

## More than a cliché? Futureproofing meaningful notions of professionalism in journalism teaching

Item Type	Article
Authors	Erzan-Essien, Ato
Citation	Erzan-Essien, A., C. (2019). More than a cliché? Futureproofing meaningful notions of professionalism in journalism teaching. <i>Journalism Education</i> , 8(2), 67-76.
Publisher	The Association for Journalism Education
Journal	Journalism Education
Rights	Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives 4.0 International
Download date	2026-05-10 20:51:15
Item License	<a href="http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/">http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/</a>
Link to Item	<a href="http://hdl.handle.net/10034/623545">http://hdl.handle.net/10034/623545</a>

# More than a cliché? Futureproofing meaningful notions of professionalism in journalism teaching

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## Abstract

Despite the existential challenge posed by a notion of professionalism within journalism both individually and organisationally, for many practitioners, it has become synonymous with good or even ‘ethical’ journalism practice. This has led to the contention that ‘professionalism’ is now an inherent component of a broader understanding of what constitutes ‘quality’ journalism. And although a paradigm of professionalism such as that alluded to in the Leveson Report might be effective within real world journalism practice, a pilot study analysing the use of the term ‘professionalism’ demonstrates that when it comes to journalism teaching, identifying the contexts in which such a notion is understood appears to be problematic.

## Introduction

**Journalism professionalism has long been identified as integral to the broader concept of the culture of journalism itself - one which Hanitschz defines as ideas and practices used by journalists to give legitimacy and meaning to their work and role in society (2007).**

As a consequence, it echoes the broader historical context of the idea of professionalism itself being used to perpetuate a perceived entitlement and control of access to a special status (Larson, 1977), a level of knowledge, a commitment to public service, standards of behaviour and symbols of achievement (Barber, 1965, cited in Ahern, 1971). Ultimately however, the concept of professionalism can be understood as a social construct (Holroyd, 2000) which is a continually-changing process determined by contexts and agendas (Helsby, 1999, cited in Evans, 2008).

In an attempt to pivot a notion of journalistic professionalism around these concepts, Singer (2003) identi-

fies three fundamental characteristics or specifically, dimensions of a profession a journalism practitioner might reflect, with the aim of furthering an understanding of what a journalist is and does.

The first of these characteristics is the cognitive, through which professionals seek to establish control over expertise as well as entry into their field (Stark, 1985, cited in Singer, 2003). The subsequent standardized body of knowledge equips aspiring professionals with the sense of superiority over the so-called ordinary person and therefore legitimises the social division of labour on which their continuing status depends (Larson, 1977: 46-47).

The second characteristic is the normative, that can be used to justify the profession's autonomy (Singer, 2003) and in turn, is typically expressed through self-regulation, because, so the argument goes, only professionals are qualified to assess and control their own ability to provide it - through the prescription of responsibilities of those inside the occupational group to those outside it (MacIver, 1966). This would usually be reinforced through codes of conduct, which, in the context of the UK newspaper industry for example, would be the Editor's Code. This in turn provides the framework for ethics codes used by (currently) two print industry regulatory bodies – the Independent Press Standards Organisation (IPSO) and IMPRESS.

The final characteristic is the evaluative – where the nature of the professional service is defined by the professional community itself through the setting of its own standards of adequate practice. This is underpinned by an ideology that justifies such an approach based on the belief that it best serves the public interest (Daniels, 1973). Furthermore, it places greater emphasis on status than financial incentives which, as a consequence, reinforces its claim that self-regulation derives from an expressed commitment to public service (Barber, 1965). However, as Singer is keen to stress, no profession meets these characteristics fully.

## Journalistic professionalism and normative theory

This paper argues that of the three characteristics of journalistic professionalism outlined above, the most complete claim journalism has to professional status is to be found in the normative characteristic.

However, it is important to emphasise that the term 'normative' has two distinct but related meanings in this context. The first meaning refers to the sociological characteristic of journalistic professionalism. The second, is understood and articulated in the context of normative theory and relates to journalistic practice.

