How to Mojo: democratising journalism skills across spheres of communication

by

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Abstract
The proliferation of mobile technologies has resulted in unprecedented opportunities for citizens at grass roots levels—in particular those living in marginalised communities—to create local messaging and have their voice heard on a global stage. Using a case study approach, this research investigates the possibility of mobile journalism (mojo) literacies creating a common language across spheres of communication. This exegesis explores the degree to which citizens can be taught how to tell and publish empowering digital stories using just a smartphone. The accompanying iBook manual provides a road map to mobile journalism praxis. The associated documentaries demonstrate the process of workshops for people wishing to embark on similar projects.

The research introduces the creation of a more empowering manifestation of user generated content (UGC), called user generated stories (UGS). The multimedia knowledge required to create UGS empowers citizens with job-ready digital skills and increased self-esteem; provides teachers and students with challenge-based alternatives to traditional literacy programs; and introduces print journalists to a non-threatening story toolkit with which to bridge the digital divide. The primary study investigates the accessibility and potential benefits of introducing digital tools and skills across remote Indigenous communities. A supplementary study investigates mojo sustainability and relevance within the education sector and a further workshop investigates its adaptability as a tool for training print journalists.

The exegesis concludes with a pedagogical examination of mojo praxis and introduces the concept of a revolutionary intersect between three spheres of communication using a common digital language. Potentially this enables citizens to create their own politicised content and to participate in mainstream media’s (MSM)\(^1\) developing online strategies and web TV platforms, in a developing global public sphere. Key aspects of research in this thesis include relevant mobile technologies, the role of alternative citizen journalism, appropriate skills training to enable good journalism, publishing,

\(^1\) I use the term mainstream media because it can encompass legacy or traditional and their
and the impact of producing personal stories in a communal environment.

**Ethics**
This project has ethics approval for case study workshops in the Northern Territory, Victoria, Queensland, Western Australia, China, Timor and Denmark: HEAG (AE)11-105; HEAG(AE)11-09
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• **Industry magazine publications**

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• **iBooks**

*How To mojo*, iBook Apple iBook store (April 2013).

Conferences papers


2013  ‘Going mobile: Challenges and opportunities for journalists and news organizations in the mobile revolution’, International Symposium Online Journalism, Texas USA, invited speaker, April 2013.


‘Mojo Training in marginalised communities’, BBC Journalism College, Manchester, invited speaker, April.
‘Using mobile media to create a more diverse public sphere in marginalised communities’, Diversity Conference (Canada), speaker, June 2012.

2011

‘Mojo in the newsroom’, GEN-News World Summit, Hong Kong, invited speaker, November 2011.
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1 Introduction

‘It is not the strongest of the species that survives, nor the most intelligent, but rather the one most adaptable to change.’

Charles Darwin

1.1 Overview

This research is an empirical study into the implementation of a set of multimedia skills and digital tools designed to make people more adaptable to a convergent change process taking place across the following spheres or fields of communication: community, education and mainstream media (MSM). Using a case-study approach, this research seeks to introduce and define the concept of user-generated stories (UGS). One issue with news-like stories is time pressure, which results in a reliance on the inverted pyramid recipe (Grundy et al. 2012). UGS can be breaking news but these stories, short or long, can include narratives of luck, misfortune, hope and more, portraying the more personal colour of life. They require, as Quinn (2005) suggests, a multimedia way of thinking that uses audio, video, text, graphics and stills. This multiplanar storytelling approach, where stories may take a little more time to produce, still relies on journalism skills. UGS also require mobile edit skills. Multimedia stories might also (sometimes but not always) require more space on a page, more screen or airtime, something that is enabled by web’s more elastic structure.

An underlying rationale for this research is to investigate a pedagogy for training citizens to create digital UGS that enhance the possibility of growing grassroots journalism, creating a meaningful intersect between grassroots and MSM. I contend that UGS can form the basis of a common digital language across these spheres of communication, which is another step to generating a more effective public sphere. The aim is to create a sustained informed dialogue that ignites a change process to enable more diverse communications in the public sphere (Bourdieu 1989; Calhoun 1992; Castells...
Social theorist Jurgen Habermas (2006: 412) believes the public sphere is ‘the normative bedrock of liberal democracies’ that brings together the private autonomy of citizens and their inclusion in debates between state and society, a debate sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (1998) argues is secured for a mass audience by cultural and symbolic logic that is applied through the media and the journalistic field. This introduction works to contextualise the above-mentioned change possibilities within journalism and its subfields (Bourdieu 2005) through an action research lens (Wadsworth 2011; Yin 2003).

In the paperback edition of his book *We the Media*, author Dan Gillmor (2006) is amazed by ‘the growth of grassroots media’, especially within MSM, such as CNN and BBC, which ‘feature the work of citizen journalists’ (2006 xiii). Gillmor is right: the accessibility of computer and mobile technologies potentially create opportunities for *citizen journalists* to infiltrate mainstream media. In 2006 Gillmor saw this as a grassroots phenomenon growing in strength and power. However, two years later, journalist Charles Feldman (2008), in his book *No Time To Think*, called the digital content stream a ‘tsunami’ and a ‘potential disaster’ (2008: x). Feldman was not so much referring to Gillmor’s early bloggers who were creating an alternative grassroots ecosphere in expanding *network societies* (Castells 2009); or journalists using blogging to connect with their audience (Bradshaw 2008). He was alluding to fragmented user-generated content (UGC) that results from social media and smartphone use, which has been described as ‘kludge’ (Jenkins 2008: 17) and ‘gossip’ (Keen 2006: 93). While referring to these shifts in communications as a modern revolution, Gillmor suggests an important distinction between *communication tools* and *toolkits*. He tells us that technology has given us the ‘communications toolkit to allow anyone to become a journalist’ (2006 xxiii). I contend that this is true only if definitions of technology include a complex set of journalistic skills, without which technologies are not immediately *toolkits*. In recent times even Internet

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2 CNN’s iReport citizen content portal is discussed later in respect of its use or abuse of content rights.
evangelists, for instance Howard Rheingold (2012), have recognised this and moved from their technological determinist positions to acknowledge a need for digital training.

The relevance of *We the Media* as a chronicle of the speed-up of the Internet is invaluable. Released in a paperback edition just before the launch of the first iPhone, it describes a time where the Internet was idealistically seen as an opportunity for progress where ‘everyone from journalists to the people we cover, our sources, the audience must change their ways’ (Gillmor 2006: xxiii). However, at the close of his book, with his optimism tempered by commercial reality, Gillmor laments, ‘the promise was freedom’ (2006: 209). Such a freedom Habermas describes as rooted in,

> networks for wild flows of messages—news, reports, commentaries, talks, scenes and images, and shows and movies with an informative, polemical, educational, or entertaining content…originating from various types of actors in civil society, that are selected and shaped by mass-media professionals. (2006: 415)

By 2006 this utopian view of convergence between technologies, platforms and suppliers was being derailed by what Gillmor calls ‘forces of centralization’ by government, telecommunications and even the ‘pioneers who promised digital liberty’ (2006: 415). The research in this exegesis finds added relevance in exploring the dialectic between media possibility and outcome, and providing a model for a converging media sphere (Figure 20) if, as Gillmor (2010) suggests, citizens are to take control and make media serve us.

According to Feldman (2008), the *wild flow* of the convergence of platforms (PC to intimate hand-held mobile communication), and workflows (analogue to multipoint digital)—which result in 24-hour always-on content cycles where information travels ‘faster than the speed of thought’—can only lead to disaster. Conversely, author and media analyst Robert McChesney believes the converged anytime anywhere communication sphere has created a ‘critical juncture’ (2007: 9) in our communications history, where ‘revolutionary new communication technology is undermining the existing systems of
communications seen by many as discredited and illegitimate’ (2007: 10).
This distrust of media, partly fuelled by the gatekeeping practices of MSM that
determine which news is covered and how (Bruns 2005; Hirst 2011;
Shoemaker 2009), leave the audience wondering, ‘how can media, facing
essentially the same material reality, produce different versions of it?’
(Shoemaker 2009: 2). As a result of bias, misrepresentation and hacking,
audiences are seeking alternative and more dynamic media sources, which in
turn lead to shifts in revenue and result in layoffs at established media houses
(McChesney & Pickard 2011; Zaponne 2012) and closures of newspapers
internationally (Brook 2012; Dumpala 2009; Hirst 2011; McChesney &
Pickard 2011). This has resulted in frantic trialling of new converged
workflows, platforms and business models, which include reader-funded soft
and hard pay walls (Coscarelli 2012) and more outsourced living content
(Entwistle 2012), to make the journalism business more viable and relevant.

Analysts like McChesney view what some call a potential disaster as a short
window of opportunity to reposition communications into a more inclusive,
more participatory form (2007). This view is now shared by futurist Howard
Rheingold, who in Net Smart (2012) shifts from his earlier position of
technological optimism, where he said it was enough to be part of the
switched on smart mob (2002), to critical realism: ‘Right now and for a limited
time we who use the Web have an opportunity to wield the architecture of
participation to defend our freedom to create and consume digital media
according to our own agendas’ (Rheingold 2012: 2). However, his current,
more tempered view, suggests digital media will only further our social and
political agendas if we learn to exert control over the medium (2012). He, like
McChesney, believes smart mobs need to become net smart and create an
articulated state where the message uses the medium to its fullest potential.
Martin Hirst (2012) agrees, arguing the idea of a social media revolution is a
3), a digital myth that’s an entrance to another reality, rather than some
organising principle of change that spells the end of history, geography and
politics (2004). In today’s more developed digital sphere, Mosco, like
Rheingold, observes that once past the point of believing that technology will
fix society, ‘people begin to consider the hard work of creating the social institutions to make the best…most democratic, use of the technology” (Mosco 2009: 1395). What is required, Mosco articulates, is a citizen sphere where the euphoria created by a technology will fix everything stage, is followed 'by a period of genuine political debate' (2009: 1395). This post by a blogger in New York University professor of journalism Jay Rosen’s blog, Press Think, describes this state from a citizen’s view:

The people formerly known as the audience wish to inform media people of our existence, and of a shift in power that goes with the platform shift you’ve all heard about…Think of passengers on your ship who got a boat of their own…viewers who picked up a camera…who with modest effort can connect with each other and gain the means to speak—to the world…The people formerly known as the audience are simply the public made realer, less fictional, more able, less predictable. (Cited in Rosen 2006)

As telling are Rosen’s own concerns about the socialisation of media: ‘Were we making something happen, because we decided it was good, or inviting citizens to fashion their own goods? And getting down to the nitty-gritty did public journalism work? How would we know if it did?’ (Rosen 1999: 8). In 1993 when I developed Australia’s first self-shot TV format, Home Truths (1993), which gave 20 citizens—formerly members of the audience—an opportunity to tell their own stories on national TV and to become producers of UGC, I had the same self-doubts. But Jeff Lowrey, one of the participants, had no such concerns about his experience: ‘It’s my opportunity as a single dad to get my message across that single dads do it just as hard as single mums’ (Burum 1994). Lowrey’s experience was short-lived and his message was a one-off. In one sense, his exuberance is an example of Mosco’s myth of the sublime, ‘that animate[s] individuals and societies by providing paths to transcendence that lift people out of the banality of everyday life’ (2004: 3). From his view, Lowrey would agree with Forde et al. (2009) that his community perspective broadened his definition of journalism, and hence its relevance.
Today this condition of precariousness, or unpredictability, driven by the promise of ‘instantaneous worldwide communication, a genuine global village [in essence] a new sense of community and widespread popular empowerment’ (Mosco 2004: 25), if still a myth, is one that is hard to resist. Twenty years after my first experience in self-shot television I am researching the possibility that a more complete set of skills, rather than a broadcast opportunity, will give citizens a more sustained voice, and professional journalists more relevant job prospects. Hence my investigation into whether developing UGC to a more holistic, thought-out, mobile digital storytelling form called mojo—the production, editing and publication of complete UGS on a smartphone—can provide a countervailing force against a high level of precarity in society. The low level of employment, a lack of a political voice and no functioning press, which drove the Springers to their revolutions, is common in marginalised Indigenous communities, in education where teachers need to become digitally healthy, and to a lesser extent in professional media, where journalists seek job stability.

In this state of uncertainty, this research investigates UGS creation in three communities of practice—spaces where knowledge and resources are shared to enable publication (Wenger 2007). The case study communities are: marginalised Indigenous people learning to bridge the digital divide; students learning to communicate with a global community; and print journalists learning digital skills to enable them to be employable. These three sectors of communication form a continuum along a spectrum of the public sphere, described as a ‘zone of communal engagement in which communicative rationality prevails’ (Hadland 2008: 4), in a civil space that influences ‘a network for communicating information and points of view’ (Habermas cited in Castells 2008: 78). With the right skill set and access to technologies these spaces have the potential to support a digital communications language and praxis that could enable such groups to organise the public sphere more than any other actors before them (Castells 2008). Their shared UGS are

3 ‘Precarity’ is used to describe the material and psychological state resulting from high levels of social unpredictability and low levels of labour security.
published online where they have relevance and *use value* because they are complete, developed stories. Developed UGS circulate in new global knowledge economies extending the individual’s and community’s reach and power structures, beyond geographical limitations and even social media frenzy. In this environment content is created, potentially vetted collaboratively and shared (Bruns & Schmidt 2011).

In 2013, according to Ilicco Elia, a mobile pioneer at Reuters, one key to any shared community strategy or advantage, whether social, educational or business, is digital and, more specifically, mobile. ‘Social media is nothing without mobile. If you had to wait to get to your computer to talk to people, they wouldn’t do it, or if they did, it wouldn’t be as intimate a relationship as you now have using mobile’ (Elia 2012). Elia believes mobile provides a revolutionary modern-day campfire extended storytelling experience because, ‘it enables you to take people on an anytime anywhere cross platform journey that creates the social in social media’ (2012). But is this enough and does everyone have the same access? The simple answer is it’s probably not and they don’t, and not everyone is able take the journey.

Even though the Internet is far more social and open to minority voices than print, television or other broadcast media ever were, access to new digital media training and tools is still marked by inequalities and severe participation gaps (Wilson & Costanza-Chok 2009). Rosen’s blogger may have *arrived*, but many citizens are still caught in a *digital divide*—the economic gap in opportunities to access communication technologies and learn skills that exist at different geographic and socio-economic levels (Radoll 2002). The digital divide points to an irony in the current stage of the global information revolution: the contradiction between the promise of the sublime—cooperation and accessibility for all—and the realities of conflict among stakeholders. The reality suggests that many communities, especially those in remote or developing worlds, have failed to create networks to empower people to employ digital communication technologies (Wilson 2005). But this is changing and with that shift comes enhanced possibilities, if we get the technology skills formula right. In 2007 just ‘10% of the world’s
population in developing countries were using the Internet, compared to almost 60% in the developed world’ (ITU 2008 cited in Wilson & Costanza-Chok 2009). In 2013 this figure is 31 per cent compared to 77 per cent in the developed world. This ratio, and hence this research, is of particular relevance to Australia, a developed nation with almost 1200 discreet Indigenous communities, of which 865 have a population below 50 (Rennie et al. 2011: 17). We have not been able to provide these remote communities with generally available ICT access or the training necessary to bridge the digital divide that would enable them to tell their own stories. As Lisa Waller (2010: 19) points out, ‘senior Walpiri people from Yuendumu in Central Australia consider that because journalists don’t listen to them or take an interest in issues they regard as important, their agendas and perspectives are not heard in public discussion of Indigenous affairs’. While journalist Tony Koch’s sobering advice that listening is the key to Indigenous reporting (20) is critical, perhaps even more relevant is providing training and technologies that enable a sustained and more holistic epistemology that gives voice, as Waller suggests, to Indigenous people’s own understandings of their worlds and allows agency.

McChesney believes the accessibility of technologies and the anytime anywhere ability to communicate suggests ‘we are in the midst of a communication and information revolution’ (2007:3). He has no doubts it holds the ‘promise of allowing us to radically transcend the structural communication limitations for effective self-government and human happiness that have existed throughout human history’ (McChesney 2007:5). He believes that opportunities are so profound that in years we ‘will speak of this time as either a glorious new chapter in our communication history— where we democratised societies and revolutionized economies, or as a measure of something lost, or, for some, an opportunity they never had’ (McChesney 2007: 5). In Australia how this communication revolution impacts citizens and MSM will in part be determined by a series of government reviews that found there is a need for a more diverse media landscape that includes more local content. However, as MSM begins moving to occupy new online spaces (see AOL acquisition of The Huffington Post) and its reach and
immediacy increases, it becomes even more critical for citizens to possess relevant skills to create grassroots user-generated perspectives. This is especially true if citizen journalism is to have an alternative power in a mainstream environment. Currently what is described as citizen journalism ‘emerges more as the latest incarnation of an existing “discursive formation” rather than a transformative process’ (Hall cited in Meadows 2013: 45).

Hence this exegesis investigates a rationale and praxis for equipping communities, students and even journalists with the skills and technologies to enable them to secure their own *transformative* voice in a new media landscape. In doing so it suggests that current shifts in communication technology, practice and pedagogy also create possibilities for a digital intersect across spheres of communication. This is a reality identified by many broadcasters, including the BBC, which is about to enter into a more socially equitable content-sourcing era, which according to BBC director-general George Entwistle, will include more ‘public service content creation’ (Entwistle 2012). This may be stories and formats made using a set of digital storytelling skills, which mojo and UGS praxis necessitate and facilitate.

### 1.2 Significance

This research arises out of a primary need to understand the opportunities that digital technologies and communication skills create for citizens to engage with public life at a local level. The level to which user-generated content publication opportunities are realised and result in change will largely depend on access to education and whether communication scholars and students grasp the potential and MSM can adapt to and adopt this change (McChesney 2007). The significance of this research lies in its definition of a style and pedagogy for a more holistic digital storytelling form, which develops UGC into more relevant manifestations of the individual voice, called user-generated stories.

At a practical level, while drawing on a number of the author’s past experiences in creating UGC formats for television (Burum 1994, 1998, 2002...
& 2003), this study extends the current knowledge base by introducing new concepts of UGS and user-generated programs (UGP). Drawing on an empirical action research case-study examination of mobile journalism, it road tests new technology and develops pedagogy around a model of communication loosely referred to as participatory or alternative journalism (Atton & Hamilton 2008). It has been driven by the current growth in mobile penetration, which has risen to almost 7 billion mobile handsets and 2.5 billion smartphones. With increased speeds, lower prices and seamless connectivity, now more than 40 per cent of new mobile users are going mobile only. Today about one-third of the world’s population is walking around with more processing power in their pocket than NASA had at its disposal when it landed a man on the moon (Kaku 2011). But, what are we doing with it?

Referred to as gossip, kludge and churnalism, much of the 39 million hours of UGC uploaded to YouTube in 2011 was created by powerful technologies, a lack of relevant digital skills and standards, and racing at a new online speed defined in part by a 24-hour news cycle and the need to be social online. In particular the rise in popularity of YouTube, Facebook and Twitter—companies developed since 2005 that broker unstructured online content—is creating an unprecedented level of churn: 72 hours of footage uploaded to YouTube every minute—enough to fill the slates of 3500 TV channels 24/7 for a year; 500 million tweets each day; more than 1 billion registered Facebook users; estimates that Google plus will grow to 5 billion users by 2020; the equivalent of 4 million years spent every month online by online users; 20,000 new Apple apps created each month, the App market estimated to be worth 27 billion dollars in 2013; and 100 per cent of people owning a mobile in Japan making their first search for a purchase using that mobile (ABI 2013). Using apps is now a way of life for billions of people, as is the use of mobile cameras to record life’s sublime accidental witness moments.

But citizens need to learn to use the nascent technology—this revolutionary shift in communications (McChesney 2007)—to create long-term change. One recent example where mobile was used to ignite citizen witness
moments and herald a call to action, uniting people against repressive laws preventing a free press, was the Arab Spring. However, any lasting effect requires a sustainable change agent to subvert the fiefdoms that can often linger, even after seemingly successful change implementation. In essence, this means a media that has the potential to redefine journalism, taking account of its many forms and living up to its public sphere responsibilities.

In respect of press freedom, we are reminded by Kovack and Rosenthal that, ‘Civilization has produced one idea more powerful than any other—the notion that people can govern themselves, and it has created a largely unarticulated theory of information to sustain that idea, called journalism’ (2007: 193). The received view is that an environment where journalists report and citizens read results in ‘public opinion’, which helps ‘connect the will of the people with public action’ (Rosenberry 2010: 3). When this role of journalist as intermediary between state and public 4 is missing or repressed, citizens take to the streets, as they did in Egypt. However, with the military in Egypt declaring absolute power in June 2012 and the Springers back on the streets fighting for rights they thought they had won in 2011, one Middle East journalist was left asking, ‘WTF happened to Egypt’s socially led revolution?’ (Shihab-Eldin 2012). Reality suggests Fifth Estate witnesses carrying smartphones and talking on social media has not replaced the media’s watchdog role in any sustainable way.

Restriction of press freedom is not only the purview of statist regimes. Internal gatekeeping practices occur as a result of media ownership. In Australia, for example, one company with market capitalisation of more than 35 billion dollars owns more than 70 per cent of media. Hence, even in a democratic society, it is critical for individuals to have an independent voice and for governments to foster a state that enshrines democratic freedoms. In the wake of the News of the World scandal the Australian federal government has initiated a number of reviews to regulate media convergence, control and

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4 One of the fundamental Fourth Estate watchdog roles for journalism.
diversity: the Convergence Review (CR)\textsuperscript{5}; the Independent Inquiry into the Media and Media Regulation (MI)\textsuperscript{6}; and the Review of Australian Government Investment in the Indigenous Broadcasting and Media Sector (IBR).\textsuperscript{7}

Common to all review findings is the view that Australians should have access to and be able to participate in a diverse mix of media services, including local content produced across multi-platforms and devices, which reflects our cultural identity (Boreham 2012; Finklestein 2011; Stevens 2011). Most relevant is that all three reviews found that training is integral to ensuring Australians benefit from convergence and the deployment of the National Broadband Network (NBN)\textsuperscript{8}. This research finds added significance in developing relevant pedagogical models that transform user-generated citizen witness moments into more journalistic UGS.

