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Journalism education and multiculturalism: Enhancing the curriculum

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Journalism Education And Multiculturalism: Enhancing The Curriculum

Scholarly and professional debates on issues regarding multiculturalism vis-à-vis journalism can be seen as a particular feature of the 1990s in many (Western) democracies. Several journalism programs have introduced the topic in their curriculum. Many have not. In this paper the concept of multiculturalism is explored in terms of how it is articulated to journalism and education in particular. Three dimensions are identified and investigated: the professional knowledge of journalists regarding cultural and ethnic diversity, their respresentations of diversity and the responsibilities of journalists covering diversity. Based on an inventory of journalism curricula (available online) in the United States, Australia and The Netherlands, several suggestions and recommendations are made to enhance journalism education program with multiculturalism.

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In many Western democracies (such as Australia, the US, Great Britain and the author's home country, The Netherlands) several organizations, universities and media groups have put discussions on the role of the media in a multicultural society on top of the professional agenda in the last decade or so (see for example the volume edited by Cottle, 2000). Discussions are framed according to specific contexts and histories of the countries involved. In The Netherlands and Great Britain, for example, multiculturalism is related to discussions of the different histories of slave trade and colonialism as well as shared preoccupations with Eurocentrism and nationalism/regionalism in the context of the European Union. Multiculturalism therefore assumes a variety of forms and meanings (Cottle, 2000). In more or less comparable Western democracies it can be seen as a core concept challenging the way we see and teach journalism (Deuze, 2001: 11). Even though multicultural education in itself is nothing new – published reports trace the process of multicultural journalism education back to the early 1980s – one may argue that the discussion has broadened in the last decade, moving from rather

simplistic arguments on racism and minority representations to the ideal of equipping professionals with a 'cross-cultural competence', particularly in contemporary (Western) journalism (Kern-Foxworth and Miller, 1993; Stockwell, 2001).

In this paper issues regarding media and multiculturalism in terms of their relevance to journalism education curriculum center around three core concepts: [1] the knowledge of journalists about other cultures and ethnicities, [2] issues of representation (i.e. pluriformity, diversity) and [3] the perceived responsibilities of journalists in a democratic and multicultural society.

First the structure and definitions of the argument underlying knowledge, representation and responsibility is explained, after which a brief overview of existing programs is discussed. Three countries have been selected for this overview, all of which can be seen as distinct multicultural societies with more or less comparable histories of journalism and journalism education: the United States, Australia and The Netherlands. In these countries the online published curricula of formally accredited journalism education programs were analyzed. This paper concludes with a number of recommendations on how to integrate the signaled concepts into the curriculum, based on a selection of approaches found in the three countries under study.

As noted, the three core themes identified in studying issues related to media and multiculturalism are: (professional) knowledge, representation and responsibilities. Knowledge can be seen as the resources of information, sources, experiences and contacts journalist may (or may not) have about different and overlapping cultures, nationalities and ethnicities. A core aspect of professional knowledge is sourcing: who are given a voice as news actors, and who are denied access to the media by journalists. This is of particular importance in reporting about multicultural affairs. Knowledge also relates to a journalist's awareness of different modes of (intercultural) communication when working in a culturally diverse society. Knowledge in the context of journalism education can therefore be seen as an inventory and discussion of one's frames of reference, one's resources of information and (life) experiences when it comes to multicultural issues.

Murdock (1999: 13) argues that in the context of the media resources of information and experience (cf. knowledge), interpretation and explanation (cf. responsibilities of journalists) and social delegation are in fact all questions of representation. In the context of an educational course or curriculum in journalism, representation can be isolated to the ways in which journalists reflect ethnic and cultural diversity in terms of (the composition of) the labor force, the construction of their networks, story source selection and

in the portrayal of minorities (in still and moving images, spoken and written word).

Although this may oversimplify the complex nature of representation (as it has different meanings in various disciplines such as art – ways to depict and portray – or politics – representing constituencies), in journalism studies this has been an effective way to address the issue as in for example the 'multicultural' hiring practices of newsmedia organizations (see Becker, Lauf and Lowrey, 1999) and content analyses of the way newsmedia write about or depict ethnic minorities (see for example Van Dijk, 1991).

The social responsibilities of the newsmedia have been well documented and established as a 'doctrine' in contemporary journalism. Costera Meijer summarizes this responsibility as: "informing citizens in a way that enables them to act as citizens" (2001: 13). As modern democracies have developed in the context of increased globalization and corresponding migration and the rise of so-called 'diasporic communities', the notion of cultural or multicultural citizenship has become a central consideration in today's social-political formation of society (see Kymlicka, 1996). One may therefore expect today's journalism to equally develop cultural or multicultural responsibilities. This particularly impacts upon issues of journalists' role perceptions in contemporary society (see Weaver, 1998).

