In a 2009 blog post Jeff Jarvis of Buzzmachine proposed that the news story was moving away from the mass consideration of the article as a discrete, finite product and had assumed the characteristics of a process of production. He positioned the article in the center of a series of productive actions—from idea conception to post-publication modification. Neither ownership nor assigned agency could be attached to any of the moving parts. It was not a new idea, certainly, but Jarvis was the first to visually depict and articulate a specific form for new-age news. The Huffington Post reprinted that post, called “journalism as process,” and the notion that news production must be reconceptualized for the digital age became intellectual fodder for journalistic and academic conferences (Staff, 2009). In much of the literature on journalism education, this teaching of digital understandings—often talked about as “convergence”—has been the desire for almost a decade, but its implementation in colleges and universities has been cautious, informal, and spotty (Longinow, 2011; Lowrey, Daniels, & Becker, 2005; Sarachan, 2011; Ying, 2010). In part this has to do with a lack of specificity on the part of professionals for their would-be employees (Adams, 2008) and in part with inertia, doubts, and resistance in journalism programs to uncharted territory and massive transformation (Longinow, 2011).

This article reports the results of a study investigating how “journalism as process” has filtered down to those who consume news so that journalism educators might employ more innovative

**Keywords:** audience, citizens, classroom, experiential learning, interviews, journalism, journalism schools, news

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techniques to better engage the interactive audience member. An understanding of how such news conceptions are changing must inform educators as they revolutionize curricula to prepare students for the digital age. This data suggests that because the new industry professional must place the individual audience member at the center of any journalism, so too educators must teach future journalists accordingly. Calling on in-depth interviews with nearly 100 residents of Madison, WI over a period of two years, the evidence demonstrated that many people have reconceptualized news content. In the interviews, participants demanded opportunities for user-generated content, desired the chance to “dig deeper” into information channels, and said they expected ubiquitous, interactive news. In other words, they told researchers they wanted to be as much a part of newsgathering and dissemination as of news consumption. “Journalism as process” in an experiential-learning model moves the news-reporting course from teaching journalism as a discrete, finite product to understanding the news story as a process, a conversation, and a collaborative venture that is never finished. This particular conceptualization entails not only developing multimedia and interactive skill sets as many scholars have proposed, but also asks instructors to execute their courses so the audience member becomes a central agent in the productive process. Thus, this essay does not argue merely that course assignments include blogging or that lectures teach social-media techniques; rather, the author suggests that educators must completely rethink the operationalization of news content, story authorship, and journalistic norms and practices as well as the very definition of journalist—all based on data emerging from current digital transformations. Such a reconfiguration of the journalist-audience relationship would require journalism schools to radically renovate traditional core curricula and reporting classes.

First this piece will detail the results of the audience study in terms of what kinds of societal expectations surrounding news appear to be emerging. A discussion section will parse the evidence into both conceptual and practical ideas for evolving journalistic curricula according to the “journalism as process” experiential-learning environment. This article seeks to be specific in terms of how journalism instructors might think about changing their courses not in a piecemeal way, but in a manner that recognizes a larger paradigmatic shift is happening. It offers a core of pragmatic recommendations from these findings that might address the evolving user approach to the news.

Literature Review
Consider that much communication research holds that online citizens achieve information authority and empowerment in a way that is drastically affecting news companies’ ability to maintain market share. From Dan Gillmor’s We the Media (2004) to Manuel Castells’ declaration of new mass self-communication trends in his Communication Power (2009), scholars have theorized that interactivity inevitably alters the established hierarchy of information flow in society. Jarvis’ model, “journalism as process,” depicted a system of production that distilled agency over content, moving away from the idea of a singular product of journalism and emphasizing the fluid, literal, and shared construction of knowledge (Jarvis, 2009). Journalism schools are recognizing the shift in communicative patterns as well. This piece attempts to answer a call that journalism schools respond to the challenges posed by the convergence culture, mobile technologies, and digital dynamics that have so shifted the traditional media landscape (Claussen, 2009; Dennis et al., 2003). The author of this research wanted to understand how “journalism as process” is becoming part of society’s conceptions of news today, to investigate how news consumers interact with news products, to conceptualize new forms of journalism that would better fulfill the habits people are already practicing, and then to develop a slate of recommendations for how
this evolving idea of the news product might be implemented in journalism classes.