Even though citizen witness UGC can add more unique voices to the communications mix by giving ‘audiences access to a virtually unlimited information bank’, accidental citizen witness coverage is ‘all too often fragmented, incomplete…narrower…addressing private concerns’ rather than ‘building a more robust public sphere’ (Rosenberry 2010: 4). The popularity of UGC is based on the assumption that where one comes from ‘affects the meaning and truth of what one says’ (Alcoff 1991: 6), and that the privileged person speaking for or on behalf of less privileged persons can reinforce ‘the oppression of the groups spoken for’ (Alcoff 1991: 6, 7). However, given the reality that even as individuals we speak to make sense of who we are in the context of the group, the community or even the revolution (see Chapter 2), what can we do to minimise the oppressive potential of speaking for? Mojo praxis is one set of tools that enables people to speak for themselves. While

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{8} The NBN is Australia’s new optic fiber communications network.
\end{itemize}
manifold, the issues with speaking for (which is the case in Indigenous society where spokespeople often take a national representative perspective at the expense of the local) can be mitigated by increasing the possibilities for dialogue based around skills in discursive spaces like classrooms and workplaces (1991). It has long been noted that existing communication technologies have the potential to produce these kinds of discursive interactions. Hence the aim of the training program discussed in this thesis is to maximise this potential by proposing sustainable techniques that create more discursive possibilities:

- a more confident and digitally literate Indigenous public sphere capable of producing local UGS;
- more inclusive student communication spheres using UGS to connect education with community and the professional sphere; and
- skilled, digitally ready and employable print journalists.

This research tests my hypothesis that citizen, schoolyard and professional mobile journalists can use like skills and technologies based on common digital literacies to create a common communications language bridge between their own voice and a more mainstream conversation. My research expanded from marginalised communities to include students and MSM to test this hypothesis. Journalism scholar Susan Forde (2011) points out that ‘even though the practices of alternative journalism are older than commercial professional journalism’ (2011: ix), alternative citizen-generated media remains undervalued. I believe the unprecedented opportunity McChesney (2007) refers to as a critical juncture, the cultural shift that validates alternative journalism across spheres of communication, is real. Curran argues that we need less conformity in journalism and acknowledgment of new communications technologies that sustain audience access to varied viewpoints (2007). I contend that this requires an approach that positions alternative and mobile journalism as a more defined subfield of journalism, so that it is not regarded as just ‘anything that occurs outside the mainstream news media’ (Hirst in Forde 2011: 3). My theory is based on a current reality, discussed at length in later chapters, that the developing online web TV
environment will require a more consciously fashioned citizen-generated content. As the BBC lowers the content gates on fortress BBC (Entwistle 2012), and *The Huffington Post*/AOL rationalises the closure of its Patch sites (Gahran 2013), MSM’s reliance on the community and education as suppliers of trained multimedia journalists and on schools to provide sustainable mojo outposts becomes a reality that needs to be addressed as part of a ‘neo-journalistic approach’ ⁹. This view advocates that certain forms and values of past ways of doing journalism be retained and reinterpreted in the new digital settings, embodying the participatory ideals of empowerment promised by the Internet.

However, unless citizens are trained to produce complete UGS, their UGC will continue to be subsumed by MSM, lessening any sustained opportunity for greater cultural diversity and sustainable change. The generally held view is that diversity at source results in diversity of content, which generates diverse exposure (Napoli 1999). But this does not immediately occur as a result of UGC creation, which can be subsumed by media like CNN where it is used to colour their deep vertical content strands. In general, diversity results from training, which builds skills, self-esteem and confidence (Hawkins & Catalano 1992; Meadows & Foxwell 2011), which encourages a more inquisitive view of the world. Researchers agree that it is essential to encourage independent thinkers who practise citizen journalism even at school (Schofield Clark & Monserrate 2011). Mojo training is part of a process of empowerment that engages citizens in beginning a process of communication across a variety of platforms designed to create more democratic public spheres. As *Guardian* editor Allan Rusbridger points out, the possibility is here for all citizens to engage with MSM in an open journalism conversation (2010). What is needed is a participatory pedagogy that treats everyone as a co-creator (Freire 1970). I believe that mojo’s neo-journalistic approach provides a framework through which to turn participatory idealism into functional journalism.

⁹ See <www.neo-journalism.org> and Mark Deuze and Alfred Hermida.
1.3 Not just stringers—keywords and definitions

If the art of storytelling is one of the oldest forms of communication, journalism is one of its more industrial styles, and mobile is a current delivery mode. Ask a journalist to define journalism and they will tell you the role of journalism remains what it has always been in a democracy—to provide information that citizens need to be free and self-governing. My research discusses a variety of forms of journalism and digital content creation:

- UGC content, which is raw, and preferred by networks because it is easily packaged;
- UGS—user generated stories—a term I introduced to describe more developed multimedia content (see page 11);
- alternative, participatory and citizen forms of journalism (Atton & Hamilton 2008; Forde 2011), which are based on citizens ‘playing an active role in the process of collecting, reporting, analysing, and disseminating news and information’ (Bowman & Willis 2003);
- civic journalism, which can be done by professionals and can be defined as the reason for doing the journalism—to be civic-minded (Atton & Hamilton 200);
- collaborative journalism, which can be done by professionals and citizens together and often focuses on a goal.

These various forms are discussed in the context of the neo-journalistic approach advocated in this research. Neo-journalism is market-driven, to account for the requirement of developing digital platforms and stylistic choices made to hold audiences, and allows for a multitude of actors with relevant traditional and new skills to be involved in a new, more robust public digital narrative. Conceived in an open space where the recipient takes part in a shared, networked and interactive verbalisation process, neo-journalism suggests citizens can learn the skills to self-editorialise on important public issues as journalism seeks to redefine itself.

William Woo, director of the graduate program in Journalism at Stanford University, suggests:
At its core, the functional definition of journalism is much like the functional definition of a duck. If it looks like journalism, acts like journalism, and produces the work of journalism, then it's journalism, and the people doing it are journalists. Whoever they are (Cited in Kovach & Rosenstiel 2007).

Woo’s functional definition, like Rosen’s belief that ‘anything that broadens your horizon is journalism’, makes journalism sound like the coyote in a Roadrunner cartoon—wearing a different ACME disguise for each job. Perhaps as journalism struggles under the weight of commercial pressure to fulfill its political role, it has waddled into the jaws of its profession (Bruns 2005; Hirst 2011). In its ongoing struggle to fulfill its Fourth Estate ideals and transcend its commercial imperatives, journalism’s ideals have, as Australian journalist and academic Julianne Schultz suggests, ‘taken a battering’ (1998) and as a result journalism has, as Woo puts it, lost its way: ‘There is now a widespread and reasonable doubt that the contemporary news media cannot any longer adequately fulfill the historic role the press created for itself several hundred years ago’ (Woo 2005: 1).

As a new breed of journalism plants roots online, defining new forms is proving a little confusing, as we race to keep up with shifting trends and new terms. Woo expands his duck analogy by suggesting journalism is an activity that produces product made for an audience and intended for public benefit (2005). It is presumed that public benefit equates to public interest, ‘something being important for the public to know in order to make informed decisions’ (Hirst 2011: 115). Hirst asks us to consider Michael Jackson or Princess Diana’s deaths. These were big news days, he says, ‘beyond the satisfaction of our curiosity’ (2011: 115) even without public benefit they still have news appeal years later. Hirst’s observation suggests we could add one more descriptor to Woo’s definition. A journalist is someone who produces information that is of ‘benefit for the audience it is intended for’ (Hirst 2011: 115). This caveat broadens our definition to enable an investigation of current online content as a form of what Atton and Hamilton refer to as alternative

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10 Rosen at the 2011 Melbourne Writers’ Festival.
Alternative journalism can arise out of disenchantment with traditional news coverage and generally represents the views of marginalised groups in society (Atton & Hamilton 2008; Gant 2007).

In another respect alternative journalism is the product of current technological possibilities, in particular the Internet’s cheap, accessible, many-to-many interactivity (Gant 2007). Its purpose may be to return journalism to ‘its status as an activity rather than a profession’ (2007: 136), depending on the environment to which it is responding (Hirst 2011). In defining what it actually is, Bowman and Willis provide this observation about alternative (citizen or participatory) content creation: ‘the audience has taken on the roles of publisher, broadcaster, editor, content creator (writer, photographer, videographer, cartoonist), commentator, documentarian, knowledge manager (librarian), journaler and advertiser (buyer and seller)’ (2003: 38). In short, as Rosen’s blogger suggests, the audience is now the producer and doing alternative or participatory journalism, of sorts, presumably geared towards public benefit outcomes. But is it citizen journalism?

Citizen journalism has been used to describe everything from the coverage of the Arab Spring, the first footage of the Hudson River plane crash, to ‘perhaps the crown jewel of American citizen journalism—the famous Zapruder film’ (Gant 2007: 139). Gillmor (2010) is in no doubt this film is an act of citizen journalism. However, Zapruder’s film of Kennedy’s assassination was shot by a man watching a parade, who at best can be described as an accidental citizen witness. His film is the result of being in the right spot at the right time—a raw citizen eyewitness account. It became newsworthy when Kennedy was assassinated. Is this journalism, or does journalism require Woo and Hirst’s qualifiers and an act of constructed journalism—orchestrated filming, editing, a narration that structures raw content into a narrative form for public benefit and publication? While mobile technology makes us all potential Zapruders, it does not make us all citizen journalists. Would it have made a difference if Zapruder shot establisher
shots of the scene and vox-pops after the assassination? Or does the person shooting also have to structure the raw content either in an edit or a blog for it to become journalism? Does our constant connection to network nodes make a difference? It may. A real question we need to ask is not what is journalism, but where does the journalistic process begin? In the era of social media it might begin with citizen-generated content.

These issues raise questions about UGC: is it a form of journalism, or does it depend on the way it is used? For instance, who was the journalist and who did the journalism in the reporting of the Hudson River plane crash? Was it the citizen who recorded the first accidental shots because he was in the right place at the right time? Was the first Tweet journalism: ‘I just watched a plane crash into the Hudson river [sic] in Manhattan’ (Beaumont 2009: 1), or does news need some structure around the information? Did the citizen on the ferry who Tweeted what is said to be the first picture of the downed plane need also to Tweet more than; “There’s a plane in the Hudson” and “I’m on the ferry going to pick up the people. Crazy?” (Beaumont 2009: 1). Or was it the news agency that wrapped, integrated and voiced those early smartphone images into bulletins, or the development of Tweets on curating sites like Storify, that put the journalism around this bit of news?

Using Woo’s and Hirst’s test we can agree that the news agencies edited, narrated and published the raw pictures in their bulletins, causing the raw footage or stills to take on a news form. However, would anything change if the citizen recorded a sequence of shots, such as a wide shot, close up and cutaways, to facilitate an editing view or process? In my professional view, this could make a great difference, especially if the cutaways\footnote{B roll and cover shots.} were shot in a way where they could be used over specific story moments. The citizen, by choosing specific shots, is editorialising coverage, in the same way a photo-journalist does, and is probably creating the beginnings of a UGS—a more thought-out, structured representation of the event. While UGC fulfills a public interest test, the question of public benefit, still remains.
The Arab Spring poses a slightly different conundrum. When thirty-year-old Google executive Wael Ghonim spotted the picture of a dead man, Khaled Said, it was an accident. What he constructed next—a Facebook repository for photos, likes and comments—ignited a ‘politically galvanizing Internet’ (Vargas 2012: 2) and was an act of citizen journalism. His posts and links to websites were conscious acts of curation specifically published for public benefit. If this is an act of journalism, were the Springers accidental witnesses, or citizen journalists? Are their comments and likes on Facebook, a form of alternative journalism?

Kate Bulkley, writing in the Guardian newspaper about the Rise of Citizen Journalism, believes factual content creation has become hostage to new ‘immediate’ technologies (Bulkley 2012). She provides an example of filmmaker Roger Graef’s use of ‘citizen footage’: ‘to supplement what he shoots himself’ (2012). A number of questions arise. Is Graef’s work citizen journalism or is he merely curating citizen journalism or witness content to supplement mainstream work? Is Graef’s citizen content—as UK TV’s general manager of Factual believes—social media being used to provide free hybrid amplification around professional content and concept (2012) in the same way CNN uses raw citizen content from iReport?

While much of the literature on citizen journalism adopts a loose definition, this research discusses a narrower, more structured form, called mobile journalism or mojo. I distinguish between basic UGC, which is recording and publishing of raw content (Quinn 2011), and the form I am developing called UGS, what Quinn has termed, ‘real mojo’, (Quinn 2011: 68) recorded on mobile devices and produced to a broadcast-ready state (Burum 2012c) which is not as easily subsumed by MSM’s deep verticals. Clay Shirky writes that becoming media-active is about learning literacies, which ‘means not just knowing how to read that medium, but also knowing how to create in it’ (Shirky cited in Gillmor 2010: ix). He says only then will we ‘understand the difference between good and bad uses’ (Shirky cited in Gillmor 2010: ix).
1.4 Summary

While current levels of online communication are in part due to opportunities that result from accessibility to new technologies, they are also a sign of dissatisfaction with traditional mass communication forms. Citizens use social media to fuel a bourgeoning UGC sphere, create revolutions, protest financial and social inequality, and provide entertainment, news, health and other advice. Moreover, digital convergence and mobile accessibility create unprecedented possibilities for a new online content currency, evidenced by the 4 billion views a day of YouTube. This is the equivalent of 240,000 feature films being uploaded online every week—that is more video content uploaded to YouTube in a month than the three major US networks have produced in 60 years. Impossible to ignore, these numbers generate huge interest from MSM media searching for new relevance and a viable business model.

In a comprehensive user participatory table in Singer et al. (2011) there is no mention of complete UGS. Primarily the user is seen as commentator. However, in order to be ‘an equal citizen, equal consumer, equal member of the public’, citizens need to ‘interact with the convergent environment’ (Apperley 2011: 17). I contend this interaction needs to result in more than the creation of gossip, kludge or churn, and that for this to occur citizens ‘require access to digital media literacies as much as technical infrastructure’ (Apperley 2011: 17). Yet, real digital literacy means all citizens are able to enjoy the benefits of the digital economy by promoting opportunities for social inclusion, creative expression, innovation, collaboration and employment (Rheingold 1994). It ensures Bourke’s democracy equation, resurrected by printing and Carlyle: ‘it matters not what rank he is...the requisite thing is that he have a tongue that others will listen to’ (Tunney & Monaghan 2010: 5). This can only occur when citizens are empowered to produce and publish their own more structured journalism beyond their current witness moments. This is what this thesis investigates:

• Literature chapter: locates the research within current dialogue around alternative and participatory journalism and the use of UGC to create
public voice, while introducing the more formed neo-journalist form of content called UGS.

- Theory section: introduces the concept of capital while contextualising the research within the work of Habermas and Bourdieu and an investigation of the public sphere and fields of communication situated within new global network societies.
- Methodology chapter: provides a rationale and design for an empirical action research model to facilitate and focus investigation.
- Convergence chapter: the concept is defined and its impact on the media eco-sphere is discussed to contextualise the possibilities of mojo and UGS.
- Case-study chapter: the major study is introduced and discussed in detail, focusing on implementation, tools and outcomes, including quantitative data analysis.
- Supplementary case-study chapter: contextualises the research in the main case study across fields of communication and includes quantitative data analysis.
- Training chapter: introduces a detailed examination of the pedagogy around UGS, across community, education and MSM spheres.
- Conclusion: discusses outcomes, describes the iBook and documentaries before introducing future research possibilities.

In addition to this exegesis the research includes the following:

- Documentaries that describe two mojo workshops: *Mojo Working* (Burum 2012b) about the first NT Mojo case study that involved the first use of mobile technology and edit Apps to create UGS from location, [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jRmGACFJdJo](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jRmGACFJdJo).
- The *Cherbourg Mojo Out Loud* (Burum 2013) documentary, the final of the citizen-based workshops conducted for this research, describes
the mojo program in an educational context working with disengaged members of a community, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-_oI8Kq7mj0&feature=c4-overview&list=UUbzXc_2w8MusLgai2w2fS>.

In conclusion, digital literacies can enable the type of enquiring minds that can, as Paolo Freire points out, fight against oppression, for a more equitable and diverse society (1970). Even though Forde (Forde 2011: 2) suggests ‘alternative journalism takes very little account of mainstream journalistic practices and values’, mojo training provides competencies that enable us to question the role of journalism, to discern between Lippmann’s spoon-fed view and Dewey’s more reflexive purpose for it (Lippmann 2008; Singer et al. 2011). This is achieved through a pedagogy that uses technology to bridge school, community and professional communication spheres through job-ready digital skills and challenge-based transformative learning (Puentedura 2013), that uses multimodal contextual forms (Walsh 2011). Citizens have driven online digital migration around what is described as a digital Internet culture (Castells 2001), but more relevant than the culture is what people are doing with their screen-based technology (Deuze 2006). What we need is what Mark Deuze describes as active agents involved in a reflexive process of meaning-making (2006), thereby increasing what Hermida (2011) refers to as ‘audience options’. I contend that realising extended meaning online—use value, relevance and sustainability—largely depends on the degree to which education embraces the opportunities and its responsibilities to create a digitally healthy citizenry, to countervail the impact of mainstream media’s online migration. Professor Oscar Westlund, talking specifically about the news industry, identifies the need to understand how the ‘sense making process’ between different groups ‘during uncertain and challenging times have a bearing on the new’ (2011: 2). Mojo praxis and UGS creation trains citizens to embrace new digital technologies and storytelling in a meaningful way. Something Ethan Zuckerman, the Director Center for Civic Media at MIT, believes is required if we are to transform the gossip like nature of the current Internet (Zuckerman 2014). According to Maria Ressa, CEO of Rappler, this change can occur if we marry the discipline of old school journalism with new workflows (Ressa 2014). This is the principle behind the
neo-journalistic approach of mojo praxis. I further contend that creating a common digital literacy between community, school and the professional media sphere can help make sense of society by facilitating a common digital dialogue for change. What form related training takes, who delivers it and the shape of publishing models, are key considerations that need to be addressed before institutionalisation of practices and beliefs shapes the medium in ways that underestimate its potential (Boczkowski 2004; Westlund 2011).

In summary, at the close of his book *We the Media*, Dan Gillmor says that he hopes he has helped us understand what this media shift is and where it is headed. I hope the research in this thesis is a road map on how to use a set of skills to transform the collision of old and new media (Jenkins 2008), into a diverse local content at source, which potentially controls the direction and shape of grassroots and other media, because it is based on a professional and universally accepted set of common digital language skills (CDL).
2 Literature and theory: story in the age of social media

‘I think digital gives you a leg up...and it’s not just the size (or the cost) it’s the difference between the pistol and the rifle.’

DA Pennebaker (2002)

2.1 Overview

This chapter continues a review of the literature commenced in the previous chapter before locating the research in a theoretical investigation of the public sphere and Bourdieu’s theories of habitus, capital and field. Moreover, this chapter further elucidates the emerging literature around a new field of content creation called user-generated stories (UGS), which locates it around a subfield of journalism commonly referred to as participatory, citizen or alternative journalism (Atton & Hamilton 2008; Curran 2007; Gillmor 2006; Goode 2009; Lasica 2003).

Like a pistol, mobile enables the user to get in close to be part of the unfolding actuality. In fact technical parameters demand it. But like any close-quarter action, it is imperative to know how to shoot straight and fast. This empirical study of mobile journalism practice and the creation of UGS investigates the degree to which mobile digital technology and relevant digital storytelling skills can be employed to empower citizens to create a less representative\(^\text{12}\) and more local voice in a more relevant public sphere. I contend the neo-journalistic form of UGS may assist in defining what has been referred to as citizen journalism’s elastic boundaries (Lasica 2003), without limiting its alternative weight as mainstream media attempt to own and define it (Goode 2009).

In 2004, realising media was converging online, Arthur Sulzberger, publisher of The New York Times, announced the importance of having a convergent print-television-online strategy; “Broadband is bringing us all together

\(^{12}\) In this research ‘representative’ is predominantly used to denote that the one represents the many, that is, where one voice purports to represent the wishes of a constituency, in a public sphere without its diverse public voice.
[combining] all three elements. News is a 24-7 operation, and if you don’t have the journalistic muscles in all three [platforms], you can’t succeed in broadband” (Quinn & Falk 2005). Seven years later, Rupert Murdoch’s decision to split News Corp publishing business off from its film and television assets (Economist 2012) shows that joining the convergent dots successfully is more difficult than Sulzberger had imagined. Internationally the closure of newspapers has been dramatic (Brook 2012; Dumpala 2009; Hirst 2011; McChesney & Pickard 2011). In Australia, convergence has resulted in large-scale layoffs as the media learns how to harness online business models more reliant on social media and mobile communication (Entwistle 2012; Huffington 2011; Jones 2011; Ruud 2012; Zaponne 2012). This new market reality will present citizens with unprecedented opportunities to create and use media as a change agent (Gillmor 2006; Jenkins 2008; Surowiecki 2009).

A recent example, the Arab Spring (see Chapter 2.2) provides a context within which to discuss social media’s role in creating an alternate public sphere, in a heavily mediated landscape, where a free press did not exist. The Springers’ use of social media demonstrated its short-term effectiveness as a wake-up alarm. However, studies on how people use communication artifacts (Boczkowski 2004; Hassenzahl 2003; Quinn 2012; Rogers 2003; Westlund 2011) support my thesis that technology best serves citizens when it is wrapped in techne. This view is further supported by the high loss ratio of non-structured UGC—with a use value based on immediate transition—post events like the Arab Spring (SalahEldeen & Nelson 2012). This suggests that social media risks losing its potency and important historical reference when used only as B roll13 to plug MSM’s content stream, and that it may require more form.

Transforming raw UGC into more complete UGS begins an intellectual archival process in which one must consider ‘who says what to whom, in what channel, with what effect’ (cited in Wu et al. 2011). Referred to as the Laswell Maxim, this type of thought process can encourage creators to think more

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13 B roll coverage is a most important element that enables expansion and compression of interviews and stories in general.
about their content in cultural, social and economic terms. This process can encourage a degree of online clustering by like-minded individuals (Newman & Park 2003), around functional and supportive communities of practice (Wenger 2001), referred to as network societies (Castells 2009).

