in the middle. In what is essentially a longitudinal subject evaluation, the case study uses mixed methodology to gather data from journalism graduates who were, across five years, part of a broadcast journalism class that specifically discussed disability representation.

The paper uses convenience sampling (Dörnyei, 2007) to gather qualitative and quantitative data to assess whether discussion about people first language resonated with the students post-graduation and whether it has had an impact in their workplace. The paper finds that discussion about people first language does stay with students post-graduation and has a place in journalism pedagogy. The author argues it provides an important access point for journalism students into broader disability representation and diversity discourse, and it provides a starting point for breaking long-established journalism 'codes', and/or media models used in the representation of people with disability (Clogston, 1989; Haller, 1993).

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3.2.2 Dutiful Daughters and Supportive Spouses: Media Framing of Social Issues

Jan Harkin *Deakin University*

This paper examines traditional codes and representations of gender, culture and ethnicity in media framing of aged care. The issue is important given promotion of "ageing in place" and implications for carers of the ageing of Australia's population, with predictions that almost a quarter of the population will be aged 65 and over by 2030. Media framing affects perceptions of social issues through choice of spokespeople and representations of specific groups in active or reactive positions. Journalism educators need to promote awareness of the effects of framing to encourage students to reflect on who to quote and where quotes are placed. The paper is based on a study that extends an earlier qualitative analysis of newspaper coverage of aged care in three Australian newspapers – *The Age*, *Herald Sun* and *The Australian* – from August 2011 to August 2012, with specific focus on representations of dementia and Alzheimer's Disease.

This paper extends that analysis to August 2014, comparing results from the later period to those of the earlier analysis. August was chosen as the starting point for the analysis as it coincides with the lead-up to Dementia Awareness Week. The initial analysis was sparked by an article – "When duty calls" – that appeared in *The Australian Magazine* in June 2012. The article's precede states: It's the baby boomer's burden. With their parents living longer than ever, the weight of care is falling on a generation who may – or may not – step up. The article outlines 13 cases of adult children caring for elderly parents; in all 13 cases the carers are women. One care agency is mentioned – "Dutiful Daughters" – and Catholic Health Australia's Martin Laverty is quoted acknowledging the "extraordinary demands on women who become advocate and care-giver for their parents". To advocate, women's voices need to be heard. But are they?

3.2.3 Framing, Frame Analysis and Discourse in Journalism and Society

Cale Bain *University of Technology Sydney*
Chrisanthi Giotis *University of Technology Sydney*

As part of Journalism Studies subjects, frame theory and frame analysis are used to give journalism students the opportunity to see which discourses their work and the work of others speak to. A reflexive and conscientious practitioner needs to be aware of the trends in their work and the greater dialogue that their work contributes to. As such, understanding framing is an essential part of not only constructing story, but also recognizing recurring and perhaps overemployed tendencies in one's work. By employing few frames, a journalist would limit the discourses they speak to and wouldn't be serving their audience as best possible, limiting the audience's full understanding of the scope of an issue. To grasp the distinction between those frames and the discourses they are attached to gives students insight into their work and the greater and possible impact of it. Frame theory alone can be daunting to get as there is neither consistent methodology nor unanimous understanding (Scheufele, 1999), neither does discourse have universal definition (van Dijk, 1988). To distinguish between the two can be doubly confusing for students. This paper attempts to make that distinction such that students and working journalists may find best practice and speak to the most pertinent discourses, not just the most common or the easiest. This paper expands on the work of Scheufele (2009) that so deftly

distinguished between Agenda Setting, Priming and Framing, by utilizing frame analysis as first popularly established by Goffman (1974) and theory as most commonly defined by Entman (1993) as to the selections that are made or not made in the construction of a story. Those concepts and the contemporary study of them are compared and contrasted with the discourse theory and methodological study beginning with Fairclough (1995), van Dijk (1997, 2007) and Richardson (2007). Parallels and distinctions are made from the framing of one's individual practice, to the discourses they speak to and the methodologies employed to discover and critique them. Ultimately, this paper aims to help fill a gap in the theoretical foundation of a fully sound and forward thinking reflexive journalist. The paper offers practical in--‑class tutorial exemplification in an aim to build best practice.

