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Contemporary Journalism Education and the Employability Agenda in Scotland's Universities

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DECLARATION

I declare that this work has been composed solely by myself, under the supervision of university-appointed supervisors from June 2014 to December 2019, and that it has not been submitted, in whole or in part, in any previous application for a degree. Except where states otherwise by reference or acknowledgment, the work presented is entirely my own.

ABSTRACT

Journalism education in Scotland's universities is failing to meet the demands of the 21st Century. Scottish journalism education has become homogenised, siloed in pre-digital modes of production and disconnected from the skills and expectations of potential employers in the news industry. Furthermore, the lack of teaching in Scottish universities around the democratic role of journalism and in critical approaches to news, has undermined the ethos of democracy among graduands and therefore fails to adequately contribute to upholding democracy within society as a whole. This study suggests a radical rethink of journalism education is necessary in Scotland to more appropriately reflect current circumstances, contemporary critical thinking and to ensure the sustainability not only of the Scottish media, but also of Scottish democracy. This study explores how university-level journalism education in Scotland has evolved alongside technological and other shifts that have changed the face and prospects of news businesses, with a particular focus on the notion of employability and its evolution. This research employs face-to-face interviews with current and former university journalism educators and professionals in associated organisations who work in advisory roles to university journalism departments, including employers of students with journalism degrees, to explore how Scottish universities have adapted in order to enhance the employability of their students in an industry that has suffered a decline in jobs. In addition, it includes analysis of key university documents.

Keywords: journalism, university education, employability, Scotland, news media, democracy

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CD	Compact Disc
CV	Curriculum Vitae
ECREA	European Communication Research and Education Association
HEI	Higher Education Institutions
HESA	Higher Education Statistics Agency
IAMCR	International Association for Media and Communication Research
ICA	International Communications Association
Ofcom	The Office of Communications (regulator for communications services)
QAA	Quality Assurance Agency for Higher Education
RAE/RAF/REF	Research Assessment Exercise/Research Assessment Framework /Research Excellence Framework
Scotvec	Scottish Vocational Educational Council
Scotbec	Scottish Business Education Council
SQA	Scottish Qualifications Authority
SCQF	Scottish Credit and Qualifications Framework
UK	United Kingdom
UWS	University of the West of Scotland
VoD	Video on Demand

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.I OVERVIEW: RESEARCH CONTEXT AND QUESTIONS

In this dissertation, I argue that while the Scottish education model is unique in the context of UK education, journalism education in Scotland's universities is nonetheless failing to meet the challenging demands of the 21st Century. Scottish university journalism education, with few exceptions, has become homogenised, siloed into pre-digital modes of production and disconnected from the skills needed and the expectations of potential employers in the news industry. Furthermore, the lack of teaching in Scottish universities around the democratic role of journalism and in critical approaches to news, has undermined the ethos of democracy among graduands and therefore arguably eroded democracy within society as a whole. This conclusion, along with other findings contained in this dissertation, suggests a radical rethink of journalism education is necessary in Scotland's universities to more appropriately reflect current circumstances in the news industry, respond to contemporary critical thinking and to ensure the sustainability not only of the Scottish media, but also of Scottish democracy.

While Scotland is integrated at many levels into the United Kingdom culturally, economically, politically and historically, it nonetheless retains an important and demonstrable sense of national identity. It has its own elected Parliament at Holyrood in Edinburgh and exercises a range of devolved powers including education and health. Periodically, Scotland contemplates complete autonomy from the other nations comprising the United Kingdom, most recently in the narrowly defeated independence referendum in 2014. In stark contrast with England, Scotland voted overwhelmingly to remain in the European Union in the 2016 referendum with all 32 council areas backing a Remain vote (BBC https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-scotland-scotland-politics-36599102).

Scotland's media industry is distinguishable and different to the often London-based news empires that predominate in Britain's print, broadcast and converged, online media topography. There is no local non-commercial radio in Scotland, for instance, as exists in many parts of England. By 2017 there were slightly over 160 newspapers covering Scotland's 32 local authorities, while London had about half that number for 33 authorities -– and double the population (McLellan, n.p). Similarly, Higher and Further Education in Scotland has emerged from a different historic trajectory than has been the case in England and the oth-

er nation states. Tertiary education in Scotland is still free. This is not the result of pragmatic or even expedient political decision-making, but is the natural consequence of the way Scotland's educational system evolved from its Presbyterian roots. Educational values and emphases are simply different compared to other parts of the United Kingdom, as I will demonstrate later in this dissertation. Arguably this difference has become more pronounced since Scotland was granted the devolved power of education in the late 1990s.

With such a small corpus of scholarly work existing on the Scottish media and even less on journalism education in Scotland, it would be easy to assume that what holds true in London may also be true in Edinburgh, or in the Outer Hebrides or in Inverness. My research, however, shows that there are many variances and contrasts. And while there is much that Scotland and the rest of the UK home nations hold in common, there are plenty of areas in which there has been clear divergence and difference. One example is immigration policy which again has very different objectives in Scotland compared to England.

The development of journalism and of journalism education, the central focus of this dissertation, is another sphere of difference that has been largely unmapped by scholars. But the evidence from this research confirms there are clear differences between Scotland's experience and that of the other home nations. These include variations in learner journeys, attitudes to accreditation, the development of specialisms and in understanding and implementing the vital notion of employability. It is possible these divergences have had an impact on matters as important as the quality of democracy, the parameters of press freedom and the prospects for independent journalism. But unless these divergences and differences are investigated, we will never know.

Meanwhile, the emergence and rapid maturation of the global digital economy has had a powerful impact both on journalism and on journalism education across the world. New technologies, new skills and new expectations from employers, politicians, consumers and from technology-savvy, digital native students have placed journalism educators under immense pressure. News companies are having to identify new work practices and strategies in order to continue to make a meaningful contribution to employment creation and economic growth. This, in turn, has implications for the types of qualities — skills and personal attributes — employers require of employees. It is in this context that this study examines how university-level journalism education in Scotland has evolved alongside the biggest technological change for generations, namely the gear change from a manufacturing-based economy to a knowledge economy.

In spite of this rapidly evolving terrain, students in the UK, and in Scotland, fascinated by their media-centric world have fuelled explosive demand for journalism education. In 2007, Hanna and Saunders (p.404) observed that the number of undergraduate journalism students in Britain had risen fivefold since 1994/95 as journalism education underwent a rapid expansion as previously seen in other countries. More than a decade on, this growth was showing no sign of abating. By early 2016, undergraduate students could choose from 438 journalism courses at UK universities, with 24 undergraduate journalism degree programmes available in Scotland (unistats.ac.uk)[1]. In early 2018, this number was even higher for the UK, which was offering 505 undergraduate journalism courses, while the number of programmes available in Scotland was stable at 24 at undergraduate level (ibid).

Naturally, for all of these students, their parents, their lecturers, for governments and for the media industry, employability is a fundamental issue. Gedye et al (2004) in Jackson and Day (2007) argue that the main reason for the new wave of interest in the UK in employabil-ity since the turn of the century is a requirement by the government for Higher Education Institutions (HEIs) to supply data on the employability of their graduates. The UK govern-ment, meanwhile, is driven by a view that a higher-skilled labour force will reduce poverty and, on a macro scale, lead to economic growth. However, argue Jackson and Day (2007), there are conflicting definitions of employability as HEIs "seek to provide students with em-ployability skills in order to reach the attainment of acceptable graduate employment fig-ures" (p.21). These conflicts are evident as "course teams are unclear as to whether to put their energies into equipping students with subject-related and generic skills or to help them find a job". Tymon reflects that, regardless of the ongoing debate about whether they can and should, most higher education institutions include the development of employability skills within their curricula with a view to producing good employment statistics that in turn generate favourable outcomes on league tables (2013, p.841). Nevertheless, employers continue to report that graduates are not ready for the world of work, and lack some of the most basic skills needed for successful employment (ibid).

In Scotland, the notion of employability has a particular resonance in policy due to its emergence as a value-laden priority from a specific, historical context in which education was intended to be non-elitist and universal. This dissertation presents a narrative of the development of employability in Scotland that has not been told before, pieced together from periodic governmental reviews and secondary sources with an interest in education but not

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1 *UK-wide, organisational statistics on the numbers of students studying journalism are not publicly available.*

necessarily journalism. This Scottish imperative to serve employability objectives has exacerbated the simmering tension between theoretical teaching and practical instruction that has animated debates in global journalism education for half a century.

This dissertation investigates the development and current state of journalism education in Scottish Universities with a special focus on employability. It asks questions about the appropriateness of the training offered, the pressures to conform to UK-wide, often global norms and raises questions about the consequences of such activities for democracy and the freedom of the press.

This dissertation does not offer a comprehensive comparative critique of the Scottish, Welsh, English and Northern Irish media educational systems as this is far beyond the scope of a single PhD research project. What it does offer is a focused examination of employability in a Scottish context, how it developed and why, what this has meant for journalism education in Scottish universities and what this says about the long-term consequences that arise as a result of the current status quo. It does this largely through collecting and analysing the experiences and understanding of 19 of the sector's leading authorities and includes a review and analysis of the documents, texts and narratives produced by universities to describe their mission and work.

This study proposes to add depth to the academic narrative of university journalism education in Scotland, by examining factors influencing the evolution of this sector and extrapolating trends and shedding new light on them. The Research Questions are as follows:

RQ1: How did employability come to be articulated within Scottish university journalism education?

RQ2: How have Scottish universities responded to their understanding of the imperative of employability in journalism education?

RQ3: What are the implications of current patterns in Scottish journalism education for employability, democracy and for quality, independent journalism?

1.II RESEARCH RELEVANCE

This research is located within the emerging field of comparative journalism education.

Scholars agree that journalism education itself is not a mainstream line of enquiry. The "history of journalism education is not a crowded field of research", states Gardestrom (2015, p. 4), with the focus on historical studies about certain journalism schools or journalism programmes in specific countries or periods – for example war time (ibid). As Deuze (2006a) has noted: "Journalism is a more or less autonomous field of study across the globe, yet the education and training of journalists is a subject much debated — but only rarely researched" (p.19).

The value and strength of this research lies in adding to the emerging field of comparative journalism education, with journalism education worldwide best understood, as Goodman and Steyn (2017, p.7) point out, when placed in context. This often starts by addressing a region or country's media systems and journalistic practice and role perceptions. From the perspective of Scotland's university journalism sector, research on journalism education is thin as it is elsewhere in the world, though it is worth noting that journalism education proper was only introduced as a course in its own right at undergraduate level at universities in Scotland in 2000 (Melville, 2002) and so therefore it stands to reason that there is relatively little research on journalism education in Scotland. Until Edinburgh Napier University introduced an undergraduate journalism degree programme, the closest equivalent was a film degree with a component of media studies (Frith and Meech, 2007). By 2020, six Scottish universities offered undergraduate degree programmes in journalism (see appendices 2, 3).

It is argued, furthermore, that it is highly relevant to investigate education delivery. There is government pressure for education providers to play a role, through service provision, in maintaining high levels of employment and positive economic growth. In addition, there is an expectation for university journalism educators to be accountable from an economic perspective — to governments, students and other stakeholders other than financial beneficiaries of news organisations. Education and, directly linked to this, employability are priorities for the Scottish government. There are a number of nation-specific reports that detail these policies, including the 2010 Green Paper "Building a Smarter Future: Towards a Sustainable Scottish Solution for the Future of Higher Education" (Scottish Government, 2010).

In the government's Skills for Scotland report (2007), Fiona Hyslop (then Cabinet Secretary for Education and Lifelong Learning), explains the rationale for the parochial focus on employability in policies. She states: "We need both a skilled population and an economy and society that makes full and productive use of these skills. This will be one of the central

planks to building a wealthier Scotland and should be seen in the context of our developing new economic approach" (p.3). She highlighted the need for a society and employers who are "truly demanding of our education and training systems" (2007, p.3). In addition to improving employability for the unemployed, it is essential that "everyone can see clear and tangible benefits from investing in their own development" (ibid). This government document notes that Scottish investment in education for at least the last 30 years has been higher than the rest of the UK, resulting in a well-qualified population. In order to encourage citizens to educate themselves, Scotland abolished university tuition fees for full-time home and European Union undergraduates in 2008, though not for students from England and Wales. A funding gap, caused by the introduction of variable fees in England from 2012, has been covered by the Scottish government by charging students from the rest of the UK, and outside the European Union, higher fees and increasing public investment (Bruce, 2015). This arguably heightens the requirement of accountability.

The demand for increased accountability of Scottish education providers is part of an increasing push globally by governments, students and prospective students and other stakeholders towards making institutions of higher education accountable that started gathering momentum in the late 1990s. "All want to know if the educational institutions are doing their jobs; many want to know which ones are doing those jobs better than others," observe Becker and Kosicki (1998, p.1). There is considerable evidence to suggest that higher education plays a critical role, not only in the well-being of individuals who are the recipients of the education but also economies (Blundell et al, 1999). "[P]ositive economic returns to education at the individual level have been consistently found, with such returns varying by the type and level of the qualification obtained, by subject area for higher education and over time" (ibid, p.18). Additional "direct evidence on the importance of human capital for national productivity growth is provided by growth regressions, where the education measures have been found to be significant explanatory variables, with higher education being the most relevant education variable for more developed countries" (ibid).

The mainstream media has faced increasing competition from a variety of sources, with threats ranging from news aggregators — global giants like Google, but start-up companies as well (Barber, 2011) — to social media. Along with these changes has come the requirement for new skills. For example, the digital era requires new journalistic skills in verification (Hujanen, 2017). Mangold and Faulds (2009) have pointed out that there is a general tendency to underestimate the role of the social media — not only in the commercial environ-

ment but also in academia (p.358). While there is a burgeoning literature developing theory on social media, there is a paucity of work on developing practical expertise among journalists that moves beyond the capabilities of social media users, in so doing setting them apart as specialists. This gap in journalism curricula is identified in a study on the impact of mobile and social media on journalism education that explored the approach at universities in Cardiff and Arizona and included interviews with employers at the BBC (UK) and Los Angeles Times (US) (Cochrane et al, 2012).

This research, therefore, looks at how Scottish university journalism education provides education that is responsive to digital technological developments in relation to employability. It aims to excavate the extent to which curricula explore the new and changing realities for journalism practitioners and how Scotland's universities are aiming to equip journalism students for a digital revolution that is still in progress, or digital evolution, as some might argue, as well as the other factors transforming the field of journalism. In the primary research, key stakeholders are asked about how they are preparing students for an environment that is changing ever-faster and in unknown ways.

The challenges of the current era include, inter alia, the migration of advertising online, changes in media consumption patterns, for example the well-documented shift from print to digital content, competing demands for disposable income and the atomisation, or splitting and concentrated segmentation, of news audiences. All news media sectors have been impacted by changes as the digital media have continued to evolve. These changes include consumers switching from computers to mobile phones to access information and social media networks replacing newsstands and broadcast channels as consumers' first entry point to news items. To illustrate the pace of change: In the UK, teenagers were spending as much time each week — 17 hours — on the Internet as they were watching television (Moore, 2013), with the broadcast media set for more challenging times along with the print media as the trend in favour of individuals accessing news through non-traditional, digital media continues to show no sign of abating. By 2017, more than three-quarters (77%) of households in Scotland had access to the internet and roughly the same figure had smartphones (Ofcom). According to Ofcom, by late 2017, in Scotland, live TV was still the main viewing choice for keeping up to date with the news and current events. "This emphasises the important role live TV continues to play in keeping us informed and up to date, something that fewer people in Scotland feel is offered by on-demand services. Nevertheless, more people in Scotland are taking advantage of Video on Demand (VoD), with 57% using

the BBC iPlayer and three in ten adults watching programmes and films on YouTube," the authors of a Scotland Communications Market report noted (2017). States Saperstein (2014): "The news industry has had a rough decade. Print readership is steadily declining, newspapers are closing, and journalists with decades of experience are being laid off" (n.p). Since 2002, there has been considerable upheaval for media industries and markets, requiring a rethink from analysts, reflects Doyle (2013): "New technologies, changing consumption behaviours and greater competition have impacted significantly on the organisation and economics of media and this has created a need for fresh analytical approach to questions and themes that, in the digital era, are essential to an understanding of the economics of the contemporary media industries" (p.xi) These shifts undoubtedly have implications for the design and delivery of teaching programmes as future employees in the news media sector will require different skills sets from previous cohorts. As highlighted by Thussu (2008) in a study on the rise of news as entertainment in the news media industry: new global infrastructures, such as 'network' technologies, have made redundant many traditional ways of teaching and researching the media" (p.3) and, ergo, journalism.

The alternative — not doing enough to address business model disruption –- has significant consequences for all sectors. Contemporary business is peppered with examples of organisations that have failed to adapt successfully to the digital economy. A high profile example is camera production company Kodak, which held a strong position in its sector for decades before filing for bankruptcy in 2012 after failing to adapt to digital photography. Hirt and Willmott (2014) highlight the pace and extent of change that is dramatically altering the face of business across the world, with digital technologies making CDs redundant in favour of subscription models like Spotify. The same applies to the news industry: it cannot afford to be complacent or reactive to change, as the recent demise of Johnston Press arguably demonstrates. Lionel Barber, editor of the London-based Financial Times, highlighted this truism in his seminal Fulbright Lecture on the future of news and newspapers in the digital revolution in 2011: "The secular shift to the web was apparent well before the dotcom boom but accelerated during the global financial crisis. More than 100 newspapers in the US shut down in 2009 alone." While the US fared worse than other countries, states Barber, the UK print news media industry also experienced extreme financial pressure, with newspaper revenues falling by 21 per cent between 2007 and 2009 (ibid). Although there were about 150 newspapers in Scotland contributing an estimated annual £1bn to the Scottish economy towards the end of the second decade (The Scottish Newspaper Society, 2019), by 2017 newspapers were barely featuring as a main source of news, An 2017 Ofcom survey

indicating that more than six in ten (63%) adults aged 16 and over relied on TV as their main source of UK and world news and only 5% on newspapers. Websites or apps were cited by 17% as the main source of news, with radio the main source of news for only 10% of Scotland's residents (Ofcom 2018). Each of these are in line with the UK averages. These media content and consumption shifts have implications for teaching journalism practice and developing curricula if these endeavours are to be relevant for employers and the commercial news production sector in general. The responses of journalism academics to these multi-faceted, technology-driven complex shifts are explored in interviews with university journalism educators and through document analysis in the primary research leg of this project.

Barber underscores the far-reaching impact of digital technologies on news business models: "The advent of the internet exposed the fact that the old business model for newspapers was broken. The world wide web fundamentally changed the media eco-system, challenging established journalistic practice in what is known as the mainstream media: radio, television, newspapers and magazines" (2011, n.p.). He notes, too, that the "transformational power of technology is altering our notion of the public realm and rendering media laws and practice obsolete" (ibid). Take, for example, the shift to embrace citizen journalism, which has meant that everyone, not only journalists, can now engage in news production. Although there have never been formal requirements to work as a journalist, unlike the case for professions like law, the facilitation of citizen journalism by technology has been a game-changer for journalists. With all citizens and sectors engaging in journalistic activities — the group formally known as the audience (Rosen, 2006) has impacted significantly on news media companies in the digital era. The Huffington Post is a case of a media business built on the backs of citizens who blogged for free before the founder, Arianna Huffington, sold the company and controversially pocketed more than US$300m (Ross, 2012). It can be argued that Huffington understood the difference between a disruptive technology and a disruptive business model (Cozzolino et al 2018). In addition to the disruptive nature of citizen journalism business models on established mainstream news media companies, the role of citizens in helping to produce and enrich journalistic content (Waisbord, 2014, in Wall, 2017, p.136) and the existence of an army of unpaid amateurs doing the work of professional journalists, and to a sufficiently high standard, has raised concerns that journalists need additional knowledge and skills. There is an expectation, furthermore, that the development of this expertise must be built into education programmes. States Hujanen (2017): " The aim is to provide up-to-date, responsive education and capture the intertwining rela-

tions between journalism professionals and amateurs, citizen journalists and netizens" (p. 2).

Williams et al (2018) underscore that amid the technological changes of the past three decades scholars have vigorously debated how curricula must change. Absent among the talk of "blowing up" the curriculum and re-envisioning journalism education (Claussen, 2009, Skowran, 2010, Mensing, 2010, and Shapiro, 2015 in Williams et al, p.820) is the Scotland picture –- which is a gap that this research project aims to help fill. In summary, this study aims to be of value in contributing to analyses on the responses of university journalism educators to pressure from government and students to focus on employability as a key outcome of higher education (see Minocha et al, 2017; Williams, 2018).

However, it is not just the evolution of the digital environment and changing business models and profitability that form an important backdrop to the appropriate development of journalism curricula; there are important implications for society. "Normative models of democratic politics work on the assumption that a truly informed citizenship requires the active intervention and support of a 'free' media," states Price (2015, n.p). There is far more to this field than employment or a business model. "[N]o other profession has a more vital relation to the welfare of society or to the success of democratic government…" (Bronstein & Vaughn in Reese & Cohen, 2000, p.214). Deuze (2006a) underscores that journalism educators have a vital contribution to make, with journalism education a powerful socialising agent: "It is my conviction that how we educate them, and how we engage our students and ourselves in a meaningful (preferably non-hierarchical) dialogue, ultimately has an influence on how journalism gets done" (p.31). As Schlesinger (1998) and Higgins (2006, p.28) have underscored: with the devolution of parliamentary power in the late 1990s, the Scottish media became the primary communicators of a developing political culture. The importance of the media for the effective functioning of democracy is arguably as important in Scotland as it is elsewhere, and hence it is relevant to assess the socialisation of journalists through the education they receive, as this study attempts to do from the perspective of how this objective is treated as an integral aspect of employability.

This dissertation will contribute to academic scholarship on this topic in a number of ways. It will demonstrate how employability came to be entrenched into Scottish university journalism curricula through a uniquely Scottish pathway and in uniquely Scottish ways. This is the subject of Chapter Four and is an evaluation of a historical trajectory that has not been pub-

lished elsewhere. Additionally, I assess the effectiveness with which Scottish journalism educators have applied the notion of employability and evaluated the strategies that have been adopted to do this. There is no scholarship that addresses these issues. Finally, I assess the impact of journalism education in Scotland on democratic values and on the potential for quality journalism. Again, none of these issues appear in Scottish journalism education scholarship. My findings, set out in Chapter 5, provide much scope for a revisiting of professional training/pedagogy in journalism education. I will revisit this in the concluding chapter.

1.III RESEARCH METHODOLOGY: OVERVIEW

Qualitative research seeks to understand how people interpret their experiences and construct their worlds (Merriam, 2009, in Lapan, 2011, p.8), and this is the core focus of the research topic, namely seeking to understand how Scottish journalism academics adapt programmes in order to enhance the employability of students. Therefore, two qualitative research methods — interviews and analysis of documents — were undertaken with a view to reflecting multiple perspectives and extrapolating key findings that address research questions focused on developing an understanding of how insiders within Scotland's university journalism education have responded to the economic, cultural and social impetuses to address employability.

Semi-structured interviews with relevant university and industry stakeholders form the backbone of this study. Themes were further explored in analysis of the curricula of six Scottish university journalism programmes through an examination of marketing material and course outlines, accessed via the Internet. Documents were examined with a view to seeking convergence and corroboration (Yin, 1994, in Bowen, 2009, p.28) with insights from insiders. As with the interviews, there was an attempt to explore patterns and similarities and differences between journalism education programmes at Scottish universities in so far as these were relevant to addressing the employability-focused research questions - and in so far as they shed light on the academic literature. A detailed description and rational for the research choices is set out in Chapter Three.

Qualitative researchers view meaning as context- and time-relevant. Drok (2013), who has undertaken in-depth work on the models of journalism education, including attempting to analyse journalism education through a historical conceptual framework, outlining major

turning points in European journalism education, asserts that it is “not easy to chart clearly the many – sometimes contradictory – developments” (p.146). In this PhD study, I aim to include major turning points in Scotland’s education system, vis-à-vis journalism education. The historical chapter (see Chapter Four) is aimed precisely at providing this social context in which journalism is grounded. It also answers the first of the research questions, namely identifying the evolution of employability within a Scottish university context. It was therefore useful, and arguably necessary, to investigate research questions through interviews and documents after examining the specific development of the concept of employability and its place within contemporary university journalism academia from the vantage point of its historical roots. Accordingly, an historical examination of Scotland’s university education, with a focus on employability, was included in the research project design and undertaken as a precursor to the primary research methods (see Chapter Four).

Taking note of the points about where the potential shortcomings in contemporary research findings lie, this PhD study attempts to better understand a specific factor of journalism education, within a specific national setting, through empirical research in the form of interviews with relevant stakeholders and analysis of key documents. Furthermore it attempts to set the historical context by revisiting prior published research and exploring political, social and institutional influences from the fresh perspective of the core research questions, that namely revolve around employability as a key objective of Scottish journalism education.

1.IV THESIS OVERVIEW

This introductory chapter sets out the background for the study, including the research objectives and research questions. It provides the rationale for focusing on the employability agenda at university-level journalism programmes. There is a strong emphasis on changes in contemporary journalism, and this is because the environment has been transforming at a historically exponential rate. Furthermore, the intention of this research project is to focus on a specific aspect that has gained currency in more recent years. Nevertheless, the trends and practices that remain the same are not ignored in the primary research so far as they remain relevant in terms of addressing the research questions.

The next chapter (Two) attempts to provide an overview of the key developments in scholarship, with a view to identifying how this study can advance knowledge in the field. This is followed by a Methodology chapter (Three), which includes the rationale for the research

methods as well as a discussion on ethical issues and the research journey, a historical contextualisation (Chapter Four) in order to locate the interviews and document analysis, with the findings and analysis set out in Chapter Five. Chapter Six summarises the research project and the key research findings, while also setting out the research limitations and directions for further research.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.I OVERVIEW

The proliferation of journalism degree programmes globally over the past three decades has been accompanied by the maturation of journalism studies as a field of scholarly research. It is a field that has produced its own corpus of theories and literature, a lively spectrum of national and regional journals and, point out Hanitzsch and Wahl-Jorgensen (2009), the creation of journalism studies divisions at the International Communication Association (ICA), the International Association for Media and Communication Research (IAMCR) and the European Communication Research and Education Association (ECREA).

Within journalism studies, a number of discreet branches have developed. These include: journalism history (Conboy 2004, 2011; Bernhurst & Nerone, 2009); understanding the work of journalists by looking at the context of news production (Machin & Niblock, 2006; Tuchman, 2002); theoretical work around gatekeeping (Shoemaker & Vos, 2009); investigations of journalistic power and the idea of objectivity (Schudson, 2009); news values (with the seminal work of Galtung & Ruge, 1968, feeding into studies by Harcup & O'Neill, 2001, 2016 and others); power within the commercial press (Curran, 2002; Carter et al, 1998); the relationship between journalism and society; the role of journalists in shaping meanings in a culture (Wahl-Jorgensen & Hanitzsch, 2009; Reese & Cohen, 2000); and, comparative media system research (Hallin & Mancini, 2004, 2011). Ethics is another area with a rich stream of scholarship (Tumber, 2005).

As journalism is a relatively new discipline at university, it is under-explored in the vast body of published academic literature. As Goodman and Steyn (2017) observe, there are very few books that focus on journalism education from a global perspective and not much comparative work either (ibid, p.7). This paucity of work at a global level is reflected in the similarly thin pickings of published work on journalism education in Scotland, and specifically on journalism education at Scotland's universities. However, the lack of volume does not suggest the area is unimportant. As Mark Deuze (2017), perhaps the doyen of journalism education research, has argued, journalism education is not only tied closely to journalism as a

profession, it contributes to maintaining the health of democratic states and keeping communities engaged with public figures and entities.

Deuze has been a central figure in the emergence of journalism education research and his corpus of work will be much cited in this literature review as well as throughout this dissertation. In his seminal work, 'Global journalism education: A conceptual approach' (2006), Deuze issued a "call to arms" in which journalism education makes its claim to be recognised as a distinct, and important field of study:

> "Journalism education as a socialising agent is becoming increasingly powerful in today's media, as a vast majority of newcomers in the profession worldwide come to the job with some kind of training or education in journalism. It is my conviction that how we educate them, and how we engage our students and ourselves in a meaningful (preferably non-hierarchical) dialogue, ultimately has an influence on how journalism gets done" (Deuze 2006, p.31).

Deuze's oeuvre has been diverse and varied over close to two decades but it's central tenet has always been to attempt to match the rapidly changing ecology of professional journal-ism with the values, skills and approaches that journalism education provides. In his most recent book, *Beyond Journalism* (2020), Deuze and co-author Tamara Witschge present this central tenet in a manifesto-like format, according to reviewer Valerie Belair-Gagnon
(2020). In the new work, which builds on its forbears (and in particular the authors' 2018 article "Beyond Journalism: Theorising the transformation of journalism"), Deuze and Witschge reiterate that it is critical to note the diversity of journalism, the importance of theorising journalism as a complex and evolving ensemble of attitudes, activities, emotions, perceptions and values and, finally, that a variety of new actors populate journalism.

These are all themes that emerge at different points in Deuze's work, teasing out various elements of journalistic practice that have been transformed in a digitising world. Deuze frequently relies on Zygmunt Bauman's (2000) notion of liquid modernity to capture the instability of the modern world and of journalism within it. In his important essay 'What is journalism?' (2005), Deuze operationalises the occupational ideology of journalism by defining its five ideal-typical values: providing a public service, neutrality and objectivity, autonomy and independence, immediacy and ethics and legitimacy. With a growing proportion of professional journalists possessing journalism degrees, it is at universities and colleges where these ideal-typical values are typically nurtured. As Deuze suggests: "It is by studying how

journalists from all walks of their professional life negotiate the core values that one can see the occupational ideology of journalism at work" (2005, p.458).

In *Media Work* (2007), Deuze argues that the current lives of people all over the world, but particularly in Western capitalist democracies, cannot be understood without an understanding of media and the way in which all elements of work are organised in media as an industry (p.X). In a collaborative article published in *Journalism Studies* (2004), Deuze and fellow co-authors studied educational practices in Flanders, Germany and the Netherlands and noticed an early disconnect between online and multimedia journalism and journalism education. Most programmes did not embrace an innovative role regarding online journalism and tended to focus on a strictly vocational or technical approach to teaching (Deuze et al, 2004). In 2014, Deuze noted the need for journalism educators to respond more rapidly and with more purpose to the dramatic changes that had come about within the media and within society, in particular as journalism was becoming increasingly freelance, multi-platform, entrepreneurial and precarious.

It is worth noting that in spite of Deuze's stellar contribution to the field, there has been a heavy American influence on journalism studies (Goodman & Steyn, 2017, p.vii), with close to half of all authors in Journalism and over a third in Journalism Studies from American universities (Cushion, 2008, in Wahl-Jorgensen & Hanitzsch, 2009, p.8.). "The geographical origins of authors are, in turn, highly predictive of the area they study, so that the work of US news organisations is extremely well charted, whereas we know excruciatingly little about what goes on in newsrooms and media content in Africa, Asia, and Latin America" (ibid). The same could be argued about Scotland, as the Scottish journalism education sector, in general, has attracted relatively little attention (Melville, 2002), with academics focusing on other dimensions of journalism and journalism education, many bearing no direct relation to curricula and most concentrating on the system south of the border with England.

Frith and Meech argued, in 2007, that lacking in academic journals was "any systematic discussion of how the occupation of journalism is changing and why" and that "clear thinking about journalism education has not been encouraged by the university sector" in Scotland (p.143). Since Frith and Meech's work, there has been some research undertaken on journalism education, notably a doctoral dissertation by Hughes (2017), who uses authoethnography as a methodology to explore how journalism education has developed with-

in the University of the West of Scotland. It is hoped that this PhD research will complement Hughes' work and expand on it.

But perhaps it is necessary at this point to locate this work in a larger context, in particular to consider the focus on Scotland and the relevance of this within a wider global-comparative and historical context. It could be asked: Why focus on Scotland specifically and why not the UK in general when analysing journalism education, as Scotland is an integral part of Britain? While there are many similarities, there are also social, political and economic differences between Scotland's higher education system and the UK's in general, just as the characteristics of the news media north and south of the border have similarities and differences.

Hanna and Sanders (2007) state: "[R]esearch has found that education within a nation is a function of its social, political and economic systems" (p.415). Goodman (2017) picks up on this theme: "While homogenous educational training trends are clear, there frequently seems to be a disconnect between training systems and actual journalism practice" (p.5). For Goodman, journalism educations are best understood, and later compared, when placed in context, with journalism systems tending to be more complicated than anticipated as a result of factors such as cultural differences and country-based idiosyncrasies (ibid, pp.7-8) Also making the point that political culture can influence the media are Schlesinger and & Benchimol (2015), who raise the example of state intervention in subsidising national press systems and the reasons that are deemed ideologically acceptable for doing so (p. 103). In Scotland, for example, BBC Alba is subsidised by UK government funds while "[p]resently, it would be unimaginable for such a policy to be applied to the press" (p.103).

The point that regional variances can be distinct is borne out in research by Dekavalla (2015), who points to acute differences in the make-up of the Scottish media industry compared to the UK media industry in general. "What is perhaps special about the Scottish situation is that Scotland has a large number of newspapers for the size of its population. Indigenous newspapers compete with London-based titles, many of which invest considerably in editorial content and marketing for their Scottish editions. This was previously sustainable because Scots tended to read more than one newspaper title per day (House of Commons, Scottish Affairs Committee, 2009)" (Dekavalla, 2015, p.108). The implications of these regional variances in the media landscape for journalism education include that these may play out in curricula, for example through a bias on the news media sector formerly known as print. This has potential implications for the employability of graduates who may

or may not intend to seek employment in Scotland in a context in which the print sector is in decline and therefore jobs are increasingly scarce. This regional emphasis on newspapers has arguably also meant that the Scottish journalism sector has or will be hit relatively harder by the transformation to a digital business environment. This is explored later in the primary research phase whether this regional bias towards newspapers is reflected in journalism education in Scotland.

Dekavalla (2015) identifies a skills gap amid this heavy weighting towards print, when she says: “The migration of newspapers to multimedia digital platforms also means an increasing convergence of newspaper and video content. At the moment, video production is still an expensive business for Scottish newspapers, and not many journalists have video shooting and editing skills, but as they compete with the news websites of broadcasters, these skills are likely to become more necessary” (p.111). Also lacking is business innovation in Scotland’s former print sector. “Until a business model is proven to guarantee the sustainability of Scottish newspaper brands, though, almost all the regional companies have had to engage in voluntary redundancies in their attempt to remain profitable. In addition to attempts to cut costs, newspapers have increased their use of marketing promotions” (Dekavalla, 2015, p.112). There does not appear to have been a concerted collabora-tive attempt to rethink the future of the Scottish media in a disruptive way. Reflecting an element of complacency in the sector, Dekavalla (2015) observes: “There is an overwhelm-ing belief among key players in the industry that their newspapers have deep roots in Scot-land, roots that cannot be eliminated by competition, either from London-based products or from the digital world” (ibid).

Also underscoring the dominance of the print media in Scotland, not only in the media sector but in Scottish society in general, Schlesinger (2015) states that “there can be no doubt that Scotland’s newspaper press has had an important role in articulating national and regional identity in the country and that it has played a part in constituting a distinctive Scottish national public sphere within the more encompassing one of the Union –- the United Kingdom” (p.102). As recently as 2014, and while many scholars were pondering whether newspapers were heading for extinction, The National was launched, though Scottish titles have in the main continued to struggle, with hyperlocal The Buteman and Hawick News closing in mid-2019 (The Scottish Newspaper Society, 2019).

Schlesinger and Benchimol ask, as recently as 2015, whether print journalism in Scotland can adapt to the digital revolution, given a continuing decline in newspaper sales, but noted that “no major Scottish titles have yet disappeared” (p.102). “Scotland’s press is certainly not unique in facing the impact of the online revolution. A key issue for newspapers everywhere is how to make their digital presence pay, as print sales continue to fall and advertising migrates online,” state Schlesinger and Benchimol, with the result of this observation that Schlesinger called for a new business model for the Scottish press in 2011 (ibid).

The fact that scholars were still asking whether the print sector could reinvent itself at this late stage suggests a considerable lag between Scotland’s media sector and the rest of the world. The reality is that emerging technologies and changing social trends began to disrupt the media industry, and print in particular, long before the 2008 financial crash that bit large media organisations, wiping off $65bn in market capitalisation in the US alone (Kay & Quinn, 2010, in ibid, p.5). For educators, this arguably represents an opportunity to demonstrate to employers that journalism graduates can be valuable to a business. As Hughes (2017) points out, in her autoethnographic study, of internship opportunities for candidates on undergraduate journalism degree programmes at the University of the West of Scotland (UWS): “When they return to university from placements, they report that their skills are more up-to-date than those they find in newsrooms” (p.50).

Schlesinger argues that “the fundamental issue of creating sustainable conditions for their enterprises dominates” – just as it does for the press in other small European countries (2015, p.103). By 2019, Scotland’s newspapers appear to have fallen dramatically in value. Edinburgh-based titles, encompassing the Scotsman, Scotland on Sunday and Edinburgh Evening News newspapers and the Scotsman.com website, were given an intellectual property value of £4.3m in a creditors’ report published by the administrators of their parent company, Johnston Press, while it was noted that the company paid £160m to buy the Scottish newspaper group from the Telegraph’s owners, the Barclay brothers, in 2005 (Sweney, 2018). Yet, despite the challenges, at least another two newspapers were launched in Scotland in 2018. Two Scottish newspaper titles, The Herald on Sunday and Sunday National, owned by Newsquest, published their first editions that year.

For some, digital disruption that has swept across all sectors must inevitably lead to a change in focus in education, so that it is not only concentrated on immediate skills for entry-level newsroom journalists; it is about leadership and business models. The “notion of

‘journalism skills’ here is decidedly restrictive”, with no expectation that a journalism course should provide training in management or entrepreneurship or economics, statistics or base science”, Frith & Meech observed of the Scotland scene in 2007 (p.142). Later, Pavlik (2013) states: “Journalism and mass communication education is in urgent need of transformative leadership. The media are in the midst of a sea change, and educators and professionals alike are groping for a pathway to a future in which they play a vital role” (p.211). Gillmor (2016) goes as far as to refer to journalists’ ignorance of how their businesses operated as one of the absurdities of the past half-century:

> “The ‘church–state’ separation had well-meaning foundations, but it was paternalistic and, as we’ve now seen, counterproductive. Journalism schools should require all students to understand business concepts, especially those relating to media. This is not just to cure the longstanding ignorance of business issues in the craft, but also to recognise that today’s students will be among the people who develop tomorrow’s journalism business models” (p.816).

Gillmor points out that some US university journalism programmes, such as at Arizona State University and City University of New York, are helping journalists understand and appreciate the startup culture, because even traditional businesses are having to adopt entrepreneurial practices internally (ibid, p.817). Foote (2017) argues this point, too, by noting that at the end of the 20th century educators realised that instead of running programmes along the lines of the silos that dominated the profession, “[j]ournalism education needed to be much broader and much more agile and integrated to remain relevant. Students had to think of themselves more as self-contained brands and creators rather than ‘company men [and women]’” (p.443). This study explores whether university journalism students are being equipped to develop and thrive as journalism business models evolve. Schlesinger and Benchimol (2015) suggest the Scottish media is behind other small nations, comparing Scotland to Quebec, Canada, and Catalonia, Spain, when assessing the relative sophistication of the use of digital technologies by news media companies to engage audiences (p. 103).

The UK in general, meanwhile, has been characterised by a remarkably resilient print media. In 2006, Schlesinger pointed to the “rise of the freesheet […] building the habit – especially among younger people, who are the most enthusiastic readers – of thinking of the newspaper as a cost-free product” (p.300). He observes that there is a “highly concentrated ‘national’ press – based in London – with considerable concentration of ownership […] By

international comparison, the number of newspapers and their national territorial reach is exceptional" (ibid). Amid this concentration of ownership have been debates around self-regulation of the press and ethics in general. As the digital news environment has evolved, so too has there been what Schlesinger refers to as "an extraordinary growth of celebrity culture" (2006, p.301) –- a phenomenon which arguably occupied academic researchers at the expense of exploring more mundane, but critically important, technological changes in the journalism industry. Schlesinger refers to the "selective leaking of news and the aggressive use of misinformation" in the mid-2000s by politicians as the "state of affairs that has been highlighted as the 'crisis' in journalism by some of the more thoughtful exponents of the trade" (Schlesinger, 2006, p.302). Schlesinger acknowledges that the shift to online media is a challenge, but he does not describe it as a crisis. Instead, he focuses on new forms of media literacy, saying: "Traditional forms of journalism face the problem of how to attract the internet generation – or, how to rethink the journalistic offering to address the new revolution in delivery systems. This in turn raises interesting questions about how the internet is used and whether we are equipped to use it in a discriminating way (Schlesinger, 2006, p.304). The inherent biases towards print of practitioners who gravitate towards aca-demia must be considered when examining the make-up of curricula (see document ana-lysis, Chapter Five).

Although Scotland is part of the United Kingdom it is worth noting that Scotland's education system is not on a neat continuum with the system in England and Wales, a point that is often overlooked by scholars. For example, in a chapter on journalism education in the UK, Frost (2017) describes the Scottish situation as part of the broader picture, only referring to some Scottish programs being four years in length (in Goodman & Steyn, 2017, p.207) While the similarities and differences between journalism education in Scotland and England are excavated in the Historical Context Chapter (four) and explored in interviews, it is useful to point out at this stage that there are observations in journalism scholarship that regional differences can make the education experience very different. As Raffe and Croxford (2013) state of tertiary education institutions that were changed to the status of universities in the early 1990s: The "re-designation as universities in 1992 may have stimulated more radical changes in mission compared with English polytechnics, many of which already closely resembled universities" (p.2). Compared to the universities, the polytechnics were less research-intensive and offered more vocationally oriented programmes (ibid). It is my intention in this study to clarify what types of changes have occurred, particularly when considering the role of the employability agenda (see Chapter Five: Findings and Analysis).

Deuze (2006a), drawing on the cross-national comparative work of Gaunt (1992) and Frolich and Holtz-Bacha (2003), identifies five types of journalism education. These are: 1) Training at schools and institutes located at universities; 2) mixed systems of stand-alone and university education; 3) stand-alone schools; 4) on-the-job training and apprenticeships; and 5) all of these options as well as in-house training by media companies, unions and other private or government institutions (p.22). While all of these types of journalism are in evidence in the UK, the focus of this PhD study is on the interpretation of employabili-ty specifically within the first type of journalism education. The scope of this study does not cover the other types of journalism education, but it is worth noting that the literature sug-gests that "most, if not all, systems of journalism education are moving towards the first or second model, indicating increasing levels of professionalisation, formalisation and stan-dardisation worldwide" (Deuze, 2006a, p.23). The question of standardisation of journalism education, and how the employability agenda has fed into this, is explored in this study (see Chapter Five).

With the relevance of the Scottish theme of this dissertation explained in more detail, I will move on now to definitions of journalism education and employability. In order to grapple with the research questions, it is necessary to start by understanding how universities define journalism education and also how they define employability as these conceptual nuances will inevitably influence development and delivery of teaching. As previously stated, with a very small body of research emanating from journalism-related academics in Scotland, it is useful to look at how the wider body of journalism academics define the key concepts.

The concepts of journalism education and employability are not unique to Scotland, therefore it is useful to explore how these concepts are defined in the broader body of academic literature with a view to comparing and contrasting later how these apply in Scotland (see Chapter Five: Findings and Analysis). As will be demonstrated later in this chapter and in the findings and analysis (see Chapter Five), the view of journalism and journalism education from Scottish academia in many cases mirrors the picture conveyed of the US, the rest of the UK and Europe. Journalism is a globalised industry as is journalism education, though it is acknowledged that there are geographic differences also among so-called western developed nations and other countries (Banda, Beukes-Amiss, Bosch, Mano, McLean & Steenveld, 2007)

The section on definitions of journalism and journalism education is followed by an exploration of key developments in the Scottish and international environment in order to identify and fill gaps in research on this topic and propose future research directions — both acknowledged as essential roles of academic research (Rowe, 2014) — as well as to contribute to evaluations of existing research. The next section looks at the literature that deals with employability from the lens of work on the purpose and mission of journalism amid significant social and technological change. This includes an examination of literature that deals with changing occupational requirements and the role of accreditation of journalism education. As journalism work is seen by many as stretching beyond the personal career aspirations of graduates to public interest functions, this literature review also expands to this dimension of journalism education.

The final section of this chapter probes theoretical work on models of journalism education, looking in particular at where employability fits into these and whether there are features that can be identified in, or discarded from, the Scotland context. It takes in pertinent debates on employability from the perspective of quality assessments and the changing teaching and learning environment, with shifts also precipitated by digital technologies. Finally, there is a reflection on where this postgraduate research project might contribute to knowledge discovery.

2.II DEFINING UNIVERSITY JOURNALISM EDUCATION AND EMPLOYABILITY

2.iia Defining journalism education: Vocational, conceptual tensions

Journalism education definitions are often linked to work-related productivity requirements in the form of vocational objectives, as well as to objectives that are more abstract or complementary to the core vocational focus. The association is made, too, between offering journalism education and producing research on journalism. The field has been defined as “university programmes that teach news and editorial courses and conduct research into journalism and communication” (Mensing, 2010, p.512). Furthermore, journalism education is seen as an opportunity for future practitioners to contemplate philosophical and other conceptual and ethical issues relating to the bigger context in which they will operate while also equipping them for the practical demands of work (Kemp et al, 2015; Auger et al, 2017). Journalism may include public relations and other journalism-related skills develop-

ment (Mensing, 2010, p.512), with journalism as a programme routinely falling within the broader net of communications alongside public relations and associated fields. Some ask of journalism, a relatively new field in academia, whether journalism studies is a discipline, field or research method (Tumber, 2019). It is evident that there is an argument that there are “structural” elements (Steensen & Ahva, 2015, p.3) in place to allocate journalism a place in academia, namely the existence of established education programmes and scholarly activity such as the contribution of academics who teach to academic conferences and journals. However, there is much debate over whether there is a shared academic culture across journalism education, with this concept encompassing “a shared set of theories and methodologies that are maintained through “traditions, customs and practices, transmitted knowledge, beliefs, morals and rules of conduct, as well as their linguistic and symbolic forms of communication and the meanings they share” (Becher & Trowel, 2001, ibid). This debate is acknowledged here, however an extensive analysis of the issue is beyond the scope of this study.

While there is a scant body of research on the various facets of employability in Scottish university journalism education specifically, employability itself is the subject of extensive study. In this literature, employability refers to a set of skills, understanding, knowledge and personal attributes that make graduates more likely to gain employment and be successful in their chosen occupations, for the benefit of themselves as well as their employers and the broader economy (Cockill & Egan, 2007; Dacre Pool & Sewell, 2007). Employability is viewed from a short-term perspective as “being capable of getting and keeping fulfilling work” (Hillage & Pollard, 1998, in Dacre Pool & Sewell, 1997, p.9) and, with the longer term picture in mind, as “the capability to move self-sufficiently within the labour market to realise potential through sustainable employment” (ibid). These broad understandings have influenced the understandings of employability across disciplines, including journalism education in Scotland, which is highlighted later in the links between university curricula and employability (see Chapter Five: Findings and Analysis chapter).

Employability has been the focus of the development of conceptual models, which appear to have been useful to help clarify the role of employability as a concept in categorising programmes that achieve the main short-term and long-term objectives of an employability strategy. These classifications move beyond the requirement for basic skills and knowledge required to complete specific tasks towards an appreciation that employability has individual and external drivers, specific knowledge requirements and soft skills. For example, Hillage

and Pollard, regarded as pioneers for distilling previous works on employability (Sumanasiri et al 2015, p.76), proposed that employability consists of four main elements: employability assets, comprising of knowledge, skills and attitudes that are subject-specific as well as generic; deployment, reference to career management skills including job search skills; presentation, which includes job-acquiring skills such as CV writing, work experience and interview techniques; and personal circumstances or external factors, ranging from family responsibilities to labour market conditions (Dacre Pool & Sewell, 2007, p.x; Sumanasiri et al 2015, p.76).

Occupational requirements that are emphasised in the teaching of journalism include the core principles of relevance, accuracy, timeliness and storytelling ability (Deuze, 2019; Wenger et al, 2018; Auger et al, 2017). Subject staples in Scotland as well as elsewhere (see appendix 2 for list of subjects in Scotland and see Chapter Five for further corroboration) include: media law and ethics, with these subjects supporting the main vocational focus, which includes how to interview a source and how to structure a news story (Kemp et al, 2015). It is this combination that facilitates the production of news “as an activity guided by ethical standards of verifiable information shared in the public interest" (Ireton & Posetti, 2018, p.24).

Across the literature around journalism education there is a persistent debate over the weighting of practical and theoretical modules. As Kemp et al (2015) state: “Opinions differ about the balance of journalism education, with the news media industry keen on practical training in preparation for work, and impatient with educators in degree programmes instilling theory and critique” (ibid, ch.5). This is a debate that some scholars (as examples Deuze, 2001, and Holm, 2002) argue has reached a dead end and should be relegated to the sidelines to make way for more important journalism debates, such as the development of practitioners who are self-reflective. These differences of opinion about the weighting of practical skills development to theory are evident in Scotland, though so too is there a keen awareness among scholars about the need to develop reflective journalists, as shall be demonstrated later in the discussion on interview findings in Chapter Five: Findings and Analysis. These debates also feed into the role of accreditation for journalism programmes, which is discussed later in this chapter.

2.iib Defining journalism education: Journalism as contested terrain

A consensus on the details of what journalism education should look like has proven to be elusive, in part because journalism itself is not a clear-cut concept.

Journalism studies draw from a variety of disciplines, notably political science, sociology, history, language and cultural studies (Steensen & Ahva, 2015); digitisation and the concomitant changes in how societies interact and news practice has changed have added to the complexity of setting out the boundaries of journalism (ibid, p.4). Cutting to the heart of the debates around the development and delivery within universities of journalism education are the objectives of journalism, described as "never entirely a business, and also never entirely not a business" (Folkerts, Hamilton & Lemann, 2013, p.5). It is virtually impossible to refine a definition of journalism education because of vast differences of opinion over what journalism practice should look like. "Lofty though its goals have been, the mission of journalism has always been greatly conflicted. Indeed, nowhere else in the university do so many fault lines converge, creating tensions based on professional outlook as well as on teaching and research philosophy.

Adding to the complexity of drawing up a neat definition for the field is the requirement, for some, to recognise journalism education as "a product of larger social and political conditions" (Banda et al, 2007, p.157), which inevitably differ across national borders. Journalism education is therefore not broadly homogenous across the globe, with the challenge for journalism educators to "integrate these contextual conditions more and more into the very epistemological assumptions upon which theories of journalism and curricula for journalism education are based" (ibid). Furthermore, the field is set within the contentious context of press performance and media representation, centering on issues of race, gender and class" state Reese and Cohen (2000, p.214), conspicuously omitting employment from the issues that occupy centre-stage in the field.

Another dimension of attempting to define journalism and journalism education is that there are a wide range of types of journalism and journalism jobs. The term "journalist" describes many different roles and practices – from reporting on a newspaper to film-making and covers many institutional positions (Frith & Meech, 2007). Wenger, Owens and Cain (2018) point to the shifting skills' requirements as hindering efforts to come up with a succinct definition: "Part of the challenge is likely that, although the core principles of relevance, accuracy, and timeliness have remained, when it comes to the presentation of news, journalism has been completely deconstructed. The required skill sets for those working in journalism are continually expanding as technology advances and news consumption preferences

evolve” (p.19). Heravi (2019) sums up journalism as follows: it is "about the investigation, the story, and communication of that story to the public” (p.2). In this vein, gaining currency has been “brand journalism”, which utilises techniques from journalism as a “hybrid form of traditional journalism, marketing and public relations” (Bull, 2013, p.1), using journalistic-type content to market brands (Frühbrodt, 2016).

Changes in the way the media is produced and consumed and the underlying economics of journalism-based business models make it necessary for journalism educators to rethink curricula. Journalist educators “must realise that their graduates will be working not just in newspapers but on all kinds of corporate, consumer and trade magazines, for radio and television outlets of various sorts, with new web-based publications, in media serving all kinds of reader and audience from the most geographically local to the most loosely global” (Frith & Meech 2007, p.143). As Drok (2013) notes, a shift in the qualification profile of the (starting) journalist is required: “European journalism schools need to know which changes important stakeholders are expecting in the qualification profile for the coming years, and whether their expectations accord with the developments reported in the literature” (p.147). This knowledge is much harder to access than might be expected. Hughes (2017) highlights tensions between the Scottish media industry and university journalism academia when she describes a palpable lack of interest from the news industry in sharing their requirements of journalism graduates. “It is evident that there needs to be a greater shared discourse” between industry and academia (p.51)

2.iic Defining journalism education as journalism careers evolve

Journalism has not only changed as a craft over the last 30 years, it has changed as a career (Frith & Meech, 2007, p.143), which has implications for the way it is taught. Changes that journalism is going through occur within and cut across established media organisations and startups, with pioneer journalists experimenting and reconstructing the field (Hepp & Loosen, 2019, p.3). Previously the career path in the UK was from regional to national press and up the corporate ladder; more job types have been added – and self-employment is increasingly common. The employment environment has developed from one in which reporters on provincial newspapers, magazine and specialist journal writers, freelancers, local radio and TV journalists represented the body of journalists). Meanwhile, the curricula has been shaped by career paths of the late 1960s when the supposed career ladder moved from local to regional to national press “a reflection of the days, now over when the

[National Union of Journalists] ruled that Fleet Street jobs could only be given to journalists with provincial newspaper experience" (Frith & Meech, 2007, p.143). Local newspaper skills requirements were emphasised, including writing, interviewing, shorthand; subbing, layout, use of Quark, Photoshop, etc; knowledge of relevant law and local/national government structure, 'ethics" while "journalism training needs to refer to the technical requirements of radio, television and the Web" (ibid). This assessment of the skills sets being developed by Scotland's universities is explored in this study (see Chapter Five). The extent to which this 1960s-styled curricula prevails is examined in interviews with Scottish university journalism stakeholders and in the document analysis (see findings and analysis, Chapter Five).