Media scholar Axel Bruns calls one output of this content creation state ‘produsage’ (Bruns & Schmidt 2011: 3) a term that gives us ‘produsers’ (both producer and user). Bruns posits that produsage environments are based on open participation by a wide range of people; a revolving hierarchy based on meritocracy where participants ‘collaborate’ on unfinished artifacts that are shaped and ‘improved’ (2011: 3) by the group. Bruns adds that because this type of society delivers a quality of work that can substitute for professional content, an industrial definition of what constitutes content and content production is ‘put on its head’ (2011: 5). Currently much of the online content produced and published by citizens is of the UGC type, described as gossip and kludge (Keen 2006; Jenkins 2008), which does not immediately replace professional work. Nor is this content necessarily constructed through a meritocratic process. While witness-type UGC can lack the editorial or political strategy that, for example, doing citizen journalism implies, depending on the intent and efforts of citizen witnesses, it has been regarded as a form of journalism when it inspires action or augments professional content streams and begins MSM involvement (Allan 2013). UGS are more developed forms of participatory or alternative journalism, designed to challenge what media scholars have described as MSM’s gatekeeping practices (Bruns 2005; McKee 2005; Shoemaker 2009).

Because UGS are articulated, their use value for plugging holes in MSM’s deep verticals, such as—politics, classifieds, motoring, cooking or technology— is diminished. However, UGS can be sold in the convergent market place like any other video, film or news story. Therefore UGS has

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14 MSM’s specialist niche publications that surround UGC with a high level of structure and editorial, prefer raw footage which enables them to add their stars’ voiceovers and to use it to colour their own stories cheaply.

15 News stories and feature pieces acquired by companies like Journeyman are on-sold creating income for the creator.
commercial value at source. This value increases as MSM’s online involvement converges to more structured formats, such as web TV. Citizen generated UGC and UGS can be used to drive focus for revolutionary actions like the Arab Spring. A brief discussion of the use of social media in the Arab Spring provides an opportunity to discuss further whether communications technology and social media can act as long-term change agents.

2.2 The Arab Spring: A mobile revolutionary moment

On 25 January 2011, the day of the Egyptian uprisings in Tahrir Square, @FawazRashed tweeted ‘we use Facebook to schedule the protests, Twitter to coordinate, and YouTube to tell the world’ (Rashed 2011). The murder of Khaled Said in Alexandria lit a digital match across the Middle East. Six months later Mohamed Bouazizi’s act of self-immolation in Tunisia set off three months of horizontal uprisings that helped initiate the overthrow of governments in Tunisia, Egypt, Libya and Yemen. The world watched this unfold text by text, but eighteen months later we are asking ‘WTF happened to Egypt’s socially led revolution? (Shihab-Eldin 2012).

In 2010 Bouazizi, an unlicensed fruit vendor, was supporting his family on the $140 per month. He had unsuccessfully applied many times for a permit and kept trading without one. Just as he did every other day, Bouazizi wheeled his cart two kilometers into town, but today a council inspector, a woman, ‘confiscated his scales, slapped him twice, spat on him and insulted his father’ (Salt 2011: 22). Deprived of his income and shamed in public, Bouazizi went home, grabbed a can of petrol and returned to the council offices where he set himself on fire. His cousin Ali filmed it on a mobile and then posted it on a Facebook page. What occurred over coming months had Middle East scholar Jeremy Salt saying there is ‘nothing in the history of the Middle East that stands as a precedent for this eruption of the human spirit’ (Salt 2011). Salt is talking about the Arab Spring, engendered by years of repression in which statist regimes like Mubarak’s devalued the public sphere to a point where the Arab bourgeoisie could not ‘gain enough economic weight to challenge the state’ (Dodge 2012: 7), the result of an implosion of state-driven
development in the 1980s. The viral portrayal on social media of Said’s battered body and Bouazizi’s self-immolation was an alternative to a censored or absent media. The great paradox in journalism, as Hirst (2012) points out, is that news often happens when the press is absent. At least it did in a face-to-face analogue news culture. Today, with mobile technologies generating instant viral content streams, the news is sourced in various ways, and the press is often present in virtual form, which includes online curation that relies on citizen witness links.

It is argued that deposing the regime in Egypt would not have been possible without social media as in Egypt reporters could be jailed for up to five years for criticising government16 (Ghonim 2012). With government owning interests in newspapers and arresting reporters on the basis of national security, social media was a horizontal valve used to bypass censored communication structures (Mason 2012a). This new anatomy of protest, using mobile devices to move information quickly, is described as an attempt to reclaim a public sphere through ‘2.0 revolution’ (Lawson 2012). As freedom was not possible in the region, citizens turned to social media to create ‘horizontal links using new technology’ (Mason 2012a: 301). This arguably turned the streets into ‘parliaments, negotiating tables and battlegrounds’ (El-Ghobashy 2012: 23) that ignited a collective action citizens had possibly been preparing since the Damascus spring.17

Martin Hirst reminds us that ‘one tweet does not a revolution make’ (2012: 1) because, he says, revolutions ‘are made in the streets and not in cyberspace’ (2012: 1). Data from The Arab Social Media Report by the Dubai School of Government supports this. It lists penetration and usage of some new media services in the region as very low in spring 2011. Facebook had a penetration rate of 22.49 per cent in Tunisia, and 7.66 per cent in Egypt. Twitter was 0.34 per cent in Tunisia, and 0.15 per cent in Egypt (Sabadello 2012).

Notwithstanding this, protests were identified ‘with Facebook and Egypt’s

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16 Even though freedom of speech is guaranteed in the Egyptian constitution.
17 Members of the 2000 Syrian revolt against declining standards of living and oppression met in private houses (salons) to discuss reform mobilised around a number of demands expressed in the ‘Manifest 99’, a document signed by prominent intellectuals.
tech-savvy middle classes’, and ‘involved significant participation by the urban poor’, using Facebook decoys ‘to enable the real demonstrations organised via word-of-mouth’ (Stein 2012: 23). And it did as Hirst suggests, becoming a crowd-sourced manifestation ‘that could enliven a news narrative and connect with Western audiences’ (Hirst 2012: 3). Westlund (2012) observes digital habitats stimulate ubiquitous, participatory media landscapes, and technology impacts how journalists work and how much time they spend in the field observing what they report (Pavlik 2000). In the case of the Arab Spring, digital technology did this and much more. Social media used as first stage momentum to enable meetings to overthrow dictators like Mubarak broke the ‘barrier of fear’ (Stein 2012: 23) which is probably the revolution’s real legacy.

However, even after Egyptians created a revolt aimed at delivering a more participatory public sphere, they found ‘themselves living under an even more tyrannical and authoritarian military dictatorship’ (Shihab-Eldin 2012). In the weeks following Mohammed Morsi’s June 2012 proclamation as Egypt’s president, journalists were being arrested in the region (Mansour 2013). The revolution might have occurred, but as Eric Goldstein from Human Rights Watch points out, ‘the laws that Mubarak used to put journalists in prison to control the media are still there…’ (Dutton 2012). The report published by the Committee to Protect Journalists (2013) documents at least 78 assaults against journalists from August 2012 until Morsi’s fall on 3 July 2013. If this was the result of a social media revolution, then we can assume the outcome was a few tweets short of the full quid. In light of this, what were the gains made by social media content following the Arab Spring, apart from showcasing a frustrating potential of nascent technologies to mobilise and inform?

While the Internet is one of the defining opportunities of our time, its use as a revolutionary crowd sourcing tool (Quinn 2013; Shirky 2008; Surowiecki 2009), or as a means of auditing the crowd (Sabadello 2012), is determined by its level of accessibility and the freedom of the prevailing public sphere. The danger with any patchwork of movements that join horizontally, as they
did in the Arab Spring, is that they can lack the long-term structures required for sustainability (Stein 2012). Consequently they risk losing the focus of their shared revolutionary story (Lawson 2012). This is compounded by the fact that their technologically horizontal online world can take on ‘various asymmetrical characteristics’ (Goode 2009: 1302). And while we are seeing what Grunig describes as a two-way symmetric model of communication (cited in Pavlik 2000: 235), I do not adhere to the view that ‘no one group dominates the process of persuasion’ (2000: 236). The curatorial practices of MSM hierarchies rank UGC in order of its appeal and this may exclude international coverage or rank that coverage according to its perceived use value. Bloggers like Ghonim also create vertical forms that editorialise, as they did in the case of Springer content. In one sense blogging collectives and the MSM take the place of Bruns’ produser cooperatives to decide the fate of the raw social media content. But these forms of gatekeeping (see p. 32) mean that citizen witness moments at source risk being marginalised at exposure and their message risks being lost.

Sustained democracy requires freedom of expression and the protection of an effective public sphere supported by a free press, without which, it can be argued, revolutions like the Arab Spring only pave the way for another repressive state (Mansour 2013). Once reporters have soaked up the ambient journalism (Hermida 2010a) of revolution and moved on, one question that arises is how new media can be used to do more than initiate revolution, which as Sabadello suggests, ‘is the “sexy” part that MSM usually focuses on’ (2012: 18). How can it be used to build civil society with heterogeneous visions of a democratic public sphere? In our online world with its networked communications sphere this is an issue that concerns us all.

2.2.1 Horizontal and vertical scaffolds

The ability to express one’s views in the public sphere is fundamental to any civil society. The progressive dialectic\footnote{Dialectic study established by scholars like Socrates and Hegel and members of Frankfurt school investigates discursive process, its context and the agency.} between news and the public lost its
way as the adversarial or conflict model of journalism gave way to trading and

government subsidy models relying on suppliers of pre-packaged news,

resulting in a compromised fourth estate (Lewis, Williams & Franklin 2008).

Audiences began looking elsewhere, including to alternative online sources,

for a less mediated view. Yet as philosopher Susan Buck-Morss (2001)

observes in her analysis of 9/11, the speed with which 9/11 images were

reduced to one image—the American flag’, and ‘the nation under attack’

(2001: 13)—reduced alternative online media to a flattened singular

message. This also happened in 2011 to millions of Springer tweets and UGC

when MSM subsumed and flattened it to one strand in their content

structures, captioned as ‘the Arab Spring revolution’. Fairfax Media’s Head of

Training, Colin McKinnon (2012) refers to these content strands as ‘deep

verticals’, a term that describes specialist publications built around vertical

delivery, structure and editorial strategies.

Vertical content structures are systems used to flatten asymmetrical individual

content into a branded media by focusing publication practically—up the

chain from less to more experienced editors; thematically—flattening content

to fit a style; and editorially—to fit an upward referral model. For example, the

television series George Negus Tonight (GNT), a nightly public affairs show

produced by the Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC), was produced

from four states. It had one executive producer, four series producers and

twelve producers, forming a vertical editorial chain to create four verticals

(program and series arcs) around which content was shaped. When the

executive producer left the series, the vertical decision-making model was

flattened. With each of the four series producers trying to establish his own

style and content, which can have its own merit, the level of vertical structure

required to focus the series was lost; audience share dropped and GNT was
cancelled.

Moreover, while vertical structure and editorial flattening can showcase UGC

as a result of citizen witnessing, it is also a form of gatekeeping. This is

because MSM prefers one type of content and journalists prefer one form of

story over others. Bruns calls this ‘gatewatching’ (Bruns 2005: 2), where MSM
watch online websites like they once watched the wires. MSM curate, repackage, editorialise and subsume the raw UGC and the tweets they like. This is why the iReport contributor agreement gives CNN rights to use iReports in any program. Geir Ruud, former Digital Editor and Chief of Danish tabloid Ekstra Bladet, believes gatewatching is part of MSM’s filtration role, ‘as there is no filter in social media…Facebook and Twitter is [sic] taking a strong position, but they don’t edit stuff, that’s our role and our future’ (Ruud 2012). Ruud believes journalism could have played this curating, verification or gatewatching role much more during the Arab Spring.

In an online world, with growing contributor pools, vertical filtering usually begins when raw content hits structural nodes and editorial curatorial frameworks. In today’s network society this presents an interesting conundrum. A lack of vertical structure enables sweeping horizontal communication, where according to Ingrid Volkmer, citizenry can exist in parallel with strong tribal collectives (Volkmer 2012: 1). According to Volkmer, this world provides a global ‘generative frame of unity within which diversity can take place’ (Featherstone cited in 2012: 1). This suggests a trend to a diffused definition of the diversity principle based on access and localism (Napoli & Karppinen 2013). The diversity equation, discussed earlier, has been conceptualised to promote and preserve a diverse array of ideas, viewpoints and content options from source through to exposure (Hitchens 2006; Horwitz 2005. ). In Volkmer’s space ‘the public (and its opinion) is no longer a substantial element of the political system of a society, but has turned into a more or less autonomous global public sphere’, a space between ‘the state and an extra-societal global community’ or ‘world citizenship’ (2012: 1). However, unlike the meritocratic hierarchy, which theoretically exists in Bruns’ produsage community, Volkmer’s autonomous public sphere, with its asymmetrical interpretations of individualism, may not have the skills, politicised will or frame of reference to create and shape its own diverse sustained influence.

Volkmer (2012: 1) cites CNN’s World Report as an example of a structure that creates and shapes an ‘extra societal communication sphere’ that gives
form to the concept of world citizenship. Notwithstanding that CNN’s *World Report* contains complete professionally produced stories, it is an example of targeting transnational audiences by extending political news beyond borders. It can be argued this happened with Arab Spring UGC when professionals edited it before it was subsumed into stories and then the vertical structures of news operations, like the *World Report*. One problem is that once UGC is uploaded to a central portal like a website, it changes form, is possibly editorialised, risking loss of its diverse character as it comes to form part of the vertical content structures of a publishing process. Although potential to make one’s own story is diminished when raw UGC is uploaded, it is increased when UGC becomes UGS at source. What CNN has shown is that more complete stories can be formatted into deep verticals like *World Report*. Notwithstanding *World Report*’s status as a CNN product, its use of complete UGS increases the probability of the citizen’s view remaining intact when published. Retaining its grassroots form as content moves from locally made to globally exposed, is key to maintaining a diverse voice and active public sphere. However, this will only occur if a fourth equation exits in the diversity formula: linguistic diversity, which is determined by access, which determines the level of locally produced content (Napoli & Karppinen 2013). The skills needed to produce UGS result in more determined linguistic control, a critical step to creating a diverse public sphere. UGS creation requires and enables something Jürgen Habermas refers to as ‘willful control over technical practice’, a process that is also defined by ‘goals of efficiency and productivity’ (cited in Bourdieu 1990: 337). I contend this conscious process is one of the factors that transforms citizen witness UGC into citizen journalism and more complete and diverse UGS, which will be increasingly required as MSM media moves more into web TV.

For example, the new Director General of the BBC confirms their new diverse media eco-sphere. What lies in store for the BBC, he says, ‘is more distribution of our services via the internet’ (Entwistle 2012). He believes the BBC will enter more into ‘public service content creation’” (2012). This shift of ambition from ‘live output, to living output’, made to embrace public and private sector production, ‘abandon(s) Fortress BBC once and for all’, and
‘Social recommendation and other forms of curation [will] play a much more influential role’ (2012). The BBC’s greater reliance on audience recommendation and curation will involve a redefinition of acceptable content, with a greater regard for user content. I believe the next phase of development will include:

- UGS that are used as interstitials and as story content for a broad range of in house and ‘public service’ formats; and
- user generated programs (UGP) that curate UGS around a thematic produced by groups identified by networks like the BBC, such as Arts Councils, community radio and community generated online programming, which meets network editorial and technical standard.

The BBC is not alone in its thinking. The ABC has been experimenting with this since 1994. The Guardian is currently embracing citizen content as a main driver of its news, along with The Huffington Post and now Ekstra Bladet, whose daily ebLive provides citizens’ conversations with a vertical form and agenda. These initiatives and formats, while commercially driven, potentially empower a new global public sphere by growing cultural and social capital required to build grassroots comment into a viable and acceptable element of a new, more inclusive global communications sphere. This is discussed next.

2.3 The sphere between the nobility and the public

‘The enjoyment of free speech presupposes not merely the physical ability to speak but to be heard, a condition without which speaking to some effect is not possible.’

Talal Asad

2.3.1 Overview

Freedom of speech is the most basic of human rights and one that determines the degree of democracy in any nation. My father left Croatia

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19 Home Truths was a self-shot format that developed UGS, to UGS and UGP.
during the post war regime because it lacked a public sphere and didn’t allow freedom of speech. Tito’s socialist state quashed any possibility of a public voice; a right that media scholar Mark Deuze (2006) identifies as a cornerstone of democracy. The notion of public and free speech has been intertwined since the public’s right to speak was defended in England in the 17th century. Milton’s A Speech for the Liberty of Unlicenc’d Printing (1644) and the Lockean Theory of Individual Liberties (1690), a precursor to the Bill of Rights, outlined the individual’s right to conscience and their property' (Muhlmann 2010: 44). The Age of Enlightenment (Rousseau, Voltaire, Kant) in the late 17th and 18th centuries popularised or journalised the thoughts (philosophies) of Locke and his confreres. Enlightenment philosophes provided ideas to undermine the existing social and political structures. One of those was a more participatory approach to freedom of speech. While Locke had a view that freedom of speech should exist but be limited in its publication (2010: 47), Kant notes freedom of speech is important to democracy precisely because it results in a ‘new sociability’ and an ‘interchange of varied points of view’, a more participatory social and political dynamic ‘that constituted the public’ (2010: 47)

Freedom of speech as an absolute right is an ideal that even the French revolutionaries wanted to limit by law (Muhlmann 2010: 61). This view is based on the assumption that ‘liberty in conflict with the general will, was not a true liberty’ (2010: 65), because it may be at odds even with the press. Muhlmann argues journalism, seen as a profession and business, ‘imposes biased and distorted points of view’ compared to those that would freely circulate in a public space ‘not controlled by the media’ (2010: 12). Yet, at the time of the bourgeois revolution, journalism was also the sentinel of free ideals, its role being to provide a reasoned and balanced lens through which to view society and the state. When this avenue no longer exists, when the public sphere chokes and journalists are thrown into jail, citizens plan clandestine meetings, protest rallies and use the global reach of social media to express their anger.
Of relevance here is Jurgen Habermas’ sociological study of the public sphere as an enlightened space where the media play a central role providing information necessary for citizens to make informed choices (Habermas 1989). Habermas’ thesis has its roots in 17th century Paris, with its small-scale bourgeois public sphere of cafes and small political journals challenging the principle of divine or autocratic rule by the aristocracy. But it has been argued that his model remains underdeveloped (Benson 2009; Dahlgren & Sparks 1991). One major flaw is that the bourgeois public sphere was exactly that of the class of emerging industrialists who were motivated by their own capitalist and political interests. As my research explores the creation of a more inclusive and globally discursive space, it includes a discussion of the work of social theorist Pierre Bourdieu, in particular his concepts of ‘cultural capital’, ‘habitus’ and the journalistic field (Benson 2009; Dahlgren & Sparks 1991). These concepts provide a mechanism for examining the two forms of power (economic and cultural) that Bourdieu sees as impacting modern media (Swartz 1997). A study of Bourdieu is also relevant because his sociology, which emerges from a broad interdisciplinary background, fits the empirical mode of investigative research (Benson 2006). This wider approach to the public sphere is important when discussing the dialectic embedded in media practice, in particular the use of language (now also image and sound) to develop meaning and identity, and the role of agency\(^{20}\) (one’s ability to act individually), in undertaking journalistic interventions (Bauder 2010).

The emergence of network societies is shifting communications offshore, or more correctly, off planet. It has ushered in new global communications defined by instant messaging, social media and mobile communication. Accordingly, the notion of a public sphere as a space for debate of public affairs is shifting from the nation-state to a global sphere increasingly built around communication networks. Notwithstanding this shift the nation-state is still occupying a beachhead, with transnational companies restricting what may and may not be heard or seen: for example, Google’s banning of the film

\(^{20}\) An individual’s capacity to act individually and make their own choices.
The Innocence of Muslims;\textsuperscript{21} the Chinese government instituting the great firewall;\textsuperscript{22} or the Gutnik defamation case, which is testing the globalisation of media, setting precedents that ascribe geographic and nation-state principles to legal arbitration around issues of cyber law.\textsuperscript{23}

As Asad points out, it is not only about being able to speak, but also about having the power ‘to be heard’ (Dole 2012: 94). An effective public sphere—national or global—is about having the freedom, the technology and the skills to enable citizens to turn opportunity into reality, something new technologies potentially enable in marginalised communities (Husband 2000, cited in Waller 2010). Creating this shift is part of my motivation for investigating how mobile technologies can be used to create complete UGS to infuse a less culturally homogenised and a more diverse informed and democratic public sphere.

\subsection{2.3.2 Habermas’ not so public sphere}

Habermas’ most quoted work, The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere (1989), is a sociological study in public opinion built around a study of the bourgeoisie. The study has roots in explorations by Durkheim (1893) whose examination into what holds individuals together in social institutions revealed two types of social integration: the mechanical and the organic (Shortell 2012). This thesis forms the basis of Durkheim’s differentiation theory, which describes a society with specialised functions requiring specialist social mechanisms (cited in Hallin & Mancinin 2004: 77). Durkheim further argued that the survival of society could only be based on overarching principles such as human rights, democracy and inclusive citizenship, which requires ‘an even greater role for an independent and effective media’ (Hadland 2008: 3). This underpins Habermas’ research into ‘publicness’, in

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{21} Blocking this film in Libya and Egypt because it that lampooned Mohammad was a defining act by a transnational that operates on a bias in favour of free global expression.
\item \textsuperscript{22} Policed by up to 50 000 officers the firewall blocks content through restricting IP routers, URL and DNS filtering and redirection and connection resets.
\item \textsuperscript{23} Gutnik (2001), from Australia, sued the Dow Jones News Corporation, from the US, for defamation over an article published in one of their subscribed publications. Gutnik’s victory in having the case heard in Australia, where he resides and where defamation laws are some of the toughest in the world, signals warning bells for online publishing.
\end{itemize}
particular, a realm of social life where the public organises itself in a sphere that enables its members to share informed opinions (1989). Without this the state cannot enact its responsibility to its subjects to provide, as Dewey (2012) suggests, crucial democratic debate in public affairs, which contributes to the individual’s self-respect. When the state fails in its public role, this debate often moves indoors. Seyla Benhabib extends the definition of the public sphere to include ‘private dining room…in which dissidents meet’, or even a forest if it is the ‘object or location of an action in concert’ (1992: 78). Benhabib believes these locations take on a mantle of publicness and become public spaces by virtue of the discourse that takes place there. This occurred in the Middle East during the Arab Spring, creating what Benhabib describes as sites of ‘common action coordinated through speech and persuasion’ (1992: 78). These indoor meeting areas, which were also found in Kosovo and in Sarajevo, formed an underground or revolutionary public sphere where citizens and media met to debate change possibilities in a society choked by statist regimes or war.