3.2.4 Physical activity in the news: how do journalists perceive the public health issues of fitness and inactivity?

Catriona Bonfiglioli *University of Technology Sydney*
Ben Smith *Monash University*

Physical inactivity is a leading cause of disease but gains relatively little news media coverage as compared with overweight and obesity. Neglect of important health issues can be driven by a range of factors including professional journalism practices, a failure of the issue to satisfy news values, and a relative lack of media advocacy on the part of researchers and public health professionals. This study investigated news media professionals' understandings and approaches to reporting physical activity and sedentariness as part of a wider study of the framing of obesity.
We conducted semi-structured interviews with media professionals working for key Australian television, radio, newspaper and online news organisations. Questions were designed to gain understandings of journalists' knowledge of and attitudes to inactivity, their perceptions of the newsworthiness of the problem and its solutions, the sources they preferred and the challenges of reporting these issues. Data were thematically analysed using nVivo.
Journalists saw physical activity and inactivity as significant and widespread issues with health implications but not as highly newsworthy. Inactivity was rated as somewhat more newsworthy than physical activity. Inactivity was more likely to be framed as needing society level solutions. A notable proportion of participants identified finding suitably newsy images and footage of inactivity a challenge.
Journalists recognise inactivity as a health problem and physical activity as a solution but reporting on these issues is a challenge because of the lack of hard news angles and the difficulty sourcing compelling images and footage, particularly of inactivity. Journalists tended to identify researchers as valuable sources. There is an opportunity for greater collaboration between journalists and physical activity researchers to identify newsworthy research in a timely fashion and source talent suitable for both video and text media.

3.3.1 Cracking the ethnicity code: the role of identity versus journalism in Pasifika news media

Tara Ross *University of Canterbury, New Zealand*

Pasifika news media producers in Aotearoa/New Zealand claim a privileged position within their communities based on ethnicity, but this paper raises a fundamental challenge to that claim. Work with Pasifika audiences suggests that professional journalism should be as central to ethnic news media production as ethnic identity. This paper builds on earlier findings that Pasifika news media are focused not so much on the production of news as the articulation of 'Pacificness': Pasifika news producers deliberately foreground and perform Pasifika identities to establish

connections with Pasifika audiences. Yet, by drawing on focus groups with Pasifika audiences, this paper suggests that the focus on ethnic identity may be too narrow. Many audience members align themselves instead to the professional journalism and presentation they see in mainstream and Maori media or to the "ground-level" storytelling of small, amateur community media that speak of people they know. As a result, larger regional, national and pan-ethnic news media, such as the state-funded broadcasters Niu FM and Tagata Pasifika, appear to be caught in an ethnic media no- man's land where they are seen by audiences as neither professional enough nor embedded enough in their communities to cover Pasifika news well. For these media especially, the ethnic identity work that lies at the heart of their news production does not square with the ways in which Pasifika audiences connect with news, which are more complex than can be explained by ethnicity alone.

3.3.2 Communication as aid: media services and the role of information for refugees on the Thai-Burma border

Victoria Jack *The University of Newcastle Australia*

This paper explores how a lack of reporting designed for refugee audiences on the Thai-Burma border inhibits their ability to cope with life inside the camps. Fieldwork conducted in three of nine official camps in 2013 – including interviews with 83 refugees, aid workers and journalists – revealed that many refugees are unable to access important information they need to make informed decisions about their lives. The subject of the paper is particularly timely considering plans for voluntary repatriation have recently intensified the need of refugees for reliable information that can inform their decisions about whether or not to return to Burma. While there has been considerable literature examining the reporting of humanitarian crises to a global audience, in contrast there has been little in the way of research – and practice – concerning strategies to effectively communicate with refugees inside those camps. Accounts from refugees, aid workers and journalists provide insight into the extent of existing media services in Nu Po, Umpiem and Mae La camps, as well as factors influencing both the effectiveness and shortcomings of these efforts. The results substantiate the criticality of information to refugees while also highlighting the barriers – geographical, technological, political and financial – that must be overcome in order to foster effective media services that will enable refugees to better cope with displacement.

3.3.3 Twitter and the new media landscape: the interaction of social media and traditional media in narratives about asylum seekers

Rebecca Dunn *Macquarie University*

This paper will report on a research project investigating the different ways that asylum seekers are represented in the Australian print media and social media. The study involved content analysis of print media reports and social media discussion of asylum seekers over three separate week-long periods during 2013 and 2014. The project's findings include that the majority of print media discussed asylum seeker policy on the basis of its political merits, and conveyed a dominant narrative in relation to asylum seekers constructing them as a problem to be solved (consistent with the approach adopted by the two major political parties). By contrast, social media appeared to provide an opportunity to disrupt that dominant narrative and convey alternatives that engaged with the experience of asylum seekers. The study also indicated that social media and mainstream media have an interactive relationship that, in some circumstances, enables social media users to influence the content of the print media coverage and the narrative it conveyed.