Therefore, what links both meanings of 'normative' are the principles of acceptable media behaviour and consequently this is the starting point for professional practice. Therefore, the normative issues are concerned with what should be done and the ideal way for a media system to be structured and operated – or to put it in another way, not as it is but how it should be (Baran & Davis, 2009).

McQuail (2010) takes a broadly similar approach to defining the role of ethics in any given construct of journalistic professionalism and refers to '...how the media ought or are expected to be organized and to behave in the wider public interest and for the good of society as a whole' (p. 162).

Subsequently, there is a link here to what Singer terms the 'journalistic theory of democracy' – that a primary role of journalism is to provide information to citizens enabling them to more effectively participate in democratic processes (2003). This approach is further reflected in the normative paradigm espoused by Hanitschz (2011) which is associated with a detached watchdog role and the dissemination of populist and political information.

There is merit in a perspective acknowledging that journalists specify norms of conduct, standards of practice and ethical guidelines as a way of meeting what is perceived to be democratic obligations (2003). On the other hand, this fails to account for the political and commercial realities of operating in an environment that has become increasingly dominated by audience-driven agendas - further undermining the role of the journalist as gatekeeper. This in itself is a permutation of the view that there is a need for internal controls on professional (Singer, 2003) or, in this context, perceived normative, practice.

The transformation of online journalism into an ever-increasing variety of manifestations over the past 20 years has also had an impact. An effect of this is that one of the key distinctions made between online and so-called traditional news media can be found in perceived standards of ethical behaviour. These differences are further compounded by those who argue against any moves to simply transplant normative (ethical) practice from the traditional sphere to online platforms, even if it is seen as a good starting point for revisiting the fundamentals (Black, 1998: 16). This is because the latter is fundamentally different enough from the former for a compelling argument to be made for the introduction of bespoke guidelines (Deuze and Yeshua, 2001).

There is also the effect of justifying subversion of the journalistic ideals of individual practitioners to those of the news organizations they work for (Merrill, 1974; Soloski, 1989: 207; Birkhead 1986). In the context of journalism education, this perspective is reinforced in Nel's (2010) study which suggests a narrower defi-

nition of those attitudes and practices closely linked to organisational expectations of what is professional.

But while the case for maintaining core journalism competencies at the centre of journalism education remains compelling (Deuze, 2007; Baines and Kennedy, 2010), on its own it is insufficient. Relevant programmes need to offer greater flexibility to enable students not only to adapt and specialise (Nel, 2010) but also to develop greater efficacy in enhancing key transferrable skills. These would then enable emerging practitioners to thrive in an environment that demands competencies that go beyond the traditional skill-sets inherited from their educators (2010). Overholser (2010) takes this further by replacing the concept of journalism with the idea of 'information in the public interest' to enable practitioners and educators to continue to be effective participants within conversations around the changing *modus operandi* impacting on an industry where the audience are both news-shapers as well as news-consumers. Taking this approach into the sphere of journalism education, it is argued, would help to ensure journalism's long-term survival.

#### Contemporary normative theory and journalistic professionalism

The concept of a normative theory for the media emerged out of an early 20th century attempt to make it more 'professional' through improvements to its respectability and credibility. This typically committed journalists to serve the public as effectively as possible and 'uphold standards of professional practice' (Baran & Davis, 2009, p. 109).

Taking its cue from this point, normative theory would therefore attempt to provide answers to broader questions about the role of media in a society and address issues concerning its day-to-day operation, such as the type of moral and ethical standards that should guide media professionals (Barran & Davis, 2009).

However, it would also be fair to say that, insofar as the UK context is concerned, because of the commercial realities of the environments within which most ('mainstream') journalism continues to be practised, in addition to the fact that a significant number of ethical codes are voluntary (the OfCom code that governs broadcast media being the exception), a failure to adhere to them would not necessarily lead to a loss of professional status (Black, Steele and Barney, 1999). Furthermore, thanks to recent developments in media law in the UK - the Defamation Act 2013 and precedents established under Privacy case law, there are indications journalism ethical codes would be considered as part of judicial decisions regarding the publication of material perceived to be in the public interest (Dodd & Hanna, 2018; Quinn, 2015).