Framework for argumentation

One may argue that multiculturalism impacts upon the newsmedia in three distinct ways: (professional) knowledge, representation and responsibilities, each seen respectively as 'arenas' where notions of ethnic and cultural plurality potentially clash with core values of journalism (Hallin, 1996; Schudson, 1996; Dahlgren, 1997; Cottle, 2000). It is on this level that existing journalism education curricula is analysed; in the way that educators have framed the broad concept of multiculturalism in their programs.

Earlier publications on multiculturalism and journalism education have been approached predominantly in the context of how to teach students to write about the 'other' as part of a single course (see a literature review in Rose and Robbs, 2001: 31-32). Theoretical approaches generally do not develop arguments further than calling for more attention to be paid to issues of multiculturalism in educational programs (see for example Wilson and Gutierrez, 1995; Campbell, 1998; Deuze, 2001).

Having established the immediacy and relevance of introducing multiculturalism (or notions thereof) into the curriculum, an effort is made to verify to what extent journalism programs have explicitly done so. Using the identified themes underlying the interrelationships between newsmedia and multiculturalism – knowledge, representation, responsibility – the websites of existing journalism programs in the United States, Australia and The Netherlands were analyzed. These

countries were selected because of the fact that multiculturalism is a structural issue in contemporary educational debate (see Dickson, 1995; Campbell, 1998; Loo, 1993 and 1994; Richards, 1993; Deuze, 2001), and because the various journalism schools in these countries can be expected to have a well-developed online program. This is not to say other countries do not have – or cannot be expected to have – similar developed programs, of course. The three countries also reflect quite different histories of multiculturalism, even though all share more or less similar multicultural issues under debate regarding the role of the newsmedia in society.

For the US, the website (http://www.ukans.edu/~acejmc/) of the Accrediting Council on Education in Journalism and Mass Communications (ACEJMC) was used. ACEJMC is the agency responsible for the evaluation of professional journalism and mass communications programs in colleges and universities in the United States. For Australia, the website of the Australian Journalism Education Association (http://www.jea.qut.edu.au/) was used. In The Netherlands the national union of journalists – the NVJ – maintains an overview of journalism programs online (http://www.villamedia.nl/).

Solely studying courses available online limits the scope of this project and the possibilities to generalize conclusions to the broad field of journalism education. The conclusions should therefore be regarded as pointers, rather than encompassing statements of 'how things really are' (or should be). On the other hand, the availability of often very detailed descriptions of courses –including electives (as in third of fourth year classes) – is encouraging to note; the websites used did not indicate that significant portions of the curriculum were not available online.

Beyond looking at programs that explicitly address notions of multiculturalism, courses containing any references to for instance minorities, race or racism, underprivileged communities, inter- and cross-cultural communication and specific issues of representation or social responsibility were analyzed as well. Multiculturalism can be seen as a broad concept, encompassing all of these topics mentioned and more – as argued above. Hence the emphasis on programs that explicitly address multiculturalism per se – indeed also allowing for international comparison, as the literature shows that the underlying aspects of the concept (such as notions of 'race' for example) can have different meanings in different contexts, cultures and countries (Cottle, 2000).

Two more remarks on the limits of this study have to be made. First one cannot but assume that applying aspects of multiculturalism in courses does not necessarily correlate with mentioning these explicitly in descriptions. For example, in The Netherlands website, the degree of exposure to multicultural issues of students is often dependent on inspired individual lecturers and the specific

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pedagogic method a school, department or lecturer opts for. A second consideration relates to the fact that the Anglo-Saxon model of journalism education is generally located within the university, where one may assume that students can opt for several elective courses offered by other departments, starting from their second year onwards. Such courses may also contain approaches to multiculturalism. These were not included in the analyses partly for pragmatic reasons – limiting the scope of the study – but also because multicultural journalism education is considered to be specifically designed to interlink multiculturalism (on the levels of knowledge, representation and responsibilities) with journalism (regarding skills and contextual knowledge education, see Gaunt, 1992; Deuze, 2001).