Job security and income vary significantly in the field, too, with the best-paid television news journalists at the BBC commanding higher salaries than the British prime minister (Ponsford, 2017) and local newspaper reporters on minimum wages. Journalism is an occupation with a diverse range of paths and income structures, with some journalists working in full-time employment and many working freelance and/or combining work for news organisations with work that requires similar skills, for example communications and public relations work and education (Frith and Meech 2007, Wenger et al, 2018). Deuze (2019) points to the messiness of trying to define journalism, with even journalists who live a precarious existence exhibiting an unwavering loyalty to "journalism as an ideal", although "news as a business and journalism as it tends to be managed is broken" (p.2). Hepp and Loosen (2019) move beyond the linear approach taken to innovation's direction of travel, describing the shifting landscape as a complex "recursive transformation" that cuts across established media organisations as well as start-ups (p.2).

Meanwhile, there are pockets of research devoted to understanding the development of specific sub-sets of journalism, ranging from sports to advocacy journalism. Sports journalism is a preferred career route for many graduates, and this demand for sports journalism is evident in the wealth of scholarship around this specialist area of journalism, which was only introduced in the US as a separate degree in the late 1990s, almost a century after the introduction of the first journalism degree. Among the topics that have generated scholarship: There has been much emphasis on male hegemony and the development of gender-discriminatory stereotypes (Hardin et al, 2006), racist stereotype development (Farrington et al, 2012) and persisting perceptions that sports journalism is not real journalism in the same league as hard news reporting and other genres, but is the "toy department" of a news media organisation (Boyle, 2006; Rowe, 2007; McEnnis, 2018). However, while there

are a number of academic researchers with links, to or who are based in Scotland, the education of sports journalists in the country appears to be at best a small field of inquiry. Probing the specifics of sports journalism education vis-à-vis other types of journalism is beyond the scope of this study, though the inclusion of sports journalism as a journalism specialism at a specific institution (UWS) is acknowledged (see findings, Chapter Five).

2.iid Professionalisation debates complicate defining journalism education

The question of whether journalism is a profession, and therefore must have the hallmarks of a professional education, is one well-trammelled, and ongoing, with academic luminaries such as McQuail (2018), Reese and Cohen (2000), Hallin and Mancini (2004, 2011) and Deuze (1999, 2003, 2006, 2008, 2019) influencing the development of a large body of scholarship around this area. As Josephi (2009) sums up: Hallin (1997) does not put journalism in the same category as classical professions such as law, medicine, architecture, engineering because there is no systematic body of knowledge underpinning practice or formalised entry requirements. Nevertheless Hallin "sees the potential in professionalisation — i.e. formal, college-based [university] education — to act as a shield for journalists against commercial pressures and political instrumentalisation" (Hallin, 1997 in Josephi 2009, p.47). Belair-Gagnon and Revers (2018) have examined the professionalism debate from the prism of sociology, including professional norms; other lenses, for example systems theory (Luhmann, in Scholl & Malik, 2019) add perspectives on the function of journalism to periodically provide society with current, factual, relevant information as equivalent to professionalism though not equal to it. This debate has taken new twists with the emergence of, inter alia, citizen journalism, the dissolution of the media as a mediator between primary information sources and audiences and the erosion of the role of the media as the Fourth Estate. Amid tumultuous change, Pavlik (2013) argues: "Schools of journalism and mass communication, and their combined intellectual capital can provide the critically informed thought leadership to advance to a future of media excellence" (p.218).

While there are many facets to the debate over whether journalism is a profession, one requirement of all professions is that a university degree in the subject of the profession is a minimum requirement. There is no requirement for a journalist to have a degree. It is accepted that this question of how to educate journalists in a university has been with us at least since 1904 when Joseph Pulitzer — in America — predicted that journalism would be accepted as a feature of higher education like schools of law and medicine (Adam, 2001, p.

315). Frith and Meech point to scepticism about university-educated journalists in Scotland: "[T]he sociological suggestion that university graduates represent only 'a narrow socio-economic stratum' or are, by definition, middle class, is often confused with another kind of suggestion, that academics are not part of the 'real world' and that therefore journalism teaching in a university can't possibly prepare people for what the occupation actually involves" (2007, p.140). Evans (2014) also picks up on the theme of whether universities can "make journalists", concluding in a study that a university education can develop qualities and behaviours such as curiosity, scepticism, tenacity and "news sense" through appropriate tuition by academics with professional experience and exercises that mimic the workplace experience (p.65). The extent to which a university education is a prerequisite for a job in journalism is examined later in this chapter as well as in the primary research undertaken for this thesis, though it is clear from university entrance figures (see Chapter 1) that the move in the UK and Scotland is towards more journalists entering jobs from university studies, though not necessarily journalism studies.

Amid this questioning over whether there is a place for journalism education at universities, there has been tension, and overlap, between "media studies and "journalism" studies, which has arguably been a distraction to the development of journalism scholarship, and inevitably specific strands of this work, including employability. The blurring of boundaries between journalism studies and media studies is evident in the regular RAE/RAF (REF) exercises by the Higher Education Funding Council to determine the amount of research money to be allocated to institutions and departments. "Journalism usually is subsumed into more esoteric categories within Media and Communication Studies (one of many categories). That means it tends to be seen as media studies rather than distinctly separate"(Herbert, 2000, p.116) As Thornham et al (2010) note, media studies' methodologies are "designed to connect symbolic forms, technical processes and materials, forms of communication and the developing economy of the culture industries to questions of social power and governance" (p. xvi). Journalism education, on the other hand, as described by Gaunt (1992, in Goodman & Steyn, 2017, p.7), is training that "perpetuates or modifies professional journalistic practices and molds the perceptions journalists have of the role and function of the media".

Meanwhile, there appears to have been a disdain towards media studies and university education for journalists in general. Summarising sentiment towards media studies and university-educated journalists in the late 1990s, The Guardian Media Guide stated that a me-

dia studies degree was definitely to be avoided: “Most journalists over 30 tend to agree with Roger Scruton who said: ‘Media studies course content is sub-Marxist gobbledegook and courses are taught by talentless individuals who can’t get jobs in the media, so they teach instead. There’s nothing really to learn except by way of apprenticeship on the job’’ (Fisher & Peak, 1998, in Frith & Meech, 2007, p.141). Cole (1998) pointed to this disdain among British editors for university education, and in particular media studies, which was seen as intellectually inferior to other disciplines while also lacking in the development of practical journalism skills. In short, by the end of the 1990s there was a “peculiar disjunction” between the reality, and empirical evidence, of how people became journalists and the ideology, or editorial suggestion, of how they should become journalists (Frith & Meech, 2007, p. 139). This suspicion has arguably eased, however, as more journalists have reported having a degree or diploma – including in journalism (Hanna & Sanders, 2007, p.407). For Foote (2017), the issue of whether a university degree is a sound foundation for a journalist has yet to be resolved globally, not only between the news industry and academia but within academia itself. Foote states: “journalism and mass communication has had to fight to be recognised by established universities” and “[E]ven today, many university colleagues look at journalism programmes as ‘trade schools’ with little redeeming academic value” (2017, p. 431).

The debates on whether journalism should be taught at all in the hallowed halls of academia are central to the objectives of understanding the role and mission of journalism education and they are long-running. “Years before journalism schools existed, newspapermen and university educators were debating whether journalists needed to be college-educated, whether they needed a liberal arts degree followed by training in a newsroom, or whether they needed professional education that combined liberal arts and practical training,” observe Folkerts et al (2013, p.5). While clearly denoting the marks of quality journalism remains elusive, journalism academics have continually sought to promote university education as a way of lifting these albeit indeterminate standards through elevating the work of journalists to a profession. Encapsulating this idea are: Adam (2001), who explains that with media industries prioritising profits over public service, there have been “proposals for journalism education to help uplift professional journalistic values” (in Macdonald, 2006, p.745); and Carey (1996), who argues: “[F]undamentally, it is the ideal of journalism as a profession that serves the public, which rationalises the premise that the young field belongs in a university (cited in ibid, p.748).

Unanimity in deciding whether journalism education can develop professional journalists as well as on the definition of what makes a journalist a 'professional' have been elusive, although the topic, according to Foote (2017), is possibly among the most debated and researched by journalism academics. Scholars (Raudsepp, 1989; Dennis, 1988; De Beer, 1995; Stephenson, 1997; Gaunt, 1992), not just in the UK but elsewhere, continue to highlight a "deeply entrenched antagonism between 'professionals' (empiricos) and college graduates (universitarios)" (in Deuze, 2006a, p.21). Underlying this global debate, states Deuze, "is the consensus among practitioners that the status quo in the industry is the ideal one, hence newcomers only need to internalise what their senior peers already do" (ibid). This binary approach is also evident in academia, with "university administrators and faculty also tend[ing] to feel there is only one way of doing things – the academic way, which leads them to question the intellectual validity of adding vocational training to an otherwise largely 'theoretical' programme of study" (ibid). "Such Platonic ideas of either the profession of journalism or the 'nature' of the university obscure the more complex and continuous character of the relationship between thinking and doing, reflection and action, theory and practice; these binary oppositions function extremely well to dig fictitious trenches to separate the social systems of journalism and the academe" (ibid). Deuze (2006a) argues that research on journalism education needs to conceptually address this dilemma, as leaning towards either side does not resolve the debate. This debate is explored and reflected in interview findings (see Chapter Five: Findings and Analysis).

2iie Defining journalism as its skills gain currency across sectors

Journalism is practised across sectors. It has leapt beyond the news industry and related industries, such as public relations, into fields as diverse as medicine and banking. It is not only citizen journalists who have been eating into the roles and revenues of journalists; other fields have encroached on journalism, borrowing ideas from the news industry to have direct conversations with audiences. "[A]ll companies now find themselves in two industries: the business they are actually in, and the publishing business," states Baer (2012, n.p). This situation has been brought to bear by global corporations competing for audiences using story-telling strategies in the form of content marketing or through marketing communications as digital technologies have levelled the playing fields between news media businesses and other organisations (Oliveira, 2017; Baer, 2012).

Corporations use the same editorial techniques as news media organisations to attract visitors to websites, for example producing articles in the style of work typically produced by news organisations and hiring journalists to produce journalism-style content for corporations (Kee & Yazdanifard, 2015). As Foote (2017) states of why many students are undertaking journalism studies even though they have no intention of working in the news media: "The skill sets of information gathering, information analysis, and information distribution have become highly sought-after skills in an information economy. The fact that the worth of those skills is increasing conveys added value and legitimacy to the field" (p.437). Meanwhile, Cherubini and Nielsen (2016) highlight how newsrooms have embraced the techniques and practices of corporations: There are "people in the newsroom with new job titles like 'audience editor', 'growth editor', 'audience development editor', or 'audience engagement editor'. they are developing and using analytics for editorial purposes that were in the past more narrowly tied to predominantly commercial objectives, using tools and techniques previously rarely used by journalists" (2016, p.9).

Many journalism skills are seen as transferable skills, in other words they have the capacity to enhance the employability of graduates in other fields. This is evidenced in an Australian study (Messum, Wilkes, Peters, & Jackson, 2016) which undertook content analysis of vacancy advertisements in order to understand what employers regarded as employability skills. The findings emphasised the importance of generic skills such as communication skills and showed that such skills have remained important over time along with a move towards generic skills rather than job or profession-specific skills (ibid, p.81). Communications skills are valued even in environments like accounting firms, where high levels of numeracy have been the primary requirement (Tan & Laswad, 2018). Hughes (2017) underscores that journalism academics in Scotland are self-consciously preparing journalism students for a range of careers beyond the field of study, with particular reference to an environment in which local media jobs have been decimated:

> "This requires a response from us in the shape of providing learning experiences that illustrate, and enable, our students to optimise their transferable skills and knowledge, which will enable them to find work in media-related field such as public relations and press offices, but also to support them in realising their graduate-ness, as well as their journalism skills, which are highly transferable and desired by a wide range of employers" (p.46).

Contributing to the difficulty in coming up with a succinct definition is that some who don't self-identify as journalists do the work of journalists while some among those who are hired as journalists do not work according to the expected ethical norms. State Ireton and Posetti (2018): "Those who claim to do journalism may extend wider than those who are journalists in the occupational sense, while those who are employed as, or who identify as journalists, may occasionally or even systematically fall short of producing content that counts as accurate, fair, professional and independent journalism in the public interest" (p.24). Underscoring the abstract dimension of journalism, McNair (2006) points to the Habermasian concept (1984) of social glue when he included the socially cohesive nature of journalism, binding communities and helping to facilitate the construction of identities (p.15), in a definition of local journalism. UNESCO has distilled the various practical dimensions of journalism, concluding that: "The term 'journalist' includes journalists and other media workers. Journalism is defined in document CCPR/C/GC/34, para. 44, as 'a function shared by a wide range of actors, including professional full-time reporters and analysts, as well as bloggers and others who engage in forms of self-publication in print, on the Internet or elsewhere" (|reton & Posetti, 2018, p.15).

As it is generally accepted that graduates will go on to a wide range of journalism jobs, and other communications jobs, the assumption appears to be that journalism is increasingly becoming accepted as a blanket term for a wide and varied set of occupations. The differences of opinion over what constitutes a journalist in turn make it difficult to assess whether employment in the field has shrunk or is growing, with an estimate that there are about 30,000 journalists working in digital fields, but this excludes an army of bloggers (Hargreaves, 2016, in Thurman, Cornia & Kunert, 2016). For the purposes of this study, it is worth noting that that this field is growing and mutating and this is considered during interviews and in the document analysis (see findings, chapter five). States Hughes (2017) of the challenge of defining the role and purpose of journalism education in the Scottish context: "The answers did not come easily and have probably raised more questions" (p.14).

2.iif Journalism education: Balancing specialist and generalist education

Another debate that refracts around the understanding of what a journalism education should look like is that which raises the issue of whether journalism graduates are best equipped for the working world by pursuing a programme that is purely focused on journalistic outputs or whether there is value in blending journalism with the development of other specialisms. Although "journalism is foundationally concerned with news" (Adam, 2001, p.

324), there is a strongly held view that key features of the work of journalists are strengthened through studies in other disciplines, specifically: history, which strengthens news judgement through the broad consciousness of time, change and storytelling traditions; empirical social science; legal studies and information science, which enhance ability to gather evidence and assess facts; linguistics, poetry and prose, which contribute to effective story-telling; photography, film, graphics and design – which strengthen abilities to represent news visually; and languages, which enhance analytical and interpretative capacities (ibid, p.328). This aspect of the debate on journalism education is covered, too, in interviews with stakeholders and in the exploration of the different journalism degree offerings across Scotland, though the very recent development of merging journalism with public relations as a combined degree that acknowledges each field as a specialism in the rest of the UK (University of Bristol is one example) is not reflected in Scottish universities and is, accordingly, not reflected in the data (see findings and analysis, Chapter Five).

This approach of combining journalism with another major subject can mitigate against journalism developing as a discipline in its own right and plays into questions about whether journalism should be taught at universities at all. For the purposes of this research the term “discipline" is understood as knowledge production that is unique to journalism and fits within a structured university teaching programme (Wouters, 2018; Oldnall, 1995) and journalism as a “distinct field of academic practice” (Nash 2018). While journalism research “is taking off under its own steam and establishing a life of its own with significant books and papers emerging regularly from Journalism departments”, the “trick with journalism education is of course to ensure that staff members actually produce research into journalism areas rather than into the more traditional media studies/sociology ones”, states Herbert (2000, p. 114). “This is the only way in which a proper research culture will grow that makes Journalism a discipline in its own right and not simply part of media or communications studies,” he opines (ibid). For others, McNair (2013, in Nash, 2018), journalism is clearly a ‘practice’ whose ‘theory’ is provided by communication, media and cultural studies (p.124). This view is reflected in the broader institutional setting, as discussed in the next section.

2.iig Journalism as a sub-set of broader field of study: employability challenges

The shortcomings around being able to clearly define journalism, and therefore map journalism education to the field, are reflected in exercises aimed at assessing the quality of journalism education. The Quality Assurance Agency (QAA) for Higher Education, for ex-

ample, does not acknowledge journalism as a discipline in its own right. Instead, it describes journalism as a sub-set of a broader academic discipline:

> "As fields of study, communication, media, film and cultural studies are distinguished by their focus on cultural and communicative activities as central forces in shaping everyday social and psychological life, as well as senses of identity in the organisation of economic and political activity; in the construction of public culture; in the creation of new expressive forms; and as the basis for a range of professional practices.[…]Within these fields of study, degree programmes are characterised by a diversity of emphases. Titles may include, for example, broadcasting; communication studies; cultural studies; film or screen studies; journalism; media production; media studies; digital or interactive media; popular culture; public relations; and publishing" (QAA ,2008, p.7).

Identifying the hallmarks of quality of journalism education is as elusive as defining journalism and journalism education arguably because there is, inevitably, no standardised approach to the specifics of what the desired outcomes should look like. Very few changes were made to the subject benchmark statement updated in 2016, and employability is underplayed. The only references to employability in the 2016 document touch on the issue in a generic way; namely that graduates should be able to "research and identify possible employment destinations" (p.15) and that "the cultural, media, film and communication industries are significant areas of employment, and professional practice within these industries requires systematic, critical and reflexive education" (p.3). Journalism is listed among 26 or so subjects — ranging from producing motion pictures to radio production, and distinct from elements of journalism like radio production and television production - that use the 2016 Communication, Media, Film and Cultural Studies QAA benchmark statement. Hughes (2017) has highlighted this shortcoming in the QAA benchmarks, which are designed to serve as over-arching blueprints for academics when designing curricula. She states: "In terms of defining what journalism education comprises, it falls short, prescribing only what it describes as 'the basis for a range of professional practices'" (2017, p.19). Deuze (1999) sums up the reasons behind the difficulty, and perhaps impossibility, of developing, as the QAA benchmark statements attempt to do, objective quality standards: "It depends on the theoretical framework with which one chooses to address journalism, the individual journalist's role perspective –- disseminator, advocate, adversary or mobiliser following Weaver and Wilhoit (1996) –- and the function which one ascribes to journalists in (democratic) society; public/civic/communitarian or netural/objective professional" (p.377).

In summary, while debates about how to define journalism and journalism education cut broadly across geographic boundaries, there do not appear to be any major studies that clearly set out the contemporary debates about what journalism education looks like, or should be, specifically within the Scotland context. In addition, it is not clear from the literature how Scotland's university journalism educators define the characteristics and role of journalism and university journalism education within the national context. This PhD research, therefore, aims to contribute to clarifying how university journalism educators in Scotland understand employability (R2) and have adapted programmes in order to enhance the employability of their students (R1, R3). This research attempts to explicate and contextualise how Scotland's journalism educators are reinventing programmes while accommodating ever-larger student cohorts in the context of a more challenging job environment for graduates. As Deuze (2006b) states of the relevance for journalism eduction of undertaking such an exercise: "[S]chools and programmes of journalism education all over the world are changing fast, trying to keep up with industry and academy, accommodating increasing student numbers, while at the same time trying to develop some kind of coherence in the curriculum" (p.230). He opines that this is "no small task indeed", requiring a necessary re-ignition of "'old' debates about what journalism is and should be," and postulation of concepts, models and theories accordingly (ibid).

2.III GEOGRAPHIC PERSPECTIVES ON JOURNALISM EDUCATION

2.iia The west-centric lens

Debates on how to teach new and specialist fields of journalism have, in some instances, subsided into the background as politically charged discussions on colonial influences on journalism education continue to preoccupy scholars. As alluded to by Banda (2007), Yusof, Ismail, Ismail, Aripin Kassim & Ishaket al (2018) and Ezumah (2019), the notion of journalism education outside the US and Europe is caught up in long-standing debates about the West's patronising influences — conscious and subconscious — on society. Volz and Lee (2009), as an example of how this Western lens colours debates, argue: "[J]ournalism education was an American invention, oriented from the beginning towards the training of vocational skills" (Volz & Lee, 2009, p.711). In the US, the universities of Missouri and Columbia had journalism programmes running by 1912 (Raudsepp, 1989, p.2). However, journalism education is not only the preserve of universities and this was particularly the case in Britain

for much of the 20th century, with in-house training the main site of teaching (Frost, 2017) before college and university education gained traction in the last third of the century (Frith & Meech, 2007). Journalism higher education outside universities, it is shown later in the historical contextualisation (Chapter Four) plays into the development of university journalism education, so therefore it can be argued that journalism education in Scotland has not been predominantly an invention fuelled by US university trends. The influences within Britain and Scotland on the development of journalism education, and the employability impetus within that, are explored in detail in Chapter 4: Historical Contextualisation as well as with the interview participants (see Chapter 5: Findings and Analysis).

Many academics remain convinced that there is a persistent Anglo-American influence on journalism education internationally. The publication of UNESCO guidelines in 2007 for journalism educators in developing markets corroborates perceptions that the "developed" West seeks to influence the objectives of the field. Academics working for UNESCO, formed by the world's most powerful nations at the end of World War II, provide a normative definition for journalism education, saying, inter alia, it "should teach students how to identify news and recognise the story in a complex field of fact and opinion, how to conduct journalistic research, and how to write for, illustrate, edit and produce material for various media formats (newspapers and magazines, radio and television, and online and multimedia operations) and for their particular audiences" (Fulton & Scott, 2013, p.62). Reflecting on practice and ethics are included in the UNESCO requirements while there is criticism of the definition for omitting the development of understanding around the social structures of journalism, which would vary between countries (ibid).

As debate around this westernisation of journalism education has evolved, a very large body of work produced from across the world that is focused on de-westernising journalism, and related, studies has developed. Some examples include: Park and Curran (2000), who examine the global terrain; Wasserman and De Beer (2009); Takahashi (2007), who explores this in Japan; and, Khiabany (2003) who suggests there is a reverse-orientalism trend at play in this field. Deuze (2006) is among the scholars who identify the growing UK and US influence on global higher education (p.30), though arguably perhaps it is more accurate to refer to an English, and perhaps English-Welsh, influence rather than UK influence, given Scotland's late arrival to mass journalism education in the early 2000s (more about this is discussed in Chapter Four: Historical Context). Deuze (2006a) opines that "an in-depth study of journalism education must interrogate the profound consequences this [UK and US influence] has – in terms of opportunities as well as threats. If one links ongo-

ing standardisation with increasing Anglo-American influence, a picture of globalised education emerges that begs research" (p.30). However, some scholarly thinkers are dismissive of Britain's genuine influence in global journalism education. Frith and Meech (2007) highlight the relatively slow pace at which the UK has embraced journalism education compared to the US, with most American journalists having gone to university journalism schools which suggests Americans take their journalism seriously (Snoddy, 1992, in Frith & Meech, 2007, p.138). The development of Scottish university journalism education, and whether its roots are distinctly British or even Scottish, is clarified later, in particular in a historical contextualisation that aims to identify the threads of influence (see Chapter Four: Historical Context and Chapter Five: Findings and Analysis).

2iiib UK influences on Scottish journalism education: Away from US academia

Corroborating the point that journalism education is not entirely a US invention is Herbert who points to the system of journalism education in the UK falling into a wide range of categories by 2000, including block release and day release from employers to colleges, study through a private school of journalism or an employer-approved training scheme (p.122). The mix of formal and on-the-job training in the UK would suggest a strong influence of domestic workplace practices on formal training, as opposed to academic influences from American scholars and this influence is explored in interviews (see Chapter Three: Methodology and Chapter Five: Findings & Analysis). I believe it is worth noting that in-house training, and newsroom culture, has differed, too, on either side of the Atlantic.These geographic differences arguably play, or should play, into how teaching is delivered.

For practitioner Andrew Marr (2009), who started his journalism career at the Scotsman newspaper in 1980, there is a yawning gap between US and British journalism — with the former having a status in society that is conspicuously absent across large swathes of UK journalists — and the education of journalists. The Leveson Inquiry, which explored and exposed phone hacking and other nefarious information-gathering techniques by British media companies in 2013, bears testimony to the general perception of the British media. As British actor Hugh Grant, whose interaction with a US prostitute in 1995 made headlines and thrust him into tensions with the media, argues in a book on why everybody is "hacked off" by the media, there is a "nightmarish pattern of mistreatment of innocent people, of the cynical covering up of wrongdoing, of the industrial-scale quarrying of personal information from confidential databases, of the corruption of public officials and the intimidation of politi-

cians — all of it in pursuit, not of news that might serve the public interest, but of corporate profit" (2012, p.8). While Grant looks at British journalism from the perspective of an outsider who has been a target of media interest, Marr (2005) — a respected industry insider and political commentator — has a similar point to make. He compares journalism in the US with the UK as follows:

> "Certainly British journalism is not a profession. Over the years many people have tried to make it one. In the United States they have mostly succeeded. There every year tens of thousands of graduate journalists are turned out in a sophisticated production process…They are taught about the technical skills and the ethics, the heroes of American journalism and its theory. In the process they are moulded and given a protective gloss of self-importance…In Britain it isn't like this at all. Journalism is a chaotic form of earning, ragged at the edges, full of snakes, con artists. It doesn't have an accepted career structure, necessary entry requirements or an effective system of self-policing" (p.3).

Marr's point about journalism not being a profession is a strand that was discussed earlier in this chapter and is returned to later in interviews. Whether Scottish journalism graduates are given opportunities to develop technical skills and nurture decision-making based on ethical considerations is also explored in this study. As discussed earlier in this chapter, the purpose of this research is to explore how graduate journalists have been taught, looking at the geographical specifics of Scotland's university education system. The influences are teased out later, in the historical contextualisaton (see Chapter Four) and analysis (see Chapter Five).

2.IV JOURNALISM EDUCATION: ITS PURPOSE, MISSION AS THE FIELD EVOLVES

2.iva Existential questions: To be or not to be?

As Deuze (2006a) and Hanitzsch and Vos (2018) have underscored, the questions of "why journalism education?" and what the mission of journalism education is, and should be, maintain prominence in debates. Following media convergence, the deregulation of media markets and the transnationalisation of media companies, the future of journalism education has been widely debated in Europe, North America, and Australia (Fröhlich & Holtz-

Bacha, 2003, in Macdonald, 2006, p.745). More recently, this debate has taken place in the context of cultural upheaval and a rising tide of nationalism in which the media is losing its credence as a powerful force for good. As Goodman (2017) observes of an environment in which US President Donald Trump has elevated the concept of fake news and governments and powerful interests have attempted to discredit journalism as a whole, the "bedrock of journalism is under attack", namely the value of facts, truth, information and knowledge are being questioned (p.2). This attack follows enduring criticism of journalism, with a perceived decline in journalistic quality and standards leading to "renewed calls for reforms in university journalism programs" in the mid-2000s (Macdonald, 2006, p.745). As we approach 2020, the stakes in this particular era of great economic, political, technical and cultural upheaval, says Goodman, could not be higher for journalism educators and trainers worldwide, who have an unprecedented opportunity to "fortify and significantly shape the future of journalism" (Goodman, 2017, p.1).

The relative paucity of research on journalism education is highlighted as a distinct disconnect between the research undertaken by journalism educators and the knowledge they impart to students. Herbert (2000) alludes to this when he says:
"The trick with journalism education is of course to ensure that staff members actually produce research into journalism areas rather than into the more traditional media studies / sociology ones. This is the only way in which a proper research culture will grow that makes Journalism a discipline in its own right and not simply part of media or communication studies" (p.117).

Reese and Cohen (2000) note that journalism scholarship emerged as an "inter-disciplinary programme of study, lodged somewhere between the liberal arts and more purely professional training" (ibid, p.215). They highlight a dominant and ongoing focus on the "theory-versus-practice tension" tug between: academics who focus on research — that may have little to do with teaching assignments –- in order to be "respectable university citizens"; and university staff who have the main objective of promoting employability of students. These tensions between vocationally oriented university journalism lecturers and those who focus on generating research in peer-reviewed journals are evident too in the UK, with the requirement for accountability not only related to student fees and student expectations of employment with an earnings capacity commensurate to the financial outlay for education but also linked to the perceived quality of academics running teaching programmes.

The relevance of journalism as a programme of study is a key ongoing theme in journalism education literature. The irony, reflect Calcutt and Hammond (2011), “is that media sociology has been doing to journalists what formulaic journalism does to the people in its stories: formatting them according to their past, writing to type, building models of them” (p.86). Amid this type-casting, journalism and the media have found themselves at what Pavlik (2013) calls a crisis point – a crisis of relevancy. Frith and Meech (2007), who are in the small pool of Scottish academics who have undertaken research on Scottish journalism education, observe: “The paradox here is that while the nature of journalism has changed sufficiently for it to become a graduate occupation with much of its training done by the academic sector, the content of that training is based on the training needs of the industry as it used to be, rooted in the crafts of the local reporter” (p.142). What has been lacking”, they argue, “is any systematic discussion of how the occupation of journalism is changing and why. What does a journalist in the 21st century need to know? What skills are now necessary for good journalism practice? These would seem to be the sort of questions to which academic research can contribute answers, but clear thinking about journalism education has not been encouraged by the university sector either,” they contend (ibid, p.143). More recently, there has been more work undertaken on global journalism education, though this comes off a thin base of scholarship. Extremely limited research on the topic of journalism practices worldwide existed in the 2000s, which Goodman (2017) points out, in the preface of an edited book on Global Journalism Education in the 21st Century, a work that takes in not far off a dozen country case studies. Scotland is mentioned only once in the chapter on UK journalism (Frost, 2017, pp.199-218), with a reference to some degrees being four years in duration, though Scotland universities are included in a list of UK universities offering journalism degrees. There is no hint in this tome, believed to be the first in 25 years to provide comparative journalism education case studies from six continents (Goodman, 2017, p.7) that university journalism education in Scotland has unique political, cultural, social — and other — characteristics, or nuanced differences compared to journalism education south of the border, or requires separate exploration. A 2017 PhD report aims to add granular detail to this picture through an autoethnographic approach, focusing on establishing journalism programmes at UWS (Hughes, 2017). Therefore, it is suggested that this PhD study can play a small role in broadening knowledge on global journalism education by filling this gap on Scotland’s university journalism education, with specific reference to the theme of employability.

2.ivb Educating for changing occupational requirements

With digital technologies changing, and continuing to change, traditional media practices and the media industry irrevocably, the role of journalism education in helping industry to adapt to new business conditions is a strong theme in global journalism scholarship. While technology has periodically jolted the media industry, for example with the introduction of radio and later television in the 1900s, the internet has led to sweeping change. Global challenges include the declining revenues that preceded the widespread uptake of the Internet, convergence of media, conglomerate ownership and layoffs — and, "along with the quagmire of issues, the readers, the investors, the publishers and the editors want more —- more information, more revenue and more forums to present the news" (Reinardy, 2011, p. 33). Asking whether the study of journalism and the education of journalists matter within this changing environment, Tumber (2005) underscores the need for journalists to adapt to new occupational requirements. The task for scholars, argues Tumber, is to provide enquiry and teaching that can enable journalists to respond to and address a changing world (p. 551).

For some, this task of equipping journalism graduates to play a role in the reinvention of the industry is primarily to focus on reworking newsroom-specific skills that are relevant and valuable in the ever-faster evolving, digital workplace. This is a challenging position for educators, who must balance developing skills and knowledge that might become quickly obsolete with those that might be more generic, transferable and withstand the tests of time. This change can be summarised as follows: "[W]hereas the journalist used to depend on a media organisation to offer him or her full-time employment and therefore job security, the new journalism is a job with multiple skills, formats and employment patterns at the same time – an at once functionally differentiated and more holistic profession" (ibid, p.8). In terms of journalism education this is translated as a call for multi-skills training (Bierhoff & Deuze, 1999, in Bardoel & Deuze, 2001, p.98), this theme of incorporating technological advances in journalism education is not a new one, with scholars continually exploring the idea of how best to accommodate the latest devices and software. More recently these range from "podogogy" (Huntsberger & Kavitsky, 2006), or the use of podcasts in the journalism classroom, to mobile VR (virtual reality) (Cochrane, 2016; Shinn & Biocca, 2018).

The changes discussed by journalism education experts extend to the types of content journalists produce that is regarded of value to audiences. Where journalists were once

gatekeepers to a limited supply of information, as Tandoc states: The gatekeeping metaphor for the journalist has been eroded, with audiences now actively taking part in the construction and distribution of news (2018, p.235), although journalists are not redundant. In this context, it is vital for journalists to establish their value to society in "the middle ground between the minority of owners and the mass of readers, viewers and listeners" (Calcutt & Hammond, 2011, p.94). This is a similar tack to Drok (2013) who states: "The professional routines that have been used so successfully in the past century seem less suitable for the future" (p.145). He summarises the major changes that lie behind the necessity to make major adaptations to journalistic practice: "The success of European journalism in the Twentieth Century was based, among other things, on three foundations of the mass media model – scarcity of information, media monopoly and the presence of a mass audience" (ibid).

These massive shifts in the way we understand the work of a journalist have implications for those who teach journalists. Mensing (2010) observes that the "practices of today were created during a time when information was scarce and distribution was generally one way through channels that had monopolistic advantages that no longer exist. Students now need to develop a different set of skills to deal with "information abundance, network distribution, intense competition and a communication process that is interactive, asynchronous and nearly free" (in Drok, 2013, p.146). According to Foote (2017): "The ability to change directions quickly, to mirror the dynamism of new media, to transcend the boundaries of traditional media, and to collaborate on a much broader front have all become benchmarks of quality for journalism education" (p.445). Drok states: "[E]very facet of the trade – public, process, product (content/form), platform and profession – has been changing almost beyond recognition (2013, p.416). These changes have implications for the way journalism education is developed and delivered in universities and how journalism educators can better equip graduates for their careers. On the other hand, as Zelizer (2019) points out: Journalism developments have always been linked to technologies, whether these are notepads and cameras to digital technology (p.343). She cautions against sidelining "recognition of what stays stable in journalism across technological change" (ibid). The extent to which Scottish universities are preparing journalism graduates for this fast-changing environment, while acknowledging the enduring features of journalism, is examined, through interviews and document analysis (see Chapter Five: Findings and Analysis).

2.ivc The role of accreditation in curricula development

Voluntary accreditation of journalism programmes by accreditation bodies is covered in the literature, too, with organisations involved in quality assessment of journalism education in Scotland including: The National Council for the Training of Journalists (NCTJ), which accredits journalism degrees and lower level courses; The Broadcast Journalism Training Council (BJTC)s, which accredit broadcast journalism courses; and Skillset, now Creative Skillset ,"which is the training organisation which polices lower level media industry training" (Herbert, 2000, p.119). Universities "aim at a broad basic general knowledge, professional reporting and writing ability and an independent thinking and sense of news judgement and ethical reporting" (ibid). Accreditation bodies have arguably picked up the slack in offering a stamp of approval on courses so that employers can identify graduates who have been specifically equipped with skills to make them employment-ready kitemark. Asserts Hughes (2017) of the decision to seek accreditation for journalism degrees at the University of the West of Scotland: "Achieving this accreditation illustrates the importance of having the programme scrutinised by industry professionals and the assurance this offers in terms of being able to support us in our aspiration and assertion that the course content is meeting the standards and expectations of the industry" (p.52).

However, the notion of accreditation is potentially problematic because it suggests that there is "a central body of factual knowledge" on which students can be examined (a knowledge of law and local government, for example) as well as a need for such basic skills as shorthand (Frith & Meech, 2007, p.142) which is arguably no longer the case as globalisation has blurred geographic boundaries that contain legal knowledge and technology has radically altered the types of skills necessary to flourish in the digital environment. There are tensions within universities on how best to assess the performance of journalism programmes, with the aims of vocational objectives often at odds with the institutional norms of universities (Blom, Bowe & Davenport, 2019). Hughes (2017) acknowledges the need for accreditation bodies to demonstrate clear links between curricula and employability stating: "[A]ccreditation bodies, regardless of which one, do need to be able to illustrate more fully their value to institutions such as UWS perhaps by providing a stronger evidence base around how accreditation does enhance the recruitment, student experience and improved graduate employment" (p.53).

Notwithstanding these tensions, and although there appeared to be a sharp divide between educational institutions that accredit and those that do not, there were “similar curriculum structures” (Herbert, 2000, p.122) in the UK in general. Seamon (2010) made a similar finding in a study looking at three decades of research comparing accredited and unaccredited journalism and mass communication programmes in the US. “None discovered evidence that accredited programs are strongly or clearly superior in major ways to unaccredited programs. In fact, studies generally find many more similarities than differences,” he concluded (p.9). This thesis that there is very little between accredited and unaccredited programmes, a process that cuts directly to the heart of employability, is examined more closely in the primary research stage of this study in a comparison between Scotland’s university journalism programmes specifically in so far as they deal with factors related to employability (see Chapter Five).

2.ivd Journalism accreditation education in the era of big data

New ways of undertaking journalistic investigations have also necessitated shifts in how journalism is defined and also what is, or should be, taught. Data journalism embraces the technological change that encompasses, inter alia, enriching journalism with data, uncovering stories through data and making sense of big data (Wright & Doyle, 2019, p.3) and can include a dimension of collaboration (Burns & Matthews, 2018, p.93), for example investigative work on the Panama Papers — a leak of confidential legal files containing information of money-laundering and tax evasion that was shared and analysed by a group of journalists. Splendore et al (2015) undertook a study of six European countries, concluding: “Generally speaking, data journalism education appears to be a very young discipline that frequently neglects fundamental journalistic topics such as ethical issues, transparency, accountability, and responsiveness although they are crucial in a journalistic field as sophisticated tools to reveal hidden aspects of reality” (p.138). Nguyen and Lugo-Ocando (2016) point out that it is easy, and necessary, to make use of, and check, statistics in journalism, yet educating journalists to deal with numbers is not, on the whole, on the university journalism curricula.

With the arrival of Big Data, newsrooms have also changed and are increasingly characterised by screens updating live web metrics so that journalists can track and analyse how audiences are responding to their content and make news judgements based on these figures (Schlesinger, 2015; Nguyen & Lugo Ocando, 2016). This strong visible presence of

statistics, together with a surfeit of text books on statistics, makes it “quite inexplicable that journalism education in universities rarely incorporates statistical skills in its curricula, despite repeated calls from experts, scientists and policy makers and despite being better positioned than any news organisation or professional training body to do so” (Nguyen & Lugo-Ocando, 2016, p.9). Nevertheless, Stalph and Borges-Rey (2018) point out that predictions of the widespread adoption of data-driven reporting have not come to pass; nevertheless, as a skillset, data journalism will soon be regarded as essential for every professional journalist (2018, p.1078). In this research, the existence of data journalism as a module is examined (see Chapter Five) and it is found that there is very little attention paid to this area (see findings and analysis), in line with the trend elsewhere.

2.ive Journalism education, employability and the public good

One area where journalists can differ from citizen journalists and corporate communicators who use journalistic techniques is in their unique role as paid soldiers of the Fourth Estate and it is in this context in particular that journalists can maintain a distinctive character for their craft. It is argued by many scholars that journalism is necessary to hold to account powers in society such as the legislature, judiciary and commercial sector, however the debate is complicated, starting with concerns that the noble pursuit of journalism has been diluted in part by commercial pressures. As Macdonald (2006) points out, debates about the media industry prioritising profits over public service (p.417) are not new; but the variables have changed. In the context of neoliberal restructuring and a “professional crisis” in journalism, there have again been proposals for journalism education to help uplift professional journalistic values (Adam, 2001, Bollinger, 2003, Carnegie Corporation, 2005, Sauvageau, 2004, in Macdonald, 2006, p.417).

To many in the Western world, journalism — and hence journalism education — is inextricably linked to democracy (Josephi, 2009, p.467). This assumption underpins much scholarship on journalism education. As noted by Wahl-Jorgensen and Hanitzsch (2009), the field of journalism studies is “heavily influenced by a particular set of normative presumptions that we could do well to reflect on: We assume…that journalism is a benevolent force of social good, essential to citizenship, and that it constitutes a ‘Fourth Estate’ or plays a ‘watchdog role’ by providing a check on excesses of state power” (p.8). As such, they say, “we assume that journalists understand themselves as defenders of free speech and as independent forces for the common good” (2009, p.8). However, drawing on these assumptions

ignores the fact that in many parts of the world the media does not operate with the benefit of freedom of speech as it is understood in the US and western Europe and is even used as a government tool in some countries. Totalitarian regimes around the world have shown a profound understanding of the power of the press, from the use of journalism to advance national sociologist ideology in Nazi Germany (Weischenberg & Malik, 2008, p.159) to China's "watchdogs on party leashes" (Zhao, 2000). Journalism has powered conflict, in Rwanda, Liberia and Sierra Leone (M'Bayo, 2005, in Wahl-Jorgensen & Hanitzsch, 2009, p. 8). In addition, the media are "active participants" in the reconfigurations of power structures, argue Vladisavljević and Voltmer (2017) in a content analysis study on media framing of democratisation conflicts in Egypt, Kenya, Serbia and South Africa. "Communication scholars have pointed out that the media's role is not confined to just mirroring what is going on. Instead, they provide a particular interpretation of reality" (ibid, p.3). These debates about the place of journalism education within the political economy of various countries are arguably important as journalism programmes attract, and encourage, international students. According to the Scottish government, in the 2016-2017 academic year more than 22% of the approximately 242,000 students enrolled at Scottish Higher Education Institutes were classed as international, Of this total, about 16% were from China, a prime example of a country where the media does not perform the role of an independent "Fourth Estate" but is, instead, controlled by the state.

Another philosophical debate about journalism education revolves around politics and the extent to which journalism students, and ultimately journalists, have become increasingly focused on consumerism at the expense of their presupposed role as social commentators and activists for democratic rights. "The concomitant increase in journalism educators in Britain has fuelled debate, already familiar in the United States and elsewhere, about how the curriculum should respond to 'convergence' in technology and to what are seen as adverse structural and economic conditions for the media's 'Fourth Estate' function" (see De Burgh, 2003; Deuze, 2006a, p.21). And, as in the United States, some commentators on the British and global picture have noted that recent cohorts of journalism students seem "increasingly dis-engaged from the democratic process'' (Reese & Cohen, 2000, pp.213-4, 217), with some British journalism educators fearing that this does not bode well for the role of journalism in uncovering scandals and highlighting injustice in society. "When they get to university, they are depressingly incurious about the world around them and sit back expecting you to spoon-feed them…Most want to do sport, music or lifestyle" (Thom, 2004, pp.29-30, in Deuze, 2006a, p.21). It should be noted that by late 2017 there were signs of students regaining an interest in politics, most notably among Labour supporters (Pickard,

2018). However other scholars “warn against selecting memories of any ‘golden age’ to judge current British students” (Thom, 2004, p.30; Welford, 2001 in Deuze, 2006a, p.21).

Also noted in literature on journalism education is the notion of “journalism acculturation”, with journalists romanticising themselves as lone heroes, performing against the odds in difficult conditions to bring the story home. “It is certainly true that both the academic study of journalism in Britain and the organisation of journalism degrees have gone along with journalists’ account of journalism, putting research as well as teaching emphasis on gathering hard news […] as the most significant journalist activity”, comment Frith and Meech (2007, p.145). These tensions about what journalism should be, and therefore how it should be taught, are reflected in interviews conducted for this study (see Chapter Five: Findings & Analysis).

The Orientalist-type bias in scholarship alluded to by Volz and Lee (2009) and Banda et al (2007) is evident across studies on journalism education, through explicit elevations of US practice to a conspicuous absence in reflexivity about west-centric subjectivity. It could be argued that this is inevitable because much journalism education research originates in the US. Where in southern Africa there has been notable debate on the de-westernisation of the field, which Banda et al (2007) state as journalism education “defining a new academic identity for itself, extricating itself from dependency on Western oriented models of journalism education and training” (p.157), in the northern hemisphere scholars have arguably remained largely focused on continuing to define the field from a western perspective. For example, Reese and Cohen, apparently oblivious to a rising tide of anti-west sentiment in African universities, predicted, in 2002, that “professionalism of scholarship” would become increasingly important as the “US model of journalism education is held out for emerging democracies to emulate, and ‘global’ journalists and their media organisations are striving to develop accepted standards of their own professional practice” (p.215).

The Reese and Cohen (2002) view that the US model will be held up as best practice taps into a common underlying assumption emanating from the US that while some define the “educational mission for journalism narrowly - training candidates for news and media jobs” - others would broaden it to include teaching media literacy for those who may not themselves go on to be practitioners” with the ultimate goal to “improve the practice of journalism and thereby the democratic society in which it is rooted” (ibid, p.214) – i.e a western-style democracy. This literature review did not unearth any particular concerns among scholars about the influence of US university journalism education in Scotland and the UK, although

there is a sharp awareness of the pervasiveness of US-originated journalism practice in Africa and elsewhere and there is also much literature on Scottish Orientalists, including scholars, and their role in creating the Orientalist narrative about the world to the East of Europe.

Gasher (2006) highlights the tension in the field globally between scholars who place an emphasis on the outcome of education being primarily employability and those who believe journalism studies serve a wider purpose than employability: “The push to transform journalism education –- in Canada and elsewhere –- is being driven by a number of internal and external forces. The change agents include a new generation of faculty members with graduate degrees and research training in communication and media studies, senior university administrators demanding that journalism schools do more than train students for the news industry workforce, researching carving out the emerging field of ‘journalism studies’, alternative media and media-reform movements that are redefining what journalism is and can be, and a hyper-commercialised news industry that degrades journalism when it treats communities solely as markets, audiences strictly as consumers” (p.666). Mensing takes the debate even further, suggesting that employability per se should not be the focal point of university journalism education and arguing that journalism schools should “consider an alternative to the transmission-driven, industry-conceived model of journalism” and, in short, move away from the industry-centred model that dominates the sector (2015, p. 512).

Journalism educators arguably need to work harder than ever to ensure graduates leave university equipped with specialist skills, with the caveat that emphasising the development of innovative journalists risks alienating the role of the media as a Fourth Estate. Creech and Nadler (2018) caution against post-industrial vision for journalism that has an overriding and celebratory focus on innovation: “We argue that this discourse marginalises normative concerns about journalism’s democratic purpose and rests on an entrepreneurial logic that seeks to dictate digital journalism’s broader public virtues” (p.182). In summation, journalism is at a crossroads, and, needs to reaffirm core values and rediscover key activities, almost certainly in new forms, or, as Calcutt and Hammond (2011) have argued, it risks losing its distinctive character as well as its commercial basis. The extent to which these changes are in train in Scotland, and how they are being addressed, is further explored in this study (see Chapter Five: Findings and Analysis). These tensions are examined at the interview stage of this PhD study.

2.ivf Journalism education and journalism jobs: Supply, demand equation

It is not just the curricula of journalism education that are widely discussed by academics; the commodification of university education, including the rapid growth of journalism education provision, has been under scrutiny. There are concerns within academia, covered in the literature and reflected in interviews with Scottish academics for this PhD study (see Chapter Five: Findings & Analysis), that the supply of journalism graduates is excessive in relation to demand for entry level journalists in newsrooms. Journalism education has grown into a significant sector in US higher education, and has been growing elsewhere in the world (Folkerts et al 2013, p.2). It is alleged that institutions have, to gain "bums on seats and fees in accounts'" (Hann & Delano in Hanna & Sanders, 2007, p.406), exploited students by encouraging unrealistic hopes of them securing a journalism career. By 2013 there were 115 accredited journalism programs in the US, and at least twice that many unaccredited ones. "All but a handful of these teach mainly undergraduates, and they teach other fields of communication – advertising, marketing, public relations, and more – along with journalism" (Folkerts et al, 2013, p.2).

In the UK, journalism education has similarly enjoyed a boom period in recent decades. As Hughes (2017) notes: The "most striking in any examination of journalism education and its role within the academy is how much it has grown in the last few decades", contrasting the three postgraduate programmes in journalism on offer in the UK three decades ago with the 65 institutions offering journalism education in 2016 (UCAS, 2016) (p.8). The proliferation of courses of journalism — about 660 in the UK by 2013 — is an obvious way to gauge the boom in journalism education (Folkerts et al, 2013, p.51). In 2013, there were an estimated 55 full-fledged departments with 'journalism' in their names" in the UK (Folkerts et al, 2013, p.51). The trend in Scotland has mirrored the broader UK growth in journalism student numbers, with six of Scotland's 15 universities offering undergraduate degrees in journalism by 2019. UCAS information indicates that by January 2016 six universities in Scotland were offering undergraduate journalism degrees and courses: Edinburgh Napier University, Glasgow Caledonian University, Robert Gordon University, the University of Stirling, the University of Strathclyde and the University of the West of Scotland. Five single-subject journalism (BA Hons) degrees were available, including one specialist sports journalism degree (UWS); journalism as part of a combined-subject undergraduate degree was available in 15 different variations. Also by January 2016, postgraduate journalism degrees (MA, MSc and MLitt degrees) were available at five universities: Edinburgh Napier University; Robert

Gordon University; University of Strathclyde; Glasgow Caledonian University; and the University of Glasgow, which was not offering undergraduate journalism education as of 2019. In 2019, the University of Stirling started marketing an MSc in International Journalism. In 2000, there were about 20 applicants for each available place on a British journalism programme (UCAS 2000 in Herbert, 2000, p.117). The “increasing over-demand for places” led to “universities with industry accredited journalism degrees” reviewing admissions requirements annually, “making them more stringent”, notes Herbert (2000, p.117). Hughes (2016) reflects on the unwavering attractiveness of a journalism degree for new students in Scotland, even though the decline of the local media sector has been evident, by citing the example of the University of the West of Scotland, which received 15 applicants for journalism degrees in 2004, with this figure increasing to 271 in 2015/16 (p.46).

The strong uptick in demand for journalism education should not be seen in isolation of the broader social development of individuals paying close attention to whether their degrees are worth the time spent studying — and in the UK, in general ,the money they have paid for studies directly and indirectly — as university education becomes the norm rather than the exception. The global tertiary enrolment ratio, or share of student-age population at university soared in the two decades to 2012 from 14% to 32%, with demand for university education growing faster than demand for cars because it is seen as a ticket to a decent job and entry to the middle class (The Economist, 2015, p.13). Around 2005, coinciding with a period in which there was a marked widening of journalism education at university level, questions were increasingly asked about high student intakes and the extent to which availability of places on journalism programmes matched the availability of journalism jobs for graduates.

This swift and wide expansion, argue Hanna and Saunders (2007) “led to a growing proportion of journalism graduates in newsrooms, despite residual, industry concern that journalism is not the best first degree subject for would-be journalists” (p.404). The point that journalism degrees can be an ancillary for a career in journalism is made by Frith and Meech (2007), who undertook a survey of graduates from journalism programmes in 2002 and found that “a journalism degree is, in fact an effective preparation for a successful journalism career” and that “graduate journalists do bring a new perspective to the assessment of journalism as a career” (p.137). However, it should be noted that a number of respondents in the Frith and Meech research were not from journalism courses per se, but from university-level courses that included aspects of journalism (namely a University of Stirling under-

graduate degree in media studies; the other participants were alumni of a joint venture between Strathclyde University and Glasgow Caledonian University offering Scotland's first postgraduate journalism degree). As far as could be ascertained at the time of writing this literature review, there was no follow-up on a proposal by Frith and Meech (2007) to develop a longitudinal tracking study or gather core qualitative data to track the transformation of journalism degrees and the extent to which they prepare students for a successful journalism career. Hanna and Sanders (2007) observed that the extent to which British journalism graduates are retrospectively satisfied with their choice of journalism as a degree programme or subject was not measured by 2007, yet the popularity of undergraduate programmes in journalism was still on the rise. There is little data available to measure the actual success of journalism programmes other than through the numbers of students they yield for universities, they note (ibid, p.404). Hanna and Saunders (2007) draw on a "pattern of explosive growth" in the 2000s, with 2035 full-time students joining journalism programmes in 2004/5, a five-fold increase from the 415 who enrolled in 1994/95 to illustrate this UK-wide educational success story (p.404). This gap in gauging the success of journalism programmes, particularly in Scotland and particularly with reference to employability, is an area that falls beyond the scope of this PhD study, with the core research questions focusing on how the internal stakeholders interpret employability specifically.

However, there is some research that contradicts the thesis put forward by Hanna and Sanders (2007) and Frith and Meech (2007) that the uptake by the news media industry of journalism graduates per se, as opposed to graduates in general, has demonstrated a large appetite among employers for students who have successfully completed a journalism-specific programme. Findings that appear to corroborate concerns that journalism graduates are not particularly advantaged when it comes to securing jobs in the news media include: In 1995 only 1% of news journalists held an undergraduate degree in journalism (Delano & Henninghan,1995); by 2006 a Skillset survey found that 7% of UK news journalists held an undergraduate degree in journalism (Delano, 2001, in Mathews & Heathman, 2014). This increase over a decade in journalism graduates in newsrooms is relatively minimal in the light of the rapid growth of degree programmes in journalism and therefore the wide choice of graduates that potential employers have available for possible employment.

While there may be a number of reasons for this modest uptake of journalism graduates, some of which are explored later through interviews (see Chapter Five: Findings and Analysis), it would seem inevitable that journalism graduates have not been immune to macro-

economic developments that have suppressed economic growth and put a lid on employment growth in general. It is perhaps worth noting that employment of graduates in general has slowly declined since 2008, with this impact on employment rates attributed to the global recession (Universities UK, 2018). This development, in turn, in which it has become harder for graduates to immediately secure jobs, is likely to have put increasing pressure on institutions to focus more on employability and highlight the employability of their students to news organisations (this theme is explored in interviews). As Mensing (2010) has observed: With the added pressure of the changing needs of industry, brought about by the disintegration of established business models and resulting in a shrinking workforce, the justification for journalism schools to continue graduating thousands of hopeful recruits is increasingly debated (p.511). Another reason, perhaps, for the relatively modest uptake of journalism students in the news media industry is because many students enrol for journalism studies without ever intending to build careers as journalists. As Foote (2017) states: "Increasingly students are gravitating to journalism education as an area of study even though they have no interest in pursuing it professionally. In some ways, it has become a de facto liberal arts degree" (p.437). There is also a "new frontier of journalism education", namely media literacy to help students "responsibly and intelligently navigate the blizzard of content they are encountering" (Foote, 2017, p.437).

Demand from students who opt for a journalism degree through a perception that this is a programme that can enhance employment prospects has not been the only reason cited for the strong uptick in journalism education in Scotland. Other reasons include a university funding formula that has made it attractive for universities to woo students to the subject. For example, Melville observed in 2002, there was a push by university administrations to increase intakes to offset declining student numbers in science and engineering (p.32). Herbert (2000) picked up on this driver, too: "As far as university authorities are concerned, ever vigilant about new ways of attracting students, this very high level of recruitment is music to their cash-strapped ears. Particularly since they also fall into the second highest funding level (which earns more cash from the government per student than in less technology intensive subjects)" (p.117).