3.4.1 Journalistic routines, internet and climate change reporting in Nigeria

nnaEmeka Meribe *La Trobe University*

Comprehensive media coverage of the likely impacts of climate change is critical to meaningful public communication on the phenomenon. Climate change communication is particularly important in Nigeria, where much of the rural population depends on subsistence agricultural production, because of the need to identify cost effective ways of adapting to these likely impacts. The consumption of media in Nigeria is very different to that of Australia. While rural Nigerians are unlikely to read newspapers, nevertheless professional, well-researched and locally contextualised coverage of anthropogenic climate change (ACC) does filter down to them via opinion leaders at the village level. Such coverage can not only help raise public awareness but also stimulate public debates and may subsequently influence the formulation of policies on climate change adaptation.

The discussions of climate change in television and community radio, similarly filters down to the poorer villagers through various informal channels. Unfortunately, however, because climate change news does not resonate with the Nigerian public in general the news media tend to be reluctant in reporting on it. Drawing on a content analysis of three leading Nigerian newspapers and in-depth interviews with climate change reporters drawn from Nigerian elite news media organisations, this paper investigates how journalistic routines influence news media coverage of climate change in Nigeria. Findings reveal that heavy workload, the journalistic practice of self-censorship and the routine of working to deadlines influence the reporting of climate change and often result in the recycling of stories sourced from the internet. The paper argues that apart from the issue of copyright, this practice of recycling stories from the web exacerbates the failure to localise climate change news or to break down specialist jargon for the lay public subsequently alienating Nigerian readers. The paper further argues that continuous training and retraining of climate change reporters and a more open relationship between climate scientists and reporters offer ways of addressing this challenge.

3.4.2 More or less local? Changing depictions of regional identity on newspaper front pages

Kathryn Bowd *The University of Adelaide*

Regional newspapers in Australia are widely known for their local news coverage, for focusing solely or primarily on the events, issues and people within their main circulation area. But their role is not limited to the provision of news and information – they also help to establish and maintain a sense of local identity, reflecting back to their readership an idea of what it means to be part of the region and what is important to that region.

This paper explores the notion of local identity as depicted on the front pages of regional newspapers across four Australian states – New South Wales, Victoria, Queensland and South Australia. Front pages are a valuable source of information about identity because they highlight the news seen as the most relevant and important to people living in a region. Examining the editorial content of newspaper front pages can thus provide valuable data about what constitutes regional identity and how notions of identity can be developed and reinforced through local media. Exploring this content over time further provides indications about whether notions of regional identity are changing.

3.4.3 Public or commercial service? Comparing media systems in Australia and Bangladesh

Jahnnabi Das *University of Technology Sydney*

An increasing attention to comparative studies in journalism (Kohn 1989, Blumler et al. 1975, Benson 2010, Esser & Hanitzsch 2012) is quite encouraging. However, this area of study, similar to many other areas, suffers from the narrowness of focusing on mainly the Western developed countries, i.e. North America and Europe.
This narrowness is evident in the comparative studies on media systems. Some recent contributions to this specific area (Kleinsteuber, 2010; Wessler et al.; 2010) almost exclusively examined the media systems in the US and Europe, and left other parts of the world out of the critical gaze.
This paper examines different media systems that represent diverse contexts and identifies some similarities and differences among them, particularly in regard to the ownership pattern. Common across the spectrum is the coexistence of the public service and commercial media organisations.
Scholarly treatment of the topic has produced a wide variety of perspectives in understanding the diversity and similarity of media systems. Insights such as "all states and media systems are authoritarian; it just depends on who is the authority— the political power or public sanction" (Merrill, 2004) offer rich potential for advancing our understanding of media systems on a global scale.

The current study compares media systems in Australia and Bangladesh in order to identify various elements (e.g. radio, television, print and online media) that constitute these systems. It particularly takes note of the ways in which rapidly changing media environments influence these systems.
By considering the current scholarship on this topic (Gunaratne, 2002; Wasserman & de Beer, 2009; Hallin & Mancini, 2012; Curran et al., 2010; Josephi & Richards, 2012; Tiffen et al.; 2013), this study identifies the significance of various types of news organisations within different media systems.
It found that in terms of the overall influence on society, public service media in Australia (e.g. the Australian Broadcasting Corporation) and commercial media in Bangladesh (daily newspapers) are most trustworthy.