United States

The ACEJMC website lists a total of 107 accredited journalism education programs. One has to note the fact that almost all of these programs feature detailed and extensive presentations of their course contents online, which greatly facilitates this kind of research. Of these listed programs 38 contain indirect references to multiculturalism and six direct references. Examples of indirect references are courses with titles like: "Blacks and the Media" (Grambling State University, Louisiana) or "Women, Minorities and the Mass Media" (at least 15 schools use a combination of gender and ethnicity in course titles or descriptions about media and minorities). A closer look reveals that most of these indirect references are made within the context of courses about community and local issues and/or about social problems. In only a few instances minority issues or racism appear in detailed descriptions of specific media ethics-classes. An interesting sidenote can be made regarding the omnipresence of the Internet in contemporary curricula; almost all programs have courses with descriptions like: "Introduction to Internet Issues and Concepts: Students develop an understanding of social, legal, political and other issues related to access to and use of the Internet". Why not offer course like that on multiculturalism, one may ask. Several journalism departments in the US offer multiculturalism in the context of 'Ethnic Advertising', featuring typical descriptions such as: "This course develops an understanding of international and ethnic advertising and marketing. Students gain experience in marketing decisions that reflect an understanding of intercultural and international markets and explore the social and ethical issues in such marketing"; similar descriptions are offered for "Multicultural and Lifestyle Public Relations" for example.

As noted: six journalism schools explicitly offer multiculturalism as part of their curriculum. I will briefly describe these programs, including (where relevant) excerpts of e-mail interviews conducted with the professors responsible for the course content (interviews

conducted between March 4-7, 2001). First off (in alphabetical order of the ACEJMC Website) is a second year elective (four lectures) course titled "Multicultural Journalism" at California Polytechnic State University. The course description reads: "Role of American journalism (both print and broadcast media) in the social, political, and economic integration into American society of racial and ethnic minorities and women. Emerging minority groups from developing countries and their media." Here one can also observe the structural coupling of race, culture and ethnicity and the connection explicitly made with gender. Assistant Professor Mark Arnold argues that his course emphasizes 'problem solving':

"[The course] centers on an understanding of media effects. From this basic understanding, it surveys the representations of minorities throughout history. […] If the media have an effect upon society, and the representations are the result of individual bias, then how can we change those biases?"

Arnold indicates that the taxonomy of knowledge, representation and responsibility is solid, and that he uses the concepts in all of his classes – even though he claims that fellow educators seldom incorporate responsibilities of journalists into the courses they teach. Multiculturalism in this course is attributed to historical developments regarding integration of minorities and newsmedia portrayals of those minorities affected by individual biases – not to the development of journalism in general.

California State University at Fresno offers a first-year course in "Multicultural Mass Communication and Media Stereotypes", described as: "Explores psychological, social, economic, institutional, and political factors related to media stereotypes. Analyzes specific media stereotypes involving gender, sexual orientation, race, ethnicity, age, and physical conditions; looks at their behavioral and cultural effects. Reviews strategies for improving media portrayals." The website does not offer a name of a responsible professor, nor if this is an elective or non-elective course. The course description does suggest, however, that this class is almost exclusively 'representational', in that it centers on issues of stereotypical portrayal. Note that it connects not only race, ethnicity and gender, but also a number of other 'marginalized' groups or minorities such as gays or the elderly.

At Colorado State University, Associate Professor Donna Rouner teaches "Multiculturalism and the Media" (third-year elective course), briefly described as "Media and multiculturalism with emphasis on race, ethnicity and other protected groups." Colorado is, unlike California, still a state in the US which endorses a policy of positive discrimination, thereby 'protecting' certain minority groups. Rouner offers all course materials (including her own lecture notes) online (http://lamar. colostate.edu/%7Ebrschaef/). From it one learns that the core of the course are representational issues: stereotyping, bias in news coverage

(related to racial and gender categorization). Rouner also addresses entertainment media (soap operas, sitcoms) in this particular course and balances the course between gender issues and racial/ethnic issues of representation.

One school has by far the most courses on offering regarding media and multiculturalism (approx. 5, ranging from 2nd tot 5th year electives): University of New Mexico's Department of Communication and Journalism. Several course titles and descriptions suggest that this department integrates media production as well as media reception perspectives on cultural and ethnic diversity. One course in particular incorporates several approaches explicitly: "Multiculturalism, Gender and Media", described by Professor Janet Cramer as a class where:

"Students gain interdisciplinary study in culture and communication by reading, discussing, and writing about audiences, co-cultures (Chicana/os, Blacks, and others) and feminist popular culture. In this course, we will explore how gender, race, class, sexual orientation, ethnicity, and other social positions affect media coverage, portrayals, production and reception. The course focuses on theories, methods of analysis, media representations of various groups, and topics of current interest. Students conduct research projects in their chosen area of interest and develop expertise in media literacy and criticism with respect to issues of multiculturalism and gender."

