

# **Educating Journalists: A New Plea for the University Tradition**

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# Educating Journalists:

*A New Plea for the University Tradition*

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Journalism is in one of its recurring periods of being dramatically remade, and this has brought renewed attention to journalism education. It's exciting to think that journalism schools have an opportunity, if they can take advantage of it, to turn themselves, and therefore their graduates, into masters of the new world of digital journalism. Traditionally, American journalism schools have seen themselves as training grounds for newspapers, broadcast outlets, magazines, and, more recently, Internet sites; as the position of many traditional news organizations has weakened and as the newer online organizations are consumed with the effort to establish themselves, journalism schools have an opportunity to take on more of a leadership function within the profession.

All this is wonderful, but one can't get very far into thinking about how to turn the current moment's possibilities into a real program without running into a series of questions about journalism education that long predate the advent of the Internet. How should a university endeavor to teach someone how to be a journalist? How academic should journalism education be, and how much like professional practice? How much should it focus on the skills and modes of presentation associated with journalism, and how much on understanding the subjects journalists cover? Who should teach in journalism schools? These questions were being debated even before Washington College in Virginia, now Washington and Lee, began teaching journalism to undergraduates in the late 1860s, and before the University of Missouri opened the country's first separate school of journalism in 1908.

When Vartan Gregorian was appointed president of the Carnegie Corporation, for decades the most influential funder of American higher education, in 1997, he told an interviewer from the *New York Times* that journalism education would be one of his top priorities—because he found it deficient. “Journalism schools are teaching journalistic techniques rather than subject matter,” he said. “Journalists should be cultured people who know about history, economics, science. Instead they are learning what is called nuts and bolts. Like schools of education, journalism schools should either be reintegrated intellectually into the university or they should be abolished.”

Variants of Gregorian's opinion have been around for almost the entire history of journalism education. Through the twentieth century, a series of reports and studies have treated it rather dismissively—at best as a problem waiting to be

solved. At the same time, journalism education has grown into a significant sector in American higher education, and it is beginning to grow elsewhere in the world. There are 115 accredited journalism programs in the United States, 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.

In 2005, at the Carnegie Corporation's office in New York, Gregorian and several of his colleagues unveiled the Carnegie-Knight Journalism Initiative. This was the institutional result of the ideas Gregorian floated back in 1997: a consortium of five journalism institutions in universities (the number soon grew to twelve), funded by two major foundations (the John S. and James L. Knight Foundation of Miami along with Carnegie), given significant funding and a charge to improve journalism education in ways that both universities and the profession would appreciate. The initiative went on through two three-year funding cycles. It led to many individual-school and collective activities, some of which are ongoing. This report, which may be the initiative's last funded project, aims not to sum up the initiative's work since 2005, but, instead, to answer the challenge Gregorian posed in 1997: to present an *idea* of what university professional education for journalists should be. Our title, as veteran journalism educators will know but others may not, is meant in part as a tribute to the late James W. Carey, whose enduringly wise 1978 presidential address to the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication used similar wording.

The authors are all former journalism school deans—two from Carnegie-Knight schools, one not. All three of us have worked as journalists; two have spent more of their professional lives outside universities, one has spent more in a university. We have chosen to focus not on the whole range of what most journalism programs do, but on graduate programs engaged in professional education for journalists. Those programs—master's degree programs—are a small part of a large field, encompassing probably no more than five thousand students worldwide in a typical academic year. But because, in the spirit of the Carnegie-Knight initiative, we are primarily concerned with universities' role in journalism as a profession, our interest naturally goes to journalism as opposed to other communications

fields, and to graduate education that aims to turn educated students into practicing professionals, rather than undergraduate education that aims at a strong area of knowledge and skill within the overall progression to the bachelor's degree.

Journalism education overall is so overwhelmingly an undergraduate field that most of its institutions have not placed a strong emphasis on defining graduate education in a way that is clearly distinct from undergraduate education. That is our aim here. We believe graduate education is important, for journalism schools and for journalism, for several reasons. First, graduate education is a standard dividing line between a profession and a skilled trade—especially in a field like journalism where professional status doesn't, and shouldn't, depend on a legal licensing regime. Meeting the standard of a profession requires a coherent body of knowledge, methods, and practice that rises above the level of an undergraduate major. Second, strong graduate professional education helps keep journalism schools as separate, freestanding, relatively independent units within universities—a status we strongly endorse. An overwhelmingly or exclusively undergraduate program runs the risk of being folded into a large liberal arts division and being subjected to vagaries from which journalism schools ought to be protected. This has happened recently, or is being actively considered, at several prominent universities around the country. Third, most undergraduate education in journalism takes place outside of the journalism school, as it should. Only in graduate programs are journalism schools forced to conceive and deliver the entirety of a journalist's education, which raises the intellectual bar. We think it is unfortunate that in recent years, despite many happy developments in journalism education, a general retreat from graduate programs has occurred. We are writing in the hope of helping to reverse that trend.

We do not mean to be closely prescriptive, in the sense of delineating a fixed menu of courses that we think all journalism schools should offer (in the manner of Torts, Civil Procedure, Contracts, and so on in the first year of law school), but we will make a series of arguments from which we believe a set of guiding principles for graduate programs in journalism naturally arises. We will lay these out in detail in the course of this report, but here is a brief foretaste:

— **Journalism schools must orient themselves toward both the university and the profession.** Professional schools, for all professions, have to define a zone where the university's mission and the profession's can usefully overlap. This

is not easy or automatic; it is a subject of never-ending contention in all realms of professional education. Journalism schools have tended to orient themselves too much toward the profession and too little toward the university, and this is not the best way for them to realize their full potential or to live happily inside the institutions that house them. That journalism is going through profound changes does not vitiate—in fact, it enhances—the importance of journalism schools’ becoming more fully participant in the university project. Done properly, that will produce many benefits for the profession at a critical time. Journalism schools should be oriented toward the future of the profession as well as the present, and they should not be content merely to train their students in prevailing entry-level newsroom practices.

— **Research is crucial.** Most journalism schools live inside research universities, so it is essential that journalism faculty members be engaged in ambitious research, as well as excellent teaching, throughout their careers. It is possible to define research broadly enough so that it is not limited to publication in juried academic journals, but research must have the status of a coequal responsibility with teaching in a journalism faculty member’s life. Faculty members’ research represents the main way, besides sending young journalists out into the profession every year, that journalism schools should play an important shaping role in the profession. The career paths for journalism faculty members, which in many programs need to be defined more carefully, should equip them to conduct ongoing research as well as to teach.

— **Understanding is as important as presentation.** Journalists perform a three-part function: they gather information, analyze it, and present it to the public in a clear, engaging form. Journalism schools should focus in a sophisticated way on all three parts of this process—often the third part is overemphasized at the expense of the first two—and should teach them with the understanding that current practices in the profession are highly subject to change. Journalism lives in a matrix of technology, economics, law and policy, audience preferences, and professional standards. All of these elements are fluid, and what happens in one affects all the others. Understanding the contexts in which journalism takes place should be just as important in professional education as is mastering the prevailing norms of journalistic practice at the moment a student happens to be in school; what many journalists have long derided as “media studies” and “theory”

in fact should be an essential part of a working journalist's education. That journalism schools can provide a broad perspective is a large part of the answer to the age-old question of what value they provide over apprenticeship in a newsroom.

We will begin our discussion by going back to the origins of journalism education. We do this because it is a history that has not been fully recorded before, and because we believe that understanding journalism education's past is essential to understanding its present and future. History is not inevitable; it unfolds through a series of choices and contingencies and disputes. That things turned out one way doesn't mean that other ways they could have turned out become permanently irrelevant or impossible.

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From its beginning, American journalism has been anchored in both the printing trades and the world of intellectuals and politicians who recognized the importance of the press in shaping public opinion. Journalism was never entirely a business, and also never entirely not a business. These dual origins influenced the debate over journalism education from the mid-nineteenth century forward. 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. These debates took place in the context of a broader trend toward professionalization of various occupations and the rise of social science as a discipline. The tension between educating reporters and editors to improve the quality of journalism and contribute to a democracy, versus training them to function efficiently in a newspaper office—or any media environment—continues today.

John Ward Fenno, who succeeded his father as editor of the well-known national newspaper *Gazette of the United States* in 1799, argued:

The newspapers of America are admirably calculated to keep the country in a continued state of insurrection and revolution. And if it ever again settles into quietude, it will not be till their influence is counter-

acted. The ultimate tendency of the labours in their now general directions appears marked in character as strong and clear as they are formidable and alarming.

I have not the vanity to recommend any preservative; but I cannot concede the propriety of requiring some qualifications and pledges from men on whom the nation depends for all the information and much of the instruction it receives. To well-regulated Colleges we naturally look, for a source when such qualifications might in proper form be defined; but even this ground is no better than a dreary waste, not barren, but uncultivated—in its best state, it bears the semblance of a worn-out field, the fences decayed or broken down, and the traces of useful and laborious industry almost effected.<sup>1</sup>

After the Civil War, as institutions grew more complex within an industrializing society, businessmen, lawyers, social workers, and journalists, along with other similar groups, endeavored to professionalize. For journalism to be considered a profession, its practitioners would require training and a set of accepted standards. By the 1860s, some university educators were discussing the training of journalists as a way of improving journalistic behavior, and universities began to experiment with courses. Cornell University and what was then Washington College taught some of the earliest courses in journalism. Washington College's president, Robert E. Lee, viewed the training of journalists as a way to improve regional newspapers and rebuild the South; and, in 1868 he persuaded the college's trustees to establish fifty scholarships for "young men proposing to make printing and journalism their life work and profession."<sup>2</sup>

In 1875, a young newspaperman named Charles Wingate interviewed a number of prominent northeastern editors about their attitudes toward journalism and the training of journalists. College-educated *New York Tribune* editor Whitelaw Reid, who in 1872 had proposed a model for journalism education, told Wingate "there is scarcely a writer [on the *Tribune*] who is not a college graduate; while, indeed, two-thirds or more of its reporters are, to use the vague phrase, men of liberal education." Reid said he knew the same was largely true at the *New York World*, the *New York Times*, and the *New York Evening Post*.<sup>3</sup> R. W. Bowker, literary editor of the *New York Evening Mail*, captured the essence of the two tradi-

tions: “Some of the best men in this field have come direct from the case. The composing-room abounds in common sense. . . . But the man who is to help conduct, to have a share in moulding public opinion through a great paper, needs the best and broadest education he can get.” Bowker argued that a self-made man was more arrogant than the college man because “it puts modesty into a man to find that his new ideas . . . were old two thousand years ago, as Plato will tell him, and to learn how much he can’t learn.” Bowker feared that those who lacked a college education would be too “narrow.”<sup>4</sup> Even James Gordon Bennett, who often is quoted as saying that his newspaper was the best school for journalism, made sure that his son, who was to succeed him, studied in Europe under the best masters, spoke several languages, and traveled extensively. He could, however, also set type and run a printing press, skills learned in his father’s shop.<sup>5</sup>

During twentieth-century debates about journalism education, Horace Greeley was cited more often than Bennett. Greeley, who started the *New York Tribune* and preceded Reid as editor, reportedly said, “Of all horned cattle, deliver me from the college graduate,” and refused to hire college graduates as reporters.<sup>6</sup>

Other editors joined in Greeley’s hostility to the college-educated “newspaperman.” Paul Lancaster, a former *Wall Street Journal* editor, reports in his book *Gentlemen of the Press* that in 1892, Ray Stannard Baker unfurled his Michigan Agricultural College diploma to impress a hiring editor at the *Chicago News Record*. Years later, Baker, by then a famous muckraker, wrote: “I cringe yet when I recall the look in his eye and the slight disdainful wave of his hand. I was to understand later how inconsequential in those days was a college diploma in a newspaper office.”<sup>7</sup>

Because of editors’ contempt for college degrees, some graduates hid them. An applicant with a degree from a Methodist college concealed that fact “as though it were a stretch in prison.” While working nights for a newspaperman in Philadelphia, Morton Sontheimer attended Temple University in the mornings. Sontheimer never dared tell anyone “because city editors didn’t want anyone who had been contaminated by a school of journalism.”<sup>8</sup> As late as 1920, Florabel Muir noticed that “a city editor would shy away from the product of a journalism school . . . so I never said anything about having taken such a course at college.”<sup>9</sup>

Charles Wingate obviously took the question of journalistic training seriously, and in the course of completing his book wrote to the presidents of Washington College and Cornell University. The president of Cornell, Andrew White, believed that journalistic training would improve the “profession,” commenting that “every thoughtful man in this country must deplore” the “serious deficiencies” as journalism was then conducted. White wrote that Cornell’s attempts were “tentative” and that students in journalism would receive some practical training but otherwise would focus on the existing courses in literature, arts, and philosophy, with special emphasis on history and the constitution. But most editors Wingate interviewed held little regard for college education in journalism. Frederic Hudson, the former managing editor of the *New York Herald*, said, “The only place where one can learn to be a journalist is in a great newspaper office.”<sup>10</sup> E. L. Godkin, editor of *The Nation*, said “establishing a special chair or opening a special class of journalism in colleges” was absurd. But Whitelaw Reid predicted, “We shall see the time when the strictly professional education of journalists will be far better than it is now.”<sup>11</sup>

By the turn of the twentieth century, journalists and editors increasingly focused on the conflicting values of journalism as a working-class, printing-trades endeavor and as an emerging profession with editors and writers belonging to the middle class. Between 1870 and 1900, the number of editors and journalists increased by a factor of three. Journalism courses at universities began to appear. By 1900, courses were offered not only at Cornell and Washington College, but also at public universities in Pennsylvania, Illinois, Kansas, and Missouri. In 1903, the wealthy publisher Joseph Pulitzer announced a major gift to Columbia University, which had finally yielded after resisting his entreaties for ten years, to establish a school of journalism and a series of prizes for journalists. In 1908, the University of Missouri established the first separate academic unit with a specific degree in journalism. By 1910, departments or schools of journalism were established at the universities of Wisconsin and Washington and at New York University. Similar programs were in effect by 1920 at public universities in Georgia, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Minnesota, Nebraska, and Ohio.<sup>12</sup> In the private university realm, Columbia opened its school of journalism in 1912, and Northwestern (enabled by another gift from a wealthy publisher, Joseph Medill) in 1921.

Three major institutions that survive today represent three distinct strands of journalism education. They are worth describing because they are all pertinent to contemporary discussions of what journalism education should be. At Missouri, where the first dean, Walter Williams, came from the newspaper world with close ties to the Missouri Press Association, the emphasis was on a laboratory approach with specific focus on skills, ethics, and the history of journalism. At Columbia, a serious attempt, although short-lived, was made to integrate liberal arts into the journalism curriculum, rather than sending students out to other areas of the university. And at Wisconsin, Willard Bleyer, the school's founder, who held a doctorate in English, valued communications research as perhaps no other early dean did. Bleyer also differed in that he saw the university as a treasure of knowledge for reporters, and he wanted journalists to understand the value of the emerging discipline of social science.

Missouri's Williams, who was instrumental in establishing the J-School, said in a speech before the Missouri Press Association in May 1908 that the school at Missouri "seeks to do for journalism what schools of law, medicine, agriculture, engineering and normal schools [what we would now call schools of education] have done for these vocations." Williams also noted that the new school was "equal in rank, with the schools of colleges of law, medicine, engineering, agriculture and the teachers' college." He emphasized that the school "adds the laboratory to the lecture method, the clinic supplementing of the classroom. It trains by doing."<sup>13</sup> Williams's statements reflect his desire for journalism to be considered equal with other professionally oriented academic disciplines, while at the same time serving the working press, from whose ranks he had come.

The support of the Missouri Press Association reflected another aspect of professionalization—the development of associations organized to establish standards of behavior and to exert influence from the larger group onto individual newspapers. Stephen Banning, in the book written to celebrate the centennial of the establishing of the Missouri J-School, notes that interest in professionalization came not from the government, but from "individual groups of practitioners. They made the case," writes Banning, "that their fields were worthy of esteem. The clergy traditionally had held this position, physicians and attorneys followed; then, so did soldiers, teachers, and engineers. Thus, it was against this backdrop that the public understood professions in the mid-nineteenth century. They were

few, they were respected, and they were envied.”<sup>14</sup> The National Press Club in Washington, founded in May 1908, sought to “provide people who gather and disseminate news a center for the advancement of their professional standards and skills.” The club adopted Walter Williams’s 1914 Journalist’s Creed, a statement of ethical practices and beliefs that Williams developed as leader of the Missouri School of Journalism.<sup>15</sup>

I believe in the profession of journalism.