Habermas’ public sphere sat outside the official economy as a theatre of debate, allowing only some citizens to ‘be critical of the state’ (Fraser 1992: 110). This frame of reference, the free market liberal public sphere—which ‘supposes that social equality is not a necessary condition for participatory parity in public spheres’ (Fraser 1992: 121)—suggests a flawed concept. Fraser argues that a conception of a public sphere, which excludes women and one that also has racist and property implications, supposes that the public sphere is bereft of gender and culture, yet inclusion that is not based on social or cultural discrimination is a key function of an effective public sphere (Fraser 1992). What is needed is a more democratic expansion of ‘the discursive space’ (Fraser 1992: 194), into a transformative sphere of consciousness that facilitates action. It was not until the mid-18th century, when the aristocracy almost bankrupted France that the bourgeoisie realised...
it needed the workers. Their joined efforts in February 1848 to overthrow the Monarchy resulted in the first real attempt to reach beyond the public sphere’s flaws to a more normative state (Calhoun 1992).

The continued commercialisation of the public sphere in the late 19th century led to the emergence of additional publics, which Habermas says led to ‘new relationships of power between owners and wage earners’ (1989: 124). This signaled the sphere’s ‘fragmentation and decline’ (Fraser 1992: 122) and one of the first institutions affected was the press. The public sphere became even narrower as industrialists came to own the presses. Commercial pressures constrained press freedom, forcing it to work in a sphere of limited consensus. In a society where the public sphere was shaped by the interests of capitalist merchants who invested in mass media (McGraw 2011), the result was a decline in effective political journalism, narrowed political debate around commercial imperatives and reporting without ‘its independent critical edge’ (Benson 2009: 177). This suggests that liberal theories of empowerment that rely in part on technological deterministic free market views are unrealistic because ‘market-driven development and commercial media systems by themselves are incapable of fostering democratic communication systems or assuring universal access to telecommunications for diverse people and ideas’ (Johnson cited in Rennie 2001: 66). Indeed as Garnham points out, the main attraction of a free press market model is that it ‘removes the weight of conscious social choice’ (Garnham 1986: 51), in other words a public sphere that envisioned consent under domination (Rennie 2001).

Habermas’ theories, even his more modern position that describes the public sphere as a ‘network of communicating ideas and points of view, which filter and synthesize diverse streams of communication’ (Habermas 1996: 330), are based on ‘face to face argument and mediated communication’ (Gripsrud et al. 2010). His is a single analogue space where freedom of assembly is thought to guarantee access to communication. In the new global

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26 See footnote 10—a sphere of communication defined by subjectivity and the business of media.
environment where a more fragmented individualised content replaces mass communication, we are forced to rethink the ‘relationship between communications and politics and the nature of citizenship in the modern world’ (Garnham 1992: 362). Jay Rosen states that what is required in an effective public sphere is for the public ‘to be in discussion with itself’ (1999: 63). While it is argued this is occurring online, the degree to which the discussion is relevant depends, as Fraser points out, on the discursive nature of the sphere (Fraser 1992).

Hannah Arendt observes that the transformation of private or public space into a public sphere is an ‘action’ or an ‘exercise of thought’, which she defines as a form of ‘storytelling’, with the express purpose to ‘orient the mind in the future’ (1992: 76). In modern society informative storytelling was largely regarded as the role of the media. When media is censored or fails to tell its story, as happened in Egypt (El-Ghobashy 2012: 22) and in South Africa when media was accused of inciting violence through its headlines (Hadland 2008), the public sphere becomes choked. Historically the lack of a public sphere, or the existence of a heavily mediated one, as occurs in many Indigenous communities (Hartley & McKee 2000), has led to alternative community or underground communication: the Paris Commune (1871) where workers’ rights were championed; the Russian revolution (1917) where the Bolsheviks deposed the Tsars and formed what would later be known as the Soviet Union; the Kosovo Shadow Assembly (1991) where parallel underground Albanian schools, clinics and hospitals existed; the rise of organisations like the Central Australian Aboriginal Media Association (1980) to champion Indigenous rights in Australia; or the Moqattam slum city of Cairo (2011), where a lack of food turned the zabaleen27 into potential revolutionaries (Mason 2012b). These examples demonstrate that any investigation of the public sphere needs to move beyond Habermas’ narrow view of land owners and capitalists who challenged feudal systems for their own vested interests (Benson 2009). It needs to include all the forms of alternative and community media functioning as a ‘resource that facilitates

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27The Zabaleen is a group of between 50 000 to 70 000 people who live in seven settlements around the garbage dump areas of Cairo.
cultural citizenship in ways that differentiate it from other media’ (Meadows et al. 2010: 167). This, Meadows (2005) says, can play a significant role in framing Indigenous issues.

In summary, Habermas makes an important contribution by indirectly demonstrating the need for links between civil society and the media. But his narrow view negates the important role and rights of ordinary citizens. He argues for media ‘self-regulation’, by a media that ‘operates within its own normative code’ (Benson 2009: 185), and argues that this is necessary for the media to play its neutral role. However, this view fails to imagine how media might help to avoid commercial colonisation, or how it might act as a force for what he later called ‘communicative action’ (2009: 181), or how it will best enable the potential of digital to empower citizens and communities. This is not surprising given that Habermas’ media exists within a bourgeois public sphere where any self-regulating philosophy is impacted by its commercial and class interests. Calhoun suggests that what is required is an investigation of the public sphere as a ‘socially organised field with characteristic lines of division, relationships of force, and other constitutive features’ (Calhoun 1992: 38). In his later work Habermas acknowledges this and suggests a broader more politicised approach that includes personal relationships and broader communities. He called this the ‘life world’, where agents achieve ‘free or ideal speech’ through a process of ‘communicative action’ (cited in Benson 2009: 177).

Whether as a practice by media, or a process of democratisation by the citizenry, communicative action sits at the heart of Pierre Bourdieu’s sociological interest. Bourdieu posits more inclusive spheres, like those that result from new global communication possibilities that can empower a ‘modern form of enlightened citizens’ (Benson & Neveu 2005: 9). Here, human existence is essentially relational and therefore conflictual, influenced by what he calls ‘habitus’, with its emphasis on how ‘cultural capital’ shapes action.
2.3.3 Bourdieu’s habitual, cultural fields of practice

Habermas’ public sphere is a finite space occupied by a commercially motivated bourgeoisie comprising a very small section of the public—2.5 per cent of the population. Bourdieu believes in a broader concept of commercialisation, based on the codified protection of a diverse set of fields, which can enable public sphere ideals that embrace the wider social, cultural and economic resources needed to promote its relevance and autonomy (Benson 2009).

Bourdieu’s sociology emerges from a broad interdisciplinary background, including the ethnography of peasant life and sociological analysis of artisans and consumers, science and religion. His field theory (1993, 1995) and in particular the journalistic field, provides an alternative perspective on the public sphere. Bourdieu sees ‘Journalism [as] a microcosm with its own laws, defined both by its position in the world and by the attractions and repulsions to which it is subject from other such microcosms’ (Bourdieu 1998: 39) or fields. Field theory is an empirical form of investigation that describes the discursive autonomy within these cultural spaces of society, which allows for multiple perspectives that arise from within fields (scientific, artistic, religious, business, trade union, legislative, judicial, party political). Fields are one component of Bourdieu’s conception of social practice. Bourdieu’s practice model looks like this: [habitus plus capital] plus field = practice (Bourdieu 1984: 101).

Figure 1 Bourdieu’s practice equation

Fields are ‘defined through their mutual relationships’ (Bourdieu 1984: 101), one of which is symbolic power, which results from capital. Power enables and results from discourse amongst internal and external agents acting in and
on a field. In media this relationship is ‘reflected in a dialectic between journalistic reporting and social political structures’ (Bauder 2010), the terms within which discursive events are shaped by situations, institutions and social structures, or shape them (Bauder 2010). Bourdieu argues that fields possess some autonomy form external forces, which they get from an internal set of laws (1998). These laws, or rules, enable decision making and resolution of problems and for agents to engage in power relations between fields (Bourdieu 1984).

In the media context the power that the journalist field once wielded has been partly eroded by the current disruption in the media business model. This, according to Sparrow (1999), is one way new journalistic rules were and are developed, ‘as the outcome of organizational dynamics in conditions of “uncertainty”’ (Cited in Benson 2006: 188). This suggests the potential exists for current organisation and technological convergence to cause a shift in power—to create a new set of rules that map a new way of working within, and between, subfields of journalism.

Bourdieu argues that a rigorous and productive discussion of power, which must be anchored to a broader view about social life, requires a theory of society. His general theory is based on a logic that ‘structures must intersect at some point with the beliefs and practices of individual(s)’ (Gaventa & Pettit 2012: 1). This intersect occurs within and between fields and is in part determined by what Bourdieu (1997) calls habitus, the socialised norms that guide behaviour and practice. To more completely understand the homologous aspects of the journalistic field and how it interrelates with other fields, we need first explore Bourdieu’s concept of habitus.

2.3.3.1 Habitus

Bourdieu believes human action or behaviour is regulated by habit and is the ‘product of obedience to rules’ (Bourdieu 1990a: 65 cited in Swartz 2002: 61). He suggests these rules are initially obtained unconsciously ‘through osmosis or repetition’ which he calls habitus, or ‘the way society becomes deposited in persons’ (Gaventa & Pettit 2012: 1) Bourdieu argues habitus is created
through a social or group interaction ‘without any conscious concentration’ (Bourdieu 1984: 170). While aiming to explain the societal impact on lived experience, the concept of habitus raises a number of questions. The notion that habitus deposits social knowledge, culture and practice through osmosis presupposes that citizens lack reflexivity, surviving by mastering actions, relations and practices learned from their social field (Wacquant 2005: 316, cited in Navarro 2006). Experience suggests that even in the most mundane situations, social life is rarely only osmotic.

My research in marginalised communities in Australia, Timor-Leste and China (discussed later) demonstrates that individuals can function within their own ethical and political dimensions but also those that are outside the cultural template of their own habitus. Anthropological studies by Gellner show that tribes-people, whose lives are orchestrated by cultural mores, can reflect upon themselves (Archer 2007). In traditional Indigenous cultures, for example, habitus determines that much of what happens does so on the basis of group consensus. Using an osmotic process of predictive occurrence called cultural lore, communities can influence how an individual develops. Micronesian islanders relied on ancient training systems to provide the relative objectivity required to decide who their master navigator would be. Sociologist Margaret Archer suggests, ‘internal conversations mediate the role that objective structural or cultural powers play in influencing social action’ (Archer 2007: 5). In other words, you can choose to act and how to act. In my experience individuals can demonstrate emancipated thought beyond habitual norms; for example, through non-traditional education; a desire to work outside the community; leaving a lucrative job to become a poor student; or a desire experience something ‘beyond’, for example, being a master navigator. This possibility is crucial to realising the potential of mojo praxis.

Archer is highly critical of the concept of habitus, implying that it ignores the ‘dialectical confrontation between habitus and the place one inhabits in a geographic space’ (2007: 5); that it alone defines the rules by which society exists. Archer believes the constraining and enabling effects of social
contexts on individuals are mediated by an individual's own reflexivity. Bourdieu posits 'that the responses of the habitus may be accompanied by a strategic calculation tending to perform in a conscious mode the operation that the habitus performs...' (1990: 53). However, Archer says that individual responses are more than just strategic and that 'internal conversations mediate the role that objective structural or cultural powers play in influencing social action and are thus indispensable to explaining social outcomes' (2007: 5). In the social sciences the debate about whether reflexivity can circumvent the impact of habitus, is over whether structure or agency shape human behaviour—agency being the capacity of individuals to act independently and structure being the habitual forces of society which limit choice and opportunity (2007: 5). Here the mechanism for change is quantifiable, but the degree of actual change is based on the tension between structure and agency that Mosco (2004) calls mutual constitution.

The above tension poses an interesting dialectic in journalism: how does one achieve the reflexivity often associated with subjectivism and still maintain objectivity? John Dewey addresses this in *The Public and its Problems* (Barker 2008) when he rebuts Walter Lippmann's (2012) treatise on the role of journalism in democracy. Lippmann's view is that journalism was the repackaging expert information to elicit emotive responses from readers; the supposition being that the public was incapable of thought, supposing that internal conversations do not exist. Dewey refuted this, saying politics is the right and responsibility of each individual, achieved through interaction mediated and facilitated through journalism. His is a model where members of society are accountable for their actions precisely because, as agents, they exist in a more inclusive public sphere that enables them to make choices to improve knowledge (2008). This notion of accountability to the craft and a eudemonic responsibility to the group sits at the core of mojo studies and praxis. The aim is to provide citizens with tools so they can learn to be more discerning and aware of the political possibilities of being able to upload millions of hours of content.

One explanation of the unprecedented level of citizen-generated online
content is that it is a result of internal conversations, a search for contact and knowledge in the individual’s relationship between family and society, two of the primary interlocutors affecting habitus, which Archer suggests extends to ‘school friends or workmates’ and is used to reinforce ‘the community of context when the subject first moves away from home’ (Archer 2007). One view of the level of online UGC is that it can be seen as a first attempt by citizens to, as Archers suggests, ‘initiate their own inner dialogues and to use self-talk to establish their personal agendas of problems and preoccupations’ (2007: 271). Archer argues mental activities such as thinking, clarifying and especially imagination are ways ‘people extend their horizons’ (2007: 272). While not replaced, family, friends and spouses are superseded temporarily as interlocutors by unknown Webmasters and other onliners seeking contact in new social global communities. Bourdieu’s use of Durkheim’s descriptor of an ‘ensemble of invisible relations [existing in] a space of positions external to each other and defined by their proximity to, neighborhood with, or distance from each other’ (1989: 16), describes the online space.

Bourdieu (1996) did not apply habitus to the specifics of the journalistic field. However, we can see how journalists’ own habitus impacts their work, as does the habitus that editors and journalists share, such as standards, journalistic integrity, selection and verification. Indeed the journalist’s gut feeling that distinguishes a go story from an almost ran and identifies news worthiness is a habitual characteristic of the journalistic field. The final factor that impacts Bourdieu’s practice equation (Figure 1) and is inextricably associated with the reflexivity required to grow fields and extend one’s habitus to circumvent the control of the state is capital.

2.3.3.2 Capital

If habitus is a template for a structuring structure that governs the principles of social division (Bourdieu 1984), then capital is its power source, which generates practice and results from practice. Capital is an enabling agent of change, which occurs within and transports agents across fields (Bauder 2010). In economic terms, capital is the use value that results from the mental and physical capabilities existent in a human beings (Swartz 2002). Bourdieu
(1996) also identifies capital as cultural and social. *Cultural capital* is a way of explaining the different opportunities people have as a result of education, family attitudes and societal pressures. *Social capital* is derived from the relationships and infrastructures within a society that enable durable networks and membership in social groups. *Economic capital* is the sum outcome of cultural and social capital (1867). The relationship between the *habitus*, *capital* and *field* provides the cultural capital that enables agency.

Ironically, while access to capital is first based on habitus, capital works to perpetuate or transcend habitus. In more restrictive and or marginalised societies, cultural lore, a lack of education, or a non-existent public sphere, can suppress or limit knowledge transfer, so that existing opportunity structures benefit a controlling group (Benson & Neveu 2005; Bourdieu 1986). In the digital era, the potential exists to circumvent these negative forces by making cultural capital—the knowledge, creation and distribution of information—more accessible. This potentially creates a less marginalised, less representative, more local voice in a potentially more diverse public sphere. This sphere, with multiple sources that can create diverse content with broad exposure, is a first test of diversity (Swartz 1997). In theory, the divergence equation in Figure 2 suggests that an input of diverse cultural media capital can generate diverse content. In practice, case studies conducted for this research show this model also requires specific *social capital* within *established fields* of power to sustain it. Napoli (1999) points out that variety, which can refer to the number of outlets, and diversity, which refers to the number of choices and the variety amongst them in terms of content or ownership decisions. In Chapter 5, I argue that even in ownership variety doesn’t necessarily result in diverse content without an input of relevant cultural capital.

![Figure 2 Divergence equation](image-url)
In remote Indigenous communities and in the developing world in particular, cultural capital such as digital literacies to create mojos needs to be introduced in stages. Traditional cultural capital (lore, craft, art, custom, family) is sourced from within, often from elders and family and generally introduced at pre-determined stages (milestones) governed by custom (see case study Chapter 5). The introduction of non-traditional cultural capital, such as digital story (mojo) skills can happen via the education field (western knowledge), the media field (information) or the political field (policy). Without the right balance, a technology-rich environment can re-create existing marginalisation. This occurred with Imparja television,\(^{28}\) where the transmission of western media, via satellite TV, bombarded Indigenous people with vast quantities of western cultural information. This overwhelmed people’s will and subsumed the potential for creating diverse grassroots content.

Over the years, western electronic media, including news, has become one of the prevailing sources of cultural capital in Indigenous communities. The result is a marginalised, highly mediated Indigenous public space, feeding a more national perspective on issues at the expense of a local voice (Napoli 1999). In a sense, one reason that this representative state has flourished is because of a cultural reliance on ‘we’, when dealing with local issues (Hartley 2000). This is a form of internal gatekeeping that together with existing gatekeeping practices of mainstream and even Indigenous-owned media, compounds marginalisation.

One fundamental requirement for human culture is interaction: ‘for an intelligence to function there must be another intelligence’ (Lotman cited in Hartley 2009: 133). In fact, the recognition of the existence of dual parallel cultures, ‘a pair of mutually untranslatable languages’, is the minimal prerequisite for ‘generating new messages’ (Lotman cited in Hartley 2009: 134). However, as Eric Michaels (1986, 1989) found in his participatory journalism experiments with Indigenous people in Central Australia, perpetuating local language to counteract gatekeeping practices requires

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\(^{28}\) Imparja in Alice Spring was the first Indigenous television station in Australia.
reflexivity on the part of the message-makers. Bombardment by global satellite media works against ideals of achieving a grassroots local voice.

The philosophies which drove independent media’s focus on local audience ideals meant that ‘community media needed to be a part of local communities of interest’ (Lotman 1990: 2). In any concentrated media landscape, especially Australia’s, standards that promote reflexivity and an alternative independent cultural voice are essential. Meadows et al. (2010) found that when broadcasters monitor their own standards and alternative media is marginalised, the transformation from citizens to consumers is accelerated. This results in ‘narrowing the range of public sphere debate’ (Meadows et al. 2010: 177). This argument was made about Imparja and is again being made, 20 years later, about NITV.29 But standards alone do not guarantee the best level of alternative content; nor does a high level of alternative community content guarantee a focus on diverse community issues. This comes about from an input of cultural capital—training to create local content around issues that create positive change and marginalise the impact of MSM centralisation. Relevant cultural capital enables the reflexivity that creates scaffolds to empower local participation in a new politicised media space—a more professional alternative journalism field.

### 2.3.3.3 Fields

The third conceptual tool for testing Bourdieu’s empirically driven practice equation is the spatial metaphor he calls ‘field’ (Meadows et al. 2010: 165). As Michaels found out and Benson remarks, the production of cultural discourse, such as the alternative media representation discussed in this study, is ‘marked by a struggle for distinction. In order to exist in a field one must mark one’s difference’ (Benson & Neveu 2005). According to Bourdieu, field theory reveals the structure and characteristics of agents within a field, which distinguishes it from other fields. This statement suggests fields are relational spaces where agents interact between and within fields and subfields (Atton & Hamilton 2008). However, Bourdieu conceives fields as

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29 See submissions to the Indigenous Broadcast Review
being relational, as ‘configuration[s] of objective relations between positions’ (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992: 97), situated in ‘a determinate place in social space’ (1992: 214). Benson further explains, ‘what is real is relational and thus to exist socially is to mark one’s difference viz a viz others’ (cited in Benson & Neveu 2005: 3). He adds, ‘in analytical terms, a field may be defined as a network of agents, or a configuration, of objective relations between positions’ (2005). Created by cultural capital, supported by social capital, the levels of power and forces within fields enable agents to alter their positions, status and power over the field and that field’s power over fields (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992: 96).

Change within or between fields is impacted by what Bourdieu calls ‘doxa’, what we know without knowing’ (Bourdieu 1985), which sets limits within social relations that regulate change. Doxa suggests individuals are subject to incorporated mental structures that provide social boundaries that deprive them of more individual and deliberate cultural consumption (Crossley 2004). Hence a doxic state, where the interests of dominant groups achieve a taken-for-granted status—Indigenous cultures, school peer groups, or media house rules—requires an input of cultural capital for change to occur (Bourdieu 1984). As an agent’s capital within a social field grows, so does their position and power within fields and between fields. This occurs by reputation—the result of actions—within and across field subfield relationships, and is true for the three communication fields (community, education and media) explored in this study.

Mojo praxis in Indigenous, school and media communities is an example of using cultural capital, communication tools and knowledge, to overcome doxa influences so agents can transcend relational positions within their and other fields. This role is extended when mojos work with local media organisations and their work enters a journalistic field. In education, student mobile journalists transcend doxa influences that presuppose their position as servile vessels, which is a first step to meaningful education (Crossley 2004). In MSM, mojo skills enable journalists to be more relational within the journalism and participant citizen content-creation fields. This new more diverse
expression of power located in more specialised subfields of journalism become part of the broader information eco-sphere in a changing communication (literary) field.

A need to articulate journalism along this generalist/specialist continuum reflects the various media publics (audience), the media houses and the journalists. For example, in reporting on the Indigenous sphere, journalists will generally take on a specialist role adjunct to their other duties either as a health, political or sports reporter. The Indigenous reporting space is generally limited and is heavily impacted by economic rationalism and time constraints, which results in Indigenous issues traditionally being reported by rote. The importance of having Indigenous journalists report on this subfield, rather than non-Indigenous specialists, is because it is hoped they won’t acquiesce as easily to editorial gatekeeping practices, a trend seen in early career specialists (Marchetti 2005). This trend is described as ‘the overall process through which the social reality transmitted by the news media is constructed’ (Marchetti 2005: 65). Hence, a local Indigenous mojo field can potentially serve a number of purposes: on the one hand enabling accurate reportage; on the other creating a specialised local participatory journalistic subfield around Indigenous reporting. It is hoped that mojos are less likely to become what Marchetti refers to as transitory figures in the subfield (2005) because as Hirst (2011) observes, alternative journalism revolves more around cultural capital than money.