Another factor that has arguably played into a sharper awareness of the employability possibilities of degrees is the move to charge fees for tuition (Folkerts et al, 2013; Hanna & Sanders, 2007; Herbert, 2000). While this change in the UK affects the pockets primarily of students outside Scotland, it was perhaps inevitable that the debates about the value of

higher education have seeped across the UK's invisible borders. According to Folkerts et al (2013), graduate employability suddenly became even more important as a result of the UK government's decision to require all students to pay full tuition for their schooling in England and Wales (ibid, p.55). Their points resonate with a report on a study on journalism education in Britain –- which included Napier University in Scotland — in which it was noted that rising fees and concomitant debt burdens may make more applicants "assert their status as consumers by demanding clear, comparable data on which programmes are most likely to project them into a journalism career" (Meikle, 2007, in Hanna & Sanders, 2007, p.417).

Data that students use to assess the quality of a journalism degree programme is primarily accessed through published surveys. Feedback from Scottish students, including on employment and income prospects, in national and international surveys can play a role in student recruitment, which is why universities highlight these statistics in their marketing collateral (see document analysis, Chapter Five: Findings and Analysis). "There is a growing obsession with university rankings around the world. What started as an academic exercise in the early 20th century in the US became a commercial 'information' service for students in the 1980s and the progenitor of a 'reputation race' with geo-political implications today," observes Hazelkorn (2015, p.6). The emphasis on employability in UK higher education is not a new phenomenon, and was highlighted in both the Robbins Report in 1963 and the Dearing Report in 1997; however fresh waves of interest have emerged and the issue of employability has since become increasingly significant has been attributed by many to governmental policy that compels Higher Education Institutions to supply data on graduate employability (Weinert, 2001, Brennan, 2004 and Gedye et al, 2004 in Jackson & Day, 2007, p.20). "This drive from policy makers has, in turn, resulted in the formulation of employability strategies within HEIs. These strategies reveal conflicting definitions of employability as HEIs seek to provide students with employability skills in order to reach the attainment of acceptable graduate employment figures. As a result course teams are unclear whether to put their energies into equipping students with subject-related and generic skills and knowledge or to help them find a job. What is more, HEIs have to consider not only their own and Government agenda, but also the agendas of other stakeholders including students and employers" (p.20). This PhD study aims to explore the definitions of employability within journalism university education in Scotland and how these shape the employability agenda in that sector.

In the UK, scholars appear to be far more attuned to the nuances of class than of geographic, and western-centric, influences on journalists and journalism educators. This is reflected in the literature as well as during interviews with key stakeholders in Scotland's university journalism infrastructure (see findings, Chapter Five). There is, it is argued, an historical resistance in the UK to the education of journalists that is linked to British class consciousness and a concern that journalism careers might be reserved for middle to upper classes (Frith & Meech, 2007). Scepticism of university journalism education "involves, more or less explicitly, a concern about the potential social effects of a drastic change in the means of access to a journalism career, a concern about what sort of people are now becoming journalists" (ibid, p.140). But, the suggestion "is that because, in a democracy, it is important that journalists report on and to 'ordinary people', it is equally important that they should be ordinary people themselves" (Frith & Meech, 2007, p.140). These concerns have existed alongside improving educational standards, with the UK population becoming progressively more educated over the generations. According to the UK's Office for National Statistics, the percentage of the population classed as graduates rose steadily from 17% in 1992 to 38% in 2013 (this figure excludes registered students). "This reflects changes to education since the 1970s which has led to it becoming more common for people to undertake higher education and less common for people to have no qualifications" (Office for National Statistics, 2013). In Scotland, by 2015, a quarter of the 4.3m people aged 16 and over had university degrees, according to an Office for National Statistics survey (Whitaker, 2015), though there were also criticisms that the poorest families — largely single-parent homes — were underrepresented in this group. The existence, or not, of these concerns is explored in interviews, in this PhD study.

2.V EMPLOYABILITY STUDIES: THE WIDER CONTEXT

2va Employability: Theoretical directions

As the broad area of employability scholarship has evolved and scholars have attempted to conceptualise employability, theoretical work has become peppered with mnemonics. From a study of 16 papers on the field, Williams (2015) distilled the acronyms and models to the following: "All of these components refer to the properties an individual needs to possess to ensure functionality in the workplace and can be traded within the job market for economic gain. Employability is understood in terms of the match between this capital and the required capital of the desired post." (p.14). The USEM account of employability (Knight &

Yorke, 2004), an acronym for four inter-related components of employability, Understanding, Skills, Efficacy and Metacognition, underpins a significant body of work (Dacre Pool & Sewell, 2007; Williams, 2015). A criticism is that this model "does not assist in explaining to non-experts in the field, particularly the students themselves and their parents, exactly what is meant by employability" (Dacre Pool & Sewell 2007, p.10). CareerEDGE, which stands for Career development learning, Experience, Degree subject knowledge understanding and skills, Generic skills and Emotional intelligence (Pool & Sewel, 2007, in Sumanasiri et al, 2015, p.77), is a remix of USEM, teasing out the key pillars of the model into more specific categories, and is aimed at further clarifying the key strands of the model. The Copps and Plimmer (2013) JET — Journey of Employment — model emphasises the individual nature of employability, and that the job outcome is not only getting and sustaining employability but also includes quality of work and satisfaction gained (ibid). RAW (Study & Kottke, 2014), an acronym for Rewarding, Ability and Willingness, adds job satisfaction, aptitude and motivation as necessary features of employability (ibid).

There are criticisms, as Sumanasiri et al (2015) identify, in that there is a problem of a lack of research support associated with many employability frameworks and that many are only theoretical in nature (Wickramasinghe & Perera, 2010, in ibid, p.78). There is also the challenge that addressing employability in the design of an education programme or course is complex, requiring far more than mapping skills and knowledge to a post. How do you measure emotional intelligence as a factor in employability, as set out by Dacre Pool and Sewel (2007)? USEM leaves out social capital — the ability to network (Williams, 2015), as a contributor to employability as well as the extent to which a potential employee is a "good fit" with an employer (ibid). Furthermore, as Williams asserts: discrimination can play a role in employability, too, while there is no guarantee that the most qualified - or employable - person will receive a job opportunity (2015, p.23). Hughes (2017) succinctly describes the non-formulaic reality of preparing a journalism programme for a Scottish university: "Designing degree programmes requires mastery of processes and knowledge of the content and operation of them. Beyond this is the consideration that needs to be given to the range of interested parties whose influence on design and implementation can be far-reaching " (p.54). Designing, validating and implementing degrees is not a linear process and requires multiple conceptual and practical considerations and negotiations and compromises with a range of stakeholders, and this is made all the more complex as a result of the "murkiness" on the purpose of journalism and what the news industry requires as well as the societal demands on journalists (ibid, pp.57-67).

The simplification of employability into digestible models, as undertaken by education scholars, is reflected in some theoretical work on journalism education, with a similar attempt to tease out key themes into specific categories and moulds. For example, as Deuze (2006a) points out, Weischenberg (2001) identified three domains of ideal-typical journalistic competence: Fach-Kompetenz (instrumental skills –- eg, reporting, writing, editing –- and knowledge about journalism: media economy, law, history); Vermittlungs-Kompetenz (articulation skills – how to present information); and, Sach-kompetenz, namely social science skills. The same arguments against over-reliance on a model like USEM could be made about the Weischenberg model: there is an assumption that the job will be awarded to an individual with specific qualifications when in reality jobs are often awarded on the basis of personal referrals through a closed circle. This theme is picked up in the interviews with university education stakeholders (see Chapter Five).

Deuze (2006a) argues that most scholarly work focuses largely on curricula. It is my intention in this study to do the same, specifically teasing this out from the perspective of employability, as this has not been undertaken in the Scotland context, while also covering the other points in consideration of the argument that this is necessary to provide appropriate context. As Deuze (2006a) states: “Many scholars, educators and media practitioners thus conveniently ignore the forces and decisions that defined the parameters within which any discussion of curricular matters takes place” (p.28). Curriculum research has shortcomings as it walks a fine line between identifying ‘which potentially objective kinds or forms of knowledge and understanding are appropriate for inclusion’, and taking into consideration the cultural, historical and geographical factors that determine educational value for the particular social constituency involved” (ibid). Another approach allows students to chart their own path. Curriculum literature also looks at “experiential education” or “learning by doing”; some look at in-house production of campus media – for some “the ideal meeting place for theory and praxis” for others “a costly waste of faculty time and resources, taking time and money away from teaching and research” (Bloebaum, 2000, in Deuze, 2006a, p.29). In this study, the curricula are explored in so far as they can assist in shedding light on how employability is interpreted by the relevant stakeholders. Experiential education is evident in Scotland’s university journalism sector in document analysis and interviews, as might be expected of programmes with strong vocational bents. The details of this experiential education are teased out in Chapter Five.

Another weakness of theoretical development by education scholars on employability are normative shortcomings, identified as gaps in scholarship in the field of journalism education, too. Herbert (2000) raises the point that, as journalism education has progressed in Britain, arguments have been made for "a new approach to curriculum that would strengthen the professional education of media and communication practitioners by taking due account of what is to be learned, who is to learn it and the context in which they have to do so" (p.113). Meanwhile, journalism education proliferates and differentiates, making it impossible to establish consensus on employability though there is, as Deuze (2006a) argues, an "occupational ideology of journalism" — shared values such as working fast on deadline, being ethical and championing editorial autonomy — and this is largely similar across the globe while "contextualising journalism education can go into so many different directions" (p.27). Higher education institutions' approaches to graduate employability reflect short-term outcomes and preparedness to work as soon as possible after graduation as well as life-long carer goals but can be vague (Bridgstock & Jackson, 2019). These various strands are examined in this study education in Scotland explored through interviews and in an analysis of pertinent documents (see Chapter Six: Findings and Analysis), and the contextualisation of journalism education in Scotland undertaken in Chapter Four: Historical contextualisation. Furthermore, an attempt is made to contribute to the academic discussion on how employability is interpreted for the purposes of educating journalism students at Scottish universities. However, the development of a specific conceptual model on employability is beyond the scope of the research questions.

2vb Quality of journalism education

Although there is no black-and-white way to evaluate the quality of journalism education, there are processes and formalities within the UK and Scotland's education system to provide guidance on minimum requirements. The quality of university journalism education is assessed at a number of levels, starting with broader quality assessments applicable across the university sector. As touched on earlier in this chapter, the QAA, an independent body established in 1987 and funded by university and higher education college subscriptions, regularly visits institutions to review academic performance and promote codes of practice and support improvement in academic degrees (Herbert, 2000). Benchmarking exercises for journalism have been completed: in 2002; a revision, by subject specialists that included Scottish academics, in 2007; and in 2016. According to the QAA (2008): "Subject benchmark statements provide a means for the academic community to describe the nature

and characteristics of programmes in a specific subject or subject area. They also represent general expectations about standards for the award of qualifications at a given level in terms of the attributes and capabilities that those possessing qualifications should have demonstrated.“

As alluded to earlier in this chapter, journalism is only one of several areas covered by overarching benchmarking statements, with employability referred to in an indirect way. The reason that the statements are general, argues the QAA, is that they aim to serve an enabling, rather than regulatory, function. In other words, much is left to the interpretation of those who must work towards complying with them. States the QAA (2008): “Degree programmes in communication, media, film and cultural studies are characterised by a diversity of emphases, drawing in different ways on the disciplinary and professional sources outlined above, and offering a range of approaches to theoretical, critical, practical and creative work within these fields. Often combining the search for thorough knowledge and understanding with the development of students' creative and reflexive capacities in innovative ways, they offer programmes relevant to students' futures, both in work and as citizens. The benchmarking review group for communication, media, film and cultural studies has sought to reflect in this statement both the central concerns and understandings common to these fields and the richness represented by their diversity“ (p.6). More about this process is discussed in Chapter Four: Historical Context.

Becker and Kosicki raised the problem, as far back as 1998, that no-one anywhere had yet found a way to directly measure the quality of journalism education, though there are quality indicators that include environmental indicators such as size of cohorts –- a negative indicant of quality –- both at the departmental and university level. Institutional purpose, faculty and morale are factors, with narrow and clear statements to indicate quality. Employment and compensation of graduates are categorised as “outcome” indicants, though much emphasis is also given to input factors such as entrance grades, and involvement factors such as extracurricular activities and student involvement in instruction (ibid, p.3). This situation in which quality of education is elusive still stood, in Scotland, at the time of writing (2019), with Hughes (2017) illustrating the ambiguous nature of quality indicants by drawing from a description in The UWS Quality Handbook on approaches to assessment as: “[T]he right bits, in the right place, doing the right job at the right time” (p.80). As with the QAA benchmark statements, these types of guidelines have limited use in journalism education because they are general, require highly subjective interpretation and journalism itself is a moving target, more than ever as digital technologies continue to effect sweeping changes to processes and practices, and defies formulation.

It is not the intention to assess the quality of journalism education in Scotland in this study, as that is beyond the scope of the research questions, which revolve specifically around employability. In addition, making valid judgements on quality is challenging and fraught with complexity, as there are many variables and employment pathways and success is unique to each individual.

Hanna and Sanders (2007) have drawn attention to the difficulty of assessing the quality of journalism education, by pointing out that there are few data available to judge the success of British undergraduate journalism programmes in measures other than student head counts as yields for universities (p.412). They call for longitudinal studies, of the type conducted in the United States by the Cox Center (2007), to record the extent to which British journalism graduates generally, whatever their career choice, express retrospective satisfaction with their choice of degree subject, and the extent to which those who remain motivated to becoming journalists succeed in this aim (Hanna & Sanders, 2007, p.416). “Journalism departments need, individually, to adopt greater transparency in this regard, in that although British universities annually collect careers data on the ‘first destinations’ of graduates (HESA, 2006), these are not routinely published in breakdowns for individual programmes” (ibid, p.412). While replicating the Hanna and Sanders study, or indeed attempting to emulate a large-scale study as a foundation for longitudinal studies, is beyond the scope of this PhD study, it is my intention to explore the extent to which Scottish universities are attempting to develop the employability of their students.

2vc Teaching journalism when the stakes are high

Hughes (2017) underscores that in Scotland’s news industry, stakeholders are unwilling to share what they expect of journalism graduates yet are critical of the outcomes of university journalism education. This comes at a period when the stakes are high for both news industry stakeholders and the academics. For Pavlik (2013), the situation is grave: “Media are undergoing tumultuous change, and media education needs an equally profound reinvention…Without an entirely new approach, a steep fall is inevitable” (p.215). While some changes have been underway for some time, digital technology has transformed learning and teaching as well as the news industry as it has many facets of life. Traditional, hierarchical teacher/learner, staff/student, university/client dichotomies have become outdated as they have been seen to be counterproductive as collaboratively compiled knowledge and

user-led environments become commonplace. Education is a “further key area for such changes, as educators stand to lose their privileged position as expert practitioners and theorists in a user-led environment” (Bruns, 2007, p.1).

This recognition that a step-change is required to maintain sustainability of the industry and its associated academy flows from a school of thought that it is not enough to focus on how to better equip journalism graduates for a changed world; academics also need to radically overhaul their approaches to teaching. Much attention has been paid to “upholding the profession of journalism”, however “far less has been directed toward the more immediate scholarly professionalism of those who teach in this area”, opine Reese and Cohen (2000, p.215). While the changes conspicuously revolve around the use of technologies in classrooms, for example mobile phones (Ayish & Dahdal, 2019), there is also a paradigm shift that is required and is already underway. As Hughes (2017) states of her own situation within Scotland’s journalism academy: “My future as a journalism educator and researcher… is also undergoing constant change and re-shaping…I need to be prepared to consider the work that has gone before and balance it against the need to evolve and make change both in content, delivery and, quite possibly, the space journalism education occupies within the academy” (p.99). In examining the evolution of Scottish university journalism education provision, this PhD study includes an attempt to understand how these changes have shaped the employability agenda.

2vd Journalism education and employability: research boundaries, directions

In this literature review, I have set out research themes and developments most pertinent to the area of employability in Scotland’s university journalism education, from the perspective of academia, which is central to addressing the underlying the research questions. To recap, the first research question asks how employability developed within Scottish journalism education. The associated questions ask how the employability agenda shaped journalism curricula at Scotland’s universities and then probe the implications of operationalising these agenda. I believe there is an opportunity to make an original contribution to research on global journalism education, viewing Scotland's university journalism programmes through the employability lens.

As indicated in this chapter, the future of journalism has been scrutinised for over a century (Mensing, 2010; Volz & Lee, 2009), in particular from the perspective of US scholarship and

examples (Deuze, 2006a). The “breadth and scope” of journalism education are “wide-ranging” (Goodman, 2017, p.4). The field includes, inter alia: understanding newsroom practices and processes (Wahl-Jorgensen & Hanitzsch, 2009); comparative media system research (Hallin & Mancini, 2004, 2011); and ethics (Tumber, 2005). There is, however, a need to “pay more attention to the transfer of knowledge, generated by scientific inquiry, to the fields of journalism education and practice” (Wahl-Jorgensen & Hanitzsch, 2009, p.14). In the main, journalism education appears to be a niche field in the wider body of journalism scholarship (Gardeström, 2015; Deuze, 2006a; Goodman & Steyn, 2017). Journalism, states Deuze (2006a), is a “more or less autonomous field of study across the globe, yet the education and training of journalists is a subject much debated – but only rarely researched” (p.20). Similarly, journalism educators at the World Journalism Education Congress, “an unprecedented meeting of journalism education associations and educators/trainers from around the globe to improve journalism education, and therefore journalism worldwide”, identified a need to develop research on global journalism education. This is because “[E]xtremely limited research on this topic” existed at that time “and all hungered to learn more” (Goodman & Hasegawa, 2003, in Goodman & Steyn, 2017, pvii).

Furthermore, where journalism education has been the focal point of scholarly research, its role in the employability of graduates has been at the periphery. As Wahl-Jorgensen & Hanitzsch (2009) suggest: “[W]e ought to understand and be reflexive about the power relations between journalism studies and its related professional and scholarly fields. The relationship between journalism studies and its immediate environment – the fields of journalism practice and journalism education – has not always been an easy one. Journalism studies often finds itself in a difficult position at the intersection of three different groups with frequently clashing interests: journalists, journalism educators, and journalism scholars” (p. 14). “[W]ith a few exceptions, studies that focus on the forces that have shaped journalism education are largely lacking” (Barrera, 2012, in Gardeström, 2015, p.3).

This PhD dissertation therefore additionally sets out to explore the unique national context in which Scottish university journalism is located. Chapter Four, a historical contextualisation, is accordingly focused on excavating the influences and key drivers that have developed and shaped university journalism education in Scotland. Although Scotland is a small nation within the UK and often discussed, particularly in the context of journalism and journalism education as though it is part of the same system, it has its own social, cultural and political dynamics as you might expect of any distinct nation. Its media sector, unlike

the rest of the UK, maintains a persistent emphasis on print (Schlesinger, 2015; Dekavalla, 2015). It also has unique characteristics that set it apart from similar institutions elsewhere in the UK. The “history of journalism education is not a crowded field of research”, states Gardestrom (2015, p.4), with the focus on historical studies about certain journalism schools or journalism programmes in specific countries or periods – for example war time (ibid). As Josephi (2009) discovered in a study of journalism education in a range of countries, “regardless of similar training, different journalism ecosystems and realities lead to different routines” (Goodman, 2017, p.5).

There is an additional dimension to the literature that goes beyond historical analysis and is vital in understanding in an era of political, cultural and technological change: the question of how journalism education adapts to the digital revolution in media technology, which has been sweeping through the sector in tidal waves since the late 1990s when the world embraced the Internet. As Goodman (2017) points out: the technological changes have converged with great economic, political and cultural upheaval, which has left press owners and advocates struggling against “vigorous assaults” against the credibility of the media. There is some agreement among educators in global fora that “future journalists must learn how to find and use more varied, nuanced tools to deal with increasingly challenging circumstances” and they also “need to know how to conduct quality investigative reporting based on verifiable facts during shifting landscapes” (p.2). Unlike in the past, they have to embrace multiple media formats and also work collaboratively with the community, and they also have to demonstrate journalism’s value (ibid). The way these new technologies have shaped journalism education in Scotland is considered during interviews, and in document analysis, in the primary research and is something I will return to in subsequent chapters.

2VI CONCLUSION

Deuze (2006a) points to a wide body of literature on journalism education that is largely problematic because it tends to be “too normative” or “overly descriptive” (p.19). Deuze advocates applying well-established methods – content analyses, surveys, case studies, expert interviews, historical document research – “to empirically document the impact of the different choices available” within journalism schools and programmes (ibid). The mission to better understand how we are equipping educating journalism students “ultimately has an influence on how journalism gets done” (Deuze, 2006c, p.231). There is an argument that “to do full justice to its promise, journalism studies ought to engage in more explanatory

studies that go beyond mere description; and conduct more systematic and truly longitudinal studies that carefully track changes over time. Such an approach will allow us to see and analyse journalism in its historical and cultural context" (Wahl-Jorgensen & Hanitzsch, 2009, p.14). Therefore, it is the intention of this PhD study to make an empirical contribution through interviews with experts and analysis of course materials. The next chapter sets out the empirical research methodology undertaken in this study. While it is not the intention to undertake repeat investigations for a longitudinal study, as this is not the scope of this PhD study, it is hoped that the findings will be of value to other investigators who revisit the development of employability and explore the features of Scotland's journalism education system, at a later stage.

This chapter has attempted to excavate academic literature of relevance to addressing the research questions. It has located this study within the field of journalism studies and within the sub-field of journalism education. It has made the case for Scotland-based research by highlighting the divergences and differences between Scotland and elsewhere in the UK, a topic that is taken up in more detail in Chapter 5. The chapter examined how the key concepts are defined, acknowledging that journalism itself is contested terrain, which therefore makes defining journalism education challenging. Included was an exploration of the professionalisation debates and how to weigh technical skills with more theoretical dimensions of university education. Next, significant attention was given to excavating geographical perspectives on journalism education. The influence of US journalism education was assessed, with the lens from the east and south pointing to a west-centric shading over academic studies. The relevance of journalism education and changing occupational requirements were examined, with the role of accreditation and developments in journalism education in an environment of big data and fast-changing technological requirements were covered next. Finally, more theoretical dimensions of journalism education were examined. All of these core issues are addressed in the primary research, with a view to scoping where Scotland fits into this topography. The next chapter focuses on the methodology employed to address the research questions, before the thesis moves on to a historical contextualisation to locate the research objectives and then a chapter focusing on the findings of this research.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

3.I INTRODUCTION: OVERVIEW

Constructing a methodology for qualitative research is a process of strategic risk-taking for researchers (Harreveld, 2016). This is because there are, inevitably, considerable variations in research objectives and questions, in turn suggesting many different research designs (Bryman, 2012, in Cowling, 2016, p.45). The central purposes of this chapter are: firstly to explain the process of strategic risk-taking in this project, by locating the methodology of this study within the broad spectrum of qualitative methodologies; and, secondly, to demonstrate why the research choices are appropriate for addressing the key research questions and ultimately responding to the primary objectives of the study.

According to Flick (2002), decisions about selection in the research process are taken at all stages, from data collection to the interpretation and presentation of results. This chapter aims to address selection at each stage. First, however, I examine why the research questions fit within the scope of qualitative research design, starting with the choice of research focus. As Kvale and Brinkman (2009) observe: in order to make reflected decisions on the choice of methods, it is essential to first identify the topic and goal of the investigation (p. 105). The discussion is narrowed to explain which qualitative research methods appear to be best-suited to addressing the main objectives of this PhD research project and, then, how they are carried out in order to address the topic.

To recap, the questions that are the subject of this research ask: How a particular interpretation of employability gained currency in Scottish university journalism education, how universities responded to this understanding and how the resulting patterns of activity and learning impacted on Scottish journalism but also on democracy. My intention is to evaluate the central questions from multiple perspectives in order to develop a nuanced picture with multi-faceted detail that has the potential to offer insights in understanding a topic of contemporary relevance in university education provision, and specifically journalism education.

The first research question requires this study to evaluate how the notion of employability entered the lexicon of Scottish journalism education, and how employability developed a uniquely Scottish meaning and scope. There is no existing scholarly account of this process. In order to assemble the requisite information, I gathered secondary material from

government reports and reviews and I held semi-structured interviews with key individuals involved in Scotland's university journalism education provision. Additionally, analysis of documents shared in the public domain by universities was carried out with the aim of adding granular detail and reflecting on the perspectives of these insiders from alternative, but, related angles. The relativist approach of undertaking multiple interviews, and complementing this with document analysis, is in acknowledgement that, as Kincheloe (2005) asserts, no portrait of a social phenomenon is ever exactly the same as another (p.333). This chapter sets out in more detail, later, the rationale for undertaking interviews and document analysis and elaborates on the choices for, inter alia, identifying interview subjects and documents for inclusion and for the themes covered in interviews and themes excavated from documents.

Ethical issues in connection with the treatment of data are also covered in this chapter. Furthermore it is acknowledged that ethical considerations move beyond the mundane regulatory guidelines put in place by universities and are about far more than the avoidance of harm (Macfarlane, 2010, p.xiii) or the conscious manipulation of data (Walliman, 2017). There are grey areas, for example, sub-conscious manipulation of data. Therefore, very important, for many qualitatively oriented scholars, is to examine research quality from the perspective of the investigator — and in particular any personal biases that may influence the research outcomes. Interpretation is naturally iterative throughout the research process. Interpretation is undertaken at all stages of the research process, as due regard should be given to the approach at all stages, as set out by Flick (2002), from data collection to analysing findings and presenting the data.

3.II QUALITATIVE RESEARCH DESIGN: RATIONALE

For many decades there has been enduring debate across a wide range of disciplines between scholars over their preference for qualitative, mixed method or quantitative methods (Gelo et al, 2008). Each of these approaches has its strengths and weaknesses while quantitative and qualitative methods have profoundly different philosophical foundations, methodological assumptions and methods (ibid). My choice of qualitative methods is argued below.

Qualitative research is largely understood as the systematic study of social phenomena (Luborsky & Lysack, 2017, p.180) and is often defined in contrast to quantitative research as an approach that does not rely on quantification or statistical analysis (Snape & Spencer,

2003, p.3; Strauss & Corbin, 1990, p.10). Providing a precise definition of qualitative research can be elusive, reflecting the use of the term to cover a wide range of approaches and methods found within different research disciplines (Snape & Spencer, 2003, p.2).

As this study focuses on excavating information from various perspectives of people within a system on how a specific organisational agenda has been expressed, it can be argued that it can be placed it within the conventional definitions of qualitative research that aim to understand subtle distinctions and advance knowledge in a nuanced fashion. As Strauss & Corbin (1990) observe: qualitative studies are traditionally associated with shedding new light on, inter alia, people's lived experiences, behaviours and feelings as well as organisational functioning and cultural phenomena and can include quantified data, though the analysis is largely interpretive (p.11). Researchers typically hold the post-modern approach that posits there is no absolute truth because it is contingent on context and multiple perspectives (Saldana et al, 2011, p.23).

Qualitative research has gained relevance to the study of social relations as big theories — suited to traditional deductive methodologies requiring testing models and hypotheses against empirical evidence — have been increasingly deemed to be inappropriate for understanding rapidly diversifying social contexts (Flick, 2018, p.12). "Locally, temporally, and situationally limited narratives are now required," states Flick, of why researchers make use of inductive strategies to explore the world in increasingly minute detail instead of deriving research questions from theoretical models and testing them (ibid). In addition, a PhD thesis is generally not expected to be a "magnus opum of the myth" but rather a "practical piece of work that advances the boundaries of the discipline" (Potter, 2006, p.2) and it is in this vein that the research is undertaken in addressing the specific questions that revolve around how Scotland's university journalism educators have adapted to the concept of employability.

Ritchie (2003) highlights four classifications of qualitative research: contextual, describing the form or nature of what exists; explanatory, examining the reasons for, or associations between what exists; evaluative, which entails appraising the effectiveness of what exists; and generative, aiding the development of theories, strategies or actions (p.27). This particular research does not fit neatly into any of the boxes. To some extent, although this project could be seen as contextual, because it aims to elucidate the form or nature of what exists, it does not fit neatly into that box. All of these classifications are particularly relevant for addressing the research outcomes of this PhD project, which broadly intends to excavate and

explain the contours of the employability question from the lived experiences of key participants within a narrowly restricted organisational context, namely Scottish university journalism programmes over a specific time period, and documents associated with the lived experiences of individuals within this specific organisational context. Qualitative methods cater for the detailed description and interpretation of social reality as it is experienced and understood by the study population (Ritchie, 2003; Bryman, 1988, in Snape & Spencer, 2003), which is what I set out to do in examining how the employability agenda has influenced university journalism education delivery.

For Snape & Spencer (2003), qualitative research is largely concerned with answering "what is, how and why" questions and is particularly well-suited to examining complex social issues and processes that occur over time (p.3). As identified earlier, questions underpinning qualitative research are rarely specified as conventional hypotheses, instead aiming to identify the "why" and "how" through empirical inquiry, and, it is worth noting, furthermore, that these questions, addressed in research, often precede measurement (Luborsky & Lysack, 2017, p.182). As the main research questions are specifically "how" questions, this project fits comfortably within the ambit of qualitative research.

To recap, the research questions are: How did employability come to be articulated within Scottish university journalism education? (RQ1); How have Scottish universities responded to their understanding of the imperative of employability in journalism education? (RQ2); and, what are the implications of current patterns in Scottish journalism education for employability, democracy and for quality, independent journalism? (RQ3)

Padgett (2017) refers to the adage that qualitative research is "mile deep and an inch wide" where quantitative research is "a mile wide and an inch deep" (p.1). A qualitative approach delivers highly detailed, information-rich data and extensive analysis that tends to focus on the interpretation of social meaning through mapping and 're-presenting' the social world of research participants (Snape & Spencer, 2003, p.304). Other distinguishing features of qualitative studies compared to quantitative studies include that: they focus on insider, rather than outsider, perspectives; are person-centred rather than variable-centred; are holistic rather than particularistic; and are contextual rather than decontextual (Padgett, 2017, p.2).

As the research outcomes of this particular PhD research topic have as their loci "how" questions that focus on elucidating insider — and individual — perspectives in order to make sense of complex social processes, it is apparent that they should be explored within

the ambit of qualitative methodologies. This study is undertaken in the context of a narrowly defined research terrain, namely the employability agenda within Scottish university journalism education and it is hoped that the findings will make a contribution in the form of advancing the boundaries of work undertaken on the subject. This ties in with expectations that "qualitative researchers' concerns are not whether or not their findings are generalisable, but rather, to which other setting and subject are the findings generalisable to" (Bogdan & Biklen, 1997, p.7).

Turning to the focus of the research questions in this study on exploring "how" an agenda and policy objective has played out in the real world, it has been argued (Padgett, 2017) that the "how" question is the most challenging and the least discussed. This is perhaps, in part, because "how" questions fall into the category of questions that beg for a description. Alvesson and Sandberg (2013) assert that "how" questions "generate knowledge about what characterises a phenomenon, such as its substance (for example, what it is), function (for example, what it does) and rationale (for example, why it has certain qualities)" (p.15). However, this does not mean that this description is superficial or does not fit within the ambit of critical analysis. Hammersley (2008) states that qualitative researchers actively engage in processes of theoretical abstraction and data reduction, and that they cannot avoid doing this: "They do not simply render reality, in the sense of capturing and displaying it, but rather they selectively collect and interpret data, formulating what is observed and organising it under categories" (p.44).

Instead of generating a proposition and testing a hypothesis, the process of induction in response to research questions focuses on identifying patterns and associations based on observations — though it is worth noting that both deduction, or subtracting to find meaning, and induction, where one thought leads to another, are involved at different, and various, stages of the qualitative research process (Snape & Spencer, 2013, p.23). Qualitative methods are particularly adept at looking at the dynamics of how things operate, asserts Ritchie (2003, p.29). This is because they can help identify consequences that can arise from a policy and the different ways in which they are achieved or occur, helping to "identify the factors that contribute to successful or unsuccessful delivery of a programme, service or intervention" (Ritchie, 2003, p.29). This contention lends backing to the choice of qualitative research methods to address the specific questions proposed in this study. In summary then, the purpose is intended, as Flick (2002) states, as "less a strategy for validating results and procedures than an alternative to validation … which increases scope, depth and consistency in methodological proceedings' (2004, p.178).

Some research asks reviewers to consider whether the same results would be obtained if the research was repeated by someone else with, perhaps, different personal views, ergo addressing the reliability of research. For the purposes of a qualitative study such as this one, it is argued that it is not possible, because the questions ask for subjective reflections from interview candidates. “[E]ach human situation tends to have unique features and, in the ‘interpretive’ research in natural setting…such a claim is unlikely,’ points out Shipman (2014, p.viii). Nevertheless, “there should be sufficient information for the reader to assess how much is evidence and how much opinion” (ibid) and it is my intention to strive for differentiating between the two wherever possible in this report.

As Flick (2004) states: Investigator triangulation, through interviews with different observers “to balance out the subjective influences of individuals” is complemented by data triangulation, which entails combing “data drawn from different sources and at different times, in different places or from different people” (p.178). However, there has been much debate on the definition and uses of triangulation in qualitative research, and some qualitative researchers shy away from the use of the term “triangulation” as it is regarded as a concept more suitable for proving and disproving hypotheses and comes out of the positivist school of thought. For the purposes of this study, the following assumption is taken, namely that the validity of findings is enhanced “when two or more methods that have offsetting biases are used to assess a given phenomenon, and the results converge or corroborate” (Jonsen, 2009, p.126).

Interviews allow for exploring themes from various angles — defined to be “a validity procedure where researchers search for convergence among multiple and different sources of information to form themes or categories in a study” (Creswell & Miller, 2000, in Golafshani, 2003, p.604). In this study, the same themes are explored with different interviewees, as part of the expectation in research that findings are examined from different angles. As an alternative to triangulation, some scholars have opted for understanding the requirement to explore an issue from multiple angles as contributing to the quality, rigour and trustworthiness of research outcomes. “Although reliability and validity are treated separately in quantitative studies, these terms are not viewed separately in qualitative research. Instead, terminology that encompasses both, such as credibility, transferability, and trustworthiness is used,” states Golafshani (2003, p.602). Alternatives to traditional methods of triangulation are not necessarily inferior. Arguably, other approaches could be more valuable. This is because, through interviews, it is possible to display “multiple, refracted realities” (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011, p.4). As Flick (2002) asserts: “Objective reality can never be captured. We

know a thing only through its representations. Triangulation is not a tool or a strategy of validation but an alternative to validation" (ibid, p.5). There are criticisms that, as there is no single reality of the social world to ascertain, it is pointless to attempt to do so through the use of multiple sources of information. Consequently there is an argument that that the value of triangulation lies in extending understanding by adding breadth or depth or different types of readings (Fielding & Fielding, 1986, in Ritchie, 2003, p.44). "In other words, the
'security' that triangulation provides is through giving a fuller picture of phenomena, not necessarily a more certain one" (ibid).

For the purposes of conducting the expert interviews that lie at the heart of this dissertation and the analysis that follows, I have brought to bear my own extensive experience both of interviewing experts and of training in interviewing, and particularly investigative, techniques of data collection. This enhanced my capacity to carry out a process of inductive inference which some scholars (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2003) argue is critical to the creation of meaningful and consistent explanations, understanding and conceptual frameworks. In addition, they also suggest that this kind of contextualisation is necessary to address the issue of qualitative validity by enabling sense-making (ibid).

3.III IDENTIFYING APPROPRIATE METHODS

Having explored the relevance of utilising a qualitative research methodology for the purposes of addressing the specific research objectives of this project, this section turns to the actual research methods chosen within the qualitative research domain for undertaking primary research. I set out the rationale for the use of empirical research methods, which entails the development of knowledge based on observations rather than theory or pure logic. Empirical research, which can be described as knowledge derived from experience, is a belief that true knowledge of the world is derived from experience and observation, direct and unmediated, or indirect through other people (Davies, 2003). It is inevitable that practical considerations limit opportunities and shape the boundaries of the scope of research. As Lewis (2003) asserts: "The most basic consideration in deciding which is appropriate for a particular study is whether the required data exist: are there documents, interactions or settings where the phenomenon is displayed?" (p.56). In this study, with the practical considerations taken into account of whether the data is available and accessible, as well as the rationale for various choices as argued in the academic literature, the empirical methods chosen are: semi-structured interviews with individuals; and document analysis.

As the topic I am investigating has not previously been explored or quantified in a systematic way, it can be argued that the primary research requires an excavation and sorting of data rather than measurement or testing. Much of the information is in the heads of insiders, with interviews a staple method for researchers who aim to “explore the views, experiences, beliefs and/or motivations of individuals on specific matters” (Gill et al, 2008, p. 292). Interviews can help “to explore meaning and perceptions to gain a better understanding…by encourag[ing] the interviewee to share rich descriptions of phenomena while leaving the interpretation or analysis to the investigators” (DiCicco-Bloom & Crabtree, 2006, p. 314). More about the process of the interviews is contained in subsequent sections of this chapter.

There are also likely to be clues and detailed insights to be gleaned from documents within the organisation and feeding through from government and university policymakers to individuals who must apply policy. Looking at this from another perspective, documents may hold useful information that can corroborate and provide a backdrop to points made by individuals, and can shed light on, or flag up, points not made by interviewees or through other methods. Interviews, meanwhile can facilitate in-depth exploration in order to make sense of information contained in documents as well as information provided by other interviewees, and can facilitate the evaluation of information as it emerges. As Lewis (2003) points out: Participants’ interpretation is critically important as “naturally occurring data may not provide a sufficiently full picture of the research topic, for example if documents present only one perspective on the topic, or if understanding recent history is critical to making sense of an interaction so that existing data will not 'speak for themselves’” (p.57).

Unlike positivist research which seeks to measure and reduce phenomena to the measurable, and tends to be quantitative, qualitative research is relativist and therefore there is no black-and-white answer, no absolute right answer to questions being explored. As Walliman (2017) states: “The researcher encounters a world already interpreted and his/her job is to reveal this according to the meanings created by humans rather than to discover universal laws. Therefore there can be more than one perspective and interpretation of a phenomenon” (p.22). Accordingly, in the interests of conveying a multi-faceted picture that is sensitive to context in response to the research questions, this study takes interpretive approaches: interviews, which produce new data; and an exploration and analysis of existing data in the form of documents in order to plough a deep furrow in the chosen subject area and assess the research questions from different angles. Denzin and Lincoln (2011) highlight that it is common practice to examine research angles using different methods: “[Q]ual-

itative researchers deploy a wide-range of interconnected interpretive practices, hoping always to get a better understanding of the subject at hand. It is understood, however, that each practice makes the world visible in a different way" (p.4). "The many methodological practices of qualitative research may be viewed as soft science, journalism, ethnography, bricolage, quilt making, or montage. The researcher, in turn, may be seen as a bricoleur, as a maker of quilts, or in filmmaking, a person who assembles images into montages" (ibid).

While it is acknowledged that the range of empirical data available for this study is limited in size for the interviewees, and potentially so overwhelming in terms of documents that there is the risk of getting side-tracked into another research avenue, there is an attempt to undertake as much research as is reasonable and possible in order to do justice to the research questions with a view to producing multi-faceted findings. This is on the understanding that qualitative researchers operate on the assumption that reality is multiple as seen through many views (Creswell & Creswell, 2017, p.19). Certain data collection methods are associated with qualitative research, including: observational methods, in-depth interviewing, group discussions, narratives, and the analysis of documentary evidence (Snape & Spencer, 2003, p.3). "Evidence of multiple realities includes the use of multiple forms of evidence in themes using the actual words of individuals and presenting different perspectives" (Creswell, 2017, p.20). Flick (2013) emphasises the difference between producing new data and taking existing, naturally occurring data for a research project (p.2). Within qualitative inquiry, there is a distinction between qualitative methods that entail generating data through collecting it through interviews, focus groups and other similar methods and naturally occurring data studied by observation, document analysis, discourse and conversation analysis (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003, p.xiii). This research project combines generating new data through interviews with analysing existing data, in the form of the document analysis.

Chain referral sampling, a commonly used method of identifying interview candidates, was used, which entails "referrals made among people who share or know of others who possess some characteristics that are of research interest" (Biernacki & Waldorf, 1981, p.141). This approach harnesses the trust gained through interviews in order to identify other interviewees (Cohen & Arieli, 2011 p.428); advantages include the convenience of being put in touch with relevant stakeholders, while limitations include 'gatekeeper' bias, which entails the interviewee having specific, personal reasons for directing (or not) the interviewer towards others (ibid, p.429). Cohen and Arieli (2011) argue: "Relying on links of specific chain referrals would probably result in enlisting respondents of relatively homogeneous affiliation

who do not necessarily represent the entire research population, thereby reducing the validity and reliability of the research conclusions" (p.428). For the purposes of this PhD study, accessing individuals within a homogenous group is sought and the inherent biases of the interviewees are acknowledged as a possible limitation.

A semi-structured approach to interviews was adopted as this is a method that facilitates the development of a picture of a previously unpainted landscape. The research questions in this study, as previously noted, are predicated on "how" questions, which are open-ended, and as such are suited to semi-structured, in-depth interviews. The nature of the questions is not the only justification for undertaking semi-structured interviews for the purposes of this specific study. Looking at it another way, as DiCicco-Bloom and Crabtree (2006) observe: structured interviews often produce quantitative data (p.315), therefore they are better-suited to testing hypotheses — which this project does not set out to do. Structured interviews are an oral alternative to surveys, while semi-structured interviews allow for adjustments to questions based on interviewee responses and the specific contexts of each interviewee. Completely unstructured interviews, meanwhile, would also not be appropriate as that line of questioning is suited to studies in which neither the question nor the answer categories are predetermined (Minichiello et al, 1990, in Zhang & Wildemuth, 2009, p.223). In addition, the questions in unstructured formats rely on social interaction between the researcher and the informant (ibid). Moreover, as Guest et al (2006), point out: interview questions should be structured to facilitate asking multiple participants the same questions, otherwise one would not be able to achieve data saturation (Fusch & Ness, 2015, p.1408) In this study, broad categories and questions were predetermined, with the overarching research questions predetermining the lines of enquiry and scope in interviews.

Many scholars distinguish between unstructured, structured and semi-structured lines of questioning in interviews. "In semi-structured or semi-standardised interviews, the interviewer asks key questions in the same way each time and does some probing for further information, but this probing is more limited than in unstructured, in-depth interviews" (Arthur & Nazroo, 2013, p.111). The list of evaluative research questions that qualitative methods can help to address is almost endless, with Patton (2002) identifying some evaluative functions including: looking at actual, rather than intended, effects; responsiveness to diverse stakeholder perspectives; using perceptions to draw conclusions (Ritchie, 2003, p.30).

A key strength of qualitative research is that it allows for the exploration of unanticipated issues as they emerge. Flexible lines of questioning can facilitate robust research findings where investigating areas that are relatively unexamined, as is the case with this study. Data generation is likely to be less structured in a very exploratory study — perhaps in an area about which little is so far known, or if a key objective is to understand how participants' conceptions or values emerge through their speech and their narrative" (Arthur & Nazroo, 2013, p.110).

In this study, the emphasis in my interviews is to tease out issues as they arise and to adapt questions as the interviews progress (see appendix 4 for summary of some of the broad questions asked in interviews. This approach ties in with the understanding that "[D]esign in qualitative research is not therefore a discrete stage which is concluded early in the life of a study: it is a continuing process which calls for constant review of decisions and approaches" (Lewis, 2003, p.47).

Potential challenges in interviewing are not always visible until the research commences, which therefore means that interviews by their nature require flexibility and an iterative approach. "No standard procedures or rules exist for conducting a research interview or an entire investigation," as Kvale and Brinkmann (2009, p.99) assert. Nevertheless, background preparation into the substantive issues is essential, and was undertaken for the purposes of this study, and is reflected in the literature review chapter accordingly. It is necessary to align interviews with research questions and explore how to build on previous research, as well as ensure that time is spent productively within the interview slot (Lewis, 2003). In order to keep the conversation focused it is necessary to understand and map the key themes and issues ahead of each interview, though the "order, wording and way in which they are followed up will vary considerably between interviews" (Arthur & Nazroo, 2013, p.111).

3.IV INTERVIEWS WITH INSIDERS: SAMPLE CHOICES

It is worth noting that I am a formally trained and highly experienced interviewer. Not only do I have a qualification from a Federal Bureau of Investigation associate organisation in interviewing techniques but I have at least two decades of experience as a professional journalist and have conducted literally thousands of interviews with experts across a wide range of activities. This roots the choice of semi-structured interviews in a deep pool of experience and knowledge, which in turn will inform the analysis and findings.

Perhaps not surprisingly, interviews are regarded as a staple of the qualitative research process, and form the foundation of this study. As noted by Ritchie (2013), interviews are well-suited to establishing a depth of focus because they enable clarification and “provide an opportunity for detailed investigation of people's personal perspectives, for in-depth understanding of the personal context within which the research phenomena are located, and for very detailed subject coverage” (p.37). For Lewis (2003), in-depth interviews “are the only way to collect data where it is important to set the perspectives heard within the context of personal history or experience; where delicate or complex issues need to be explored at a detailed level, or where it is important to relate different issues to individual personal circumstances” (p.58).

In fact, without interviewing insiders, it is arguably almost impossible to gain authentic insights on a policy or agenda that is being evaluated, adapted and shaped by insiders. As Creswell (2017) observes: The epistemological assumption is that knowledge is known through the subjective experiences of people, so therefore it becomes important to conduct studies in the field (p.20). Highlights Lewis (2003): “Selecting research settings and populations involves identifying those which, by virtue of their relationship with the research questions, are able to provide the most relevant, comprehensive and rich information. This decision will flow from what the research questions are, but will be informed by existing literature or understanding of the research context” (2003, p.49). It is with these points in mind that specific stakeholders, namely individuals who teach or work within, or have sapiential authority of, university-level journalism education in Scotland, were identified for inclusion in this study and approached to be interviewed.

For the purposes of addressing the broad research outcomes of the topic, namely contemporary university journalism education and the employability agenda in Scotland, it was identified at an early stage of the research that access to a small, but relevant group of university academics and other stakeholders associated with university journalism provision and employability was possible. Heterogeneity of a population and expertise in a topic can determine/influence the number of participants in a study (Ritchie et al 2003, in Mason, 2010, s.2), while studies that use very in-depth interviews and more than one research method can also reduce the interview sample size (Lee, Woo & Mackenzie, 2002, in Mason 2010, s.7). As the expertise in the topic of university journalism education is limited, with the number of universities offering this as an undergraduate subject in Scotland at six institutions at the time of undertaking this research, and a relatively small pool of individuals involved in the broader objectives of employability within the discipline, and as Scotland is a

small country of only 5 million people, it stands to reason that the pool of interview participants is relatively small but arguably an adequate size for a small-scale research project. Furthermore, it is argued that the use of an appropriate sample size is an ethical issue, with an excessive sample size a waste of resources, a burden to the research population and tied to excessive data production (Hennink, Kaiser & Weber, 2019, p.592), while samples sizes that are too small may make it more challenging to produce valid findings (ibid).

The question for researchers always is: How many interviews is enough? It is possible to keep building on the picture indefinitely. In order to adequately display these multi-faceted perspectives, as outlined earlier in this chapter, a sufficient number of interviews is required with people who are well-placed to elucidate their perceived realities. Kincheloe (2005) states: “Because all observers view an object of inquiry from their own vantage points in the web of reality, no portrait of a social phenomenon is ever exactly the same as another. Because all physical, social, cultural, psychological, and educational dynamics are connected in a larger fabric, researchers will produce different descriptions of an object of inquiry depending on what part of the fabric they have focused — what part of the river they have seen” (p.333). As the “value of qualitative research is in understanding rather than measuring difference” (Lewis, 2003, p.51), it is not necessary to determine subjects *a priori*, but may be preferable to iteratively identify subjects as research progresses.

It is also worth noting, in the interests of meeting study deadlines and remaining within the scope of a student project, that qualitative samples structured around comparison can easily become over large, while the case study has its own challenges and can require complex research design to integrate different perspectives (ibid). It is therefore not the intention in this study to undertake a large-scale comparison between different journalism schools; nevertheless, there is a concerted effort to, as Lewis (2003) puts it, explore the broader context within which change takes place, and in so doing capture the full set of factors that participants perceive as contributing to change or outcome (ibid, p.54). It has been my intention to provide multiple perspectives by, as Flick (2002) sets out, combining “data drawn from different sources and at different times, in different places or from different people. Investigator triangulation is characterised by the use of different observers or interviewers, to balance out the subjective influences of individuals” (p.178).

There are other grounds for keeping the ambit of interviews contained in a study of this nature. Samples for qualitative studies tend to be relatively small compared to those used in quantitative studies. Reasons include that: there is a point of diminishing return as the study

progresses, with more data not necessarily leading to more information (Ritchie, Lewis & Elam, 2003 in Mason, 2010, s.1); and one piece of data is potentially as useful as many in understanding the process behind a topic because qualitative research is concerned with meaning and not making generalised hypothesis statements" (Mason, 2010, s.1). General consensus is that the concept of saturation, where data collection is no longer offering new data, is the most important factor to think about when mulling over sample size decisions (Dworkin, 2012). Saturation points vary significantly between projects and are dependent on many factors, ranging from the heterogeneity of the population to the selection criteria of interview candidates (Charmaz, 2006, in Dworkin, 2012, p.1319). From a pragmatic point of view, qualitative research is very labour intensive, so analysing a large sample can be time consuming, costly and often simply impractical if a research project is to be completed within a specified deadline (Mason, 2010, s.1).

In this study, I assessed the saturation as interviews progressed, observing that by the 12th interview no new data of substance was being excavated. The sample size was therefore determined *a posteriori* in line with the saturation principle that is commonly applied in qualitative research. Subsequent interviews were shorter and more focused on addressing gaps or cross-checking. This saturation point, at about one-dozen interviews, is quite possibly because the sample is homogenous and highly select, with only a limited number of stakeholders appropriate for interview on the research topic. As Fusch and Ness (2015) underscore, there is no one-size-fits-all formula or rule of thumb for data saturation, with understandings that data saturation is reached when there is enough information to replicate the study (O'Reilly & Parker, 2012; Walker, 2012; Ness, 2015), when the ability to obtain additional new information has been attained (Guest, Bunce & Johnson, 2006), and when further coding is no longer feasible (ibid). As interviews progressed in this study, there was a diminishing ability to glean additional new information from interviewees.

3.V OPERATIONALISATION OF METHODS: SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS

With very little published about journalism education in Scotland, and even less about journalism education at universities, I understood I would need to source much of this information from experts in the field who had been involved in this area. I knew from the preparatory work (set out above) that I would be conducting semi-structured interviews in order to tease out the answers to my research questions. My decision to use a qualitative method-

ology is also set out above. I had decided to use the chain referral sampling method which required me to identify one or two key authorities and work from there. I began by approaching a senior scholar with very strong connections to the Scottish government and who had worked on various policy initiatives. He had recently retired from the department in which I was now a PhD student and was renowned for his knowledge about the sector. This primary interviewee did indeed prove helpful in identifying other potential bearers of sapien-tial authority in the area, and the data gathering snow-balled from there.

I approached potential interviewees individually by email, setting out the objectives of my research and requesting participation in the project. I asked for dates, times and venues that would be preferred by the interviewees for the sessions. Interviewees generally responded positively, agreed to the scope of the interviews and suggested dates, times and venues. Three interviewees declined to be interviewed. These varied from office-based interviews to meetings in more public settings. The interviews took place over a number of years between 2014 and 2017.

During the course of my data gathering, I sat down with 16 interviewees. In addition, I was given the opportunity to attend a closed forum fortuitously held on the topic of journalism education in Scotland. The three participants in the forum, also well-known experts in the field, agreed to let me attend the session, record their inputs and be interviewed for clarification subsequently, if necessary, and on the basis of confidentiality.

My research project had been approved by the General University Ethics Panel (GUEP), and more detailed information on the ethics process is available below. In brief, though, all my interviewees were not only aged 18 and above but were experts in their field, their expertise a matter of public information. I was not going to be tackling any controversial topics or exposing vulnerable subjects to re-trauma. For the purposes of interviewing experts and carrying out documentary analysis, the ethical dimension was relatively straightforward.

All the interviewees had direct links to universities in Scotland, including: individuals who work or have worked directly in roles in academic departments delivering journalism education directly, for example lecturers and professors; individuals who play a role in the delivery of journalism education at university, from within the university management as well as from outside the university as employers, academic board advisors and honorary professors, and as advisors and stakeholders in related institutions, including other tertiary institutions and advisory groups (see appendix 1).

A digital recorder was identified as a tool, in the interests of accurately recording responses so that the interviews could progress relatively smoothly and also with a view to building a rapport using eye contact during the interviews — as opposed to interrupting the interview flow by looking down at a notebook and constantly writing out notes. I requested permission from all candidates to record interviews and additionally took some notes, in order to safeguard against tape recorder malfunction (Opdenakker, 2006). This additional measure was taken on the basis that it would have been unethical to waste the time of a participant in the event of data being lost or not kept appropriately, with due regard for factual accuracy and meaning.

Also playing a role in the efficacy of the interview as a research method are situational and personal factors, including: the location of the interview, questioning techniques and the approach preceding the granting of an interview, for example being attuned to orders of seniority in organisations or the need to be discreet when requesting permission for an interview (Bryman, 2016; Lewis, 2003). These considerations were all borne in mind as the interviews were conducted throughout the study. It is worth mentioning that as a professional journalist of many years standing, I am extremely experienced in interviewing experts and authorities. I brought this experience to bear throughout as I engaged and relaxed my interviewees before probing them on and around the research questions.

In all instances, participants were interviewed at locations of their choosing, with some opting for their offices and others preferring neutral venues such as coffee shops and restaurants. This contributed to establishing a rapport with the interviewee and the facilitation of the flow of information. Furthermore, consideration was given to the need to be conscious of body language and to make participants feel relaxed and that they could trust that their comments and input would be used appropriately and with due regard to confidentiality requirements. There is much practical advice in scholarship on how to conduct an effective interview, which was taken into consideration in this study. This advice includes suggestions to, inter alia: listen attentively to participants, allowing them to talk without asking them leading questions; and use body language that suggests the interviewer has a neutral stance on issues (Gill et al, 2008; Oltmann, 2016).

Assuring confidentiality has been a valuable dimension in this particular study, as this has helped persuade interview candidates to participate and speak relatively freely about their experiences and perceptions (for more, see the data analysis chapter). Furthermore, while the concept of confidentiality is closely connected with anonymity in that anonymity is one

way in which confidentiality is operationalised, it is not necessarily possible to guarantee anonymity where the sample is small and the population from which the sample is select is small. In this case anonymity is defined as not disclosing the identities of those taking part in the research, while “confidentiality means avoiding the attribution of comments, in reports or presentations, to identified participants” (Lewis, 2003, p.67). Assuring confidentiality to all interview participants was critically important in gaining their trust and, therefore, obtaining insightful, relevant information from an insider’s perspective. “The convention of confidentiality is upheld as a means to protect the privacy of all persons, to build trust and rapport with study participants, and to maintain ethical standards and the integrity of the research process (Baez, 2002)" (in Kaiser, 2009, p.1633). Confidentiality was taken into account in describing the findings. Accordingly, interviewees are not identified by name, or given any descriptors such as gender or age that may make them easily identifiable, but are given letters of the alphabet to indicate sources of information gathered in the process and, where necessary to further limit chances to breach confidentiality, are only referred to as a participant.