Ultimately however, the point is that broadly accepted obligations journalists have to serve citizens can become conflated with the requirement to serve customers. This in turn bolsters the criticism of ethics codes ignoring the influence and, indeed, even power that commercially-driven corporate organisations have to drive journalistic practice and decision-making. Paradoxically, this leads to less concern about public service and greater focus on maximizing profits and satisfying shareholders (McManus, 1994, cited in Aldridge and Evetts, 2003).

As a consequence, a further paradox is highlighted concerning an over-emphasis on the normative characteristic of journalistic professionalism having the potential to hinder the construction of ethical rules balancing the theoretical ideals and realities of the news production process because, 'an approach that adds practice to principle should be better prepared to offer rich media ethics scholarship and maintain real world relevance' (Joseph & Boczkowski, 2012).

In light of this, it is acknowledged that more specific types of questions might be required. These would include whether the media should do more than distribute content only driven by commercial considerations; for instance, does the media have an essential public service role that transcends the need to make a profit? Should the media be involved in addressing social issues? Is the media's watchdog role necessary or advisable? And what should be expected of the media during times of crisis? (Baran and Davis, 2009).

Alternatively, explanatory concerns could be raised about why action might diverge from normative expectations.

## Theoretical framework: Social responsibility theory

The contemporary understanding of the normative paradigm is derived from Seibert et al (1956) who identified four models: The first two are the libertarian or free press model (which focuses on what the audience wants rather than what it needs) and the social responsibility model (which reflects the libertarian 'free market' principles but stresses the media's duty to promote democracy, truth and social justice). A combination of these two models are regarded as characteristic of Western liberal democracies. There is also the authoritarian model - the idea that media must and should be subordinate to government and state control to maintain order (1956) and the communist - similar to the former but based around the principle that the media should serve the interests of the masses.

These paradigms are further reflected on in the 'four professional milieus' identified in Hanitzsch's (2011,

also cited in Ornerbring, 2016) study of journalists' values and notions of their societal role. These are apparent across national and organizational parameters and articulated in an arena termed 'the journalistic field' (2011). Grounded in the work of Bourdieu (2005), the structure of the journalistic field is characterized as 'a structured social space, a field of forces, a force field... [containing] ...people who dominate and others who are dominated' (Bourdieu, 1998, p.40).

Hanitzsch utilizes this theory to devise a framework for the analysis of journalism as an arena to compete for the power to impose the dominant vision of the field (2011).

As a concept, Social Responsibility theory identifies journalistic standards that its proponents argue the media should aspire to uphold, including obligations to society and that ownership of it should be a public trust. It should also be truthful, accurate and fair, objective and relevant; it should be free but self-regulating and follow agreed codes of ethics and professional conduct. The theory also asserts that there is a public interest in government intervention under some circumstances (McQuail, 2010, p. 171).

The origin of this approach appears to emanate from an ontological basis for freedom and responsibility put forward by William Hocking, one of the members of the (Hutchings) Commission on Freedom of the Press (in the United States): 'Inseparable from the right of the press to be free has been the right of the people to have a free press. But the public interest has advanced beyond that point: it is now the right of the people to have an adequate press' (Hocking, 1947, cited in McQuail, 2010, p. 171).

Hocking's approach derived from a concept of positive freedom that diverged from classical liberalism perpetuating a negative conception of freedom he saw as bankrupt, equating it with an absence of restraint (Christians & Fackler, 2014). Positive freedom could therefore be considered 'a mature state of decision making, free both from internal constraint such as fear and ignorance and from external constraints' (p. 334), such as government regulation.