Not surprisingly, this is an advanced (fourth-year) class, offering a wide variety of perspectives including feminist media studies, popular culture and has a distinct cultural studies angle in that it critically explores the interconnection between social status and minority backgrounds. Implicitly this course addresses 'representation' in the widest possible sense, indeed arguing that representations exist through negotiations of production and reception processes – through the encoding and decoding of media texts. Cramer also seems to more or less implicitly use the three concepts as identified above: knowledge (as in: reading), representation (as in: writing) and responsibility (as in: discussing).

Professor Debra Merskin of the University of Oregon follows yet another path in her (third year) course "Women, Minorities, and Media", which she describes online as:

"Inequities in mass media with regard to gender, race, and ethnicity. Ramifications and possible mechanisms of change. This class will examine inequities on the basis of gender, race, and ethnicity. Course content will analyze examples from both print and electronic media (including advertising) to critically examine representations of minorities and women. This includes examinations of stereotypes, unrealistic body images, violence against women, and pornography. In addition, we will examine (1) consequences of inequitable representations (e.g. children's beliefs about race and gender) and (2) possible means of addressing inequities including greater media

participation by women and minorities, ownership and management of media properties, and regulatory challengers."

Merskin connects the 'problem-solving' component used by Mark Arnold in California to the strictly 'representational' approach offered in Fresno. The tone of the course description can be seen as quite normative and even moralistic (including references to the body, pornography and inequity). Professor Merskin claims in our interview that she has chosen to do so because of her own background in stereotype theory and ideology. In our interview she mentions explicitly that representation in this respect includes media content as well as media employment. Another interesting element in this course is that it states: "Satisfies an Identity, Pluralism and Tolerance Multicultural requirement."

The University of Oregon has a policy that requires students to take two courses that fulfill a multicultural requirement. Merskin says: "I was new to the university when this all took place […] I do know that the discussions surrounding this requirement were heated." According to the University website, this requirement consists of fulfilling courses in two out of three categories: American Cultures (in African American, Chicano or Latino, Native American, Asian American and European American groups are studied from historical and comparative perspectives), Identity, Pluralism, and Tolerance (exploring concepts such as the effects of prejudice, intolerance, and discrimination), and International Cultures (where students are encouraged to study: "a world-view that is substantially different from those prevalent in the 20th-century United States").

The 'multicultural requirement' of Oregon has its counterpart at Pennsylvania State University, where Joseph Selden, Director of Multicultural Affairs, explains that his college endorses a "Cultural Diversity or the Intercultural and International Competence requirement." Selden states that his primary responsibilities are recruiting and retaining students of color from diverse cultures and providing faculty training seminars on 'diversity awareness'. Part of the curriculum for students is a "Multicultural Affairs Workshop", where a small group of students produce and publish a twelve-page tabloid newspaper. In 1990, the University established a Cultural Diversity graduation requirement, as of 1999 renamed Intercultural and International Competence requirement, reflecting an expanded goal. Students fulfill this requirement by completing three diversity focused courses (note: descriptions adapted from Penn State websites).

Overall it seems that multiculturalism has not made its way explicitly into journalism education programs. It is even somewhat disturbing that less than half of the accredited programs in fact offer any courses with regard to issues related to multiculturalism (such as racism and news coverage about ethnic minorities). The six courses who seek to address the wide spectrum of multiculturalism

indeed integrate various perspectives, approaches and topics and are taught on a higher level in the program. Still, an emphasis on skills-based training prevails throughout, either through workshops and newswriting or through an often implicitly exclusive look at media content for discussing or studying issues of representation.

Australia

As in the US, Australia's Journalism Education Association maintains an accessible and seemingly up-to-date online database of journalism education institutions. The JEA website lists 21 associated courses of which nine have indirect references to multiculturalism (similar to the US) and one course explicitly about "Multicultural Journalism" at the University of Wollongong's Graduate School of Journalism. In general it turned out to be quite hard to find all course descriptions online as the JEA does not 'deeplink' directly to the associated courses. Some Australian schools also close parts of their site off to outside visitors, and request of particularly foreign students or visitors to leave address details so that they may receive an information package (leaving it unclear what such a package contains). As observed in one or two cases in the US, most of the nine courses addressing issues of (racial) discrimination, ethnic minorities and so on seem to do so from a cultural studies perspective. This shows particularly in course descriptions elaborating the interwoveness of gender, race and class in society (Queensland University of Technology, "Media and Society" course) and the aim to provide "an understanding of the roles and uses of the media in a cultural, social and political context" (Griffith University, "Mass Media: Issues and Controversies" course).