One of the major aims of this thesis is to create a cultural practice bridge—a common digital language—that provides a set of common digital literacies and hence a professional approach to the creation and development of UGC. This language extends into the schoolyard to create a student journalism subfield. Here schoolyard mojos provide an alternative perspective on student life and students’ relationship with the wider community, while building student citizenship ideals (Shoemaker et al. 2001: 233). Mojo creates a bridge between local news outlets, community and education, especially in tertiary institutions, where journalism education has an emerging subfield called multimedia.
The mojo skill set is designed to create an increased confidence amongst agents in all three fields of communication, who are recognised for their growing reputation as mobile journalists. Community mojos can claim local media jobs; students report on a growing relationship between school and community, even breaking news stories (Simmons 2013), to prepare them with skills for a career in journalism; while print journalists gain digital skills that make them employable and able to interact professionally with the global media sphere.

Moreover, as citizen audiences become diverse groups of online producers, communication shifts from a controlled analogue public sphere principally defined geographically by the nation-state to one more defined globally, by digital fragmentation, and expressed in network societies (Castells 2009). This study argues that a redefined journalistic field that encourages and trains a new breed of journalists to provide countervailing voice in this network environment is critical to democracy. The degree to which citizens are able to use these global networks to create local voices will depend on access to technology and a skill set to enable empowering UGS, which publics want to watch, and that give a politised frame to the global public sphere. Mojos with multimedia skills creating UGS, working across fields in the network space, can potentially counteract gatekeeping practices.

2.3.4 A global network society

‘Freedom of the press is guaranteed only to those who own one.’

AJ Liebling, American press critic 1904–1963

One of the major obstacles in creating what Merrill refers to as a new concept of journalism ‘stronger than either of the original concepts’ (1993: 12), is the dialectic between the ideals and the profession of journalism, a clash that underpins the ideology of a non-representative media,30 the type that defines network societies. What is needed, as Merrill (1993: 12) points out, is to be able to separate the ‘wheat from the chaff’, and to combine the ‘compatible

30 Where individuals are empowered to create their own grassroots voice.
strains of wheat into new but similar hybrids’. This is the aim of mojo praxis, to find and unite compatible story narratives and people making them into more relevant hybrid forms called UGS and UGP, which are created in communities of practice. Merrill (1993) suggests that the basic principle of this dialectic is to let opposites clash and wait for the winners to form a new group, a principle that is based on promoting change. As discussed earlier, this might result in new organisational dynamics and rules, but I believe we also need to provide relevant training during the transformation phase to ensure ‘winners’ achieve some form and do not simply fight until the last one is left standing.

This ideology has always been important in shaping the public sphere and promoting civil society where citizens articulate their autonomous views to form power collectives that influence political institutions (Castells 2008). Manuel Castells defines network societies as social structures built around grids of ‘digitally processed information and communication technologies’ (2009: 24). However, the digital divide and the gatekeeping practices of nation-states have created an ‘us and them’ situation, which ‘is a structural feature of the global network society’ (2009: 25). It occurs because the nature of networks is to search for structural links of value and reject those that are not. As a result, network societies create a potential for the global to overwhelm the local, ‘unless the local becomes connected to the global as a node in alternative global networks constructed by social movements’ (2009: 26). This is in effect what happened with the Arab Springers, whose messages became nodes, which created an impact when they became part of Ghonim’s and other collectives’ representations. Castells argues that another feature of the network society is an overarching network culture with its own values and beliefs, resulting in a duality—a commonality and a singularity (2009). Conversely one of its strengths is an ability to encourage the development of diverse individual cultures. But rather than being a converged public sphere, as McKee (2005) has points out the network society’s lack of form and focus can result in a trivialised, commercialised and fragmented space without an organised or politicised perspective. Arguably the current space suffers from all three issues.
In a network society, Bourdieu’s core concept of habitus—his template for interaction with society—receives an input of fragmented cultural capital, from a much larger global family who do not really know each other. Tweets and other UGC are structured in Storify and augmented by millions, subsumed by MSM and editorialised. While we still rely on cultural (knowledge), social (networks) and economic capital (funds), network societies have been described as largely delivering versions of online noise (McKee 2005; Keen 2006; Jenkins 2008). Archer’s approach of analytical dualism posits that without people there would be no structure (2007). She argues that internal conversations, in whatever form, generate important patterns of social mobility. In other words, the effects of associations (like those created online) will depend on how they are interpreted and how individuals relate them to their own subjectively defined concerns. In a 1980 interview with his protégé Loïc Wacquant, Bourdieu said, ‘I write so that people, and first of all those people who are entitled to speak, spokespersons, can no longer produce…noise that has all the appearances of music’ (cited in Blumenkranz, Gessen & Sava 2013). This was the role of the press that we lost trust in, that Merrill (1993: 12) says was ‘sterile without obligations to people’. Citizens found alternatives in network societies, where individual citizens can be their own spokespersons; all that was needed was a language to enable people to be reflexive about possibilities. Mojo skills encourage reflexivity, which results in a type of narrative noise that resonates with form, not unlike music. Theoretically, these skills can enable citizens to use network societies to take advantage of what Robert McChesney (2007) sees as a once in a life time opportunity to create a paradigm shift in global democracy, education and governance.

2.4 Summary

One-third of the world’s population is connected online. The four billion hours of video watched on Google’s YouTube each month is uploaded at a rate of 72 hours every minute. With more than a billion monthly active users on Facebook, delivering 1.13 trillion likes, responsible for a 57 per cent increase
in mobile use, the Internet is like an addictive drug. However, the current social media and UGC frenzy—put simply, the creation of copycat content—results in a fragmented public online space heavily in need of critical discourse. Notwithstanding Archer’s observation that copycat content or internal conversations has its own place, what may be required is a more reflexive media sphere that is conceived as a politically active voice based on ideologies and supported by skills that enable mobile journalism.

However, finding a balance between autonomy and heteronomy within the field requires clarification. Habermas advocated a ‘self-regulating media system’ that operates ‘in accordance with its own normative code’ (Habermas 2006: 419). Bourdieu favours a more autonomous journalistic field, that is, a space in which journalistic excellence is defined according to journalistic criteria, not by profit-maximising or political agendas (Bourdieu 1998). The empirical reality suggests that journalists, like other professionals, struggle to maintain their autonomy from economic and political pressures. A balance is found in the dialectic that exists between their role of serving society (their real masters), business (who pays their bills), and journalists (who judge their skill). The resulting collision of these opposing forces and values is where real change can occur (Hirst 2007). Here is an intersect of three opposing tunes, where Hegel (2012) believes moments begin to be synthesised: where thesis converges with an opposing force, before forming a new paradigm. In discussing the dialectic in convergence, Hirst (2007: 27) suggests technology can alter the ‘meaning of words’ because ‘embedded in every tool is an ideological bias, a predisposition to construct the world…to amplify one’s sense of skills or attitude more loudly that another’ (Postman in Hirst 2007). Yet the producers of the antithesis, the bricolage of citizen-generated online content that is causing journalistic anxiety, are yet to synthesize the potential of the opportunity, which McChesney (2008) concludes is a brief window of opportunity in communications history to create a more diverse public sphere.

Habermas asks journalism to keep an open door to civil society, yet his public sphere consisted of a select bourgeoisie with a closed view as to journalism’s role as interlocutor between state and society. Hirst describes this as a
‘historically situated contradiction within the bourgeois model of both journalism and the public sphere’ that contributed to ‘alternative journalism’ (2011: 125). He says today this occurs as a result of news media functioning within what Daniel Hallin calls ‘spheres of consensus and limited controversy’ (in Hirst 2011: 126), which limit the effectiveness of the public sphere as a facilitator of interactions between state and society. ‘If citizens, civil society, or the state fail to fulfill the demands of this interaction, or if the channels of communication between two or more of the key components of the process are blocked, the whole system of representation and decision making comes to a stalemate’, says (Castells 2008: 79). There is no doubt the journalistic field as watchdog suffers from its responsibilities to its commercial masters, a relationship that eats into its ability to take the position required to address other experts or politicians (Hirst 2011). When the autonomous becomes heteronomous, society is left without an arbiter to act on its behalf. In this situation ‘the news media functions to dampen, if not destroy, any enthusiasm the proletariat might have for revolution” (Bourdieu in Hirst 2009: 5). This is when, according to McChesney, de-politicisation occurs, ‘especially amongst the poor and working class’ (McChesney 2001). This results from ‘a decreased ability of nationally based politically systems to manage the world’s problems’ and when this happens it leads to the possibilities of ‘global civil society’ (Castells 2008: 83).

The first stages of this, the proliferation of citizen generated UGS, occurred in the Arab Spring where a breakdown in public trust and belief in the role of the journalistic field led to an explosion of social media that became elevated as news-type content. In a revolution, one place the dialectic plays out is between media that favour the regime in power and those against it. In the context of such a split, and the resulting low level of credible traditional media interest and reporting before the Arab uprisings, citizen media accounted for much of the instant documentation of the events in Tunisia, Egypt, Yemen and Libya, with Sharek31 receiving 1000 camera phone videos of the Cairo uprising against Mubarak alone (2001). James Curran argues that citizens

31 Al-Jazeera’s citizen media service.
need ‘a democratic media to enable them to contribute to public debate and have an input in the framing of public policy’ (Batty 2011). Without this, society will resort to extreme revolutionary measures, like the Arab Spring, to effect change. Marx and Engels suggest revolutionary acts occur when social actors are caught in a cycle of tensions between the economic base of a culture and the ideas and value systems of that culture, that has reached crisis point (Cited in Ferree et al. 2002: 297). This occurred in the Arab Spring because of a failing statist economy and because there were no intermediate associations, like a free press, arbitrating between state and society. This failing economy caused the regimes to become vulnerable, which enabled ‘revolutionary pressures to emerge during 2011’ (Vargas 2012).

Since 1987 researchers have been advocating that a sphere where citizens ‘are addressed as a conversational partner and are encouraged [by the media] to join the talk rather than sit passively as spectators before a discussion conducted by journalists and [political] experts” (Lawson 2012: 13) is essential to building a healthy public sphere. Today open journalism and social justice programs at The Guardian are creating bridges and resulting in citizen stories developed in conjunction with the newspaper (see Chapter 8). The hope is that a new cooperative media discourse will reduce apathy and encourage political engagement by citizens in a more inclusive public sphere. But as John Gaventa (2002) argues, people often do not rise up to challenge even decisions that are contrary to their own interests, because they perceive they have no voice. ‘How people perceive themselves as citizens, and how (or indeed, whether) they are recognised by others, is likely to have a significant impact on how they act to claim their citizenship rights in the first place’ (Carey 1987: 14). Moreover, the argument that public participation alone transforms individuals into engaged citizens implies (a) that media content should first and foremost encourage empowerment, (b) that participation is available to all, and (c) that all citizens have skills to enable participation. The real issue is how we mobilise people’s consciousness to believe change is possible and to act in their own interests. One answer is through an active and free press, the other is by mobilising citizen journalism ideals, skills and practices within the education sphere and within
communities to create a ‘community public sphere’ (Gaventa 2002: 5).

In conclusion, Rosen recently revised Liebling’s remark to account for the Internet age: ‘Freedom of the press belongs to those who own one, and blogging means anyone can own one’ (Meadows et al. 2010: 178). The reality is that until everyone has the resources to blog and knows how to blog, Rosen’s comment suggests he has fallen victim to the digital sublime. Therefore, I would add…and with appropriate training citizens will be able to produce and publish relevant news and information to benefit others. Hence, this research explores what digitally equipped and trained citizen mobile journalists might do with an idea, if they only knew what to do with it:

When what results from these efforts is of a quality [in both depth and breadth] that enables it to substitute for, replace, and even undermine the business model of long-established industrial products, even though precariously it relies on volunteer contributions, and when their volunteering efforts make it possible for some contributors to find semi- or fully professional employment in their field, then conventional industrial logic is put on its head. (Rosen cited in Bruns 2008 :1)

Volunteer contributors are not yet replacing professional news-gathering. But professional journalists are now using mobile journalism technology and skills to create UGS. Students have used mojo to win national digital story awards, and some of the citizen mojo participants in this study have seen their UGS appear on the evening news of a national broadcaster, and found jobs as journalists within their communities. However, just as no one speaks or writes academic English as a first language (Bourdieu & Passeron 1994: 8), creating mobile digital UGS is a learned craft. And while a relevant community sphere relies on contestation occurring with the mainstream public sphere, this will be most effective when citizens have the appropriate (Ewert et al. 2007), multimedia skills to create their own UGS. Hence, the next chapter describes the methodology used to test the effectiveness of the mojo skills program, its technology and its digital language (Ewart et al. 2007).
3 Methodology: defining an empirical action research study

‘That which does not kill us makes us stronger.’

Fredrich Nietzsche

3.1 Overview

This exegesis is an explanation of journalist practice as an example of research as process. This methodology describes a mixed method participatory action research mode for investigating mobile journalism. The aim was to use case-study workshops to develop a theoretical and practical approach to creating UGS based on investigating the user experience of mobile journalism (mojo) praxis across community, supplemented by learning from the educational and professional spheres of communication.

This multitiered research approach across three spheres of communication explores:

- the potential of mobile technology to train citizens and push local content out from marginalised groups;
- mobile journalism as a curriculum device across education for increasing engagement and digital literacy skills;
- the application of mobile technology and digital journalism skills to create more responsive, relevant and employable print journalists.

The thesis includes an iBook that describes the elements of the training workbooks I wrote and used for the case-study workshops. The final element of the thesis is two documentaries. Mojo Working, which describes the first of the mojo workshops, is designed to demonstrate the process to communities wishing to establish their own program. The second documentary, Cherbourg Mojo Out Loud, describes the introduction of mojo into the education sphere.

Like most case-study research, the mojo case-study workshops were designed to empirically investigate their subject matter; in this case, a new form of mobile journalism used to create UGS. The aim of this form of investigation is to develop new knowledge by empirically testing assumptions
in training praxis, pedagogy and philosophies (Gilgun 2010). Empirically immersive qualitative research is a mode of study that adopts an interpretive approach to data by investigating elements within their context and considering the subjective meanings that people bring to their situation (Clough & Nutbrown 2006). Hence my methodology is designed to explore the creation of skills within new communities of practice, with participants who ‘have had [or are having] the same life experiences or significant life events’ (Weerakkody 2009: 53). The case-study workshops investigate groups engaging in a process of collective learning.

The primary case-study workshop, NT Mojo, is an Indigenous study in remote communities. The supplementary workshops in secondary and tertiary education in Australia and MSM in Timor, Denmark and Australia were designed to further develop mojo praxis and pedagogy with students and print journalists. More specifically, the study investigates my contention that a digital partnership, a common digital language, which creates collaborations between community, education and the media profession, is made possible by common technologies and pedagogy.

Interdisciplinary mass communication arts- and practice-based research such as this often focuses on empowerment and the observable (Lottridge 2009: 150). It is a relatively new form of investigation, which began about 50 years ago. Arts-based research is a response to the increased role print and broadcast media has had in society (Jensen 2012). It has raised complex questions about how to evaluate the quality of arts-based research and even whether distinctions exist between art and research (Wadsworth 2011). However, as the physical sciences begin to accept that the natural world works not so much through cause and effect as through relationships and connections (McNiff & Whitehead 2006), we begin to understand the value of arts- and practice- based research.

Moreover, the relevance of this study is enhanced by the shift from singular reproduction in the hands of the rich, arty or religious to a more egalitarian reproduction using digital tools. Theoretically, as Walter Benjamin described,
this ‘emancipates the work of art from its parasitical dependence on ritual…to be based on another practice, politics’ (Jensen 2012: 7). Jensen uses this to describe the always on editing, curatorial and change capacity made possible by mobile digital devices, which potentially creates a state of global choice, control and a sense of being able to be ‘virtually present in a literally absent world’ (2012: 8). Given relevant skills, this could translate into a shift to a more political voice and engagement with public events and issues in a new global public communications sphere.

Unlike art where you have senders (artists) and receivers (audience), the digital media sphere consists of networks of asynchronous media. These media enable a mass of people to be both sender and receiver, to ‘raise and answer questions, one on one and collectively—synchronously and asynchronously—introducing new forms of interpretation and interaction, as they become eyeballs for one another’ (Jenson 2012: 8). It is this key concept of interactivity—eyeballing the world—that begins to clarify the relationship between communication and action, and the resulting power shifts, particularly in what has been described as today’s communications-driven network society (Castells 2009). Also it is the study’s relationship between technology and communication in action that necessitates the basis for the action research approach of this thesis.

### 3.2 Design

The purpose of a theoretical framework is ‘to move the research…into the realm of the explanatory [not] for it to be a straightjacket into which the data is stuffed and bound’ (Anfara & Mertz 2006: 68). Hence, qualitative research around immersive media practice often begins in written form, but is often presented using some other method such as video or training manuals. In keeping with usual qualitative practice, I have chosen a mixed-method approach that includes this exegesis describing the work-based and action research, an iBook that outlines the mojo process and technologies, and two broadcast quality documentaries describing the NT Mojo context and an educational workshop.
I did not directly work for the organisations and communities in which I conducted my research. However, it is seen as work-based as it impacts on a number of workplace environments. While my research is not immediately about supposed good or bad practice, the success of the type of vocational training being offered often relies on eliminating what could be called bad practice. Moreover, as in traditional work-based research, the aim of this study is to arrive at observations and recommendations that are capable of being implemented in further development of the format and/or style (Hart 2005).

In this study, as practitioner-researcher, I initially based the workshop structure and training on 20 years of my own experience in pioneering self-shot television production (an early form of UGC). In doing so I was able to compare proven training methodologies against new digital mobile technologies and associated praxis. The final stage of any work-based research involves a report evaluating what has been learnt, what has worked and what has not. The structure and output of this study follows the traditional work-based action research style, described in Table 1.
### Table 1 Research structure

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stage</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Creative work practice</td>
<td>Action research and immersion into communities to use the researcher’s existing skills sets to create case-study workshops to train mojos and undertake investigation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creative capital output</td>
<td>The artifacts of this research are:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- UGS workshops—further developed through new knowledge learned from running workshops</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- lesson plans—developed specifically for digital storytelling across the three abovementioned spheres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- comprehensive training manuals—developed from self-shot formats and rewritten to focus on digital storytelling skill sets and further developed during mojo workshops</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- short training manuals for schools and MSM</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- training videos</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- editing knowledge resulting in UGS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- technology application—knowledge about using various hardware and software individually or in combination to create UGS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- iBook on <em>How To Mojo</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- two documentaries describing the workshop process</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- mojos UGS (videos)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exegesis</td>
<td>The collation of information including the findings and recommendations provided in this work-based report format (Hart 2005).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Action research is a postmodernist model that situates the researcher as a participant, ‘an active democrat prepared to make statements about what your work is about and how it can best serve the interest of others’ (McNiff & Whitehead 2006: 65). This form of inquiry enables skilled practitioners to investigate and evaluate their work as trainers and agents of research developed on the job by participants providing information on new methods of delivery (McNiff & Whitehead 2006). This influences theories that are generally based on many years of non-academic practice-led investigation.
The opportunity to investigate those theories and past praxis enables the practitioner to become researcher and show how they have contributed to new practices and how these new practices can inform new theory. As McKernan (1988) describes it, it is self-reflective problem solving, which enables practitioners to better understand and solve pressing problems in social settings. In *The Reflective Practitioner*, Schön observes that:

Practitioners themselves often reveal a capacity for reflection on their intuitive knowing in the midst of action and sometimes use this capacity to cope with the unique, uncertain, and conflicted situation of practice...an analysis of the distinctive structure of reflection-in-action is susceptible to a kind of rigor that is both like and unlike the rigor of scholarly research and controlled experiment. (1983: viii)

However, the conclusions reached by practitioners involved in action research are rarely neutral: ‘different people prioritize different values...Evaluation processes are always politically constituted and involve the exercise of power’ (McNiff & Whitehead 2006: 69). Practitioners also bring years of world experience to bear on research. Sometimes this is seen as a shortcoming of action research, for instance by academics, who occupy the high ground of research, whom Schön (1983) calls professional elites. Practitioners, on the other hand, who occupy the research swamplands, create practical knowledge that is useful but not seen as ‘real theory’. The irony is that ‘the research produced in the swamps is generally most useful for ordinary people’ (McNiff & Whitehead 2006: 17), because it presents in accessible language, something professional elites can keep as obscure. This is why anthropological research, which can use a combination of field, laboratory and theoretical study, often produces culturally exciting books.

Schön maintains that swamp dwellers should create knowledge through investigating their practice and present theories in the same academic forms as the professional elite. McNiff sees action research as providing a necessary flattening of that elite topology because, ‘many people working in higher education now perceive themselves as practitioners in a workplace
with the responsibility of supporting other people in workplaces’ (2006: 18). Hence Whitehead argues that using action research to investigate self-study enables practitioners to create supportive and ‘democratic communities of practice committed to a scholarship of educational enquiry’ (Cited in 2006: 18).

In action research the degree to which researchers are able to embed themselves into the community determines the degree to which research becomes a social participatory process, where structures are understood and the community and researcher work in sync to produce critical knowledge, aimed at social transformation. A major perceived difference between the two forms of research is that ‘participatory researchers assume they will be resisted by vested interests from above, whereas action researchers are often consultants hired by the powerful’ (Herr & Anderson 2005: 16). However, my experience shows that it is often difficult to do participatory research without having been invited, and being a consultant does not immediately exclude one from being involved in participatory research. I have also found that action research often adopts a participatory approach. Without a level of immersion research participants are not as willing to trust the researcher to shift the power flow and guide them into the horizontal information sphere of, in this case, the sending and receiving acts of mass communication, which Castells believes is critical to increasing the ‘autonomy of the communicating subjects’ (2009: 5).

Unlike traditional observational research that frowns on intervention, action research demands some form of intervention. Herr and Anderson provide a list of intervention milestones they call a ‘spiral of action cycles’ (Herr & Anderson 2005: 5). Figure 3 demonstrates how these mirror the design steps of the NT Mojo case-study workshop.
Each subsequent cycle in the action research spiral increases the researcher’s knowledge of the original question, in other words, each change brought about by action. For example, the difference between the way a workshop participant uses a smartphone camera before and after a workshop adds to understanding or new knowledge through research. This occurs in a cyclic or spiral process which alternates between action and reflection and leads to (a) refinement of existing theory or (b) new theory about practice and (c) a solution to the problem, leading to change, greater understanding and new levels of literacy and self-confidence. This will be discussed in Chapter 5.