Recent research has proposed that new media skills, mediated network literacy, and social-media fluency be integrated at all levels of coursework (Berkeley, 2009; Claussen, 2009; Duffield, 2011; Huang et al., 2006). Fahmy (2008) found that online journalism professionals called for experience working with digital understandings of news production, as opposed to actually learning the skills. Schwalbe (2009) laid out a specific teaching plan incorporating mobile technologies and other digital habits of young people into classroom exercises. These and other essays—though important to keep journalism-school curricula marketable—tend to piecemeal “computational journalism” (Claussen, 2009) by concentrating on a specific technology such as podcasts (Huntsberger & Stavitsky, 2007) or computer-assisted reporting (Yarnall, Johnson, Rinne, & Ranney, 2008). Though all make significant contributions to moving journalism curriculum forward, the majority is based on surveys of journalism students, communication educators, or industry professionals (as opposed to citizens). These characteristics set any “revolution” of journalism school curriculum solidly in traditional understandings of the sender-receiver model of content production.

Few of these essays emphasize engaging individual consumers to produce news or teach students how to be active, contributing citizens in this mediated world, whether or not they have a professional job. Even fewer suggest to students that digital technologies can be used not only to experiment with news platforms but also as a way to solicit crowd-sourcing, encourage user-submitted content, or incorporate other kinds of digitally enabled “citizen” journalism within their own news production. This is not to say that “citizen journalism” per se is not visited as a scholarly, pedagogical topic; Tanni Haas (2000) drew from public journalism to teach “a practice of knowledge production” for society. Another essay suggested teaching critical communication theory in journalism classes from the perspective of the citizen, in contrast to the traditional perspective of the corporate-based reporter (Macdonald, 2006). Nonetheless, these citizen-centric approaches also position the student journalists as somehow apart from their audiences, rather than as collaborators with individual members of the public.

This research tackles the quagmire of making journalism schools relevant in a digital-age environment by positioning audiences—and students’ direct experience with those audiences—at a curriculum’s core. It employs an experiential-learning model as an appropriate guide for a new kind of curricula for journalism schools. Deriving from pragmatist John Dewey, experiential-learning theory incorporates personal experience such as reflective observation, visualization techniques, external activities (e.g. in the “real world” outside the classroom), and internal experimentation through workshops, internships, and other kinds of applied activity (Svinicki & McKeachie, 2011). It is important to note that the model insists on abstract conceptualization—led by an instructor serving as guide—along with hands-on learning activities (Kayes, 2002; Kolb, 1984; Lai, Yang, Chen, Ho, & Chan, 2007). Furthermore, activities are meant to be adapted to individual learning styles, activate diverse environments for learning, and incorporate different ways of teaching the same concepts over and over with the idea that “learning is a process of relearning that requires adaptation and interaction between the learner and the world” (Rhodes & Roessner, 2009, p. 305).

Of course, the experiential model of learning has been employed in journalism education for decades (Blanchard & Christ, 1993; Brandon, 2002; Svinicki & McKeachie, 2011; Rhodes & Roessner, 2009). Mendelson, Coleman, and Kurpius (2005) applied the experiential theory in their study on website design usability in the journalism classroom, a tactic they drew from Hale, Orey, and Reeves (1995). In their proposed curriculum, the researchers blended online
journalism storytelling concepts with user-usability instruction such that students tested websites with audiences. The application shifted the focus from professors, journalists, or students to content users as part of the journalism educational process. Furthermore, the authors suggested that students interact with audiences in assignments (such as facilitating focus groups). By experiencing the very relationships that digital instructors are trying to teach about in a journalism production class, students might be more inclined to nurture those audience networks. Mendelson et al. proposed that this audience-centric, classroom-experiential approach be threaded throughout the course, switching the perspective of most news production courses from that of newsworkers (i.e. students) to that of news consumers (i.e. citizens).

This research hopes to go even further and encourage students to consider both themselves and their audience members as both producers and consumers. Most of the journalism education literature to date advocates for new ways of thinking about news production in the digital age; much of this scholarship examines how to do that using everything from blogs to multimedia. However, the majority of these studies and insights continue to articulate an emphasis on sender-controlled, legacy-specialty content production and dissemination (see Massey, 2010, as just one example of an article that surveyed journalists to show that news students needed to know video skills).