Ultimately however, Hocking holds the state responsible for ensuring the liberty of its institutions - with education being the primary means of achieving this. He stresses that such an approach 'must aid the development of a worldview and moral base' (p. 335).

This remained a framework adapted more readily and, to a limited extent, more effectively in Western Europe. It subsequently precipitated commissions and enquiries into the press, such as the United Kingdom's 1962 and 1977 Royal Commissions on the Press which examined its diversity and concentration with a view to maintaining the health of its democracy (Royal Commission Report, 1977, cited in Burnet and Rees, 1978). However, despite recommendations to introduce measures limiting monopolization of the UK press and government legislation to ensure this, it was not proved to be effective – even though monopolization was recognized by both commissions as a consistent threat to the very ideals they sought to uphold (Curran and Seaton, 2001).

Elsewhere in Western Europe, other schemes were introduced which aligned more closely with the positive freedom model proffered by Hocking, ranging from subsidies to assist publication launches, to grants and tax concessions designed to prevent their closures (Curran and Seaton, 2001). More recently, the European Union has robustly pursued large media conglomerates attempting to purchase swathes of media platforms across the continent (European Union, 2014).

This approach also left its mark on the 2011 Leveson Inquiry into the culture, practices and ethics of the (UK) press. Hocking had emphasised that positive freedom should not be used as an excuse for government interference or political intervention in media regulation, stressing its role as a "...residual legatee" of last resort' (Christians & Fackler, 2014, p. 336). Lord Leveson also reflected this notion in his report's recommendations - describing a 'backstop regulator...required if either the whole of the press industry had failed to accept the principle of independent regulation [and] refused to engage with an independent regulator [which] would undeniably reinforce the need for some statutory system of standards to be put in place' (Leveson, 2012, p. 1793).

## Journalistic professionalism in the context of education

The sociological definitions of professionalism alluded to earlier, expose further challenges when applied to journalism. This is despite consistent use by many of its practitioners to describe the excellence to which they aspire (Weaver and Wilhoit, 1996: 125). Indeed, there is a compelling view that in journalism education, the notion of professionalism is not only used as part of a socialization process but also as a marketing tool – to emphasize the specialist knowledge that both the discipline specifically and wider industry generally, use to bolster their claims to professional legitimacy (Singer, 2003). But this cannot necessarily be said to apply just as equally to those practitioners working from online platforms. They draw talent from a much broader skillset than more traditional media and operate in an environment that is as rapidly changing as it is

unpredictable. Coupled with a lack of tradition and provision for much opportunity to reflect (Lynch, 1998), this has led some to argue that journalists' self-perceptions of their status and their role are more important than fitting into a set of sociological criteria (Shoemaker and Reese, 1996).

Indeed, with the benefit of hindsight, Carey's (1987) observation that 'the public will begin to awaken when they are addressed as a conversational partner and are encouraged to talk rather than sit passively as spectators before a discussion conducted by journalists and experts' (p.17, cited in Christians and Fackler, 2014), could be interpreted as a canny presage of the current online, social media-dominated environment which appears to have created the conditions for just that. And this is in spite of what appears to be increasingly sophisticated incarnations of fake news and the widespread perception that more and more online participants explore and understand the world only within the comfort zones of their own social and ideological boundaries (Zuckerberg, 2018).

As a consequence, the impact of the internet on such notions of journalistic professionalism is unavoidable. Broddason (1994: 241) argued long before it became apparent to most, that the gatekeeping function of journalists would diminish as newsgathering expertise became more readily accessible to the general public, leading to a 'deprofessionalisation' of the field. Fast-forward a few years and Lasica (2001) was envisioning the personalization of news - which has since morphed from tailoring online tools enabling the consumer only to access the information they want to see, into algorithms that tailor information according to the consumer's online browsing habits and now developing into yet even more sophisticated algorithms capable of targeting online information at consumers based on personality types. Such ability to garner information about how a consumer uses the web as opposed to what they use (or see) on the web (such as tracking an individual's eye movements) to predict character, personality and more recently, emotional state (Hardy, 2015; Hoppe, Loetscher, Morey & Bulling, 2018; Zuboff, 2019a), provide consumers with the opportunity to move beyond a focus only on information reflecting their worldview, to a consumption of media content that offers up a mirror to themselves. In turn, and more concerning however, is that the data harvested from these latest algorithms are currently fuelling a new kind of commerce - a market specializing in trading predictions of consumers' future behaviour; in other words, 'behaviour futures markets' (Zuboff, 2019b). In this sphere, the protagonists are epitomized by the likes of the now defunct data firm Cambridge Analytica and its controversial harvesting of personal information from private social media accounts (Cadwalladr & Graham-Harrison, 2018).