I believe that the public journal is a public trust; that all connected with it are, to the full measure of their responsibility, trustees for the public; that acceptance of lesser service than the public service is betrayal of this trust.

I believe that clear thinking and clear statement, accuracy and fairness, are fundamental to good journalism.

I believe that a journalist should write only what he holds in his heart to be true. . . .<sup>16</sup>

Another model of journalism education developed at Columbia University. In response to an essay by Horace White, the former editor of the *Chicago Tribune*, that reacted to Pulitzer’s gift to Columbia with the traditional newspaperman’s skepticism about journalism education, Pulitzer noted that the training a journalist receives in a newspaper office is “incidental” only, “not apprenticeship.” He wrote in the *North American Review*, “Nobody in a newspaper office has the time or the inclination to teach a raw reporter the things he ought to know before taking up even the humblest work of the journalist.”<sup>17</sup> The primary goal for the school of journalism he had endowed, Pulitzer wrote, was to:

Make better journalists, who will make better newspapers, which will better serve the public. It will impart knowledge—not for its own sake, but to be used for the public service. It will try to develop character, but even that will be only a means to the one supreme end—the public good.<sup>18</sup>

Of the schools that began journalism instruction early, Columbia's approach was unique. Initially, all courses were taught in the school, and the liberal arts courses had a distinct journalistic bent. For example, those studying French and German read the newspapers of those countries. "The aim," James Boylan wrote in his history of the school, "was to provide 'a sound general education' and 'specialized technical training' in the same four years usually required for general education alone. The curriculum appeared to have ingeniously bridged the gap between the liberal and practical arts and, equally important, to have invested the scholarly resources of the university in the success of the school."<sup>19</sup> But by 1919, this four-year program was abandoned, mainly because it was so expensive, and the school was offering a two-year curriculum preceded by two years of undergraduate study. "The experiment," wrote Boylan, "that had just been declared a great success—an undergraduate liberal arts curriculum designed for journalists—had actually been adjudged not a success at all, but an unbearable burden."<sup>20</sup>

Willard G. Bleyer, who was born into one of Milwaukee's most prominent newspaper families, had a vision of journalism education that incorporated new developments in social science. His father and uncles were closely connected to Milwaukee's newspapers and were prominent in civic life. As an undergraduate student at Wisconsin, Bleyer helped found the student newspaper, *The Daily Cardinal*. Bleyer completed an MA in English, and then taught in Milwaukee high schools for a short period before returning to Wisconsin to earn a PhD in English and join the faculty there. Bleyer's early days at Wisconsin coincided with the university's position as a center of social thought at the turn of the century. The Madison campus gained national distinction for advocating a partnership between the university and the state to improve everyday life.

These concepts joined nicely with the development of professionalization and the idea of the journalist as expert. Bleyer valued the journalist who could interpret information and guide the public. He believed newspapers could improve public life by disseminating information about research, and he thought the university and its community were inextricably tied. Bleyer's approach was different from that of Walter Williams. His first goal was to inform the press of university discoveries, and he participated in developing a university news bureau that would disseminate such information. He also thought journalists should experience a personal connection to the university, and through his efforts the

Wisconsin Press Association convened in 1905 on the Madison campus. Bleyer introduced a press bulletin that provided information nationwide to journalists about ongoing university research.

Bleyer argued for responsible journalists and a broad liberal arts education, believing that 75 percent of a student's work should be outside the school of journalism. He said, "The minimum . . . preparation for intelligent newspaper and magazine work was four years of university study that included government and politics, economics, sociology, psychology, history science, and literature." But he also argued for a journalism curriculum that went beyond reporting skills. The basic course in newswriting should be "devoted largely to an intensive study of news and its significance," he said. Bronstein and Vaughn wrote that Bleyer believed such a course would teach students how to analyze the "entire community and its activities."<sup>21</sup> During the 1920s, Bleyer was introducing his advanced students to the literature that questioned traditional democratic theory, including work from sociology and political science that analyzed the role of mass media in society. With Bleyer's introduction of journalism as intimately connected to the larger academic research enterprise, the argument about journalism education widened. Not only did editors and educators debate the mere presence or absence of a college degree for journalists, or the role of the professional school versus the liberal arts, but they also began a divide between the "professionals" and the "researchers." This argument continues today, of course.

We see all three of these early strains in journalism education—practice-oriented, subject matter-oriented, and research-oriented—as essential. And all of them can and should be applied, with potentially rich results, to the digital revolution. Journalism schools should embrace all three, not choose one and reject the others.

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In 1912, eighteen journalism educators voted to organize the American Association of Teachers in Journalism, the first journalism education organization. Bleyer spearheaded the effort and sought to create an annual meeting and to provide information about schools and about teaching. In 1917, a second organization, the American Association of Schools and Departments of Journalism, was cre-

ated as a “sister” organization to AATJ. By 1920, ten schools were members of AASDJ; by 1927, that number had grown to eighteen. But admission to AASDJ was not automatic, and the rejection of schools such as West Virginia University led Perley Isaac Reed and others to develop in 1944 a separate administrators’ organization, called the American Society of Journalism School Administrators.

The number of journalism students grew rapidly. In 1915–16, *The News Letter* of the AATJ reported that 175 journalism teachers were instructing 3,500 students enrolled in fifty-five colleges, with thirty states represented.<sup>22</sup> According to a report given to the American Society of Newspaper Editors in 1928, 430 individuals were teaching journalism to 5,526 students spread across fifty-five institutions. The report listed 931 graduates receiving bachelor’s degrees, an increase of forty-seven over the prior year. The ASNE, originally organized in 1922 as an association of big-city newspaper editors, created a Committee on Schools of Journalism almost from the beginning. It probably was the first organized voice of newspaper editors to become directly involved in journalism education.

In 1938, Robert Maynard Hutchins, the renowned president of the University of Chicago, gave a speech to the Inland Press Association harshly attacking the state of journalism education. (Throughout journalism education’s history, it has been subjected to blasts from educators for being too skills-oriented—in 1930, Harvard professor Abraham Flexner declared that journalism schools were “on a par with university faculties of cookery and clothing.”<sup>23</sup>) Kenneth Olson, the dean of Northwestern’s Medill School of Journalism, fired back in a speech to the ASNE the same year. Olson said he wanted to disabuse newspapermen of the notion that journalism schools focused on technical skills and argued that journalism graduates had more capacity to think and to evaluate what was happening in the world than any liberal arts graduate, especially those trained in “medieval classicism which President Hutchins would prescribe.”<sup>24</sup>

Olson announced that Northwestern was expanding its program to compare to that of law schools by requiring three years of undergraduate education for admission and two years of professional study. He said the final two years would include only a few technical courses and that while students would cover the courts and municipal building, they “will also be studying the problems of local and state government so that they will have the background for intelligent report-

ing.” He said they also would be proficient in economics, labor problems, monetary problems, the relations of government and business, and numerous other areas requiring substantial knowledge of the liberal arts. Olson noted Northwestern was not alone in its plan: Columbia had recently gone to a graduate basis, and Stanford had adopted a plan similar to Northwestern’s.

Olson urged the editors to follow the route of their counterparts in law and medicine:

They stepped in and took hold of their schools, they set high standards, and to those who met those standards they extended recognition as their professional schools. The rest they advised to stick to pre-medic or pre-legal programs. That is what we are asking you and the other major newspaper organizations of this country to do for your schools of journalism.<sup>25</sup>

On January 21, 1939, at least partially in reaction to Olson’s challenge, representatives from the ASNE, the ANPA, the Inland Press Association, the Southern Press Association, and the National Editorial Association met and agreed to establish a national agency called the National Council for Education in Journalism. This evolved into the Accrediting Council on Education in Journalism and Mass Communications, which accredits journalism programs worldwide today.

As journalism education became an organized, coherent, widespread endeavor, the debates over what journalism schools should teach, to whom, for how long continued—more pointedly, now that there was something real to fight over. In 1924, the AATJ adopted a statement regarding journalism education, arguing that it must be “sufficiently broad in the scope to familiarize the future journalist with the important fields of knowledge, and sufficiently practical to show the application of the knowledge to the practice of journalism . . . a four-year course of study [should include] subjects as history, economics, government and politics. . . . The aims and methods of instruction should not be those of a trade school, but should be of the same standard as those of other professional schools and colleges.”<sup>26</sup>

But this statement did not resolve the issues of how much courses should embrace the emerging discipline of social science, how much they should focus on traditional academics, or how much they should focus on practical applications. The March 1927 issue of *Journalism Bulletin* was dedicated to curriculum and addressed some of those questions. Eric Allen, the dean at the University of Oregon, pleaded for integrating journalism into the social sciences. Allen was appalled by the weak senior year curricula at most schools, which he said lacked “any single clear definite purpose.” He eloquently argued for a social science focus:

If journalism means anything more than a mere trade and a technique, it must be based upon some depth of understanding. If it is, or is to become, a real profession—one of the learned professions—the thing that competent journalists must understand is the scientific basis of current life, the complex of established principles that underlies any modern objective, civilized discussion of politics, government, economics, psychology—in general, the art of living.

Allen urged journalism educators to interact with instructors from other departments and to incorporate knowledge from other fields into courses within the journalism programs.<sup>27</sup> This approach would anchor journalism programs more thoroughly within the university culture. At the same time, Willard Bleyer and others also were aware that professional schools required a relationship with working journalists. Ralph Casey, a student of Bleyer’s who in 1929 received a PhD in political science with a minor in journalism, tried to integrate professional work with social science. He wanted graduate programs that would “turn the investigative eye” on questions of how journalism shapes societies. Otherwise, he warned, “if the faculties of the schools of journalism do not themselves take a hand in this study . . . then our brothers in the social sciences will overrun our domain, and we may find ourselves in the position of vassal and not nations having equal rights to our kinsmen over the boundary line.”<sup>28</sup> Casey recognized the innate challenge of requiring a journalist to both master professional skills and acquire various social science techniques. Nevertheless, he was adamant that journalism education should provide leaders, not mere entry-level workers. “A knowledge of reporting, copy-reading, editorial writing, and advertising are not enough to maintain the young newspaperman in a position of leadership.”<sup>29</sup>

Soon a still familiar pattern had emerged: an attack on journalism education from the university side, for being too skills-oriented; a response from journalism educators, promising to become serious practitioners of professional education like their colleagues in other fields; and a counterattack from the news industry, which was worried about journalism education's becoming too impractical and too expensive. Over time, this final position, the news industry's, tended to have the strongest influence on journalism education.

The ASNE, after some internal debate, has generally come down on the side of a more practical, skills-oriented journalism education. In 1927 and 1928, an ASNE committee urged "more thorough and exact instruction in the technical side of journalism," and praised the full-day practical laboratory course that Columbia had established.<sup>30</sup> It also complained about the lack of professional experience of faculty. In some schools with "inferior" curricula, the committee noted that the average length of newspaper experience represented by the teachers was less than six months and that some had no experience at all. "This means," the report said, "that students are imposed upon by teaching which lacks the foundation of genuine newspaper training and is, therefore, largely or wholly worthless."<sup>31</sup>

A 1930 ASNE report took a more moderate, university-oriented position. It described one group of editors as those who wish "the departments of journalism . . . to graduate men whose aspiration is to be good police reporters and expert copy-readers. Such editors frankly want the departments of journalism to be trade schools." But a majority of the ASNE committee said this attitude was "too utilitarian" to be acceptable. The school of thought endorsed by the committee "wants the departments of journalism to equip the youth of today . . . with a broader background," exposure to history, sciences, the arts, and the "manifold relationships of men to society. . . . We want these boys—of course, they will start at the bottom—capable of rising to the posts of great newspaper power, equipped to wield that power intelligently."<sup>32</sup>

Just a year later, the ASNE took on a decidedly harsher tone regarding curriculum. The ASNE Committee on Schools of Journalism endorsed formal academic journalism education as desirable, but it stated adamantly that newspapers should control the development of the schools. The report urged a shift to the specific needs of newspapers:

We feel that there should be at this time more general discussion of the newspaper demands and why the schools of journalism do not fit in more acceptably with the newspaper organizations. The schools of journalism are made for the newspapers. They are auxiliary agencies to make better newspapers. The newspapers themselves know best of all what they desire from the schools of journalism. Any existing hostility as between the newspapers and schools cannot be removed by the schools overemphasizing to the editors what they should have in the way of a product.

Further, the report said there was growing resentment in newspaper offices toward journalism schools, which were “assuming an attitude of dictating just what is necessary in the instruction which the candidate for a newspaper job would receive.” The ASNE report said that the ultimate success of journalism schools “will depend to a great extent on their adjustment responsively and intelligently to the requirements of the newspapers.”<sup>33</sup>

The discussions of curriculum led naturally to a discussion of whether journalism schools should be graduate or undergraduate schools, and here again the ASNE, after some internal debate, wound up coming down firmly on the side of less education for journalists. At the 1928 meeting, John Dun of the *Toledo Times* likened professional education of the journalist to that of the doctor or lawyer, noting that it seemed peculiar that journalism education was so brief when lawyers had to study for six years before being able to take the bar examination and that doctors had to study for at least four years and intern for two. He urged journalism schools to consider a longer period of training for journalists.

In 1930 the ASNE had encouraged universities to develop six-year programs, but it later acknowledged that editors did not receive the suggestion enthusiastically.<sup>34</sup> It soon concluded that two years of general education and two years of specialized training, resulting in a bachelor’s degree, would suffice. The undergraduate program remained the mainstay of journalism education, especially in the large state institutions. Editors, even when they favored a “deep” education, did not believe their newspapers could support salaries at a level to offset the requirements of a six-year post-secondary education. The ASNE was supportive, to some extent, of the idea of journalism schools conducting research in addition

to teaching skills, so long as it was research that could be used by the newspaper industry—for example, into the most effective advertising rate structures, or understanding the preferences of newspaper readers.

The evolution of the program at Columbia illustrates the general movement of journalism schools toward a position far more oriented toward the newspaper business than toward the university. As early as 1919, Columbia was releasing students from class for paid work. By the academic year 1920–21, there were only four full-time journalism teachers. Although an academic headed the school during these years, most of the teaching was done by New York City journalists, many of them recent graduates.<sup>35</sup> In 1927, Columbia faculty member Charles Cooper wrote, “First, last and all the time, we believe in training in the fundamentals of journalism, and by the fundamentals, we mean the ability to see a story, to sift the wheat from the chaff, and then to write the story clearly, concisely, entertainingly, and without bias; and the ability to take a piece of copy, grasp its salient features, eliminate the material unworthy of publication and write for it.”<sup>36</sup>

When Carl W. Ackerman, a 1913 graduate, became the first dean of the school in 1931, he said he wanted to put the school into “a full work-simulation, or industrial mode.”<sup>37</sup> The ASNE praised his attempt to put students into a professional forty-hour workweek. By then Columbia’s curriculum emphasized the mechanics and skill of editorial work. There were no courses investigating the place of journalism in society, and the history and ethics courses had been eliminated.<sup>38</sup> In 1934, Columbia abolished its undergraduate program and became exclusively a graduate school. Ackerman claimed that the master’s degree emphasis would put the program on a par with other professional degrees. Initially he proposed a two-year master’s, with the first year focusing on professional courses, as well as courses in law, history, economics, and sociology. The second year would involve a major project for students who chose to remain in residence, study abroad for students receiving Pulitzer traveling scholarships, or credit for a year on the job. However, the second year was dropped before the program even began, and emphasis on the forty-hour workweek during the first year gained ascendancy.