Utilizing data from an intense audience study, this essay suggests a paradigmatic transformation is called for today, shifting the focus from the journalist as a producer to journalist as facilitator, conversationalist, connector, networker, and producer. None of this is to suggest that the journalist student no longer be taught basic writing, reporting, and multimedia skills—as well as all the legalities, ethics, norms, and standards that go along with being a socially responsible journalist. It is only to say that the news reporter learn those skills under a different set of assumptions about what is production and what is consumption. Martin (2011) touched on this idea by citing a forum commenter on the topic, educator Pat Miller of Valdosta State University:

What we really have is a rhetorical problem, which is the approach I take with my students. We have to understand the rhetoric of the new media and the basic ways it’s changed the relationship to the audience…Students need to understand a three-pronged rhetoric of language, sound and image. They also need to understand how the tools (especially social media) change (1) what the audience sees as news and (2) how they go about reporting, itself. (Gradual Changes section, para. 5)

When combined with the growing body of scholarship already discussed that advocates for “blowing up J-School curricula” (Claussen, 2009), the idea presented here mandates incorporating mobile, interactive, multimodal, and other concepts throughout any program of journalistic study.

**The Study**

To explore in what ways “journalism as process” was being integrated at various levels of the local community, the author conducted in-depth interviews and surveys with 100 residents of Madison, WI. The purposive, stratified sample broke down into those who were highly active in their local community (such as nonprofit directors, police officers, and municipal and school officials), those who were semi-active (as in those who volunteered occasionally), and those who were completely disengaged from a community standpoint. These categories followed the distinctions made about audiences by Kovach and Rosenstiel (2007): the “involved public,” the “interested public,” and the “uninterested public” (p. 25). About 30 participants reported that they were active local-community bloggers or frequent
contributors to local news sites. Researchers selected highly active community members by compiling lists of elected officials, police officers, active community organizations and agencies, and other well-known leaders. Semi-active participants were recruited via ads placed on local news websites and at local events such as farmers’ markets. Some in this category and those who considered themselves completely disengaged participated after word-of-mouth solicitations (the snowball technique). The respondents ranged in age from 25 to 65 and largely reflected the Madison community in terms of gender (54% female), race (76% white), and level of community involvement (about 80% of the sample had volunteered in some capacity). The sample did tend to hold a higher degree of education (86% had a bachelor’s degree or higher, compared to about 50% for the city as a whole) and household income (28% made more than $100,000 in their household, compared to $60,000 on average for the city).

The interviews lasted an average of 75 minutes and involved a survey capturing their demographic information, news habits, and community involvement. The open-ended interviews contained questions such as “take me through your local news habits” and “how do you define ‘news’ today,” as well as a discussion of their feelings about social media. The hundreds of pages of transcripts were analyzed according to grounded theory, particularly Strauss and Corbin’s (1998) phased techniques of open, axial, and selective coding, which have been interpreted in different ways by different researchers. This researcher first identified the major themes to arise from audience members’ conceptions of the news product, their considerations of news production itself, and their relationships to journalists and journalism today. Then, subcategories emerged in axial coding so that the overall patterns of the data could be determined. The last stage of analysis—selective coding—suggested what it all meant theoretically. At this point, the analysis itself was examined for pedagogical considerations: What were the implications for journalism professors who must teach relevant professional techniques in the digital age?

Results

These analyses showed that citizens proactively seek out, share, research, respond to, and otherwise engage in new kinds of newswork surrounding their information consumption. These audiences gather their news from many nontraditional news sources beyond television, newspapers, and mainstream news organizations; 38% reported they received news from Facebook, Twitter, and other social media spaces: “If you take blog comments or forum comments with a grain of salt… all of it’s valid. All of it is now ‘news,’ I would say. It may not be factual, but it gives a sense of the community.” In this quote and others, the researcher could discern new considerations of the definition of “news.” Journalism today must provide “a sense of community” (said one “interested” participant); beyond content about that community, information must connect a person to his or her surroundings. Furthermore, many expressed an interest in news that allowed them to “dig deeper” into a particular topic. Even those “uninterested” reported having favorite blogs for their special interests, such as the [Chicago] Cubs or community theater. As one “uninterested” citizen reported: “News articles need to be worthy of our time. Don’t just do the talking points and bullet lists, but give us something more. Provide links that people will want to look at.” Another “uninterested” citizen wanted “more of a give and take.” In fact several of the “uninterested” citizens suggested they might pay more attention if the content included not only the big picture, but also more personalized, conversant material they could “relate” to. This is an important point when we begin thinking about how to reenergize audiences, especially those who are no longer

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1 This number is most likely much higher now, as these interviews were conducted just before the 2011 Wisconsin protests, in which social media played a huge part in the information exchange.
engaging with news venues. A key ingredient to teaching students the new kind of journalism must incorporate direct connections with “regular” and uninterested citizens in addition to the power elites.