3.5.1 From national policy decisions to local community events: The role of remote Indigenous media in local news production in Australia, Mexico and Canada

Ian Watson *Griffith University*

There are many obvious parallels between the role and functions of remote Indigenous media in producing hyper-local and community-relevant news in Australia, Mexico and Canada. In each location, there is a long history of centralised media structures that have provided remote communities with news and information delivered from sources outside of their region and with little regard for local issues and understandings. In each location, remote Indigenous communities have successfully lobbied for more local ownership and control of content, with the resultant media focusing strongly on producing news content that meets the needs of local audiences. This local production of news is offering an alternative source of news and information to the community (Meadows et al., 2008: 24), and giving these communities the opportunity to shape their social, cultural and political agendas (Meadows and Molnar, 2002; Smith, 2006). This paper examines the similarities between news production in remote Indigenous radio stations in

Australia, Mexico and Canada, drawing on the results of semi-structured interviews with, and participant observation of, Indigenous broadcasters in each location. The paper addresses a key research question that frames the broader research project, which essentially asks: how does local production of community radio content enable remote Indigenous community members in Australia, Mexico and Canada to share and maintain culture and language, access important news and information, and address key social issues? It highlights the increasing amount of news content that is produced locally, ranging from interpretation of key national and regional events and policies to hyper-local promotion of community events (Fairchild, 1998: 165) and considers what this means for broader interpretations of 'community news' and the role of hyper-local Indigenous media producers internationally.

3.5.2 Tracing the history of *The Age*'s 'institutional voice': a preliminary analysis of election-eve editorials 1969 - 1987

Brad Buller *The University of Melbourne*

This paper examines the history of *The Age*'s 'institutional voice', as expressed through election eve editorials since Graham Perkin's editorship. While Australian research focuses on the political stance of the Australian press and especially the Australian, *The Age* is neglected as a subject for research. Drawing on textual analysis to examine *The Age*'s editorial endorsements, the basis for its endorsement and the themes manifested within each endorsement, this paper argues that *The Age*'s institutional voice has historically expressed a much more pragmatic and conservative position than is commonly believed. More importantly, while the idea of institutional voice has been neglected as a concept in scholarly research, this paper illustrates the way in which it exists as an editorial philosophy of culturally/politically authoritative journalism.

3.5.3 Unmasking codes of power: expanding the relatively new media to escalate war, 1941-45

Caryn Coatney *University of Southern Queensland*

As wartime leaders, Australian Prime Minister John Curtin and US President Franklin D. Roosevelt expanded film communication technologies and practices to develop codes of language signifying their personal relationships with target audiences to win endorsement for escalating the Pacific conflict. Despite the gaps in the literature of the Curtin and Roosevelt newsreels, an investigation of their visual and oral performances reveals they used the relatively new media disingenuously to appear that they were involving citizens in their Pacific decisions. This paper conducts a new semiotic comparison of rarely viewed samples of unscreened and public newsreels to show how the two leaders created rehearsed images of their close friendships with mass audiences. Although they appeared to inform and engage citizens, they selectively used film propaganda and censorship to influence public perceptions of their nations' military roles in the Pacific battles from 1941 to 1945. Through the cinematic depictions, news film teams accomplished what Michel Foucault later described as masking power, divisive struggles and governmental tensions.

The expanding wartime media provided opportunities for Curtin and Roosevelt to restructure social cinema spaces, increasingly encouraging audiences to view the national leader in an equal relationship with citizens. Few broadcast journalists challenged the two leaders' image manipulations and they cooperated to replicate homespun messages of Curtin and Roosevelt as interacting with "the people" that resonated with wartime listeners, cinema audiences and radio magazine readers. Although the use of communication technologies has developed unevenly with

successive Australian and US governments, more democratic leaders have used the relatively new media to interact with citizens by appearing more ordinary than extraordinary, showing their rapport with voters. This historical analysis indicates a continuing need for journalists to delve beyond the relatively new forms of political leaders' communications and create substantive discussions for an informed, engaged citizenry.

3.6.1 Keeping journalism education at your fingertips

Marc Bryant ***Hunter Institute of Mental Heath***
Jenyfer Locke ***Hunter Institute of Mental Heath***

The Mindframe National Media Initiative aims to encourage responsible, accurate and sensitive reporting of mental illness and suicide in the Australian mass media. Mindframe (funded under the National Suicide Prevention Program) contributes to the evidence base around responsible reporting, working in partnership with universities, media and entertainment, health and police sectors nationally, with Mindframe guidelines embedded in all Australian media codes of practice. In line with a compelling body of evidence, the first global World Health Organisation (2014) report in 2014 on suicide prevention highlights that Australia leads the way in media collaboration in training of responsible reporting practices.