Given the relatively small pool of university academics who are in a position to contribute to a study of this nature, significant care had to be taken about “deductive disclosure”, which occurs when specific information can flag up the identities of individuals for third parties who can draw conclusions. Kaiser (2009) cautions that qualitative studies often contain rich descriptions of study participants and that therefore confidentiality breaches through deductive disclosure are of particular concern. “As such, qualitative researchers face a conflict between conveying detailed, accurate accounts of the social world and protecting the identities of the individuals who participated in their research” (p.1632). This concern led to certain information being omitted from this report where it was perceived that the information could compromise an individual’s job or relationships with others and, to err on the side of caution in avoiding deductive disclosure, full transcripts are not included in the appendices of this report. Instead, in representing the data, an anonymised list of interviews is provided and relevant quotations are extracted from interviews for the purposes of setting out findings and backing arguments with evidence from the study in the findings and analysis (Chapter Five).

Each interview was recorded and transcribed, with an attempt to accurately transcribe each interview. Recordings were kept, and will be destroyed at the termination of this research project in order to safeguard confidentiality of participants. It is common for researchers use a recording device to capture the words of the participants in interviews and observation,

with the use of recording allowing the interviewer to concentrate on listening and responding to the participant, without being distracted by needing to write extensive notes (Stuckey, 2014, p.8). Transcriptions were then analysed, with the help of colour coding, with a view to teasing out themes and observations. Colour-coding as a method has a rich vein of support among methodology scholars (see Stottok et al, 2011, Smallman & Boynton, 1993). I found this a very useful tool, if time-consuming, which includes an element of synthesising new knowledge with existing points identified in literature. States Widodo (2014, p.102): “Transcription is seen as the act of data representation, analysis, and interpretation.” There are many decisions to be taken in transcribing, with careful consideration required of pauses and meaning. Transcribing involves judgements about what level of detail to choose (e.g. omitting non-verbal dimensions of interaction) and data interpretation (e.g. distinguishing ‘I don't, no’ from ‘I don't know’) (Bailey, 2008, p.127).In this study, the approach was to transcribe all words spoken and relevant sounds, while editing out irrelevant comments about, inter alia, the surroundings. As the transcribing process is lengthy and therefore requires repeat listening, questions were itemised where, on reflection, there was a point worthy of further scrutiny in a subsequent interview or a point that needed to be checked for clarity if there was no follow-up question asked at the time of interview.

3.VI DOCUMENT ANALYSIS

In the 21st century, the Internet is a first port-of-call for documents, with print documents uploaded onto the Internet and web pages replacing print collateral. It has become *de rigeur* for organisations to place key information on websites. Altheide (2000) encapsulates this dramatic shift, evident by the turn of the century: “With the explosion of information in the Internet era, very few areas remain untouched by communications so that “numerous human activities involve or are mediated by the logics of these technologies” (p.290).

Nearly 20 years later, it is taken for granted that pertinent information is easily accessed through institutional websites. This in turn means that web documents are accessible, which is an advantage for a small scale research project. It is practical, therefore, to turn to the web for documents that may be of assistance in adding perspective to the research questions. However, although the worldwide web provides a richly diverse abundance of pages, the sheer volume of information on the worldwide web can be overwhelming while the potentially non-static nature of this content can make a research project an unwieldy moving target.

In this study, the home landing pages of the journalism degrees for each of the universities were taken as a starting point. Additional information was gathered from website pages linked to these landing pages and documents uploaded to sections of these websites. The amount of journalism programme content available online was not uniform across universities, with UWS having considerable documentation uploaded and the University of Stirling less so. The examination of documents started with the general overview of each programme and module breakdowns.

Document analysis is often used in combination with other qualitative research methods as a means of triangulation, with the benefit of exploring documents in that they "contain text (words) and images that have been recorded without a researcher's intervention" (Owen, 2014, p.10i). Max Weber's (1978) analysis of bureaucracy in his work Economy and Society underscored how the modern world is made through writing and documentation (Prior, 2003, in Owen, 2014, p.10). Put another way: "To understand documents is to read between the lines of our material world" (McCulloch, 2004, p.12). Advantages of analysing content in documents include, inter alia, that this method is unobtrusive, is context sensitive, and examines the text and images of communication itself and not an individual (Krippendorff, 1980, in Kim & Kuljis, 2010, p.370). Limitations include that it can help provide speculative answers; consequently it is better harnessed with other methods (ibid).

Documents can be useful, and are a staple source, in researching issues in education and the formulation of policy. Bardach (2009) reminds us: "In policy research, almost all likely sources of information, data, and ideas fall into two general types: documents and people" (ibid, p.8). Hard et al (2018) point to the uses of document analysis in researching matters related to educational policy as does Bowen (2009), who underscores that document analysis provides one strategy for mapping the context of educational reform and its implications. Following document trajectories can inform analysis of the situated history and processes of text production (p.6). For some education-focused scholars, the identity of a university lies in its documents (Owen, 2014): "If the charter is the supreme identifying document, then a university's formal policies and correspondences must also hold a very high level of importance" (p.10). Miller (1997), looking at documents within the educational institution, argues that "sense making is developed through texts, which help us construct, sustain, contest and change the sense of social reality" (in Vucaj, 2017, p.51); furthermore, stakeholders, who include, inter alia, parents, prospective students and university funders expect documents to reflect institutional responses in relation to policies and regulations (ibid, p.52). Documents, therefore, are a natural point at which to assess the development

of employability within Scotland's university journalism environment — which is the primary objective of this project.

There are many ways to undertake documentary analysis. For the purposes of this study, documents are included for their exegetic character, as a source, pointing to other phenomena and intentions (Wolff, 2004, p.285). It was my intention to use the documents as resources to complement and reflect on input from interviews and the themes teased out in the historical contextualisation. Document analysis in this study has been aimed at developing a more detailed answer to the research questions in conjunction with interviews. As Fusch and Ness (2015) observe: "There is a direct link between data triangulation and data saturation; the one (data triangulation) ensures the other (data saturation). In other words, data triangulation is a method to get to data saturation" (p.1411). Document analysis can provide a strategy for mapping the context of educational reform and its implications (Bowen, 2009). Following document trajectories can support analysis of the historical context and processes of text production and can help to unearth influences (Lall, 2012, in Hard, Lee & Docket, 2018, p.6). While the historical contextualisation seeks to excavate the historical influences, through secondary sources, the document analysis in this study aims to develop the picture from the contemporary documents.

"One way of making data more manageable is to reduce it," states Dey (2003, p.85). For this study, an iterative approach was chosen, starting with the bigger picture of internet documents as a potential student would see them and then narrowing down to specific documents and web pages relating to undergraduate journalism education programmes. Categorising documents and identifying similar documents or landing pages with content, was a starting point. Specifically, this research started with the landing pages of the journalism programmes of each of the six universities, followed by an exploration of the other documents that were publicly available, inter alia module outlines. The latter was unevenly available across universities, while it is worth noting that UWS made its module-specific information freely available on its website and therefore its module information was a useful resource as primary material in this study. As Dey (2003) notes: "[C]lassifying the data is an integral part of the analysis: it lays the conceptual foundations upon which interpretation and explanation are based" (p.41). Furthermore, classification is a conceptual process, entailing not only breaking data up into pieces but also assigning these bits to categories or classes which bring these bits together again, if in a novel way (ibid, p.46). First, the universities that offer undergraduate journalism education were identified and an inventory of key documents was collated (see appendices 2, 3). An attempt was made to compare and con-

trast the six universities' journalism education provision with due regard to the research questions (see appendix 3). A number of key links to themes that were encountered in interviews and identified for examination in the literature review and historical contextualisation were explored in the documentation, too, with the major themes set out in the tables (see appendix 3). These themes include, inter alia: course accreditation; whether universities 'ghettoise' journalism degrees; whether dissertations are required; whether journalism projects are required; whether journalism degrees are standardised across the sector; the focus on lifelong learning compared to immediate job preparation; skills outcomes; sector-specific employability; preparation for current skills requirements and desirable skills; work experience; entrepreneurial skills' development; links with employers. Additional findings or links were discovered in the documentation that were not overtly acknowledged in interviews, for example the extent of accreditation and standardisation of journalism degrees (see findings), with the benefit of a birds-eye view over the sector under investigation — and these themes were added to the table and later the interview findings were re-evaluated in the light of these findings (see, Chapter Six: Findings & Analysis). As Dey (2003) states: "You can't make an omelette without breaking eggs. And — to extend the aphorism — you can't make an omelette without beating the eggs together. 'Analysis' too involves breaking data down into bits, and then 'beating' the bits together" (p.45).

Approaches to document analysis tend to focus on the content of documents, which includes inter alia words, images, ideas or patterns (Prior, 2008, in Hard et al, 2018). Recognising that the presence of specific words or phrases can be important, content analysis identifies key terms and their frequency of use (ibid). Document analysis can be defined as an analytic procedure that "entails finding, selecting, appraising (making sense of), and synthesising data contained in documents" (Bowen, 2009, p.28). "It yields data — excerpts, quotations, or entire passages — that are then organised into major themes, categories, and case examples specifically through content analysis (Labuschagne, 2003)" (ibid). Altheide (2000) states that the main emphasis in qualitative document analysis is on "discovery and description, including search for underlying meanings, patterns, and processes, rather than mere quantity or numerical relationships between two or more variables "(p. 294). "Like all research, it is interpretive, but it remains empirical, meaning that instances of certain meanings and emphases can be identified and held up for demonstration" (ibid, p. 294). Although the emphasis is on description, this is not descriptive. Content analysis facilitates the development of specific contexts for enquiry (Altheide, 2000). In this PhD study, there was an attempt to break up data, make new connections, identify common themes and differences between journalism programmes. Graphic approaches were used, too, with

colour-coding of key themes and concepts aimed at facilitating the drawing of links and identifying gaps between programmes in so far as the employability agenda is concerned (see appendices 2,3 and figure 3, p.154). This is an acceptable method of analysis of complex interactions, indicating key concepts and their linkages (Dey, 2003, p.51).

According to Bowen (2009), there has been a glaring absence in peer-reviewed literature of sufficient detail about procedures followed and the outcomes of the analyses of documents (p.27). Moreover, there is some indication that document analysis has not always been used effectively in the research process, even by experienced researchers. It is worth highlighting here, that while these criticisms are borne in mind, document analysis is only one method employed in this study — and that it is precisely because of the limitations of each method that more than one method is chosen.

3.VII ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS: RESEARCH JOURNEY - REFLECTIONS

There are many ethical considerations in any research project, starting from the identification of research questions and collecting data to processing data and compiling findings. I have touched on a number of these considerations in this chapter, including, inter alia, the issue of confidentiality of interviews, a requirement aimed at minimising harm and unintended negative consequences for participants in research. It is worth pointing out that there was due regard for, and adherence, to all the compulsory University of Stirling ethical requirements, as they applied at specific times that work was undertaken, from 2014 to finish of this project, under the guidance of my supervisors. For the purposes of this project, research ethics is seen to cover the involvement of non-vulnerable human subjects, in particular the use of confidential information and interview data, and research conduct, including how data was gathered, reported on and analysed (Junker-Kenny, Hogan & Russell, 2013, pp.26-27). Best practice in ethical research was taken note of, by examining, among others, the guidelines set out by authorities on qualitative research, including Flick (2002, 2004, 2013), Denzin and Lincoln (2011), Silverman (2006), Miles, Huberman, Huberman and Huberman (1994).

I have already outlined some of the ethical considerations in the previous sections on each research method. However, in this project, I have also attempted to undertake research in an ethical manner beyond the guidelines. This approach is an attempt to acknowledge concerns (Macfarlane, 2010; Reid et al, 2018) about ethics requirements in postgraduate re-

search: “Regulatory frameworks, committees, guidelines, and codes of practice all have their place, but they are primarily aimed at avoiding the unethical” (Macfarlane, 2010, p.xiii). Conventional ethical guidelines were adhered to, including, inter alia: writing to participants, via email, to request their permission to interview them on the topic of the study and advising them of the purpose of the research; informing them that their identity would be kept confidential; and, that records would be destroyed after completion of the research project.

All interview participants were non-vulnerable adults and participated in the research voluntarily, responding in writing through email that they were willing to be interviewed. Recording devices were placed conspicuously in the interview situations and all interview participants were asked for permission to record interviews (a legal requirement for all recorded conversations in the UK). In addition, notes were taken in order to safeguard against technical malfunction and therefore avoid wasting an individual participant’s time. Interview participants were treated politely and with respect. Interviews were undertaken prior to the introduction of ethical permission procedures through a centralised university department at the University of Stirling. The interview procedures were discussed with, and undertaken under the guidance of, the university-appointed supervisors at the time of interviews.

Ethical conduct of research, however, “involves far more than simply the avoidance of being unethical or conforming to regulations” (ibid). As Walliman (2017) points out: The researcher’s treatment of other people involved in the research is critical when considering the quality of research, with many ethical issues that need to be considered, ranging from any harm that might be caused in revealing identities of participants to the storage of data (p.57). Rowland (in Macfarlane, 2010) underscores that there is an undue focus on the negative, with regulatory frameworks, procedures and codes aimed at avoiding the unethical (p.xiii). While the rules and regulations are important, “integrity must be a feature of the whole research process (ibid), and there has, therefore, been an attempt to undertake ethical research from the start to the finish of this project.

Moving beyond the ethical considerations that we take for granted, for example treating individuals with dignity, and ensuring other rights are respected, there is perceived to be a need by the researcher to be reflective about his or her personality and personal biases and objectives that may influence the findings of a study. Shacklock and Smyth (1998) define reflexivity as “the conscious revelation of the underlying beliefs and values held by the researcher in selecting and justifying their methodological approach” (in Reid, 2018, p.70). Qualitative research, it is widely acknowledged, can never be neutral and internal biases

will influence the type of data collection and analysis used, inevitably raising questions of the ethical decisions and overall quality of research. Walliman (2011) sums up the rationale: it is for the researcher to make explicit his or her philosophical outlook and influences. In other words, it is important for the researcher to address the question: Where do you stand? (p.245). “The theoretical perspective, or epistemology, of the researcher should be made clear at the outset of the research so that the ‘ground rules’ or assumptions that underpin the research can be understood by the readers, and in some instances, the subjects of the research” (ibid).

Part of this reflexivity is a consideration of the theoretical and philosophical biases of the researcher, with Denzin and Lincoln (2011) underscoring philosophical and interpretative frameworks within phases of the research (in Creswell, 2017, p.18). Phase one entails considering the researcher’s personal history, views of themselves and others, and ethical and political issues (ibid), all of which are undertaken in this project (see the limitations section in the conclusion). In the next phase, the researcher “brings to the inquiry certain philosophical assumptions” or “stances that provide direction for the study” (ibid). Underpinning the qualitative research paradigm is an assimilation of the following: high-end philosophical notions of ontology, which can be defined as the researcher’s view of reality (Creswell, 2017, p18); epistemology, the relationship between the researcher and what can be known about reality; and axiology, or values underpinning the ethical stance of the research process (Harreveld et al, 2016, p.2). “[S]orting out what exists at a broad philosophical level (assumptions) and what operates at a more practical level (interpretive frameworks) is a helpful heuristic,” argues Creswell (2017, p.18). These assumptions are then applied through the use of paradigms, also called theories or interpretive frameworks or worldviews (Creswell, 2017, p.18). An attempt was made to address these philosophical influences on this research journey, culminating in a preference for a bricolage approach.

While the detailed reflections on these philosophical issues are beyond the scope of this report, it is important to understand where this relatively theory-free approach (Padgett, 2017) is located within the broader universe of paradigms in order to assess the validity of such an approach and why it was chosen. Indeed, the qualitative research field has been changing rapidly, with increasing theoretical and methodological sophistication of interpretivist researchers (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011; Padgett, 2017); nevertheless, the jury is out over whether these changes have had a meaningful impact on research outputs. Padgett (2017) describes paradigm wars erupting in the late 1980s as disciplinary boundaries started to blur, with various editions of the Handbook of Qualitative Methods by Denzin and Lincoln in

1994 and later 2011 influencing highly nuanced debates.Researchers were urged to declare allegiance to a specific epistemological camp or risk being viewed as epistemologically unconscious, a default endorsement of positivism, according to Steinmetz 2005 (in Padgett, 2017, p.7). Epistemological labels — such as postmodern, constructionist, anti-foundational — "grew in number and nuance" (ibid) as did re-examinations of constructs and theories (ibid).

Understandings of the nature of qualitative research vary considerably, though there are some features that are consistent across interpretive projects that mitigate against imposing a single, umbrella-like paradigm over a study. The methods of qualitative research "are characterised as inductive, emerging and shaped by the researcher's experience in collecting and analysing the data rather than being handed down entirely by theory (Creswell, 2017, p.20). A blend of empirical enquiry and creative discovery, these methods are highly suited to developing fresh understandings of the social worlds of research participants through their perspectives (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003; Snape & Spencer, 2003). In addition, qualitative research projects have an open-ended nature but there tends to be a formulaic structure to these projects, for example the standard early chapter that sets out the existing literature as a precursor to the primary research. This particular project reflects these features, with questions that do not intend to lead to specific conclusions, as would be the case with hypotheses, while adhering to a standard format that commences with an introduction and literature review before setting out the methodology and then setting out the findings and analyses.

This study does not aim to explore the research questions through a specific theoretical lens, though this does not mean that theory is dismissed. Padgett (2017) underscores the divided opinion over the value of undertaking qualitative research from the vantage point of theory: allowing one or more theories to drive the inquiry deprives a study of the production of theory while an atheoretical qualitative study — one without any prior conceptualisation — risks being irrelevant and marginalised (p.11). Some theories lend themselves to qualitative research, for example those that illuminate rather than explicate, and those that offer conceptual frameworks; whereas theories that offer high levels of abstraction and sweeping scope — for example Freudian or Marxist theory — do not (Padgett, 2017, p.11). White (2009, in Alvesson & Sandberg, 2013, p.18) points out that academic literature, although often a rich source for constructing innovative research questions, can stifle creativity and innovation by confining thinking. Padgett (2017) goes as far as to state: "Inductive reason-

ing — collecting empirical data without having to test a theory — is the sine qua non of qualitative methods" (p.11).

3.VIII RESEARCH JOURNEY: PERSONAL REFLECTIONS

I have mentioned earlier that I have spent my entire career to date working as a journalist, though I have taught journalism in several programmes and across many modules, undergraduate and postgraduate. I have been module convenor for Masters' modules at the University of Stirling but have also taught public relations, media studies and even summer school classes. At the time of finalising this dissertation I am also the Editor of a growing South African news website, BizNews, responsible for managing the coverage of international finance. My research journey is bonded to my identification as a journalist practitioner, as someone to whom journalism genuinely means something and performs a role of fundamental importance in global society and politics.

Cognisant of the partisanship that I have toward journalism as a calling with normative democratic values embedded in the profession's objectives, I have taken an interpretivist, or relativist, bricoleur approach (Cowling, 2016; Creswell, 2013; Denzin & Lincoln, 2001; 2011, Kincheloe, 2005), which, as Rogers (2012) states, entails a researcher understanding that research is an "interactive process, shaped by his or her own personal history, biography, gender, social class, race and ethnicity, and by those of the people in the setting" (p.6). An interpretive bricoleur embraces the belief that there is no one correct telling of an event, while each telling, like light hitting a crystal, reflects a different perspective (ibid, p.4). It stands in contrast to self-contained, singularly applied monological approaches (Berry, 2006).

It is worth noting that, for all the fierce debate, epistemological self-awareness has arguably failed to transform qualitative studies, as "most qualitative studies published in journals have been and remain epistemologically agnostic" (Alvesson & Karreman, 2011 in Padgett, 2017, p.8). This is quite possibly the reason that there is a move towards a flexible style that is not wedded to a specific epistemology or theoretical framework. Crotty (1998) sums up the advantages of not taking a side but rather choosing a place to begin in the spectrum and positioning to move around depending on the research questions we need to answer. "It is through this that we can make the methodological manoeuvres required to become

diverse, well-balanced researchers, methodology and method out of the overarching framework" (in Cowling, 2016, p.50). Snape and Spencer (2003) argue that quality and rigour in research practice have more to do with choosing the right research tools for the job than with limiting ourselves to combining only those research methods which are viewed as philosophically consistent (p.21). Lewis (2003) underlines that a "good qualitative research study design is one which has a clearly defined purpose, in which there is a coherence between the research questions and the methods or approaches proposed, and which generates data which is valid and reliable" (p.47).

Qualitative researchers attempt to reflect critically on their role as researchers, a process known as reflexivity, in order to attempt to understand how interpretations of evidence are influenced by these personal characteristics (Brennen, 2012). Therefore, these reflections, in so far as they shed light on the quality of this specific research project, and its limitations, are discussed next. Berger (2015) highlights some of the main reasons that reflexivity, also referred to as critical reflection, is considered vital in qualitative research. These include the role of personal dimensions in accessing interview respondents and data, with respondents more willing to share their experiences with a researcher perceived as sympathetic to their situation (p.220). The worldview and background of the researcher also affects the way in which he or she constructs the world, influencing the choice of language, and the lens for filtering, and making meaning of, information gathered from participants and ultimately shape findings and conclusions (ibid, p.220). Therefore, this reflexive process aims to identify the subjective reasons and limitations for research choices. The emphasis is on excavating personal details in so far as they have potentially influenced the research shape and outcomes in exploring the specific objectives of this PhD study.

The limitations of this reflexivity include that the researcher's positionality may affect the research process and outcome, though acknowledging and assessing this positionality is also the advantage of reflexivity (Palaganas, Sanchez, Molintas, Visitacion, & Caricativo, 2017). The axiological assumption that characterises qualitative research is that qualitative researchers actively make their values known in their research as well as the value-laden nature of information gathered in the field (Creswell, 2017, p.20). Aspects described might include age, gender, social position, immigration status, personal experiences and political and professional beliefs (Berger, 2015, in Creswell, 2017, p.20). Assumptions underpinning research objectives and outcomes can be subconscious as well as less abstract, with the personal experiences, history, skills and knowledge we bring with us influencing the way we seek answers (Creswell, 2017; Harreveld, 2016; Alvesson & Sandberg, 2013). "A close tie

does exist between the philosophy that one brings to the research act and how one proceeds to use a framework to shroud his or her inquiry," states Creswell (2017, p.16). These assumptions are deeply rooted in our training and reinforced by the scholarly community in which we work (Huff, 2009, in Creswell, 2017, p.18). A particular perspective allows us to ask certain questions and thus develop particular knowledge and theories and directs our attention to the assumptions underlying those perspectives (Alvesson & Sandberg, 2013, p. 14).

Accordingly, in the interests of working as a reflexive and self-critical researcher, areas where inbuilt biases must inevitably be at play are highlighted next. These start with one of the questions explored in this thesis, namely how the employability agenda has shaped journalism curricula, which is a reflection of my participant observations of industry change and the way fellow practitioners have succeeded, or failed, in ensuring their continued employability in a sector heavily impacted by business model changes driven by exponential technological advances. It stems from my own very conscious approach to constantly aim to reinvent myself as a journalist, including switching from a newspaper reporter in a media sector losing the battle against declining print circulations and shrinking advertising revenues to a digital journalist entering the field in its infancy as the first Internet business listings bubble exploded in 2000. Further skills development has been required over the following two decades, including developing financial reporting expertise as a specialism to take advantage of a shortage of business writers.

This requirement to adjust coincided with the convergence of the media, necessitating a shift to becoming a Mojo (moniker for 'mobile journalist'), armed with a laptop, audio recorder and camera in order to take publishable photographs and record broadcast-quality interviews, and do all of this without having to waste time by returning to the office so that more jobs can be accommodated within a working day. During the same time, media companies have continued to cut layers of people out of the production system. Instead of focusing only on developing content, journalists — including me — increasingly became responsible for aspects of production that was previously the domain of printers, sub-editors, distributors and others. In the digital environment, this meant writing headlines and finalising copy optimised for search engines, identifying how to embed video into web content and, increasingly as the social media evolved, taking on the job of promoting or disseminating the news through Twitter, Facebook and other channels.

Add to all this a requirement to develop basic business skills in order to comply with tax and other legislation as a freelance worker, after one decade as an employee, caught up in the wave of casualisation of the global media workforce, in part because of the erosion of the influence of trade unions. More recently, as my quest to ensure I can remain employable as new challenges arise — including incipient ageism, ongoing technological change and a shift towards remote working — my attention has turned to the education of tomorrow's practitioners. These themes that I have outlined here have inevitably shaped this research project and are evident in the themes that I have teased out in the findings and analysis chapter, including, inter alia: the question of how employability has been shaped by digital transformation of the media, and the need for constant innovation — including entrepreneurship — among journalists.

While some may criticise academia as lagging industry in the provision of skills and knowledge necessary for immediate employability in the media (see interview findings, Chapter Five), the issue for me is not clear-cut. For example, questions that must inevitably be addressed in designing and developing courses will include how employability is understood. Skills best-suited for whichever technology is in vogue, as I have experienced in my own career and continue to observe, perish quickly. This in turn begs the question of whether it might be more appropriate to concentrate on developing the types of skills that will enable individuals to adapt and thrive throughout their careers. The picture excavated from the scholarly community which serves as the prism for this PhD study, as has been indicated in interviews undertaken for this study, combines the development of immediately required skills with lifelong learning and the development of critical thinking abilities.

My own strengths, weaknesses and preferences undoubtedly play into my interpretation of what might constitute best practice in terms of skills development for immediate application as well as long-term career progression and could easily be at odds with the preferences and beliefs of experienced university journalism educators who may come from different media backgrounds or may have opted for a university-only career. A classic example is my cynicism about teaching shorthand, which I believe can only be of relevance to journalists in specific countries — including Scotland at the time of writing this chapter — where legislation still outlaws the use of recorders in court cases. Another example where my journalism experience colours my perception is my belief that programmes that focus on traditional print media approaches are outdated in a media environment in which an understanding of digital techniques, processes and audiences are arguably more relevant for employability because this is the area in which I have worked for nearly two decades.

I should also note that I have worked in marketing communications roles for two UK universities, including the University of Stirling, and an international organisation providing foundation courses for international students looking to gain entry to UK and US universities. In these roles, I have experienced a direct push from senior management to focus on employability skills in marketing content and am very conscious of the ambitious targets involved in student recruitment. The development of universities as commercially driven operations is not widely welcomed by academics in the UK or elsewhere as "in most countries this marketisation has been viewed as a 'compromise between privatisation, academic autonomy and state control' (Young, 2002, in Hemsley-Brown & Oplatka, 2006, p.317). Nevertheless, the perception of the relevance of education to securing an appropriate job after graduation is a significant factor in student survey findings that in turn play a role in university choices among applicants. As Hazelkorn (2015) observes: rankings consciousness has risen sharply around the world (p.6). Furthermore, I have engaged in one-to-one student recruitment marketing at an international recruitment fare where the interest in the employability outcomes of programmes is palpable among prospective students and their parents. From an ethical perspective, there are questions to be asked around whether universities are acting appropriately by supplying courses based on student demand rather than industry demand or whether any mapping of student places to employment opportunities is or should be undertaken, and this is a concern raised by a number of the interviewees.

There is also the question of whether universities are, or should be, in the business of employability or are commercial entities as opposed to having the primary purpose of knowledge creation and personal development in the more esoteric sense, as was noted to me in my first PhD review meeting by a professor. It was evident that the professor strongly disapproved of any suggestions of the commercial imperative, which until then I had taken for granted — possibly coming from the perspective of my marketing communications bias — that this is a necessary evil as education requires a significant financial investment from students and governments and therefore there should be a visible return on this outlay. As explained by Jackson (2015), academic freedom is becoming meaningless to the wider community: "Critical voices opposed to current reforms argue that intellectual autonomy is being sacrificed to an unworkable vision of financial autonomy for public universities" (n.p).

However, while I am keenly attuned to employability requirements, as a result of the process of this PhD research I have developed a much sharper appreciation for the importance of not only focusing on training-oriented skills development but the intellectual dimensions of education. More than ever, it can be argued, it is essential for journalism schools to

produce graduates who can play a role, as Deuze (2017), puts it as “super-citizens”. “In addition to the classic watchdog role there is a need for a guide-dog that can help the citizen navigate through post-modern life,” emphasises Drok (2013, p.147). As Goodman and Steyn (2017) ask: What can journalism educators do to fight back against undemocratic trends, such as the post-truth phenomenon, and save journalism’s reputation and effectiveness? This is a question I now expect to ask myself more often where I have the opportunity to develop teaching and learning materials and deliver journalism education.

While acknowledging the need to guard against the temptation to seek answers that reflect my confirmation bias (a concept developed by Kahneman & Tversky, 1977), in this case towards employability preferably having a central feature in journalism education provision by universities, I have also taken note of concerns that researchers should also be wary of overplaying the impact of subjective limitations in eliciting worthwhile research findings. As Bogdan and Biklen (1997) observe: “Data collected in qualitative research is thick, rich and deep, which often override the preconceived attitudes of the researcher. Researchers are concerned with controlling their biases as long as they are not immobilized by them! The idea is NOT to be a ‘clean slate’, but rather, more reflective and conscious of how "who you are" may shape and enrich what you study” (p.7). Therefore, while I have aimed to be conscious of these biases throughout the research process, it has not been my intention to obsess about these attitudes or unnecessarily cloud the findings through excessive self-reflective scrutiny; instead it is to acknowledge these biases as a potential limitation of the findings.

3.IX HISTORICAL CONTEXT: RATIONALE

I turn now to another layer in building the picture of university journalism education as it pertains to employability, ergo the core research questions, namely: historical contextualisation, regarded by some scholars as essential to analysing and interpreting empirical data and assessing the quality of primary research. As Russell and Gregory (2003) point out, context is particularly relevant in determining the applicability of findings from qualitative research. This is for a number of reasons, including that this type of research does not provide comprehensive or controlled evidence, that sources inevitably provide incomplete accounts, and that contexts may change, which means sources share perspectives that may have been produced in different cultural and social contexts compared to those through which we attempt to understand the answer to a research question (pp.1-5). Therefore it is arguably necessary to complement the development of perspectives derived from

interviews with an analysis taking place with an understanding of the broader cultural and social context. This view is corroborated by other scholars. Qualitative data “tend to be collected in close proximity to the specific situation such as via direct observation or interview, with the influence of the local context being taken into account and not being discarded” (Miles & Huberman, 1994, in Leech & Onbweugbuzie, 2007, p.560).

Assessing how organisations have been shaped by social and cultural pressures is important, argue Suddaby and Greenwood (2009), because they can adopt forms and practices that are isomorphic with norms of appropriate conduct or “rationalised myths” and are “manifestations of explicit rule systems and implicit value clusters” (pp.176-177). Including the threads of change and influences over time acknowledge, as Bennet and Elman (2006) and Schneiberg (2005) observe: Institutions are complicated, causal sources are often messy (ibid, p.183). Djelic (1998) is among the organisational history scholars to underscore how and why contexts and specificities matter, in particular because the strength and interplay of isomorphic and path dependent forces varying between countries (in Maclean et al 2016, p. 15). As Lippman and Aldrich (2014) state: “Organisations are not stand-alone entities but are ‘shaped by the worlds they inhabit’,” (ibid, p.20). From the perspective of a study that specifically seeks to understand research objectives within a specific national context, it therefore stands to reason that it is appropriate to locate the research within its historical context. Chapter Four, therefore, is an attempt to answer Research Question 1, setting out the historical trajectory of Scottish university education, with a specific focus on the presence and evolution of employability.

3.X CONCLUSION

This chapter has set out the methodology, in this instance semi-structured interviews and document analysis, used to address research questions that explore the employability agenda in contemporary journalism education at Scotland’s universities. In addition to developing data by interviewing key stakeholders and recording their perceptions, this study aims to draw on existing data in order to assess the research questions from another vantage point in the form of document analysis, also referred to as documentary analysis by some scholars. It is standard practice for qualitative researchers to employ more than one primary research method to address the core questions. “The qualitative researcher is expected to draw upon multiple (at least two) sources of evidence; that is, to seek convergence and corroboration through the use of different data sources and methods”, emphas-

ises Denzin (1970, in Bowen, 2009, p.28). Qualitative researchers “make do with a variety of data – all of which are partial and mismatched – in order to construct a meaningful, aesthetically pleasing, and useful research synthesis” (Tracy, 2019, p.26) and this is the intention of this study.

Ethical considerations are explored in this chapter, as well as a self-reflective analysis in so far as internal biases may play a role in the selection of topic, questions and the answer to the research questions. The purpose of this chapter has been to set out the research design, specifically to demonstrate the quality of the research. Quality in quantitative research is abstract (Cho, 2017) and, furthermore it is not uniform (ibid). Nevertheless, there has been a concerted attempt here to design a quality study, with credible findings, by developing and describing a research strategy that can address the research questions posed, as discussed in this chapter, and noting that this a clearly stated quality criterion in qualitative research (Spencer, Richie, Lewis & Dillon, 2003, p.6). Furthermore, the design is an attempt to ensure the systematic and transparent collection, analysis and interpretation of qualitative data (ibid), another stated quality criterion (ibid).

Finally, in order to locate this research in a context appropriate to the research questions, a study of the development of the employability agenda from a historical perspective, is undertaken. The historical contextualisation follows.

CHAPTER FOUR: HISTORICAL CONTEXT

4.I OVERVIEW

This historical contextualisation chapter is aimed at answering the first research question, namely to evaluate the way in which the notion of employability gained currency within Scottish education generally and within Scottish journalism education specifically. Specifically, RQ1 asks: How did employability come to be articulated within Scottish university journalism education? This chapter also describes the context for this study highlighting the development of education in Scotland and the evolution of journalism education and therefore contributes to the answers to the remaining research question, namely: (RQ2) How have Scottish university journalism educators responded to their understanding of the imperative of employability in journalism education? The third question, to recap, asks: What are the implications of current patterns in Scottish journalism education for employability, democracy and for quality, independent journalism? This research also constitutes a unique contribution to scholarship as it will be the first study to conduct an historical investigation into the evolution of employability within journalism education at Scottish universities.

Employability, as I will demonstrate, is a contested concept that has evolved differently in separate national and cultural contexts. Scotland and England, for instance, responded in divergent ways to the recommendations of the Leitch Review of Skills (2004-6), which elevated the employability agenda for universities. England accepted the stress on skills supply while in Scotland the targets were largely abandoned. The Scottish government noted that it had invested more heavily in skills, including boosting degree and sub-degree level qualifications in its workforce, and yet had seen little benefit in terms of boosting Gross Domestic Product relative to England (Keep, 2014). The Scottish government (2007) saw the nation's difficulties stemming from a number of root causes, not just from problems with the supply of skills.

Employability, then, raises questions around which institutions are primarily responsible for skills development, which skills should be prioritised and what the impact of these choices will be on the economy more generally. Where there was convergence in the Scottish and English higher education systems in the 20th century, the distinctiveness of Scottish higher education has become more apparent after devolution (Field, 2013; Keating, 2005). This

contention is, arguably, among the reasons why it is relevant to explore the nuances of Scottish higher education, as is the objective of this study.

Within this chapter, I will make particular reference to the drivers of employability along with developments and themes that might shed light on how the employability agenda has shaped curricula at Scotland's universities, and ultimately emerged in journalism education provision at universities. The expansion of higher education in the UK is the subject of much scrutiny by scholars, however the character of that expansion is different in each of the UK's nations, namely England, Wales, Northern Ireland and Scotland (Morgan-Klein, 2003), with far less analysis of Scotland than the rest of the UK apparent in scholarly journals. This variation in character either side of the Scotland-England border will inevitably mean that there are different drivers at play in setting the direction and implementation of education policy and delivery, which justifies an understanding of the unique attributes of Scottish university education if one is to further explore a sub-sector of this system. As this study proposes to add depth to the academic narrative of employability in university journalism education in Scotland in particular, the intention of this chapter is to excavate and explore themes that shed light on the research questions of how employability came to be embedded in Scottish university journalism education, how Scottish universities responded to this imperative and what this meant for the future trajectory of journalism education in Scotland.

Although Scotland is a small nation, with its population of less than six million representing approximately only 10% of the UK total (Scotland national website: www.scotland.org), its higher education system is a significant feature of the economy in contributing about 6% to Gross Domestic Product (Kerevan, 2013) and supporting just under 8% of the Scottish workforce (Conroy & Muscatelli, 2013). It therefore stands to reason that it is of considerable interest to Scottish government policymakers. The structure of this higher education system is relatively complex. A key reason for the difference in character from university systems elsewhere in the UK is that universities are subject to UK laws, including legal instruments such as royal charters and parliamentary legislation, as well as Scottish parliamentary legislation and papal bulls in the case of the so-called ancient universities of St Andrews, Glasgow and Aberdeen (Field, 2013).

Adding to the complexity is the multi-faceted funding system, with financial support coming from a range of sources, including Westminster and Holyrood. Nowhere is this complexity and difference in the system compared to universities south of the border more evident than

in the fragmentation between students who must pay fees and those who don't. In an anomalous legal situation, by 2019, English students and students from non-EU states were paying full fees, while students from elsewhere in the EU could not be charged more than local students (Kerevan, 2013). There are other differences, too, with students in Scotland starting university studies a year earlier, and undergraduate degrees a year longer, than elsewhere in the UK.

This chapter explores how the unique character of Scottish university education has developed, briefly tracing events from the time universities opened their doors to students in the Fifteenth Century and, with the focus of the thesis on this century, is aimed at adding more texture to its unique features in more recent times. This chapter aims to demonstrate how government policy and specific Acts have shaped universities and remain a significant factor in their character, in particular highlighting structural changes that have led to technical and academic higher education systems merging, including the development of post-1992 universities and important changes after devolution. This chapter also acknowledges debates and developments of concern to academics as they grapple with the influence of neoliberalism and the concomitant increased commercialisation and internationalisation of university education. In particular, this chapter aims to flesh out the contemporary structure and decision-making processes within Scotland's university system to clearly identify players and points where key decisions are made — with a view to later exploring the specifics of how employability-oriented decisions filter through the system to journalism curricula this decade at the primary research stage of this research (see next chapters).

4.II CHARTING SCOTTISH UNIVERSITY EDUCATION THROUGH THE CENTURIES

Journalism scholars do not work in a social, political or cultural lacuna and therefore the macro-economic environment in which they operate should be understood in order to fully appreciate how they are influencing or influenced by an employability agenda. In Scotland the dominant ideology has emerged from Presbyterian roots, which as a representative form of church government was distinct from the ideology in other nations where the hierarchical church governments, for example the Catholic church in England, exerted a considerable influence. Along with the democratic approach to electing leaders and strong sense of community, the Presbyterian emphasis that the mind is a gift from God to be nurtured (Faith Presbyterian Church) set the tone in Scotland for a higher education system that has

emphasised democratic principles — for example that university education is not only for an elite — as well as undoubtedly playing a role in infusing curricula with an emphasis on life-long learning and continual development. States Kerevan (2013): “Courtesy of its Presbyterian culture, Scotland developed a more extensive university system earlier than England, which relied on the elitist Oxbridge until as late as the Nineteenth century” (p.755). This democratic focus on equality has persisted, with George Elder Davie (1961) a notable influence on contemporary governance in Scotland not only in education but across the nationalist-controlled government through his treatise “The Democratic Intellect: Scotland and her Universities in the Nineteenth Century”. This influence will be discussed more, later in the chapter.

University education was introduced to Scotland in the 15th century: St Andrews was founded in 1411; Glasgow in 1450; and Aberdeen in 1494 (Hunter, 1972). Before that, Scottish students seeking education beyond grammar or burgh school had to go to Oxford, Cambridge, Paris, Bologna or other European universities (ibid, p.227). From the start, it seems there was a vocational objective to university education, with a 1496 Act stipulating that the eldest sons of barons and freeholders of substance were to attend ‘sculis of art and jure’ for three years. As Hunter (1972) notes: This Act is “evidence of concern for education, a concern, moreover, which was strictly practical” because these boys were required to go to school precisely so “that they that are sheriffs or judges may have knowledge to do justice” (p.2). This 1496 Act was the first in Europe attempting to introduce compulsory education (ibid). The Faculty of Arts flourished in the 1500s, with the curriculum arranged in two divisions “typical of all medieval universities”: the Trivium – Grammar, Logic and Rhetoric – and the Quadrivium: Arithmetic, Geometry, Music and Astronomy (Hunter, 1972, p.227). The Bachelor and Master degrees were instituted in this medieval era, with examinations for the Bachelor of Arts in the middle of the third year and for the Master of Arts at the end of the fourth year (ibid). The curriculum was more like secondary school today, with students often graduating at age 17 or 18 after matriculating at 13 or 14 (ibid).

University education was clearly for an elite, an expense only accessible to a few. This contradiction between the Presbyterian principle of creating access to education for the wider population while in reality providing this access for a few remains in the 21st century, with ongoing debates about how to widen access to education to students from less advantaged backgrounds. Lessons were in Latin as late as the Eighteenth century. Regents taught all subjects throughout a four-year degree course (University of Edinburgh, 2016), however

there was a strong drive for disciplinary specialisation, with regents increasingly replaced in the 18th century by “specialist professors, a move which progressively raised the standard of teaching” (Hunter, 1972, p.228). Signalling the start of ongoing efforts to widen access to university education beyond a male elite, the Universities (Scotland) Act paved the way for women being admitted to graduation from 1892 from any faculty “at the discretion of the University Court, on practically the same terms as men” (Hunter, 1972, p.229). Working class participation in taking full university degrees expanded after philanthropist Andrew Carnegie funded a scheme that by 1910 covered much of the fees for half of all Scots undergraduates (Kerevan, 2013). In the latter part of the 1960s, universities facilitated greater student participation in the government and administration of institutions, with student members nominated by Student Representative Councils to a wide range of committees of Court and Senate (Hunter, 1972). The university was seen as an ideological battleground, with the ideas of Davie infusing debate from the 1960s with concerns about the anglicisation of university education and of Scotland in general. His book, The Democratic Intellect became “a nationalist Bible”, preaching of a lost golden age both of university education and of cultural independence and elevating the role of universities in national life to a much greater extent than in England (Kerevan, 2013, p756). Its long reach could be seen in the swift move by the SNP government to make university entrance free, with its “potent, meritocratic myth” central to the SNP government’s understanding of the role of higher education in developing the nation (Kerevan, 2013, p.756). Full scrapping of fees took place in 2008 (Graduate Endowment Abolition Bill, 2007)

The UK’s university sector has a history of reports being commissioned into education and effectively determining its path. In the 1800s there were two important reports — in 1831 and 1858 — stemming from Royal commissions that led to the Universities (Scotland) Act of 1858, which dictated changes in the constitution, administration and teaching of ancient universities and governed the workings of the four older universities into the 21st century (ibid, p.229). Edinburgh University was the first Scottish university established by Royal Charter in 1582. A Town Council initiative, it was not an independent institution, like the other three universities, but was subject to the municipality on aspects such as curriculum and the appointment of professors. This was resolved when the Universities (Scotland) Act of 1858 created a constitution similar to the other three universities (Hunter, 1972, p.228). The Act was amended in 1966, though changes did not alter the key features of the system of government (ibid, p.229) which prevail today in the Scottish university system. This included instituting: a University Court, defining the powers of the Senatus Academicus; an advisory

body, the General Council; and, regulations for degrees in Arts, Law and Medicine – for example four-year course for degree of M.A. and graduation with honours introduced (ibid, p. 229). The Universities (Scotland) Act of 1889 set up an executive commission with powers to deal with a range of matters, including granting degrees and instituting new degrees. Hunter (1972) points out that in Arts, regulations for the ordinary degree of M.A. were altered to allow for an increased choice of subjects and the normal length of the course was reduced. Faculties of Science were created, with the Medicine course extended from 4 to 5 years and the pattern of M.B., Ch.B, established.

Figure 1: University governance

(Based on information in Hunter, L. (1971): 'The Scottish Educational System, p.231)

Legislation by ordinance of any of the four older universities had to be submitted to the Courts of the other three, then to the Privy Council and to Parliament. This was changed after the Robbins Committee (1963) was "strongly critical" of the "slow and clumsy" procedure for founding a chair or carrying out major changes in the curricula among the four older universities. The government eventually amended this requirement of the 1889 Act and "provided that much of the business formerly done by ordinance" could be executed by resolution of the Court following internal consultation (ibid). The Court system was still in place in the 21st century across the university sector, with membership of this governing body varying in size — between 17 and 28 and including individuals with a record of civic leadership appointed from outside the university (Field, 2013).

The legislation on university governance structures makes provision for university autonomy in determining the academic parameters, with academic matters, including the curriculum, the responsibility of a separate academic board chaired by the principal. These bodies, which range in size from 20 to 40 people, are responsible for maintaining standards, granting degrees and approving new programmes (Field, 2013). Departmental committees, meanwhile, attend to the details of the curricula, with the academics who work for the university collectively making decisions on the nature of education delivery. “Most day-to-day business, in teaching and research, is managed and delivered through some sort of departmental structure. Academics are often compared to tribal groups in their loyalties, based largely on shared commitment to the discipline,” notes Field (2013, p.747). However, a range of factors — including external influences — complicates the picture, with academics under pressure to factor in considerations of other stakeholders, including potential employers in some instances, in determining the shape and tone of the education provision. While most academics still organise their teaching in subject-based groupings, discipline-based collective identities have weakened in recent years as disciplines have sub-divided, new subjects have emerged and there has been stronger external and managerial control along with the rapid expansion of the sector (Field 2013). These influences and changes are evident in this study of employability within Scottish university journalism education (see Chapter Five), with journalism offered separately from other communications and media related courses and delivered, in many instances, by staff with a practitioner backgrounds. This, in turn, colours their perceptions of employability (see interview responses, as set out in Chapter Five).

After the ancient universities, the next wave of universities to open their doors in Scotland were established by Royal Charter following the 1961-1963 Robbins review: Dundee, Heriot-Watt, Stirling and Strathclyde (Field, 2013). These universities, like other modern British universities, obtain their charter from the Privy Council or Act of Parliament and can only amend it with consent (Moodie & Eustace, 2013). These Royal Charter universities in Scotland also adhere to the post-Robbins governance structures, with the University Court a central decision-making organ. While Parliamentary control may seem distant, observers such as Moodie and Eustace (ibid) note that its primary decision-making prerogative has has been felt. With Her Majesty The Queen having power to amend governance instruments of these universities, there has been considerable debate about whether this should continue in a devolved Scotland or whether it is preferable for the Scottish Parliament to

take over this role. As the University of Strathclyde's Convenor of Court noted in a 2015 reply to the Scottish government: "The University is...concerned that transferring functions to a committee in Scotland might add an extra layer to the process for chartered universities rather than provide a simplification, since the Privy Council would still operate as an advisory body to Her Majesty for chartered universities". This issue is likely to remain under debate as politicians in Scotland continue to seek support for independence from the UK and would arguably push to maintain full control of the education sector as a critical pillar of the economy.

Underscoring the importance of university education as well as further education in general as a driver of economic growth in Scotland, the administration of the further education sector was placed under the Scottish Executive Enterprise and Lifelong Learning Committee (Morgan-Klein, 2003, p.341). "What is significant here is the move away from a reliance on market competition towards a systemic approach, including a reliance on target setting and audit as a means of achieving policy objectives," observes Morgan-Klein (2003, p.342), while also noting that there is increasing co-operation between the Scottish Further Education Funding Council (SFEFC) and the Scottish Higher Education Funding Council (SHEFC) "as a result of the Scottish Executive's interest in creating seamless post-compulsory education and training structures that allow for progression and articulation between the sectors" (Morgan-Klein, 2003, p.342).

Scotland's contemporary university journalism education also has roots in technical education. With technical education focusing squarely on employability in terms of skills development with an immediate and direct application after studies in the workplace, it is appropriate to later explore how this influence might play a role in the delivery of university education more broadly across all universities in contemporary times. The first technical school, The School of Arts, was established in Edinburgh in 1821 to educate "workmen" on scientific principles while The Mechanics Institution was established in Glasgow in 1823 for a similar reason (Hunter, 2013). These two institutions are the forerunners of what are now Strathclyde University and Heriot-Watt University and preceded the modern system of technical education in the UK. The differentiation between higher education for vocational purposes and higher education for non-vocational purposes emerged at the start of the 1900s. In 1901, the Education Department issued a Code of Regulations for Continuation Classes in Scotland to organise post-school education (Hunter, 1972). The four divisions were: classes for completion of elementary education; elementary classes in technical sub-

jects; organised courses in technical education lasting three years or more; non-vocational classes. Technical education was allowed to develop, with exempted institutions –- known as central institutions –- “allowed to develop on lines of their own” (Hunter, 1972 ,p.14). However, these institutions were eventually accorded the same status and were subject to the same laws in the 20th century as institutions that were established as universities through the 1992 Further and Higher Education (Scotland) Act. These universities are now referred to as post-1992 universities and include the following institutions: Glasgow Caledonian University (formerly Glasgow College of Technology and then Glasgow Polytechnic); Edinburgh Napier University (formerly Napier Polytechnic); Queen Margaret University (formerly Queen Margaret University College); The Robert Gordon University (formerly Robert Gordon’s Institute of Technology, Aberdeen); and the University of the West of Scotland (formerly Paisley College of Technology). Separate Higher Education Funding Councils were also set up for England, Scotland and Wales as the “binary” system was abolished (Keating, 2005, p.426).

For Kerevan, the metamorphosis of polytechnics into independent universities was “the real key to social inclusion — in the sense that higher education was now the expected norm for the majority of young Scots” (2013, p762). These 1992 “polyversities” were providing roughly a quarter of the university places in Scotland by the second decade of this century (Kerevan, 2013, p.762). “Serving largely their own local labour markets, they have the theoretical ability to tailor degree courses to fast-moving local needs” (Kerevan, 2013, p.762). Scholars (Morgan-Klein, 2013; Keep, 2014; Kerevan, 2013) underscore the vocational influence — in particular in business studies, communications, hospitality management, health studies and computing — that post-1992 institutions brought to bear on Scottish university education. These changes occurred against the backdrop of explosive growth in Scotland’s further education sector as it maximised income in the 1990s, with new entrants to undergraduate higher education more or less doubling (Morgan-Klein, 2003). This influence added to the challenges facing universities. Keating (2005) reflects: [W]hile serving economic needs they must preserve their academic autonomy and sustain pure research and scholarship. Universities are also expected to help in overcoming social exclusion, by broadening their intake, especially to working class students, ethnic minorities and mature applicants” (p.427). The vocational influence evident across subjects is not explicitly detailed by scholars, and this is a gap in the literature that this PhD study seeks to address.

With their culture, ethos and pedagogy arguably closer to Further Education Colleges (FECs) than to the already established universities, there was increased scope for a variety of links and articulation arrangements between FE and higher education, and it somewhat blurred the boundary between the sectors (Morgan-Klein, 2003). The blurring of these boundaries, and the vocational influence, is evident in the provision of journalism education (see Chapter Five). The Dearing Committee (1996-1997), with the Scottish Committee of the National Committee of Inquiry into Higher Education, also made a number of recommendations of relevance to FE, however the expansion of HE in FE had begun before publication of its reports (ibid). The extent of the blurring of the boundaries is explored in depth in interviews and document research in the primary research phase of this study as this is relevant for the purposes of addressing the research questions, which aim to assess how employability has influenced the provision of university journalism education.

The Scotland Act of 1998 introduced a Scottish Parliament in 1999. Devolution, the statutory granting of powers from the Parliament of the United Kingdom to the Scottish Parliament, saw subtle but critical shifts in the character of higher education in Scotland. Strong opposition to Scotland's devolution among university academics in the 1970s had largely disappeared by the 1990s (Keating, 2005), with widespread resistance in Scotland to the policies of Margaret Thatcher instrumental in this shift in sentiment (Kerevan, 2013). There is a school of thought that resistance to devolution was linked to money. With the 1960s and 1970s an era of expansion, Scottish universities opposed a separate Scots funding body because they were concerned they would receive fewer resources than their English counterparts (Kerevan, 2013). However, in the Thatcher era, Scottish universities decided that devolution was a better way of protecting local interests than integration with UK bodies (ibid). Paradoxically, observes Kerevan (2013), it was the Conservative government of John Major that finally devolved Scottish higher education (in 1992) with the transformation of Scottish polytechnics into universities and their merger with the existing universities under the new Scottish Higher Education Funding Council. Each university has a fairly autonomous decision-making structure, with modern university constitutions broadly shaped by the Universities (Scotland) Act of 1966 though each institution has interpreted these in the light of its own history and ambitions (Field, 2013). Each university is an independent corporate institution with charitable status; the governing body, along with senior managers, is responsible for overall direction and strategy of the university (ibid).

Universities in Scotland are largely devolved legally (Keating, 2005); however as part of the UK-wide university policy community, the divisions remain blurred. Keating (2005) refers to the following examples to illustrate the untidy national boundaries: Universities UK, a representative body, contains Scottish representative body Universities Scotland; Research Councils are UK-wide; the Research Assessment Exercise - or Research Excellence Framework - that determines base research funding is UK-wide; pay-bargaining is conducted on a UK-wide basis; and Whitehall has been working on harmonising academic qualifications with the rest of Europe with “sporadic” involvement from Scottish universities (2005, p. 427). Strategies for collaboration also cut across boundaries, shaping different specialised groupings in the UK and beyond. These include: the Russell Group of UK research-intensive universities and Universitas21, a global alliance of research-intensive universities, with both groupings including Edinburgh and Glasgow as of 2016. The University of the Highlands and Islands, UWS, Abertay and Edinburgh Napier are among the Scottish members of Million+, an association of mostly large universities who pride themselves on their accessibility, while the OU belongs to the University Alliance, which positions itself as a group of business-engaged institutions.