Broadcast journalism, when it emerged and then became part of the curriculum at journalism schools, followed the same pattern of the schools setting into a very close relationship with the dominant industry group (in this case, the National Association of Broadcasters), which wound up setting a practical, non-academic tone for journalism education in its domain. Many broadcast programs initially developed outside of the newspaper-oriented journalism schools, in departments of speech, or even commerce, but over time most of them were placed in journalism schools. Broadcasters, in their discussions of education, were even more emphatic than newspaper editors and publishers in advocating for a “problem-solving” approach. Graduate programs in broadcast journalism received little attention until the 1970s, when Robert Crawford’s survey of government, commercial broadcasters, and educators determined that graduates of mass media graduate programs were having little impact on the industry and were rarely moving into positions of leadership.<sup>39</sup>

The debate over whether a college education was needed for radio employees followed much the same lines as the earlier debate engaged in by print journalists. Writing in *Broadcasting*, KFRC radio announcer Harold Bratsberg said none of his colleagues ever attended a “School for Radio Announcers.” He claimed all of his colleagues were ardent students of the “School of Experiment.”<sup>40</sup> In a similar, but perhaps more typical, vein, the Kentucky Broadcasters Association voted in 1948 to form a committee of small market, independent, and network station operators to meet with those in charge of public education leading to active work in commercial broadcasting. Broadcasters took ownership of education, saying they would “survey present courses, recommend a practical approach in training methods where necessary, and work out a system of active cooperation between school officials and Kentucky broadcasters.”<sup>41</sup>

The discussions by broadcasters and educators about the future of broadcast education began formally in 1947, when the president of the NAB (then officially called the National Association of Radio Television Broadcasters) requested that education leaders meet with industry representatives to “explore the possibilities of formal accreditation of degree curricula in broadcasting.” A joint committee reached consensus on these basic premises:

- Over-emphasis on the trade, or skill, aspect of broadcasting was undesirable.
- A sound liberal arts program should constitute the heart of the degree program.
- Wide variance of goals, courses, and instructional methods in broadcasting then in practice needed standardization.
- Leadership was necessary to recommend and encourage the growth of strong degree curricula. The committee agreed, too, on the need for a comprehensive study of the sequences in broadcasting.<sup>42</sup>

The committee analyzed offerings at 400 schools and cited ten of them for progress in developing broadcast curricula. Representatives from the ten institutions were invited to meet and in 1948 founded the University Association for Professional Radio Education. The UAPRE languished until 1955, when, at a meeting in Washington, the group voted to dissolve itself and found a new organization—the Association for Professional Broadcasting Education—that would include the NAB actively participating. Sydney Head, a prominent educator and the author of widely adopted textbooks in broadcast institutions and broadcast history, was the first president. The organization abandoned the idea of creating its own accrediting body and wholeheartedly became a professionally oriented organization, defining its membership as consisting of NAB member broadcasting stations and degree-granting academic institutions. In 1956, Head and Leo Martin at Michigan State University argued that “many broadcasters now realize that . . . business enterprises invested with specific social responsibilities” such as broadcasting cannot ensure their future without a “steady flow of suitably qualified new personnel into the industry.”<sup>43</sup>

By the spring of 1957, the association had thirty-three members and the *Journal of Broadcasting* was established. The association maintained close ties with NAB, and in the 1970s NAB organized and underwrote a number of faculty seminars on topics such as law, regulation, and international broadcasting. NAB also provided a substantial cash grant to enable the APBE to function. In 1973 the organization changed its name to BEA, the Broadcast Education Association. From 1972 to

1991, growth in membership was slow, but the practice of presenting competitive research papers grew. By the mid-1990s, approximately 200 papers and videos were being presented. Divisions also evolved along with these changes.<sup>44</sup>

During the years of development of a solid national organization, the debates were similar to what they had been for print journalism, with the possible exception that broadcasters and educators focused on a range of possible broadcast careers, including writing and editing, producing, business, and promotion. The discussion among print journalists had been primarily among editors and educators, and the focus was on the editorial side of newspapering, not the business side. Harrison Summers said, “With few exceptions, broadcasters insist that they prefer to employ men and women who have received a broad liberal education. A few go so far as to tell us that no specific training in broadcasting as such is either necessary or desirable. However, most broadcasters seem to want their prospective employees to have had a considerable amount of training of a definitely vocational type.” Summers said they expected colleges to supply the stations with people “who can step into a station organization on the day they graduate as thoroughly trained and qualified announcers or copywriters, as newscasters or news editors, as women’s program directors, as traffic supervisors, as employees in publicity or promotion or merchandising, as time salesmen, as television film editors, or as producer-directors for television.”<sup>45</sup>

In an NAB industry survey conducted in 1959, managers said they had trouble finding qualified people. Managers said the problem of training lay primarily with the schools. They believed colleges needed to give more attention to the economic side of the industry. Too many schools, they said, emphasized the more glamorous and artistic aspects of broadcasting—producing, directing, writing, and acting—to the detriment of business jobs. They also said schools prepared students for network and large station jobs and did not sufficiently prepare them for small station jobs, where most were likely to begin their careers.<sup>46</sup>

The tension between practice and theory continued through the 1970s and into 1980. Alan Wurtzel insightfully attacked the problem, arguing that the broadcast industry had research needs that the university could help fulfill and that cooperation would benefit academia and the industry. Wurtzel said academics often master sophisticated research methodology the industry needs, but that

theory must be linked with real-world objectives to give the industry manager additional data or options with which to operate. Wurtzel said some academics “are openly disdainful of policy-oriented research,” and that acceptance of such is critical to cooperation.<sup>47</sup>

By the early 1980s broadcasters were recognizing that the complexity of broadcasting demanded better pathways to management. “In the early days,” wrote the authors of a book published by the NAB, “a technology or radio background was important. For a long time, sales seemed to be the best path. Now, in a more complex and functionally interrelated management environment, there appear to be many more paths to the top. Yet, broadcast management is not expected to become the domain of the MBA. Integrating functions as diverse as journalist, producer, sales person and technologist will continue to call for management selection from among people who have learned through years in the business how to integrate the excitingly diverse demands of television broadcasting.”<sup>48</sup> The authors were not looking toward higher education—either in broadcasting or journalism—or for MBAs. They related the success of “corporate colleges,” where individuals with management potential were brought in from the stations to learn how to manage.

As industry groups intermittently, but consistently, pushed journalism schools to engage in applied research that would be directly useful to news organizations, from within the academy a somewhat different idea of a research role for journalism schools was emerging, around the field of mass communication. It drew, and continues to draw, a mainly skeptical response from the industry.

Back in the mid-1930s, John Marshall, an official of the Rockefeller Foundation in New York, probably created the term “mass communication” when he used it in an invitation to a dozen scholars to convene monthly to explore the emerging field.<sup>49</sup> It was in those seminars that the political scientist Harold Lasswell presented his model for communication research: who says what to whom via what channel with what effect? This marked a beginning of social science research as a fundamental part of communication study.

Under the Lasswell definition, there is not a bright dividing line between journalism and other forms of mass communication; acceptance of mass communication as a field provided a broader umbrella for journalism schools that wished

to expand into advertising and public relations, or for schools that combined mass communication with speech communication. Establishing a broad area for research fostered development of PhD programs and helped establish scholarly legitimacy within the university. Mass communication scholars studied the effects of new media such as movies, radio, and then television. In 1944, Ralph Nafziger established the first research division within a journalism school at Wisconsin, and Wilbur Schramm, who took over in 1943 as director of journalism at the University of Iowa from the venerated historian Frank Luther Mott, submitted a plan to broaden the journalism major from how-to-do-it journalism classes to include social science courses, such as sociology, psychology, and economics. Research institutes also developed at Stanford, Illinois, and MIT. Doctoral programs began at Missouri, Wisconsin, Illinois, Iowa, and Minnesota. Schramm's program at Stanford, begun in 1955, became famous for its doctoral students. The program admitted many students who had at least a few years in media work, and it trained students extensively in quantitative methods.<sup>50</sup>

But newspaper owners and editors did not react positively to this new development, stressing that “journalists mainly needed to know the basics—how to write and how to spell . . . Most editors viewed social science as irrelevant to everyday newspaper work, which they insisted was best learned as they had learned it—on the job. The idea of journalism professors with PhD degrees in social science seemed a foolish, possibly dangerous, trend.”<sup>51</sup> Although advertising courses had long been offered at journalism schools because of advertising's connection to newspaper work, the advertising crew always was regarded as second-class. Working journalists, and ex-journalists teaching at journalism schools, were offended by the lumping together of what they regarded as their own truth-seeking field with fields they saw as less devoted to expanding knowledge and more interested in persuasion.

AEJMC was slow to welcome mass communication scholars as well. In 1955, Wayne Danielson, a PhD student at Stanford, who later became dean at North Carolina and then Texas, and who pioneered research on computer use in newsrooms, helped organize a “rump” session at AEJMC's annual convention. Danielson drove a borrowed car to the Boulder, Colorado, meeting and slept on the floor of a faculty member's dormitory room. He and other PhD candidates in communication theory and methods met Wilbur Schramm, who was moving

from Illinois to Stanford that summer. Danielson recalled the students instantly liked Schramm, when he apologized for being late with the phrase, “Sorry I’m late, I sat up all night with a sick factor analysis.” The “rump” session and the planning that followed achieved the goal of including communication theory papers at AEJ, and they became part of the regular program in 1958.<sup>52</sup>

Two other issues that roiled the AEJMC for years were how to treat smaller, more locally oriented journalism programs and how to treat graduate degree programs. The larger schools, eager to exert quality control over journalism programs and to avoid proliferation of programs, have sought to create an accreditation process that would exclude smaller and less well developed schools. However, many new and smaller schools had strong support from their state press associations to fight journalism education being taken over by a few powerful schools that might direct graduates to large metropolitan newspapers and that would ignore the needs of community and daily editors throughout their states. One example is Illinois, where the state press association lobbied the legislature to mandate creation of a College of Journalism at the flagship state campus.<sup>53</sup> Another example is North Carolina, where the state press association sought to bring an academic familiar with accreditation, Norval Neil Luxon, to the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill to modernize the journalism program there and to get it accredited.<sup>54</sup>

At the 1957 AEJMC convention in Boston, Luxon, in his presidential address, argued that forty to fifty schools of journalism would serve the nation’s newspapers and other media far better than 150 to 175 schools. Luxon said only a portion of the present schools had “outstanding libraries, with nationally recognized departments in the humanities and the social sciences, with rigid requirements for the first two years’ work in the liberal arts, with adequate budgets for the journalism units, with staff members interested and actively engaged in research as well as in teaching and service.” Luxon suggested to those present that they take a hard look at their own schools, and if they didn’t measure up to other professional schools they should either immediately raise standards or take steps toward “termination of journalism instruction at your institution.” Luxon was taking a brash step because he had not yet acquired accreditation for the program at North Carolina. That would come a year later.

The following year's AEJMC president, Warren Agee, was deluged with letters protesting Luxon's position, and in 1958 he answered Luxon with a message championing localism. Agee said, "Most of us in journalism education, I am convinced, are committed to a philosophy that would improve existing journalism programs *that have value in their respective locales*" (italics added). Agee continued, saying the industry was far from the saturation point in programs of instruction and that "diversification and individualism are all-important in a craft that is more an art than a science."<sup>55</sup> Over time the forces of inclusion generally triumphed, which made journalism education more substantial in the aggregate but did not help much in putting to rest the doubts in upper academic circles about its quality.

The accrediting council has always declined to examine PhD programs in mass communication, on the grounds that they were research, not professional, degrees. In 1955, Northwestern asked that its five-year program be considered for accreditation, not as a graduate program, but as a professional degree program at the university. In 1956, the council looked seriously at the prospect of accrediting graduate programs when the ACEJ president, Edward Lindsay, appointed a special committee to study the question. The committee said review of a graduate program would require "evaluating and approving degree requirements, entrance and residency requirements, appointment of graduate faculties, graduate courses, and the quality of research work of those holding graduate degrees." The committee concluded that the council had too little staff and too few criteria to evaluate graduate programs. The committee also thought universities and graduate schools would reject the effort, and no action was taken.<sup>56</sup>

In 1964, Fred Siebert, director of the School of Journalism at Michigan State University, presented a report that was the result of a special committee to study graduate programs. Forty-four schools offering master's programs in journalism and communication were asked whether accreditation standards should be developed for professional training programs leading to the master's degree. Only fifteen of the schools responded "yes." Through the rest of the 1960s graduate education was discussed a great deal, but no action was taken. The accreditation council finessed the issue by focusing on the "first professional degree" offered by an institution, irrespective of whether it was at the undergraduate or graduate level. In 1969, for the first time, the list of accredited schools separated graduate from undergraduate programs. The AEJMC revisited the issue of graduate education in 1991, in 1995,

and in 1996, in each case winding up making salutary procedural changes but declining to be very prescriptive about what a graduate professional degree program in journalism should be. Nationally, the distinction between undergraduate and graduate degrees in journalism has never been a robust one.

Journalism schools have had difficulty from the very beginning implementing a more ambitious version of professional education, not because of lack of vision, but because of lack of money. Most journalism programs still receive a high proportion of their funding from their universities' general funds. Most of the best-known instances of major philanthropic gifts to journalism schools entail endowments from newspaper publishers: the aforementioned Joseph Pulitzer at Columbia and Joseph Medill at Northwestern, plus Walter Annenberg at the University of Pennsylvania and University of Southern California, the Newhouse family at Syracuse, and the Murphy and Cowles families at the University of Minnesota. Foundations associated with newspaper companies—Knight, Hearst, Scripps-Howard, Gannett, Dow Jones—have also been generous supporters of journalism education. A long-running dream that mainly hasn't come true is that media companies, rather than individuals or foundations, would significantly support journalism education. Today many of these companies are under severe financial strain that makes philanthropy difficult, and also, if they are publicly held companies, their legal obligations to their shareholders limit how philanthropic they can be.

It's clear that active fundraising, among alumni, foundations, and other interested parties (including individuals and foundations that aren't in the journalism business but are interested in the cause of a better-informed public) is vitally important for journalism schools. And anecdotal evidence, at least, indicates that freestanding professional schools have an easier time fundraising than do journalism departments. As Stephen Reese, a professor and associate dean at the University of Texas, has put it:

Journalism on many campuses has left its traditional home in the arts and sciences. It has joined with other communication and media fields to create independent professional schools within the university. In doing so, it has found it easier to enter into symbiotic relationships with the professional community, an alliance that has brought new resources but also corresponding pressures to satisfy those constituencies.<sup>57</sup>

Reese pointed out that traditionally strong schools such as Wisconsin and Minnesota have lost ground to professional schools such as North Carolina and Missouri.

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Of all the harshly negative reports written about journalism education, one that gained a great deal of attention from academics as well as professionals was written by Everette Dennis and a group of Oregon faculty. This report, unlike many, received widespread publicity in the trade and popular press. Dennis was then a young dean and president of AEJ; he is now dean of Northwestern University's branch campus in Qatar, a school that combines communications with journalism. In a 1983 article in the *ASNE Bulletin*, Dennis complained that journalism schools were dinosaurs. Dennis said he was amazed "to find that most courses"—not only their titles but also their structures and format—were "almost a carbon copy" of the syllabus of 1928 courses.<sup>58</sup>

As president of AEJMC, Dennis appointed a National Task Force on the Future of Journalism and Mass Communication that relied on the work of the Oregon group. The Oregon study was the first full-scale assessment of journalism education to be conducted. It was financed with a \$70,000 grant from the Gannett Foundation and a \$15,000 grant from the Northwest Area Foundation of St. Paul, Minnesota. The sheer number and range of individuals consulted was impressive: one hundred teachers of journalism; forty scholars outside the field; all of the nation's accredited schools of journalism and mass communication; heads of all professional groups represented in ACEJMC; a random sample of University of Oregon alumni; forty industry, professional, and scholarly organizations; and fifty experts on new technology.

The executive summary of the task force's report concluded, "The general state of journalism and mass communication education is dismal." The report said most units were "grossly underfunded" and that schools had massive enrollments with "tiny, overworked faculties." The report further concluded that journalism units "rarely play a major role in the governance of the university and rarely provide persons for the top cadre of leadership."<sup>59</sup> The report further charged that journalism schools "were not exactly centers of innovation," that they

were regarded as “following industry, not leading it,” and that the schools were believed to be the “handmaiden to industry, not its critic or visionary guide.”<sup>60</sup> Probably the most controversial statement of the report was that “the rapid infusion of new knowledge and pace of technological change will push journalism/mass communication schools away from industry-oriented sequence programs and toward more generic mass communication study.” In short, Dennis and his task force said, journalism education failed the academic test.

The year after the report was published, the Gannett Foundation created a Media Studies Center, billed as “the nation’s first institute of advanced study for mass communication and technological change”<sup>61</sup> and headed by Everette Dennis, at Columbia University. The center was designed to bridge the divide between academy and industry in ways that promoted mutual respect. The center was an extension and natural articulation of the Oregon report with an emphasis on creating new knowledge, developing an understanding of technology and its relationship to information, connecting journalism educators with scholars in other fields, and promoting journalism as a field. The center achieved a prominence that outshined any previous journalism academic endeavors. Early fellows included Tom Winship, editor of the *Boston Globe* on whose watch the paper won 12 Pulitzers, a beloved figure in American journalism and no friend of Gannett; James W. Carey, clearly the most respected of journalism/communication deans and scholars; Philip Meyer, a superb example of the nexus between scholarship and professionalism in journalism education; Ann Wells Branscomb, a respected communication law scholar and expert on new technologies—and who once brought a young Steve Jobs to the center; and Margo Gordon, Northwestern sociologist and professor at the Medill School who also represented mutual respect between journalism and research.