In our interviews with the US educators, three of them mentioned that they had a particular Native American angle in their classes (often stating to be of "mixed race" themselves). Likewise in Australia several courses deal explicitly with Aboriginal Media, sometimes titled "Indigenous Issues and the Media" (Central Queensland University).

As noted, the University of Wollongong offers a course titled "Multicultural Journalism". It has its own website (www.uow.edu. au/crearts/journalism) and enables students to obtain a Graduate Certificate in Multicultural Journalism. "The purposes of the program are to: (a) provide a path for journalists to attain higher academic qualifications; (b) educate members of community organisations wanting to contribute to multicultural news services; (c) provide a cross - cultural context in news definition, production and presentation; (d) provide a grounding in journalism for students who are not professional journalists but plan to work in, or contribute to, multicultural news media."

Lecturer, David Blackall says in our interview that the course has changed and in fact is now also taught in Hong Kong. Their

approach is quite different from the US-based courses discussed, as it incorporates linguistics ('the rhetoric of the news story') and it clearly distinguishes multicultural media from 'traditional' media. It does so by problematizing some of the elements of the dominant ideology of journalism – notably 'objectivity' and 'neutrality' – into ideologically determined assumptions which condition news coverage in the context of political tension, conflict and violence (descriptions adapted from University of Wollongong's website). Yet, about this ambitious approach Blackall comments: "Our approach to these matters is very nuts and bolts, that is vocational and we don't bring theory in […] as we feel that is what our students don't want, they want practical skills which will get them published, broadcasting and the like. Theory though underpins the way in which the subjects are structured […]."

Even so, this does suggest that their students work inductively, developing (discovering) the theory which drives this learning process as they go along. This can be viewed as an alternative way to approach the theory and practice debate in journalism education, but requires a clear program and understanding on the part of the lecturers on the theoretical propositions involved. The Wollongong course places particular emphasis on news production and presentation. The presentation side is covered by using issues related to representation (effects and different ways of sourcing, styles of writing and reporting). The production side is primarily aimed at knowledge – not just about different cultures and ethnicities, but also about theories of newsworthiness and how these operate in practice across different cultures. Blackall uses for this approach the online-based "All-Media Guide to Fair and Cross-Cultural Reporting", which is an elaborate website (www.gu.edu.au/school/art/AMMSite/contents.html) maintained by Stephen Stockwell (of Griffith University) and Paul Scott (University of Newcastle). This guide is aimed at Australia, but address 'universal' issues in cross-cultural reporting such as "Finding Contacts in a Diverse Society" and "Covering Ethnic Communities". Perhaps of most interest to the paper at hand is its chapter on "Cross-Cultural Competence", which features a list of what makes for a 'competent' media worker in cross-cultural matters, as such a journalist will:

> "Seek advice on values, beliefs and practices in other cultures; be flexible and open to negotiation; offer and encourage explanations; be sensitive to verbal and non verbal behaviour; pursue a more accurate, complete and authentic picture of communities; be sensitive to differences among individuals within a culture; develop more knowledgeable sources; repair misunderstandings by making explicit statements; provide relevant background information pertinent to the story's aims and objectives."

This guide may be seen as the most clear-cut application of the

three concepts of knowledge, representation and responsibility to multicultural journalism, while at the same time (implicitly) challenging deep-seated journalism conventions such as detachment (cf. "seek advice"), neutrality (cf. "repair misunderstandings"), and objectivity (c. "open to negotiation").

The Netherlands

In The Netherlands, journalism education has historically been almost the exclusive domain of vocational schools, of which there are four. At the time of writing, 2001, at least three universities also offer journalism; the Erasmus University in Rotterdam (since 1989) and the University of Amsterdam (since 2000) have added one-year training courses in print media journalism, the University of Groningen has a fully-fledged MA-program in print and broadcasting journalism. Recent development suggest that the number and scope of formal (and accredited) journalism programs most likely will increase in the near future (Bierhoff, Deuze and De Vreese, 2001). The Dutch journalism union, the NVJ, maintains a Website (titled "VillaMedia") which also features a database of available programs. Unfortunately none (!) of these programs offer course contents or descriptions online; one has to register and request an information package, to be sent via 'snail mail'.