Keating (2005) summarises the main differences between the English approach to higher education, which “emphasises management, regulation, differentiation and competition”, and the Scottish approach that “stresses professional autonomy, consensus, egalitarianism and policy learning” (2014, p.430). “In England, change has been politically driven, while in Scotland, it has emerged from professional networks, in collaboration with government” (ibid). Within the Scottish university sector itself, divisions are apparent between ancient universities, chartered universities and post-1992 universities. Field (2013) disagrees with commentators (such as Keating, 2007) who argue that Scotland’s institutions have evolved in an egalitarian direction. “Even if we disregard the division between colleges and universities (and this is debatable, given the sheer scale of higher education provided in the college sector), the universities may be categorised in a number of different ways,” notes Field (2013, p.751). To illustrate his point, Field highlights size, with Edinburgh and Glasgow having more than 25,000 students and the largest new universities about 17,000 (in 2009-10) (ibid). Staffing levels inevitably vary, too, with Edinburgh having more than 3,000 academics in 2009-10 and this number dropping among the new universities like Edinburgh Napier and GCU to about 830 (ibid).

There is, inevitably, also “asymmetry” when looking at research income in institutional budgets, with the largest Edinburgh at £650m in 2010-11, and Glasgow’s around £450m. The larger ‘new’ universities have much lower research budgets, for example GCU’s income was £112m in 2010-11 and UWS at about £96m that year. Observes Field: “So the differences in scale financially are much greater than the differences in student numbers” (ibid). These figures superficially suggest that universities that have traditionally been more theoretical in nature receive higher funding than those that also have a vocational focus. The funding imbalances might seem at odds with the government pledge to get as many young people into higher education as possible, however the Scottish Government has said that its vision for an independent Scotland includes supporting world-class and high impact research at universities and a commitment to maintaining existing levels of funding for research (The Scottish Government, 2014, p.5). Accounting in part for the funding weightings, it is the older universities that tend to be more research-oriented and more focused on attracting research funding and therefore it stands to reason that they continue to attract the lion’s share of research funding. This research emphasis, it shall be demonstrated in the findings section of this dissertation, does not play into the way academics adapt journalism curricula; if anything, the shift has been in favour of a more vocational approach to journalism education delivery.

While there are stark differences between different university subsets, there is a case for arguing that the distinctiveness in Scotland may be diminishing. Reasons include efforts to standardise degree structures, comply with European standards and offer a consistent positive student experience (Field, 2013). The Bologna process of higher education synchronisation, agreed by European education ministers in 1999 and formally adopted by the European Union in 2010, has played a role in this. Scotland was the only country to have implemented the agreement in full by 2009 (Rauhvargers et al, in Field, p.752). With the aim of encouraging “comparability, coherence, consistency and mobility” across the European higher education system, it is inevitable national systems will increasingly converge and that degree structures and qualification frameworks will lose much of their distinctiveness, argues Field (2013, p.752). The shift away from a distinctiveness between university subsets towards a more homogenous university sector is explored and is evident in Scotland’s university journalism provision, not only in the delivery but also content and this is observation is extrapolated from interviews and document analysis, which is set out in the next chapter.

Nationally the differences are likely to diminish too, along with approaches to standardise education and ensure minimum standards. For example, all Scottish university study programmes are based on the Scottish Credit and Qualifications Framework (SCQF) as a way of increasing articulation from college, and introducing 'accelerated degrees', including direct entry to the second year of study (ibid). Credits — with one credit point for on average 10 hours of learning time — and points calibrated by programme level, from level 1 to doctoral studies level 12 — are different but compatible with the European Credit Transfer System (Field, 2013, p749). Although the Scottish Qualifications Authority (SQA) does not award degrees, it must inevitably play a role in shaping learning and teaching at universities because its qualifications must integrate with the university system. It is worth noting that policymakers changed the governing structures for pre-university qualifications specifically with a view to converging academic and vocational skills development. The SQA, note Bryce and Humes (2013), took over the responsibilities of the Scottish Examination Board (SEB) and the Scottish Vocational Educational Council (SCOTVEC) in April 1997 following the Education (Scotland) Act 1996 (later amended by the Scottish Qualifications Act 2002). This was because "increasingly the separation of academic and vocational qualifications came to be regarded as inadequate to meet the needs of a society in which knowledge was expanding and changing rapidly, and in which the employment market was demanding new skills over and above traditional forms of understanding. The convergence of these pressures meant that the case for a unified qualifications framework and single qualifications body was compelling" (Bryce & Humes, 2013, p.681). This convergence in academic and vocational outcomes is reflected in the findings (see next chapter).

Palpable tensions within the education sector over how best, if at all, to integrate the theoretical and practical, if at all, are touched on in academic scholarship. A "culture gap" and accompanying tensions are explored in the literature on Scottish education, with the SEB systems and structures described as being "based on fairly conservative notions of worthwhile knowledge and the best means of assessing it" (ibid). These tensions were also expressed in interviews in this PhD study (see Chapter Five). SCOTVEC, by contrast, "had pursued an agenda that was strongly influenced by the expressed needs of employers in business and industry, and had developed a wide range of modular courses using innovative methods of assessments" (ibid). Meanwhile, amid these tensions within different SQA factions, an examinations fiasco in 2000 in which thousands of students waiting for Higher and Standard Grade results received the wrong results or no results from the SQA was the final straw for policymakers. The saga arguably created a fresh opportunity for the govern-

ment to maintain tighter control of the delivery of education and stamp its authority on the system. Bryce and Humes (2013) say that the examinations blunder “proved to be a critical test for the new Scottish Parliament” (p.681). It ultimately led to a “vice-like grip” by Ministers on the SQA and a “corporate style” of management within the SQA. As of the time of writing, it appeared that part of the SQA strategic plan involves mapping SQA priorities against national outcomes, but it is not clear whether senior civil servants dictate to SQA officials behind the scenes or vice versa (ibid, p.683): “Is it always a matter of the former saying, 'This is what government wants - it's your job to help deliver it', or ‘is there scope for the latter to make any substantive input into the policy process?’” (ibid). Ultimately this political positioning within a body riven with internal divisiveness came at a time of major curriculum reform that included sharpening the focus at the SQA on economic policy. “The Scottish Government’s emphasis on the employability and skills agenda, involving not only further education colleges and employers but also schools and universities, is seen as giving the SQA a vital role in developing new qualifications in response to challenging circumstances” (ibid). “By the very nature of its work, the SQA has to negotiate and liaise with many organisations and clearly this requires strong networks of contacts and good lines of communication across the educational and training systems. Once again this is set in a political and economic context, with reference to the National Performance Framework, Public Services Reform (Scotland) Act 2010 and Skills for Scotland: Accelerating the Recovery and Increasing Sustainable Growth, the last being a government publication of 2010” (Bryce & Humes, 2013, p.684).

The workings of the SQA appear to be ambiguous, with Bryce and Humes (2013) asking: “where is the important planning done and by whom? Where does the balance of power lie between civil servants and SQA personnel? Who meets with whom on a regular basis, and at what level do they operate? How is the continuing 'intelligence' of any operation maintained? How would we know if important ideas and proposals originate within the SQA itself if they have been driven by government officials at the behest of ministers? An understandable concern with confidentiality means that it is hard for 'outsiders' to gain a good understanding of the way assessment policy is initiated, developed and refined. This raises questions about the structure and management of the organisation?” (p.684). This opaque situation inevitably makes it challenging to trace the trajectory of decision-making from government through to universities from an outsider’s perspective.

Quality and standards, according to Field (2013), are first and foremost the responsibility of institutions. Universities set out their own assessment tasks — though in some professional areas these are designed with or by outside regulatory bodies — and set out the regulations governing their courses. Each institution must appoint external examiners who normally serve on the examinations board for the degree concerned. The Quality Assurance Agency for Higher Education (QAA) is owned and controlled by the sector, with much of its funding coming from subscriptions from universities and colleges, or funding councils, and the board is appointed by the national representative associations for universities across the UK (ibid). Standards are set from within academia, with the QAA convening working groups of experienced academics to draft frameworks for higher education awards and benchmarks for subjects, and publish codes of practice for the assurance of quality and standards (ibid). The QAA undertakes regular institutional reviews, on behalf of the funding council, in compliance with the 2005 Further and Higher Education (Scotland) Act (Field, 2013). Field points out that there is emphasis on demonstrating ongoing improvement in the four-yearly Enhancement Led Institutional Review (ELIR) (2013, p.750). These influences on journalism academics in so far as they adapt journalism programmes for employability is explored in the interviews and in the documentation (see Chapter Five).

Students, meanwhile, also have a role in quality standards, with students at more than a dozen universities and the OU reflecting their views through the National Student Survey, commissioned by the Higher Education Funding Council for England, as part of quality assurance procedures (Field, 2013, p751). “QAA Scotland is also expected to promote general quality development, through support for a programme of enhancement themes and international benchmarking. These themes, chosen jointly with the sector with a view to improving learning and teaching, have included such topics as flexible delivery, research-teaching linkages and integrative assessment”, states Field (2013, p.750), observing that in Scotland, the QAA has a “slightly different approach from the rest of the UK” (ibid). Keep (2014) notes that the general importance afforded to skills as a means of securing a wide range of economic and social policy objectives has been a feature in Scotland. “The result is that ever-higher expectations continue to be loaded onto education in general and, of late, higher education in particular, regarding the role that skills (broadly defined) might play in economic growth and regeneration, regional and sectoral re-balancing of the economy and securing higher levels of innovation” (Department for Business, Innovation and Skills, 2010; Scottish Government, 2010; Cable, 2012; Wilson, 2012; Willetts, 2013; Witty, 2013a, 2013b in Keep, 2014, p.252).

4.III UNIVERSITIES AS DRIVER OF EMPLOYABILITY, ECONOMIC COMPETITIVENESS

Highlighting that there is no blanket government policy that is dictated down, or filters, through the system, the employability agenda is evident in the mission statements and strategic goals of some institutions, and conspicuously absent from others. Although these statements tend to be aspirational, they give an indication of the tone and culture that university leaders seek to establish at their institutions. “In particular, we can see a very broad division between those who aim to be world-leading in research and teaching, and those who focus on teaching, employability and inclusion,” says Field in an analysis of these mission statements (2013, p.751). Outlining how Scottish universities wish to be perceived, Edinburgh has the mission to “shape the future by attracting and developing the world’s most promising students and outstanding staff” (ibid). Glasgow has a more outward approach: “To undertake world-leading research and to provide an intellectually stimulating learning environment that benefits culture, society and economy” (ibid). Abertay, meanwhile, has a mission “to provide a distinctive and high-quality university education that empowers our students intellectually, socially, culturally and economically, and to generate new knowledge and learning that reinforces national competitiveness” (ibid). The extent to which these mission statements, in particular the employability elements or lack thereof, play out in curricula is examined in this study through document analysis and interviews with key stakeholders.

The Leitch Review of Skills (2004 - 2006) was commissioned by then UK Chancellor of the Exchequer Gordon Brown. The Review identified critical problems on the supply side of skills and recommended further expansion and reform of the publicly funded skills system, including universities, and “greater efforts to align education’s outputs with what employers wanted” (Keep, 2014, p.252). But there were notable differences in the ways in which the assumptions and findings of the Review were taken up in Scotland compared to England. The Scottish government, notes Keep (2014), identified deficiencies in the underlying levels of demand for better qualified workers within the economy and labour market and the ineffective utilisation of existing skills within many workplaces as the key issues (2014, p.253). Nevertheless, higher education is widely regarded in Scotland as powerful driver of economic competitiveness and social mobility (Field, 2013; Kerevan, 2013).

The rise of the commercialisation of universities is inevitably linked to the increased supply of university education, which somewhat ironically was precipitated, it would seem, by noble attempts to widen access and create a culture of lifelong learning rather than stoke a commercial engine. Although post-school education has never been compulsory in Scotland, there was significant supply of, and demand for, further education from the 1900s and continuing into the late 20th century (Hunter, 1972). In the 21st century, there was an increasing emphasis placed by Scottish administrations on "'Lifelong Learning', defined as the overall learning activities undertaken by the Scottish population from age 16 onwards" (Smith in Bryce et al, 2013, p.13).

While the Scots have always been ambivalent about freedom, as Paterson (2004, p.3) argues, there is a "popular inclination to understand educational democracy as access" (ibid). "Democracy in education, over and over again, has been interpreted as access to real education, real education has meant what happens in mainstream schools, colleges and universities, and the main kind of learning that happens there has been understood to be general, academic and therefore liberal" (2003, p.3). In the last decades of the 20th century this tradition came under pressure from beliefs that education ought mainly to be about preparing people for work and that academic learning could not be truly democratic (Paterson, 2003, p.4). Paterson observes that two institutional legacies become the "guiding ideology of democratising reformers through the Twentieth century", with the parish school — which facilitated access to higher learning, and "the democratic, liberal university" becoming 'defining institutions' in Scotland (ibid).

Kerevan notes that Scotland began the 1960s with 18,500 students in four universities, and no university established for over half a century, and ended the decade with 38,000 students in eight universities. UK higher education in the early 1960s was a "small yet highly distributed system recruiting eight per cent of young people to its full-time courses" (Parry, 2014, p.208). By the 1980s, the system was much the same, though an expanded system on the threshold of mass higher education was expected to provide entry to full-time programmes for about 17 per cent of the age group (ibid). Between 1954-55 and 1962-63, "the number of full-time students in British higher education grew by 77 per cent" with a "44 per-cent increase in the university sector" (Parry, 2014, p.201). The "spectacular expansion in the further education sector was attributed in some measure to the shortage of places in university undergraduate education" (ibid, p.203). Expansion of the UK university sector was deliberate, resulting from the Robbins Report proposal to increase the total number of

places in full-time higher education from 216,000 in 1962-3 to about 560,000 in 1980-81" (ibid).The plan for expansion saw universities increasing their share of full-time places to 62 per cent (from 55 per cent) and further education establishments decreasing their share from 20 to 12 per cent (ibid). There were 19 universities in Scotland by 2019 (Universities Scotland, 2019). There is also the UK-wide Open University. There was a period of consolidation in the Scottish HE sector between 1994 and 2012, with the number of universities shrinking from 23 in 1994 to 19 in 2012 usually as a result of mergers between small, specialist institutions and larger universities (Field, 2013).

Meanwhile, the Open University also enhanced access to university education, and by 2019 remained a significant provider of HE in Scotland, with more than 16,000 students (HESA 2019). "The rate of participation in full-time undergraduate courses by people aged under twenty-one grew from nine per cent in 1962 to eighteen per cent in 1975, twenty six percent in 1990 and fifty per cent in 2000" (Paterson, 2003, p.164). Although the Robbins report confirmed suspicions that Scottish students "worked longer hours and received less guidance in their work" than students south of the border (Hunter, 1972, p.239), Scottish universities continued to expand their student cohorts. In the 1990s, "the market for vocationally specific post-graduate diplomas and masters degrees had grown enormously" (Paterson, 2003, p.165), and as UK polytechnics were converted to universities in 1992, a "slew of journalism programmes in that country blossomed overnight (Foote, 2017, p.430).

The growing importance of FE in Scotland was highlighted with the establishment of the Scottish Further Education Funding Council (SFEFC) in 1998. The SFEFC set ambitious targets, including recruiting an extra 40,000 students in the first three years, promoting access and increased participation as well as monitoring the financial health of the sector and advising the Scottish Executive (Morgan-Klein, 2003, p.342). This dramatic expansion in higher education provision "proved the single most revolutionary institutional reform between World War Two and the advent of the Scottish Parliament…It initiated a continuous (if not accelerating) expansion of higher education that has continued till the present day" (Kerevan, 2013, p.757).

A symptom of this explosive growth has been a vast increase in the number of graduates looking for jobs, not only in Scotland — though scholars indicate that the surge in supply has become increasingly in the spotlight. In some countries, like China, a university qualification is no longer a ticket to employment (Onsman & Cameron, 2014), while in the Scot-

tish news media, a qualification has never been a ticket to employment, as is discussed in the findings chapter (Five). In Scotland, “[a] realistic concern is whether the growing numbers of students being sucked into the higher education system can be taught adequately and then find a job when they graduate” (Kerevan, 2013, p.759). The extent to which universities cater for the needs of employers is discussed in the literature review, too.

For the Open University, work-based and workplace learning is an important component of the OU’s business, with 79% of FTSE 100 companies sponsoring employees to study with the OU (Cannell & Miller, 2013, p.770). In Scotland, there has been a big push to encourage apprenticeships as a route to employment, with journalism-related jobs falling under the Creative Industries — a sector where the estimate, according to Skills Development Scotland, is that 16,500 job openings are expected between 2019 and 2029, related to job churn as well as expansion demand (Skills Development Scotland) or 20%, with at least half in professional and associated roles. In Scotland, the following is being developed as part of the “distinctiveness” (Humes & Bryce, 1999 in Gallacher & Reeve, 2019, p.238): Foundation Apprenticeships, at school-level, Modern Apprenticeships, delivered with FE colleges, and Graduate Apprenticeships, with universities the loci of development rather than employers, as is the case in England (ibid). Graduate Apprenticeships cater for individuals who want to study towards a degree-level qualification and work simultaneously (Apprenticeships.scot) ad are typically aimed at those working for employers with minimum annual wage bills of £3m (ibid).

However, while work-based learning has long been a feature of university programme development, gaining traction UK-wide as a concept after the publication of the Dearing Report (1997) (Foster & Stephenson 1998), and universities have been identified as central to apprenticeship development, major news industry employers do not appear to emphasise tertiary qualifications. For example, the BBC delivers its own journalism trainee scheme, accepting candidates in Glasgow on its training programmes. It stipulates that candidates do not have to have qualifications; more important is evidence of already demonstrating journalism skills and creative storytelling (BBC 2019) while its Scotland and Gaelic Production Apprenticeships are aimed at non-graduates (ibid). It is worth noting that places for Apprenticeships are limited, with none available at BBC Scotland as of October 2019. While there are few apprenticeship opportunities available for journalism graduates in Scotland’s broadcast sector, this situation is not surprising as the print sector, with the regional focus of Scottish titles attractive to Scottish readers (Blain & Hutchison, 2016) has traditionally been

dominant to broadcast news in the nation, which is served mostly by England-based UK-wide broadcasters, which add Scotland as a suffix to programming (ibid). While Scotland has a production sector, it has few production companies of scale, of which STV Productions is an exception (Johnson, 2018, p.108); furthermore, there is no dedicated national broadcaster, and, as Johnson (2018), asserts: right from the start, Scottish broadcasting was established as peripheral to the main networks (p.42). This picture is changing, with the press in decline in Scotland and unable to convert online visitors to higher revenue streams as is the case elsewhere, and the broadcast sector growing, with a digital Gaelic channel and the beginnings of local television (Blain & Hutchison, 2016, p.19). In addition, it is acknowledged that smaller employers play a role in work-based learning, but as is the case in the rest of the UK, many employers, particularly in social media, remain small or micro businesses, and as such are only able to employ one student (Riley, 2017, p.2). In this context of a relatively small broadcast sector in relation to Scotland's print sector, and digital players at the small end of business entities, it arguably stands to reason that there is less emphasis on work opportunities provided to graduates by potential employers in Scotland than elsewhere in the UK. Work-based and workplace learning opportunities created by universities for their journalism students, across Scotland's broadcast and print sectors, are explored in the interviews and in the document analysis undertaken for this study (see Chapter Five).

Allied to concerns about availability of jobs for graduates, there has, as has been previously touched on, been considerable discussion over the decades on the details of how university education is being delivered to assess whether students are indeed being taught adequately. As far back as the early 1900s, there were widespread doubts as to whether a curriculum designed primarily for educating ministers of religion and schoolteachers was effective in the development of entrepreneurs or in the specialist technical training which modern industry required (Sanderson, 1972, p.157 in Paterson, 2003, p.84). "Scottish education at the beginning of the Twentieth Century has been created by a belief that access to a coherent academic tradition, based in recurrently modernised forms of the inherited institutions is the only worthwhile standard of educational democracy" (ibid). Of the innovation within degree programme design in the late 1960s/early 1970s, Hunter (1972) states: "Scottish universities tend on the whole to be conservative" with "comparatively little of the bold experimentation which has characterised many of the courses provided by some of the newer universities in England" (p.238).

Much contemporary debate also revolves around how to marry the practical and the theoretical aspects of university education. In the Robbins Committee, one issue addressed was "the extension of technological and technical education and, on this, the division of labour to be struck between the universities and the establishments of higher education" (Parry, 2014, p.192). This debate has continued over the decades, and infuses journalism education (as is demonstrated in Chapter Five) as employers increasingly expect to hire graduates who can immediately integrate into the workforce and require little to no training. There is a "constant refrain from Scottish employers that graduates lack practical skills, ie. competency in communication, numeracy, and the use of information technology. One could argue that such general skills should be inculcated at secondary school. On the other hand, it is questionable how a student can complete a first degree course without them" (Kerevan, 2013, p.759). The blend of practical skills development in journalism degree curricula is explored in Chapter Five.

The employability issue is raised in questions around what Scotland wants from its universities. There are no neat answers as Scottish policymakers and other stakeholders grapple over whether Scotland wants to "pass on the collective wisdom of humanity or to provide a passport to the best jobs", "act as the world's greatest research lab or to be an express lift to social mobility in a small country?" (Kerevan, 2013, p.754). "To the chagrin of traditionalists, they now refer to themselves as 'businesses', comments Kerevan of a considerable tension within the hallowed halls of academia (2013, p.758), although Scottish universities have been traditionally closely linked with the commercial world, in particular through business and engineering. Generally UK governments have encouraged universities to compete for students, with funding following the students (Keep, 2014, p.426). Signalling the push towards reforming universities into businesses, they were encouraged in the latter part of the 20th century to "reform their management structures, reducing the role of collegiate government by academics in favour of hierarchical structures and professional managers" (ibid).

A large body of literature has developed on this so-called increase in the marketisation of university education, with Cruickshank (2016) identifying three main strands of focus: firstly the devaluation of education by presenting it as a means to gain economic advantage (Collini, 2012; Giroux, 2014; Holmwood, 2011; Tuchman, 2009 in Cruickshank, 2016); the rise of an audit culture in academia, in which professionals are measured in terms of teaching and research "outputs" (Barcan, 2013; Ginsberg, 2011; Hall, 2015; Holmwood, 2011, in

Cruickshank, 2016); and the casualisation of the workforce to reduce costs in a market environment (Donoghue, 2008; Ginsberg, 2011, in Cruickshank, 2016). Neoliberalism — defined as a form of state interventionism in pursuit of elite, namely corporate, interests (ibid) — is seen as a major force in the evolution of universities into commercial operations, evidenced though features such as national student surveys to gauge student satisfaction, repositioning students as customers and, in the case of England, replacing grants by loans (ibid). Even in Scotland, where tuition was free for domestic and European Union students as of 2019, other seemingly neoliberal features such as surveys endure. This has created a situation in which the "old idea of the university degree as a passport to social mobility has come under fire: from the left, who accuse the universities of failing working-class students; and from the right, who accuse the universities of dumbing down their standards precisely to encourage enrolments from those from disadvantaged backgrounds" (Kerevan, 2013, p. 757). This commercialisation arguably plays into the increased emphasis on employability in Scottish university journalism programmes.

Although there is no evidence of deliberate bias, the consensus is that the system has benefitted mostly a middle class that has been able to manipulate the system by ensuring children obtain the highest grades required for access to universities. "When all is said and done, the proportion of working-class children in the student population in Scotland is scarcely any better than it was in the 1960s, even if the absolute numbers have soared. The mass vocational experiment might be providing more trained workers but it has not been delivering social mobility" (Kerevan, 2013, p.762). Although concerns abound about the university system effectively benefiting an elite, there is a remarkable resistance to shifting away from the traditional model of the university; academics are generally oriented towards producing education as a public good and maximising the dissemination of knowledge and this "influence on the day-to-day activities of teaching, learning and research will remain central", predict Conroy and Muscatelli (2013, p.1035). For Kerevan: "It was inevitable that the vast expansion of the university sector would alter the social and economic standing of higher education". The price of universities, as the cradle of citizenship, being free to enter has been domination by the state and the loss of academic freedom (Kerevan, 2013, p.757).

There is considerable debate within academic circles on how Scotland can strengthen and enhance its world-class research base, largely as part of a drive to attract research funding rather than for the pure cause of advancing knowledge. While this might not appear directly

relevant in terms of the employability agenda, it can be argued that research aimed at promoting the development of commercial opportunities for Scotland and the overall drive to promote the Scottish brand (Scottish Government 2014) inevitably focuses minds on the commercial benefits of education. However, an examination of a Scottish Government paper on "Scotland's Future: Higher Education Research in an Independent Scotland" (The Scottish Government, 2014) indicates that, for the most part, the intention is to invest in research that delivers impact through citings and rankings across the board. There are no direct references to the employability agenda in this paper, which suggests the government aims to address the concerns of some academics (for example Kerevan, 2013, and Rice, 2005), who question the role of academia in advancing the frontiers of knowledge. "Aside from the narrow, mechanistic debates over social inclusion and job creation, what evidence is there that the universities are playing a radical intellectual role in the new Scotland as they did during the Enlightenment period? Again, the jury is still out. While the Scottish universities have maintained a global presence in high technology research, their international impact in the arts and social sciences has diminished" (Kerevan, 2013, p.766).

In this audit culture, there is a well-documented tension between research and teaching at universities, with significant pressure brought to bear on academics to ensure they achieve research outcomes of a significant quality. The dominance of the Research Excellence Framework (REF) ensures that research in the academic disciplines is privileged over teaching, argue Bryce et al (2013, p.735). Furthermore, research on specific specialisms are emphasised at the expense of research into teaching at a higher education level (ibid). However, there are growing UK and Scottish pressures to ensure that new university lecturers undertake some professional development in teaching and learning, which involves reading the relevant literature (ibid) and undertaking short training courses. Kerevan attributes this perceived intellectual lacuna, particularly in the social sciences, to a lack of funds to keep the best minds in Scotland, partly a lack of critical academic mass. Some make the leap from the lack of intellectual rigour to concerns about the fate of democracy in Scotland. For example, Professor Duncan Rice of Aberdeen University, in a paper for the Policy Institute (2005) echoes this concern: "Undervaluing non-vocational research and teaching will jeopardise our national, intellectual and cultural life, and even our success as a humanely functioning democracy" (cited in Kerevan, 2013, p.767). This theme of the extent to which journalism graduates are able to contribute to the effective functioning of democracy is explored, with some worrying findings that corroborate Rice's fears, in the next chapter.

4.IV FUNDING SCOTTISH UNIVERSITY EDUCATION

The continued flourishing and nurturing of Scotland's intellectual and cultural life through universities is, somewhat uncomfortably in the context of concerns of neoliberal agendas at play, dependent on access to state financing as well as their commercial success. Scottish universities are a significant drain on state coffers, with a key issue discussed in scholarship on Scottish education that of tuition fees and the 'traditional values' of free university tuition. To a large extent, it is incumbent upon universities to explore funding streams in order to remain sustainable and sufficiently resourced in order to deliver high quality education. At least since 2013, there have been concerns that, Holyrood will have to find more money for higher education (Kerevan, 2013, p.765; Sinclair, 2013). He sketches the extent of the financial burden by outlining the situation for the 10 UK universities in greatest debt in 2011, highlighting that three were Scottish: University of Aberdeen (£7.6m), Queen Margaret University (£159k) and Glasgow School of Art (£26k). By 2018, the combined deficit of Scotland's universities had doubled on the previous year to £48.7m before tax (Green, 2019, n.p.).

Public money constituted over 80% of university revenue as of the early 1970s. The machinery for giving effect to this funding without impairing university autonomy is the University Grants Committee, established in 1991 (Hunter, 1972, p.233). Post-devolution, regular Spending Reviews by the UK's HM Treasury determines budget allocations by Westminster including to the Scottish government (Bell, 2013, p.988). Each department, which includes the Scottish government as a department, makes a bid for resources, with the Treasury weighing up the strategic importance of the arguments and how spending proposals weigh up against likely future revenues from income tax, national insurance, VAT and so on. Political input reflects government priorities and commitments made to the UK electorate (Bell, 2013, p.989). These allocations are called DELs (Departmental Expenditure Limits). There is also money allocated to Scotland through the so-called Barnett formula, though the Scottish government is not obliged to spend this extra cash on education (ibid). Bell (2013) notes that the complex Barnett formula obviates direct negotiation between the Scottish and Westminster governments over the allocation of funding to Scotland. He sets out the flow of money, with DEL budgets channelled through the Scottish Funding Council, which he describes as "an arms length body" which carries out Scottish Government policy in relation to colleges, universities and the grants- and bursary-awarding Student Awards Agency (SAA) (Bell, 2013, p.989). Scotland's DEL budget is about 10% of the UK budget, proportionate to

the country representing approximately 10% of the UK population (ibid). Overall responsibility for “steering the system” in Scotland now lies with the SFC. The SFC is a non-departmental public body of the Scottish Government (Field, 2013, p.746). Its business is overseen by a Council Board of up to 16 representatives appointed by the First Minister of Scotland. While universities can raise money from a variety of sources, in Scotland the primary funding provider is the SFC (ibid). The SFC issues an annual “letter of guidance" to institutions it funds, "the context of which is largely shaped by the overarching priorities of the Scottish Government for the sector; in turn the SFC can advise ministers on all aspects of higher (and further) education” (ibid). The SFC acts as a "buffer" between the sector and the government, says Field. “While it does not intervene directly in the organisation and management of individual HEIs, its senior officers meet frequently with the principals, and pay visits to institutions under the Funding Council's Strategic Dialogue programme, to discuss policy and other issues” (ibid). The SFC discourages public scrutiny of its documents, including minutes of meetings, and has withheld a significant number of documents with the following notification: “This paper is withheld from publication on the Council website under the Freedom of Information (Scotland) Act 2002, Section 30: Prejudicial to the effective conduct of public affairs” (www.sfc.org). Details of board members are also not evident on the SFC website. An investigation of the engagement between the SFC and university principals is beyond the scope of this particular study.

Both colleges and universities receive public funding through the SFC, which in 2013-14 had a budget of around £1.6bn (Bell, 2013, p.1001). However, this education budget does not include the £300m contained in the Scottish budget to cover both student tuition fees and student support (ibid). This amount has increased rapidly, partly to compensate universities for not having been given the power to charge tuition fees, while comparable English institutions can charge each student up to £9,0000 per year, outlines Bell (ibid), adding that college funding has been cut more sharply than other parts of the education budget. “The colleges are almost completely dependent on government funding, while universities have significant sources of funding from teaching and research over which the Scottish Government has no control” (ibid). This is an interesting anomaly, suggesting that the Scottish government agenda to boost employability at higher education isn’t neatly aligned with the funding decisions. As Bell observes: “Colleges are perhaps closer to the needs of employers than are other parts of the education system: it has always proved difficult to ensure that college provision and employer needs are aligned, in a way that occurs, say, in Ger-

many" (Bell, 2013, p.1001). Ultimately change in an educational system is "controlled by shifts in budget allocations" (ibid).

While the governance structures — such as a university court — indicate a strong degree of autonomy in decision-making at universities, funding mechanisms lend themselves to government policymakers indirectly influencing the teaching and learning agenda. Funding controls have also brought to bear on decision-making. Academic groupings have changed in character, notes Field, as a result of cost controls and efficiency measures, with a reduction of organisational sub-units. Field (2013) draws attention to Stirling, which had 21 departments organised into four faculties in 2000 — but by 2011 had merged departments into seven schools and abolished faculties. More recent information about Stirling indicates that it has undergone another restructuring in 2016 to revert to faculties. The aphorism 'he who pays the piper calls the tune' is applicable to Scottish universities, with government control over funding to regulate and provide incentives intended to further educational priorities (Bell, 2013, p.987). With education budgets increasingly linked to quantifiable outcomes that can demonstrate how effectively money is being spent, this approach "focuses attention on the effectiveness and efficiency of the educational system" (ibid). There are also disadvantages, since it is almost impossible to design top-down targets that do not have unintended consequences" (ibid).

4.V CONCLUDING REMARKS

The intention of this chapter has been to set out the historical process through which employability came to be embedded into Scottish education, and into Scottish journalism education in particular. This is this dissertation's Research Question 1 and the answers to RQ1 are critical to understanding the following research questions surrounding the implementation of measures aimed at operationalising employability and the impact of this implementation on democracy and journalism. These latter two questions are the subject of the next chapter.

The focus on employability within journalism education is previously unexamined and provides important context for the interviews and document analysis that are the two main sources of data in this project. The dissertation has sought to tease out the political, social and institutional influences on employability within Scottish universities in order to excavate and analyse themes and concepts that address the broad research objective of establishing

how employability is understood and influences the development and delivery of university-level journalism education. This research has demonstrated how a range of employability-related influences, within Scotland as well as the UK, have played out across universities, by analysing secondary material from the specificity of an employability lens.

To summarise this chapter and the findings within it, Scotland shares many commonalities with education in the United Kingdom as a whole, though education is a devolved power and a growing divergence has taken place since devolution in the late 1990s, underpinned by Scotland's Presbyterian inclinations. It is clear that employability has been a fundamental part of Scottish education since the 19th Century. The idea that education should not only be available to the elite was based in Scotland's dominant Presbyterian ideology. Along with the democratic approach to electing leaders and strong sense of community, the Presbyterian emphasis that the mind is a gift from God to be nurtured (Faith Presbyterian Church) set the tone in Scotland for a higher education system that has emphasised democratic principles as well as undoubtedly playing a role in infusing curricula with an emphasis on lifelong learning and continual development.

It was from this early time that a range of pressures began to evolve that would give education in Scotland an increasingly utilitarian emphasis. As far back as the early 1900s, there were widespread doubts as to whether a curriculum designed primarily for educating ministers of religion and schoolteachers was effective in the development of entrepreneurs or in the specialist technical training which modern industry required (Sanderson, 1972, p.157 in Paterson, 2003, p.84).

The differentiation between higher education for vocational purposes and higher education for non-vocational purposes emerged at the start of the 1900s. This was because "increasingly the separation of academic and vocational qualifications came to be regarded as inadequate to meet the needs of a society in which knowledge was expanding and changing rapidly, and in which the employment market was demanding new skills over and above traditional forms of understanding. The convergence of these pressures meant that the case for a unified qualifications framework and single qualifications body was compelling" (Bryce & Humes, 2013, p.681).

A key driver of the employability agenda within the Scottish university system has been the importance of university education as well as further education in general as a driver of

economic growth. The Scottish government has also emphasised employability and the skills agenda, not only with universities and colleges, but also at schools level. This has given the Scottish Qualifications Authority (SQA), the state's accreditation and qualification awarding institution created in the Education (Scotland) Act 1996, considerable power in guiding curricula.

In Scotland, employability has been advanced through the push to encourage apprenticeships as a route to employment, with journalism-related jobs falling under the Creative Industries. However, while work-based learning has long been a feature of university programme development, gaining traction UK-wide as a concept after the publication of the Dearing Report (1997) (Foster & Stephenson 1998), and universities have been identified as central to apprenticeship development, major news industry employers do not appear to emphasise tertiary qualifications.

Much contemporary debate revolves around how to marry the practical and the theoretical aspects of university education. This debate has continued over the decades, and infuses journalism education as employers increasingly expect to hire graduates who can immediately integrate into the workforce and require little to no training. There is a constant refrain from Scottish employers that graduates lack practical skills, namely competency in communication, numeracy and the use of information technology.

The employability issue is raised in questions around what Scotland wants from its universities. There are no neat answers as Scottish policymakers and other stakeholders grapple over whether Scotland wants to "pass on the collective wisdom of humanity or to provide a passport to the best jobs", "act as the world's greatest research lab or to be an express lift to social mobility in a small country?" (Kerevan, 2013, p.754)

Definitions of employability on the whole have followed what university decision-makers think employers want now, with variances in how to define employability in a disrupted economy. Conflicting definitions of employability were identified in 2004 (Gedye et al, 2004, in Jackson & Day, 2007); these conflicts persist in university journalism education in Scotland. Instead of choosing whether to provide students with employability skills or help students find a job, as appeared to largely be the case in 2004, Scotland's journalism educators are trying to do a bit of everything: develop job-specific skills and create opportunities to find jobs through assessments that develop and demonstrate an ability to produce commercial

news outputs. It seems apparent, too, that universities are not specifically preparing graduates to innovate and play a role in improving the fortunes of an industry that is under significant pressure and is a vital organ in a democracy. Instead the weighting in curricula is on immediate employability and early career success, while longer-term employability is in the background of teaching and learning delivery within Scottish university journalism programmes.

Scottish universities have been traditionally closely linked with the commercial world, in particular through business and engineering. Signalling the push towards reforming universities into businesses, they were encouraged in the latter part of the 20th century to reform their management structures in favour of hierarchical structures and professional managers. A large body of literature has developed on this so-called increase in the marketisation of university education.

This chapter has highlighted the growing importance of Further Education (FE) in Scotland was highlighted with the establishment of the Scottish Further Education Funding Council (SFEFC) in 1998 and its ambitious targets. The resulting and dramatic expansion in higher education provision “proved the single most revolutionary institutional reform between World War Two and the advent of the Scottish Parliament…It initiated a continuous (if not accelerating) expansion of higher education that has continued till the present day” (Kerevan, 2013, p.757).

It is worth noting that there are other drivers that are likely to become increasingly important in future, not least of all, the increasing internationalisation of universities — not only in Scotland but globally. These themes are explored in the next chapter, in so far as they address the research questions, which focus on how academics in this century have adapted to the employability agenda.

What is clear from my research is that employability emerged from a particular historical context in which Scottish religious, democratic and political ideologies converged over time to privilege it. Employability continues to be a major lodestone of Scottish educational policy in the 21st Century and the articulation of employability a key and enduring theme of Scottish university education.

CHAPTER FIVE: FINDINGS & ANALYSIS - INTERVIEWS, DOCUMENTS

5.I OVERVIEW

This chapter deals with the findings and analysis of research undertaken through interviews and an analysis of documents pertinent to addressing the research questions that, to recap, aim to explore how Scottish universities responded to their understanding of the imperative of employability in journalism education, and the implications of current patterns in Scottish journalism education for employability, democracy and for quality, independent journalism. For clarification, the research questions ask: How employability came to be articulated within Scottish university journalism education (RQ1); How Scottish universities, and in particular journalism education personnel, have responded to their understanding of the imperative of employability in journalism education? (RQ2); and: What the implications are of current patterns in Scottish journalism education for employability, democracy and for quality, independent journalism. The research question around how employability came to be articulated within Scottish university journalism education has been answered, with reference to the historical roots and influences, in Chapter Four and will be referenced again in the concluding chapter.

It is important to recall the organising principles for how the analysis has been conducted in this dissertation and, therefore, how the findings have been identified and organised. The research in this study is rooted in my own specific skills around interviewing and in the interpretation and analysis of interview data. For this, I have specific training (Federal Bureau of Investigation certification in interviewing techniques which I underwent as an investigative reporter) along with more than two decades of experience in conducting expert interviews and then analysing the data. This training and experience means that identifying key themes is not a random or haphazard process, but the result of specific and extensive training. This practitioner approach to qualitative data collection is supported and informed by current methodology literature, to which I have alluded previously, and is implemented methodically and systematically. Ritchie (2003) highlights four classifications of qualitative research: contextual, describing the form or nature of what exists; explanatory, examining the reasons for, or associations between what exists; evaluative, which entails appraising the effectiveness of what exists; and generative, aiding the development of theories, strategies or actions (p.27). All of these classifications are relevant for addressing the research out-

comes of this PhD project, which broadly intends to excavate and explain the contours of the employability question from the lived experiences of key participants within a narrowly restricted organisational context.

Prior to categorisation, interview data was organised through methods of collection and transcription (Dey 2003, p.87). Reading and annotating “encompasses integration — relating various parts of data to other parts, or to the data as a whole. It involves assimilation — relating the data to previous knowledge” (Dey, 2003, p.87). This was a core and systematic process in this study. For the purposes of analysing the transcripts, reading and annotating was conducted by the researcher. Common points that were made across interviews were highlighted by colour-coding (Stottok, 2011, and Smallman & Boynton, 1993), as were new and interesting observations that helped to develop a detailed picture of how journalism academics have responded to employability and how this aspect has been incorporated in programmes.

These points were also examined in relation to documents gathered for the purposes of this study. This thematic analysis ascribed to the concept (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p.15) of the “keyness" of a theme not necessarily being dependent on quantifiable measures –- but in terms of whether it captures something important in relation to the overall research question”. In the identification of these key themes, as I have mentioned, I have specific and extensive experience. While there is no one way to undertake thematic analysis, it is acknowledged that it is a process that can be individualised as it can entail going back and forth from the research planning phase through transcribing to writing up the findings and reflecting on themes in relation to the research questions (Braun & Clarke, 2006). There is scope, then, to link personal experience and skills to thematic analysis as a methodology. Thematic analysis was employed in the document analysis, which is addressed in the next section.

Approaches to document analysis tend to focus on the content of documents, which includes inter alia words, images, ideas or patterns (Prior, 2008, in Hard et al, 2018). Recognising that the presence of specific words or phrases can be important, content analysis identifies key terms and their frequency of use (ibid). Document analysis can be defined as an analytic procedure that “entails finding, selecting, appraising (making sense of), and synthesising data contained in documents” (Bowen, 2009, p.28). “It yields data — excerpts,

quotations, or entire passages — that are then organised into major themes, categories, and case examples specifically through content analysis (Labuschagne, 2003)" (ibid).

Altheide (2000) states that the main emphasis in qualitative document analysis can be on "discovery and description, including search for underlying meanings, patterns, and processes, rather than mere quantity or numerical relationships between two or more variables" (p.294). This approach, too, is worth emphasising as it represents my approach, supported by methodology scholars. "Like all research, it is interpretive, but it remains empirical, meaning that instances of certain meanings and emphases can be identified and held up for demonstration" (ibid, p.294). Although the emphasis is on description, this is not descriptive. Content analysis facilitates the development of specific contexts for enquiry (Altheide, 2000).

In this PhD study, there was an attempt to break up data, make new connections, identify common themes and differences between journalism programmes. Graphic approaches were used, too, with colour-coding of key themes and concepts aimed at facilitating the drawing of links and identifying gaps between programmes in so far as the employability agenda is concerned (see appendices 2,3 and figure 3, p.154). This is an acceptable method of analysis of complex interactions, indicating key concepts and their linkages (Dey, 2003, p.51). At the analysis stage, categorising data can be a powerful tool for organising analysis, both conceptually and empirically. Further, it is also worth noting the call from within the field to expand the focus on challenges and innovations in global journalism education to include new and under-researched areas such as Scotland (Goodman & Steyn, 2017).

With these principles clarified, let me then go to present the findings based on the approaches and methodologies set out above. I will present these findings under the appropriate research question subject to facilitate the drawing of conclusions.

5.II RESPONDING TO IMPERATIVE OF EMPLOYABILITY

Employability is a recurring theme in discussions about education provision and in university marketing documentation. One individual interviewed for the study encapsulates the overall message from participants, namely that there has been a "tightening up" at an insti-

tutional level on how employability is being addressed within programmes, and not only journalism. “There’s been a concern that perhaps there has not been enough emphasis on employability in the past…It’s one of the reasons why the employability strategy was developed, the new one, and within that it is identified that there will be a check of module descriptors, and so on, to check that these things are built in and that they are being delivered”. There is also “a heavy emphasis on the fact that we need to be working much more closely with the employers, and that employers should be involved with the development and the implementation and the evaluation of our courses, as appropriate obviously, depending on the particular discipline”.

However, the concept of employability is far from neat (Tymon, 2013; Jackson & Day, 2007) and this is reflected in Scotland’s university journalism provision. Employability is seldom explicitly defined and, where there are attempts, it becomes apparent that there is no black-and-white answer, but, at best, varying perspectives on its key features. This study finds that this picture is reflected in Scotland’s university journalism programme corridors where there is ambiguity and inconsistency around its definition and application. As a lecturer re-marked to peers in a private peer group panel discussion, observed under Chatham House rules, in Edinburgh in 2016 of the challenge of defining employability and implementing a strategy to achieve learning outcomes: “What do we do with the concept of employability? It is like sustainability. It is designed to be ambiguous.”

Highlighting the generic nature of the overarching concept of employability, a former journalism programme director (D) defines it as: “Graduates having the skills they need in the industry that they are interested in, so apart from the degree itself, actually having skills to become attractive to employers.” Another participant describes employability as ensuring that graduates can hit-the-ground running. He states: “What we want to make sure of is that when graduates complete their study, they can move into a job and do that job well without having to learn a whole lot of new skills to enable them to do their first jobs.” He elaborates that the picture is more complex:

> “It is clearly important that individuals understand that they are at the beginning of their learning journey and at the beginning of their professional career, and so they need to be equipped with the life skills, the attitude, the approach, and the building blocks of other disciplines and skills that they can use to help progress their career to wherever their destination is — whether that’s to be the next great producer, or editor of a newspaper.”

The devil is in the detail, however, and this can make it challenging to address employability. Detailed descriptors attempt to map these outcomes to discipline-specific measurable outcomes, as the UWS (2018) example shows[2]. The objectives of knowledge and understanding, for example, linked to three key learning outcomes: develop a detailed knowledge and understanding of media law and regulatory and ethical frameworks which affect news production, circulation and consumption; demonstrate a broad knowledge and understanding of local, Scottish, UK, EU politics and international relations; and, evaluate the roles and responsibilities the news media has in society and key issues surrounding this. Its practice outcomes are equally generic, citing the demonstration of an ability to produce and structure copy and also copy for the broadcast media among the outcomes as well as the development of specialist journalism knowledge in areas such as broadcast, online and print and online sports news. The descriptors do not clarify what knowledge and skills that achieve specific teaching and learning outcomes look like in practice, leaving these details to module convenors, programme managers and lecturers. In turn, these individuals put their own stamps on course delivery, which indicates that the delivery of the employability agenda is interpreted and influenced by academics.

In the case of journalism, in many instances module convenors do not have discipline-specific postgraduate qualifications as would be encountered in another discipline but are in fact from practitioner backgrounds, and arguably this would lead to a vocational bias in teaching and learning. A north/south, Scotland/England-Wales divide, with Scottish universities lagging the rest of the UK in journalism provision, has been previously noted. Postgraduate diplomas in journalism marked the appearance of journalism in Scotland's university degree programmes in the 1980s, but were not valued as critical in securing employment or advancing careers in journalism (C, M, W, P). The lack of higher degrees has not disadvantaged these individuals in an academic workplace, either, with credence given in Scotland to their career trajectories and standing in the news industry as is the norm in the UK, with the latter explained by Frost (2019) of the UK picture.

Furthermore, academics who are research-active and have established themselves as career academics are under pressure to produce research that complies with research outcomes that may have no link to the employability requirements of graduates. There is often a mismatch between what academics are teaching and the research on their list of publications (G). States one interviewee of the status quo in Scotland: "There is a tension between

[2] It is worth reiterating here that, as stated in the methodology chapter, UWS has made its documents publicly available and therefore this example was selected on the basis of accessibility to information.

research and teaching and the fact that at research-intensive institutions clearly the priority is research and therefore that takes time away from teaching. Often, if people are getting funds, they use the funds to buy themselves out of teaching so that they can effectively do their research." On the other hand, there is no strong pull to encourage the development of research-active journalism lecturers and practice-minded lecturers articulate a deliberate move away from non-practical work. "There's no point in getting me to do academic stuff. I'm a journo and I know my way about a newsroom. I know how to help kids get on," says one participant, who holds the status of a professor. Grappling with theoretical work, he states, is "fine for academics, but it's no good for employers…If we are talking about employability, they have to come out with enhanced CVs", says the interviewee of journalism graduates. Another practice-minded lecturer goes as far as to highlight that there is a "degree of prejudice" towards university students in the industry, and that this would mitigate against over-emphasising non-vocational dimensions of a university education. The latter is picked up again, later in this chapter. It is evident that journalism education in Scotland has been caught on the horns of a dilemma, in which the pull to generate research is often contrary to the demands of employers for particular skills.

5.IIa Employability: Generic skills development

Interpretations of employability in the corpus of this study, specifically with reference to generic employability skills, are broadly in line with definitions and understandings as conveyed by government, commerce and in academic literature. This relates, as one participant states, to the ability to "see the world as how it might be", as opposed to being "taught to deal with the world as it is". Another participant relates generic employability to an ability to work in teams and to nurture relationships with contacts and navigate minefields of personal politics in the industry, saying: "[Some] talk about a skills gap, I keep talking about a relationship gap." A third interviewee elaborates on the details of how building a good relationship with key contacts is based on "life experience skills" and a "better chance of knowing how to work with other people and a better chance of knowing the importance of those skills — reliability, punctuality, communication and team-working" and, in a nutshell, understanding how to reflect "a better attitude" in the work place. A fourth interviewee says that an ability to "knock on doors" — a reference to be pushy in obtaining information from potential sources of information — is part of the generic requirement. Furthermore, he articulates this "better attitude" as follows: "They are willing to learn and they don't come in with 'I know it all'". Demonstrating the point that not possessing these generic skills can work

against a graduate, the interviewee tells how a student on a work placement called 999 looking for a police spokesperson, eliciting a complaint from the police chief constable because the student had unnecessarily taken up police emergency time. “Why would you do that? You phone normal police numbers. I don’t know what she was thinking. I think she just hadn’t taken anything in,” continues the interviewee, elaborating that rounds of check calls were included in training ahead of work placements. Other participants underscore that basic challenges of employment are essential requirements, also pointing out a need for graduates to be able to demonstrate a skill as foundational as using a telephone appropriately with the right social etiquette and what might be seen by some as common sense, and can be as crucial as journalism-specific skills’ development. States one interviewee:

> “I would interpret transferable skills as skills that are useful in a range of different jobs and job sectors and are probably more to do — I suppose in my personal view — about attitude and what they call soft employment skills, about turning up on time, being ambitious, being keen, and understanding how to work the phones. Believe it or not, here it’s sometimes an issue with young people.”

One participant (G) translates the common sense gap as a lack of confidence among students in general in Scotland, and asserts that this is being addressed through personal development planning and work on helping students to become more reflective about their skills and professional development. Furthermore, there is a discernible move to introduce problem-based learning, which flips learning so that you start with an issue, explore it and allow students to identify how to address a problem, rather than a case of: “I’ll teach you everything about it and then we’ll start looking at the problem.”

These sentiments, when distilled, concur with definitions traced in the literature review. Transferable skills can be defined as “skills that are central to occupational competence in all sectors and at all levels" (Department for Education and Employment 1997 in Chadha, 2015, p.19), though the reality is that the understanding of what transferable skills are can vary. These generic skills are sometimes referred to as "soft skills” in the literature. Employment agencies list skills such as time management, listening and leadership (reed.co.uk) on job criteria; meanwhile, academics are constantly dissecting the details of what transferable skills are or should be. Van Laar et al (2017) state that 21st century skills “are more related to the current economic and social developments than those of the past century characterised as an industrial mode of production” (p.577). They point to collaboration, communication, digital literacy, citizenship, problem solving, critical thinking, creativity

and productivity among the key transferable skills. One interviewee suggests that transferable skills in relation to the media “are more specifically around the ubiquity of digital technology…and the range of digital technology techniques so that you could be flexibly employed in the sector.”

These ideas about transferable skills are evident across journalism programmes. As is a similar picture at other universities, and programmes across the university, UWS (2019) cites the following high level generic learning outcomes, which combine skills that are central to occupational competence in all sectors (Chadha, 2006), and which are relevant for a world in which computer literacy is essential: knowledge and understanding; applied knowledge and understanding; communication, ICT and numeracy skills; generic cognitive skills such as problem solving, analysis and evaluation; and autonomy, accountability and working with others. Reflecting a university sector attempt to provide students with broad employability skills (Jackson & Day, 2007; De la Harpe et al, 2000), transferable skills, or generic skills like the ability to present work confidently in public fora, are emphasised as is the need for individuals to be prepared to constantly reinvent themselves throughout their careers. UWS, for example, outlines transferable skills and graduate attributes as ranging from report writing and delivering presentations to working in teams and volunteering. "Some abilities you will develop include, thinking critically and creatively, and in an analytical manner whilst being able to work effectively independently and collaboratively as part of a team,” it tells prospective students. Glasgow Caledonian University (2019) lists transferable skills as: self-promotion and self-presentation (CV development and interview skills); career management and personal development planning; setting and achieving objectives (for project management); business ethics and etiquette; reflective learning; creativity and entrepreneurship. Similar points are made by the other universities that offer journalism.

Transferable skills tend to be embedded in modules throughout the four-year journalism programme delivery in Scotland. As an example, UWS (2018) tells applicants that developing key transferable skills and academic literacy, as well as, illustrating understanding of the citizenship more broadly will be made explicit in assessments approaches and these will be progressive throughout the programme. Other universities have similar messages. GCU (2018) tells its first-year students that seminar workshops will support transferable skills development in team-building, leadership, communication and project management. The assessments that students are expected to undertake include a mix that develops and tests transferable skills as well as instrumental skills. A staple is group work presentations that create opportunities for students to work in teams and develop leadership abilities as well

as practical abilities to plan, structure and deliver public presentations, while the fourth year dissertation or journalism project creates the opportunity for students to work on time management and project management by conceptualising and delivering a larger, complex piece of work to deadline.

Although generic skills are emphasised in employability outcomes of journalism modules, generic skills required to obtain a job — such as producing a curriculum vitae and interview preparation (Helyer and Lee 2014) — are, in the main, part of university-wide career guidance and provided by a career development office. The GCU Careers office, as an example, provides guidance on writing covering letters and building a CV, provides an online interview simulator to help prepare students for job interviews, shares a company directory for students to explore a data base of possible employers and also enables their students to practice psychometric and aptitude tests (2019). Robert Gordon University offers similar interactive online job preparation. Edinburgh Napier University highlights access to CV and interview preparation workshops and employer events and goes as far as giving Scottish-domiciled students the chance to be matched with a workplace-based mentor (2019).

The move towards harmonisation of higher education across Europe has resulted in a greater emphasis on transferable skills, according to Andrews and Higson (2014). This pattern is evident in Scotland's university journalism sector. Robert Gordon, for example, gets the message across that transferable skills are critically important for students who enter journalism careers, noting that its "course imparts a wide range of key transferable skills in research, oral presentation techniques, time management and IT skills; all of which are imperative for the wider media profession" (2018/19). UWS, in its programme specification (2018/19), provides an example of how universities are explicitly aiming to develop soft skills to enhance employment opportunities and career success for its graduates:

> "Personal development is embedded and explicitly signposted in the curriculum, with students provided with regular opportunities to capture and evaluate progression and development, stimulating reflection, self-regulation and a more constructive engagement with employability. It is recognised that personal development planning is an essential component of lifelong learning and continuing and professional development. To support this activity, all students are provided with access to personal development planning tools and enabled to develop a personal e-portfolio across the programme."