Two-thirds of participants reported they shared news they found with friends, family, and co-workers at least once a month on their social-media and email platforms. This was particularly true of those active in the community (the “involved” and “interested” publics). One “interested” blogger said:

I am always wanting to know “where does the claim take you? What route does that trail take? Does it simply go through someone’s Facebook update? Does it come from a message board post, anonymously? Does the link point you to a news source like MSNBC.” I usually accept very little on face value.

This participant willingly engaged with the information he came across, traveling with the link into content’s past existence in cyberspace and always engaged with the validity of the claim. Half of those interviewed reported that they actively sought out comments, blogs, or forums to better understand content. Half of the participants believed blogs and other citizen contributions reached the level of journalism, whether or not the content contained “facts.” Ninety percent wanted to meet reporters online. And most startlingly, more than 13% said they contributed to information online in Facebook updates, comments, or blog posts. One technician, an “involved” or semi-active citizen, said:

Something that’s really interesting to me is some of the projects that have been done where it is sort of a combination of pro-am journalists working with a group of interested volunteers where you say “go through these documents or look for these things.” Basically where a large mass of volunteers—each of whom has a small amount of time—can help fill out one little piece of the puzzle and then you have the journalist who comes along and can bring it all together. When I see stuff like that, I usually try to spend some time on it.

And though 98% believed that journalists nurtured an innate responsibility to report on community affairs, 45% stated they knew more than most journalists. For news to be “successful” in the minds of the majority of those interviewed, it needed to offer the potential for individual agency, promote connections between the individuals and their social or professional circles (as well as their communities, for some), and create paths that could lead them into new information arenas or opportunities for dialogue. One local blogger said:

Our blog is a conversation starter. Here are some words we put together to get you thinking about this restaurant. Once we’ve put those words out there, the direction the conversation takes is beyond our control. It could spill over into our comments, or email or Facebook or lots of places where the conversation would be happening. We don’t have to be involved in ways that conversation is happening. The end of our review is not the end of the review; it’s the end of the beginning.

Note in the comment how the notion of “control” over information is addressed and dismissed as being ancillary to the true objective of being a “conversation starter.” Despite what this blogger believed, the reporter in these virtual realms should be taught to be involved in the ways that conversation is happening—at least as much as possible in such worlds (or at least, how to execute or dismiss that option). Nonetheless, in this comment and in others like it, it is clearly evident that the ethos of “journalism as process”
had penetrated the attitudes of some local bloggers and other contributors. In other words, the sender-receiver paradigm has been reversed; receivers could be considered senders and vice versa. Any “news” happens within the process of information exchange as opposed to the news production and dissemination. This is a different kind of approach to news, one that places a new importance on dialogue and deliberation as part of the journalism itself. This conception should be part of the prep work for new reporters, to learn how to be a “conversation starter.”

The data from this extensive, grounded-theory study yielded some major findings: Through new news consumption patterns, people are looking to perform social, civic, and professional work and, thus, seek information sources that comprise transportive and transactional qualities. These emerging attributes of news—at least as this audience sample perceived them—hold significant implications for content producers, who should adapt their thinking to accommodate the developing expectations, and for journalism professors teaching future news producers. Transportive news characteristics are those that allow the user to travel along multitudes of information channels virtually and often temporally as well. A clicked link, for example, can bring a user to an archived news story or blog post, often to a page without clear sponsorship or time-date stamping even as it introduces the visitor to an entirely new setting for information collection. This ability has significant implications for that information’s credibility, authority, liability, and other quality considerations as well as content and brand loyalty. The online medium cannot constrain a user to a particular brand or location, but can offer the convenience of immediate content comparison while demanding that information be fluid and portable. Transactional attributes mean that the information must add value to the person’s experience with the news in some way, such as social capital or personal gratification. For example, in this sample several bloggers received monetary capital benefits—cash from advertisers on their blogs; other participants received social capital benefits—enhancing their expertise, helping out communities, appearing knowledgeable within social and professional circles, and generally becoming more actively engaged. No longer can the news be merely about surveillance and the who, what, when, where, and why or other passive understandings of news functionality, according to this evidence. Instead it must offer its users opportunities to perform some kind of action with the material in a literal, productive manner (Robinson, 2011).