The Gannett Foundation put a total of \$51 million into the center between 1984 and 1996, but Gannett as a company was never especially interested in the type of research and activity on which the center built its reputation. And Columbia’s staunchly practice-oriented Graduate School of Journalism was not especially welcoming to the center, which was located in its building but over which it exercised no control. At the insistence of the Columbia journalism faculty, fellows at the center did not teach in the journalism school, and Dennis did not hold a faculty appointment there. In 1991 the Gannett Founda-

tion changed the center's name to the Freedom Forum, moved it to midtown Manhattan, and replaced Dennis with Nancy Woodhull, a longtime professional with no advanced degree. In 1996 Gannett shut down the program altogether. That same year it commissioned a report about journalism education titled *Winds of Change* that drew essentially the opposite conclusions from Dennis's report. The report argued for professional faculty and decried reliance on the PhD, attacking theoretical courses and academic research. In a preface to the report, Charles Overby, then president and chief executive officer of the Freedom Forum, argued that experienced editors should be hired over individuals with advanced degrees to teach journalism: "The battle over who is hired and promoted to teach journalism—real journalism—seems to have been a losing one for news professionals. I am aware of many situations where editors with years of distinguished service were turned down in favor of candidates with less distinguished service but with advanced degrees. Students were the losers because those editors would have been great teachers. They had been teaching in their newsrooms for years."<sup>62</sup> The standard for assessing journalism instruction, he wrote, "should be simple: How much emphasis and how many resources are being allocated to teaching writing/reporting and editing and the study of journalism history, law and ethics?"

Tension between a university perspective and an industry perspective on professional education exists in every field. This tension has been a strong, at times even dominant, force through the entire history of our field. News organizations have characteristically wanted journalism schools to emphasize skills more and academic content less, to do applicable rather than purely scholarly research, to fill their faculties with experienced professionals who don't necessarily hold advanced degrees, and to focus more on undergraduate degrees in journalism and less on graduate degrees. Senior university officials have characteristically wanted journalism schools to have more academically credentialed, research-oriented faculties, and to have more robust graduate programs. As we write, this dispute continues: in the age of the Internet, hardly a week goes by when somebody doesn't post an opinion on one side or the other.

On May 26, 2005, Gregorian and Hodding Carter III, then president and CEO of the Knight Foundation, announced the Carnegie-Knight Initiative on the Future of Journalism Education. Carter was succeeded a short time later by Alberto Iburguen. This was the first widely publicized national effort to focus attention on graduate journalism education, and it did not try to address directly or resolve the long-running central argument in the field. Instead its strategy was to let its guiding group of deans—initially five, later twelve—create their own agenda, which wound up straddling journalism education’s great divide and being applicable to undergraduate as well as graduate programs.

The initiative identified three primary efforts:

- Curriculum enrichment to integrate schools of journalism more deeply into the life of their universities. “The job of a citizen in a democracy is to participate. For Americans to do their job well, they need the help of journalists who are superbly trained, intellectually rigorous, steeped in knowledge about the subjects they report on, steadfast about their ethical standards and courageous in their pursuit of truth,” Gregorian said.
- News21, an incubator to create annual national investigative projects overseen by campus professors and distributed nationally.
- The Carnegie-Knight Task Force, which would create a national platform for educators to speak on policy and journalism education issues and that would focus on research. This effort was anchored at Harvard University’s Joan Shorenstein Center on the Press, Politics and Public Policy, and the Journalists’ Resource website is a continuing product of the initiative.

In the twenty-first century, the other, and more permanent, national effort regarding journalism education—the accreditation process—also devoted its main new efforts to changes that did not try to resolve the long-running university vs. industry tensions in the field. In 2003, the Accrediting Council revised the twelve standards that had been adopted in 1984 into nine standards to be applied starting in 2005–06. The council also made a decision to create standards

“so basic” that they would apply to all schools, rejecting the idea that standards should address provisions for differences among public vs. private, large vs. small, or schools with a regional focus vs. those with a national focus. The most significant change was to require schools to create plans for assessment of educational outcomes, to collect information and apply findings from the assessments to improve curricula, instruction, and learning. With the revision of the standards, the council mandated that graduate programs would be reviewed separately, but according to the same nine standards applied to undergraduate programs. Recommendations for accreditation also would be made separately, so that it is possible for a different status to be assigned to graduate and undergraduate programs at the same institution. Another significant and controversial change was in a 2004 revision of principles, designed to take into account accreditation by schools outside the United States. The council removed references to the First Amendment, “referring instead to the freedoms and principles underlying it and expecting programs abroad to teach and promote these principles.”<sup>63</sup> Today there are two accredited journalism education programs outside the United States, and the international realm seems to be the likely growth area in journalism education in the years to come.

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One former journalism dean, Gary Kebbel of the University of Nebraska, recently mused that journalism education might be better off housed in “free-standing journalism institutes,” outside universities, teaching only skills and using only temporary faculty. Kebbel was being refreshingly candid, and more intellectually honest, than generations of journalism educators on the skills side of the great divide who have advocated for what is essentially a non-university education housed inside universities. We don’t agree with him; later in this report we will explain why in detail. But purely on practical grounds, we think it would be useful for more industry-oriented journalists, journalism educators, and other interested parties to understand how journalism schools are perceived by their immediate superiors, provosts—who stand for the university perspective in general, who almost always fall on the university-oriented side of journalism education’s historical great divide.

One of us has had the unusual experience, for a journalism educator, of going from dean of a journalism school to provost of his university. This creates a personal perspective on how a journalism school looks from above (in the university hierarchy) and enables access to the candid views of others in the same position. We also interviewed provosts from schools in the Southeastern Conference (SEC) for this report. So here are some thoughts on journalism schools from a provost's point of view.

Throughout its history, journalism education has occupied an uneasy space on the fringe of the university. English and biology are essential components of a university. Journalism is not. Many elite universities have taken the view that journalism training does not belong in the university at all: fewer than half of the members of the prestigious Association of American Universities, for example, offer degrees in journalism, and only one of the Ivy League universities does.

Professional journalists have contributed to this ambivalence. The best skills training, they believe, is on the job, after graduation. In this spirit, A. J. Liebling derided his journalism school education as possessing "all the intellectual status of a training school for future employees of the A&P."<sup>64</sup> At the same time, an opposite professional attitude acts as a much more powerful centrifugal force on journalism education on campus. A large number of reporters and editors, as well as former journalists who have gone into the classroom or joined journalism-related foundations, argue that journalism programs are out of touch with the everyday practical needs of newsrooms. The most strident critics declare that university educational norms are inimical to worthwhile journalism instruction.

Journalism programs vary in organization and orientation. Some are small departments in liberal arts colleges. Some are a large presence in colleges dedicated to communication. Some focus on the study of journalism and media as social phenomena rather than teach students how to be journalists, making the programs more like core humanities and social science units. Some are thoroughly professional programs. But even though some programs are highly esteemed by their universities, as a general rule journalism programs of all sizes and shapes share a struggle to gain credibility on campus, especially at research-intensive universities that enjoy higher national rankings. This tension is particularly vivid and longstanding with professional master's programs.<sup>65</sup> Here, on the

one hand, students seek (and prospective employers expect) the acquisition of basic newsroom skills and, on the other hand, universities intensify their interest in research-based study.

The provost's office, which presides over strictly scholarly and professional programs alike, has the broadest perspective on campus teaching and research. The office also has the power to allocate and reallocate resources, to set academic standards, and to appoint academic unit leaders. No office is more important to the head of a journalism program. What do provosts think of journalism education on their campuses? Here, for a start, are three answers.

Initially Provost A viewed journalism education as simply teaching students to write for news organizations. Now he understands the program better. He is pleased that it includes other communications disciplines besides journalism and that these programs seem to be focused on how the audience learns and the impact of media. Holding a health-related doctorate, he is a strong believer in professional training and in research related to that training. "Strong research drives strong teaching," he says. As a way to emphasize this, he told students in his home doctoral program, "You get to learn from people who are writing what you read in class." He does not have a complete understanding of journalism research done on his campus, but he knows that the research is not a "shining star." He appreciates that there are other markers for excellence, such as when faculty are interviewed nationally.

What about the professional master's program? He is not sure if the department even has one. He can be heard on the other end of the phone line rustling through some papers. It looks like it does not, he says. Maybe the master of arts in communication provides professional journalism training, he volunteers.

Provost B, a scientist, speaks highly of journalism education at his university. It is considered one of the better programs in the country, has the only professional undergraduate degree on campus, and enjoys strong ties to working journalists. He particularly likes that the college is trying to help the media industry reinvent itself. "We are quite proud of it," he says, "and intend to keep it on the forefront."

He is less impressed with the doctoral program and, related to that, with the research being done. He wonders if, in fact, communication really is a serious discipline. “There is an aspiration to a theoretical base,” he says, but not broad acceptance by the school generally that that is valuable. This is an issue because the university expects a graduate program to engage in serious scholarly inquiry about the discipline or to advance practice. Professionals don’t agree on the value of research, he notes, so you just do not have a consensus on what the program should be.

What about the professional master’s program in journalism? The frontier, he says, is a master’s with special expertise in nontraditional skills such as technology and management.

“I am a bit at a loss; I will be honest with you,” Provost C responds when asked about the journalism program at her university. She hears from professionals that the school is not turning out students who are ready to go into the workforce. “I am not sure that they do not need to be more trade focused at the undergraduate level. I am not sure that they are what we need them to be.” At the same time that she questions the strength of professional training at the undergraduate level, she worries about faculty scholarship. She likes the unit head, who is a good scholar, but she says, “We do not have scholars who are pushing the boundaries of scholarship.” She bases this in part on the promotion and tenure cases that come through her office. Journalism is a rapidly changing field, she believes, with interesting topics to explore. “We have to navigate between these two poles.”

Coming out of the humanities, where she taught classics, Provost C is not sure how that navigation should be done. She is open to professional training and takes great pride in another information-related professional program on campus. Its faculty are tops, she says, with groundbreaking research. Faculty members generate a lot of external research funding and take part in national projects. Furthermore, the program is notably successful at job placement.

Regarding the professional master’s program in journalism, she admits, “I just don’t know much about it.” On the plus side, she says, there were no red flags in the university’s periodic programmatic review. The program has not attracted her attention.

As these three examples suggest, provosts' responses varied considerably. Nevertheless, the interviews contained revealing consistencies. The most important of these is that provosts are uncertain about journalism education. It is not uncommon for provosts to wonder not simply if their programs are meeting standards but also what those standards should be. In thinking about journalism education, few of the provosts paid much attention to professional master's programs. Many did not know if such a program existed on their campus in some form or another. None identified the master's as a vehicle for bringing great credit to the university.

Of course, this cannot be said for all provosts at all universities. At Syracuse University, the University of North Carolina, and the University of Missouri, where journalism is a premier program and master's degree enrollment is high, any successful provost would be expected to know quite a lot about those units and their individual degrees. Similarly, Berkeley and Columbia specialize in professional master's degrees in journalism, and a provost at those universities would be aware of the respect they have earned. But these are exceptions.

The reasons for provosts' hazy view of journalism education in general and master's degrees in particular can be attributed to a number of factors.

Few provosts or their staffs have had any direct involvement with journalism education prior to assuming their positions. A historian-turned-provost certainly would have taken a science course as an undergraduate, and a biologist would have taken English and history. It is not routine, however, for history or biology majors to take a journalism course. Furthermore, working their way up the ranks of academe, most provosts would not have interacted extensively with journalism professors. Professors of humanities, social science, and science learn to evaluate a broad range of related disciplines inside their colleges. In colleges of arts and sciences, for instance, political scientists on college tenure and promotion committees review cases for English and chemistry. University-wide committees review tenure packages as well, but those reviews are not in depth. Typically at this point tenure packages often do not include examples of a professor's work—only vitae, outside review letters, and home-college assessments by the faculty and the dean. Many provosts are quick to say, to quote one, "I am not qualified to judge the research [in journalism]; it's not my field."

University-wide committees on curriculum, standards, and many other issues also involve interdisciplinary interaction. Unfortunately, journalism units tend to be smaller and have fewer people to put on committees. Journalism professors also are absent from the ranks of upper administration.

Once a provost assumes the position of chief academic officer, contact with journalism is likely to remain limited. At most major universities, provosts pay attention to programs that generate large amounts of research funding, such as in the sciences; teach large numbers of students, such as in the case of colleges of arts and sciences; or have been designated as high priorities, such as when state government mandates focus on biomedical research or coastal restoration. Journalism brings in modest grants and contracts, at best; never rivals arts and sciences in the number of credit hours it produces; and is not usually viewed by governors or their legislatures as a key to development of the state (although this was not the case a century ago, in the early days of journalism education). Because journalism usually is housed in larger communications-related college or in a college of arts and sciences, a journalism-trained dean or director quite often does not interact with the provost. It goes without elaboration that governors these days are not inclined to designate improved journalism as a key to their state's development.

In any event, given the array of academic units on most campuses, provosts cannot be deeply familiar with all the most important programs, let alone the lesser ones. They compensate (and insulate themselves against charges of bias, even if they find ways to act on their prejudices) by relying heavily on reviews done with teams of internal and external faculty, on national rankings, and on accreditation reports for professional programs. As Jonathan Cole noted in his history of higher education, the great Stanford University provost Frederick Emmons Terman viewed himself as the "ultimate gatekeeper of quality" and to do that relied on advisers and "had an obsession with quantification that would become part of his arsenal for dispassionately (some would say ruthlessly) evaluating departments and individual scholars."<sup>66</sup> Especially with professional programs, provosts also assess quality based on what they hear from alumni and people in allied industries. Such evidence can be useful, but it isn't always.

This is not all that clouds provosts' understanding of journalism education. Journalism was one of the earliest business endeavors to make a claim on being a profession.<sup>67</sup> Those aspirations made it one of the programs considered worthy of graduate education at Columbia University when its innovative Faculty of Political Science, formed in 1881, included in its prospectus the preparation of "public journalists." But the fact is that journalism does not meet the standards of a profession the way law, medicine, and architecture do, with their enforceable codes and licensing, requirements for continuing education, and so forth. Adding to the confusion about professionalism is the current upheaval in journalism.

"I don't think very many provosts understand what journalism is all about," said Del Brinkman, reflecting on his time as a dean and later a provost at the University of Kansas.<sup>68</sup> Many administrators had a negative opinion, he recalled, one usually based on an inept journalist they had known, or a single, unfortunate episode they had experienced, or on the quality of the student newspaper. Many deans have a story about the time the university president called up to complain about a story that students had run: "What the hell is going on over there," a University of Kansas president asked Brinkman once—"yellow journalism?" Today provosts have much more than the student newspaper to choose from in forming negative examples of journalism. Few provosts automatically conclude that bad journalism calls for strong journalism education.

Just as working journalists fret about finding ways to maintain high-quality journalism, provosts wonder what journalism programs should do to respond. As Provost B claimed proudly, his journalism program was doing a good job of helping the industry. Another had a different take: "My frustration is that our college has been slow to evolve in the marketplace as forms of communication have changed." Newspapers will not be printed to the end of the time, he said, but the college acts as if that were so. "It's hard to get traction on new ideas" in the college. This latter view is more prevalent.

What those new ideas should be is debatable. But part of the answer will be shaped by the research journalism educators undertake. Here, too, a muddled picture presents itself to provosts.

Research is the coin of the realm of any major university. It is central to universities' mission and function to increase the store of knowledge. There are also practical benefits to research. Highly visible researchers bring national attention to themselves and to their institutions. They attract the brightest students. In some disciplines they bring in large amounts of money in the forms of grants and contracts. Because of these factors and because it is much easier to count books, articles, and research dollars than it is to measure quality teaching, research is a major component in the recruitment and tenuring of faculty.

"I brag about my doctoral degrees," one Southeastern Conference provost said. "These are where we get our [national] reputation. . . . When I am at academic meetings, I would never talk about these [professional] degrees." Said another, "The one thing I would walk away stressing is that journalism faculty need to pay attention to the scholarship piece. . . . We are research universities. . . . [Research] has to be done to maintain quality in a research institution . . . [and] credibility." Both provosts had professional backgrounds, one as an engineer and the other as a lawyer.

To understand attitudes about journalism research, it is useful to look at the evolution of journalism education. Journalism in universities in many cases emerged from colleges of arts and sciences, often beginning in English departments with a few courses, then forming into departments of their own, and finally in many cases becoming freestanding college-level units. This path out of the humanities and social sciences helped journalism education do something that professional schools find difficult. Many professional schools do not have an undergraduate major, so they are divorced from liberal arts education.<sup>69</sup> Not so with journalism. A broad liberal arts education is an integral part of undergraduate journalism study even in the most professionally oriented programs. Working journalists have encouraged this because they quite rightly want graduates not only to have news skills but also to be able to understand the world they have to explain as reporters and editors.