For our analysis the seven schools were contacted via e-mail and asked what their policy was regarding teaching multicultural journalism. The Netherlands has a long tradition of public debate regarding multiculturalism particularly fueled by the works of Dutch discourse analyst Teun van Dijk in the 1980s (see Van Dijk, 1991) and research publications by the NVJ-workgroup Migranten en Media ('migrants and the media'; see Brants, Crone and Leurdijk, 1998; Sterk, 2000). One might expect the educators to have integrated such concerns and debates into the curriculum. This has not been the case, though. The University of Amsterdam does not cover the issues involved. Groningen has plans to offer some kind of elective courses, including multiculturalism and the media, in the near future, but program coordinator Sanna Buurke and lecturer Hans Renders also make clear that they offer a course which deals with cross-cultural communication for journalists working on topics involving the European Union.

Erasmus coordinator Eric Smulders tells us that his university had planned an interdisciplinary MA in "Multicultural Studies", of which journalism would be a part – but this project has been cancelled. The journalism schools in Zwolle and Tilburg do not have a policy regarding multiculturalism; issues are sometimes raised in the context of other classes (such as "Media and Politics") or are dependent on inspired individual lecturers, says Michiel Smis, who offers a seminar titled "Journalism in the Multicultural Society" in Tilburg – but this is only

intended as a further training course for established journalists.

At the School for Journalism in Utrecht, lecturers Martin Meulenberg and Nico Kussendrager offer an elective course titled "Intercultural Communication", which in its description in fact deals specifically with The Netherlands as a multicultural society and problematized the kind of news reporting Dutch media offer on different cultures. The course is predominantly focused on knowledge: knowledge about cultural diversity and intercultural communication and knowledge about one's own culture with respect to a diverse society (one may compare this approach to that of Joseph Selden at Penn State). Meulenberg explains that his course is very much skills-based. In ten weeks, one class is dedicated to representational issues (media portrayals of ethnic minorities), three classes deal with a historical 'knowledge-based' perspective on immigration and migrants in The Netherlands and all other classes are centered around students developing 'fact sheets' about multicultural issues. Such fact sheets are based on 55 brief introductions offered by Meulenberg and Kussendrager, which 'leads' students can follow in their research. The topics include issues on all three levels: knowledge ('what kind of prejudices do people have regarding certain countries and cultures?'), representation ('Dutch media portray ethnic minorities in a negative way, focusing in particular on social problems and misery'), and responsibility ('media should be careful when mentioning the ethnic background of people in the news to prevent stereotyping'). Meulenberg says in our interview that he abandoned his original choice to include more (theoretical) literature, as he experienced that the students would not really read the texts on offer.

The Christian school for journalism in Ede offers two distinct ways to its students to increase their sensitivity towards multicultural issues. In the core (non-elective) curriculum, all students follow a range of classes (within a period of seven weeks) related to Dutch journalism and the multicultural society. Lecturer Johan Snel explains that in it issues related to knowledge about different religions and cultures have been put central. Furthermore all students are strongly urged to spend a couple of months abroad in their third year, preferably in developing countries or areas of the world. Snel feels that particularly this overseas stay makes students aware of their own prejudices. Ede has chosen to make this trip abroad a compulsory element in its curriculum.

Concluding remarks can be made about the different academic traditions which inform the curriculur choices as described above. The courses found on the websites of journalism schools in the United States reveal a predominance of sociological (emphasis on racism as a result of the collective behavior of journalists) and psychological (emphasis on stereotyping as the way in which individual journalists influence and are influenced by various social groups) approaches.

The various programs explicitly link conceptual issues related to culture and ethnicity with representational issues such as gender and race.

The Australian programs on the other hand seem to share a more or less distinct cultural studies tradition in defining concepts and approach to multicultural journalism education. The various courses reflect an emphasis on social structure and language as core concepts to which the role of the media is articulated. This results in an explicit linkage between race, gender and class when studying or working with multiculturalism. The Dutch approach is quite exclusively focused on knowledge in its emphasis on fact-finding. The fact that journalism education has no academic tradition in The Netherlands might explain the lack of theoretical structure backing the curricular material found.