**Pedagogical Considerations**

But what does this mean for journalism schools? As the literature suggests, much discussion has revolved around how to make journalism in higher education more relevant for the digital age. Many educators have implemented innovative techniques for making their graduates more marketable in this current environment. This essay attempts to articulate a new paradigm for journalism schools as a way to address the findings from the described study. The recommendations to follow derive from the findings of “journalism as a process” and the consideration of news as a transportive, transactional object for audiences.

The news article as a finite, discrete product has given way to news as a process of shared information production that allows users to not only travel between news sites but also attain some kind of exchange value from their efforts. But how do educators teach such a concept? The very notion of the news article must be reconceptualized in order for one to fully commit to the new digital paradigm. The philosophy of “journalism as process” should be threaded throughout the course, from idea generation to linking to forum participation. As much emphasis should be given to the importance of links, of being visible in many spaces, and of interactive opportunities as is given to the 40-character lead or significance of expert sources. Any news production class needs to incorporate the process into the making of the story—from teaching commenting strategies
to appropriate hyperlinking paths to active and significant engagement of audiences (i.e. outside the classroom) in the content creation.

Therefore, we turn to the experiential-learning model, which would not only promote the abstract conceptualization of the news story as a process of production, but also encourage engagement with consumptive agency when conceptualizing, executing, and post-producing content regarding a single topic of content. This research proposes that not only do teachers emphasize and include audiences within classroom assignments, but also that the students consider themselves as much a part of the consumption as production. Students must experience productive agency in as many digital realms as possible. They must be taught how to blog, but also how to provoke dialogue on other people’s blogs. They must be taught how to ask provocative questions within their own content, but also how to respond in a balanced, appropriate manner in other spaces. They must be taught the importance of product art, but also how to make those features customizable for audience members. They must be taught how to write a news article, but also how to weave into that article alternative information paths for people to add, modify, and respond to the original content.²

The following section lays out three basic principles that could guide any curriculum restructuring or course syllabus revision: production transport/transaction, content transport/transaction, and consumption transport/transaction.

I. Production Transport/Transaction
An understanding of news that can transport audience members into new realms of reality and provide them some kind of value for their efforts must begin at the story-conception level.

II. Content Transport/Transaction
Students must think about their work as something forever in process rather than as a finite entity. The story will be manipulated after publication, and one must consider ways to guide those modifications as best as possible.

Thus:
- Students should be encouraged to engage audiences in story conception via Twitter, blogs, forums, wiki opportunities, and other kinds of virtual-reader focus groups.
- Concepts of networked journalism, which refers to the crowd-sourcing techniques of asking a community for help researching a story, should be emphasized and implemented, both within the class and in the larger campus/city/national community.
- Instructors could establish partnerships with bloggers, news organizations, or other sites to work on collaborative projects that instill an understanding of writing for audiences (as opposed to writing for medium).
- Entrepreneurial approaches—those ideas that innovate outside of the traditional news story sources and formulas—should guide students in story production.

² Even as this commitment to digital modes of telling news stories is encouraged, this is in no way meant to replace the foundational journalism elements that still must be taught. Accuracy, ethics, responsibility, significance, relevance—all of these must still be a part of any journalism curriculum in a fundamental way.
interactive graphics, and other digital storytelling offerings.
- Encourage niche website spaces for salient topics, such as blog entries or archived news articles.
- Recognize and engage with other-authored content on the subject. Include aggregations of other information, with links.