Others however, would maintain the view that journalism's commitment to public service and its demand for practitioner expertise supersede these concerns and make it a profession for all practical purposes (Dennis, 1996). It therefore compels a greater focus on practice itself rather than the environment in which it takes place (Singer, 2003). This perspective reflects the generally established consensus that a journalist is committed to honesty, fairness, independence and respect for the rights of others – regardless of the technology or platform (MEAA, 2019) and additionally includes original reporting and writing, a commitment to truth over novelty or expediency as well as autonomy from commercial and governmental influence (Singer, 2003). Ultimately, the nature of the professional activity and the determined norms under which it is conducted take precedence. In light of this, it would be fair to conclude that most journalists do consider themselves to be professionals with many of the attributes of a profession being relevant to their practice (Singer, 2003).

There is also a further, but apparently contrary, consideration: the view that taken in its entirety, the concept of journalistic professionalism, particularly of the type that might be taught on journalism teaching programmes, encourages a homogeneity that undermines a diversity of styles and approaches; epitomizing one of the defining characteristics and strengths of a thriving, free press (Glasser, 1992).

This is a perspective reflected in cultural studies that argues against the idea of journalistic professionalism – that practitioners are beholden to corporate interests and influences, consequently leading to the assumption that journalism skills mirror a corporate agenda (Greenberg, 2007) and the journalism educator's agenda defined by the media industry (Chapman and Papatheodorou, 2004). This is therefore incompatible with the idea of critical reflection due to its 'unquestioning approach to set rules' (2004) based on a competence model holding scant regard for reflection beyond nothing more than 'a reconsideration of how better to apply the rules guiding journalistic practice in order to achieve pre-specified objectives' (2004).

## Methodology, research design and the challenge of evaluation

The overarching aim of the study outlined in this paper is therefore to identify whether there are clear and viable notions of journalistic professionalism in current journalism teaching content and whether, as well as to what extent, it has any bearing on the development of notions of journalistic professionalism in under-

graduates who progress to full-time practitioners. More specifically, there is particular focus around how concepts of professionalism manifest themselves in the learning and teaching of journalism law and ethics.

The research design is focused around the framing of a theoretical concept of professionalism formulated from a response to the following questions:

How is journalistic professionalism defined and measured in the context of journalism teaching and practice? Are current teaching models for law and ethics on undergraduate journalism programmes consistent with the development of journalistic professionalism in practice?

At the commencement of any analysis into notions of journalistic professionalism in journalism teaching, it must first be acknowledged that the act of engaging in evaluation is in itself a political statement and reformist in nature, which has the aim of developing initiatives that would help solve a 'social' problem (Pawson & Tilley, 1997).

Therefore, if an exploration based around accurately defining journalistic professionalism is approached from the prism of the lack of a definition being a social problem, the starting point for articulating a methodology robust enough for this study should be to establish why the perceived lack of clarity in the definition is problematic in the first place.

With a view to establishing a surer footing for the rationale underpinning this approach, a pilot study was undertaken with the aim of identifying whether key topics relevant to media law and ethics could provide a clearer construct of notions of professionalism than is currently available.

The first stage of this approach was therefore to identify how such notions might currently feature within journalism teaching content itself. It therefore began with a conventional review of documents related to courses delivered and/or accredited by the two leading journalism training bodies in the UK – the National Council for the Training of Journalists (NCTJ) and the Broadcast Journalism Training Council (BJTC).