The requirements to be adaptable, creative and have the right attitude are catered for in the generic focus on transferable skills across all degree programmes, not only journalism. In addition, there has been a recent push to further develop "the life skills, the attitude, the approach" (S) within the cultural context of a large number of young people who do not have the "right approach, the right attitude" (S) when in employment. This problem is arguably linked to UK-specific social and political issues and has been identified by academics, employers and accreditation bodies as cause for concern when contemplating the longer-term economic productivity metrics of Great Britain (A, G). The development of transferable skills is an issue university-wide, notes one participant, who argues:

> "We have to recognise and make students aware of the fact that technology is moving very quickly, so that they can actually for themselves identify with the fact that they need to keep up-to-date and therefore essentially develop the propensity and ability to become a life-long learner…We need to give them the skills and ability to be able to cope with [real world] complex problems and change - essentially, about the only constant is change."

The point made by this participant concurs with evidence in the literature that in Scotland there is a strong emphasis on life-long learning development (Bryce et al, 2013, see Historical Contextualisation chapter).

There is the question of whether journalism degrees need to accomplish more than provide journalism-specific skills. As one former editor interviewed for this study remarks: "Probably 60 percent of our journalism students are going to end up in Public Relations in some form or other. Even journalists want a bit of security, stability and a pension at the end of the day, so there is an inevitable drift into what seems to be a safer space. The reality is that, if we're trying to set our students up for a lifetime, then there probably needs to be more". Another interviewee states that this trend is evident in the news broadcast sector, too, where there are relatively few jobs in television and film companies. "More of the paid work is in corporate communications, the public relations side of things" (F). A senior trainer with a national broadcaster (L) noted that there is an overlap between public relations and journalism, particularly among the freelance community, with full-time journalism employees routinely moonlighting in public relations roles in order to earn extra income.

Yet, this awareness that there are likely to be probably more jobs in public relations, corporate communications and related fields in relation to the shrinking news jobs' pool has not

spawned the development of related modules within journalism degrees. At the time of writing, only GCU and Stirling appeared to be running an Introduction to Public Relations module. Not yet on the radar of Scotland's university educators, meanwhile, is the burgeoning content marketing industry, which uses journalism skills and techniques to produce corporate content that has the hallmarks of journalism. This is even though the content marketing sector overlaps and competes with public relations practitioners for a slice of the growing marketing budget allocated to non-advertising spend and employs journalism techniques (Baer, 2012; Spinuzzi & Wall, 2018). In this respect, journalism education in Scottish universities is not adequately preparing students for their likely careers.

5iib Defining employability: Preparation for immediate work

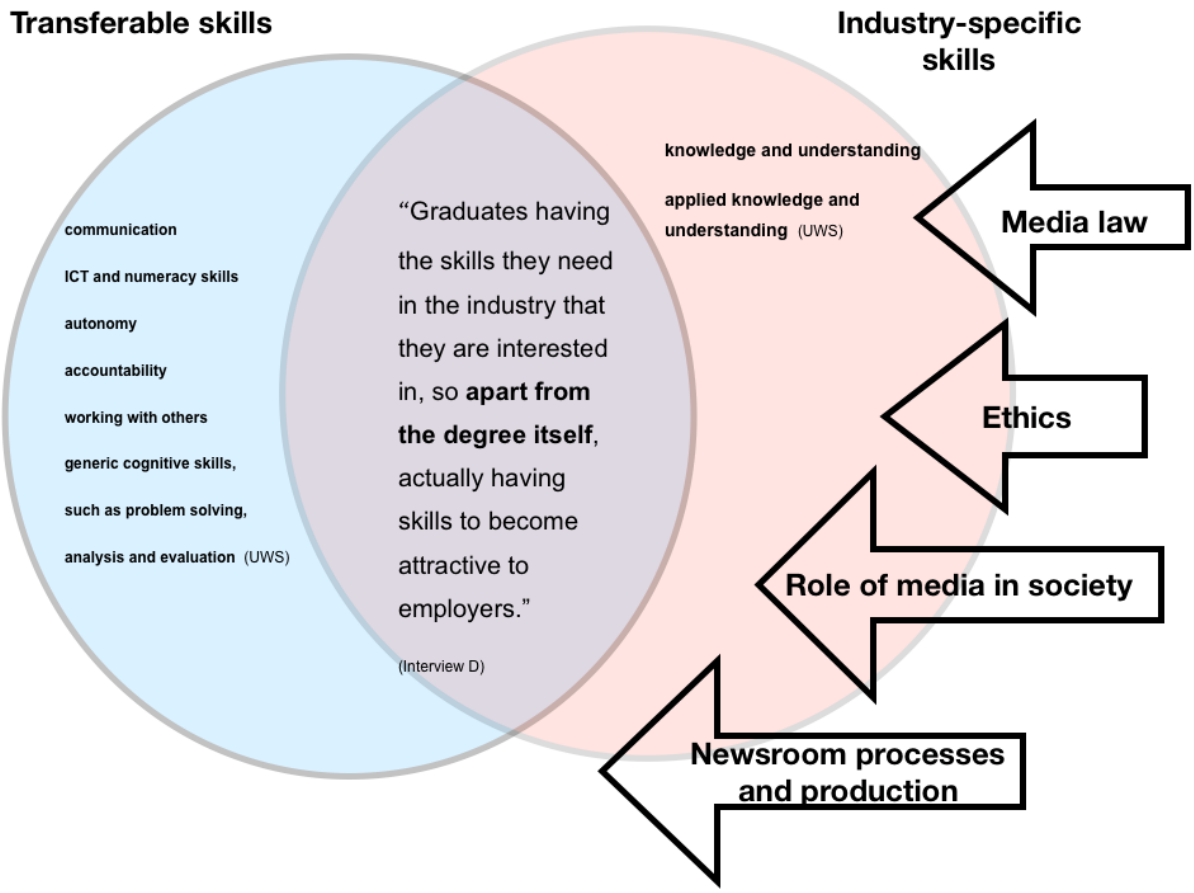
Across academia, there is a divide between individuals who believe that university journalism education should specifically prepare students for success in the workplace and others who value the non-vocational purposes of education and, therefore, towards relying on indirect preparation for employment, for example through the development of critical thinking and other university-acquired competencies (A, D, W, X, Y, Z). This is reflective of a theme in university education in the UK in general (Gedye et al, 2004, in Jackson & Day, 2007). Participant X summarises the dilemma for academics: "What do we do with the concept of employability? Do we respond by cutting more theory? Or do we try to do both?". Employers and educators can have different perspectives on best practice. States interviewee Q: "If you're looking at the world of employment, and how employers are reacting then you cannot look at it through academic eyes. If you look at it through academic eyes, that's fine but you will get a different outcome to the one that you perhaps wanted to get". B expresses concern about an over-emphasis on theory: "I am still nervous when we do two or three-thousand word essays…Maybe [students] are developing an in-depth ability to question, to analyse, to investigate, to research — but are they really doing it in a way that's going to benefit them in the real world?"

Most Scottish university journalism programme website landing pages, as of 2018 and 2019, display a commitment to helping students work towards relevant employment as soon as possible after graduation. For example, the University of Stirling states of its BA (Hons) Journalism Studies Programme: "Everything you do will deepen your understanding of how professional journalists operate across broadcast, online and print media –- and by the time you graduate, you'll be ready to take your place among them" (2019). GCU emphasises how it nurtures students to increase their potential to gain relevant employment as

soon as possible after graduation, with a promise to: "Provide students with the necessary journalistic knowledge and skills to equip them to begin a career in general, local or national, press, broadcast or online journalism" (2018). Edinburgh Napier takes a similar line. The latter is very specific about how the course will deliver on employability objectives: "Students who can build rounded, detailed skillsets – encompassing first-class information gathering, writing, radio and TV package creation (including the technical operation of equipment and editing software), and digital know-how (including basic coding, website design and app building) –- will be best equipped for the challenges of professional practice and finding a job" (2018).

UWS also draws a direct link between its journalism course and a job as a journalist: "Graduates are equipped to work in newsrooms and with the essential skills to compete within a multimedia environment" (2018). The details of the skills profiles being targeted are discussed in more depth in subsequent sub-sections, as these flow out of the multiple influences on academics and challenges faced by them in achieving their objectives.

Figure 2: Developing transferable and industry-specific skills



* This figure is based on information from interviews, documents and aims to summarise in a visual way the key ways journalism educators are tackling the concept of employability.

5.iic Employability has moved into sharper focus

As set out in the literature review and in the historical contextualisation, ultimately political pressure has had a role in throwing the concept of employability into sharp relief, with politicians and university mandarins pushing from the top and students and their parents adding pressure from the side. This study finds that in Scotland, as is the case elsewhere journalism education is "a product of larger social and political conditions" (Banda et al 2007, p.

157). “The government has made it very clear in its guidance through the funding councils that employability is extremely high on their priority list,” states G. Module descriptors that include dimensions of employability are a compulsory requirement, built into courses to guide teachers and remind them to keep focused on the key learning outcomes in all programme delivery (G). The push to emphasise employability is coming from the top and from outside of organisations with generic employability objectives being pushed through module descriptors (D, W). States a senior academic (A), of the picture in 2016: “We didn’t seem to talk about employability for many years and now we talk about it constantly.” Underscoring the increasing importance of employability as a feature of course delivery in the contemporary era of burgeoning journalism student numbers, a lecturer who comes from a practitioner background, and does not have a PhD as is routinely required for an academic role at a Scottish university, reflects on the reason he was given for being awarded a senior university job in 2015 over other lecturers who were more highly qualified — by dangling the carrot of enhancing employability of students. He says he impressed an interview panel with a raft of ideas for assessments that were “seen to be potentially addressing employability”.

Indicative of the institution-wide commitment to employability, the University of Stirling went as far as appointing an employability officer for the Faculty of Arts and Humanities, with a faculty-wide brief, by 2018: “This sends a signal to programme directors (including journalism) that employability is not an add-on anymore, it is core business and there are action plans that are emerging” (W). Interviewee W states: “Employability was written into the graduate attributes a few years ago, so it wasn’t explicitly there, but it is now and, because of that, strategically things follow and we need to be seen to be doing things again, so it’s just now getting measured.” The employability objectives set out by the UWS for its journalism programme illustrate how courses map back to broader institutional strategic requirements. In its programme specification for BA (Hons) Journalism/BA (Hons) Journalism (Sport) Single 2018/19, it states under the category “Employability Skills and Personal Development Planning:

> “The programme is fully aligned with institutional priorities around the development of graduate attributes and with the institutional policy on personal development planning. The mapping of programme and module learning outcomes and employability-integrated assessment ensures the visibility of graduate attributes, employability and citizenship competencies.”

Evidently, the focus on employability has not been the sole decision of journalism educators in Scotland, but has been in part the result of pressure from university administrators and managers as well as from students and parents.

5.iid Supply-demand influences on employability strategy

University management is under pressure to respond to student surveys by demonstrating a clear link between education delivery and job creation (Frost 2019) and to be accountable to funders and other stakeholders [see historical context chapter]. This push appears to be winning in Scotland, too, and is in line with the picture as described by Tymon (2013, p. 843): “From the higher education institution perspective, the argument is simple: league tables can affect student numbers, which in turn affects funding. Despite arguments about the correlation between employability skills development and actual employment, higher education institutions need good employment figures” (p.843).

Unlike Strathclyde, other universities that offer journalism highlight graduate destinations as evidence of success in making students employable. By way of example, GCU trumpets: “Graduates have embarked on careers with national and local organisations including the BBC, STV, The Herald, Daily Record, The Drum, news agency Deadline and local newspapers.” Statistical evidence about study-relevant employability success is not available (see Frith & Meech, 2007), however universities cover this chink in the armour with references to generic surveys that assess whether students are gainfully occupied within six months. As an example, the University of Stirling Arts & Humanities Faculty in 2018 stated: “Over 97% of University of Stirling undergraduate leavers are in employment or further study within six months of graduating (HESA DLHE, 2016/17), and we do everything we can to help you stand out from the crowd when the time comes to enter the world of work.” On Whatuni, a website that aggregates all programme details in an easy search format for students looking for places, most universities include statistics from HESA DLHE that indicate employment soon after graduation to highlight their employability credentials. In December 2018: Robert Gordon and Edinburgh Napier both claimed a 90% employment rate for graduates of its Journalism BA (Hons); UWS reported a 75% employment rate from its Journalism / Journalism (Sport) BA (Hons); GCU said it had a 95% employment rate from its Multimedia Journalism BA (Hons); University of Stirling reported a 70% employment rate. Strathclyde did not cite its employment rate on Whatuni for its suite of journalism BA (Hons) programmes as of 2018. None of these statistics reflect the extent to which journalism gradu-

ates are actually finding work in journalism, the key marketing device of virtually every programme.

5.iie News industry demands: A moveable, opaque feast

There is broad agreement among participants interviewed for this study that the news industry requires a wide, varied and moveable feast of skills, including those that aren't explicitly taught at university — like, most notably, entrepreneurship (A, B, C, P, Q, S, U). Some skills will become essential soon, in particular technology-based skills, yet it is not clear to industry participants what will be needed in the very near future, and these requirements constantly shift (A, B, L, P, Q, S). There is an inevitable ambiguity, because employers aren't necessarily clear about the best skills sets they need to add value to their businesses, which contributes to the challenges of academics researching these details through industry studies or successfully second-guessing what will be required to ensure a curriculum that delivers employability. Furthermore, there appears to be a lacuna in understanding the demands of industry, within the sector and in education. Interviewee M, an employer who has served on a university industry advisory panel, summarises the direction of travel that the news/journalism industry was on around 2014, with not many in industry, or academia, managing to embrace and take advantage of the new possibilities:

> "The industry still hasn't taken the digital world on board; the new opportunities to be achieved from cross-genre production, in apps and web development and television product and radio product and the written word. All of these are opportunities for the same product. Can you write a piece? Can you deliver it for radio? Can you do it for telly? Can you do it for mobile apps? Can you do it for a website? Can you put it on DVD? Can you sell it abroad? There are seven distribution opportunities there."

This paucity of industry stakeholders, in Scotland, who appear to be able or willing to engage in discussions about how academia can best address the requirements of the news industry persists, as noted in a recent PhD that addresses journalism education in a Scottish context (Hughes, 2017). A proliferation of practitioners working in journalism academia (as noted by participants A, B, C, F, M, L, P, Q, T), therefore, has apparently not translated into closer links with industry across the board, although pockets of collaboration exist that involve individuals in academia with industry ties (ibid). University educators have adapted programmes largely on the basis of the insights and know-how of practitioners who have

moved into academia and secondary knowledge gleaned from peer-reviewed research (ibid).

Adding to the complexity in journalism in the UK, and in Scotland, and arguably playing into an apparent vacuum in productive engagement between academics and industry stake-holders, is that the subject has had a difficult gestation period, suffering from an image problem from within academia as well as the news industry. This has not been the case in the US, where journalism was integrated into university eduction provision more than a cen-tury ago. Underscores a former editor (C): “In the 1990s, and probably still to some degree, there was a bit of prejudice amongst editors against students who studied journalism at un-dergraduate level.” UK commentators, and academics, have criticised programmes as lack-ing the academic gravitas of other degree programmes because of their vocational flavour and there is also a broad debate about whether higher education institutions are the best place to develop employability (Tymon, 2013). These debates are echoed in Scottish aca-demia (A, B, D, H). These drawbacks notwithstanding, Scottish journalism educators have pressed ahead with reshaping programmes to deliver on the requirement to be sharply fo-cused on employability outcomes, this study has found.

This ambiguity from an industry trying to survive amid tidal waves of change and falling ad-vertising revenue inevitably adds to the challenge of creating courses that deliver employa-bility. This, in turn, plays into a risk of relevance for journalism educators. As Calcutt and Hammond (2011) argue: journalism is at a crossroads and needs to “rediscover key activi-ties, almost certainly in new forms” or it could lose its commercial basis — as could univer-sity journalism programmes. By 2018, a siloed approach towards content development in that each media type was addressed more or less separately to reflect the boundaries be-tween television, radio and print, which has been the pattern elsewhere, was still evident across Scotland programme breakdowns. This pattern, reflected in documents (see Figure 2), suggests that academia had still not appropriately revolutionised the approach to teach journalism, as articulated by several interviewees in 2014 (M, S, T, U). My research sug-gests a continuing lacuna between industry and university journalism educators and a stub-born refusal to realign teaching to match current industry dynamics, such as convergence, instead of pre-digital silos such as print and broadcast.

5.iif Employability anchors journalism as a university degree

Although academics and industry players question whether there is a place for journalism as an academic subject, the subject has become entrenched and it can be argued that employability has played a significant role in anchoring the subject as a bona fide academic subject. The employability drive, it is argued here, has established journalism as a university degree following a period of uncertainty.

Reflecting the earlier tensions around the perceived value and role of the journalism degree in academia and industry and its place as a facilitator of employment — before employability gained traction as a degree outcome — there appears to have been some identity drift. This is seen with journalism as a course signifier constantly shifting, a point made by interviewees. The term "journalism" has had a transitory appearance in degree titles, featuring prominently in the early 2000s and more recently enhanced with the term "digital". In Scotland, the emphasis has historically been on film studies in conjunction with media studies whereas in England, there has been more of an emphasis on "periodical studies", says participant H. In Scotland, there was a largely unsuccessful movement to introduce a media studies higher – a very academic approach to the subject at school level (H). "The aim was to try to embed media education in the curriculum completely so that there was a progression running from primary school upwards" (H). Employability undercurrents appear to have pushed academia towards journalism. States X: "The rise of journalism studies comes from within media studies. It is not driven by intellectual debate. What drives and shapes the field is mostly policy and institutional needs to become more market-related and to tell a story around employability." This story around employability is a central feature of universities' outward-facing communications, as is discussed elsewhere in this chapter, for example the highlighting of real-world practical experience in curricula and links with current employers.

It can be argued that employability had historically been underplayed until the turn of the century because graduates were a relative scarcity up to the late 1980s in general, and not only in the news sector, and therefore there was no need to market the qualifications to employers. Employment for graduates "was not a problem at that time", notes one participant(I). In addition, as previously outlined in the literature review (Marr 2005), the Scottish news industry had no discernible appetite for graduates compared to other industry sectors, with employers — usually editors — favouring individuals who exhibited attributes such as a nose for news, tenacity, with a developed contact book of potential news sources and technical skills including shorthand and typing (I, Q). The career trajectory up a media organisation was not linked to formal education or qualifications. In the newspaper environment, the dominant news industry in Scotland throughout the period of this study (Dekavalla, 2015),

“you smoke and drank your way up to becoming an assistant editor", remarked one interviewee (P). Another participant (C) emphasises that the route into broadcast news also was not typically through academia: “Broadcasters in particular were quite keen on recruiting print journalists because they tended to have shorthand, they tended to be blooded, so they had knocked on doors in the dead of night when people had been killed, they sat through court cases, and they had covered pretty much any type of story they were ever likely to face. They were highly prized rather than the gilded graduates who just parachuted in to the BBC from Oxford and Cambridge.” To some extent, the impression that the “qualification for journalism is as much about talent and life experience as education” (Bjornsen, Hovden & Ottosen, 2007, p.383) prevails in Scotland’s academia just as it does in university journalism programme corridors elsewhere.“You don’t have to do anything, or have an academic background, to be a journalist. It's different to any of the other professions. It remains a trade that has techniques and standards attached to it, but in its essence, the things that you need are not necessarily directly coachable,” opines Q.

In the late 1990s, Scottish universities decided to intensify their efforts to attract students interested in journalism studies. Until then, students “had to go to London or Cardiff” for further studies (A, H, I). These efforts are linked, in part, to: a strategic plan by the SQA to bolster employment through an overhaul of education, encouraging as many young people as possible to complete tertiary education (Bryce & Humes, 2013); an acknowledgement of growing demand for journalism studies following the arrival of undergraduate journalism programmes (Frost, 2017); and also the neo-liberal shift by UK universities towards commercialisation (see Chapter 4).

Participants interviewed for this study confirm that journalism curricula development at Scotland’s universities has been caught up in a maelstrom of university and national politics, with the explosion of journalism courses linked to the centrality of employability as a goal of university education (A, H, X). Core journalism eduction delivery was primarily in the hands of, firstly, employers and, later, colleges (A, B, I, H, L, P), with the traditional route into a journalism career straight out of school to a local newspaper. Cub reporters would be sent on day-release to study at vocational colleges, like the College of Commerce in Glasgow or College of Commerce in Edinburgh. “You would spend six weeks and then you’d go back into your newspaper,” and in this way work towards an NCTJ qualification (C, H, Q, P). The introduction of new technologies in the late 1980s/early 1990s in the print sector – for example from type-setting in print rooms to incorporating this in design and lay-out through computer packages – was a time of “massive change” (P). The development of journalism-

related subjects within universities coincides with industry divestment of in-house training programmes (A, B, C, L, P, Q). “There were big demands from unions to retrain people, people who had certain capabilities who couldn’t follow the job” (ibid). Scottish universities were initially kept out of the loop, with much of this training in-house as many printing technicians moved into journalism after receiving training on Quark Xpress (H). Funding for colleges also changed at that time. “This acted as an incentive to try to get as many students to do courses as possible –- as opposed to controlling a small number of quality students” (H). Certainly journalism curricula have been subject to both university and national politics with employability and access to education key drivers.

5.iig Countering vocational “creep”: Dissertations, critical thinking

As information is now more freely available through the Internet, curricula have shifted from knowledge transfer to critical evaluation of knowledge, which in turn means courses that have been lean on developing critical thinking abilities have had their theoretical dimensions enhanced. This is not only in journalism, but across the board (C, D, G, H). “The content has become less important in terms of delivering it, because it is far more accessible. It’s not just held within a book. It’s out there and it’s much more accessible to people. An acknowledgement that content taught in lectures and seminars is going to be redundant very quickly means that academics are increasingly less likely to focus on detail” (G). Instead, states H: “You’re focusing on principles and concepts and transferable information and transferable skills –- which again comes into the employability side of things”.

While it can be argued that journalism is a global endeavour (Goodman & Steyn, 2017), there are inevitably differences in the skills and knowledge requirements from country to country (ibid). Therefore, this emphasis on critical skills development is of benefit to international students who are studying journalism in Scotland and who will have little use for UK-specific knowledge. In addition, emphasising the development of critical thinking mirrors an international awareness among scholars of the need to develop a reflective journalist (Deuze, 2001; Holm, 2002). Likewise Frost (2017) states of the whole UK picture: “The journalism academy continues to be career-oriented.” However, while the analysis of documents — in particular the module breakdown of programmes — suggests that Scotland’s university journalism education in the main is weighted towards work and career development, rather than broad critical thinking development (see Figure 3, p.155), there is a discernible shift towards enhancing critical thinking abilities within Scotland’s universities that

have been traditionally vocationally oriented (B, H, S). This shift is particularly evident in the fourth-year dissertation or journalism project requirement (see appendix 2).

Although post-1992 universities have emerged from a vocational background, all require dissertations, which are grounded in theory and require the application of academic research skills (see appendix 2). This is arguably a response to criticisms that students at those institutions were losing out on the development of critical thinking abilities (H), a key strength of the more established universities. On the other hand, a dissertation is not compulsory for journalism students at the University of Stirling, which in turn arguably indicates a drift towards the traditional delivery provided by post-1992 universities. Journalism projects as an alternative to an honours year research dissertation have been developed as a way to give university students exposure to real-world practice (C, U), which in turn indicates that the more traditional university has moved closer in character to the post-1992 institution. This is also evident at Strathclyde, which aggressively promotes the research credentials of its team and underplays vocational outcomes for journalism graduates, yet has a journalism dissertation that is a dissertation in name but looks like a dissertation-lite. The word count requirement (6,000 to 8,000 words) is short relative to the dissertation required at Stirling (10,000 to 12,000 words), with the details resembling the journalism project at Stirling: “The ‘special project’ journalism dissertation should consist of 10,000 words of journalism and 2,000 words of critical analysis/reflection.”

Two universities appear to require students to do both: an academic dissertation and a journalism project (see appendices 2, 3). Robert Gordon and GCU list the research project and journalism project as credit-bearing. The tilt towards traditional dissertations at post-1992 universities may reflect a growing institutional push to enhance academic credibility. This is allied to a university-wide focus on academic research to bolster credentials in research rankings. Of the six universities, only Edinburgh Napier (number 30 in the UK) and Stirling (number 40 in the UK), appeared in the 2014 REF rankings in the Times Higher Education Supplement in 2014 36 where journalism is included under the category: Communication, Cultural and Media studies, Library and Information management. The move towards giving students the opportunity to undertake a practice-oriented project at Strathclyde and Stirling may reflect requirements to appeal more to consumer-savvy students looking to enhance their employability. The emphasis on dissertations at post-1992 universities and the shift to journalism projects at their traditionally more academic sisters is just one result of a discernible move by 1960s universities to develop a strong vocational focus in their courses, while 1992 universities have highlighted theoretical components in their

courses. In Scotland in recent years, universities have shifted their journalism courses in character towards each other and, in the process, university journalism provision has become homogenous.

5.III Implications for democracy and quality journalism

This chapter now turns to the question of how the role of the journalist as a force for good in a democracy is accommodated in the development of teaching and learning that enhances employability. While this is a line of enquiry that is arguably very west-centric (Hanitzsch & Vos, 2018), it is seen to be a necessary strand of investigation. This is because, as outlined in a previous chapter, the Scottish media became the primary communicators of a developing political culture in Scotland with the devolution of parliamentary power in the late 1990s (Schlesinger, 1998; Higgins, 2006; Dekavalla, 2009), with an in-depth study of Scottish newspaper content in 2001 and 2005 — the post-devolution period — finding that "'Scottish' debates take place in isolation within an exclusively Scottish space and among exclusively Scottish participants" (Dekavalla, 2009, p.303).

It is therefore arguably relevant to aim to understand how equipping journalism graduates to play a meaningful role in the development of a democratic political culture very specific to Scotland sits alongside, or within, the employability agenda, which is one of the broader objectives of this research. This theme is explored in-depth.

5.IIIa **Democratic responsibilities: A product of craft, not attitude**

A key finding of this research is that Scottish universities are not adequately addressing the requirement to develop Scotland's democratic political culture. This omission is also reflected in a conspicuous gap in the skills requirements identified by the government, which emphasises, instead: Skills gaps and shortages, particularly around ICT skills; the importance of communication skills, digital and computing skills; demand and expectations at entry level; and, business skills linked to commercial sustainability (Skills Development Scotland, 2017, p.43). With the news media subsumed into the creative industries, the imperative to hold the powerful to account, at best, appears to fade into the background of curricula.

In Scotland, as elsewhere, there is an additional challenge: the post-truth phenomenon is threatening the credibility and future of the news industry. This in turn raises questions about what journalism educators can do to fight back (Goodman, 2017, p.2), and ultimately

maintain their own employability. Deuze (2006a) notes that journalism is generally considered to contribute to the well-being of society. This belief reflected in a paradigmatic debate on whether a programme or curriculum prepares journalists for future employment or educates “super citizens” who continually reflect critically on the news industry (p.24). The justification for having a role in the governance of society through a claim to act on behalf of the public is at the heart of the debate on whether journalists can rightly claim to be professionals (Bossio, 2014). Many argue that the vocation of the journalist to serve a public good creates the justification for teaching journalism at universities — with its presence in university education a contentious and widely debated point — in the first place. “[F]undamentally it is the ideal of journalism as a profession that serves the public which rationalises the premise that the young field belongs in a university (Carey, 1996, in Macdonald, 2006, p. 746). Therefore, it can be argued that this is a critical issue for Scotland’s academics involved in journalism education provision.

This study finds that in Scotland, the objective of the development of journalists who can serve the interests of a democracy appears to be over-run by more pressing concerns that tap into the requirements of turning out students who can be immediately successful in a high-pressure workplace. This is partly because it is obvious to all participants that, with more journalism students than there are jobs, and with many journalism students not studying the subject because they want to be journalists but because they seek a practical subject, very few graduates will make their way into a news industry where they can assert an influence on the political landscape.

This high-student-intake-to-job ratio is of concern to many educators (A, B, D, F, G, H, Q, W). “The students often do not realise how few jobs there are. It’s almost like the university, not just with journalism, but with all programmes, don’t really match the degree programmes to the demand and the supply” (F). States B: “It quite often feels to me like a money spinner…There needs to be a balanced approach where we ask ourselves: How many places do we genuinely need? What is the industry demand right now what are the skills that industry needs and are we providing them?” On the other hand, there is a “fair and reasonable argument that these courses are providing broad educations with really flexible, useful skills” (B) and many students who sign up for journalism modules do not want a practical media career (A, B, D, F, G, H, Q, W). Argues another participant:

> “There’s been an explosion in the number of undergraduate programmes…there’s a demand for those programmes, so I think there is no point trying to hold back

> the tide. The challenge for journalism educator is to try to make sure you ensure that if you have students who are going through a journalism programme that they are exposed to a broad range of things. That's why the student's experience, what they are getting within the institution, is very important."

For one participant, this experience is delivered by exposing students to a wide range of ideas. "There is a microcosm of life within the university and I think that the education could be improved if you can get students out of their bubbles. The journalism students who have a broad base are more likely to get jobs and to do well in the profession afterwards," he states, pointing out that this experience extends beyond lecture halls and seminar rooms to clubs and societies and "activities outside their core subject area".

Educators, in turn, have responded to these factors by aiming to developing curricula that can cater for the broader field and by periodically attempting to reassess what journalism education should look like. Says one senior journalism educator (P): "If you look at the changes in the whole question of newsgathering and news dissemination, then it is about providing the public with a service. There is a spectrum where some people are more subjectively putting their views forward or their propaganda or their news or information out — and then journalists who work for newspapers or television or radio have to decipher that or interpret it in a more objective way." Cutting to the heart of this issue is that the definition of journalism, what it is and what it should be, and therefore journalism education — including whether it should exist at all (A, W) — is under debate in Scotland as it is elsewhere in Europe. Some call for "journalism educators to address the problem, through renewing their commitment to the public service mission of the profession" (Bollinger, Savageau & Adam, in Mcdonald, 2006, p.753).

It can be argued that teaching journalists to save the profession would appear to be a largely failed mission, as Mcdonald (ibid) might put it, in Scotland as it is elsewhere. Scotland's university journalism educators interviewed for this study acknowledge the requirement for journalism to serve at the very least a basic civic duty over-and-above achieving the artistic and commercial outputs of news (A, B, C, D, H, Q, X, Y, Z). However, concerns about the role of journalism in society have not translated into curricula (see appendices 2, 3) that are focused on ensuring that journalists serve democracy by shining a spotlight on "neoliberal excesses" (Garland & Harper, 2012, p.420). At best, as an analysis of course overviews and interviews indicates, the picture in Scotland is as Adams (2001, in Mcdonald, 2006, p.

753) describes of the situation at US and Canadian university journalism schools: the commitment to democracy is a product of craft rather than a product of attitude.

Ethical and legally responsible decision-making is fostered across five of the six universities that offer journalism education in Scotland through modules that cover ethical issues and basic law for journalists (see Figure 3). This element of homogeneity is arguably linked to the conscious or sub-conscious desire to formalise journalism as a profession or set it apart from the citizen journalists that have increasingly performed the work and role of employed journalists. Most of the emphasis in programme design and delivery in Scotland is on skills' development and knowledge of contemporary newsroom practice. This is evidenced by a surfeit of module names that are explicit in that they are aimed at developing an understanding of newsroom processes and practices, with titles such as Newsroom Practice (UWS), Introduction to Media Law (Robert Gordon) and Magazine Journalism (Stirling) to highlight just a few of the two-dozen or so journalism modules available across six institutions (see Figure 3). All these skills, it is argued by some, contribute indirectly to the development of graduates who can take on the establishment. As Bossio (2011) asserts: these "intertwining discourses of ethical and critical enquiry, legality, and governance dominate understanding of journalism's professional claim to authority as fostered through journalism tertiary education" (p.62). It is worth noting that it is not just journalism educators who appear to be underweighting attention to perceived democratic responsibilities. The Scottish Parliament (2010) highlights concerns that the founding of the Scottish Parliament coincided with growing voter apathy in general in the UK and other western countries, and, as Jelen-Sanchez and Dekavalla (2016) underscore, voter apathy has continued to be a persistent trend in the UK, though there is a caveat that Scotland has experienced high levels of political engagement and high voter turnout since the 2014 independence referendum.

Nevertheless, as course outlines and module descriptors (see appendices 2, 3) indicate, Scotland's journalism programmes include some attention to the role of journalism in society: directly, for example UWS offers a module on Media and Society in year three; and indirectly, with Stirling, for example, including this in a module on Ethical Issues in Journalism in year one (D). In addition, journalism educators attempt to engender discussion on critical issues outside seminar and lecture rooms. "We bring people in to give guest lectures, aimed at engendering an awareness of the role of journalists, and we include these issues in some modules — for example a module on ethics in first year — but there is not that much attention on the role of journalists in a democracy beyond that," reflects U.

It is questionable whether there is enough emphasis on attuning students to power relations. “Critics have pointed out that journalism education that does not include an analysis of power — most notably the power of their employers — does a disservice to journalists, and the public, by failing to equip students with the tools to analyse their role in the media industries” (Mcdonald, 2006, p.756). This shortcoming, it would appear, is not only a Scotland challenge but is connected to the broader trend of a dramatic shift in the culture and purpose of university education, along with a shift in the purpose of university changing from the education of business, political and cultural elites and professionals such as lawyers and doctors to the provision of marketable skills and research outputs in the ‘knowledge economy’ (Radice, 2013, p.408). The “instrumentalisation of education is also symptomatic of a wider shift in the relationship between the neo-liberal state and its citizens, one which ‘has become less a political relationship –- that is, a relationship between government and citizens who, together, are concerned about the common good –- and more an economic relationship –- that is, a relationship between the state as provider and the taxpayer as consumer of public services’,” states Biesta (2010, in Clark, 2012, p.297).

This shortcoming in journalism education, in that it appears to underweight addressing democratic responsibilities of journalists, while of concern to those who ponder the bigger picture of the place of journalism in society, does not appear to impede the employment of journalism graduates. This study finds that employers with links to Scotland’s university journalism programmes do not appear to be focused on seeking out graduates with noble ideals (H, L, M, P, Q, T). While there is acute awareness among scholars (Goodman & Steyn, 2017; Reese & Cohen, 2000; Deuze, 2006b) that the effective functioning of the news media is essential for the sustainability of democracy, as is the case for news industries in the US and elsewhere in the UK, Scotland’s news media industries have, as Macdonald has described it (2006, p.745), prioritised profits over public service. It is worth noting that not one individual interviewed for this study volunteered that employers were seeking individuals with the propensity and commitment to work for the greater good who were also competent in newsroom processes and practices. This is a situation that appears to mirror journalism education in the US and the UK.

Also noted by interviewees in this study is that students themselves are overtly more tuned in to the link between education and employability and far less interested in the role of students as playing a role in social change (A, X, Y, Z). This resonates with observations that

citizens are becoming more apathetic about voting. “There have been major changes in cul-ture,” observes A, noting that in the early 1970s and 1980s Stirling students were vocal pro-testors against the government of the day whereas today students are more interested in self-expression. “Students have changed. The students I teach today are more receptive to the idea of the instrumentation aspects of education than the ideological ones” (Z). In a nut-shell: The picture in Scotland looks a lot like the picture that influential global journalism ed-ucation scholar Deuze paints for the rest of Europe. “Pragmatically speaking,” says Deuze (2006a), “journalism within the context of professional education and industry training means the preparation of students for a career working in news media organisations and studying the work of those people editorially responsible for different types of storytelling in a wide range of new media” (p.21).

One dimension not explicitly covered in the literature is that, to some extent, journalism lec-turers in Scotland may be focusing on employability at the expense of other missions pre-cisely as a means of self-preservation, and their own employability. “There is an issue of over-provision and the question of whether universities even need dedicated journalism courses, with the employability utility of journalism keeping programme delivery intact,” states one interviewee. This sentiment is echoed by at least five other interviewees. “The rise of creative industries has been a ‘get out of jail free’ card,” observes a senior academic of the possibility of redundancy in the sector. The creative industries is one of the main growth areas in the Scottish economy, covering a wide range of sectors from journalism to gaming (B). There was a sea change, argues Y, after media studies was borne out of a counter-cultural studies movement and there have been subsequent reflections of “what we used to call the field”. Employability is at the centre of this tectonic shift. “We are now crea-tures of a wider identity in which part of our function is to fuel systems…we want to send students on placements,” Y reflects. The data, then, supports the notion that the focus on employability has come at the expense of teaching on ethics, accountability and democratic values, arguably the pillars of Deuze’s (2005) occupational ideology of journalism.

5IIIb Impact on quality journalism: Homogenous delivery

In 2009, Thussu wrote that the media and their study are in the process of transformation, necessitated by new global infrastructures. He said, too, that many traditional ways of teaching the media are redundant (see Chapter 1). But, in Scotland, although there has been a shift towards embracing new technologies, many traditional approaches to pro-

gramme design have remained in situ, including since 2009. This is particularly striking in the module breakdowns of five of the six universities examined in this study, with all generally splitting modules across media types: print, broadcast and online (see appendix 2). This is the siloed approach alluded to elsewhere in this chapter.

The pattern in Scotland is, as Deuze (2006a) has observed of global journalism education in general, that "journalism students generally are trained in sequences, based on the premise that different media — television, newspaper, magazine, radio, Internet — each have distinctly different journalisms" (p.25). This is not the message that the universities are getting out to potential students. Stirling emphasises, through broadcaster Jon Snow's testimonial in its marketing material, that it does not 'ghettoise' its journalism programme and this is flagged up as a distinctive feature of journalism education at that university. Yet, according to the modules overview (appendix 2), although the print category had been subsumed into a compulsory Contemporary Journalism Practice, with an optional Magazine Module available by 2018/19, there is a notable separation between broadcast and other forms of journalism in the journalism programme at Stirling. In fact, broadcast teaching at Stirling largely takes place within a production department which is separate to the journalism programme and operated mainly by practitioners and teaching fellows. Digital media, meanwhile, is treated as a separate animal, given its own degree programme. In other words, there is a distinctly ghettoised approach to journalism education delivery at Stirling. This is replicated at other universities, with the module overview similar across all universities except Strathclyde, which has far less emphasis on practical skills' development.

This homogeneity is reflected in the similarities in the offerings of each institution (see Appendices). By 2018, at least six universities in Scotland were offering 23 undergraduate degrees in journalism (see appendix 2). The universities of Stirling and Strathclyde were offering more journalism degree programme options (nine and 10 respectively, with journalism combining with majors from other disciplines) than any of the 1992 universities, which offer one and maximum two each), which is surprising considering 1992 universities come from more vocational roots, and it could therefore be expected that they might promote this revenue-generating course line more aggressively. The University of the West of Scotland offered sports journalism as a specialism of journalism as an undergraduate degree, though this is a degree that can only be entered in third year following a switch from other degree programmes or from other institutions.

Although there has been a mushrooming of journalism degrees, the volume should not be confused with diversity of offerings. As the document analysis indicates, the actual journalism provision appears to be fairly similar across universities, and this is discussed in more depth in this chapter (see figures 2, 3 and appendices 2, 3). This same-ness in journalism education delivery at the honours-level year when dissertations and journalism projects are generally undertaken is also evident in an analysis of module delivery over four years at each of the institutions (see appendix 2). The exception is Strathclyde, which has a journalism offering which looks more like a creative writing programme. All the universities offer news writing and feature writing modules; most — not Strathclyde — offer production modules, split into print-oriented and broadcast modules. Journalism ethics and media law are also covered by the five universities.

These breakdowns look very similar to the picture south of the border, and in line with the observation (Frost, 2017) that most undergraduate journalism programmes are spliced into three: practical modules, contextual modules (eg. history and communications theory) and support modules (ethics, law are examples) (p.208). Weischenberg (2001, in Deuze, 2006a) categorises these three strands, starting with Fach-Kompetenz, the skills instrumental in journalists carrying out day-to-day work. These tend to be modules with distinctly commercial objectives, for example equipping students to produce newspaper articles, television documentaries and publish website content. There is a scattering of modules aimed at fostering critical thinking abilities and reflection on the industry and society in general, Sach-Kompetenz (expertise) and Nachdenken (reflection), with ethics issues covered early on in years of study and with the dissertation project offered in the final year — by all the universities — serving as a signifier that the course delivery is intended, in part, to fulfil a more complex, higher purpose than only churning out graduates who can immediately find work and can hit the ground running and therefore immediately contribute to the economy.

The findings of this study that journalism education is homogenous contrast with the observation of some scholars (Banda et al, 2007), who point to an increasingly heterogenous field of study, with journalism education a product of larger social and political decisions globally (p.157). In Scotland, however, university undergraduate journalism provision appears to be broadly homogenous and very similar to the picture in the US, UK and Europe as described by experts (Deuze, Frost, Pavlik, Weischenberg, to name a few).

To recap some of the key similarities across universities: a modular format; similar module names; module delivery in the same years; the same ghettoised or siloed approach to teaching, with an emphasis on skills development for specific media types rather than predominantly multi-skilling for a converged, multi-media environment; a programme journey that starts with basic newsroom skills and culminates in an academic dissertation or journalism project with critical reflections, or both. This siloed approach is perceived to hinder advances in industry; however, this is in line with developments in journalism education elsewhere. The pattern is arguably reflective of an industry that has been slow to change processes as technology has converged media types. As Pavlik (2013) asserts: “Those controlling most programs in media education are clinging to a professional model of journalism and mass communication aligned with the principles and practices of a long-gone and perhaps largely mythical golden age of print and broadcast journalism, advertising and public relations” (p.217).

Deuze points to increasing levels of standardisation worldwide, though he is at pains to rule out this “universality as an inescapable byproduct of globalisation” (2006a, p.23). However, the Bologna Declaration (1999), aimed at promoting "the development of a knowledge-based European economy (Europe Commission, 2007, in Andrews and Higson, 2014, p. 268), has inevitably fed into the standardisation of degree formats in general in Scotland starting with the three-cycle degree system of bachelors, masters and doctorate to quality assurance audits. In a four-country study on business, management and related programmes, it was found that European business schools are moving towards the Bologna principle of “similar, transferable qualifications” (ibid). It would appear to be the case that journalism programmes in Scotland, too, have moved towards generic modules that also allow for similar qualifications in response to the Bologna Declaration serving as a driver for the “harmonisation of education and graduate skills” (Andrews & Higson, 2014, p.283).

While there appears to be an international trend towards standardisation in journalism education, there is a practical reason that degrees look similar and that is academics pay close attention to what others are doing at institutions looking to attract from the same pool of potential students. Hughes explains the process of developing a journalism degree programme at the UWS: “In the early development of the degree, I investigated what other HEIs were doing, examining their content and discussing with colleagues in the developmental team the shape, nature and distinctiveness our degree needed to take. This approach, which was a comparative analysis of content, was a useful way to check that the

key areas were being covered, but also to provide reassurance of the level of distinctiveness I wanted to build into our programmes" (2017, p.19). While Hughes succeeded in building programmes that covered all of the key areas, the jury is out on whether university efforts were quite as successful in enhancing the distinctiveness of UWS journalism programmes.

Further reflecting the homogenous nature of journalism degree programmes and the branding of university journalism degrees across Scotland, interviewees spoke about the perception that not a single university stands out as offering superior journalism over the other providers. "Not enough places have a specific USPs [Unique Selling Points]," states Q, while M asserts: "The lack of differentiation means that employers don't link specific employability attributes to an institution." Potential employers don't look at university statistics or examine the module breakdowns at institutions; instead they base their perception of the quality of the institution on a graduate they have taken on previously. "If the person is good, they think that the institution has prepared them well. If a graduate goes somewhere and doesn't do well, that will cloud the perception of whoever is employing them" (F). This point is corroborated by other interviewees, based on their interactions with employers (B, C, Q, S, T, U).

In summary, then, there is a shift toward standardisation in Scottish journalism education that matches trends elsewhere. However, this standardisation may not provide the optimum training for critical journalists with democratic values.

5.IIIc Specialist journalism education dominant in Scotland

Debates between newspaper employers and university educators over whether journalists needed to be college-educated and in particular whether they needed a liberal arts degree followed by newsroom training or a degree that combined liberal arts and practical training have been evident in Scotland, with those favouring the latter approach winning out (Folkerts et al, 2013). Strathclyde is the only one of the six universities that offer journalism courses in Scotland that shies away from promising education that will lead to a career that will enable graduates to use the education and skills development obtained in their journalism courses. Focusing on the popularity of the subject rather than the popularity of its graduates, Strathclyde (2018) emphasises combining journalism-related studies with other disciplines and says of its BA in Journalism, Media & Communications:

> “The media industry now is as diverse and exciting as it has ever been, and offers tremendous opportunities for fun, successful and diverse careers. This popular and established subject can be studied as joint degree with another subject. You can combine it with English, History, Italian, French, Spanish, Economics, Education, Human Resource Management, Law, Social Work and Social Policy, Psychology and Politics.”

This approach of joint majors is common in other countries but still fairly unusual across the UK, though the University of Stirling does offer a range of combined honours with journalism, including History, a language, Politics, Film & Media, to name a few. According to Frost (2017), most journalism undergraduate programmes across the UK are designed to give students one-third practical modules, one-third contextual modules (history and communications theory) and one-third support modules (ethics, media law). This breakdown, with a weighting on journalism as a specialism, is evident in Scotland’s universities, too (see following Figure, 3, with four tables), as this study finds.

Figure 3: Structure of Scotland's university journalism programmes

Global patterns in Scotland's university journalism programmes

Key

Categories based on descriptors by Weischenberg (2001, in Deuze, 2006)

- **Fach-Kompetenz** - instrumental skills for day-to-day work, reporting, writing, editing; and knowledge about journalism (contextual, including history, communications theory, and support modules in areas like ethics and law) Red
- **Vermittlungs-Kompetenz** - how to present information, including design Yellow
- **Sach-Kompetenz** - elective modules and social science skills Purple
- **Nachdenken** - reflection on role and function of journalism in society Orange

Categories based on descriptors by Frost (2017)

- **Practical** - reporting, writing, editing Red
- **Contextual** - history, communications theory Orange
- **Support** - ethics, law Red

Employability specific modules (not specifically categorised elsewhere but evident in the programme delivery in Scotland)

* Entrepreneurship - development of commercially oriented skills Blue

* Real-world experience - work placements Green

	GCU Multimedia Journalism	Edinburgh Napier	Robert Gordon (website information)	UWS	Strathclyde - Journalism and Creative Writing and Politics and International Relations BA (example because this one arguably will help develop an appreciation of the role of journalism in society/democracy)	University of Stirling Journalism Studies BA
Year 1	* News writing and Journalism * Shorthand Theory * Broadcast and Online Production1 * Media Industries 1 * Introduction to Media Analysis * The Business of Social Science * Introduction to Public Relations	Multimedia Reporting Media Studies Introduction to Reporting 1 (Print?/?Online) Social Media Introduction to Reporting 2 (Broadcast)News Analysis	The Media Business (7.5 credits) Core Broadcast Journalism and Production (15 credits) News Writing (7.5 credits) Introduction to Media Law (7.5 credits) Governing the UK (7.5 credits) Visual Culture and Design (15 credits)	Core modules: Newsgatherng techniques, Issues in Journalism, News reporting, Digital Journalism 1. Optional: Business of News	Journalism and Creative Writing 1A Politics 1B: Government and Governance Politics 1A: Concepts Journalism and Creative Writing 1B	Students need to choose either one or two of the following core modules: Writing and History; Writing and Identity and Writing and Language. Writing for Journalists 1 **Ethical Issues in Journalism** Introduction to Journalism Studies

	GCU Multimedia Journalism	Edinburgh Napier	Robert Gordon (website information)	UWS	Strathclyde - Journalism and Creative Writing and Politics and International Relations BA (example because this one arguably will help develop an appreciation of the role of journalism in society/democracy)	University of Stirling Journalism Studies BA
Year 2	Students will be required to study optional modules. Reporting and Newspaper Journalism Feature Writing and Magazine Journalism Shorthand Speed Development **Media Industries Enterprise and Employability** Multi-level Governance Broadcast & Online Production 2	Global Current Affairs or an option Sub-editing and Design Public Affairs Feature Writing Broadcast Journalism (Radio) Media Law for Journalists	Media Semiotics and Discourse (7.5 credits) Public Relations (7.5 credits) Media Production Project (15 credits) **Principles and Practice of Reporting** (15 credits) Web Design (7.5 credits) Features Writing (7.5 credits)	Law and Media Regulation; Feature Writing; Advanced News Reporting; **Ethics for Journalists**; Reporting UK politics. Optional: Magazine Journalism	Journalism 2 Comparative Politics International Relations and Global Politics Journalism and Creative Writing 2 Creative Writing 2 Modern Political Thought	Students need to choose either one or two of the following core modules: Writing and History; Writing and Identity and Writing and Language. Writing for Journalists 2 Digital Media & Culture Understanding Audiences Photojournalism

	GCU Multimedia Journalism	Edinburgh Napier	Robert Gordon (website information)	UWS	Strathclyde - Journalism and Creative Writing and Politics and International Relations BA (example because this one arguably will help develop an appreciation of the role of journalism in society/democracy)	University of Stirling Journalism Studies BA
Year 3	Newsdays Specialist Reporting Communications Law and Regulation Research Methods: Theory and Practice Media Analysis 2: Discourse Ideology and the Media The Enterprise Value Challenge	TV Studio Presentation or TV Documentary Making Literary Journalism or Sports Journalism Information, Communication & Society Magazine Production Broadcast Journalism (TV) Digital Platforms	Media History (7.5 credits) Applied News Production (15 credits) Advanced Law for Journalists (7.5 credits) Placement (30 credits) Creative Industries Theory and Practice (15 credits) Extended Placement Magazine Journalism (15 credits)	Newsroom practice; Research Methods—- Optional: Advanced Magazine Journalism; Broadcast Feature Production; Media & Society; Policy & the Organisation of Sport; Sport & Media; Sports News Production	Quantitative Methods in Social Research Contemporary British Governance Journalism 3 Parliamentary Studies Research Methods for Political Scientists European Politics American Politics Scottish Politics Local Politics War, Terrorism and Conflict Journalism and Creative Writing 3 Chinese Politics Creative Writing 3	Students need to choose either one or two of the following core modules: Writing and History; Writing and Identity and Writing and Language. Print Journalism Law and Government for Journalists

	GCU Multimedia Journalism	Edinburgh Napier	Robert Gordon (website information)	UWS	Strathclyde - Journalism and Creative Writing and Politics and International Relations BA (example because this one arguably will help develop an appreciation of the role of journalism in society/democracy)	University of Stirling Journalism Studies BA
Year 4	Students will be required to study optional modules. Honours Dissertation **Media Project** **Media Ethics**	Major Journalism Project Professional Development and Entrepreneurship Covering the Arts or Power and Information Dissertation Newsroom Research and Practice	Investigative Journalism (15 credits) Research Methods (7.5 credits)	Entrepreneurship and Professional Practice; Creative Research Project –- Optional: Data Journalism; Global Issues in Sport; News & Politics	The Journalism of War New Narratives International Relations Theory in a Global Age Journalism Portfolio Dissertation Journalism Political Parties Governance and Development Theories and Practices of Regulation and Governance Feminism and Politics Analysing Religion and Politics Dissertation in Creative Writing Political Behaviour International Security: Concepts and Issues Comparative Politics **Ethical Issues in Journalism** Green Politics Creative Writing Portfolio Media and Literary Publics	Students need to choose either one or two of the following core modules: Writing and History; Writing and Identity and Writing and Language. Journalism Dissertation Documentary Production Digital Publishing Project Journalism Project

This analysis indicates that while Scottish journalism programmes at most universities appear to follow the pattern of delivery elsewhere, there has been some development of modules that are directly linked to employability from the perspective of giving students actual work experience (see blue and green modules). This pattern may well be replicated elsewhere and is perhaps a subject for further investigation in another study. From the Scotland perspective, it appears to indicate that employability, a theme that has persisted through decades and even centuries (see historical contextualisation chapter), appears to be distinct in contemporary journalism education delivery.

Meanwhile, it is worth noting that the pattern of developing journalism graduates with specialist journalism knowledge could be at odds with perceptions in industry, who in turn are looking for credentials and attributes that differentiate between the individuals in the large cohorts that graduate each year. This point is made in interviews from participants who note that, as the industry shifts from a body of "predominantly people who first of all knew somebody who knew somebody" (B) into a graduate-heavy sector, some journalism educators state that they encourage journalism students to develop a broad education to make themselves more employable. As more job-seekers have degrees, employers are looking for what differentiates that individual from the next person (C, Q). "As people become increasingly well qualified, it becomes more and more difficult to differentiate," with employers asking how an individual will be able to bring value to the news organisation in other ways than just the education (C). One professor cites the example of Spanish as a skill that a student brings something different to the newsroom and can be used to help put together a story involving a Spain angle. Employers aren't just looking at the attributes of the individuals who apply for jobs; they want to put together a team of people, all of whom offer different attributes (C, Q). Despite preferences articulated by industry, Scottish journalism programmes tend to provide generic journalism education rather than specialist skills.

5IIId New learner pathways in Scotland

The evolution of communications, and specifically journalism-related, disciplines has varied between the nations of the United Kingdom (H), inevitably because the political, commercial and regulatory landscapes are not homogenous. While the module outlines and general programme outlines appear homogenous, new learner journeys have precipitated region-specific curricula development allied to learner pathways in Scotland, with these based on region-specific initiatives to understand how to better unlock job opportunities in the creative industries, of which journalism and the news media are a part. There was a review of

post-16 education, published in 2011, leading to a merger of Scotland's colleges into regional colleges (S). "Part of the driver for that is, firstly, to focus on regional economies. This is demand-led, rather than supply-led, and focuses on learner journeys," states S.

One outcome has been the development of more 2+2 programmes – two years of education towards a higher national diploma followed by two years at university, leading to the student graduating with a university qualification. One example includes a 2+2, from the City of Glasgow College to the University of Edinburgh Napier for finishing studies. "Students finish with a degree, but they have those great craft and technical skills from the HND programme," explains one interviewee (S). Similarly, the University of Stirling and Forth Valley College offer a 2+2 in Digital Media (2018), though it is worth noting that the latter is a programme in wider media studies, not specifically journalism.