The development of the discipline in this generally positive way has, however, had paradoxical consequences for journalism research. While the undergraduate curriculum is aligned with professional needs, both in skills and in liberal arts education, doctoral study is not. In keeping with the genesis of their undergradu-

ate programs, most journalism professors with PhDs are trained in the liberal arts tradition and are inclined to pursue a related research agenda. That agenda has involved paying attention to theory building and, especially in the early years, to media effects. Today most faculty research at journalism schools is inclined to describe and analyze journalism; sometimes this work can be used to improve journalism, sometimes not. Journalism professors are doing more applied research today. But the research of the typical faculty member in veterinary medicine, accounting, or engineering is much more practical than that of the average journalism professor.

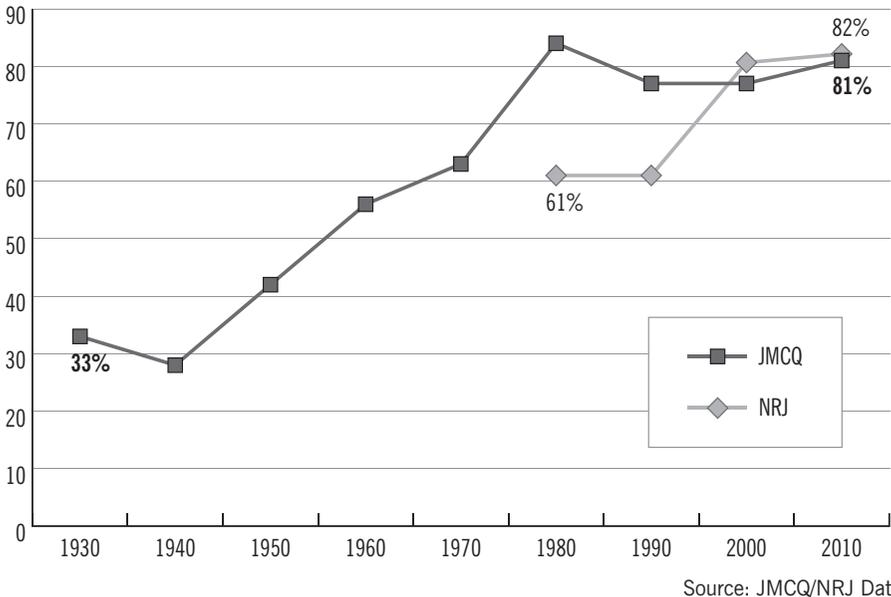
One may wonder what would have happened if the pioneers of journalism education had taken a different course and decided to favor applied research, or if professional journalists in those early years had pressed journalism programs to do research that news organizations could make use of. But as usually happens, professors did what came naturally given their backgrounds, and they trained succeeding generations of faculty to be like them. For their part, professionals did not pay attention to research because they did not think they needed it. The great challenge to newspaper publishers was in-market competition by similarly operating businesses, and, after the advent of broadcast journalism, evening news programs. Those who had addressed those problems successfully were making lots of money without having to ask sophisticated questions about their industry. R&D was as unusual in newspapers in those formative years of journalism education as typewriters are today.

The result is a series of disconnects that provosts cannot miss. One of these is that working professionals generally have a low regard for research. This tension carries over to faculties, especially when a program's professional and scholarly faculty coexist begrudgingly, as is the case at many journalism schools. Often the professional faculty carry heavier teaching loads, which doesn't help promote comity. Serious conflict within an academic unit has a negative impact on a school's reputation on campus. News of faculty bickering travels fast and wide, delighting rival academic units vying for provosts' respect and resources. Another divide exists between journalism scholars and scholars in departments of political science, history, English, and the like from whom journalism acquires many of its research tools. Although journalism scholars have an affinity for those disciplines,

they are not always accepted by them. Questions arise about the lack of rigor and original theory building in journalism. And many journalism faculty members who come from long professional experience simply don't do much research.

All of this can be confusing, if not troubling, for senior academic administrators. Other professional programs have practical and respectable research. Why not journalism? And if the research and professional sides do not align, why can't journalism educators at least agree on what constitutes high-quality research? When faculty disagree on standards, provosts know it and wonder about program quality. Provosts look for clear, consistent visions in the units they oversee. This can be difficult for journalism to achieve, and it may become more challenging still as a result of another divide that is emerging.

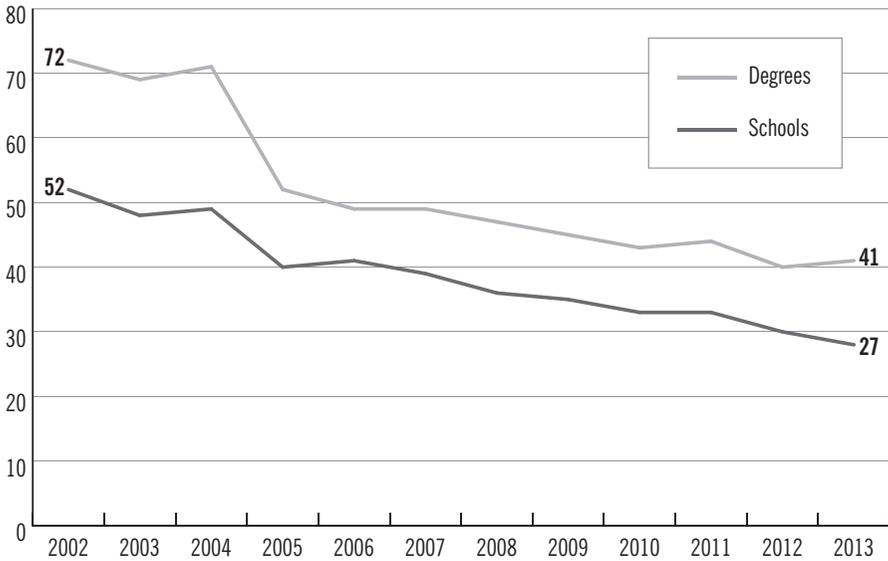
**Chart 1**  
Percent of *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly* and  
*Newspaper Research Journal* Articles Based on Quantitative Research



In recent years journalism scholars have engaged more frequently in quantitative research, a trend that is found in social science generally. Chart 1 demonstrates this in two leading publications in the field, *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly* and the *Newspaper Research Journal*. Quantitative methods provide a powerful research tool, and they can be used to explore practical problems in journalism. It is a positive step forward that many undergraduate journalism programs provide deeper instruction than they used to in data collection and use.<sup>70</sup> But it is a real challenge for journalism schools to balance an emphasis on quantitative research by faculty with the need to teach mainly non-quantitative courses at the undergraduate level (though, as we will discuss later, journalism school curricula tend to go too far in the direction of leaving the journalists they train insufficiently literate in quantitative understanding). Ideally, faculty research should bring quantitative and qualitative methods together toward the deepest possible understanding, and faculty teaching should, too. Provosts respect research, but they also expect professional schools to be able to equip their students to work in the profession. As Ralph Izard, a former director of the Ohio State program and a former editor of the *Newspaper Research Journal*, put it in an interview for this report, “Journalism has not been accepted adequately as a professional discipline.” Journalism educators bear much of the responsibility for that.

**Chart 2**

Total ACEJMC-Accredited Master’s Degrees and Schools



Source: ACEJMC Data

Another example of the drift away from a professional grounding shows up in the decrease in accredited master’s degrees. As chart 2 shows, the number of ACEJMC-accredited master’s degree programs dropped from 72 to 41 between 2002 and 2013, a 43.1 percent decline. The number of schools offering such degrees dropped from 52 to 27, a 48.1 percent decline. The sharpest decrease occurred in the 2004–05 school year, when the number of degrees decreased 26.8 percent and the number of accredited schools decreased 18.4 percent. The decrease followed the ACEJMC’s announcement in June 2004 that it would change its standards for reviewing graduate programs beginning in the 2006–07 school year. (The slight increase in the number of accredited master’s degree programs between 2012 and 2013 resulted from an expansion at just one school. Syracuse University offered two master’s degree programs in 2012; in 2013, it offered eight.) Several explanations could account for programs declining to seek master’s program reaccreditation, including the prosaic reason of not wanting the hassle of dealing with the new, more demanding standards that require schools

to make a detailed separate evidentiary case for the worthiness of their master's programs. Whatever the reason, programs that choose not to seek accreditation have less incentive to be professional.

It cannot be said that the office of provost naturally harbors a strong bias against professional programs. Of the eleven SEC provosts and deputies with whom we spoke in 2012, well over half came out of professional doctoral programs. Furthermore, while some provosts are rigid as a result of their personality and many place high value on traditional academic research as a result of their experience in the university, the great majority reach their administrative positions because they can listen and are flexible. As a rule, the best provosts are open to alternative measures of valuing academic programs, provided those alternatives lead to demonstrable excellence.

Journalism programs have a number of selling points beyond research that carry weight with provosts. Here are a few of them.

Revenue. One of the most important values journalism programs have had on campus is the tuition money they bring. Journalism enrollments have been strong for a number of years and, disruptions in the industry notwithstanding, are at historic highs at least at the undergraduate level, even as mass communication enrollment overall has dropped slightly.<sup>71</sup> The cost side of journalism education enhances the value of the tuition revenue. While journalism instruction is more expensive to provide than most core humanities courses, it costs far less than science in terms of labs and technology and far less than business, medicine, or law in terms of salaries. Modest investments needed to recruit an outstanding professional have big payoffs in terms of national reputation.

These considerations are particularly important for provosts thinking about maintaining or starting professional master's programs. The faculty and administration may not be excited about the journalism master's, one provost told me, but the students are. Another SEC provost said the university was determining which programs it can grow, and a chief factor is whether they will pay for themselves. If a journalism master's is such a program, not requiring support in the form of paid assistantships to attract students, the university would see a benefit in expanding it. Emphasis on cost and revenue will not abate as university budgets rely more on tuition dollars and less on state general appropriations.

And more revenue. Another measure of program value is fundraising. Professional schools often have an advantage in raising funds because their alumni identify more closely with those programs than liberal arts majors do with their home departments, whose missions are not as closely linked to their life's work. The downside for journalism schools is that they do not have as many wealthy alumni as, for example, business programs. Also, media companies have less capacity to provide funding than in the past, and new media companies do not see themselves as being tied to journalism schools the way old-line newspapers did. On the plus side, journalism schools can raise money from philanthropists who don't have ties to journalism but who want to invest in greater public understanding of the issues they are passionate about. Even with the status quo, journalism schools are better positioned for fundraising than are many other schools on campus.

Links to the community. "For me," said one SEC provost about professional programs, "these are opportunities to do economic development activities, engage with local constituencies" with whom the university needs to have strong ties. Professional degrees "open doors for stronger relationships." This thinking is especially important for state-funded institutions, whose funding is tied to relevance and public opinion. Provosts and their bosses generally know very well how their professional programs are perceived. Leaders in professional communities, not least of all journalism, are vocal.

Status conferral. Journalism programs are especially well equipped to win recognition for their programs because of the visibility journalism offers. "Our Grady College has always been one of the signature programs," the University of Georgia provost said. "It has a large physical space. It has been responsible for administering the Peabody Awards in New York City. . . . To be honest with you the Peabody gives us a lot of attention. We get a lot of good press." Stephen Colbert, he adds, mentions the award on the air when he gets one.

This status conferral comes in other forms as well: the journalism dean or faculty member who is highly respected and sought after for national comment; the ability to invite in media stars as speakers. Provosts take pride in awards won by faculty. And even though student media can annoy them, provosts brag about the student newspaper or radio station winning national awards. Provosts and presidents are called upon almost daily to give talks about the university to some

group or other. They are always looking for something positive to say. Effective journalism deans ensure that the provost's brag list includes the journalism program's accomplishments.

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Early in 2013 Indiana University Provost Lauren Robel, a lawyer by training, announced a plan to merge the highly thought of School of Journalism into a new unit in the College of Arts and Sciences. Her rationale was that the school had a small budget compared with other college-level units and that journalism was itself in the merger mood.

“Of the hundreds of articles one can quickly find by searching the web for ‘the future of journalism,’” she wrote in a position paper, “it is hard to find one that does not focus on convergence of platforms—broadcast news media with text-based mobile apps, Twitter feeds from sports journalism covering games, newspapers whose digital readership far exceeds their print. Even the Bureau of Labor Statistics notes that positions as reporters and correspondents are declining as newspapers falter and media converge and consolidate.”<sup>72</sup> As additional evidence, the provost cited a Carnegie-Knight Initiative report, which argued that technological change called for better training of journalists. And in a foreboding sign of the future, Robel said the journalism school was likely to do better on National Research Council rankings if it were in the College of Arts and Sciences. Those NRC rankings, which some mass communications scholars pressed for ardently, do not in their present form capture the qualities we think are best for journalism schools.

Anyone who knows anything about journalism knows that the convergence of news platforms is poor rationale for putting journalism in a college with auditory science and ceramics. It is equivalent to arguing that family and child studies should be merged with economics because it was once called home economics. But anyone who knows anything about provosts, especially provosts working for presidents who seek greater efficiency of resources and do not place value in journalism, also knows that the concept of combining units can be compelling.

At this writing, the future of the Indiana program is unsettled. Whether Indiana remains an independent college-level program or not, the merger proposal is one of many signals of vulnerability of even the best journalism programs to steps that diminish them as both academic and professional units. During the 2012–13 academic year, Robel's initiative was one of four roughly similar attempts to fold accredited journalism programs into other units of their universities.

While upper administration may see advantages in consolidating journalism with other disparate units, the costs in quality are high. Indiana's journalism school successfully sought to leave the College of Arts and Sciences in the 1970s because it was a low budget priority. Such reduced funding can be a function of holding journalism in lower regard based on liberal arts research criteria. It also can result from journalism programs being able to raise money more easily than most liberal arts majors, allowing deans to shift resources to those poorer units. (Over time this can alienate the donor base for journalism, which does not want to subsidize geography.) Furthermore, deans with no professional understanding of journalism often do not appreciate the value of professional faculty and the need for alternative paths to award tenure and promotion. It is a fact of academic life that a journalism dean has a better chance of persuading a provost of the value of his or her academic product than a journalism department chair does of persuading a dean in a college of arts and sciences. Freestanding independent units are essential for high-quality professional journalism education.<sup>73</sup>

Before suggesting ways to protect journalism programs against these threats, we want to step back and stress a key point: this section of our report has looked at journalism education from the point of view of provosts. That senior administrators often do not understand journalism programs and that the programs themselves contribute to this lack of understanding are serious vulnerabilities. It does not follow, however, that journalism programs aren't worthwhile. Journalism education has done a good job—sometimes a very good job—of training would-be journalists, and strong professional programs are needed now more than ever.

Nor are journalism programs the only place in which reforms should take place in the university. As one simple example, universities' general emphasis on doctoral study is questionable in light of the relatively small number of positions available for professors in many disciplines. Similarly, universities eventually have

to face the ethical question of encouraging so many students to undertake doctorate studies, using them to teach undergraduates, and then watching them give up their own studies before receiving a degree. This just begins to identify the tasks ahead, some of which are far more profound. There is opportunity for journalism educators here, if we can take advantage of them: we are more interdisciplinary and more oriented toward directing the research and writing process toward public understanding and practical application, and these are directions that top university administrators will likely find appealing for their institutions.

The professional master's degree. Journalism educators often see themselves fighting their campus battles alone when in fact they have shared interests with other professional units. This is particularly the case with professional master's degrees.

From 2000 to 2012, the number of master's degrees awarded by American universities increased by 63 percent, a far faster pace than bachelor's degrees. And for good reason. Projections show that the number of jobs requiring a master's degree will increase by about 22 percent between 2010 and 2020.<sup>74</sup> In meeting these needs, universities are paying more attention to practical master's education along with certification programs (to which journalism also should give more attention). "We are becoming more of a training machine for American industry at the high-skill level end," a liberal arts dean at Johns Hopkins commented recently to the *Washington Post*.<sup>75</sup> Professional science master's (PSM) programs, which could have the same impact on higher education as the introduction of the MBA, require "coursework and training geared towards work in industry and combines mathematics and science master's level courses with work in business fundamentals and team building."<sup>76</sup> The National Academy of Sciences supports this concept. Other disciplines have experienced growth; for instance, the number of engineering master's degrees awarded has increased 31 percent over the first decade of this century.<sup>77</sup>

Research better aligned with the professional mission. Journalism research is a growth industry at the moment. Fifty mass communication doctoral programs exist, and "enrollments have increased slightly but steadily in recent years."<sup>78</sup> In addition, the paradigmatic changes taking place in news media are leading

young scholars in other disciplines, such as political science, to focus on journalism in their dissertations and subsequent research. Unfortunately, much of this research never makes its way to journalism professionals.