The review was a deliberately broad attempt at describing a general phenomenon (Hseih and Shannon, 2005) prior to pursuing a more in-depth approach to establishing the proposed hypothesis on a more reliable foundation. In the initial study, the focus of the analysis was on the use of the term 'professionalism' and variant terms such as 'professional' in the participatory documents.

It was envisaged that as a consequence, the study would later be replicated with a more systematic analysis involving content analysis and subsequent interviews of specified stakeholders from which more specific conclusions could be drawn (Rose et al, 2015) and meaning identified (Berg, 2009).

## Data analysis

In the NCTJ course information documents examined online, the only reference to the terms 'professionalism' or 'professional' was in general reference to two of the programmes – the Diploma in Journalism which is described as equipping trainee journalists with the knowledge and skills for professional entry level journalism (NCTJ, 2018) and the National Qualification in Journalism described as the industry's professional qualification that trainee journalists with a minimum of 18 months employment can take to achieve senior status as a journalist (2018). It is also described as 'the NCTJ's professional senior qualification that examines all-round competence in a range of essential journalism skills' (NCTJ, 2018). Throughout all the documentation analysed, there is no explicit definition of what is meant by the term 'professional' in the context in which it is used, nor are there any examples or implications that might explain the term in the context in which it is used. This perceived absence of a clear meaning of the term is compounded in a reading of more detailed course documentation, including the qualification specifications and programmes of study for the four core topic areas – the news report, news interview, media law and practice and e-logbook – none of which mention the terms 'professional' or 'professionalism' or other variant throughout.

The BJTC course documentation on the other hand, refers to the term 'professional' on a number of occasions throughout its online course documentation, including referring to members of its council as 'professional journalists who advise and inspect the course' (BJTC, 2018). Another document describes one of the key roles of the BJTC as inviting training providers to 'define their own educational and professional objectives against which they are judged' (2018).

Other documentation describes the BJTC as offering 'a model of professional accreditation as being valued by industry and higher and further education institutions because it represents a benchmark of best practice and in setting the standards for multi-platform journalism training', and another document refers to the same model of 'professional accreditation...against which potential students can judge prospective courses and those new courses seeking accreditation can measure their progress.' (2018)

The results of the analysis pointed towards both sets of documentation appearing to reflect the hypothesis that there are no clearly defined notions of professionalism in key journalism teaching narratives.

## Conclusion

The problem with defining notions of journalistic professionalism in journalism teaching is contrasted with the significantly clearer concepts of professionalism established in areas of practice such as medicine or law which some sectors of the media industry historically sought to emulate (Singer, 2003). However, taking this approach would not be without its limitations, because unlike those sectors for instance, such a concept in journalism education would not include standards for training and licensing with ‘...media practitioners having less independent control over their work’ (Baran & Davis, 2009, p. 111). This is most explicitly laid bare when examining the challenges of teaching ethics on practice-focused journalism courses such as those accredited by the NCTJ, which serve as a useful reflection of the ongoing tensions between the delivery of theoretical and practice-based disciplines within journalism education.

An alternative perspective as to why the problem of a definition of journalistic professionalism in journalism teaching appears to be so difficult to pin down, would be based on the proposition that if professionalism is defined within the ethical parameters set out earlier, it would be imperative for the methodological approaches relied upon for this study to attain a level of consensus on how ethics should be defined.

However, if this approach were to be taken, it would become apparent that one of the challenges in formulating a methodology for this type of study is the perceived paucity of adequate methodological approaches implemented in ethics research. A potential parallel to what could be found in journalism ethics research was highlighted in Randall and Gibson’s (1990) review of 94 business ethics research papers which found full methodological detail was provided in less than half of the articles examined.

It could, therefore, be more useful to turn to a contemporary but arguably more generally applicable definition of journalism ethics as a reliable basis for this study.