Social media apps are well recognised as one of the most popular communication platforms and are continuously evolving, allowing users new and meaningful ways to create and share online content. Mindframe acknowledges how the speed of online news communication impacts upon the ethical and legal responsibilities of journalistic practice. It has been established that approximately 25% of all users of the Mindframe website access it via a mobile or tablet device, thus Mindframe has developed a user-friendly app, designed with journalist's needs in mind.

The Mindframe app serves to complement the existing Mindframe program, website and online resources, which have proved to be very effective. This is evidenced in The Media Monitoring Project (2008) (Pirkis et al. 2008), which tracked reporting of suicide and mental illness in the Australian media over a 12-month period and found significant improvement in the quality of media reporting of suicide and mental illness.

The Mindframe app provides a relevant alternative for journalists and communication practitioners to enhance awareness of responsible reporting, improving social and emotional wellbeing and is updated regularly to reflect current research and guidelines. In addition to development and evaluation of the app and online learning, implications for journalism, journalism education and the media will be highlighted in this session on app use in an ever-changing journalism and social media landscape.

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3.6.2 Teaching newsworthiness and news values in the age of the visual

Helen Caple *The University of New South Wales*
Monika Bednarek *The University of Sydney*

News values, the values that determine the newsworthiness of an event, have been researched from many perspectives and across several disciplines. They are said to impact heavily on journalistic practice and, as some argue, 'govern each stage of the reporting and editing process' (Cotter 2010: 73) and 'become embedded in text' (Cotter 2010: 67).

Most researchers take a cognitive perspective on news values, conceptualizing them as beliefs or criteria, 'inter-subjective mental categories' (Fowler 1991, p.17), 'rules or codes' (Allan 2010, p.72) or 'internalized assumptions' (Cotter 2010, p.56, italics in original) that people hold/apply about qualities/aspects that make something newsworthy. In contrast, we have taken a complementary, discursive perspective (Bednarek & Caple 2012a/b, 2014) from which we can conceptualize news values in terms of how newsworthiness is constructed through verbal and visual resources. A discursive perspective on news values allows us to systematically investigate how these values are constructed in the different types of textual material involved in the news process (e.g. press release, interview, images, news story).

In this presentation we will explore this discursive approach with a particular focus on its impact for journalism education in an age where visual information is becoming increasingly important. We draw on Caple's experience in teaching aspiring journalists to showcase how this might work. In deconstructing actual instances of news reporting with students, we make explicit the tacit knowledge and experience of journalism professionals and provide insights into contemporary journalistic norms, practice and culture. In turn, journalism students can use these insights to influence their own original construction of multimodal news reporting as they seek to arm themselves with transferable skills across the multiple platforms through which we now engage with the news.

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3.6.3 Fact-checking and public trust journalism

Gordon Farrer *RMIT University*

Political journalism has been reshaped in the past few decades, changed by the rise of the professional communications adviser; the democratisation of online publishing platforms; the

multitude of new channels that allow public figures to deliver partisan messages to the public without being tested; the tendency for opinion to be given equal (if not greater than) weight to fact. These changes mean that journalism is less able to act as gatekeeper, agenda-setter and framer of issues to be debated in the public sphere; less able to hold power to account; less able to inform the population accurately and act as impartial umpire in public debate.

My research focuses on the content, practice and working philosophy behind fact-checking operations ABC Fact Check, politifact.com.au and The Conversation's Election Fact Check. I describe fact-checking operations as being involved in a "post-fact" process. "Post-fact" describes the practice of fact-checking operations to determine an answer to the question – made of a statement it selects to test – "Is that true?"

Because the post-fact process occurs after a statement has entered the public discourse, fact-checking operations must be distinguished from the fact-checking task journalists conduct *before* publication.

"Post-fact" also describes the space in which a particular kind of truth, embedded in narratives and debates created and informed by political rhetoric, is contested. This is a public space, socially and culturally constrained, informed by notions of expertise embedded in the professional philosophy of journalism.

This post-fact activity, I would argue, is a new incarnation of the traditional watchdog function of journalism. Fact-checking operations embody a process of journalism that makes judgements about bias, ruling "facts" in or out and judging the validity of applied rhetoric. "Post-fact", then, refers to an "elite" space within media practice, comprising, in effect, a kind of meta-journalism – that is, a journalism that is applied to manifestations of political power that includes journalism itself.