It is not easy to change course and encourage young scholars to direct their research to practical applications. Remaking every journalism professor into an applied scholar is neither necessary nor desirable. The goal ought to be to enlarge the amount of practical research being done and to make traditional research more meaningful and accessible to people outside universities—to average citizens who need to understand news media better as well as to journalists who can use the insights to make journalism work better. Some schools use multiple definitions of research that include the production of exemplary, substantive journalism—a type of research that is almost automatically public-facing. In general, because journalism plays an intermediating role between expertise and public understanding, we believe it is appropriate for research by journalism faculty in universities, whatever form it takes, to strive for accessibility and usability beyond a confined population of expert academic peers. The emphasis that some universities are putting on engaged scholarship opens the door for many scholars to become more involved with professionals, and it is a particularly exciting opportunity for professional faculty who can bridge the divide between scholarship and practice.

Journalism is a “borrowing” discipline, using the theories and methods of others. Rather than fighting this, journalism educators should embrace it as a strength and broaden interdisciplinary study still further. Journalism teaching and research can benefit from incorporating industrial psychology, computer programming, economics, psychology, management, and other disciplines that have the tools to understand the functioning of news media and make them more effective. Neither are science, geography, and medicine, to name just a few other disciplines, outside the ken of journalism education any more than they are outside the ken of news reporting. To put this another way, journalism education should relish the opportunity to make itself into a microcosm of the university, incorporating the panoply of tools that a campus has to offer to achieve a somewhat more interdisciplinary and applicable version of university research than is standard in the liberal arts. In this way journalism programs could be intellectual leaders on their campuses.

Journalism schools can broaden faculty expertise in several ways. They can encourage hybrid PhD degrees in which doctoral students effectively have two major fields, rather than a mass communications major field and a minor one. They can recruit young professors from other disciplines who have shown an interest in news media research, although journalism educators (possibly with foundation support) will need to help them develop a solid knowledge of journalism as it is practiced on the ground. Additionally, they can encourage existing faculty to broaden their research by working collaboratively outside their fields.

“The first necessity of a body of men engaged in the pursuit of learning,” F. M. Cornford wrote more than a century ago in a facetious send-up of higher education, *Microcosmographia Academica*, “is freedom from the burden of political cares. It is impossible to enjoy the contemplation of truth if one is vexed and distracted by the sense of responsibility.”<sup>79</sup> The British scholar was referring largely to faculty politics, but he could as well have been referring to a sense of responsibility (or lack of responsibility) on a wider scale. Looking back at the original nineteenth-century inspiration for enlarging American graduate education—preparation for public service—historian Thomas Bender has argued, “What our contemporary culture wants is the combination of theoretical abstraction and historical concreteness, technical precision and civic give-and-take, data and rhetoric. Only by entering into public life can our most highly educated intellect make for itself and for us such a rich and powerful common language of and for democratic culture.”<sup>80</sup>

Provosts and university administrators are likely to accept a journalism research agenda that is broader, more practical, and democratically accessible. First, provosts have used the liberal arts metric because that is the one that journalism schools have offered. Second, provosts—even those with liberal arts degrees themselves—are generally open to alternative standards for research *provided the standards are high*.

The comments of the SEC provosts illustrate this:

- One provost, who had concerns with professionals on the journalism faculty whose work was not peer reviewed, had no problem at all with a photographer whose work was “fantastic.” He knew how to evaluate her because he saw good models in the art department.

- A provost with an accounting background said his field has excellent scholars and is actively involved with the industry. He would expect the same from journalism: “I would want them to be true schools but at the same time making a difference in the journalism profession, . . . impacting the profession in some way.”
- A third provost said a professional degree is fine because you have to look at marketplace realities. The key is being recognized. Anyway, he said, the provost does not decide. A school has to make a case for what it wants to do and the standards by which it will be measured.

The case can be made for the relevance of journalism without diminishing its status on campus. It can also lead to higher status with the professions by supplying them with better ideas and even direct assistance in newsgathering. Stronger applied research can be achieved without putting journalism education up for hire with the journalism industry. Journalism researchers are needed not only to assist news media but also to assess and critique their performance. Good and useful research is dispassionate and rigorous. “The divorce between liberalism and professionalism as educational missions,” observes Louis Menand, a Harvard English professor and staff writer for the *New Yorker*, “rests on a superstition: that the practical is the enemy of the true.”<sup>81</sup>

Journalism leadership. Another factor important for maintaining the quality of journalism programs is at once the most mundane and possibly the most important, namely, the recruitment of leaders. This is not simply a choice between hiring seasoned professionals or dyed-in-the-wool scholars, although people in both camps often see it that way. Professionals need to work effectively with academics and vice versa in most strong programs. What counts is the ability to bring faculties together around points of excellence and then aggressively and creatively sell that excellence to provosts, presidents, and others on and off campus. Rather than blame provosts for not knowing much about journalism, journalism educators should ask themselves why they do not tell their provosts how their master’s program is making a contribution.

This requirement for strong leadership is much higher for journalism programs than other academic units for reasons already alluded to. The chairs of departments of English preside over programs that require no justification. They do not have to explain why an English Department is needed at a university, and the standards for excellence are well established. Yet every time a new provost arrives on campus, the head of journalism has to worry about “educating” the provost on the fundamental value of the unit. Furthermore, in order to get jobs for students, raise funds, and insulate themselves against threats of program merger and elimination, journalism educators must develop strong ties with professional communities. This is unlikely to occur without journalism program leaders positioned to explain how their programs are supporting the profession. Significantly, the proposal to merge Indiana’s journalism program came at a time when the school was in a leadership transition and the dean was an interim appointee. “The best journalism programs,” Del Brinkman argues from his long experience, “are ones that are independent and led by a savvy dean.”

There is no one model for a professional journalism program, and there shouldn’t be. Diverse approaches enlarge the possibilities for new ideas, all of which are needed to maintain the higher calling that journalism should be in a democracy. Making common cause on campus with other academic units, moving research unapologetically in the direction of improved practice and relevance, and working hard to educate provosts on the benefits journalism brings to universities will make programs stronger and more secure. Done well, these approaches can move journalism closer to the center of the campus.

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Journalism education outside the United States is a growth industry—partly because it is newer almost everywhere else than it is here. According to a World Journalism Education Council census, there are now 2,324 journalism education and training programs around the world.<sup>82</sup> It is beyond the scope of this report to survey them comprehensively, but we would like to make a few observations, by way of demonstrating that many of our main themes are likely to arise wherever there is journalism education in universities.

More universities abroad have realized that a healthy demand exists among students for journalism training, and more scholars have come to appreciate that news media are worthy of study—an appreciation furthered by the disruptions and new possibilities that technological change has brought on. Another factor, which is not part of the American experience, is the spread (halting but encouraging overall) of press freedom, especially since the collapse of Communism in many countries. This has led to the emergence of new journalism education programs inside universities as well as outside as a result of media training assistance.

Among the distinctive features of American higher education are its large scale, its emphasis on skills instruction, and its large private sector. Most of the rest of the world has historically sent only a small portion of the population to college, has operated higher education on government funding with little or no tuition, and has not had a tradition of practical, employment-related education, especially for undergraduates. That all these traditions are changing is another part of what accounts for the growth in journalism education. Here are just a handful of instructive examples, two from inside universities, one from outside.

In the United Kingdom, two of the most important universities offering journalism are Cardiff University and City University London.

Great Britain has lagged far behind other industrial countries in journalism education. The UK does not seem to have had its first effort until 1937. An attempted course of study at London University lasted only two years, however; as happened in the United States, professional journalists dismissed the program as too theoretical.<sup>83</sup> The National Council for the Training of Journalists, created to oversee vocational training, began in 1951; it did not put its stamp of approval on a university-based program until 1970. (That course of study was at Cardiff University.)

The experience of George Brock, a veteran journalist who now heads the journalism program at City University, is a good example of how journalism used to be taught. Brock had an Oxford degree in history. Upon graduation he was hired by Pearson Longman to work on its paper in York. After a short time there, Brock was sent to Darlington College of Further Education, an institution that trained “butchers,” as Brock puts it, “and some journalists.” At Darlington he learned skills, such as shorthand, and other practical subjects, such as newspaper law. The

reward was a certificate and a job. The goal of vocational institutions like Darlington was to turn out men and women who could be local reporters. Regional papers liked this system because it created a process to vet would-be journalists.<sup>84</sup>

This process has changed. The past ten years have been a “golden age for journalism education,” as Bob Franklin, a professor at Cardiff and one of the leading media scholars in the UK, put it. The boom can be measured in several ways. The most obvious is in the proliferation of courses of journalism—about 660, according to Franklin and others. Franklin estimates that fifty-five full-fledged departments have “journalism” in their names. Some of these courses are in institutions not deserving of the title “university.” But many programs are serious and, as Richard Sambrook, a former BBC executive who now heads Cardiff’s program, noted, have good equipment. Most of the growth is in “new” universities (many of which are the old polytechnics such as City University).

This is not all that has made the age golden. Scholarly research on the media has become more robust. Just a few years ago, Britain had no academic journals devoted to journalism. Now it has five. (Franklin started and edits three of them.) Whereas almost no scholarly books had “news” in their title, now a long list appears each year. The social sciences have been a driver in this research, with sociology being especially important. It was sociologists at both Cardiff and City University who helped lead the way for journalism programs there. Other fields, including political science, history, and linguistics, have become progressively more involved in journalism education. The Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism was established at Oxford in 2006, with core funding from the Thomson Reuters Foundation, and is part of the Department of Politics and International Relations at the university.

American journalists and journalism academics are well aware that they are working in what is commonly considered a quasi-profession. But journalism is even a few notches lower in esteem in Great Britain. “It is deeply rooted culture in the UK,” said Sambrook, “that journalism is not a profession.” This helps explain the late start of university-level journalism education in Britain, and an even lower natural level of comity than in the United States between journalists who have joined journalism faculties and lifelong scholarly researchers on media topics. At

one university, we were told, the divide between faculty is so bitter that professionals call academics “gentlemen of leisure”; the academics retort by calling the professionals “the plumbers.”

Besides these cultural differences, a big difference between Britain and the United States is that the UK conducts a highly consequential, quantitative national survey of university research. This process, which takes place every five years, is called the Research Excellence Framework, or REF (it used to be known as the Research Assessment Exercise). This exercise is not just about reputation. It is also about money. Those that score well get more government funding than those that do not.

Although the REF puts huge research weight on the university scales, the funding and reputation of journalism programs are not limited to this. There is also the weight of professional concerns—students getting jobs; working journalists’ respect for and validation of instruction. The chief professional organization interacting with journalism education—and evaluating it—is the National Council for the Training of Journalists. The NCTJ, Bob Franklin said, “is generally regarded as a rather invasive and dominating regulator. It prescribes programmes of study and learning; it visits institutions and validates programmes.” The NCTJ doesn’t rank programmes, “although most years to keep everyone on their toes they make a public statement about which institution is running the best programme (which is usually—as this year—Cardiff), or it identifies one aspect of a programme and mentions an institution which is doing this all rather well. Institutions teach to a syllabus and students then take an NCTJ exam which is marked internally and examined by an external appointed by NCTJ, so regulation at each stage is tight—rather than, for example, coming to validate an institution and then trusting that institution to set appropriate and relevant course work and examinations.”

City University is not reviewed by the NCTJ. “NCTJ tests seem to us very print and backward-looking,” Brock said. “They are expensive to take in both money and time, and their requirements can’t be fitted into an intensively taught one-year master’s which is already stuffed to bursting with teaching designed to produce versatile, multi-channel journalists. And there’s no demand for the qualification from candidates that we can detect. We review the issue at regular intervals.”

Another professional group is the Office of Communications, which regulates broadcast in the UK (that is, all broadcast communication except for the BBC and telecom). Ofcom is made up of regulators, lawyers, researchers, and a few journalism professionals. Ofcom does not have as much control over education as the NCTJ, but it does observe what is happening at schools and that naturally has an impact on impressions in the industry. Brock notes they “are only one institution among many who might influence research programs.”

Graduates getting jobs has always been an issue, but it has suddenly become even more important as a result of the government’s decision to require all students to pay full tuition for their schooling. Hard as it is to believe, when Brock came to City University four years ago, the studies of all of the undergraduate students were subsidized. With good reason, he described this new government policy as “a very, very profound change.” Franklin said it could lead journalism education to a “cliff.”

What are the possible consequences? One is that students will place even more of a premium on practical education. “If we have to pay more,” they will say, “we better be able to get a job.” That could, in turn, force more investment in practice, both by way of equipment and type of instruction. This could reduce the intellectual component of journalism education in many places and increase animosity with researchers. Equally important, though, is the potential for unsubsidized tuition costs to drive down student demand, which means that some universities may experience declining enrollments. Franklin thinks that half the programs could disappear. He said economic pressure could force small surviving programs to teach more without the proper number of teachers or equipment. Higher costs will also have an impact on the student body mix. Low-income students may have to forgo education. This is not likely to change foreign student enrollment since those students already pay full freight.

“Journalism schools are always outliers because of the students’ interests in employability and with the university’s wish to be a top-flight research place,” Brock said. “All you can do is manage this tension.” So, let’s see how Brock goes about meeting this challenge.

A PhD can be earned in two ways: the traditional method with a dissertation, or a second path called “PhD by prior publication.” In the second way, the candidate writes a 20,000-word reflection on his or her past work. This can be done by someone who has been in universities for years or by a professional journalist. This second degree is not as esteemed as the classic PhD. Brock, however, figures he can meet the needs of the vice chancellor by encouraging professional faculty to acquire the second kind of PhD. He is already doing this. It has a cost, however: this requires him to give faculty time off so that they can write their essays, which means he loses them in the classroom for a period of time.

Generalizing is perilous, but it’s worth noting a few patterns in global journalism education. First, it is simpler to train journalists outside a university than inside—for example, in a freestanding institute or a facility housed in a large news organization. The trouble with these institutions is that they have a hard time surviving, especially because of the lack of a tuition-paying tradition in much of the world; companies and nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) have to pay for them. Also, they are well suited to teach entry-level job skills, but not to go very far beyond that. If you believe, as we do, that journalists should get a deep, intellectually sophisticated journalism education, that can happen only in a university. But it’s clear that being inside a university means having to be serious about research and intellectual content. They can’t simply be wished away, even though news organizations and their associations will favor that and will pressure journalism programs to focus only on skills.

In most universities outside the United States, the main challenge for journalism educators is introducing strong elements of practice, because traditionally journalism education abroad has been so heavily based on theory. In the case of Communist countries, this tendency was particularly pernicious because of the tendentious efforts to align journalism with Marxism-Leninism. (The Soviet Union recognized the importance of media, albeit media that remained ideologically pure. By the demise of the Soviet Union, Russia had 34 schools or departments of journalism.)<sup>85</sup> Professional master’s degrees at universities can help solve this, and practice has become more important in some universities. But as mentioned above, faculties at many universities are not inclined to change. They were trained in theory, and that is where they want to stay. Many have had no journalism experience at all; many grew up in political systems that had no

experience with a press operation in a democratic country. Given tenure and its equivalents, universities that suffer from these problems find it difficult to change quickly. Alternative methods of training are needed.

Another problem is the lack of an economic model for journalism. American journalism is in search of new economic models to support quality reporting. The problem abroad, especially in former Communist countries, is worse. They had no real experience with the traditional for-profit model. Free market economies were weak, and business had little experience using advertising. Whatever the limitations of for-profit journalism, it does focus reporters on being responsive to audiences rather than pursuing a narrow political agenda, which is what happens in many countries where a newspaper or radio station is subsidized by political actors rather than business people. “A majority of the regional newspapers [in Russia] are not economically viable, managing to survive only with political or business underwriting,” a U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) report concluded. “Their presence poses a major problem for the growth of independent regional print media.”<sup>86</sup>

Press freedom is not as robust in much of the rest of the world as it is in the United States. Journalism, as was famously said, “takes on the form and coloration of the social and political structures within which it operates. Especially, it reflects the system of social control whereby the relations of individuals and institutions are adjusted.”<sup>87</sup> Social and political structures shape journalism in two significantly negative ways abroad. First, in highly particularistic countries individuals (journalists) find it difficult to override personal relationships with universal standards (objective reporting). Second, many governments do not tolerate press freedom. After the first blush of freedom in former Communist countries, there came “a second wave of repression and censorship in many places, including the core post-Communist societies where most of the [free press development assistance] money was spent.”<sup>88</sup>

We still believe optimism is justified about the state of journalism education worldwide. It is growing and generally improving in quality. Behind much of the new global journalism education and training activity is increasing recognition that a professional independent media is fundamental to economic development and should be nurtured. Emblematic of this recognition by the development

community is the inclusion of information and media issues in the World Bank's World Development Reports, particularly the 2002 report, which devoted a full chapter to "The Media." USAID has been major funder of media assistance. And other government agencies have been involved, for instance, the United States Information Agency and the International Training Center of the International Broadcasting Bureau—Voice of America. The State Department has sponsored fellowships. The National Endowment for Democracy established its Center for International Media Assistance in 2006. In the foreseeable future we are likely to see donor interest in media development persist, provided that government funding does not decline too dramatically overall.