The first volume of Lord Leveson’s report of the inquiry into the culture, practices and ethics of the press (2012) puts forward a definition of ethics that it states ‘...can be understood at a simple level, by reference to the choices available to a free press, where those choices may have consequences for the benefit or harm of others, whether individuals, groups or the public as a whole’ (p. 81).

Leveson then expands on this - explaining the choices are those by which journalists can exercise their freedoms in order to either fulfil or undermine their role in a democracy and that such choices fall within the framework of the law, even though these do not necessarily complement one another. The report then provides examples of areas which would reflect the sorts of ethical behaviour expected under the definition and argues that these further serve to re-emphasise that press freedom by itself is not enough to protect the benefits of democracy for which it is a prerequisite (2012). These include freedom of communication, accuracy, the protection of sources, holding power to account, respect for the individual and the self-determination of others.

This is a perspective on journalism ethics echoed by Pickard (2011) in his apt description of normative journalism practice as a ‘public good’ but in doing so roundly rejects the influence of the what is termed in the context of this discussion, the ‘commercial imperative’ (ie. The impact of operating within a commercial environment on ethical decision-making):

*‘...it is an essential public service with social benefits that transcend its revenue stream. In its ideal form, journalism creates tremendous positive externalities. It serves as a watchdog over the powerful, covers crucial social issues, and provides a forum for diverse voices and viewpoints. As such, journalism functions as democracy’s critical infrastructure.’ (ibid, p. 76)*

It therefore follows that the duties and responsibilities of the press follow on from the reasons underpinning a desire for a free press (Mendus, cited in Leveson, 2012).

In a similar vein, Leveson endorses the argument that if press freedom is regarded as an end in itself, it becomes insensitive to the factors that underpin it in the first place, such as the aforementioned prerequisites as well as others, including rigour, balance and avoidance of conflicts of interest (Megone, cited in Leveson, 2012).

But this is also problematic because: ‘assuming that a process (a free press) will achieve a beneficial goal allows journalists and editors to fail to address carefully the question of what exactly that distinctive purpose is, or how it relates to other parts of the public interest.’ (Megone, 2012, and cited in Leveson, 2012, p. 83)

Furthermore, there is a public interest in press diversity and accountability, as well as freedom (Cruft, cited in Leveson, 2012) which in turn, goes hand-in-hand with responsibility (Megone, cited in Leveson, 2012).

Leveson uses this expanded definition of ethics to reinforce his overarching point that ethical standards are consistent with press freedom and necessary for it to fully realise the value of such freedom (2012) summarising it thus: ‘With freedom, rights and privilege therefore come choices, and with choices, responsibilities as to how they are exercised and with what consequences. With choices which affect the public sphere,

come also public accountabilities.’ (2012, p. 85)

But Leveson also warns that although an ethical approach requires care and awareness, diversity and plurality, in the context of a free press operating within the framework of what is understood to be a democracy (ie. the Western model), this would (normally) take place in a highly competitive environment which in turn impacts on what would be perceived to be the public interest (2012).

Nonetheless, the view that notions of journalism professionalism in journalism teaching, along with professional education in general, are inherently part of a socialization process used to bolster its claims to professional legitimacy (Singer 2003), could also indicate a level of an inherent, but as yet undefined and unquantifiable quality which, if considered sufficient, equates content and structure with normative practice, or, industry standards – whatever those standards are perceived to be.

Therefore, any notion of journalistic professionalism at the very least, ought to reflect the view that an idealised perception of professionalism taught in journalism education continues to pivot around the reporter and his/her basic functions as a gatherer of news, evaluating information, production and distribution (Mensing, 2010).

As a consequence, from the perspective of significant numbers of students undertaking journalism courses, the experience of learning efficacy should emanate from the reproduction of established bodies of knowledge which they, in turn, would legitimately expect to be related to professional journalistic practice (Wright, 2012).

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This is the full version of a paper presented by the author to the World Journalism Education Congress at Paris-Dauphine University in July 2019.