Because the media landscape is rapidly changing, one concern in my research is to maintain currency. This is why my primary focus is on the story element of mojo rather than on shifting technology. Hence, the design story of this study emanates from empirical action research in mobile journalism workshops, which develop a framework around which to investigate the creation of user generated story (UGS) and associated pedagogy.
3.3 Case-study workshops

3.3.1 Overview

Case studies are generally seen as ‘the preferred strategy when how and why questions are being posed [and] when the focus is on some contemporary phenomenon within some real-life environment’ (Yin 2003: 1). In this case, real-life experience centers on introducing mobile journalism, or mojo technology and skills, across three spheres of communication. The primary workshop, NT Mojo, investigates the potential of Indigenous people to acquire and use basic journalism skills and mobile technology to create locally produced content from remote communities. A secondary consideration is whether mobile journalism skills will increase literacy, self-esteem and hence engagement levels where, for example, citizens living in remote communities apply for and secure community-based media jobs.

Research demonstrates that the strength of Australian community radio and television is their positive impact on the well-being of their audiences. According to Meadows et al. this results in empowerment—a type of social glue creating a sense of belonging that binds the community and has a ‘positive impact on individuals in terms of their perceptions of social well-being’ (Meadows & Foxwell 2011: 4). Research indicates that community-based media can assist in managing an individual’s state of mind and assist with social isolation by providing a view of a ‘positive future’ (Meadows et al. 2009, 2011). This is said to be because community journalism is ‘closer to the complex “local talk” narratives at community level that play a crucial role in creating public consciousness, contributing to public sphere debate and more broadly the democratic process’ (Meadows et al. 2009: 158). Basically community broadcasting has given communities an opportunity to say ‘we are here’ (Meadows & Foxwell 2011: 13). While it has immediate well-being attributes, such journalism has wider democratic implications. It creates what Ewart (2007) refers to as a ‘series of local public spheres or a community public sphere…for local level public discussion and debate for those whose voices were typically marginalised or non-existent in mainstream media’ (Forde et al 2002 in Ewart et al. 2007: 181). This research shows that this also impacts positively on the content creators working at a local level.
While undertaking the NT Mojo study it became apparent that the role of institutions and educators will be instrumental to achieving mojo sustainability and economic viability. Hence a number of supplementary workshops were run in schools to test application and revise my pedagogy for delivering better trained and more aware student citizens (Schofield Clark & Monserrate 2011). Workshops run at tertiary level were designed to investigate whether ‘J school’ students were receiving job-ready journalism training and whether mojo was a relevant skill. Hirst and Treadwell (2011) have identified the need to graduate digitally trained journalists, and ask whether ‘educators should be teaching software and application in classrooms’? Using Storify,32 for example, to contain pieces of digital content and craft story, is an example of the technical supporting the creative. Many ‘J schools’ are not yet training students to create complete digital UGS. Until very recently J schools did not see it as part of the journalism toolkit, and neither did their teachers (Hermida 2010b) One reason for the lack of attention by ‘J schools’ was that mainstream print media still saw social and mobile as a citizen tool. There is still a fear amongst journalists and in particular interns that if they used it in newsrooms they would be less professional. A number of journalism graduates who I worked with in Denmark and who had not been exposed to digital felt that using mobile to create news, was amateur. But as todays newsrooom equip journalists with smartphones, this is not the reality. In fact much of the online video curated from the Internet by in house journalists is UGC shot on mible type devices. Training ‘J students’ to mojo is only relevant if mojo is relevant to MSM. Hence, this research scoped its use value as a tool for upskilling print journalists and delivering content for online news and more formed web TV. The workshops identify the key technical and political implications of implementing mojo pedagogy and practices in the professional print environment and describe the degree of willingness of trained journalists to become digital immigrants.

32 Storify is a social network service that lets the user create stories using social media.
3.3.2 The study size, scope and language

In this type of qualitative investigation the decision regarding the number of participants is a reflection of the study’s purpose, and, in this case also the remote environment. Samples for qualitative studies are generally much smaller than those used in quantitative studies and as little as ten subjects may be sufficient (Attran, Medin & Ross 2005). The NT Mojo case study workshop comprised 11 participants. The selection process, designed to generate varied samples and views, was rigorous and included decision making about gender, age and community. Ritchie et al. (2003) suggest that as a study proceeds more data (more subjects in a study) does not necessarily lead to more information. This is primarily because in qualitative research the view is that one occurrence is potentially as useful as many in understanding the process behind a research topic (Mason 2010).

Hence, as a general rule, the sample size of qualitative studies should ‘follow the concept of saturation and cease when the collection of new data does not shed any further light on the issue under investigation’ (Mason 2010: 2). Mason further suggests that a small study making modest claims might achieve saturation quicker than a study aiming to describe a process that spans disciplines. Hence, as explained in Chapter 1, this study, which is impacted by geographical and cultural imperatives, specifically investigates mobile journalism created using a smartphone. Running workshops across multiple environments, such as occurred with the supplementary studies, produced the socio-specific results and a more useful conclusion.

Geography is a determinant that impacts the participant’s views of a study. For example, initial training held at Batchelor Institute for Indigenous Training and Education (BIITE) was difficult for trainees who were away from their families and community. The impact of location on the study will be discussed in detail in Chapter 5.

Other factors impacting the workshops related to the need for a fully articulated training proposal. This was particularly the case for the Indigenous workshops, which required certain technical safeguards and cultural
Restrictive government practices and bans on Google and YouTube impacted the workshops held at a journalism school at Nottingham University in Ningbo, China.

Language played a part in the Indigenous and Timorese workshops. Indigenous participants struggled with language, making it necessary to extend workshops. In some instances, Timorese participants required a translator, which slowed workshops. Details of these factors are provided in the full description of the case studies in chapters 5 and 6.

3.3.3 Ethics procedure and collecting evidence and analysis

Ethics applications to run case-study workshops in the Northern Territory, Queensland, Victoria, Western Australia, China, East Timor and Denmark were made to the national Human Research Ethics Committee by completing the National Ethics Application Form (NEAF) and to the Deakin Ethics Committee, and all were approved. As part of the training workshop and to facilitate the mojo output component of the case studies, I developed plain language statements and a set of comprehensive guidelines to facilitate production. In all case studies participants were required to produce videos that would be uploaded to the Internet. While the primary emphasis was on producing and publishing completed mojo stories, participants in the major study were asked a series of questions before and after the training and also asked to reflect on the workshop. The NEAF forms outlined the ethics clearance process, including being vetted by Indigenous reviewers from the education sphere. In developing the design methodology, I tried to ensure that the three concerns identified by Waller (2010) were addressed, (a) consultation, (b) respect and Indigenous involvement and (c) outcome benefits. These and other ethical issues, which are crucial to practice-based research, are discussed in Chapter 5.

All the case-study workshops involved location training. In each instance permissions were sought and received from the community, school, university

33 See Guidelines in Appendix.
or media organisation to run the workshop and report on the findings. Principals and course conveners provided consent for workshops at educational institutions. Consent to run mainstream media workshops was obtained from managing editors. In all instances the case-study workshops were considered to be low risk by the NEAF committee.

All case-study candidates were informed that participation was voluntary and that confidentiality of data would be maintained at all times and that their identification would only occur with their consent. The NEAF applications and discussions with participants indicated that they would be identified as journalists on camera in videos and in written material, as this was an aspect of investigation. This was approved by NEAF and all participants agreed to being named and shown on camera. Care was taken to ensure that participants did not feel threatened by the program or the group dynamic. It is understood that the method and psychology of working with individuals within groups often relies on pairing (choosing) participants to better facilitate discussion (Fontana & Frey 2000: 663). What is not often realised is that a group dynamic is never fully understood until pairing(s) is made. Research design needs to account for this shifting state that I call 'organic dynamics'.

**Interviews:** I chose to include interviews because we live in an interview society (Atkinson & Silverman 1997). The interview is ‘as much a product of social dynamic as it is a product of accurate accounts and replies, [it] has become a routine, almost unnoticed, part of everyday life’ (Fontana & Frey 2000: 647). Interviews with traditional Indigenous people are much easier today because their exposure to western media has meant even the most remote communities are aware of the structure of interviews. In reality, and certainly in a participatory action research environment, the interview becomes ‘a discourse between two or more speakers’ with meanings ‘contextually grounded by interviewer and respondent’ (Schwandt 1997). Fontana & Fey further develop this concept:

> Researchers are not invisible, neutral entities, rather, they are part of the interactions they seek to study and influence those interactions. There is a growing realisation that interviewers are not the mythical,
neutral tools envisioned by survey research...interviews are seen as negotiated accomplishments of both interviewers and respondents that are shaped by the contexts and situations in which they take place. (2000: 663)

Moreover, this statement by Fontana & Frey implies certain types of interviews are better suited to particular situations. This reality shaped my decision to vary my interview style to reflect my understanding of the person being interviewed and their environment. My interviews of participants were as described by Yin: ‘guided conversations rather than structured queries...likely to be fluid rather than rigid’ (2003: 106). I first experienced this in 1990 when interviewing remote Indigenous people for the ABC TV documentary Benny and the Dreamers (Burum 1991). In that film Indigenous people preferred to be interviewed with another community member sitting behind them, to the left or right, who would corroborate they were telling the true story. Indigenous people are more reflexive in face-to-face situations so interviews were conducted with all participants of the NT Mojo workshop before and after the workshop. Interviews were also conducted with a number of teachers, key experts in mobile journalism and the media and were based on their field of expertise and the impact of digital and social media on their working environment. Interviews are discussed further in Chapter 5.

**Surveys:** Where possible participants were asked to complete a set of survey questions about their use of mobile phones and social media. These were designed to help participants think more about aspects of the workshops. Students in primary school worked with teachers to complete their questionnaires. Some journalism students and journalist participants chose not to complete their questionnaires, due to time constraints.

**Case-study findings:** Research evidence can come from as many as eleven sources (Yin 2003: 106). I used seven: documents, interviews, direct observation, participant observation, films and physical artifacts and quantitative data. The process of data collection included training workshops, a questionnaire, participants’ on-camera reaction to the training and the
broadcast of their digital stories. Audio interviews were transcribed and notes kept on the case-study workshops. I used a mixture of qualitative and quantitative data to enable and document behavioral and specific events that occurred as a result of the intervention and outcomes within the case study (Yin 2003). The aim of the analysis strategy was to build conclusions based on relevant literature, the case-study evidence and an assessment of results against prior knowledge and the experience I brought to the study.

3.3.4 A methodology for choosing technology

A concept of user well-being, especially one that relates to self-confidence and empowerment, has become an important consideration in research. Hence, the mojo kit was designed with the user experience in mind. User research is often bound by an investigation into well-being and two distinct philosophies: *hedonism* and *eudemonism* (Ryan & Deci 2001). Hedonism reflects a view that ‘well-being consists of pleasure or happiness’, whereas eudemonism posits that it lies in the ‘actualization of human potential’ (2001: 143).

They intersect when technologies like iPhones, which deliver a high degree of *hedonistic* user pleasure, are used to achieve *eudemonic* outcomes that produce positive results for many (Ryan & Deci 2001). The basic premise here is that *perceived ease of use* and *perceived usefulness* combine to influence ‘behavioral intention’, which in turn affects how the system is used (Forde 2011). My contention is that once beyond the subjective hedonic phase, of seeing mojo tools (iPhones) as icons that provide immediate pleasure, newly acquired skills can be used to enter a new phase of behavioral intention, a moral activity based on an ethical approach designed for communal good. I contend this requires a more objective approach to personal stories, which can help alternative journalists to, as Forde (2011) suggests, appeal to wider audiences, make a modest living and grow the outlet—in essence, to create saleable alternative journalism, based on a definition of objectivity that rejects neutrality, in favour of ‘the quest for truth’ (2011: 118). These are important issues when alternative journalism is
considered in a broader context than community, grassroots or citizen witness media.

Hassenzahl’s model of user experience is one method for understanding the relationship between technology and the user that acknowledges subjective impact in varying situations (Hassenzahl 2003). The framework described below is based on the assumption that product character can be described as a *pragmatic* and *hedonic* experience and measured against intended *function* and *stimulation*. The major components of the framework as they apply to this study of the application of mobile technology are as follows:

- **product features**—the iPhone’s functionality, creating a user friendliness enabling practical and theoretical components of training to be tuned specifically for each workshop environment;
- **pragmatic attributes**—the iPhone’s variable and seamless connectivity between platforms (cellular and WiFi), spheres of communication and training workshops delivering real-world skill sets that lead to job opportunities;
- **hedonic attributes**:
  - *stimulation*: positive user responses to the style and brand of technology, the workshops’ ability to empower personal growth and development of skills leading to job-ready expectation and self-esteem,
  - *identification*: the expression of self and a user’s value to their community through artifact use and skill application defined by being in possession of a new tool symbolising participation, which has a social value,
  - *evocation*—the product’s ability to provoke memories and inspire people to talk about important past events, relationships, ideas or stories,
- **consequence**: an ethical judgment holding that the value of the device and hence the act performed lies in its capacity to produce positive outcomes—that is, benefits to the mojo and the community:
  - *emotional consequences*: self-esteem, pride in achievement, in
being a useful community member and being able to personalize content ideas into a broadly accessible form,

- behavioral consequences:
  - personal: growing confidence, relevance in the community, desire to embark on further training and engagement and enhanced job prospects,
  - communal: immediate—purposeful role in the community—and sustainable—artifacts and skills retaught by the mojo to others in a local environment.

The premise is that any truth or meaning imbued in technology and training 'comes into existence in and out of our engagement with the realities in our world' (Crotty 2003: 149), or through a community of practice (Wenger 2007). In the remote Indigenous context user experience can be viewed as a consequence of interaction impacting the user’s internal state (lore, predispositions, expectations, needs, motivation, mood, digital literacy and so on); the characteristics of the designed system (for example, complexity, purpose, usability, functionality, beauty); the social and cultural context within which the interaction occurs; and feedback from that and external environments.

A qualitative approach to assessment of these appraisals can occur where the researcher is able to create an environment in which participants are encouraged to describe emotional reactions during interaction with a product. Referred to as the thinking aloud method (Mahlke, 2008), this suited the study’s more reflexive digital storytelling environment. An example is the emotional outpourings from mojos in the making of the NT Mojo video. Thinking aloud, in the context of Indigenous culture, is like talking aloud or telling stories to a community group. Like the Micronesian master mariner34 who navigates between islands to enable social, educational and cultural inclusion, our mojos became intercommunity pilots, way finders in a virtual sea of interconnecting digital nodes, a reflection encouraged by the interactive nature of the iPhone.

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34 Based on an oral culture, Micronesian navigators are chosen through a process of learning and a process of selection that begins at a young age.
The mojo program is as much about innovation as it is about technology. Hence any attempt to bridge the digital divide in the three abovementioned spheres of communication will require a change agent to introduce and make an innovative way of communicating less ‘diffusive’ (Rogers 2003).

Understanding what the innovation is—whether it is technology, pedagogy or application—is a key consideration when looking to implement change. Rogers believes the newness of an idea provides it with a degree of uncertainty, which in turn makes it diffusive—susceptible to varying degrees of adoption. This was mitigated in my research workshops as they were based on a high degree of tried knowledge, which, according to Rogers, counteracts uncertainty and therefore the diffusive aspect, making adoption and the user experience more predictable (Rogers 2003).

Moreover, the user experience helps shape pedagogical outcomes by helping define the style of use of tools of trade—the type of hardware and the praxis—to determine the practical and hedonic nature of any program. The length of courses, the type of equipment and the outcomes can all be impacted by the way the user perceives the experience at its outset. Chapters 5 and 6 explore in greater detail four stages of diffusive user experience: innovation—the technology or delivery; communication—the structure of the workshops; time—taken for the innovation to be adopted; community—across three distinct user groups.

3.3.5 Publication

In a broader context, because initial responses to events and circumstances usually result in hedonic responses that are subjective and often last only a moment, having participants record, construct and publish their stories—potentially turning a personal citizen witness moment, into a more eudemonic act of citizen journalism—is critical to shifting the focus from individual to community perspectives. Table 2 outlines how, in the context of this study, publication occurred three ways: artifacts, content, product. Creating online exposure is a key component not only because publishing content is a politicised act and needs a distribution vehicle, but also because seeing
stories on a bigger public canvas provides greater incentive to ‘get it right’. In 1981 when I ran my first self-shot workshops at an inner-city high school in Melbourne’s west, publishing stories was a vital component to getting students to try harder. In students’ minds, publication equated to television, which meant creating content of a quality that others would watch. One of the participants in the NT Mojo project observes, ‘My grandfather has seen the story on video and the web but he’s always more proud to see community stuff on TV’. For students, publication was validation of their link with community and provided added incentive to do more. For journalists, publication is fundamental to doing journalism and a key to adoptability. The relevance of publication is further discussed in chapters 5 and 6.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Genre</th>
<th>Definition</th>
<th>Example of publication</th>
</tr>
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| Artifact | The result of the research design activity—case studies; review of literature. | - Training workbooks and other material  
- Lesson plans  
- Research findings in the exegesis  
- Scholarly publications  
- Conference presentations |
| Content | UGS contain the output of the mojos exposure to and their use of the artifacts and the result of recording and editing on iPhones, iPods or iPads. | - UGC is formed into UGS that are constructed and published on the web and constitute mojo content—complete story packages developed and produced by mojos |
| Product | The recognition of mojo content in its various forms as commodified and monetised capital | - Mojo UGS on television and web  
- Mojo skills used to create news stories for broadcast  
- Mojo created government messaging  
- Mojo UGS screened at film festivals in competition  
- Mojo practices become part of various curriculum  
- Mojo work assisting development of edit App on sale through the iTunes App store  
- Mojo production kit assembled for use in the case studies  
- Mojo documentary on mainstream TV |
| Capital | Mojos being employed for their skills | - New levels of cultural capital exhibited by mojos engaged in mobile journalism praxis |

### 3.3.6 Pedagogy: Creating digital literacy in a mobile environment

The problem with learning through ‘trial and error’, which is often the way when early adopters move from one device to the next, is that they are never there long enough to get a complete sense of possibilities. Hence in mobile environments learning is often equated with home screen functionality, calling
and sending text and pictures online. What is needed is a more digitally literate user, with a more holistic view of the potential of acquiring knowledge, which takes years to amass, filter and learn to communicate (Palmer 2011). Rheingold says powerful pocket-sized multimedia studios and global information networks can mislead us if we don’t learn how to exert mental control in relation to always being switched on (Rheingold 2012). It is as much about realising the potential as it is about not being misled.

Although media and educational institutions have been slow to incorporate digital storytelling literacies, practical know how with basic training is available to those who want it and who figure out how to find it. A key to online success will be growing social capital and online tool sense in virtual communities by curating information before it becomes overbearing (Rheingold 2012). To achieve this level of control, today’s digital pedagogies need to be relevant across multiple locations and spheres of communication (Puentedura 2013). This creates the possibility of a common digital content creation and publishing language (CDL) in a multimodal literacy program (Walsh 2011) taught at primary school, developed at secondary, implemented specifically at tertiary level and used by professionals. An examination of these possibilities is presented in Chapter 6.

3.4 Effectiveness, outcomes and translation

A key element of the methodology is what I call the ‘value add back end’; in academic terms, the translation phase of the study. Discussed in Chapter 5, the effectiveness of workshops can be measured against real outcomes in the translation phase. This phase demonstrates the effectiveness of the program, the balance between technology and training material, across communication spheres. A major aim of the research is to develop pedagogy that balances the relationship between technology, the user and the various social spheres of implementation. Expressed in his book *Understanding Media: the extensions of man*, Marshall McLuhan calls this relationship the *techne* (1951). While we are accustomed to ‘splitting and dividing all things as a means of control’, McLuhan believes ‘the personal and social
consequences of any medium, that is any extension of ourselves, results from the new scale that is introduced into our affairs by each extension of our selves or by any new technology’ (1964: 23). In essence his 1964 post-modern trope, that the ‘medium is the message’, is consistent with this belief that a techne relationship exists and impacts our lives, although this is seemingly inconsistent with his latter view that ‘electric media could conceivably usher in the millennium, but it also holds the potential for realizing the Anti-Christ’ (McLuhan 1968: 22). If McLuhan means that an untrained user will be unwieldy and not realise the potential of the techne, then his trope holds true today. I argue that this will be proven inconsistent when training is introduced to impact social consequences and increase the use value of the end result.

McLuhan contends all media can work to break the balance that existed in society before electronic media when the senses purposed life. For him, it seems, technological innovations are ‘extensions of human abilities and senses that alter this sensory balance—an alteration that, in turn, inexorably reshapes the society that created the technology’ (Rogaway 1994: 1). This certainly can be true of mobile technology, which has been transformed into a media-rich platform that makes disseminating information, entertainment and news possible on the move from anywhere (Westlund 2013). In the online age one manifestation of this is new virtual mobile tribalism, something McLuhan also predicted and which is founded in what are described as online colonies or network societies (Rheingold 1994; Castells 2009) made possible by new technologies. It is a movement that is changing how, for example, people access news, with some legacy media predicting that mobile news consumption will ‘surpass that of personal computers in a few years’ (Seale cited in Westlund 2013: 8).

As users become more prolific content creators another layer of investigation is needed about the skill set required to be able to capitalise on relationships created within the techne. More specifically, this relationship can be expressed as the balance between practical skills and what Lee Duffield refers to as ‘a study of contexts’ (2011: 1). In a pedagogical sense this is an
evaluation of what Ruben Puentedura calls the translation phase (2012): the balance at training between mechanical job-ready skills and theoretical capacity, that is, training in journalism ethics, style, narrative construction and writing. In some instances case-study workshops became our window into a translation phase:

- Community outcomes were diverse and included a growing self-esteem within the community as mojos became recognised for the skills and their storytelling role. The community training translated into jobs, media awards and a desire to embark on further training.
- Within education the translation phase provided new opportunities for introducing pedagogy around mobile journalism skill sets. This enabled new forms of literacy training across multiple curriculum areas and the creation of inter-curricular spin-offs. Teachers indicated that the skill sets translated into a new confidence among students involved in mojo and a willingness to learn new skills.
- In the professional sphere training enabled a rational integration into digital content and complete story delivery to create a rounded and more employable digital journalist.