Contemporary Western societies in the world today are by definition multicultural societies, where cultural diversity can be seen as the result of individual or family immigration (Kymlicka, 1996). The multicultural society can be considered as articulated to journalism in a number of ways. Examples of such articulations are the pressure on media organizations from the national government and special interest groups in society to include more professional members of diverse ethnic backgrounds, the emphasis on pluriformity and representation which policymakers put regarding the media and the ongoing debate on the ways in which reporting on minorities in the media affect race relations. As argued in our introduction, the multicultural society can be seen as one of the foremost areas in the media where journalists are confronted and in conflict with their social responsibilities and (in-)direct influences by outside parties like special interest groups, politics and government. The multicultural society also can be seen as shifting the focus and news values of today's media professionals:

"Orientation points for journalists are now the multicultural society, in which the position of minorities will have to be redefined. Race, language, ethnic background, religion, all these factors are present and potential battlegrounds and generate a constant stream of events" (Bierhoff, 1999).

Perhaps this suggests that to educate journalism students in the ideal-typical way only further 'disables' them to deal with the crucial and unfortunately highly politicized debates the profession find itself when confronted with the realities of diversity and multiculturalism in the news, on the workplace and in society. A number of recommendations are made regarding the development of the multicultural curriculum based on our analysis of the courses in the US, Australia and The Netherlands.

1. Problem-solving (Mark Arnold, California Polytechnic State University)

Multicultural journalism can be seen as a solution to the problem of traditional journalism, in that it critically addresses the way newsmedia have historically under-reported, stereotyped and represented diverse ethnicities and cultures. Explicitly problematized this as a starting point for the course of curriculum, students can immediately be set to work on problem-solving tasks, whether through literature reviews, media content analyses or producing their own newsmedia.

2. Reading-Writing-Discussing (Janet Cramer, University of New Mexico)

Students can be actively involved in the process of creating multicultural journalism products by framing each class or week in terms of reading up on a specific multicultural issue (cf. knowledge), writing a 'text' on the topic (cf. representation) and discussing it with the class on the ways in approaches the issue, particularly focusing on the implicitly choices a journalist makes and individual biases one might have (cf. responsibility).

3. Multicultural Requirement (Universities of Oregon and Penn State)

As an institute develops more classes on multicultural topics – which as we have seen can range from media ethics, community journalism, mass media and society, race/gender/class issues to specific intercultural communication courses – it can provide and stimulate students to complete their degree based predominantly on a number of such courses. Perhaps such an approach mirrors the ideals of a journalists' 'cross-cultural competence' as formulated by Stephen Stockwell and Paul Scott in Australia. It would also enable the institute to develop policy regarding multicultural journalism – a policy which is for example completely absent in The Netherlands.

4. Duo Presentation (Utrecht School for Journalism; Graduate School of Journalism, University of Wollongong)

Multiculturalism is a broad and complex concept, which impacts upon quite a few areas within journalism: newsvalues, skills and standards, media ethics, role perceptions and so on. To expect a single lecturer to be able to fully grasp all these issues and translate them into a coherent program or course maybe a bit too much. Several institutions have opted for a duo presentation, with at least two lecturers teaching. I would like to suggest that they do so at the same time, increasing each other's reflexivity, adding on the lecture, perhaps even choosing a role as referees (as commonplace at scholarly conferences). In the context of such a diverse and complex concept this may be a good way to vividly demonstrate to the students that we all have our own biases, prejudices, set routines and so on.

5. Inductive Method (David Blackall, University of Wollongong)

Multicultural Journalism Curriculum

As many courses were found with a more or less explicit critical and cultural studies background, the inductive method – often chosen by scholars in the field, especially regarding qualitative methods and analyses – seems to offer a promising solution to problem of theory versus practice. As Blackall writes, by "cleverly tucking away" the theory and letting students develop their own products and understanding, the lecturer(s) can assist them to become aware of their own theoretical constructs. This can be a complicated and time-consuming procedure which requires clear control over the many propositions and issues involved. Perhaps when one connects this method with the 'hands-on' approach of reading-writing-discussing (point 2 above), a working frame can be established.

6. All-Media Guide (Stephen Stockwell and Paul Scott, Australia)

The online-based "All-Media Guide to Fair and Cross-Cultural Reporting" is excellent example of how 'hands-on' one can get while using complex concepts and normative thinking regarding multiculturalism and the media. Such a guide might be used by all courses involved in the issues at hand, but can also be seen as a class project to produce or further develop, based on one's own experiences and expertise. In its present format, the guide is downloadable and free, but it is still quite brief and very much oriented towards a certain Australian context. Intelligent use of the Internet in this respect, coupled with a project the students can sink their teeth in, may also serve to further commit the class to the intricacies of journalism and multiculturalism.