III. Audience Transport/Transaction
Post-production material is an essential part of the news process today. Students should be encouraged to bring their stories to virtual audiences and touch base with them, seeking ways to explore further. They should:
- Learn about alternative story aggregation spaces such as Buzzfeed, Reddit, Twitter, Digg, YouTube, Google, Facebook, and other places where the article might end up, and think about creative headline writing and search terms to monitor post-publication discussions.
- Follow the paths stories take, beginning with comments but also its “digs,” “shares,” storify stories, delicious tags, Facebook promos, and other links within cyberspace. Who’s talking about it? Students should be in those external spaces as well, fixing misimpressions and facilitating conversation. Instructors might consider assigning students to guest blog and actively begin conversations surrounding any content production.
- Plan for alternative platforms such as cell phones, tablets, Twitter, Pinterest, Tumblr, and Facebook when distributing content. Separate content forms such as podcasts and tweets might be warranted in assignments. Set up RSS feeds, newsletters, and other kinds of audience outreach.
- Brainstorm user-submitted content opportunities to be associated with story and learn ways to achieve that level of submission by working on establishing features within the story that encourage some level of crowd-sourcing or networked journalism. This could be anything from separate features alongside the “story” or a wiki-story that can be edited by users (though instructors would have to take care to talk about liability and branding implications for such a format). Solicit active engagement from audiences surrounding the class projects.

Any product to result from these kinds of exercises would offer content that refuses to be dormant on some webpage of a news organization. Rather, this content takes on fluidity to adapt to the user, as opposed to the author. The audience members can bring the information with them in new ways, sharing it or manipulating it so that its social, cultural, professional, and civic value might be increased—for the individual as well as for the community. For the students, a variety of learning modalities introduces future practitioners to “real-world” dynamics within the classroom. In the process, students learn to think of their work as “the end of the beginning,” in the words of that blogger from the study. The implementation of these kinds of assignments evokes the experiential-learning model in the encouragement of hands-on activities with the public, outside of the classroom. Most important, this model would introduce the concepts of digital news production while demonstrating the very premise behind any experiential-learning model: that students learn best by becoming personally invested in the exercise.

Conclusion
Journalism schools and their professors cannot ignore the traditional underpinnings of quality journalism and its ultimate goal: to promote a vibrant democracy via an engaged and deliberative public. Therefore, any new curriculum must continue to draw from the old paradigms by emphasizing social responsibility, significance, relevance, accuracy, and other qualities of journalism that Kovach and Rosenstiel (2007) laid out as the fundamental elements of the profession. Much scholarship has demonstrated the industry's need
for continued vigilance in its watchdog role for society. Students should not leave a program today without the basics of reporting, writing, and grammar well learned and honed. These skills must continue to serve as the basis for any new pedagogical implementations.

Nonetheless, this article proposes that journalism curriculum adapt to a new paradigm, one inspired by an evolving world order characterized by the perception that news should hold transportive, transactional qualities. A new “rhetoric” (Martin, 2011) of news-reporting pedagogy must emerge. Therefore, the suggestions in this essay should be taught according to the convergence culture in the sense that Henry Jenkins conceptualized the term in his 2006 book. In any convergence culture, notions of author-reader delineations, channel differentiations, and other formerly distinct boundaries borne from the industrial age blend so that beginnings and endings can become blurred. This essential philosophical difference between print culture and the digital age needs to be a key concept in journalism courses teaching news production in the millennium.

Following the lead of Mendelson et al. (2005) and many other scholars who called for a concentration on experiential-learning, audience-centric journalism, this article also encourages that any news production course incorporate the digital era’s demand for audience agency or user-generated content in pragmatic ways. From story execution to follow-up dialogue, journalism students can be taught to incorporate an understanding of “journalism as process,” and to rethink the idea that a news article is a singular, finite product. Any news product must help users navigate the new world via transportive and transactional characteristics. Individuals want informational data that allows them to travel across mediated domains so they can “dig deeper” into their particular interest areas and attain certain exchange benefits from the knowledge production. Furthermore, the act of production becomes a collaborative process between journalists and those “formerly known as the audience” (Rosen, 2006) who are now active news producers on a myriad of levels. In reworking syllabi in this manner, a journalism professor today can ground students not just in digital tools essential for success in the communication profession, but also in an overall paradigm that will help them feel comfortable in their worlds post-graduation as both producer and consumer of mediated content.

Once implemented, this curriculum should be regularly assessed, especially as new programs and technologies require paradigm shifts anew. Such assessment strategies might include another study that queries audiences in a broader way than this piece. Limitations for the study at hand include the limited geographical sample as well as the fairly skewed population in terms of education and income. More comprehensive surveying should be done. Schools also should consider reviewing recent scholarship about the news industry, conducting interviews with journalists and other kinds of news workers, surveying graduates of the program, and textually analyzing news sites in consideration of how the content is morphing in response to new factors. Today any journalism curriculum needs constant updating and revision.

**References**


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