3.5 Summary

Nina Weerakkody (2009) identifies the type of social research presented here as political research; which she defines as studies located in a politicised context. The research presented here reflects this definition because much of it is focused on researching marginalised Indigenous voices, subjugated student populations and under-skilled journalists. The aim of the project was that, after undertaking workshops, participants in each sphere would create UGS uniquely related to their experience:

- community mojos provide grassroots perspective on local issues and gain job-ready skills and heightened self-confidence;
- student mojos create content relevant to their local community and become more citizen-minded;
- professional journalists trained to participate in a new style of digital
A major focus of this study is how to create sustainable mojo pedagogies in the three identified spheres of communication (community, education and MSM). More specifically, it investigates a common digital language that bridges spheres of communication. Given this the research validity—efficacy of design against desired outcomes—needs to be discussed from an internal and an external perspective. The internal validity addresses the correctness of the design, in particular:

- Creation of a workable unambiguous design. This occurred through a training manual whose validity was tested and verified over many years of use in a citizen television environment. Because of the researcher’s professional experience a pilot was deemed unnecessary. Conversely, the case study may be seen as a pilot introducing citizen journalism technologies and practices.
- Obtaining permissions and ethical clearances. All regulatory procedures were in place to enable the study and confirm the study was relevant.
- Realisation of outcomes: while the study scopes (a) methods of training, and (b) sustainable mobile journalism pedagogies, long-term outcomes were not factored into the study, although a number of long-term outcomes were realised, to be discussed as part of the evaluation phase in Chapter 5.
- Flexibility to modify the study. When it became evident that sustainability could be achieved in the education sector and that mainstream print media required the same digital training program, the duration of training was altered to cater for three factors: age, language ability and availability.

External validation of this research was made possible by deploying the workshops across differing spheres of communication in Australia and internationally. What began as a study in marginalised communities was extended to the education and professional spheres. Running the workshops
with different demographic groups and in a variety of cultures confirmed the common visual language translator aspect of the training. This enabled a triangulation of practices delivering results from various perspectives across interdisciplinary spheres of communication. How convergence is impacting the three spheres mentioned above and what is required for the user to capitalise on this convergence beyond rudimentary home-screen use value is discussed in the next chapter.
4 Convergence at click speed

‘The newspaper is in all its literalness the bible of democracy, the book out of which a people determines its conduct.’

Walter Lippmann

4.1 Overview

The research presented here scopes the shape of a common digital language, a bridge across converging spheres of communication, and a praxis that transforms raw user-generated content (UGC) into more complete user-generated stories (UGS). Hence this chapter seeks to explore the shape of convergence, in particular the development of digital news models, new praxis and new technologies. Knowing the direction and speed of professional media convergence provides one possible road map for citizens and schools wishing to participate in online digital media publication.

Lippmann’s quote does not so much refer to Fourth Estate ideals, which position the press as a sentinel promoting democratic principles, as it does to the press acting as a preacher or prophet. He sees the newspaper as a bible by which to mould lives, which limits the discursive forum in which the public sphere exists to one delivering spoon-fed information (Dewey 2012). Lippmann does acknowledge the importance of public opinion formed through collectives with political interests whose role is to manipulate the masses. Hence his desire for a press to maintain freedom of opinion and in particular to distinguish between errors, illusion and misrepresentation (Lippmann 2008). When media converges online it changes and redefines the shape of the public sphere, from a controllable national space, to one existing in a global network society. As more citizens begin to create content on billions of devices that converge online, the new public sphere becomes more difficult to define, as does the role of the press as sole purveyor of credible information and sentinel of truth and democracy.
‘Not everything or everyone is globalized, but the global networks that structure the planet affect everything and everyone.’

Manuel Castells

The introduction of technology has always signaled a convergence phase in communication. In 1746 the invention of the telegraph, known today as the Victorian Internet, enabled the first real-time wired point-to-point, one-to-one electronic communication across borders (Standage 1998). The wireless enabled the next communications shift to one of many mass distribution and heralded an new era in entertainment, propaganda and journalism (Starkey & Crisell 2009). In the 20th century news became bigger business and the monopolisation of news created a new tension between those who championed journalism ideals and tabloid businessmen like Randolph Hearst. Television, which killed the illustrated newspaper and reinvented the way news and information was communicated, was the next major change (Hirst & Harrison 2007: 89). The news platform aspect of the Internet developed in two stages: the take-off years from 1995 to 1996, and the period 2005 to 2006 prompted by ‘wireless technology and the upsurge in user generated news’ (O'Donnell, McKnight & Este 2012: 15), or what Hirst (2011) calls user-generated news-like content (UGNC). While, Quinn (2005) says the crystal ball remains cloudy, current trends are providing at least a first render of a shifting landscape.

As early as 2001 Sue Tapsall found that journalists felt the Internet was a useful tool but concluded journalists felt ‘powerless to maintain news quality in the face of technological change and media commercialisation’ (Cited in O’Donnell; McKnight; Este 2012: 15). The issues were workload and a fear that quality journalism that is of ‘public benefit’ (2012: 37) was at risk as news converged online and became more defined by the 24-hour news cycle and UGC. This is seen as one of the major challenges to quality investigative journalism. Only three years earlier, in 1998, journalists at the Australian Broadcasting Corporation expressed the same concerns when it began its move to digital and multiskilling.
Pavlik and McIntosh (2014) describe convergence as: technological—the rise of digital media and online communication networks; economic—the merging of Internet and telecommunications companies with traditional media companies; and cultural—the values, beliefs and practices shared by a group of people. Table 3 is a tabular representation of Quinn and Filak’s more elaborate convergence descriptor, with my suggestions around impact of convergence. The two descriptions provide the vocabulary needed to discuss convergence (2005: 4).
Table 3 Types of convergence

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types of Convergence</th>
<th>Descriptor</th>
<th>Impact</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ownership convergence</td>
<td>Machinations for creating a more effective use of resources by owning for example radio, print and television under one umbrella company.</td>
<td>Aimed at maximising audience reach, it is driven by lower costs and increased efficiencies. It impacts the structure of newsrooms and cross-platform content aggregation practices.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tactical convergence</td>
<td>Content sharing between media organisations at ground level, where producers swap tapes, or at the more formal corporate level, where output deals are struck. A common relationship is print with television.</td>
<td>Driven by commercial imperatives and the news cycle it impacts relationships between media organisations and a media’s own level of content output.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Structural convergence</td>
<td>Management process associated with changes in news-gathering and distribution and converging areas of the corporations business like employing multimedia journalists (curation team) to repackage print for television.</td>
<td>Frustration amongst journalists, redundancies, loss of DNA, less output in favour of curation. Cheap content for television.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>News-gathering convergence</td>
<td>The result of an internal decision to retrain staff to work across platforms, they need to learn multiple skills to in effect become multimedia journalists.</td>
<td>Commercially driven, this multiskilled approach is not unlike the digital skill sets required by a mojo and, like structural convergence, can cause great frustrations and fears amongst journalists.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Storytelling convergence</td>
<td>Skills-based convergence resulting in a more holistic approach and an amalgam of story styles, technologies and platforms, to create a more dynamic and interactive web-based multimedia style of story called UGS.</td>
<td>This is the creative realm of the mojo where technical and skills convergence work to produce dynamic multimedia stories. Skills that can be taught to non-professionals that enable a more holistic story-teller.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Quinn and Filak question whether ‘editorial managers are adopting it [convergence], to save money or to do better journalism’, and conclude “the two issues go hand in hand” (2005: 4). I believe that the latter is mostly true, depending on the definition of ‘better journalism’. John Hailes, the pioneering editor who introduced convergence at the Orlando Sentinel, believes convergence can only succeed if there is a top-down shift of corporate culture. However, very few organisations do this, ‘choosing instead to focus on the relationships, newsroom layouts, [and] titles…” (cited in Quinn 2005: 4). Hence convergence relies on management’s willingness to train staff to be able to practice convergence (Madsen 2012); to prepare them, as Quinn and Filak suggest, for doing journalism and telling stories, ‘using the most appropriate media’ (2005: 7). More specifically, to train staff to use a combination of relevant media, to tell stories. It is this multimedia aspect and skill set that defines the journalist level of convergence.

I disagree with Quinn and Filak’s contention ‘that the importance of the news event should dictate the depth and type of coverage, and influence the size of the team involved’ (2005: 7). It can, but the size of the multimedia storytelling team is not necessarily relative to the depth of the story. Traditionally, in-depth stories would have a reporter and a cameraperson working on them. Today, mojos can cover these stories on their own. Yet, even a mojo story might involve a graphics person, an archivist or an online editor, depending on the intended use. In my experience size and input factors are also based on the convergent nature of the business. While media convergence may be the result of advanced technologies and restructured practice, in news it is driven by primarily commercial imperatives. Even creative storytelling convergence occurs in news because it is a commercial reality. Until revenues and the advertising dollar shift to online news models,35 media will be looking for cheap and fast methods of curating existing content and repurposing it and their own news, across converging platforms. This shows commercial imperatives still prevail over technological optimism and that new models will require a balance between the two.

35 70 per cent of Ekstra Bladet’s revenues still come from its print edition.
Quinn and Filak (2005) argue their definition of convergence is not about corporate conglomeration, like the AOL Huffington Post merger; nor is it about many technologies converged in one box. Quinn settles on a definition that claims convergence is an activity and, I suspect a thought process, that leads to a cultural shift that ‘takes place in a news room, as editorial staff work together to produce multiple products for multiple platforms to reach a mass audience, often on a 24/7 timescale’ (2005: 4). I agree, but this is also where our definitions begin to diverge. In 2013, seven years after Quinn and Filak’s book was published, the proliferation of powerful hand-held pocket creative suites makes the converged box definition difficult to discount. This is especially so given that smart mobile technology impacts four out of five of Quinn and Filak’s convergence descriptors. Moreover, digital story convergence extends beyond newsrooms through all spheres of communication, including education and community, which plays to Hirst’s suggestion that any definition should include the ‘the social relations of convergence’ (2007: 9).

The dialectic around convergence occurs in the changing relationship between technology and outcome, which results in a dialogue about the way we exist within our media world(s). Hirst likens this to DNA and a process of ‘interaction, mutation and conflict’ (2007: 19). I would add to this that it is not unlike the underlying metrics described by the Social Development Model (SDM), a theoretical approach to human behaviour (Hawkins & Catalano 1992). SDM (see Chapter 7) hypothesises that development is based on opportunities (interaction with convergent knowledge and technologies); skills (a mutation of existing habitus through social capital); and recognition (conflict as a result of exposure). Producing UGS requires skills and a political will to make stories that empower and create change, but in addition it needs an understanding of convergent workflows in order to structure and publish content across multiple platforms. Hence my definition of convergence includes practical skills—development, research, filming, interviewing, writing, editing; technical skills—use of smartphone, audio devices and camera, microphone and edit App; and publishing skills—telephony and web. These skills are required to effectively use digital mobile technologies to create
convergent stories (video and audio) and participate in convergent practices (filming and publishing). I would add another descriptor: freedom of political thought and speech, which digital convergence enables, and possibly requires. The ability to complete converged UGS on a mobile device from start to finish, anywhere, anytime, by anyone (citizen or professional), is empowering and distinguishes converging styles of mojo from other video forms.

Further, as UGC fragments are structured into more complete UGS, these converge to form user-generated programs (UGP) that can be scheduled on web TV. More specifically, UGC and UGS are examples of the *news-gathering and storytelling* convergence discussed above. UGP incorporates news-gathering and storytelling but is also plays a role in *ownership, tactical and structural convergence*. At the ownership level UGP enables a better use of existing internal resources. On a tactical level UGP enables program sales to occur between media and UGPs to become part of output deals. Structurally, editors who are assigned to create new production strands can commission UGPs from internal and external suppliers. But organisational attitudes to convergence and commercial pressures to succeed will impact how traditional media makes the switch to convergent technologies and practices and the connection with external suppliers. There is no denying this shift will involve the citizen content creation sphere (Entwistle 2012). Like UGS, UGPs such as *HuffPostLive*, Al Jazeera’s *The Stream*, and a raft of programs from *Ekstra Bladet*’s EBTV, provide formats around which to curate UGC and UGS into more bankable hybrid forms—a type of neo-journalism that marries social content and traditional production form—designed to draw the public and then advertisers to new online platforms, which are more interactive, but look much like those they are used to on TV.
4.2 Convergence impacting news business

‘A good newspaper, I suppose, is a nation talking to itself.’

Arthur Miller

Michael Gawenda, former editor of The Age, suggests that ‘no newspaper in a democracy has ever been a nation ‘talking to itself’ (2008: 1). Literally, of course not, but Miller’s statement might suggest either, a good newspaper can get a nation talking or that the only real newspaper is one that is influenced by a nation that’s talking, or both. Today, Miller’s statement could also include the words ‘and this is happening more via smart devices’.

Notwithstanding the importance of communicating and the value of all sorts of communication (Archer 2007), the question remains, how do we get the talk to be more purposeful? How do we get the nation talking to itself in a more reflexive way? Indeed how do we ensure that convergent practices don’t result in a loss of net neutrality and or editorial independence?

Consider this scenario: The volume of UGC reaches its current massive proportions and as more citizens turn to the Internet for news and information, the print newspaper faces extinction in as little as five years. Managing Editor of Danish tabloid, Ekstra Bladet, predicts that in three years their print edition will be showing a loss (Madsen 2013). The Digital Futures Project at the University of Southern California Center for Digital Futures, predicts the only print newspapers that will survive will be at the extremes of the medium—the largest and the smallest (Cole 2011). In News 2.0 Martin Hirst paints a similar picture of a media sliding into depression, albeit a few years earlier: ‘In the first few months of 2009, obituaries were being prepared for a number of American newspapers…the Seattle Post-Intelligencer closed after 146 years of continuous publication’. He adds: ‘the Seattle Times was struggling’, and ‘earlier in 2008 a number of papers around the world began dropping their print edition’ (2011: 51). In 2012 Fairfax Media in Australia slashed 1900 jobs, advising it was going to make The Age and The SMH tabloids. Today Poul Madsen, managing editor of Ekstra Bladet, believes his print edition will not exist in three to four years (2013). The slide, according to Hirst, commenced
in the early 1960s when, in a sign of early corporate convergence, large media organisations like US media giant Gannett began buying smaller newspapers to create cost-effective monopolies and increase profits. At about the same time in the 1960s, print, screen and audio platforms began a process of corporate convergence as a response to falling revenues; they created a more dynamic immediate electronic one-stop shop for advertisers—television.

The rise of Internet connectivity—in the US household Broadband connections rose from 10 per cent in 2000 to 83 per cent in 2013; and people who use the Internet who buy online rose from 45 per cent to 78 per cent in the same period (Cole 2013)—has made traditional media, including television and especially daily newspapers, look slow and unresponsive. The advent of online classifieds like Craigslist negatively impacted advertising in print and created a sense of doom. In simple terms, based on Audit Bureau of Circulation figures ‘average newspaper sales have dropped 23 per cent since 2002 (O'Donnell, McKnight & Este 2012: 11), have resulted in budget cuts, bureau closings and layoffs. In Australia, shrinking revenue led to an announcement in July 2012 that Fairfax Media would cut 1900 staff and begin charging for content on the websites of its two main metropolitan newspapers. Fairfax chief executive Greg Hywood said that if the cuts did not work Fairfax still had the option ‘to move to a digital only model’ (Ellis 2012). Madsen sees no options except to go digital, and in 2013 he cut 22 print staff to further his digital expansion.

Deciding on a convergence strategy can be a costly exercise. But it is one that Geir Ruud, former editor and chief digital news at *Ekstra Bladet*, believes needs to be a long-term plan. In 2009, when Murdoch felt pay walls were needed to protect the exclusivity of online news content, *Guardian* Editor, Alan Rusbridger, suggested Murdoch’s idea would result in a ‘sleepwalk to oblivion’ (Greenslade 2010:). Murdoch’s response, ‘that sounds like BS to me’, signaled there were two distinct ways of thinking about the online news business. As an advocate of open journalism, Rusbridger believes accessing the ‘on the ground’, especially mobile communicators, is becoming more
critical for survival in the news business. It is a view shared by Ruud, who believes ‘what’s changed is that we don’t own the news on our own anymore, now we are sharing it with the audience, asking them for it’ (2012). In his Hugh Cudlipp lecture Rusbridger further argued that:

We’ve moved from an era in which a reporter writes a story and goes home and that’s the story written…the moment you press send on your story, the responses start coming in. And so I think journalists have to work out what to do about those responses…if you go along with open journalism, you’re going to be open to other sources. (Rusbridger 2010)

Rusbridger’s philosophies extend to paywalls. ‘We charge for mobile, we charge for iPads. It’s not that we’re against payment altogether…we don’t think that the revenues we would get from a pay wall would justify making that the main focus of our efforts right now’ (cited in Greenslade 2010). He believes it is philosophically wrong to have ‘a wall that separated our content from the readers—the people who want to contribute and the people who want to have access to it’ (2010: ). It is an open news view of journalism that has former editor of the Sydney Morning Herald, Amanda Wilson, asking ‘will we soon see a tech giant like Google or Facebook buy an ailing “legacy” media outlet and its newsroom so that it can offer the whole package to its connected users? (O’Donnell, McKnight & Este 2012: 3). The reality suggests this is already happening. AOL has moved quickly with its $315 million purchase of the independent online news site The Huffington Post. In a merger designed to provide AOL with ‘a sort of democratic alternative to Fox News’ (Zaponne 2012), The Huff gets to fulfill several strategic objectives; ‘we know we’ll be creating a company that can have an enormous impact, reaching a global audience on every imaginable platform’ (Huffington 2011). One main aim was gaining access to AOL’s Patch.com sites, which covered 800 towns across the US. Patch offered ‘an incredible infrastructure for citizen journalism in time for the 2012 election, and a focus on community and local solutions that have been an integral part of HuffPost’s DNA’ (2011). The Huffington Post offered AOL ‘brand identity’ (2011) and a way for Patch to access their ‘reader engagement tools’ (Peters & Kopytoff 2011). But just
months after *The Huffington Post* came on board, 450 Patch sites were closed, with 2013 revenue being 40 per cent down on projected revenue (Wilhelm 2013). In Australia, Kim Williams, former CEO of News Limited, was cautiously optimistic when he said his figures speak for themselves. In one week, in July 2012, he said, his company sold 17 million newspapers and hundreds of thousands of dollars’ worth of magazines and had 12 million weekly digital users. This, he said, is ‘hardly the portrait of a failing company’ (Williams 2012). However, the revelation six months later that the Australian publishing arm of News Limited was posting a $476.7 million loss with projected ‘lower future forecast earnings’ (Kwek & Kruger 2012), suggested turbulent times ahead.36

Geir Ruud, former head of online news at *Ekstra Bladet*, in an unwavering commitment to convergence, believes it is a matter of trial and error: ‘I went from paper to online in my old newspaper 14 years ago’, but it’s not easy’ (2012). Ruud adds that success will only result from corporate willingness to experiment: ‘it doesn’t happen by clicking fingers or a keyboard for that matter, you need to go out and make [digital] stories try out a few things, make lots of mistakes and then make a few good things from time to time’ (:2012 ). It is a formula that has seen *Ekstra Bladet* swim successfully against the digital tide and make money online, ‘maybe this year 3-4 million euros go to the bank, it’s not a lot but it is something’ (2012). *Ekstra Bladet*’s online revenue still comes from advertising, and 70 per cent from its ailing newspaper. ‘Most news organisations will lose money [online] in their first years…we are only able to do this [make money] because we have spent years building our online journalism base [and] we reinvest by hiring a few new reporters [each year]’ (2012). The key, according the Ruud, is to understand your market: ‘we are not the *New York Times*…with 300 million potential customers and a couple of billion people understanding English in the rest of the world, so we need to offer them something more online; more interactive sport, better almost live investigative journalism, than they would

36 Williams resigned from News Corp in August 2013 only 20 months after taking the CEO job.
get from a public station’ (2012).

Williams and Ruud both argue that working in convergent news is about changing the news culture to provide a more dynamic and responsive news. Williams believes this is done best through changing the business culture. Ruud agrees, but says this happens in concert with education. He believes education on all levels is the key to successful convergence:

I think they [students] should start with social media training on day one of the academy, if you want to be a carpenter you get a hammer and nail on day one, start training as a mojo…it’s about getting the thing done and delivered that’s what mojo does. And it doesn’t help that in academies we train reporters to be like Hemingway. Hemingway has been dead for 50 years (Ruud 2012)

Managing director of *Ekstra Bladet* Poul Madsen puts the company’s success down to exactly this, ‘we have journalists who can do everything and we have traditional and excellent investigative journalists…we are putting these journalists, young and experienced, together so that they help and learn from each other…to make a much more informative, entertaining and better product for our viewers and mobile is at the center’ (2012).

It seems this more proactive neo-journalist approach—early adoption, experimentation with style and content, and marrying new and traditional skill sets, which requires a strong commitment by management—is a fundamental formula for converging business practices, skills and technologies in the news business. Madsen’s view that video is key, obvious by his description of his audience as viewers, and that the binary approach (the old way versus the new way) can only lead to business ruin, is a common if slow realisation. His more neo-journalistic approach, where the best of traditional storytelling skills are maintained and married with relevant new social and multimedia skills, might be what journalists need, especially if AOL CEO Tim Armstrong’s prediction (see Chapter 8) about the rise of web TV is correct. If he is, we are only beginning our convergence to video (Taylor 2013). I contend convergence begins with training people about the possibilities of video
storytelling using multiple devices, creating content for different screens across convergent platforms.

4.3 A journalist’s perspective on convergence

Current trends in online news indicate three complementary development models. The first is a type of traditional model where journalists go out and interview and record video on their smartphone—which they will often also use to record the interview. The video clips are delivered to the newsroom via systems like Xstream. Here they are topped and tailed by an aggregating journalist, or they undergo a basic edit if B roll vision is used. Then the aggregating journalist, or the field journalist, will write around the pictures.

The second trend is an aggregation model that relies on journalists scouring the Internet for stories, especially those with video, and writing around these pictures. This is not a new system as many radio journalists use the write from the press release style. The third trend is a more complex web TV model that media houses like Huffington Post in the US, VG in Norway and Ekstra Bladet have adopted. A lack of in-house television skill and a shortage of production dollars to buy TV-trained staff is resulting in predominantly studio-based formats fronted and produced by journalists, who often work alone on their niche program (money, food, travel, politics etcetera), until the studio recording phase. Built around small live streaming Tri-Caster type studios, these programs are mostly conversational and rely on technology like Skype, LiveU, Dejero and smartphones to provide live vision and audio streams.