7. Fact Sheets (Martin Meulenberg, Utrecht School for Journalism)

Multicultural journalism is not just about news coverage and reporting styles, but also about doing research among and about diverse cultures, about building knowledge. Meulenberg therefore introduced a specific research element in his course: students developing 'fact sheets' about multicultural issues. Although the topics selected at this point by Meulenberg and Kussendrager are quite fragmented, a structural application of this kind could be seen as instrumental in developing a 'guide' for multicultural journalism, much similar to the cross-cultural competence guide as offered by Stockwell and Scott in Australia (see point 6 above).

Topics could be part of certain categories within the concept of multiculturalism (see for example the inductive grounded theory approach as advocated by Strauss and Corbin, 1990). A guide consisting of ever-developing fact sheets not only prevents national exclusiveness and duplication of earlier work, it also can connect issues on all three levels identified in this paper: knowledge, representation and responsibility.

8. Overseas stay (Johan Snel, Ede Christian School for Journalism)

Internships are generally considered to be those parts in a curriculum, where students learn most in a relatively short period of time. Coupling this well-established concept with an overseas stay, working in a distinctly different culture, should greatly benefit the development of increased multicultural awareness, and further facilitate the development of cross-cultural competencies. Working within a different culture provides us new ways of looking at ourselves. The experiences in Ede definitely suggest that this is a fertile avenue to explore for journalism education programs.

Conclusion

Concluding this admittedly brief introduction to the various ways multiculturalism is articulated to journalism, the main issue to be evaluated here can be summarized as how the subdivision of multiculturalism into knowledge, representation and responsibility is articulated to journalism education programs in the US, Australia and The Netherlands. With the exception of the 'Multicultural Requirement'-policies of Oregon and Penn State in the US, little or no evidence has been found in the curricula of accredited programs in the three countries under study of a specific awareness, that enhancing courses with multiculturalism may in fact challenge traditional, deep-seated and structural conventions of journalism. Indeed, several courses seem to be elective courses only.

Generally a journalism student in all countries may enter the profession with a BA or MA degree without ever having to actively think about intercultural communication, cross-cultural reporting or multicultural journalism. This is quite surprising, as the multicultural society is for example much more a 'reality' for contemporary journalists in Western democracies than the Internet is; yet the Internet features prominently in just about every education program found in the US, Australia and The Netherlands.

In other words: students are predominantly trained in a traditional, and ideological mode of thought about journalism, to which multiculturalism is subsequent, even though it can be argued that the concept indeed challenges some or all of the core values intrinsic to what Hallin calls the 'high modernist project' that is journalism (Hallin, 1992). This is an area which certainly deserves more attention, both from the educator-side as well as a scholarly side (see for example studies by Eric Loo in Australia and Tom Dickson in the United States).

With some possible exceptions (Cramer the US, Stockwell and Scott in Australia, Meulenberg in The Netherlands) none of the courses found explicitly addressed multiculturalism in terms of knowledge, representation and responsibilities. Most courses seem to be predominantly geared towards 'visible' representations such as a negative bias towards ethnic minorities in the news or stereotypical portrayals of divers ethnicities and cultures (notably on television and

photographs in the press). Yet a combination of these three 'categories' of multiculturalism seems to work quite well, as for example the 'reading-writing-discussing' approach of Janet Cramer (University of New Mexico) proves. Representation is but one aspect and an exclusive approach may prevent the student from moving beyond choices of incident (which news story requires what representation) towards critically evaluating journalism skills and standards as a whole when addressing topics of cultural diversity. For example, a fundamental question has to be answered before addressing the issue in a curriculum: can we expect a heightened awareness and different responsibilities of journalists in a multicultural society? And if so, should this awareness be addressed in the context of a single course, a range of courses or throughout the entire curriculum? These questions may prove to be a fertile area to explore for further thought about multicultural journalism education.

Besides these two evaluations this study suggests that an increase of international exchange of approaches, ideas and awareness regarding multiculturalism and journalism education is called for, as most countries in the world can be seen as multicultural societies with both unique experiences and histories as well as universal dilemmas regarding the roles newsmedia play or can play in the construction of multicultural awareness.

NOTES

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2. The complex issues involved in the use of terms like ethnicity, culture and race of course have to be acknowledged. In the context of this paper I would like to follow scholars like Cottle (2000) in looking at such terms as concepts which in recent years tend to overlap and sometimes even function as each other's homologue. Essentially one has to bear in mind the social construction and therefore inherently dynamic and continiously negotiated meanings of the terms – which basic premise should be the guiding concept of any multicultural education programme.

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