We need to take a long view on the development of good professional journalism education abroad. Georgia is a good example of the positive, messy process that exists elsewhere. Tbilisi State University's journalism school has poor equipment and includes old faculty with old ideas. It has seen some improvement to provide hands-on training, but much more needs to be done. American NGOs have carried out some of the most positive education reforms since the early 1990s, when Georgia became independent of Russia for the first time since the beginning of the twentieth century. One of them, the International Center for Journalists, initially provided professional training in Tbilisi and around the country under American leadership but with the help of a dynamic Georgian journalist, Marina Vashakmadze.<sup>89</sup>

The next step, also under ICFJ with support from the U.S. government, was the creation in 2002 of the Caucasus School of Journalism inside the Georgian Institute of Public Affairs.<sup>90</sup> This began as a highly practical, intensive program leading to a master's degree. It was modeled on the Columbia Journalism School's nearly yearlong, hands-on training (including an internship). The master's degree is sanctioned by the Georgia Department of Education, which is now pressing for changes. Because Georgia has been complying with the Bologna Higher Education Process, the Department of Education began requiring the Caucasus School of Journalism and Media Management (CSJMM), as it is now called, to extend the program from one year to two years and has called for more theoretical courses.

This has led to consternation on the part of people who see the need in Georgia for professional skills. “Because of national education requirements and because some of the leaders of the school are interested in it, the program has added some theoretical courses that tend to blur the focus of the program on practical, professional education,” said Margie Freaney, a former director of the program. “For example, there are courses in Academic Writing, Research Methods in Mass Communication, Mass Communication Theories, and Civil Society Development. I doubt that more than one or two students over the entire decade-plus of CSJMM have ever gone on to study for a PhD, so these courses seem ill-conceived and unnecessary.” To deal with this problem, Vashakmadze, who has gone on to head the Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty operation in Georgia, has started a one-year certificate program for journalists with support from RFE/RL and others. The program has intensive hands-on experience.

In a sense the struggles of journalism programs outside the United States are encouraging: they demonstrate that there is no obvious solution to the tensions between the university and newsroom cultures that we Americans have been unaccountably ignoring. And whatever direction American journalism education takes in the future is likely to have worldwide influence, simply because of the U.S. advantage as first-mover in our field.

One reason we so strongly believe in the importance of graduate professional education in journalism, even though it is a small realm at the moment, is that it is the place where the fundamental questions that have dogged our field from the very beginning are most likely to be resolved. That is not only because of the prestige of graduate education, but also because graduate programs have to offer a much more complete education: they do not operate under the traditional undergraduate division of skills education inside the journalism program and most of the rest of a student’s education elsewhere in the university. Graduate programs claim to turn an educated person into a professional journalist. We will devote the final section of this report to offering our thoughts on how to do that.

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As university journalism programs grapple with the new digital world, graduate education takes on additional importance, both for retraining journalists who entered the profession when the word “digital” was rarely heard and for undergraduates who may have advanced technical skills but seek additional specialization in subject matter or the business skills to enter the world through entrepreneurship. At the graduate level, professional journalism programs must provide their graduates with the ability to succeed in the profession not only as practitioners, but also as true leaders, and to understand the systematic body of knowledge that underlies journalism as a profession.

It is critical that educators and professionals recognize that digital skills, while necessary, do not constitute professional journalism. The background we have presented here should demonstrate that many of the arguments about journalism education in the digital age are properly understood as the present-day version of the essential conflict between newsroom and university perspectives that has characterized our field since the nineteenth century, when journalism education was just a prospect, not a reality.

As journalism education embraces the digital age, as it should, it’s crucial that that project not be understood as entailing a narrow focus on skills. In fact, the new age especially demands of journalists the kind of broader understanding that universities are set up to provide. Journalism education should not ignore the larger contours of the digital age—the rise of an information society and the nature of convergence that goes beyond multi-platform applications and transition to mobile devices. These subjects demand the kind of broad social and historical understanding that universities are much better than news organizations at providing. American universities are also among the world’s leaders in computer science, a field that journalism schools have been slow to incorporate into their curricula, and they are important centers of expertise in business strategy and the economic structure of industries, which are also obvious topics for journalism education today. Journalism schools are rarely taken seriously at Google or other centers of media technology. Much of the best study of the Internet is taking place outside schools of journalism. That should change.

For more than a century, professional education has been establishing deep roots in American universities. Across all fields, it's clear that some tension between the university and the world of practice is natural and cannot be successfully resolved by moving the model of professional education all the way to one side or another of the scale. As journalism educators, we should realize that we are not alone in grappling with these issues and that doing so is an ongoing part of the mission for professional educators; it never ends. But it's also very clear that professional education in public or private, not-for-profit universities is far superior to training in freestanding trade schools. It is more substantive and more institutionally sustainable, attracts better students and teachers, has more prestige, and leads to better careers. The struggle to find the right blend of academic education and professional practice by way of finding a secure long-term home in universities is well worth it.

Stephen Reese of the University of Texas at Austin stated the concept eloquently:

Developing a new professional model must be done collaboratively, with the best intellectual leadership informed by a close knowledge of professional practices and problems. We need to challenge the simplistic professionalism that assumes its own validity and prevents turning on itself the kind of questioning that journalism excels in directing at others. Journalism should be a model of a societally and professionally engaged field, bringing the best thinking of the social sciences and humanities to bear on its issues. Beyond the tired debate between academic and professional lie more interesting discussions about broader reforms, for which journalism education can provide useful guidance.<sup>91</sup>

The authors of this report recognize that professional master's programs do not all look alike. They range from one-year to multiyear programs, and they vary widely in their requirements. However, we believe that graduate education must differ significantly from an undergraduate education and that digital skills must be accompanied by a depth of knowledge in the field of journalism, as well as in the topics with which society must contend. With a firm grasp of the history of journalism education and its complexities, the authors hope that the rest of this report presents a flexible model of graduate education that represents both the intellectual underpinnings and the professional practice of journalism.

All professional schools have to begin with a project of definition, because university professional education should go beyond teaching “what it’s like in the industry” and should instead confer a distinctive body of knowledge, set of methods, and professional consciousness associated with the profession, along with the skills needed to perform at a high level in a professional workplace immediately after graduation. Journalism education’s rich tradition of guided practice is a real strength, especially at a time when many other professional education fields are struggling to draw nearer to the world of professional practice, but producing journalism just as a newsroom should not represent the entirety of a journalism education. Journalism schools should focus especially on conferring to their students material that will serve them well over the long term as journalists but that can be much more easily acquired in a university than in a newsroom. We will give some examples in a moment.

Journalism is not, of course, a traditional pure academic discipline, but it has distinctive qualities that unite its highly varied corps of practitioners. Journalists are truth-seekers, usually operating under severe time constraint—the emergency-room doctors of epistemology. The ability to gather and assess information quickly, from a wide variety of sources including firsthand reporting, and come as close as possible to the truth of the situation, is the first part of what it means to “think like a journalist.” Because journalists perform the vital function of keeping the public informed, they must be able to present the truth clearly and engagingly. This can be done with words, images, sound, numbers, or all of those elements at once, but the ability to turn truth into story compellingly and responsibly is the other part of what journalists distinctively do in society.

It is also essential that journalists be aware of the contexts—economic, cultural, historical, legal, regulatory—in which journalism takes place. Journalism schools should not exist in a self-enclosed world of news organization culture; their students will be in that world soon enough, and the schools will do them a great favor by introducing them to material that newsrooms cannot. This includes, along with a canon of exemplary journalism, a canon of communication theory, which news organizations, as we have seen, have tried for decades to banish from the curriculum of journalism schools.

As veteran administrators, we are mindful of the challenges in running journalism programs; in particular, we are aware that one of the main barriers to achieving everything we are recommending for graduate programs is lack of resources. True success—which can be understood as fulfilling the dreams of journalism education’s most significant pioneer figures—will not be possible without robust fundraising by deans and financial support from universities and from other institutions that are committed to making journalism fulfill its potential as a force for good in free societies. But our assignment here is to suggest what we think would be ideal.

Master’s programs in journalism vary considerably in approach, content and structure. The variety also has made it difficult to establish a clear vision of what should constitute a master’s degree in journalism and to what standard such programs should be held. For example, MA and MS programs vary in length from one-year to two-year programs. Universities instituted one-year programs based on industry demands, tuition costs, and salary expectations rather than on philosophical ideas about what a master’s degree should entail. And, although many universities also offer two-year programs, these have little uniformity from one university to the next.

Different programs recruit from different kinds of potential applicants—among them, individuals who have undergraduate degrees in journalism and want additional professional schooling in the field or want to go forward ultimately to receive a PhD and teach, others who have worked in journalism but never acquired a degree, students who majored in other fields such as history or political science and need journalistic skills to enter or advance in the profession, and professionals who want to retool in the light of digital expectations.

We realize that the structure of each program is its to determine, but we would like to state our own general preferences. With all due humility about how difficult this can be to achieve, we find a two-year course to degree preferable, because of the amount of material that a graduate professional program ought to cover. We also believe that graduate programs should have their own course offerings, not use upper-level undergraduate courses as key elements in the degree.

In summary, the objectives we believe should be a part of every master's program in journalism include the following:

- Mastering skills, including the ability to gather and process information, to write well, and to convey information quickly through a variety of techniques (very much including digital techniques, especially computer science) and in ways that the general public can understand.
- Developing high levels of analysis, including statistical and other research-based methods and application of rigorous hypothesis testing to journalistic work.
- Gaining historical knowledge of the importance of professional autonomy, a culture of public service, and the role of journalism education and practice within the university and the larger society.
- Understanding the theoretical underpinnings of content, content creation, and audience receptivity and reaction.
- Understanding diversity—of the perspectives of a variety of journalistic subjects and consumers, and of the ways in which journalism can honorably be practiced in different settings.
- Recognizing the legal ramifications of journalistic work and mastering the rules that govern ethical journalistic practice.
- Understanding that journalism is in a period of rapid change and envisioning new techniques, ways of communicating, and underlying business models that will sustain journalism.

These objectives have emerged as we have studied the history of journalism education and the many debates that have raged over curriculum. Graduate programs historically have imitated undergraduate programs, with an emphasis on professional skills and with some attention to conceptual courses, but often not at the level that more traditional university disciplines would require within a graduate degree. Here is more detail on the items we just listed:

### *Guided Practice*

The Internet has been great for journalism schools in any number of ways; at the top of the list is that our long tradition of students producing journalism under faculty mentorship has become much easier. The days of small, flimsy community newspapers are over. Many schools are producing a dazzling array of ambitious and highly polished news websites. Our traditions, combined with the advent of new technologies, have put us in the position of being exemplary practitioners of the kind of applied learning that universities are now trying to institute across a wide range of fields.

It's crucial, however, that the idea of producing journalism at journalism schools, in class assignments when possible and through larger institutional efforts, be understood as different from producing journalism in a news organization. Our journalism should be inextricably bound up in our teaching and research. Each should enrich the other. In particular, we think it is useful for journalism schools to teach courses internally in how to cover complicated subjects and to introduce students in those courses to direct interaction with material aimed at experts, such as articles in scholarly journals. The practice of farming out subject-matter instruction to other parts of the university denies journalism students the experience of turning the difficult material they have mastered into journalism, which is an essential part of what we should be teaching.

### *Methods of Analysis*

In order to succeed as professional journalists, graduates must master the various practices that allow them to gather and present information in a variety of ways that contribute to a culture of public service and occupational autonomy essential to a profession. Such mastery requires the capacity for high levels of analysis. One of the truly intellectually distinctive aspects of journalism is its aim to produce work that combines analysis and narrative; some works of journalism are more one than another, but most try to operate in both of these not naturally related realms. Journalists should be aware of how much justified suspicion narrative draws in other fields and should try to avoid the pitfalls that gave rise to that suspicion. They should also learn the basics of rigorously getting at the truth of a complicated situation.

Journalism is unusual among fields of graduate study in universities in being non-quantitative. Anthropologists and nurses have to learn basic statistics. Journalists usually don't. A number of other research and analytic skills can usefully be adapted to the work of journalists, including ethnography, performing literature reviews, and writing computer code. We believe standalone courses in these kinds of research methods should become standard in graduate journalism education. We are skeptical of claims that such courses are unnecessary because the teaching of those skills is embedded in courses about other things.

### *Historical Knowledge*

Does journalism history matter? Students often ask this question, but unfortunately, faculty ask it as well. Many undergraduate programs and graduate programs either never required history or have eliminated the requirement, arguing that there isn't enough room in the curriculum for all the skills courses students need to get jobs, as well as conceptual courses they regard as essential, such as law. Still others, trained in media effects, regard study of statistical and research methods as the best way to understand current events and media coverage of them as more reliable than historical comparisons. In an essay, journalism historian John Nerone wrote that "history is not about the past but about the relationship between the past and the present."<sup>92</sup> Why is it essential for graduate students to master the history of their profession? Andie Tucher, who developed history of reporting courses at Columbia University, had this to say:

But the most interesting, and rewarding, aspect of these courses was watching the changes in the students' thinking about the complexities and conundrums of their chosen profession: the achievements and also the missteps of their predecessors, the contingency of conventions and the mutability of values, the ideas about what journalism is for and how it should be judged. We have not won all of them over yet on the need to spend some of their precious time every week on a course that will not directly contribute to getting them a job. But we do make them think more widely about what that job means.<sup>93</sup>

Modern notions of what journalism is and who is a journalist are being rapidly dismantled and rebuilt—and studying the history of the profession and craft provides a basis for thinking creatively about new definitions and forms rather than following a futile effort to defend what came before. It is not only about getting young journalists to see that their craft is historically situated and that it has been the product of many transitions, but that this also means there are new markets and commercial opportunities. In the early twenty-first century we have seen radical change. Only by comprehending the technology, culture, and sociology of journalistic practice over time can journalists better understand the current crisis and methods for coping with it.

### *Theory*

Theory provides journalists with the tools they need to understand their own characteristics and how those characteristics, in the context of journalists' work environment, interact to shape content. It also helps journalists understand the social and political effects of the work they produce. Daniel Riffe, longtime editor of *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, put it this way:

Journalists are individuals with varying psychological, ideological, demographic, cultural and social characteristics, who, to varying degrees, adhere to or are trained in professional conventions that serve to define the practices and boundaries of journalism. These practices take place within organizations that have their own group and business dynamics and that interact with larger social, structural, economic, legal and ideological forces. The results of such practice have a range of individual, social, cultural and policy effects.

Theories are sets of interrelated principles supported by evidence that enable journalists and scholars to explain and predict the relationships of all of these individual and contextual forces to one another, and to this range of effects. Anyone who aspires to managerial or leadership roles in journalism is well served by understanding the body of research and theory that enables such explanation, prediction, and understanding of journalism, in all of its complexity and across all of these levels of analysis.

### *Diversity*

The mission of journalists requires us to do something that doesn't come naturally: understand in a deep and true way people and places outside our familiar ambit, and communicate to audiences that are not made up only of people like ourselves. This can be taught—in fact, it's essential that it be taught—but only if students begin by learning to recognize the inherent limits of the perspectives they arrive with. It should be part of every educated journalist's training to go through this process, and also to learn the basics of where the familiar divisions of race, ethnicity, gender, culture, and faith come from and how they operate. Journalists should also be trained, as many other professionals now are, in their university education, in the skills associated with “cultural competence”—operating with empathy, sensitivity, and understanding across society's boundaries.

### *Media Law*

The need for students to be well versed in media law has been one of the most accepted tenets of journalism education since courses in journalism were developed. It is one area of study that practitioners and scholars have agreed is essential. The arguments range from a simplistic “reporters, photographers and editors need to know how to stay out of legal trouble,” to a more sophisticated stance about how journalists need to understand their rights to gain access to information and to disseminate it to the public.