These articulation programmes that enable students to gain university degrees through colleges, as opposed to entering universities immediately from school through the UCAS system and on the basis of school-leaving qualifications, have had a role in the development of curricula and student support (C, F, G, W, U). For example, students who come into university degree programmes on a 2+2 pathway routinely "need extra help in the beginning, because clearly they are not coming with the background and experience of other students" (G). "Obviously if you've not done very well at school, then there are going to be certain things like writing which you really wouldn't know how to do. You wouldn't have an idea about referencing," said one interviewee (G). Universities, therefore, run access programmes and anecdotal evidence is that there is a focus on how to better incorporate students from vocational or non-academic streams into more theoretical learning programmes. "In terms of academic progression, the research that I am aware of indicates that there is an evening out. In other words, it is just as likely that someone who has come through an access programme will come out with a 2:1 or a first" (G). This is corroborated by other interviewees (B, C, U, W), indicating that this Scotland focus on providing an alternative pathway to graduation for journalism students is highly effective. It's not clear, from this study, however, whether these students have an equal advantage in the workplace — and this is perhaps a topic for a future study. While there are some examples of universities in the home countries offering entry to journalism courses to students with college qualifications (eg Portsmouth), the rise and popularity of articulation programmes in Scottish education, including in media, is a distinguishing feature.

5IIIe Real-world practice as a feature of curricula

Another notable feature of Scottish university journalism education is that real-world practice and attempts to simulate real-world practice are a notable feature of curricula. Lecturers who have moved into universities after years in the field as journalists also bring with them their employability requirements, hoping to persuade students to do more than pursue a piece of paper in their years of study. This is because a university degree per se is not regarded as a ticket to employment in journalism (B, C, F, M, P, L, Q); furthermore, many university staff in the UK who are teaching the more practical elements of journalism are hired because of their industry knowledge and background (Frost, 20017, p.199) and this is evident, too, in Scotland as previously noted. These requirements translate into outcomes on practical and support modules. “What the vast majority of editors are looking for is evidence of wanting to be a journalist, and that’s not necessarily the same thing as having done a journalism degree,” states one interviewee (Q) of the approach to teaching and learning. He underscores that editors would prefer to take on students who “spend three or four years doing journalism and learning how to be a journalist, and not looking at how journalists act”. For these journalists who have turned their hand to teaching at universities, it is inevitable that there must be an opportunity for students to demonstrate that they have the genuine interest in being a member of the journalists’ community, in order to be considered employable (B, C, H, L, P, Q, U). Q goes as far as to state that “the degree is neither here nor there”; what is important is “evidence of determination” and a “track record of the kind of things that you’re going to want that person to be able to do the minute they start work”.

Glasgow Caledonian starts identifying individuals who appear to have a vocational drive to pursue careers in journalism before studies begin, with a strict screening process aimed at selecting only candidates who are likely to succeed in careers as journalists. Its entry criteria for its journalism degree includes: the provision of a clear statement indicating that the candidate wants to be a journalist, together with evidence, for example work on a school magazine, that the individual is already working towards this objective. In addition to the documentary evidence that candidates must provide, GGU asks its journalism applicants to undergo a test and attend an interview as the final screen.

The requirement to demonstrate this genuinely held passion for, and ability in, journalism can be evidenced elsewhere through university assessments that can give potential employers concrete examples of competence in the workplace, for example portfolio of article cuttings or videos or other journalistic outputs to evidence commitment to a career in jour-

nalism. This portfolio can be developed through journalism project assessment activities and by encouraging students to join the local student newspaper or radio station and build samples of work. Some universities simulate real-world learning opportunities. For example, GCU highlights its “industry standard” facilities. “Our purpose-built television studio and gallery, radio studio and newsroom all feature modern digital equipment, enabling students to produce television and radio packages and bulletins, blogs, newspapers and magazines. These facilities are also used in media training and consultancy for high profile clients from industry, the public sector and charities,” it tells prospective students on its website (GCU, 2018).

The requirement for students to demonstrate work-ready skills is reflected in the broad institutional push to facilitate direct work experience. Five of the six universities with undergraduate journalism programmes offer: a mix of theory and practice, with a significant emphasis on practice-based learning; they emphasise links with employers. The UWS 2018/19 programme specification, for as an example, emphasises “Workbased-learning/placement details” as a separate category to “Employability Skills & Personal Development Planning” although they are inter-related. The university reduces the expectation of a guaranteed work placement, but promises a simulated work experience in the class room. It says: “All students on the programme will be expected to undertake either work-based learning in a newsroom environment or work-related learning as part of specific modules.” It cites the example of the Newsroom Practice module, a core level 9 module, as carrying a compulsory placement in a workplace setting “aimed at supporting both their learning and employability”, with a caveat:

> “Although assessed work placement activity is focused on this module, students are encouraged to participate on work-related activity across a range of modules and to begin to develop their own portfolios of work from early in the programme. Given the practice-based aspects of the programme, students are expected to progressively develop their skills in newsgathering, writing and presentation of journalistic work thereby growing their confidence, enabling the development and nurturing of industry links and enhancing their employability” (ibid).

At least three Scottish universities offer workplace experience as a compulsory module: Robert Gordon and Edinburgh Napier promote this in marketing content; UWS outlines the workplace experience in its programme specification. The former states that its BA (Hons)

Journalism course requires the completion of a six-week work placement, with the Placement Office for Aberdeen Business School responsible for setting up these placements. Edinburgh Napier has a similar requirement: “A compulsory 15 days of work experience will further add to your skillset and also give you an understanding of how contemporary media workplaces function.” The University of Stirling offers an optional work experience module in year three, with students expected to source their own work experience arrangements (ibid). Employers looking for new talent value participating in work placements, often hiring those who have successfully demonstrated their abilities (T, L, H, M, F). Collectively, university managements have increasingly encouraged a “very heavy emphasis on internships, workplace learning, volunteering, placements” institution-wide and on students gaining international experience that maps through to graduate attributes (G). This push is conspicuously present in journalism course marketing copy and module specification information made available to potential students on websites. At least half of the universities appear to be well-equipped to provide direct access to subject-relevant workplace learning. Robert Gordon University Aberdeen students are given the opportunity to undertake a 6 or 12 week placement in year three of their journalism studies (2019). Edinburgh Napier Journalism (Honours) students are promised real-world work experience: “A compulsory 15 days of work experience will further add to your skillset and also give you an understanding of how contemporary media workplaces function. Through our partnership with STV, you’ll have the opportunity to take part in week-long placements or longer. A number of paid internships are also available” (2019).

Work experience through placements tends to be on a limited-number basis, however. The first reason is access to journalism work opportunities. The commitment to improving links with employers is based on individual relationships between university teaching staff and news organisation decision-makers, and their enthusiasm for strengthening relationships with industry, rather than the institution (B, C, F, M, P, H, L, Q). M says that his links with a specific lecturer has ensured that several of its students work at a news company based in Glasgow company. “Twenty percent of the workforce has come from that sort of liaison. Potentially it could be 100%,” predicts M of a specific broadcast news company, pointing out that this target could feasibly be achieved, if university lecturers from other institutions were also to reach out to that organisation. It is worth reiterating here that the experience of some in the sector is that there are blockages in the relationships between industry and academia and the reasons for these are not clear, which is perhaps worthy of consideration in a future research project.

Another challenge is finding work placements that match student career aspirations, which can range from print and broadcast to communications-related roles outside the news sector, for example in political or corporate communications. “More of the paid work is in corporate communications, the public relations side of things because that industry has grown while your traditional press, particularly in Scotland, has declined and continues to decline at an alarming rate,” points out interviewee D. One way of dealing with this challenge is to create opportunities that match work placements. For example, Robert Gordon University (Aberdeen) (2018) tells prospective students : “You will have the opportunity to experience a day as a journalist; sourcing stories, interviewing, filming and editing your report as part of our dedicated News Days.” Work placements, meanwhile, “can be a double-edged sword”, for example those where students write copy for newspapers that are in trouble or hoping to recruit students for “free” work and do not have the intent to offer contracts (F, P, G). Some (B, C, F, H, L, P, U, W) worry there are far too many journalism and media-related courses, and not enough opportunities for students to take up practical work experience, which will inevitably leave students disgruntled about the perceived lack of employability development opportunities.

The perceived institutional risk of unleashing students in an environment where brand equity is a consideration, with at least one university identifying students for work placements with extreme caution. Lecturers (W, Q, A) note that some students are lackadaisical about opportunities, with some not arriving for interviews and others embarrassing themselves on the job. Another interviewee cites the example off an occasion where five students were put forward for an interview for a paid internship opportunity and one did not bother attending the interview, which he believes is a reflection of a “wider societal problem” and a “cultural challenge”. This student apathy is discussed again later in this chapter in connection with a perceived underweighting in the development of journalism students who can play a role as soldiers of the Fourth Estate.

Q says the ideal approach is to have a limited work experience option, with only the very best eligible for this option: “Then we will be spitting out brilliant graduates who can genuinely take places in newsrooms and be a real credit to the place”. However, this type of work experience module idea was proposed but subsequently rejected after university management concluded it was too elite, leaving students to find their own work placements and opening the field to all (C, Q, U, W). UWS evidently attempts to mitigate the reputational risk outlined here through its staff apparently remaining active in the background, on call through email and telephone contact to discuss progress, while students serve their place-

ments. It says: “Staff will be fully involved in the process of securing placements, in line with the University’s criteria for the approval of placement setting policy. The work placement will consist of at least 100 hours spent in the workplace (in line with BJTC accreditation requirements). Each student will receive at least one pre-placement and one post-placement guidance interview with a member of the teaching team. This will be supported by a series of lectures and tutorials with students to discuss expectations, explore opportunities and agree objectives prior to students going out on placement” (UWS Journalism Programme Specification, 18/19). Overall, the data suggests journalism work experience provided by Scottish universities has tended to be short and probably not very useful for either students or employers.

5lllf Universities have increasingly emphasised links with employers

Providing opportunities for students to demonstrate their abilities is key, too, with “better relationships with recognised employers” (Q) allowing students to contribute to industry outputs. All of the universities describe links with employers, though their relationships with these potential employers vary and are not as well-established as some project in marketing collateral, as has been previously noted. Some universities talk about their alumni who have found full time employment at mainstream news companies; others invite guest speakers from industry to lecture to students, with practitioner-turned-teachers useful in facilitating arrangements. Says Robert Gordon (2018) on its website: “Links exist with a range of placement companies including Scotsman Publications, The Big Issue, Scottish Media Group, BBC, Bauer Radio and Scottish Television’’. The university also highlights that its lecturers have practitioner experience and as such has contacts in the industry who provide useful links with regards to guest speakers, student company visits and the organisation of live projects –- all of which play an important role in the course”. GCU (2018) takes a similar line: “Our academic staff are all experienced journalists with excellent industry contacts. Guests from the BBC, STV, Newsquest and The Scotsman Publications frequently deliver guest lectures, mentor students and facilitate a wide range of placements and extracurricular opportunities to boost your CV and career prospects.” Glasgow Caledonian underscores its links with industry contacts by displaying videos with well-known media personalities, such as former broadcaster and news correspondent Bill Turnbull (2019). Where other universities emphasise strong industry links that take students out of the institution into the real world, Strathclyde downplays these, focusing on the journalism learning experience with real journalists in lecture halls and seminar rooms: “As well as carrying out ground-breaking

research into a range of media topics, we also offer undergraduate and postgraduate courses in journalism where our students work with internationally-recognised academics and highly experienced journalists".

On why universities with such different roots look so similar, one interviewee states: "What we've lost, in the headlong rush to turn polytechnics into universities, is that link with the workplace". He cites the example of the days of Napier College, where students would do a one-year course to train up for the workplace before going out to get a job. Another, a former employer who teaches part-time, states: "[Redacted] University is a hopeless place because it has had opportunity after opportunity to build proper relationships with local employers and it has never, ever grasped the opportunity. It has the Scotsman on its doorstep and it has BBC people and STV on its doorstep…It is sitting back letting people like me establish relationships between [another university] and the Edinburgh Evening News". Another interviewee, who has an interest in recruiting students, makes a similar point about opportunities elsewhere in the news industry, noting that industry-educational institutional liaison is largely lacking. States one employer who serves on a university advisory board: "There are institutions in Scotland that I've never heard from...I have no awareness of what these students do…and yet I'm looking for talent. It never ceases to amaze me what a vacuum these people (educators) live in. I'm sure if I brought in half-a-dozen other managing directors they would probably say the same thing".

It is proposed that hampering the development of relationships between academia and industry are historical perceptions among older, more senior industry players about media studies, the predecessor and close cousin of journalism, that it is a sub-standard academic discipline. H notes: "There has been a longstanding hostility among journalists of the older generation, particularly to undergraduate degrees. They ask: 'How can you spend three or four years studying journalism?' Academics will tell you they never really got over the hostility towards media studies – displayed by the media". This is evidenced by newspaper reports and commentaries that appear periodically, questioning "useless degrees" (H).

Some of this hostility has been generated by academics themselves, argues H, as a result of analysing the field from the perspectives of sociology and Marxism, with the underlying philosophies and principles at odds with the views of the captains of industry and broader UK society. "It is quite clear that Gramsci's ideas and similar ideas about the relationship with the media, to wealth, ownership and in society, drove aspects of media cultural studies. "Therefore, in a country like Britain…there are going to be hostilities". Q echoes these ten-

sions, comparing journalism and media studies to fine art and its cousin, history of art: “Media Studies isn’t a vocational discipline any more than art history is not sufficient preparation to be a painter, sculptor or jewellery maker”.

This image problem, meanwhile, has not affected student intake. With more than 70 universities around the UK offering journalism of “various types” (Frost, 2017, p.199) the subject remains popular and the rise of undergraduate journalism over the past 20 year has “confirmed journalism as a solid undergraduate career” (ibid, p.213). Commented one interviewee for this PhD Study of the Scotland and UK picture: “There has been criticism of [these] as being Mickey Mouse degrees. But Mickey Mouse is a good brand.”

Claims by journalism programmes that they have close links with industry are uneven or aspirational. Therefore, the marketing claims of links with employers are inconsistent with reality.

5IIIg Journalism course accreditation: A damp squib in Scotland

Another important area in which there is a de facto difference between Scotland and universities in the other nations of the United Kingdom is on the subject of accreditation. The process of accreditation is much talked about in journalism education and some jobs advertising for journalists were in 2019 still highlighting the need to gain National Council for the Training of Journalists (NCTJ) qualifications for reporting jobs (as an example, see: Newsquest Media Group, community reporter, Glasgow, 2019). Accreditation is a process aimed at ensuring that education delivers what it is required to deliver to employers. Points out a Scotland director of an accreditation body: “Our main roles are: to be a bridge between industry and education and training; to help balance that challenge of getting a good mix of supply and demand. We therefore work with the industry to analyse every single job role in the sector and break those job roles down into individual competencies. These standards then become the building blocks of qualifications which, in turn, are better suited to industries.” Frost (2017) states of UK journalism education that: “Accreditation is extremely useful for universities in terms of marketing, as editors have told more serious, career-oriented students that accredited courses work best” (p.207). However, this is not the reality north of the border, as this analysis of programmes shows. Furthermore, not all employers prioritise accreditation, however, with many stating that they want to see individual promise in the field (B, C, F, M, Q, U).

Although accreditation bodies have been involved in talks with a view to accrediting programmes (A, H, W, S), only one university — Glasgow Caledonian — flags up accreditation from the NCTJ and Broadcast Journalism Training Council (BJTC) for undergraduate journalism programmes. UWS has accreditation that appears to be connected with its Master's programme, though its undergraduate programme makes mention of the institutional link with the BJTC. This dearth of accredited journalism education provision is despite accreditation bodies actively trying to encourage Scotland's journalism programmes to apply for accreditation and is in sharp contrast to the situation elsewhere in the UK. Looking at the BJTC map, which indicates locations of accredited courses, accreditation is embraced more readily south of the border. Of 76 or so NCTJ accredited courses, a handful are in Scotland and only one is a Scottish university journalism programme.

Although accreditation is not a dominant feature of journalism programmes in Scotland, this does not mean that the requirements of accreditation are ignored. Journalism course developers say they pay close attention to what accredited courses deliver and try to incorporate features in their own programme delivery. The thinking, says one interviewee, is "let's deliver what the NCTJ can deliver, but don't seek their approval because if they take their approval away, and that can happen, then that's a [reputational] nightmare for you". Accreditation bodies reject and withdraw applications in what has been described as a "rigorous and severe process", points out another participant (S). In addition to the costs associated with maintaining accreditation, institutions are required to inject resources into facilities where the accreditation body deems it necessary. "They will inspect your facilities and if you are claiming that you've got two newsrooms and you have one pokey one then you're in trouble. They are not paying you but they are selling you a kite mark," says one interviewee (H). McNair, former Professor of Journalism at Strathclyde University, claims the NCTJ work against the core aims of universities, rub against intellectual and academic ethos and are "a bit of a scam" (in Canter, 2015, p.8). This view, particularly that accreditation is a commercial operation for its own ends, is echoed by study participants (B, C, F, H, M, Q).

Nevertheless, while accreditation may be disliked, there are elements of the accreditation process that have made themselves felt, in particular the inclusion of shorthand in course provision in Scotland. Shorthand has been a compulsory requirement for an NCTJ-qualified journalist until 2016, when it became an elective module (Press Gazette, 2016). University journalism students across the UK are encouraged to develop these skills, albeit to the "bemusement of academics from other disciplines and many journalism academics abroad

(Frost, 2017, p.204). The requirement for shorthand in Scotland was, up until the time of writing, because of a law that bans reporters from using electronic devices and computers to cover court cases. Some interviewees (B, S, Q) highlight that competence in shorthand helps set journalists apart from non-professionals. “Journalists who use shorthand say it is much easier to flick through a notebook of notes and scan it than it is to have to go through a recording of an hour. It’s quick, instant and your batteries never go flat. For all sorts of reasons it’s just convenient” (S). Others report high drop-out rates (A, C, H, U) from short-hand, which is not credit-bearing at all institutions.

In summation, this study finds Scotland’s universities have been largely ambivalent toward accreditation and have not universally embraced accreditation for journalism courses. Analysis of their websites indicates little appetite for providing journalism graduates with certificates carrying a quality assurance kite mark. This finding is in contrast to the rest of the UK, with a third of the UK's 300 undergraduate and postgraduate journalism courses accredited by at least one of the main accreditation bodies (NCTJ, BJTC, PPA) in 2015, “il-lustrating the marketing value universities place on such schemes in an increasingly com-petitive marketplace” (Canter, 2015, p.2). However, the situation in Scotland appears to be in tandem with a gear shift in the US, and perhaps ahead of the curve in the US, where several prominent journalism programs have let their accreditation status lapse from the Accrediting Council on Education in Journalism and Mass Communications (ACEJMC) amid renewed debate about whether accreditation is compliance or quality control (Blom et al, 2018, p.1). This PhD study therefore suggests that, in Scotland, and in apposition to the rest of the UK, to use the words of Seamon, who assesses the US picture, “accreditation is a credential whose reputation exceeds its actual benefit” (2010, p.9)

5IIIh Embracing the digital economy: Academia lags industry

Some participants (B, M, P) argue there is no need to emphasise “digital” learning because all contemporary journalism requires digital know-how. Nevertheless, “digital” is a distinctive feature across the nomenclature of five universities (excluding Strathclyde). “We have to recognise and make students aware of the fact that the technology is moving very quickly, so that they can identify with the fact that they need to keep up-to-date and therefore devel-op the propensity and ability to become a lifelong learner,” points out G, of a message that is being delivered to students across universities and not only within communications-relat-ed degree programmes. “You want to make sure your students are multi-media. You want to ensure that they can operate online, and they can move into broadcasting,” argues H,

reflecting on the ongoing pressures on the traditional print sector and converged media environment. Another interviewee states: “I think that the challenge within education is to get this familiarity with the technology, the comfort young people have with technology and convert that into something usable, useful, professional, and worth something, ultimately.”

Technological transformation of the global economy is noteworthy in the marketing messaging to potential students about employability outcomes of journalism courses. Like Edinburgh Napier, UWS — in its public-facing programme specification — highlights learning that will equip individuals for the fast-paced world of media convergence: “The programme will produce graduates who are ready for the world of work in the dynamic, competitive, multi-platform world of journalism” (2018). Robert Gordon is also explicit about its mission to develop multi-media journalists.

The relatively slow pace at which universities have embraced multi-media specialism in journalism can, perhaps, be linked to the decline of trade unions in the news media, with National Union of Journalists’ membership still very dominant in the 1980s when union membership was a requirement for work. The waning influence of trade unions paved the way for a more flexible approach to education delivery, say interviewees (L, P, Q). A union ruling still in place in the 1980s barred media workers from developing skills in more than one specialism (L, P). “The union ruling was that photographers don’t write and journalists don’t take pictures, unless in extreme circumstances. It was to protect jobs but also because there were specialists,” states an interviewee.

For a time, health and safety legislation also played a role in keeping specialists in jobs. “If you weren't the cameraman you didn’t touch the tripod because you hadn’t had the training. If you bent down and slipped your disc, there would be problems,” said another participant. The union eventually rescinded its decision as advanced technology was introduced, reducing the requirement for so many specialists. For example, a separate sound box was no longer required to accompany footage as it was all contained in one camera –- which meant you did not need a sound person and a camera person. In time, camera people were replaced by video journalists (L, P, F). This state of affairs would have inevitably impacted on the way education was delivered and was reflected in the siloed approach of teaching and training for different jobs and media types, which still has an imprint on curricula in 2019 (see appendix 3). It has been argued that this siloed approach, which includes a sequential training dimension, is not helpful in the development of critical thinkers. Deuze (2006a) has opined that training in sequences encourages an orientation that is likely to reduce journal-

ists to media workers who understand how but not why — ergo, this possibly mitigates against the development of cohorts who question the system and the bigger societal challenges.

There is evidence of a growing interest in educating multi-media journalists for a converged media environment in Scotland. By 2018, GCU had branded its journalism course as Multimedia Journalism BA (Hons). Other universities have emphasised multi-media teaching and learning through an ever-increasing variety of digitally oriented modules. For example, Robert Gordon offers web design in year two in addition to modules aimed at developing knowledge and skills in media production and honing critical thinking through a semiotics module. Edinburgh Napier introduces “Multi-media reporting” in year one and further develops skills through a module that emphasises digital platforms in year three. It remains true, however, that the shift to digital, multi-media journalism, while pronounced in the workplace, has only been embraced tentatively in Scottish journalism education.

5IIIi Social media: Slow gestation in university journalism education

Similarly, Scotland’s universities don’t appear to be paying close attention to the phenomenon of social media, an undeniably important dimension of communications and journalism in the 21st Century. Drilling into the detail of the modules, the pace of change towards equipping students for the digital world is not as fast as the marketing material suggests. The development of social media skills is a case in point. Although social media has created many new jobs and has grown in importance as a media channel, This state of affairs is common in related disciplines, with Mangold and Faulds pointing out in 2009 that marketers were tending to underestimate the role of the social media. A decade later, this appears to have been the case in journalism programmes. Only two universities had listed social media modules among the options of journalism degree programme in 2018: Edinburgh Napier, which offers a social media module in year one; and, Stirling, which has an optional social media module in year three. Senior academic H observes that preference has been for digital media skills associated with visual story-telling, like video production, and this has come at the expense of skills connected to writing skills and the print media at his institution. The same applies to communications through social media channels, with very few offerings appearing to be aimed at ensuring that journalism graduates are better equipped to communicate in daily operations on these channels than graduates from other disciplines or citizens in general.

This conspicuous omission in Scotland is in line with a trend in UK and US university education to focus on theoretical explorations of social and mobile media rather than developing professional, as opposed to social, expertise in the use of social media, as identified by Cochrane et al (2012). While theoretical examinations have their place and contribute to the development of critical thinking, this practical gap in journalism curricula is arguably a lost opportunity for journalism graduates to establish themselves as expert communicators in an important contemporary media type. This shortcoming is identified in a 2011 study on the impact of mobile and social media on journalism education that explored the approach at universities in Cardiff and Arizona and included interviews with employers at the BBC (UK) and Los Angeles Times (US). It is summarised as follows: "[T]he approach taken by the Journalism lecturers was to present case studies of the impact of social and mobile media on Journalism rather than integrate and model the use of these tools within face-to-face classes or beyond the classroom, making these explorations of social and mobile one of many changes in the continually metamorphosing contemporary digital media environment media theoretical rather than experiential. Consequently observed student use of mobile web 2.0 was limited to social networking with friends" (Cochrane et al, 2012, p. 167).

Further underscoring that journalism programmes could do more to equip their students with specialist social media skills, new journalism jobs become available for graduates in a culture industry in a reconfigured content environment. Duffy and Schwarz (2018) state: "[B]usinesses of all stripes are allocating resources to a newly created position: the social media professional. Those enlisted as social media 'coordinators,' 'editors,' and 'managers' — along with more faddish titles like 'guru' and 'ninja' — are tasked with distributing branded content across corporate blogs, Facebook pages, Twitter feeds, and Instagram accounts" (p2). In an indication of how mainstream the social media industry is, in 2019, even the media-aloof British Royal Family has advertised for social media officers to help run the Queen's social media strategy (ibid).

Significant is that students in many instances are more media-savvy and digitally literate than their university teachers, which in turn makes the task of educating them for a changing world more difficult. Admits X: "Students have changed because they already have expertise in media skills. I think we are still playing catch-up with that generation." For some, the jury is out on whether it is important to equip students with social media expertise. While some might question whether there is a place for social media skills development in a journalism degree programme, news media organisations are increasingly enhancing multi-

platform delivery strategies (Ureta & Fernández, 2018) while journalism schools are slowly integrating social media skills into their curriculum (Bor, 2014). The advancement of technology so that it becomes more user-friendly and accessible to non-professionals has also meant that employers are less interested in hiring students who have developed specialist equipment-related skills (B, M, L, T). Taking a contrary view, namely that educators can add value by equipping students with technological skills, another interviewee points out that he has told his peers that young people are very au fait with technology but with the caveat that this refers to telephone devices:

> "They text, they are Facebooking, and they are on Twitter and so on, but put them down in front of Microsoft Word or Microsoft Excel and they're not that great. They don't know how to structure a document. They don't know how to make a spreadsheet, a budget and use formulae in a spreadsheet, so whilst they are native to technology they still need direction and support to be able to properly exploit the technology that is there."

Nuanced understandings of social media strategies are highly relevant for journalism practitioners seeking to promote their content as well as engage meaningfully with audiences and sources and therefore it can be argued that there is a case for including these channels within the scope of university journalism curricula. Notes Skoler (2009) of the news industry: "Mainstream media see social media as tools to help them distribute and market their content. Only the savviest of journalists are using the networks for the real value they provide in today's culture — as ways to establish relationships and listen to others. The bright news organisations and journalists spend as much time listening on Twitter as they do tweeting" (p.39). Picard (2009) emphasises that news organisations have embraced all forms of technology relevant for communicating with audiences, from newspapers readable on electronic readers to podcasts, and perhaps haven't been sufficiently discriminate in the use of social media. This in turn helps to illustrate the need for a greater understanding of techniques for maximising the benefits of social media channels among journalism practitioners and, therefore, points to a requirement that the study of these newer media channels should be included in university journalism curricula. Ofcom analysis of social media consumption in Scotland indicates that "with Scots slightly more likely to use social media and to comment on websites and forums" than people elsewhere in the UK (Fraser, 2015) a need for increased focus on social media strategies is applicable in this nation, too.

Among the findings of this study is that there has been a recent (late 2010s) push in Scotland towards developing modules that facilitate the development of journalists who are skilled in several media formats and are therefore adaptable multi-media specialists. This is distinct from the previous approach which treated skills and knowledge for print, television and radio as separate specialisms and encouraged the development of graduates who would work in one of these fields as opposed to the contemporary journalist who must work in a converged environment as a jack-of-all-trades. It is noted, too, that multi-media skills' development often follows the teaching of the processes and practices in the media, with each media type examined separately and in the context of the historical development of each media sector (see module break-down, Figure 3). Deuze and Witschge (2018) argue that this formulaic approach could work against the sector: “Work and analysis suggest that the supposed core of journalism and the assumed consistency of the inner workings of news organisations are problematic starting points for journalism studies” (p.165). Furthermore, there is also the finding that skills development for social media in university journalism education in Scotland is relatively immature and that arguably this is a shortcoming because there is a proliferation of jobs for social media-savvy individuals, not only in the news media but across all sectors — from medicine and scientific research to the arts, which in turn indicates it has become a transferable skill (this is dealt with in greater detail in Chapter 5).

5III¡ Emerging specialisms: A moving target, sometimes missed

Another area of study that is conspicuous in its absence from university journalism programme module outlines is data journalism. As Nguyen and Lugo-Ocando (2015) found: it is still quite hard to find statistics courses in university journalism programmes, although this varies from one country to another; and, in the UK, accreditation bodies barely mention numeracy as a professional requirement. The document analysis leg of this study confirms that data journalism has not moved from the radar of a handful of academics to mainstream teaching programmes. Whereas around 2000, using large data sets was a difficult undertaking for journalists, by 2011 data sets were increasingly being opened to investigative journalists for scrutiny and reporters were increasingly digging deep into data to make sense of information (Aitamurto, Sirkkunen & Lehtonen, 2011, p.6). By 2019 this development had not yet put its stamp on journalism education provision in Scotland (see appendices 2, 3). At the time the documents were analysed in 2018-2019, none of the universities providing journalism as a subject in Scotland were offering data journalism as a distinct

specialism. However, the theoretical work and academic study of data journalism has resulted in a large body of studies published in peer-reviewed journals. This, in turn, suggests that research by specific lecturers is not being incorporated in their own teaching delivery in any significant way.

It is worth noting, too, that multi-media skills development is not only about adding digital skills to the mix. The contract magazine industry, for example, was still a vibrant, highly profitable sector at the time of the interview (2014) yet magazine production and writing skills were neglected in a one-year multi-media journalism programme format at one institution. This is because there is so much to teach, with each strand specialist and therefore requiring time to develop, one participant, who works at that institution, explained. In addition, the teaching term is relatively short, requiring a further condensing of the curricula. H states: “You can’t add much more to a multi-media course. It begins in October and ends, effectively, in June.”If you add magazine journalism, something has got to go. You just can’t — there isn’t the time to do all of the things you need now to do.”

Allied to these concerns is the question of the relevancy of skills taught on highly vocational multi-media modules, with skills requirements a constantly moving target. This is evidenced by inter alia, the following comments from participants: “We can only take the training and skills mission to a point” (X); “We are potentially training them for jobs that don’t exist right now…where the job that you started disappears under you and you recognise that you’ve got skills that can also be relevant in another area” (B). One way of coping with technological change has been to keep the focus on core essential journalistic skills like producing good content and telling a good story (S).

However, employers aren’t necessarily looking for specialist skills. M asserts that, for employers, it is more important for fresh graduates to demonstrate creative processes at work, ideas, vision “but a capacity to learn multi-skilled ways of dealing with those.” Many employers are “looking for people with flair, charisma, personality, ideas, ability to network, ability to work in teams, a technical ability that they can build across different media”. Other interviewees echo these ideas that team-working is an important employability skill along with practical production aptitude (B, C, F, M, H, L, P, S, T). “Anybody who is working in media from now on at almost any level is going to have to be able to react and think on their feed and respond to opportunities…but if this is not allied to production skills and industry awareness, it’s not going to get you anywhere,” reflects F. Interviewee G concurs: “[Graduates] have to be more technologically *nous* than ever. [They] have to have a technical

mind.” These points take us back to the requirement for journalism graduate to have an education that is a balance of practical and theoretical, generic skills development and critical thinking abilities, which is what Scottish universities aspire to provide, albeit that this delivery is uneven. When it comes to important new and emerging areas of journalism practice, such as data journalism, Scottish university education continues to lag behind.

5.IIIk Finding a place for innovation

There is a perception that universities are not equipping students to be adaptable and creative. “There are a lot of graduates who come out and they’ve been taught to deal with the world as it is” whereas employers are interested in graduates “who can see the world as it might be”, asserts M. Furthermore, individuals who enter the field of journalism can expect to reinvent themselves throughout their careers, as news businesses shrink and change. They can move from being at the vanguard of holding the powerful to account to roles in public relations and communications, and other, jobs (C, D, H, L, P, Q, W). While employability of individuals is prioritised, building and securing employment opportunities for the wider pool of journalists by actively addressing the structural problems in the news media industry does not appear to be addressed, at least not at an undergraduate journalism programme level in Scotland. This is although, as Drok (2013) observes of journalism in Europe: “Every facet of the trade — public, process, product (content/form), platform and profession — has been changing almost beyond recognition” (p.146).

The presence of print — including magazine and feature writing — as a media specialism is a distinctive feature across Scotland’s journalism programmes even though print journalism, the forerunner to other media types and dating back to the 1700s, has been in steady de-cline around the globe since the 1990s. This is perhaps a reflection of the weighting be-tween print and broadcast in Scotland’s news industry. As stated earlier in this chapter and also in an earlier chapter, Scotland’s print sector is dominant in relation to the broadcast sector in Scotland (Dekavalla, 2015) and has also been in better shape than in London. This dominance of print in the small nation, and the inevitable supply of practitioner-teach-ers from this environment (B, C, F, H, P), helps to explain the dominance of print within journalism programmes.

However, as Deuze argues (2006a, p.25), there is a big question about how to best to reorient journalism education in order to get away from the perceived “core” of journalism.

Deuze (2006a) highlights concerns too, that if the orientation of a school of journalism is the medium, the graduating student is unlikely to be a "news worker who has the skills, knowledge and reflective attitude necessary to survive in today's converging media market" (p. 255). More so than at any other university, the journalism focus at Strathclyde is almost entirely on print/writing skills. This is reflected in the break down of modules — with journalism only one-third of the overall curriculum for the degree that includes journalism in year one, and journalism and creative writing running alongside English, and the other majors in the joint degree programmes, for the additional four years of the degree. The other universities have a mix with a more comprehensive offering that includes broadcast and web journalism, but retains the traditional — and increasingly obsolete — boundaries between print and broadcast journalism.

Although a print mindset appears to be dominant, there are shifts evident that there is a push from within Scotland's journalism academia to point students towards the opportunities and challenges of the new media, as distinct from only the shift to moving newspapers online. Hence, Edinburgh Napier introduces its first year students to Multimedia Reporting and digital platforms to its third-year cohorts (Figure 3); GCU also introduces first-year students to the modern media environment through a Broadcast and Online Production module; Robert Gordon has a web production module; the University of Stirling offers a Digital Publishing Project as an option in year four. Giving less prominence to new technologies is Strathclyde, which as discussed previously has an approach that centres on creative writing and encourages development in other specialisms from other subject fields (see appendix 2).

It could be argued that journalism scholars are needed more than ever to feed advice into an industry in crisis and that this existential crisis of sorts is by far the biggest long-term employability requirement of all. University research is not regarded as being of any particular use in advancing the industry (F, X, M, S, B, S, Q). "The impact of research on industry is negligible…and for practice-based institutions, that is worrying," says a senior lecturer (X). Employers agree that educators are not playing a role in meaningful advances in the sector. "Industry is changing itself. How has education responded to the need for entrepreneurs as opposed to sound-men?" asks M. His question underscores the observation that "[t]he traditional business model of journalism is disintegrating…[and, meanwhile]…the academy faces criticism over teaching quality and research relevance" (Remler, Waisanen & Gabor, 2014, p.357). "Journalism education, as increasingly provided by tertiary institu-

tions round he world, is seen as a preparation for and a corrective to journalism" (Josephi, 2009, in Drok, 2013, p.157). As Deuze (2006a) and Drok (2013) have observed: it is a major challenge for European journalism schools to switch from replicating the teaching practices and programme formats to innovating in the discipline. This study suggests that Scotland's journalism programmes do not buck this trend. As this study indicates, Scotland's journalism schools do not have a reputation as what has been described elsewhere as centres of professional renewal and innovation (Rosen, 1999, and Bierhoff & Schmidt, 1997 in Drok, 2015, p.157). This follower mode is evident in the programme module breakdowns, which are broadly the same as any you could expect at any journalism school in the UK, US and many other countries.

For some, this lag between education provision and industry requirements is not problematic. "Education is not going to change the industry. Industry is changing itself" states M of why industry players are not expecting guidance from Scottish lecturers and professors in the biggest sea-change for the news sector in a century. "Most professions are finding it difficult to cope with the speed of change," opines M of media industry players and academics. "When you think of all the various media developments, it has happened very fast. From [World] War [II} up until about 1990 nothing much happened and now it is like an explosion and people find that quite difficult to cope with" (M). This is a criticism levelled at journalism scholars worldwide, and it suggests that they have not succumbed to the neoliberal force that has fostered, as Radice describes, the development of practical research outcomes and an emphasis on knowledge transfer (2013, p.410).

This would appear to be backed by complaints among journalism academics (U) that there is a dearth of funding for journalism research. But, it is perhaps inevitable that there is so little industry funding available for academic research at universities. As Ray (2014) states of journalism scholars: they "rarely have practitioners in mind when writing and publishing their research. The language they use, as well as the methodologies, philosophies and theories they employ, are all alien to journalists and the way they operate. As a result, practitioners pay little heed to the work of academics" (p.125). The bigger picture is arguably as Frost (2017) explains of the UK-wide situation: staff teaching journalism, particularly practical elements, are usually recruited from industry and, as they often lack graduate qualifications, have found it difficult to start research careers (p199). As previously stated, there are many individuals working in Scottish university journalism teaching jobs who do not have PhDs, nor do they intend to work towards these qualifications (B, C, F, M, L, P, Q), the im-

plication being that they will not be contributing to any peer-reviewed research, let alone industry-relevant research, and will instead continue to focus on skills development for their students. States (H) of Scottish university journalism education provision: “Getting the mix of practitioners to academics is tricky and varies from country to country. It is difficult to be somebody who is very highly credible as an academic, research-related, and also highly credible as somebody who is a journalist.” Universities have to ensure that their journalism teachers “are credible journalists in the eyes of the industry”, with a disadvantage that they are unlikely to have a PhD — the qualification that is aimed at equipping academics for research activity, says H. The latter goes as far as to say that industry players do not like academics very much. They “put up” with them but “need to be convinced that the people doing the teaching understand what it is like to produce a newspaper or magazine” (H). Certainly, the impact of Scottish university journalism research on the industry, is minimal.

5III | Opportunities for entrepreneurship development

This study identifies a significant opportunity for the inclusion of entrepreneurship skills development within journalism programme at Scotland’s universities. This is because there is acknowledgement that graduates are more likely to end up in self-employed roles than previously and therefore need to think and act like business managers (M, Q, C, F). “People who work freelance tend to be very experienced before they go freelance. That’s how they make it work. They have the contacts, the network and they have a lot of experience…Asking a youngster of 23 or 24 to create a career for themselves by putting a month here and a week there together is asking a hell of a lot. But that seems to be more and more the case” (M). An understanding of how to promote work is as essential as deep specialist technical skills (S, H). Asserts T: “The skills of winning work as a freelance are just the same as skills of winning against a company – on a slightly different scale.”

There is a shortage of individuals with commercial acuity in the journalism field. States P: “One of the biggest problems in industry, absolutely no doubt about it, is the lack of management training of editors or people who have been pushed up the ladder. There is a growing demand now on editors to be more managers” (P). M agrees: “Creativity isn’t in short supply. What is in shorter supply is ways of delivering on that creativity in the business world.” First prize is to find graduates who are both creative and business-orientated, though most tend to be one or the other, he notes. Media marketing “is an area that is wide open…there are all these creative people out there but few of them are business orientated

in any shape or form. But, it's the business side that's going to create an industry" (M). Another interviewee emphasises the importance of "the business of winning work". "The skills of winning work as a freelancer are just the same as the skills of winning against a company — on a slightly different scale," he states, adding that it is up for debate how those skills are developed.

Another participant observes that students who are naturally interested in, or have an aptitude for, business-oriented subjects are likely to choose degree programmes other than journalism. Furthermore, editorial decision-makers view individuals with backgrounds in business and finance with scepticism. He states: "The editorial voice can be relatively weak around the senior management team table. I think that if the accountants have control of he organisation…one of the stories of the newspaper industry over the past two, certainly three, decades is that it's been about people sweating the asset and taking the money out rather than reinventing and reinvesting in the product." Nevertheless, this participant agrees that it is important to develop entrepreneurial skills, "to know how to build things, to be able to deal with failure, to be able to embrace failure, and to know how to pick yourself up and move forward". He cites lateral thinking as a critical skill for journalists who need to "be able to look for opportunities and connections". For another interviewee, individuals who find their way into the news sector who are interested in the creative side as well as the business side are few and far between. He states: "Talk to them about money and it is like they just don't want to know. It's not even as if they are willing to learn. They just want to make the programme but they don't know what lies behind it."

With the number of formal jobs in the news industry continuing to shrink, with an obvious dearth of entrepreneurial ability at the upper echelons of the print sector — arguably this is linked to the demise of the newspaper industry — and the migration of journalists to roles creating news and related content for sectors outside the news media, there is a need and opportunity to incorporate business skills in curricula.Yet, there isn't much offered in the way of modules that equip individuals to successfully create careers for themselves. Only GCU and UWS appear to emphasise entrepreneurship within journalism (see appendix 3).

For GCU the emphasis is on individual career success rather than identifying ways to boost the sector in general. It states, in its programme specification, that its intention is to "[E]quip students with journalism industry awareness and an entrepreneurial approach to career development to enable them to thrive within the media industries workplace". UWS was the only university at the time of writing by 2018 that appeared to offer a dedicated compulsory

entrepreneurship and professional module to enable students “to develop knowledge and understanding of the requirements to be entrepreneurial in a market place that is very receptive to opportunities to create new business ideas and models around the presentation of news in all its formats”. UWC noted that “students will have the opportunity to prepare themselves more readily for the competitive world of work by undertaking practice in presenting themselves to potential future employers and in ensuring that they are aware of the need to build their own ‘brand’ around themselves are future employees and entrepreneurs” (see appendix 3). For one senior academic whose institution does not offer entrepreneurship as a subject, business-related expertise is best developed after experience in the field. There is, potentially, room for postgraduate professional development degrees. “Media management is a bit like an MBA. It is much better done after you have been in business. You can highlight the state of the industry, problems and issues…but that’s not the same as teaching people management,” he argues. The data from this study suggests, however, that entrepreneurship, while deemed a critical skill in a digital economy, is not being taught at Scottish journalism schools.

5IIIm Scottish education, employability and the internationalisation agenda

Higher education around the world is increasingly shaped by internationalisation, which is broadly the purpose of attracting international students for a variety of purposes, inter alia economic and for acculturation (Chankseliani, 2018). While a detailed discussion of internationalisation is beyond the scope of this dissertation, it is worth noting that ,with the internationalisation of student cohorts, there is potentially an area for innovation when it comes to the development of employability attributes among international graduates. But this is no mean feat. Summing up the challenge, Q asks: “How do you, for example, create employability objectives that are as appropriate for Chinese students, who will return to an environment of censorship and high personal risk, and UK students? How can you teach law to students who will apply themselves in jurisdictions where the law is very different?”

In addition, while universities focus on gaining international students, there is an opportunity for domestic students that is being overlooked in the broader context of internationalisation, namely to make themselves more attractive to domestic employers by having knowledge of global markets and opportunities and approaches in the news industry elsewhere. Observes M: “The world is a big market…and we are not taking advantage of it, because we’ve never thought of it in business terms as opposed to creative terms." Students who

have a broader vision of the world, because they have travelled, have a better awareness of "what we can take to the world and what the world can take back to us" (M). Underscoring this lack of appreciation for internationalisation in academia, B sums up thinking in some quarters that internationalisation holds little to no value when a student's first job will probably be with a local company. F highlights the practical reasons for not giving foreign students more access to employability-related opportunities, namely the ability of academics to help students find placements and develop contacts in order to find jobs:

> "Where I've got strength is that I have genuine links with actual people in the industry and this is local, as in Scotland. I don't have genuine links in London, which is a proper international centre of production, or elsewhere."

This study finds that Scottish journalism schools have not to any significant degree looked to connect employability with internationalisation and provide learning that is able to combine both; thereby they are missing an opportunity to be more relevant and useful to a larger cohort of students.

5. IV RESEARCH FINDINGS: SUMMARY

This chapter has summarised and evaluated the insights gleaned from 19 individuals working within Scotland's university journalism sector. In addition, it assessed key documentation emanating from these institutions in which course profiles, objectives and modules were described along with activities aimed at linking students with employers. The chapter highlighted a number of areas in which Scotland's experience and development has been quite different from the other home countries of the United Kingdom. These included student pathways, a continuing emphasis on print and perceptions and motives and opportunities for employability.

The chapter evaluated data pertaining largely to the two unanswered research questions of this study, namely, how Scottish universities responded to their understanding of the imperative of employability in journalism education, and, what the implications of these responses might be for employability, democracy and for quality, independent journalism.

On the former question, Scottish universities have responded to the imperative of employability in journalism education in a number of ways. The data suggests there is ambiguity and inconsistency around the definition and application of employability. Journalism educators

have been caught between contrary demands, on one hand the income-generating drive for research funding and grants and university's strategic emphasis on research and, on the other, demands from employers for a particular range of skills - such as shorthand - which often do not fall within the scope of journalism studies research. The focus on employability, the data suggests, is driven only partly by journalism educators but also by university administrators keen to improve their university's rankings in league tables as well as the parents and students themselves. Scottish universities have tended to present data on employability which is the result more of wishful thinking than actual evidence of graduating students being employed in the industry for which they have been trained.

In addition, journalism educators have tended to ignore opportunities to better prepare students for the digital economy by offering modules in areas such as public relations, in which there are now vastly more jobs than mainstream journalism, and content marketing. With the vast majority of Scotland's journalism graduates taking up employment in sectors other than print or even mainstream journalism, there is an evident disconnect between the skills educators are offering and the skills students need to flourish in industry.

My research suggests journalism educators in Scotland largely refuse to acknowledge current industry dynamics, such as the convergence of platforms, and instead cling to pre-digital forms of media organisation and their associated skills in the structure of degree programmes. Print continues to be the prime orientation of most Scottish journalism programmes in spite of overwhelming evidence that the contemporary global media industry does not privilege this aspect over others.

Journalism curricula, my data indicates, have been subject both to university and national politics. They have been driven, on the one hand, by the strategic objective of encouraging as many young people as possible to enter tertiary education regardless of demand and by the neoliberal shift of UK universities toward commercialisation. A consequence of these various forces has been the rapid homogenisation of Scottish university journalism programmes.

On RQ3, namely identifying the implications of current patterns in Scottish journalism education for employability, democracy and for quality, independent journalism - for which evidence has been gathered in this findings chapter - the implications for democracy and quality journalism are ominous. A key finding of this research is that Scottish universities are not adequately addressing the requirement to develop Scotland's democratic political culture.

This is due, in part, to the standardisation of Scottish journalism education that matches trends elsewhere but that may not provide the optimum training for critical journalists with democratic values. With the news media subsumed in policy terms into the creative industries, the vital journalistic value to hold the powerful to account has taken a back seat in most journalism curricula. The data supports the notion that the focus on employability has come at the expense of teaching on ethics, accountability and democratic values. As Duncan Rice (2005) has argued: “Undervaluing non-vocational research and teaching will jeopardise our national, intellectual and cultural life, and even our success as a humanely functioning democracy” (cited in Kerevan, 2013, p.767).

My study also indicates that trends have developed within Scottish journalism programmes that do not support the consolidation or sustainability of quality journalism. In spite of preferences articulated by industry, Scottish journalism programmes tend to provide generic journalism education rather than specialist skills.

The data suggests journalism work experience provided by Scottish universities has tended to be short and probably not very useful for either students or employers. Claims by journalism programmes that they have close links with industry are uneven or aspirational, therefore the marketing claims of links with employers are inconsistent with reality. Unlike other parts of the UK, Scotland’s universities have been largely ambivalent toward accreditation and have not universally embraced accreditation for journalism courses. Critically, the shift to digital, multi-media journalism, while pronounced in the workplace, has only been embraced tentatively in Scottish journalism education.

Similarly, Scotland’s universities have not accommodated the phenomena of social media within journalism curricula to any significant degree. While new and emerging areas of journalism practice, such as data journalism and entrepreneurship, are also not being taught. The absence of these important dimensions of 21st century media practice does not serve well students hoping to excel in the workplace.

Journalism scholars, meanwhile, are having little to no impact on industry practice while Scottish journalism schools have not to any significant degree looked to connect employability with internationalisation and provide learning that is able to combine both, thereby missing an opportunity to be more relevant and useful to a larger cohort of students.

In summary, Scotland's journalism education landscape bears a range of distinctive features that differentiate it from other sectors, including the UK's home nations. However, when it comes to entrenching democratic values, laying the foundations for quality, critical journalism and skilling students to meet the challenges of the 21st Century's digital economy, the sector exhibits a range of performance deficits that have been exposed by my data and which require strategies to counter these negative trends.

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION

6.I OVERVIEW: RESEARCH RELEVANCE, METHODS

In this dissertation, I argue that while the Scottish education model is unique in the context of UK education, journalism education in Scotland in many ways is nonetheless failing to meet the demands of the 21st Century. Scottish journalism education has become homogenised, siloed in pre-digital modes of production and disconnected from the skills and expectations of potential employers in the news industry. This has been, in part, and somewhat ironically, due to pressure from universities and the Scottish government to prioritise employability-related practical skills and in part because of the reluctance of journalism educators to research and teach the new range of skills that are needed for journalists to flourish in the digital era. The lack of substantive teaching in Scottish universities around the democratic role of journalism or regarding critical approaches to news, has undermined the ethos of democracy among graduands, their grasp of the occupational ideology of journalism (Deuze, 2005) and therefore eroded democracy within society as a whole. This conclusion suggests a radical rethink of journalism education is necessary in Scotland to more appropriately reflect current circumstances, contemporary critical thinking and to ensure the sustainability not only of the Scottish media, but also Scottish democracy.

At the outset, this project undertook to answer three main research questions, namely:

RQ1: How did employability come to be articulated within Scottish university journalism education?
RQ2: How have Scottish universities responded to their understanding of the imperative of employability in journalism education?
RQ3: What are the implications of current patterns in Scottish journalism education for employability, democracy and for quality, independent journalism?

None of these have previously been examined in published studies in the field of journalism education which, as Gardestrom (2015, p4) has noted, " is not a crowded field of research". This PhD study aims to make a contribution to studies about university journalism programmes, specifically from the perspective of journalism education in Scotland, and with particular reference to employability. This has been identified by scholars as an area that is under-served by research. As Goodman observed in 2017 in the preface of a book on glob-

al journalism education: Extremely limited research on this topic existed at the time the book was conceived in 2001 and “all hungered to learn more” (p.vii). Furthermore, employability aspects of education are also a relevant area to research, and in particular understanding the articulation and efficacy of employability approaches, because it is a priority for governments and students, who provide the funds for education. As noted in the introduc-tion, employability is a key focus of the Scottish government, not only to enhance employ-ment numbers but to ensure that the workforce is productive and innovative (Scottish Gov-ernment, 2007). It is hoped that this study can make a contribution to understanding jour-nalism education, and in particular its role in employability, in a small nation at a time when journalism itself is undergoing structural changes.

This thesis explores how Scottish universities have tried to adapt to enhance the employability of their students in an industry that has, in contemporary times, undergone a metamorphosis amid unprecedented technological change and, consequently, in which traditional jobs have and continue to be shed and new jobs created. It examines how employability is understood within Scottish universities that offer journalism programmes and explores how the employability agenda has developed to shape journalism curricula at Scotland’s universities. It is a qualitative research project that aims to produce findings that can make a contribution to the body of research on Scottish university education and in particular Scottish university journalism education, with some conclusions that might be relevant to global journalism education.

As outlined in previous chapters, journalism is a relatively new discipline at university, with undergraduate journalism studies growing exponentially in Scotland for much of the 21st century. As such, it is relatively under-explored in the vast body of published academic literature. As Goodman and Steyn (2017) observe, very few books focus on journalism education from a global perspective and there has not been much work on comparative global education to date (ibid, p.7); in the literature review chapter of this thesis, it is noted that there is a relative paucity of published work on journalism education in Scotland — and specifically on journalism education at Scotland’s universities.

It is argued, therefore, that it is relevant to build on existing work to address this gap for a number of reasons, including that journalism education is tied closely to journalism as a profession that has an important place in maintaining the health of democratic states and keeping communities engaged with public figures and entities (Deuze, 2017). Furthermore: in a world in which we are all immersed in media, journalism “should be considered to be

the heart of what it takes to perform successfully in the information age" (ibid, p.321). In addition, as Schlesinger (2015) has observed, Scotland has a distinctive national public sphere (p.102). Its education system also has it own features and history that are distinct from the rest of the UK; therefore it is appropriate to explore pertinent journalism questions within this national context, with the latter undertaken in the historical contextual chapter (four).

This, as previously noted, is a qualitative research project, as this type of research is considered to be the most appropriate methodology for studying social phenomena (Luborsky & Lysack, 2017), addressing "what is, how and "why" questions (Snape & Spencer, p.3). The objective is to generate knowledge through detailed, in-depth findings on a subject that requires an excavation and sorting of information that has not previously been documented and analysed. Much of this information is in the heads of insiders (Gill et al, p.292), so it is therefore appropriate to undertake interviews in order to bring this to light.

Accordingly, this research drew on interviews with current and former university journalism educators and professionals in associated organisations who work in advisory roles to university journalism departments — including university advisory board members who are employers of students with journalism degrees. Interview participants were selected through chain sampling on the basis of their roles in, and oversight of, journalism education provision, with an information saturation point reached after about a dozen interviews, indicating that this sample would appear to be sufficient to address the questions. Additionally, some information was gathered through an observation of an academic forum on journalism education in Scotland. A total of 19 people's views were canvassed for this research study. I was able to apply my own experience of professional interviewing, and the qualification that I have in analysing interview data, to identify the key themes.

This project also includes analysis of key university documents with a view to providing additional, nuanced perspectives on employability as an influence in university journalism education. Relevant university content in the public domain was examined with a view to teasing out themes, identifying patterns and comparing and contrasting the undergraduate journalism programmes of six of Scotland's universities — precisely with a view to exploring questions on how the employability agenda is addressed. This phase aims to add breadth and depth through an additional, context-sensitive way of viewing the research questions.

This study places the deep roots of the employability focus in Scotland's university journalism programmes in historical context, an exercise which has not previously been undertaken. Historical contextualisation is regarded as essential to interpreting data (Russell & Gregory, 2003). Accordingly, Chapter Four is an examination of how employability came to be embedded in Scottish university journalism curricula by tracking back through time to understand how the development of Scottish education, and Scottish politics, had an impact on the evolution of this concept. The chapter also examined the global and national drivers that dramatically changed the face and prospects of news businesses. In doing this, Chapter Four effectively answers Research Question 1. Recalling that RQ1 asks how employability came to be articulated within Scottish journalism education, the summarised answer is as follows.