3.7.1 Crime and practice

Claire Konkes *University of Tasmania*

Media interest in crime goes beyond the salacious: crime can be a location for communities to examine perceived social problems and news journalism plays an important role in this process. In 2009 in Hobart, a 12-year-old ward of the state was advertised in a metropolitan newspaper as an 18-year-old prostitute. At least 100 men were estimated to have paid to have sex with her, but only one was arrested and prosecuted. Sustained coverage over the next two years was notable for its representation of community outrage, which included allegations of a cover up involving the highest levels of Tasmanian Government, the public service and the judiciary. Amendments to the *Criminal Code (Tas.)* in relation to child sex offences in 2013 was a direct outcome of the controversy. News coverage of the crimes, and the official and public response to the issues they raised, presented an ideal case study to examine the relationship between contemporary journalistic practice, representations of crime and mediatised controversy. Using frame analysis of news texts and semi-structured interviews with journalists and their sources, this study investigated the factors that contributed to socially useful news coverage tipping towards panic and conspiracy. The research found that individuals and organizations outside the newsroom, notably those with communications strategies that ignored or sought to deflect media interest, significantly informed news representation of this case. The definition of journalism and the capacity of news organisations to contribute to democratic deliberation are under scrutiny. The findings of this study highlight the extent to which the communication strategies of individuals and institutions outside of newsrooms can determine the nature of news content, public debate and political and policy decision-making.

3.7.2 Capturing the criminal: the (re)framing of evidentiary images as news visuals

Katrina Clifford *University of Tasmania*

While mug shots and newspaper photographs of notorious criminals have long-featured as part of the 'spectacle' of crime and punishment in society, more recently, there has been an identifiable shift in the types of visuals associated with the online reporting of significant violent crimes and news stories of controversial deaths, such as those in police custody. Increasingly, online news media coverage of these events has drawn on the use of graphic news visuals – CCTV images, Tasercam footage, video recordings of police interviews and walkthroughs, and crime scene photographs – that have been sourced from coronial briefs of evidence and courtroom proceedings. These images do not necessarily work within the conventional visual codes of documentary practice or photojournalism, although they have become increasingly central to mediated experiences of crime, violence and trauma. This paper explores this trend and the (re)framing or 're-coding' of these evidentiary images as news visuals through an analysis of the online reporting of several recent high-profile incidents. It does so in the context of the complex power dynamics, professional practices, and emerging technologies, interfaces and information flows between police, courts and news media in a changing media environment. The paper also attempts to situate the (re)framing discussion within broader critical frameworks, such as the ethics of representation, surveillance culture and the visual turn in media criminology, as well as continuing industry debates about sustainable business models for news journalism, and the push for innovation in online news delivery.

3.7.3 Copycat or Amok? Mass shootings and the media

Glynn Greensmith *Curtin University*

The mass shooting, of random people, retains a huge amount of media coverage in Australia, no matter where the crime occurs. The script of the coverage has become familiar, with a constant asking of 'Why?' this happened. What if the answer to the question 'Why?' was because we keep asking the question 'Why?'? In search of an answer, news organisations frame their coverage around an examination of the killer: motives; background; diary; home videos; blog posts; etc. What if that search, and the broadcast/publication of the results of that search, contributed to motivation for a potential killer? There has been no journalistic research analysis into the reporting choices made by journalists and editors when covering mass shootings. A benchmark study would enable journalists, and journalism educators, to make informed choices about coverage decisions and their consequences. In March 1996, a mass shooting occurred at a primary school in Dunblane, Scotland. This study will use framing analysis to examine the coverage received, (locally in Tasmania,) of the shooting in Scotland, leading up to the Port Arthur massacre, which took place just one month later. In seeking to undertake such a study, significant questions arise for the education of journalists. Copycat theory has underpinned the guidelines for the reporting of suicide and mental illness. Mass shootings have thus far fallen outside the established copycat model, but are equally linked to the framing of news coverage. An old Javanese phenomenon, Amok – random mass murder undertaken solely to boost social standing – offers us a (potentially) new understanding of the implications of a new model for the framing of the news coverage of mass shootings. A news framing analysis of the shooting leading up to Port Arthur will provide a benchmark study, which can then be used to determine whether guidelines for journalism, similar to those used in the reporting of suicide, are necessary.