Journalists often cover stories that have a legal component and require substantive legal knowledge to distinguish between issues of covering a civil or criminal court case, a major Supreme Court opinion, or a new agency regulation. Having substantive knowledge of the courts and the law allows the reporter to better inform the audience.

The study of media law has, of course, grown more complex over the years and requires a deep understanding of regulation of media companies, access, privacy, libel, reporter's privilege, telecommunications policy, and advertising regulation, to name only a few areas of study. In the digital age, media law no longer sits so neatly inside national borders. As schools focus on preparing students to work in non-corporate media environments, with fewer in-house legal counselors, it

becomes imperative that they understand not only the legal milieu in which they work, but also the importance of their legal rights in relationship to the journalism they produce.

In other words, understanding the legal basis for freedom of expression and its importance in a democratic society is the very foundation for understanding the profession of journalism and its importance.

What is taught in journalism schools is inextricably linked to who teaches it and what the non-teaching aspect of those teachers' work is like. We would be remiss if we did not say a few words about that.

It is imperative that most full-time faculty members in journalism schools be actively engaged in ongoing research. It's impossible for any part of a university to be fully respected in the larger enterprise without producing high-quality research, and there is a reason this has become a norm. Faculty members whose careers have two aspects, teaching and research, are more likely to remain current through years on the faculty and are in a position to be intellectual leaders in the profession by virtue of the work they publish, which otherwise would not be done. Research in journalism schools takes a variety of forms: some is pure academic research about how journalism and communication operate; some is "creative work"—exemplary journalism of unusual depth and staying power; and some (not enough, in our view) is research that news organizations, whose own capacities in this area are limited by economic constraints, would be able to use in their operations. That last category could include everything from complicated digital applications to audience research to broad surveys of professional practices.

A difficult issue that we think journalism educators will have to resolve over time is what a journalism faculty member's career looks like. In some professional schools, most faculty members hold academic doctorates rather than the degree the school confers (public policy schools, with economists and political scientists on their faculties, are an example). At others, faculty members almost all hold the degree that their students will get (law schools are an example of this). Many journalism school faculties are a mix of former journalists and lifelong academics who, as we have noted, often don't get along well. Very few schools are dominated by faculty members who have either journalism degrees or PhDs in communication. And many dean searches turn into contests between a journalist

and an academic. We hope a concomitant of a rise in the quality and quantity of graduate professional education in journalism would be that the master's degree in journalism or the PhD in communication would become a standard credential for journalism faculty members.

We hope that having read this report will persuade people of the richness of journalism education's traditions, not just of the durability of its characteristic disputes. The examples we began with, Missouri, Wisconsin, and Columbia in their early days, show that some of the essential themes of a university education for journalists—producing journalism, understanding complicated subjects, and engaging with social science research—have been present from the very beginning. We do not mean to be yet another in a century-long procession of voices declaring journalism education to be deficient. Journalists perform a socially essential and intellectually challenging role that ought to merit inclusion in the pantheon of professions. Businesses need establish themselves only in the marketplace. Professions must also establish themselves in universities, in professional schools of their own that are deeply involved in the larger academic enterprise. That is why, at this time of economic challenge for journalism, it is especially important that journalism schools take the fullest possible advantage of our university location. If they can do that, all of journalism will benefit.

## Notes

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- <sup>2</sup> William David Sloan, *Makers of the Media Mind: Journalism Educators and Their Ideas* (Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1990), 3.
- <sup>3</sup> Charles F. Wingate, *Views and Interviews on Journalism* (New York: F.B. Patterson, 1875), 30.
- <sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 183–84.
- <sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 277–78.
- <sup>6</sup> Betty Houchin Winfield, ed., *Journalism 1908: Birth of a Profession* (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 2008), 6.
- <sup>7</sup> Paul Lancaster, *Gentleman of the Press: The Life and Times of an Early Reporter, Julian Ralph, of the Sun* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1992), 38.
- <sup>8</sup> Morton Sonthheimer, *Newspaperman: A Book about the Business* (New York: Whittlesey House, 1941), 322.
- <sup>9</sup> Florabel Muir, *Headline Happy* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1950), 4–5.
- <sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 130.
- <sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 30.
- <sup>12</sup> Winfield, ed., *Journalism 1908*, 9–11.
- <sup>13</sup> Walter Williams, “Address Delivered before the Missouri Press Association at Excelsior Springs, Mo.,” May 29, 1908, cited by Sara Lockwood Williams in *Twenty Years of Education for Journalism: A History of the School of Journalism of the University of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri*, 1.
- <sup>14</sup> Stephen Banning, “Press Clubs Champion Journalism Education,” in Winfield, ed., *Journalism 1908*, 70.
- <sup>15</sup> Winfield, ed., *Journalism 1908*, 11.
- <sup>16</sup> For full text of the Journalist’s Creed by Walter Williams, go to <http://journalism.missouri.edu/jschool/#creed>
- <sup>17</sup> Joseph Pulitzer, “The College of Journalism,” *North American Review* 50 (May 1904): 647.
- <sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 678–79.
- <sup>19</sup> James Boylan, *Pulitzer’s School: Columbia University’s School of Journalism, 1903–2003* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), 29.
- <sup>20</sup> Boylan, *Pulitzer’s School*, 45.
- <sup>21</sup> Carolyn Bronstein and Stephen Vaughn, “Willard G. Bleyer and the Relevance of Journalism Education,” *Journalism & Mass Communication Monographs* 166 (June 1998): 5.

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- <sup>23</sup> Abraham Flexner, *Universities: American, English, German* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1930), 160.
- <sup>24</sup> *Problems of Journalism*, American Society of Newspaper Editors, 1938, 46.
- <sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 47–49.
- <sup>26</sup> AATJ and AASDJ, Council on Education, “Principles and Standards of Education for Journalism,” *Journalism Bulletin* 1, no. 4 (1924): 31–32.
- <sup>27</sup> Eric Allen, “Journalism as Applied Social Science,” *Journalism Bulletin* 4, no. 1 (March 1927): 1–7.
- <sup>28</sup> Ralph D. Casey, “Suggestions for a Graduate Curriculum,” *Journalism Bulletin* 4, no. 4 (January 1928): 21–26.
- <sup>29</sup> Casey, *Journalism Bulletin*, 22.
- <sup>30</sup> *Problems of Journalism*, 1927, 160.
- <sup>31</sup> *Problems of Journalism*, 1928, 43.
- <sup>32</sup> *Problems of Journalism*, 1930, 44–45.
- <sup>33</sup> *Problems of Journalism*, 1931, 45–46, 49.
- <sup>34</sup> *Problems of Journalism*, 1930, 46–47.
- <sup>35</sup> Boylan, *Pulitzer’s School*, 58.
- <sup>36</sup> Charles Cooper, “Graduate Course at Columbia University,” *Journalism Bulletin* 4, no. 2 (June 1927): 9–13.
- <sup>37</sup> Boylan, *Pulitzer’s School*, 66.
- <sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 71.
- <sup>39</sup> Robert P. Crawford, “Reflections on Graduate Programs in Communications Media,” *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media* 15, no. 3 (1971): 347–59.
- <sup>40</sup> Harold Bratsberg, “Success in Radio Is Said to Require Constant Training—School of Hard Knocks Found to Have Its Shortcomings,” *Broadcasting* 11, no. 12 (1936): 61.
- <sup>41</sup> “Kentucky Broadcasters on Univ. of KY Broadcast Program,” *Broadcasting—Telecasting* 35, no. 21 (November 22, 1948).
- <sup>42</sup> Sydney W. Head and Leo A. Martin, “Broadcasting and Higher Education: A New Era,” *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media* 1, no. 1 (1956): 39–46.
- <sup>43</sup> Head and Martin, “Broadcasting and Higher Education,” 40.
- <sup>44</sup> John Michael Kittross, “A History of the BEA,” *Feedback* 40, no. 2 (Spring 1999).
- <sup>45</sup> Harrison B. Summers, “Professional Training and the College,” *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media* 1, no. 4 (1957): 384–88.

- <sup>46</sup> James H. Hulbert, "An Introduction to the APBE-NAB Broadcasting Employment Study," *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media* 6, no. 2 (1962): 163–68.
- <sup>47</sup> Alan H. Wurtzel, "Academic Research: A View from the Industry," *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media* 24, no. 4 (1980): 479–82.
- <sup>48</sup> Paul I. Bortz, Mark C. Wyche, and James M. Trautman, *Great Expectations: A Television Manager's Guide to the Future* (Washington, DC: NAB, 1986), 7.
- <sup>49</sup> Wilbur Schramm, *The Beginnings of Communication Study in America: A Personal Memoir* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 1997), 135. Stephen H. Chaffee and Everett M. Rogers supplemented and edited this manuscript left unfinished when Schramm died.
- <sup>50</sup> Chaffee and Rogers in Schramm, *Beginnings of Communication Study*, 137, 142.
- <sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, 138.
- <sup>52</sup> "AEJMC: 75 Years in the Making: A History of Organizing for Journalism and Mass Communication Education in the United States," *Journalism Monographs*, no. 104 (1987): 39–40.
- <sup>53</sup> James W. Carey, "A Plea for the University Tradition," *Journalism Quarterly* 55, no. 4 (1978): 846–55.
- <sup>54</sup> Thomas Bowers, *Making News* (Chapel Hill: UNC School of Journalism and Mass Communication, 2009), 81–123.
- <sup>55</sup> Edwin Emery and Joseph P. McKerns, "AEJMC: 75 Years in the Making," (Columbia, SC: Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication 1987), 29.
- <sup>56</sup> Earl Lewis Conn, "The American Council on Education for Journalism: An Accrediting History" (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University, 1970), 205.
- <sup>57</sup> Stephen D. Reese, "The Progressive Potential of Journalism Education: Recasting the Academic versus Professional Debate," *Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics* 4, no. 4 (1999): 72.
- <sup>58</sup> Everette E. Dennis, "An Exchange. Journalism Education: Failing Grades from a Dean," *ASNE Bulletin*, October 1983, reprinted in *Planning for Curricular Change in Journalism Education*, 2nd ed. (Eugene, OR: School of Journalism, University of Oregon, 1987), 80.
- <sup>59</sup> *Planning for Curricular Change in Journalism Education*, 1.
- <sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, 3.
- <sup>61</sup> Everette E. Dennis and David L. Stebenne, "Requiem for a Think Tank: The Life and Death of the Gannett Center at Columbia, 1984–1996," *Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics* 8, no. 2 (Spring 2003): 11–35.
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- <sup>64</sup> A. J. Liebling, *The Wayward Pressman* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1947), 28.

- <sup>65</sup> To understand what a perennial problem master's education has been, see Michael Ryan, *Journalism Education at the Master's Level* (Louisville, KY: Association for Education in Journalism, March 1980).
- <sup>66</sup> Jonathan R. Cole, *The Great American University* (New York: Public Affairs, 2009), 121.
- <sup>67</sup> Thomas Bender, "Evolution of Universities and Their Mission," unpublished talk at Manship School of Mass Communication, Louisiana State University, June 6, 2006, 7–9. Bender's paper is insightful on the development of journalism education.
- <sup>68</sup> Interview, May 16, 2013.
- <sup>69</sup> Louis Menand, *The Marketplace of Ideas: Reform and Resistance in the American University* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2010), 49.
- <sup>70</sup> In a recent report released by the Columbia University School of Journalism, the authors argue, "If there are two significant language barriers that journalism needs to traverse, one is statistics and data skills and the other is technical aptitude. Journalists should learn to code." Typical of the useful courses being offered are Introduction to Data Science, Quantitative Research Methods in Journalism, Data Journalism in SHERP (Science, Health and Environmental Reporting Program). C.W. Anderson, Emily Bell, and Clay Shirky, *Post-Industrial Journalism: Adapting to the Present* (New York: Tow Center for Digital Journalism, 2012), 38.
- <sup>71</sup> Lee B. Becker, Tudor Vlad, and Konrad Kalpen, "2011 Annual Survey of Journalism and Mass Communication Enrollments: Enrollments Decline, Reversing the Increase of a Year Earlier, and Suggesting Slow Growth for Future," *Journalism and Mass Communication Educator* 67 (2012): 334.
- <sup>72</sup> Lauren Robel, "Convergences: The Future of Media and Journalism at IU," no date, 1, accessed through Andrew Beaujon, "IU provost, Merging schools puts 'educational excellence first,' 'administrative structures' second," March 13, 2013, Poynter.org.
- <sup>73</sup> In 2003, long before the Indiana journalism school was being merged, its dean, Trevor Brown, had this to say about the elimination of the fifty-year-old journalism department at Texas A&M: "So much depends on where in the university structure the program is located. If it is within a college of arts and sciences, it seems to be more vulnerable to the sorts of things that happened in Texas, when resources get tight." Quoted in Mark Fitzgerald, *Editor & Publisher* online, September 12, 2003.
- <sup>74</sup> Cathy Wendler, Brent Bridgeman, Ross Markle, Fred Cline, Nathan Bell, Patricia McAllister, and Julia Kent, *Pathways Through Graduate School and Into Careers* (Princeton, NJ: Educational Testing Service, 2012), 3.
- <sup>75</sup> Nick Anderson, *Washington Post*, May 25, 2013. In addition to the quote, this article provided data on increases in master's degrees awarded over a twelve-year period.
- <sup>76</sup> Cathy Wendler, Brent Bridgeman, Fred Cline, Catherine Millett, JoAnn Rock, Nathan Bell, and Patricia McAllister, *The Path Forward: The Future of Graduate Education in the United States* (Princeton, NJ: Educational Testing Service, 2010), 32–33.
- <sup>77</sup> Wendler et al., *The Path Forward*, 14.

- <sup>78</sup> Becker et. al., “2011 Annual Survey of Journalism and Mass Communications Enrollments,” 334.
- <sup>79</sup> F. M. Cornford, *Microcosmographia Academica* (Cambridge: Bowes & Bowes, 1908), 9.
- <sup>80</sup> Thomas Bender, *Intellect and Public Life: Essays on the Social History of Academic Intellectuals in the United States* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), 145.
- <sup>81</sup> Menand, *The Marketplace of Ideas*, 57.
- <sup>82</sup> This figure is from the WJEC website. A discussion of the census is found in Charles C. Self, “Conducting an International Census of Journalism Education,” *ASJMC Insights* (Fall 2007), 7–10.
- <sup>83</sup> Karin Wahl-Jorgensen and Bob Franklin, “Journalism Research in the UK: From Isolated Efforts to an Established Discipline,” in Martin Loffelholz and David Weaver, eds., *Global Journalism Research: Theories, Methods, Findings, Future* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2008), 173.
- <sup>84</sup> The union also liked the idea of getting young reporters into the provinces, where they would be recruited into unions. They cut a deal in which newspapers agreed that reporters needed two years on a regional paper before they could be hired in London. (There were some exceptions.) This meant most people who wanted to be a journalist had to go through a Darlington-type experience, because that was required to work on a regional paper.
- <sup>85</sup> *Looking to the Future: A Survey of Journalism Education in Central and Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union* (Arlington, VA: Freedom Forum, 1994), 60.
- <sup>86</sup> Ellen Hume, *The Media Missionaries* (Miami, FL: Knight Foundation, 2004), 35.
- <sup>87</sup> Fred S. Siebert, Theodore Peterson, and Wilbur Schramm, *Four Theories of the Press* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1956), 1–2.
- <sup>88</sup> Hume, *Media Missionaries*, 9.
- <sup>89</sup> IREX and Internews also have been active in Georgia.
- <sup>90</sup> The Georgian Institute of Public Affairs (GIPA), which started out teaching public administration in 1994 with U.S. government support, now has three schools: School of Government (Public Administration, Local Governance, Public Policy), School of Journalism and Media Management (Media and Communications Management; Journalism and Media Management; Public Relations Management), and School of Law and Politics (International Affairs, International Law). It offers a PhD in social sciences.
- <sup>91</sup> Stephen D. Reese, “The Progressive Potential of Journalism Education: Recasting the Academic versus Professional Debate,” *The Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics* 4, no. 4 (Fall 1999), accessed November 14, 2012, [http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/harvard\\_international\\_journal\\_of\\_press\\_politics/v004/4.4reese.html](http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/harvard_international_journal_of_press_politics/v004/4.4reese.html).
- <sup>92</sup> John Nerone, “Does Journalism History Matter?” *American Journalism* 28, no. 3 (2011), 7.
- <sup>93</sup> Andie Tucher, “Teaching Journalism History to Journalists,” *Journalism Practice* 5, no. 5 (2011), 551–65.



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