Employability has been wound around the roots of Scottish education since the 19th Century. Though university education was introduced to Scotland in the 15th century, the expansion of education to women only gathered momentum with the passage of the Universities (Scotland) Act in 1892, and its further extension to the working class expanded after philanthropist Andrew Carnegie's funding intervention in 1910 (Kerevan, 2013).

The idea that education should not only be available to the elite was based in Scotland's dominant Presbyterian ideology. Along with the democratic approach to electing leaders and strong sense of community, the Presbyterian emphasis that the mind is a gift from God to be nurtured (Faith Presbyterian Church) set the tone in Scotland for a higher education system that has emphasised democratic principles as well as undoubtedly playing a role in infusing curricula with an emphasis on lifelong learning and continual development.

It was from this early time that a range of pressures began to evolve that would give education in Scotland an increasingly utilitarian emphasis. As far back as the early 1900s, there were widespread doubts as to whether a curriculum designed primarily for educating ministers of religion and schoolteachers was effective in the development of entrepreneurs or in the specialist technical training which modern industry required (Sanderson, 1972, p.157 in Paterson, 2003, p.84). "Scottish education at the beginning of the Twentieth Century has been created by a belief that access to a coherent academic tradition, based in recurrently modernised forms of the inherited institutions is the only worthwhile standard of educational democracy" (ibid).

The differentiation between higher education for vocational purposes and higher education for non-vocational purposes emerged at the start of the 1900s. This was because “increasingly the separation of academic and vocational qualifications came to be regarded as inadequate to meet the needs of a society in which knowledge was expanding and changing rapidly, and in which the employment market was demanding new skills over and above traditional forms of understanding. The convergence of these pressures meant that the case for a unified qualifications framework and single qualifications body was compelling” (Bryce & Humes, 2013, p.681).

A key driver of the employability agenda within the Scottish university system has been the importance of university education as well as further education in general as a driver of economic growth. At the highest level, there has been an enduring belief “in creating seamless post-compulsory education and training structures that allow for progression and articulation between the sectors” (Morgan-Klein, 2003, p.342).

The Scottish government has emphasised employability and the skills agenda, not only with universities and colleges, but also at school-level. This has given the SQA, the state’s accreditation and qualification awarding institution created in the Education (Scotland) Act 1996, considerable power in guiding curricula. “By the very nature of its work, the SQA has to negotiate and liaise with many organisations and clearly this requires strong networks of contacts and good lines of communication across the educational and training systems. Once again this is set in a political and economic context, with reference to the National Performance Framework, Public Services Reform (Scotland) Act 2010 and Skills for Scotland: Accelerating the Recovery and Increasing Sustainable Growth, the last being a government publication of 2010” (Bryce & Humes, 2013, p.684).

In Scotland, employability has been advanced through the big push to encourage apprenticeships as a route to employment, with journalism-related jobs falling under the Creative Industries — a sector where the estimate, according to Skills Development Scotland, is that 16,500 job openings are expected between 2019 and 2029, related to job churn as well as expansion demand (Skills Development Scotland) or 20%, with at least half in professional and associated roles. In Scotland, the following is being developed as part of the “distinctiveness” (Humes & Bryce, 1999 in Gallacher & Reeve, 2019, p.238): Foundation Apprenticeships, at school-level, Modern Apprenticeships, delivered with FE colleges, and Graduate Apprenticeships, with universities the loci of development rather than employers, as is

the case in England (ibid). Graduate Apprenticeships cater for individuals who want to study towards a degree-level qualification and work simultaneously (Apprenticeships.scot) ad are typically aimed at those working for employers with minimum annual wage bills of £3m (ibid).

Much contemporary debate also revolves around how to marry the practical and the theoretical aspects of university education. In the Robbins Committee, one issue addressed was "the extension of technological and technical education and, on this, the division of labour to be struck between the universities and the establishments of higher education" (Parry, 2014, p.192). This debate has continued over the decades, and infuses journalism education as employers increasingly expect to hire graduates who can immediately integrate into the workforce and require little to no training. There is a "constant refrain from Scottish employers that graduates lack practical skills, ie. competency in communication, numeracy, and the use of information technology. However, while work-based learning has long been a feature of university programme development, gaining traction UK-wide as a concept after the publication of the Dearing Report (1997) (Foster & Stephenson 1998), and universities have been identified as central to apprenticeship development, major news industry employers do not appear to emphasise tertiary qualifications.

The employability issue is raised in questions around what Scotland wants from its universities. There are no neat answers as Scottish policymakers and other stakeholders grapple over whether Scotland wants to "pass on the collective wisdom of humanity or to provide a passport to the best jobs", "act as the world's greatest research lab or to be an express lift to social mobility in a small country?" (Kerevan, 2013, p.754)

What is clear from my research is that employability emerged from a particular historical context in which Scottish religious, democratic and political ideologies converged over time to privilege it, particularly among the non-Ancient universities, as their raison d'être. Employability continues to be a major lodestone of Scottish educational policy in the 21st Century and the articulation of employability a key and enduring theme of Scottish university education.

Research Question 2 is a natural progression from Research Question 1 as it asks how university journalism educators responded to the evident imperative of employability. This response took a number of different forms. As Chapter Five (Findings and Analysis) notes,

even though all Scottish universities are aware of the currency of employability, the data suggests there is ambiguity and inconsistency around its definition and application.

Journalism educators have been caught between striving to raise income from research while attempting to meet employers' demands for a particular range of skills that do not fall within the ambit of fundable research. But journalism educators have also tended to ignore opportunities to better prepare students for the digital economy by offering modules in areas such as public relations or content marketing. There is an apparent disconnect between the skills educators are offering and the skills students need to flourish in industry. My research suggests journalism educators in Scotland cling to pre-digital forms of media organisation and their associated skills in the structure of degree programmes rather than acknowledge the convergence of platforms or the importance of social media. Instead, the legacy industry of print continues to be the prime orientation of most Scottish journalism programmes.

My data indicates that journalism curricula have been subject both to university and national politics. They have been driven by the strategic objective of encouraging as many young people as possible to enter tertiary education and by the neoliberal shift of UK universities toward commercialisation. A consequence of these various forces has been the rapid homogenisation of Scottish university journalism programmes.

The third and final research question in this dissertation follows on logically from the previous two and asks about the implications of contemporary Scottish journalism education for employability, democracy and for quality, independent journalism. The data I have gathered in the study suggest this is an area that requires urgent attention and further research. A key finding of this dissertation is that Scottish universities are not adequately addressing the requirement to develop Scotland's democratic political culture. This is due, in part, to the standardisation of Scottish journalism education that matches trends elsewhere but that may not provide the optimum training for critical journalists with democratic values. With the news media subsumed in policy terms into the creative industries, the vital journalistic value to hold the powerful to account has taken a back seat in most journalism curricula. My data supports the notion that the focus on employability has come at the expense of teaching on ethics, accountability and democratic values.

My study also indicates that trends have developed within Scottish journalism programmes that do not support the consolidation or sustainability of quality journalism. In spite of pref-

erences articulated by industry, Scottish journalism programmes tend to provide generic journalism education rather than specialist skills. In addition, as I have demonstrated in my analysis chapter (Chapter Five), journalism work experience provided by Scottish universities has tended to be short and probably not very useful for either students or employers while the marketing claims of links with employers are inconsistent with reality. Unlike other parts of the UK, Scotland's universities have been largely ambivalent toward accreditation and have not universally embraced accreditation for journalism courses.

Critically, the shift to digital, multi-media journalism, while pronounced in the workplace, has only been embraced tentatively in Scottish journalism education. My data suggests Scotland's universities have not accommodated the phenomena of social media within journalism curricula to any significant degree. New and emerging areas of journalism practice, such as data journalism, entrepreneurship and verification, are also not being taught adequately.

Journalism scholars, meanwhile, are having little to no impact on industry practice while Scottish journalism schools have not to any significant degree looked to connect employability with internationalisation and provide learning that is able to combine both, thereby missing an opportunity to be more relevant and useful to a larger cohort of students.

In summary, the current patterns of Scottish journalism education, as evidenced by my data, are having a largely negative impact on employability, democracy and quality, independent journalism.

6.II FURTHER RESEARCH

It is immediately evident that further work is required in this broad area. It would be useful to know more precisely how Scotland's democratic ethos has been affected by current teaching patterns. A study evaluating Scottish graduating students' understanding and perceptions of accountability, journalistic ethics and the constituents of quality journalism would be illuminating. Research investigating how the apparent 'dumbing down' of journalism education has had an impact on citizen participation and on news literacy, for instance when comparing 'real' to 'fake' news, would also be important.

It is suggested here that a radical rethink of journalism education in Scotland may be necessary across the sector. There is clearly too much reliance on old patterns of news gather-

ing and distribution and too little care being taken to equip Scotland's young people (and the international and UK students who enrol in Scottish universities) with the appropriate range of skills they will need to thrive in the digital economy of the 21st Century. Research being carried out in Scottish universities is rarely being used to inform teaching. Studies investigating each of these areas would be valuable.

There are evidently blockages in the relationships between industry and academia, and the reasons for these are not clear, as I indicated in Chapter Five. This is another area worthy of consideration for a future research project.

There is however, significant work in the field of employability in general where academics have developed models to conceptualise the terrain and, in this study, there has not been an attempt to critique or add strands to these models per se, but rather to evaluate them in the light of the Scottish university journalism education terrain — and vice versa. There is an identified gap to explore how journalism education plays out into the careers of individuals who have completed university journalism programmes (Frith & Meech, 2007). This has not been directly addressed through this research project, with the questions focusing on how employability is addressed within Scotland's academia. These are arguably limitations of the study and also, potentially, areas for research in the future.

There continues to be a need for more national and comparative studies in journalism education. This is a need that has been expressed by a range of scholars, and this study reinforces the importance of extending our understanding of how journalism education operates in other countries, including the home nations, and how teaching practice impacts on democratic values, citizen participation, voter apathy and employability.

6.III RESEARCH JOURNEY: LIMITATIONS

While methodological limitations were examined in depth in the methodology chapter, it is worth repeating here that all research is inevitably limited in scope by funds, time and the nature and purpose of the study. As Bechhofer and Paterson state: '[R]esearch design is always a matter of informed compromise' (2000, in Lewis, 2003, p.47), therefore it was inevitable that decisions had to be taken about whether enough data had been gathered in order to adequately address the questions.

I have not applied quantitative analysis in this dissertation, nor have I employed the quantitative application of qualitative methods (such as content analysis). These could arguably be presented as limitations and while these alternate methods would certainly provide a different perspective on the questions I consider in this dissertation, I have justified my methodological choices with key scholars and texts and am comfortable that I have gathered reliable, authentic data that has informed my findings, analysis and conclusions (see Chapter Three).

Another limitation was the choice of sampling method. Choices of participants were inevitably based on, inter alia: choices within other categories described here, the school's history and, as Nelson and Watt (1999) point out, even "particular personalities and institutional policies". "[A] perfectly good plan on paper may mean something entirely different in everyday practice when applied by educators who are either friends or enemies of the initiators involved" (Deuze, 2006a, p.29). Therefore, it is acknowledged that the choice of interview participants will inevitably colour the findings and another researcher, with access to other participants, may shade the findings differently. It is acknowledged decisions about curriculum "are never value-neutral", as Deuze notes (2006, p.29). As chain sampling was utilised, this group of individuals have ties and would all be classified nationally and ethnically as European and therefore view the world with the west-centric lens that has been criticised by Said (1978), who conceptualised the term "Orientalism", and others. A further limitation was my own west-centric lens, with one consequence my expectation that journalism should be a force for good and serve as a Fourth Estate, inevitably shading questions, analysis and, ultimately, findings.

Much of the research was preceded by a review of the theoretical landscape in order to understand where knowledge might be advanced, and therefore develop research that may be of relevance beyond a student topic. However, this study, which was not positivist in approach, did not seek out to prove or disprove a specific set of hypotheses or theories. There are a number of theoretical ideas that have been posited in peer-review journals that aim to fit employability approaches in specific frameworks (Hillage & Pollard, 1998; Dacre Pool & Sewell, 2007). Many terms are used in the literature to describe transferable skills and attributes: '"generic skills", "attributes", "characteristics", "values", "competencies", "qualities" and "professional skills"' (De La Harpe, Radloff & Wyber, 2000, p.233). Along with each term there is often a proposed framework or list, some stretching to as many as 80 items (Tymon, 2013, p.843). These have been touched on in this PhD dissertation, as has, for example, Weischenberg's (2001) model of three ideal-typical journalistic domains.

Turning to the historical contextualisation chapter, presentism is acknowledged as a limitation. The view of the past from the perspective of the present is a bias in which people assume that values, intentions, attitudes and beliefs existed in the past as they exist today (Barton & Levstik, 2004). This same shortcoming is potentially a limitation, too, when examining the responses of the interviewees, some of whom were asked to cast their minds back to developments.

6.IIII FINAL WORD

Education, notes Bell (2013) “is always reliant on an altruistic electorate because the benefits from education are rarely realised within the lifetime of a parliament and often not within a generation” (p.1002). In the case of the Scotland, there is a commitment by the Scottish Government to maintain state funding for university education as a public good and commitments to widening participation (Conroy & Muscatelli, 2013). However, there are compet-ing pressures for funding, with economic headwinds adding to the pressures.

“Business, the general public and potential students have begun to question the validity, quality and cost of a university degree, as a result of the mass extension of higher education — something Scots of all classes in the first half of the Twentieth century would find absurd. The argument that ‘more is better’ may have reached its limit. This is having an impact on enrolments and business hiring practices” (Kerevan, 2013, p.757). These pressures and trends have been examined in this study (Chapter Five) in so far as they elevate or dilute the employability agenda within university journalism education provision.

It was my intention with this dissertation to explore how universities are being responsive to these forces, with particular reference to developing the employability of Scotland’s journalism students and to raise the issue of whether the time has not come for radical change in the sector to meet the challenges of the 21st Century. I concur with Pavlik (2013, p.215) that, like the media industry itself, journalism education is in need of “profound reinvention”.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1. DATA SOURCES: INTERVIEW PARTICIPANTS

Data sources		
A	Multiple conversations, recorded in note book	Career academic, professor, former head of division
B	Tape recording and transcript	Former journalist, journalism programme director
C	Tape recording and transcript	Former newspaper editor, journalism programme director
D	Tape recording and transcript	Career academic, former head of division
F	Tape recording and transcript	Part-time practitioner, lecturer actively involved in developing links between academia and industry
G	Tape recording and transcript	Career academic, consultant to university top management
I	Tape recording and transcript	Career academic, former dean of the relevant faculty, emeritus professor
M	Tape recording and transcript	Media industry entrepreneur; university industry panel advisor
H	Tape recording and transcript	Career academic, visiting professor
L	Tape recording and transcript	Practitioner, university industry advisor
P	Tape recording and transcript	Representative for journalism professionals; university industry advisor
Q	Tape recording and transcript	Former newspaper editor, part-time professor
S	Tape recording and transcript	Accreditation body executive; university industry advisor

Data sources		
T	Tape recording and transcript	Media industry entrepreneur; university industry advisor
U	Discussion and notes (filling in the gaps)	Former newspaper editor, journalism programme director, professor
W	Tape recording and transcript	Career academic, lecturer
X	Discussion and interview (recorded in notebook)	Career academic, senior lecturer
Y	Discussion and interview (recorded in notebook)	Career academic, professor
z	Discussion and interview (recorded in notebook)	Career academic, professor

* 16 people interviewed formally; 3 (X, Y, Z) observed in meeting, followed by shorter interviews. 14 audio recorded interviews, with transcripts; multiple conversations with one interviewee recorded in notebook.

APPENDIX 2. MODULE OVERVIEWS

Curricula 2018/19

	GCU Multimedia Journalism	GCU Media and Communication	Edinburgh Napier	Robert Gordon (website information)	UWS	Strathclyde English and Journalism and Creative Writing BA (reflects the weighting in English)	Strathclyde - Journalism and Creative Writing and Politics and International Relations BA (example because this one arguably will help develop an appreciation of the role of journalism in society/democracy)	University of Stirling Journalism Studies BA	University of Stirling Digital Media	University of Stirling Film & Media
Year 1	* News writing and Journalism * Shorthand Theory * Broadcast and Online Production1 * Media Industries 1 * Introduction to Media Analysis * The Business of Social Science * Introduction to Public Relations	Broadcast and Online Production 1, Media Analysis 1, Media Industries 1, The Business of Sociology and Workplace Culture and Behaviour	Multimedia Reporting Media Studies Introduction to Reporting 1 (Print?/?Online) Social Media Introduction to Reporting 2 (Broadcast)News Analysis	The Media Business (7.5 credits) Core Broadcast Journalism and Production (15 credits) News Writing (7.5 credits) Introduction to Media Law (7.5 credits) Governing the UK (7.5 credits) Visual Culture and Design (15 credits)	Core modules: Newsgatherng techniques, Issues in Journalism, News reporting, Digital Journalism 1. Optional: Business of News	* In the wide-ranging introduction to university-level English, your required reading ranges from ancient tales, to Shakespearean drama, to cutting-edge contemporary fiction. Journalism and Creative Writing 1B Journalism and Creative Writing 1A	Journalism and Creative Writing 1A Politics 1B: Government and Governance Politics 1A: Concepts Journalism and Creative Writing 1B	Students need to choose either one or two of the following core modules: Writing and History; Writing and Identity and Writing and Language. Writing for Journalists 1 Ethical Issues in Journalism Introduction to Journalism Studies	Forth Valley	Compulsory: Media - an Introduction to Media Studies and Industries; the Moving Image
Year 2	Students will be required to study optional modules. Reporting and Newspaper Journalism Feature Writing and Magazine Journalism Shorthand Speed Development Media Industries 2: Enterprise and Employability Multi-level	Media Industries 2, Broadcast and Online Production 2, Introduction to PR and an option of Feature Writing and Magazine Journalism or The Business of Music	Global Current Affairs or an option Sub-editing and Design Public Affairs Feature Writing Broadcast Journalism (Radio) Media Law for Journalists	Media Semiotics and Discourse (7.5 credits) Public Relations (7.5 credits) Media Production Project (15 credits) Principles and Practice of Reporting (15 credits) Web	Law and Media Regulation; Feature Writing; Advanced News Reporting; Ethics for Journalists; Reporting UK politics. Optional: Magazine Journalism	Romantic Writing - Core Renaissance - Core Enlightenment - Core Literature, Criticism and Theory Journalism and Creative Writing 2 Creative Writing 2 Journalism 2	Journalism 2 Comparative Politics International Relations and Global Politics Journalism and Creative Writing 2 Creative Writing 2 Modern Political Thought	Students need to choose either one or two of the following core modules: Writing and History; Writing and Identity and Writing and Language. Writing for Journalists 2 Digital Media & Culture Understanding Audiences	Forth Valley	Compulsory: Reading Film and Television; Digital Media and Culture [this is not in the Digital Media degree - strangely]; Understanding Audiences [overlap with Journalism degree]
Year 3	Newsdays Specialist Reporting Communications Law and Regulation Research Methods: Theory and Practice Media Analysis 2: Discourse Ideology and the Media The Enterprise Value Challenge	Media Analysis 2, Research Methods, Enterprise Value Challenge, and option module including: Creative Advertising, Analysing Music Media, TV Drama,Intermediate Dramatic Screenwriting, PR Campaigns: Planning and Proposals and European Film History	TV Studio Presentation or TV Documentary Making Literary Journalism or Sports Journalism Information, Communication & Society Magazine Production Broadcast Journalism (TV) Digital Platforms	Media History (7.5 credits) Applied News Production (15 credits) Advanced Law for Journalists (7.5 credits) Placement (30 credits) Creative Industries Theory and Practice (15 credits) Extended Placement Magazine Journalism (15 credits)	Newsroom practice; Research Methods— - Optional: Advanced Magazine Journalism; Broadcast Feature Production; Media & Society; Policy & the Organisation of Sport; Sport & Media; Sports News Production	In addition to the below English module, students will study optional modules. Victorian and 20th-century Literature - Core Creative Writing 3 Journalism and Creative Writing 3 Journalism 3	Quantitative Methods in Social Research Contemporary British Governance Journalism 3 Parliamentary Studies Research Methods for Political Scientists European Politics American Politics Scottish Politics Local Politics War, Terrorism and Conflict Journalism and Creative Writing 3 Chinese Politics Creative Writing 3	Students need to choose either one or two of the following core modules: Writing and History; Writing and Identity and Writing and Language. Print Journalism Law and Government for Journalists	Compulsory: Digital Creativity; Social Media Marketing: Contexts and strategies; OPTIONAL - Magazine Journalism, Public Relations and Promotional Culture; Journalism and Society; Feminism and Television; Documentary Film and Television: The Poetic Eye; Exoerimental Cinema; Global Film and Philosophy; Scriptwriting; Law and Government for Journalists. Production Module: compulsory for progression in year 4 to compulsory modules in production: Online Content (production)	All optional modules [Unlike Journalism and Digital Media degrees. Scriptwriting; Documentary an Television - The Poetic Eye; Feminism and Telelvision; Public Relations and Promotional Culture; Gender and Representation; Social Media Marketing; Global Film and Philosophy; Experimental Cinema; Scriptwriting; Production - capped: Introduction to Audio and Visual Production; Radio Feature Production; Editing and Workflow
Year 4	Students will be required to study optional modules. Honours Dissertation Media Project Media Ethics	Honours Dissertation and Media Project, additional modules from a selection	Major Journalism Project Professional Development and Entrepreneurship Covering the Arts or Power and Information Dissertation Newsroom Research and Practice	Investigative Journalism (15 credits) Research Methods (7.5 credits)	Entrepreneurship and Professional Practice; Creative Research Project —-Optional: Data Journalism; Global Issues in Sport; News & Politics	In addition to the below modules, students will study optional modules. Dissertation Journalism The dissertation is 6000-8000 words long and provides an opportunity to undertake a short research project on an approved topic of your choice. You will be allocated an individual supervisor who'll guide your research and read drafts of your dissertation. The ? special project? journalism dissertation should consist of 6000 words of journalism and 2000 words of critical analysis/reflection. Dissertation in Creative Writing Dissertation English	The Journalism of War New Narratives International Relations Theory in a Global Age Journalism Portfolio Dissertation Journalism Political Parties Governance and Development Theories and Practices of Regulation and Governance Feminism and Politics Analysing Religion and Politics Dissertation in Creative Writing Political Behaviour International Security: Concepts and Issues Comparative Politics Ethical Issues in Journalism Green Politics Creative Writing Portfolio Media and	Students need to choose either one or two of the following core modules: Writing and History; Writing and Identity and Writing and Language. Journalism Dissertation Documentary Production Digital Publishing Project Journalism Project	Compulsory module: Digital and Data Literacy; Optional modules included journalism modules of Advanced Reporting; Digital Journalism. Researching the Media and Culture; Production modules are: Radio Drama Production [How is this digital media?]; Content Development and Research and Documentary Production — - so clear overlap here.	No compulsory modules. Optional modules include: Researching the Media & Culture; Digital Journalism; Digital and Data Literacy [This is the compulsory module in Digital Journalism]

APPENDIX 3: COMPARE, CONTRAST PROGRAMMES

Compare and contrast: Flagship journalism programmes								
	1960s universities	**1992 universities**	**Robert Gordon**	**GCU**	**Edinburgh Napier**	**UWS**	**Strathclyde**	**Stirling**
Degree numbers	Stirling and Strathclyde offer more journalism degree programme options (nine and 10 respectively) than any of the 1992 universities, which offer one and maximum two each) which is ironic considering 1992 universities come from more vocational roots.							
Course accredited? By?		Only Glasgow Caledonian accredited by NCTJ (perhaps reflective of the shift away from traditional newspaper skills development to a multi-media approach). Nevertheless, others offer shorthand. Only GCU and UWS have BJTC accreditation (the latter looks like it is connected with its Master's programme, though its undergrad programme makes mention of accreditation.See BJTC and NCTJ websites). Looking at the map for BJTC, accreditation is embraced more readily south of the border. See screenshot in file. Of 76 or so NCTJ accredited courses, a handful are in Scotland and only one Scottish university journalism programme. BJTC and Creative Skillset not as influential in influencing curricula north of border?	No (see a)	Yes, by two accreditation agencies. "We offer the only UG journalism degree in Scotland accredited by both the NCTJ & BJTC, so all media - print, radio, television & the web - are taught to accreditation standards.	No accreditation	Yes BJTC. Award will seek on-going accreditation from the Broadcast Journalism Training Council (See programme spec: The work placement will consist of at least 100 hours spent in the workplace (in line with BJTC accreditation requirements).	No accreditation	No accreditation
To what extent do unis 'ghettoise' journalism degrees? Stir uni singles this out in marketing material as being noteworthy			"The student will gain a thorough grounding in essential skills in journalism (print, broadcast and online), research, reporting, writing, producing, law and politics. Additionally, the course imparts a wide range of key transferable skills in research, oral presentation techniques, time management and IT skills; all of which are imperative for the wider media profession. "http://www4.rgu.ac.uk/coursedb/disp_generatePDF.cfm	"Our programme has been designed for individuals with a passion for journalism and current affairs and covers print, radio, television and the web" https://www.gcu.ac.uk/study/courses/details/index.php/P02706/Multimedia_Journalism2?utm_medium=web&utm_campaign=courselisting	Silo approach. "Students who can build rounded, detailed skillsets – encompassing first-class information gathering, writing, radio and TV package creation (including the technical operation of equipment and editing software), and digital know-how (including basic coding, website design and app building) – will be best equipped for the challenges of professional practice and finding a job."https://www.napier.ac.uk/courses/ba-hons-journalism-undergraduate-fulltime			Stirling emphasises, through broadcaster Jon Snow's testimonial in its marketing material, that it does not 'ghettoise' its journalism programme. Yet, when you look at the module overview,, although the print category has been subsumed into a compulsory Contemporary Journalism Practice, with an optional Magazine Module availalbe,, there is a notable separation between broadcast and other forms of journalism in the journalism programme. Digital journlaism is treated as a separate animal in its own degree programme, though there are some module options in journalism that allow students to get a flavour of the converged world.

Do they all require a dissertation, which is a standard academic assessment, in the final Hons year? Or journalism project or both?		Yes	Yes, dissertation is there. (but this looks like a fairly new development) "The main vehicle for independent learning is the personal research based dissertation and the student will receive training and instruction in aspects of methodology: the nature of research, writing a research proposal, sourcing relevant information, data collection, analysis and synthesis of data, research ethics and writing up their work" (course specification student learning) http://www4.rgu.ac.uk/coursedb/disp_generate_slePDF.cfm	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes. This dissertation is quite short relative to the dissertation required at Stirling, with the details resembling the journalism project of Stirling. he dissertation is 6000-8000 words long and provides an opportunity to undertake a short research project on an approved topic of your choice. You'll be allocated an individual supervisor who'll guide your research and read drafts of your dissertation. "Please consult the dissertation handbook on MyPlace for further information on the English, Journalism and Creative Writing dissertation options and requirements for entry to these classes. The 'special project' journalism dissertation should consist of 6000 words of journalism and 2000 words of critical analysis/reflection." https://www.strath.ac.uk/courses/undergraduate/englishjournalismcreativewriting/	*Optional: Dissertation or journalism project* (you'd expect a compulsory dissertation at a university that is pre-1992)
Or journalism project or both?		They seem to require their students to do both a dissertation and journalism project - is this overkill to boost the academic gravitas of the degree?	Yes, research project and investigative journalism project are listed as credit bearing (each 30 credits)	Yes, the programme specifications indicate that the Media Project and Media Ethics modules are required for industry accreditation. Programme specs state a dissertation as well. {Check whether this is either/or...it looks like it is both}				
Homogenisation of journalism degrees - to what extent are they standardised, and what does this mean for the future of journalism industry and the role of journalism in maintaining democracy?			Fairly standard format, of introduction to newswriting, print, broadcast and digital environment, followed by a shift to more theoretical modules in preparation for the dissertation.	Fairly standard format, though it mentions social media. "You'll gain the practical skills key to success in this competitive industry such as shorthand, news reporting and page layout, use sophisticated video, audio recording and editing equipment and write for online and social media. You will also study media law, government, ethics and the media industries." (https://www.gcu.ac.uk/study/courses/details/index.php/P02706/Multimedia_Journalism2utm_medium=web&utm_campaign=courselisting)		Standard siloed format. "You will study news reporting, interviewing and writing skills and prepare yourself for the demands of today's dynamic and fluid news environment. https://www.uws.ac.uk/study/undergraduate/undergraduate-course-search/journalism-with-the-option-of-sport/#!#apply The course underpins practical production and broadcasting skills with theoretical insight into ethical and effective journalism. You will build your knowledge of national and local government, international relations, and civil and criminal law relating to the media. The subject areas at the core of the programme provide a strong foundation in a range of specific journalistic disciplines. Core modules will comprise practical journalism modules in newsgathering, producing news and features, layout & design, digital video production, broadcast journalism, as well as work placements. "		

Intention to lifelong career development (possibly because this is focus of UK degree?)			Yes. The course specification says: "The course aims to prepare the student for a professional career in journalism, to provide the skills with which to undertake study in the media field with an appropriate concern for scholarship and academic rigour, and to generate a deep interest in, and enthusiasm for, journalism such that students and graduates are motivated to continually update their knowledge and understanding of the contemporary media. " and "The BA(Hons) Journalism has been designed to offer students the skills and understanding required to sustain a multimedia career in the 21st century. It equips students with knowledge and skills to develop clear understanding of both the theoretical and practical aspects of news in print, broadcast and online formats, alongside an appreciation of the structure and context of the wider media industry"	Emphasis is on immediate employment "Graduates have embarked on careers with national and local organisations including the BBC, STV, The Herald, Daily Record, The Drum, news agency Deadline and local newspapers.". https://www.gcu.ac.uk/study/courses/details/index.php/P02706/Multimedia_Journalism2utm_medium=web&utm_campaign=courselisting and, in the programme specifications document: "Provide students with the necessary journalistic knowledge and skills to equip them to begin a career in general, local or national, press, broadcast or online journalism. "	Emphasis on immediate employment. "Students who can build rounded, detailed skillsets – encompassing first-class information gathering, writing, radio and TV package creation (including the technical operation of equipment and editing software), and digital know-how (including basic coding, website design and app building) – will be best equipped for the challenges of professional practice and finding a job." https://www.napier.ac.uk/courses/ba-hons-journalism-undergraduate-fulltime and a very general hint about employability: "The BA (Hons) Journalism programme is a four-year course which builds insight into the media industry, developing a sophisticated skillset that will aid employability."	Emphasis on immediate employment. "The programme will produce graduates who are ready for the world of work in the dynamic, competitive, multi platform world of journalism. "https://psmd.uws.ac.uk/PublicWebView_ProgrammeSpec.aspx?documentGroupCode=UG00414&documentGroupCode=UG00414		
Going beyond journalism skills to very basic employability skills				"Workplace culture and behaviour module." Level 1. (see comments from interviewee about how to answer phone and comments from STV exec about the need for basic business soft skills)		UWS has an Entrepreneurship and Professional Practice module, which looks like it is assisting students in preparing for a tough working environment through personal planning. Looks similar to workplace culture and behaviour module in GCU, though the name is different. "The module aims to develop students' critical thinking about career choice and work ethics in combination with their practical projects. The outcome of all student work should demonstrate a critical knowledge and understanding of the ways in which their career plans are developed and conceptualised. The students will utilise a number of processes specific to their cultural study in relation to the wider cultural industries chosen career path such as show reels, exhibitions, installations, audio examples, CV's, covering letters and promotional portfolios to demonstrate their own personal skills		

						The module will allow students to consider career routes and opportunities and supply them with presentation, communication and generic cognitive skills to move towards employment in the cultural sector." (See course descriptor) It is about 'self-promotion' and "Communicate with professional level peers, senior colleagues and performance specialists. Put together a professional portfolio relating to a relevant area of employment."		
Employability in which sector?						Under a tab 'Career Prospects', UWS flags up direct jobs in newsrooms. "Graduates are equipped to work in newsrooms and with the essential skills to compete within a multimedia environment." https://www.uws.ac.uk/study/undergraduate/undergraduate-course-search/journalism-with-the-option-of-sport/#!#career-prospects		
Are the optional modules where the innovation lies? Is there a process in which innovation in teaching introduces new modules and then slowly these are incorporated into the compulsory aspect?				Unique module descriptors suggest a focus on innovation: Media Industries 1, followed by Media Industries 2: Enterprise and Employability; and in third year (EEE3: The Enterprise Value Challenge				Social media marketing: Contexts and strategies - optional module in year 3. Why isn't this included in contemporary journalism practice? Lags developments in setor. At Stirling,the innovative aspects of journalism (ie digital, social media) have been spun off into a Digital Media degree programme, which combines elements of journalism degree with 3 compulsory Digital Media modules.
Work experience: Compulsory or optional			Compulsory		Compulsory: "A compulsory 15 days of work experience will further add to your skillset and also give you an understanding of how contemporary media workplaces function. Through our partnership with STV, you'll have the opportunity to take part in week-long placements or longer. A number of paid internships are also available." https://www.napier.ac.uk/courses/ba-hons-journalism-undergraduate-fulltime			Optional work experience module in year 3.

Which modules indicate attention to current skills development?								Production Modules run separately, with numbers capped. The Focus is on radio production, documentary production and, in the digital media degree, there is the inclusion of an online content production module. All of the compulsory modules point towards skills development for entry level journalists. This is not only in the name but the actual content, from writing for journalists to 'law and government'. The optional modules also include contemporary skills development, for example magazine journalism and the 'Journalism Work Experience Module is clearly aimed at practical skills development; however there is a sprinkling of theoretical modules drawn from Film and Media, from Gender and Representation and Experimental Cinema to

Entrepreneurial skills development (Given the shifting employment trends)				Yes, according to programme specs: "Equip students with journalism industry awareness and an entrepreneurial approach to career development to enable them to thrive within the media industries workplace" (point 4) https://www.gcu.ac.uk/media/courses/psp/gsbs/ug/P02706%20BA(Hons)%20Multimedia%20Journalism%20extract.pdf and in the programme specifications, Educational Aim 4 is to "Equip students with journalism industry awareness and an entrepreneurial approach to career development to enable them to thrive within the media industries workplace" https://www.gcu.ac.uk/media/courses/psp/gsbs/ug/P02706%20BA(Hons)%20Multimedia%20Journalism%20extract.pdf		Yes, it has an 'entrepreneurship ' module. "Students on both pathways [BA Journalism and BA Sports Journalism] will also undertake a module in entrepreneurship and professional practice which will enable them to develop knowledge and understanding of the requirements to be entrepreneurial in a market place that is very receptive to opportunities to create new business ideas and models around the presentation of news in all its formats. Students will have the opportunity to prepare themselves more readily fro the competitive world of work by undertaking practice in presenting themselves to potential future employers and in ensuring that they are aware of the need to build their own 'brand' around themselves are future employees and entrepreneurs.		

How many do shorthand? (yesterday's skill)			Yes. See course specification.	Yes.	No longer offers shorthand, says Edinburgh Napier spokesperson. In the past it was offered for a discount through an online college [. Yes, Eamonn O'Neill has confirmed that students can take shorthand (although it is not listed in the modules)]	Yes (see programme spec)	No - can't find mention of this on website.	Yes
How many do social media skills development? (				Yes, but not emphasised as a learning outcome.	Yes, Social Media module in Year 1.	No overt effort to develop social media skills.	No overt effort to develop social media skills. Presumably this is covered in the mix of online data sources in year 4.	Yes: social media skills development (optional module year 3)
How is multi-media environment/ convergence reflected in module breakdown?Or is it			Silos	Silos. But multi-media is Reflected in name of degree:		"In reality this means developing a curriculum that reflects what the actual experience of the rapidly changing newsrooms will be and the skills required to operate successfully in these environments at a practical and intellectual level. This is allied with the need to achieve those 'graduate' skills that will enable the students/graduates to explore, analyse and critique Journalism in a forensic way to more fully understand why the news/ethics/ managerial decisions being made in the newsroom are being made. The students will also develop a very firm grasp of the role of Journalism in the social, economic, civic and democratic life of our societies. " https://psmd.uws.ac.uk/PublicWebView_ProgrammeSpec.aspx?documentGroupCode=UG00414&documentGroupCode=UG00414		
Emphasis on print				Yes		Yes	Focus is almost entirely on print/ writing skills that underpin media jobs. This is reflected in the break down of modules - with journalism only one third of the overall curriculum for the degree that includes journalism in year one, and journalism and creative writing running alongside English for the additional four years of the degree. Journalism & Creative Writing What you'll study Year 1 You'll be introduced to core concepts in both journalism and creative writing and explore the connections between the two areas of writing. Year 2 In second year, you'll explore the structure of media institutions and develop awareness of writing techniques common to journalists and creative writers. Year 3 Areas of study include script writing, features journalism and research techniques for writers and journalists. Year 4 As an Honours student you'll prepare a portfolio over the course of the year. There's also the opportunity to take advanced Honours classes in journalism and creative writing."	Yes, this is reflected compulsory modules in years 1 and 2 and requirement for shorthand, though the emphasis on print is deweighted in the last two years, with a shift in 2018 away from a print production module to 'Contemporary Journalism Practice' in year 3 (which incorporates elements of print and broadcast).

Emphasis on broadcast journalism						Yes. " Students will also have the opportunity to undertake modules from across a range of other programmes within the School, most notably L10 modules in the BA (H) Broadcast Production and BA (H) Filmmaking and Screenwriting programmes and will be given details of these in student handbooks and through induction processes etc." (see programme spec).		Only in years 3 and 4, with highly practical Production Modules offered to a limited number of students.
Emphasis on multi-media/converged environment				Yes		Yes		The inclusion of multimedia elements isn't formalised through the name of a module. (Still very ghettoised, perhaps because the nature of teaching through modules lends itself to the ghettoisation)

Emphasis on the digital journalism environment			It states its course philosophy as: "The course philosophy is to provide high quality practice-based opportunities for students to develop an understanding of journalism in the digital age" (b. p2)	Yes			Strathclyde places an emphasis on print and online journalism, though mostly print. In its description of its 'Journalism Portfolio' module in year 4 it highlights the benefits of online resources in a very general, rather than specialist, way. "This class identifies and utilises the latest developments in our digital toolbox which include: online databases online sources discussion boards social networking sites blogs	This aspect has been spun out into a separate degree programme. However, within the Journalism degree only in years 3 and 4. With social media module in year 3 and the optional Digital Journalism and Digital Publishing Project in year 4 (perhaps this reflects the standardised newsroom processes and news gathering practices developed from print and standardised across the media; so just as journalists in Scotland typically move from print into broadcast - see interviews - so the courses have been designed for students to step on from print into the broadcast and digital modules. There is no overt emphasis on the digital/ converged/multimedia in the Production Modules, though inevitably the actual equipment used is digital.

Is practical skills development/ employability limited to a select number of students?			Robert Gordon talks about "Employment-based learning" (http://www4.rgu.ac.uk/coursedb/disp_generate_slePDF.cfm); and it includes in its Learning Outcomes a special section on "The Key Employability, Enterprise and Transferable Skills" which it then outlines as the following: to: · Engage effectively in a range of independent roles; debate in a confident, professional manner; produce detailed critiques and coherent project reports to professional standards; give confident, high-quality oral and other presentations in a wide range of contexts appropriate to the specialist areas covered by the course; present and defend a research against in-depth examination in an appropriate live context. Produce detailed and professional research reports or other outputs. · Practise and demonstrate professional competence in the full range of technical skills associated with the covered by the course, including appropriate data analysis/statistical skills. · Practise and demonstrate professional competence in the full range of journalistic skills. Work autonomously or with minimal guidance, effectively manage individual personal development whilst also being capable of interacting confidently and effectively within professional groups · Demonstrate appropriate negotiating, role, leadership and group-support skills to professional standards and with the ability to mentor others " http://www4.rgu.ac.uk/coursedb/disp_generatePDF.cfm RGa p.4)	Yes, not an automatic right. "Provide an opportunity via work-based learning/work experience to develop skills in personal responsibility and initiative" (point 8, Educational Aims of hte PRogramme) https://www.gcu.ac.uk/media/courses/psp/gsbs/ug/P02706%20BA(Hons)%20Multimedia%20Journalism%20extract.pdf	No, apparently there are opportunities for all students. "Our curriculum is developed with employers, industry contacts, media organisations, and media partners such as STV, giving you the chance to have your work regularly broadcast." https://www.napier.ac.uk/courses/ba-hons-journalism-undergraduate-fulltime	No. (UWS is heavily focused on employability). There is a significant emphasis on employability that trickles down from the management. The learning, teaching and assessment strategies adopted by the teaching team will focus on a sustainable approach to producing assessments that will prepare the students for the workplace, while at the same time progressive nature of assessment will be developing good critical thinking and analytical skills that support learners and build confidence. The programme is reflective of the UWS 'Enabling Plan' which seeks to: offer inspirational and transformative learning within a flexible and personalised curriculum ensure transitions into, within and beyond UWS that raise the horizons for all stakeholders maximise staff and student engagement in a culture and environment of support and development ensure high quality information to support effective interventions in enhancement ensure that our graduates will be highly employable and able to make a difference locally and globally." Learning, teaching and assessment in the programme will be professional practice through the amalgamation of assessments that meet the needs of the university and a range of graduate skills, yet also help prepare students for the demands of the working environment beyond university. For example, aligned assessments are likely to include the production of a range of professionally produced news and journalistic artifacts that would be expected in industry and where effective communication, engagement and collaborative practice are key learning outcomes. The experiential learning opportunities in the programme will also students to learn how to work in teams co-operate with others in group projects, pose and resolve a range of problems both in the content and production of a range of journalism outputs, such as news, sports and magazine projects, and give and receive feedback through peer-review involving the whole class. Teaching will comprise practice-based workshops, simulated newsroom environments, production days, seminars and lectures." [and — key focus in all assessments]Assessment will comprise the production of portfolios of professionally		Yes. Production Modules are capped; Is work experience module capped? [So, although Stirling degrees emphasise employability, the intensive production skills modules are limited to a select few - [how are these people chosen?]

						Staff will be fully involved in the process of securing placements, in line with the University's criteria for the approval of placement setting policy. The work placement will consist of at least 100 hours spent in the workplace (in line with BJTC accreditation requirements). Each student will receive at least one pre-placement and one post-placement guidance interview with a member of the teaching team. This will be supported by a series of lectures and tutorials with students to discuss expectations, explore opportunities and agree objectives prior to students going out on placement. During the work placement there will be email and telephone contact with the module co-ordinator and other staff to discuss progress with both workplace supervisor and student. Each student will also receive feedback from the workplace supervisor and have an opportunity to discuss this feedback with the tutor."		
Unique aspects of course/linked to employability			Newsdays	Students are expected to be working towards their employability before entry to the course, with a rigorous entrance test and evidence required . "This is a very competitive course with a high ratio of applications to places. To gain a place the following details are the really important things your application needs to include (You will probably need a couple of paragraphs at least on the UCAS form to cover all of this) a clear statement in your UCAS application that you want to be a Journalist, supported by...some evidence of that commitment: work experience in a news room; editing the school magazine; any articles published. Any one of these may suffice. Say as much as you can in your UCAS statement about your journalism experiences, achievements and ambitions. Interview and test information Selected applicants are required to attend an interview and test. Final admission to year 1 is by interview and test - a requirement for NCTJ and BJTC accreditation. We need to see if you really do have the human qualities journalists	Edinburgh Napier emphasises university rankings, but doesn't link ranking to employability. (under-scoring the consumerist nature of course selection). "Journalism at Edinburgh Napier University is one the most prestigious journalism degree courses available in Britain. We're the No. 6 journalism course in the UK, according to the Guardian University Awards 2017." Nevertheless, it emphasises employability - and particularly entry level employability - in its marketing blurb on its website: "From the start, we treat you not just as a student, but as a working journalist, challenging you to produce work to industry standard so you can excel in a newsroom environment."	The employability agenda is highlighted in the programme specfication, with its own dedicated section and another section on work placements: The programme is fully aligned with institutional priorities around the development of graduate attributes and with the institutional policy on personal development planning. The mapping of programme and module learning outcomes and employability-integrated assessment ensures the visibility of graduate attributes, employability and citizenship competencies. Personal development is embedded and explicitly signposted in the curriculum, with students provided with regular opportunities to capture and evaluate progression and development, stimulating reflection, self-regulation and a more constructive engagement with employability. It is recognised that personal development planning is an essential component of lifelong learning and continuing and professional development. To support this activity, all students are provided with access to personal development planning tools and enabled to develop a personal e-portfolio across the programme.		

				need (eg curiosity, resilience, persistence, politeness); whether you really know what's going on in current affairs, the press and broadcasting; and have an eye for precision in written English. The test includes current affairs questions as well as assessing your written English. We will also ask you to sit a voice test in our digital radio studio, and bring along to the interview at least one (and no more than three) examples of your own original journalistic work. Ideally, these should be published pieces - from the school magazine, local paper, a website, for example - but if you do not have any such examples, do not worry: we will give you a precise brief to write something specially for the day." https://www.gcu.ac.uk/study/courses/details/index.php/P02706/Multimedia_Journalism2?utm_medium=web&utm_campaign=courselisting		"Students will be encouraged to maintain a PDP portfolio of feedback, evidence, reflection and goals – this may be through use of Mahara or alternative formats. This also enables students to utilise entrepreneurial approaches to showcasing their work for future employers. Employability is developed throughout the programme. This commences at Level 7 (Newsgathering Techniques) where students gain an insight into the various roles and responsibilities within news organisations. The body of knowledge developed through the programme is well focused on the needs of industry and the need for students to be prepared to meet the changing demands of the workplace. Modules such as Digital Journalism 1 & 2 (L7 & 8), Advanced News Reporting (L8), Magazine Journalism (L8), Newsroom Practice (L9), Entrepreneurship & Professional Practice (L10) and Creative Research Project (L10) will provide an opportunity for students to produce work to a high professional standard, which enhances their employability, as will many others. The principles of PDP are supported both in the curriculum and through the personal tutor support system. Essentially PDP is		
Links with employers			"Links exist with a range of placement companies including Scotsman Publications, The Big Issue, Scottish Media Group, BBC, Bauer Radio and Scottish Television. " The uni also highlights that its lecturers have practitioner experience and as such have contacts in the industry. "contacts in the industry also provide useful links with regards to guest speakers, student company visits and the organisation of live projects – all of which play an important role in the course. (b p3)	"Our academic staff are all experienced journalists with excellent industry contacts. Guests from the BBC, STV, Newsquest and The Scotsman Publications frequently deliver guest lectures, mentor students and facilitate a wide range of placements and extracurricular opportunities to boost your CV and career prospects." (https://www.gcu.ac.uk/study/courses/details/index.php/P02706/Multimedia_Journalism2?utm_medium=web&utm_campaign=courselisting			Strathclyde does not overtly target students on the basis of employability, but does indicate that students are taught by practitioners in addition to research-active academics. "As well as carrying out ground-breaking research into a range of media topics, we also offer undergraduate and postgraduate courses in journalism where our students work with internationally-recognised academics and highly experienced journalists." https://www.strath.ac.uk/humanities/schoolofhumanities/journalism/. In fact, Strathclyde moves to distance itself from a commitment to employability/directly assisting students. Although students have employment opportunities, these are peripheral to the core objective of a general education. Its marketing material emphasises its staff more than its students, which raises the question of whether Strathclyde has prioritised going up the ranks of the research active universities over delivering on employability. Although there is no obligation for students to undertake work placements, staff are regularly contacted by newspaper editors seeking help from		

							students with various projects. So there are a good number of opportunities for work experience during the course of study at Strathclyde. Short work placements are occasionally available to students of journalism during summer periods. These are not part of the course and entry is often competitive. Recent placements have included the communications division of the Scottish Government." https://www.strath.ac.uk/courses/undergraduate/englishjournalismcreativewriting/	
Assessments: Any specific employment-focused?			Coursework will include portfolios of work, presentations, reports and essays. (b p2)			Students start working on a portfolio from their first year. "Students will have the opportunity to produce portfolios of their work that they can use to showcase to future employers and work placement providers. Modules such magazine journalism, feature writing, advanced news production (in a range of formats) will provide this focus of teaching and assessment." (see programme spec)	No. At best the portfolio, but the emphasis is on traditional assessment methods and generic transferable skills development. essays portfolios presentations group work reports exams reflective diaries https://www.strath.ac.uk/courses/undergraduate/englishjournalismcreativewriting/	

Emphasis on critical thinking			The emphasis shifts from highly practical modules in the first two year to modules that require trapping with theory and developing critical thinking. Here is an example from the course specifications. "The student will be expected to assume more responsibility for his/her own learning, as he/she undertakes study of more advanced topics in which the emphasis in learning develops from reflection to critical application of information and ideas and evaluation" (b.p2 http://www4.rgu.ac.uk/coursedb/disp_generate_sllePDF.cfm	One of the stated aims, but not emphasised like the practical skills development. See point Develop critical, analytical problem-based learning skills and personal development/ enterprise skills to prepare students for graduate employment. (See point 5 of programme specifications https://www.gcu.ac.uk/media/courses/psp/gsbs/ug/P02706%20BA(Hons)%20Multimedia%20Journalism%20extract.pdf).		There is a clear objective of trying to produce graduates who are not only equipped with practical skills but also have the ability to think critically. "The curriculum will be the bridge across which we provide the graduates who met the professional requirements of the industry as well as meeting the academic standards of a university graduate. Learning and teaching on the programme is focussed around the development of skills and knowledge that reflects both the demands of the university, the expectations of what makes a graduate and the preparedness and skillset expected by the news media." (See programme spec) And, also in programme spec: Critical thinking skills will be developed in modules that explore **the wider role of joumalism** – we will explore how we can work more collaboratively with colleagues across the School to develop modules that deepen students ability to analyse and critique, these could encompass exploring issues around crime & the news media, the sociology of mass culture, psychology of news, mediation of political news etc"	At Strathclyde, the degree is not highly focused on journalism or practical skills development. "BA degrees in Humanities & Social Sciences are broad-based to start with. In Year 1 you'll study three subjects, including your chosen subject(s)." (https://www.strath.ac.uk/courses/undergraduate/englishjournalismcreativewriting/)	

Distinctive features of course?			Nothing particularly distinctive noted in terms of employability. It flags up that the student gains exposure to theoretical, analytical and production elements (which they all do); also highlights " The modern purpose built School encompasses state of the art lecture theatres, teaching labs, IT facilities, newsroom, radio and TV studio. The School's library houses comprehensive collections of journals, case studies and management reports as well as an extensive range of electronic resources. It has extended the range of contemporary journalism titles to reflect the particular demands of the new programme; research active staff who also have "relevant practitioner experience". The most novel aspect of its programme is perhaps the "considerable practical experience in reporting and production across print, broadcast and electronic platforms through a series of ultra-local news portals". and the six-week placement that "is an invaluable opportunity to gain practical experience and establish links with potential employers"	Glasgow is Scotland's media city, and GCU's media & journalism team plays a central role in all the latest developments. We combine unique industry links with excellence in teaching and research, with programmes which allow students to learn the best of academic theory, as well as practical skills. Rated as internationally excellent and world-leading in several areas by the 2008 Research Assessment Exercise, our team also has extensive industry links which have helped to earn us industry accreditations and greatly enhance students' employability. Industry-standard facilities Our purpose-built television studio and gallery, radio studio and newsroom all feature modern digital equipment, enabling students to industry-standard software to produce television and radio packages and bulletins, blogs, newspapers and magazines. These facilities are also used in media training and consultancy for high profile clients from industry, the public sector and charities. More about facilities https://www.gcu.ac.uk/gsbs/mediajournalism/)	"From the start, we treat you not just as a student, but as a working journalist, challenging you to produce work to industry standard so you can excel in a newsroom environment".https://www.napier.ac.uk/courses/ba-hons-journalism-undergraduate-fulltime	Accessibility and flexible application process: "We welcome Scottish, UK and international students and consider all applicants on an individual basis. Don't worry if your qualifications are not listed here, we take a range of factors into account when assessing your application and are happy to consider other alternative combinations of qualifications and experience." https://www.uws.ac.uk/study/undergraduate/undergraduate-course-search/journalism-with-the-option-of-sport/ They also emphasise the sports journalism specialism. "There is also an option of specialising in Sports Journalism as you progress through the course with relevant modules available. If you pursue this route you will graduate with a bracketed Sports Journalism title. An additional specialism in magazine journalism is also available." https://www.uws.ac.uk/study/undergraduate/undergraduate-course-search/journalism-with-the-option-of-sport/ "The programme is unique in the Scottish HEI sector, offering as it does the opportunity for students to specialise in sports journalism" https://psmd.uws.ac.uk/PublicWebView_ProgrammeSpec.aspx?documentGroupCode=UG00414&documentGroupCode=UG00414	* The emphasis is on writing, with the title Journalism and Creative Writing reflecting this. Although other universities have regular guest lectures, only Strathclyde appears to emphasis this as a selling point. "A programme of visiting speakers from the world of broadcasting, publishing and newspapers, including Gaynor McFarlane (BBC) and Alan Ramsay (Connect Communications) runs alongside the Literary Lunch, run by our Keith Wright Literary Fellow. This series showcases the best in Scottish writing, and features poets and novelists such as Liz Lochhead, James Robertson and Andrew Greig." https://www.strath.ac.uk/courses/undergraduate/englishjournalismcreativewriting/	

APPENDIX 4: INTERVIEWS - GUIDELINES

The following format was applied to interviews:

* Introductory questions to clarify the title and role of the participant in university journalism education provision;
* A brief overview of his/her role;
* An overview of his/her interest and work in employability;
* Specific questions directly related to his/her experience in addressing employability in university journalism education provision;
* His/her understanding of employability — what its objectives are and how it taps into learning and teaching outcomes — and what the strategy is or should be for developing employability;
* His/her views on specific skills development, including, inter alia, short-hand, video production, entrepreneurship, ethics, social media;
* His/her views on the strengths/weakness of programmes in addressing employability;
* His/her views on transferable skills.

Follow-up questions specific to each participant were included in interviews. For example, an individual involved in the broadcast sector was asked questions relating to skills required for broadcast news journalists with specific reference to the industry in Scotland.

As these were semi-structured interviews, questions followed on from points made by participants and were aimed at seeking clarity or encouraging the participant to elaborate or share more insights.

Most interviews were aimed at lasting no more than an hour. Interviews were recorded and then transcribed in order to facilitate analysis. It took the equivalent of about three days to transcribe each interview, with transcriptions typed out and printed out. Highlighters were used to mark-up key points. Transcripts were revisited periodically throughout the research, in an iterative process.

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** Note: Documents, landing pages used as the corpus for document analysis in primary research are set out in the appendices.*

#ENDS#

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