In circumstances where journalists get the opportunity to learn multimedia story creation skills, like mojo, they are able to produce magazine material like UGS for motoring, cooking and other UGPs. Anders Berner is one journalist who made this shift. He produces and hosts a new motoring format, Topfart, for EBTV. In Topfart location-based UGS is formatted into a 15–20 minute weekly UGP. Berner (2013) believes it is a big transition to move from

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37 Xstream is a proprietary toolbox for aggregating video content.
38 This is when the beginning and end of a shot is slightly trimmed and it might have generic leader or bumper attached to it.
39 A control room that creates virtual studios and uses robotic cameras.
print to UGS and then to a UGP produced by one journalist who records, hosts, writes and edits the program. He sees a willingness to learn as critical. As he says: ‘It’s actually a nice feeling where you can evolve yourself and your skills’ (Berner 2013). Jon Pagh, journalist and host of weekly sports format *Football with Attitude*, agrees but says enthusiasm should be tempered by reality: ‘If you produce for the paper you talk to two or three sources on the phone and write your story. To produce a video segment you need appointments, you have to inform them before you go, organise the camera, shoot, edit, write the article, basically you are doing everything yourself and that’s the big difference’ (Pagh 2013). This of course leads to perceived issues of quality. Executive producer for ebTV Massimo Grillo says it is ‘an ongoing psychological battle to convert print journalists to making simple video content’ (Grillo 2013). Grillo believes many print journalists are initially reluctant to cross the digital divide fearing it will result in shoddy journalism. ‘It’s true we can live with the unfocused shot in a good story, we are web TV’, but signaling ‘your work is not good, but we’ll publish it anyway’, (2013) is a red rag to journalists. As the media business becomes more networked and mangers look for enterprise bargaining to replace unionised labour (Madsen 2012), the increasing precarity that permeates journalism and its labour force also, ironically, impacts journalists’ willingness to embrace digital. They are often afraid of letting go of the sources that finance their everyday lives—the journalist’s ‘job for life’—which creates a kind of ongoing anxiety that Neilson and Rossiter (2005a) argue is another form of precarity. Although new digital skill sets could potentially reduce the risk of unemployment, they resist them because they see digital as increasing workload and downgrading craft.

To assuage journalists’ fears that online means shoddy and to raise extra funds to create quality journalism, *Ekstra Bladet* is following an EU trend and trialing a ‘freemium’软 paywall model that provides more in-depth content for paying customers. Online users have the option to subscribe to the EKSTRA page where they will find more developed news once these stories

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40 Freemium is where publishers provide aspects of stories for free and users pay for the subscription to get extra, more developed, longer and in-depth information.
have been teased on the free online or mobile sites. According to editor Lisbeth Langwadt, EKSTRA plays to ‘our quality news traditions, in disclosures, detective journalism, crime investigation, critical consumer journalism, politics and sports’ (2013). A small EKSTRA team works to refine and develop stories from *Ekstra Bladet*’s print version, focusing on quality journalism that people are willing to pay almost 4 euros a month for. ‘Almost every journalist at *Ekstra Bladet* takes part in the process to produce EKSTRA content’, the key focus being ‘converting existing users into paying customers so we can keep creating journalism that matters and of course, keep our print journalists’ (2013).

However, producing short television-like stories for the web or extended print-plus video versions behind the paywall does not immediately create the required revenue to keep investigative journalists and sustain quality online journalism. Hence ebTV’s mandate to develop commercially driven web TV formats. They are banking on formats being familiar territory to advertisers who look for more on-air advertising real estate to sell their clients into. Thomas Stokholm, CEO of ebTV, says, ‘I was hired to build on the commercial side and take the EB brand to a new level in TV and possibly to a full blown station by 2015, to give advertisers a strong alternative to current TV providers' (Stokholm 2013). Notwithstanding his commercial mandate, Stokholm sees one of ebTV’s key roles as assisting print journalists to make the jump from articles to programs: ‘print has its own life’, but ‘TV is a long haul that requires a shift of mindset from the 24 hour cycle to a 365 day operation, where planning is key’ (2013).

Madsen believes what is required are long-term strategies. When newspaper sales in Denmark dropped by 15 per cent, *Ekstra Bladet* knew they had to ‘get involved fully [and] not as an excuse’ (Madsen 2012). So executives played to their strength, investigative journalism, and converged it ‘to the web site and Web TV and when we are doing this investigative we always do it first on Web, then television and newspaper…you really have to want to do it, don’t do it as an excuse for [because of] dropping circulation’ (2012). Grillo sees this convergence shift as an ongoing psychological battle. ‘There is a
big difference about making TV first and not thinking we need to make the article first and then stick the pictures around it’ (Grillo 2013). In a modern newsroom this philosophy can cause dilemmas on a front page driven by print imperatives, where everything is still called an article. This shift in mindset from article to program becomes a consideration when a web TV program, which may have taken weeks to produce, is relegated lower down the online site’s front page due to its perceived lack of news currency. Imagine, said Grillo, if your TV program was ‘pulled five minutes before the news cast and you were told you can run it between 9 and 10 pm...try saying that to a broadcaster. That’s the hardest thing about making web TV on an Internet news page’ (2013). This clash in priorities plays out at the various daily editorial meetings where assigning editors choose and shift stories up and down the front page depending on how they are trending. Because this page can be a meter and a half long stories can invariably get lost. Berner acknowledges that, ‘EB is an old publishing house with news traditions’ (2013). However, from a marketing perspective he feels a 15–20 minute program is a big investment and needs more time to settle. ‘If we are only on the front page for 2 hours we'll only get 5% of our readers’ (2013). Hence a process occurs where web TV programs are segmented and these stand-alone segments are published following the program. This can double or triple the number of viewer impressions. Finding the right publishing formulas to capitalise on this, which includes alternative community and school-based media, is a key to attracting advertising revenue.

4.4 Screen choice and revenue

Today Ekstra Bladet’s investment in the various forms of convergence has made it the most popular Danish online news site, with more than 15 per cent of the population visiting every day. Madsen (2013) believes that a successful digital plan must involve mobile. However, one of the major impediments to monetising the mobile space is the relatively small amount of screen ‘real estate’ for advertising on a mobile. While the team at Ekstra Bladet is producing news stories and programs made specifically for the smartphone ‘for people to watch on the mobile on the train’ (Madsen 2012), Ekstra Bladet
is hoping the game changer will be their investment in freemium and web TV, which provides their mobile audience with a natural segue to a larger screen once they land at home, and advertisers with more substantial formats they understand.

While media bosses may disagree on how to save the MSM, there is no denying that mobile will be at the heart of any converged rescue operation. Eighty per cent of the world’s population own a mobile and more than 2 billion people own smartphones. In the US mobile penetration has hit 91 per cent and smartphone use is estimated at 56 per cent (Smith 2013). In 2012 world smartphone sales increased by 44 per cent from to 712 million (Favell 2013). In Australia more than 50 per cent of the population has a smartphone:

- 74 per cent of people don’t leave home without one;
- 51 per cent search on their smartphone every day;
- 83 per cent use their smartphone for communication;
- 43 per cent use it to read news;
- 65 per cent use it to access and watch videos;
- 94 per cent use it to research purchases; and
- 39 per cent of those users actually make the purchase. (Rosenberg 2011)

The aim for publishers is multiscreen publication, and mobile content is expected to be a conduit for retaining audiences. Given that mobiles are now powerful enough to live stream, people are tuning in, on their way to and from work and during breaks. Consumers are demanding more, everywhere, live or catch-up programs on the go (McKendrick 2013). The growing mobile consumer society is looking for tasters, small bite-sized packages that provide a heads up tease to longer more in-depth formats that might be watched when a user lands, either as free or paywall content. In this environment the set-top box, once the center of paid-for home entertainment and information, is now relegated to fighting for its use value as OTT\textsuperscript{41}

\textsuperscript{41} Over-The-Top Content (OTT) describes broadband delivery of video and audio (Netflix, Now TV) without a multiple system operator being involved in the control or distribution of the
providers deliver mobile browser-based shell-covered 24 hour anywhere content streams.

On a global scale, social behemoths like Facebook and Google are moving the pieces of the puzzle into place to become the platform of platforms. Google Chairman Eric Schmidt believes ‘the core strategy is to make a bigger pie’ (Womack 2012). And, since 2011, Schmidt’s vision has been mobile:

As I think about Google’s strategic initiatives…I realize they’re all about mobile. We envision literally a billion people getting inexpensive, browser-based touchscreen phones over the next few years. Can you imagine how this will change their awareness of local and global information and their notion of education? (Schmidt 2011)

One year later and Facebook’s more than one billion users have increased its mobile ad revenue to 53 per cent of total revenue (Constine 2014), an increase of 28% of mobile ad revenue, in the six months it took me to complete my final draft of this exegesis.

4.5 Summary

After 400 years of print domination, the current shifts in our media landscape brought about by the convergence of new technologies, practices and institutions are so profound that analysts like Robert McChesney (2011: 3) are asking ‘who will have the dubious distinction of publishing America’s last genuine newspaper?’ The implications of convergence are transformation in the organisation, type of media, type of content, use and distribution of content, redefinition and relocation of the audience, professional changes and a shift in values (Schmidt 2011). While traditional MSM converges its business online, McChesney believes we will need to wait to see the degree to which citizens embrace the possibilities of the above changes, or leave matters to the state and communication giants like Facebook and Google, whose business models are defining convergent practices and technologies. Google’s purchase of Motorola’s mobile business, Facebook’s one billion

content itself. OTT is an advertiser funded delivery model for smart devices including mobile and TV.
dollar purchase of Instagram, AOL’s purchase of The Huffington Post and News Limited’s purchase of Myspace and Storyful and Alan Kohler’s niche online financial advisory business, Australian Independent Business Media, are examples of corporate convergence designed to short-circuit a move into specialist sectors of the online media business.

On the one hand, newsroom convergence will need to address all of the above-mentioned descriptors. It will need internal corporate protocols for dealing with convergence at the ownership level—sharing content between platforms. In the case of output deals, the newsroom will need to understand *tactical convergent practices*—content sharing between media organisations. As the new newsroom responds to and creates new news opportunities understanding the impact on journalists of *structural, information and storytelling convergence* will be especially critical. To compete online with millions of bloggers and citizen content creators, who are already part of the Facebook and Google families, many experienced journalists and photographers will need training in multimedia story production using new practices and technologies.

Ruud believes that to develop a strong online presence journalists will need to keep in touch with public attitudes and their mobile created UGC, which is the new face and pace in news.

> If you go to a basic traffic accident that’s boring. We publish and as new facts come in we check them and then we continue the story, which could be published 30–50 times in that hour while we continue the reporting…together with the audience because they always know more than you, because they have seen the accident. That’s complicated because we as journalists are used to thinking that we know better than the rest of the world and we don’t, at least I don’t. (2012)

It is the self-perpetuating aspect of the media, as the omnipotent sentinel of people’s right (now acting as a filtration system for public-to-public views) contrasted against media’s corporate responsibility, that Ruud feels has led to a shift to niche online news-like offerings (2012). More than just being a
supplied of news content, Madsen believes that today’s fragmented audience needs to be treated as a partner. Hence there is a need to train journalists to speak what could become a common user-generated language. As Madsen said at the end of our Mjo training; ‘They [Mjo skills] have been useful to change thinking. You taught people how easy it was for traditional journalists to make video [and] how easy it is to edit great stories like we used to in traditional television, told on the website with shorter more dynamic editing’ (Madsen 2013). However, producing niche television-like stories for the web does not immediately create the revenue stream needed to sustain quality online journalism. ‘What we have seen, when we are counting the stories on the Ekstra Bladet website, is we get plus 20 per cent viewers if the story has a video component, the next step would be to increase that [percentage] by making user generated programs’ (Madsen 2012). This is now happening, with journalists producing their own programs within Ekstra Bladet’s web TV platform, a platform shift AOL’s CEO, Tim Armstrong, believes is the next convergent frontier (Taylor 2013).

While the audience is extremely capable of delivering large quantities of UGC, it, like print journalists, needs relevant digital storytelling skills—research, interviewing, writing, on-camera presenting, camera work, sound recording, editing and publishing—to produce more professional and politically aware content. The delivery of these skills—transforming UGC into the more professional, informative and political forms called UGS and UGP, which are content forms designed for web TV—sits at the core of the Mjo practices described in this research. As digital network societies (Castells 2008), or Rheingold’s ‘virtual village(s)’ where we participate in the ‘self-design of a new culture’ (1994: 2) creating even more networks of connected nodes, a support and filtration mechanism, like Cairo’s Mosireen collective, is needed. The Mosireen (2012) gives form to the fragmented energies and citizen witness moments by producing and archiving content, and by providing training, hopefully in the same digital literacies that MSM are learning, to locals to create more politicised and professional media. In Los Angeles the, Mob network also provide migrant “day laborers, household workers, high school students, and other community
correspondents” (Constanza-Chock 2011: 33) with the resources to participate and counter “anti-immigrant voices,” (2011: 33); aims similar to the Indigenous mojo projects, except for their reliance on cheaper technology. This is key difference as the mojo described hear uses the same technology and skill set that MSM use, thereby creating the possibility of a digital bridge between communities.

In conclusion, I contend that with 39 million hours of UGC being uploaded every year, we need a filtration mechanism, not necessarily the media or the legislated kind, but rather the self-moderated kind that is a product of training in common digital literacies. This is the responsibility of the education sphere, which may take a more proactive approach to training citizens and students to embrace convergent opportunities and links between alternative and mainstream media. The level of change, which according to McChesney is possible during a critical juncture that will last ‘no more than one or two decades’ (2007: 9), will depend on the degree to which media scholars embrace the potential for media reform. This will need to include community, school, university and professional media trained in digital mojo storytelling skills that enable them to function in convergent news and other media environments. How we make this change is a primary motivation of this research and the driver for the mojo case-study workshops discussed in the following chapters.
5 Mojo working in communities, education and MSM

‘For many such as I, our lifetime experience has been one of racism at the individual level, reinforced by the powerful institutions of the law [...] and without doubt the media [...] there has been very little challenge to the media about the way in which that institution, practices, promotes and perpetuates racism [...] in our community.’

Indigenous magistrate Pat O’Shane

5.1 Overview

This chapter discusses the major case-study workshop, NT Mojo. It outlines a process of introducing mobile journalism skills and technologies to remote Indigenous people. NT Mojo was conducted in remote communities in the Northern Territory, Australia and it tested a combination of media tools alongside relevant multimedia storytelling skills. The workshop also scoped how mobile journalism practices might be used to help create a local Indigenous voice and a skill set that would enable community-based mojos to bridge the media divide to work as local journalists and also stringers for MSM.

Pat O’Shane’s comments represent the plight of many marginalised groups globally. All too often media is a carrier of views based on ignorance or prejudice and editorial and financial gatekeeping practices (Shoemaker 2009). This was the case when I went to work in Indigenous media in Central Australia in the early 1990s. I witnessed the roll-out of the Broadcast for Remote Aboriginal Communities Scheme (BRACS) and saw a lack of training turn a potential media and education tool into a delivery mechanism for western media, to the detriment of traditional culture. Over the years I have returned to the Northern Territory many times to visit some of the communities and people I worked with to try and understand the changes that had occurred, and the marginalisation and local attempts to create a voice. The need for this research, which investigates whether appropriate tools and relevant training can enable the creation of more relevant, grassroots stories, came about as a result of my ongoing work with Indigenous communities.
This research also includes a number of supplementary workshops run in the community, in primary, secondary schools and journalism schools, and in mainstream media, which are discussed in the following chapter. The supplementary workshops were designed to research aspects of mojo implementation. The primary and secondary schools workshops scoped early adoption; in TAFE I investigated mojo’s relevance as literacy tool; in J schools I trialed mojo to determine its relevance as a professional skill set; with MSM I scoped the relevance of mojo as a tool to help print journalists and photographers become more skilled multimedia practitioners. The aim was to investigate whether mojo could create a revolutionary digital and pedagogical bridge between these communication spheres.

The case-study research expert Robert Yin argues that no one form of evidence ‘has a complete advantage over all others’ and case studies will want to ‘use as many sources as possible’ (Hartley & McKee 2000; Yin 2003: 101). Therefore I chose to incorporate a variety of evidence available to action research investigators:

- Documentation. I used news articles and books written about the use of the media and Indigenous media development. I included in this category government reviews such as the *Indigenous Broadcast Review* (2010) and the *Wilmot Report* (1984), and documentary film such as *Satellite Dreaming* (1992) about Indigenous use of media.

- Interviews. Because Indigenous people felt more comfortable speaking with me face to face than filling out forms, for NT Mojo I conducted short semi-structured before and after interviews. These were used primarily in the making of documentary, but also to act as an archive for the case-study stages. Interviews were conducted with professionals working in online media and Indigenous media. These interviews, which remained conversational while focusing on case-study imperatives (Yin 2003), are used throughout the exegesis. A third type of survey interview was also used to elicit more specific information about participants’ use of technology and their views on the relevance of the training.
• Direct Observation. As the case-study workshops occurred on location there was an opportunity to observe how participants dealt with the technical, journalistic and social aspects of mojo work in real time.

5.2 Case study: NT Mojo workshop
The NT Mojo workshops represent a first step in determining how to transform individual citizens in remote Indigenous communities in Australia into producers of more relevant local content. The research is timely because the deployment of Australia’s National Broadband Network (NBN) provides a platform (Fiber, WiFi and satellite) to address a number of the key recommendations of the Indigenous Broadcast Review (Stevens 2010). The workshop’s significance is further enhanced by its focus on key principles identified in the independent review established to examine the policy and regulatory frameworks of converged media and communications in Australia. These principles state that citizens should have opportunities for participation in a diverse mix of information, content and news, produced locally and sourced across platforms, which reflect and contribute to the development of national and cultural identity (DBCDE 2011).

The digital era creates possibilities for new cross-cultural online communications where participants with similar social and cultural backgrounds create content and engage in activities concerning local issues and interests of importance to them (Meadows 2005). Potentially, in this communications creation state the diverse balance between source, content and exposure becomes a contributing factor “to the process of developing well informed citizens and enhancing the democratic process” (Napoli 1999: 9). But meaningful change requires more than access to technology. It needs education to alter the state of consciousness of marginalised or oppressed people to enable them to seek change (Freire 1970). The NT Mojo training package scoped the degree to which Indigenous Australians, trained to use portable mobile technologies, can learn skills to become change agents in a new subfield of local multimedia communications called mojo.
5.2.1 NT Mojo historical context

Indigenous Australians living in remote communities are world pioneers of community-based participatory broadcasting. The roots of the mobile storytelling described here lie in the workshops Eric Michaels ran in the 1980s in Central Australia. All the content the Warlpiri Media Association transmitted in the 1980s was ‘locally produced […] community announcements, old men telling stories, young men acting cheeky’ (Michaels 1989: 7). There was a need for local media skills because MSM’s gatekeeping approach to volume and news type, compounded by what media scholar Axel Bruns sees as a journalist’s ‘feel’ or desired ‘news beat’ (Bruns 2005: 12), resulted in news from communities being obtained primarily from non-Indigenous community workers or journalists living in larger cities hundreds of kilometres away. Often this was ill-informed and lacking in grassroots diversity. The political economy of the MSM is such that commercial and political imperatives still shape the social image of Indigenous people through negative shock portrayal. This commodifies them more as news items than as valued contributors to the Australian mosaic (Bell 2008). And while ‘Aboriginal newspapers since the late nineteenth century in Australia, have played a crucial role in the symbolic reclamation of space for an Aboriginal public sphere’ (Meadows 2005: 1), the reality suggests these papers have given voice to a select few Indigenous people, heard by a niche group of Australians.

One of the founders of the Central Australian Aboriginal Media Association (CAAMA), Phillip Batty, says in the film Satellite Dreaming (1991), that the camera is one of the most powerful tools used by Indigenous Australians. Marcia Langton, former Chair of Australian Indigenous Studies at the University of Melbourne, who was involved with the video experiments at Yuendumu and CAAMA, believes all Indigenous uses of the camera for cultural preservation can be ‘traced to those early Warlpiri policies of representation’ (cited in Michaels 1994: xxxv). Notwithstanding this, those willing to tell their story on camera were often criticised by anthropologists and community members for giving away information. Therefore, in an attempt to safeguard the local culture against appropriation by visiting
ethnographers and MSM Michaels developed a series of rules—effectively the community’s own gatekeeping practices (Michaels 1994).

Concerned about the impact of satellite content delivered into remote communities by AUSSAT, Indigenous people requested resources to enable them to interrupt the signal and insert programs they created. In 1987 the government recommended the establishment of BRACS, which included a cassette recorder, radio tuner, microphone, speakers, switch panel, VCRs, television set, video camera, two UHF television transmitters, FM transmitter, satellite dish and decoders (Willmot 1984). Based on the Yuendumu participatory model, the initiative had enormous potential, but failed to provide enough training for people to be able to create their own video content, and some units closed down (Batty 2012). Only those communities, like Yuendumu, that had already developed a response to television, coped with the responsibility of creating local content (Bell 2008: 121). Batty believes the key to success often involved finding the funding for an ‘enthusiastic whitefellah’ who would live in community and ‘work for almost no wages to keep it going’ (Batty 2012).

When I arrived in Central Australia in 1990, Warlpiri Media in Yuendumu was active and the Central Australian Aboriginal Media Association (CAAMA) was well established, with a video unit, a music recording business, radio station and a new RCTS television station called Imparja. While Yuendumu and CAAMA employed mainly Indigenous people, at Imparja the scale and technical intricacies of television meant staff were predominantly non-Indigenous. The CAAMA Imparja model was seen by some as an example of how sophisticated expensive equipment transformed Indigenous-owned television into a western-looking network (Michaels cited in Bell 2008). Michaels observed that once an Indigenous media organisation moves away from traditional cultural forms and social organisation ‘they produce mainstream type programs and need westerners to operate and manage them’ (Michaels 1986 in Bell 2008: 82). This was certainly true at Imparja,

42 The Australian communications satellite launched in 1985.
43 Remote communities’ broadcast facility.
where Indigenous people owned a TV station that employed large numbers of whitefellahs and in the main broadcast aggregated mainstream non-Indigenous content like soap operas, sport, game shows, news and movies. Batty says of Imparja, ‘it’s one of the many tragedies of Aboriginal affairs…it could potentially offer educational services and health’, which he says are ‘still dysfunctional’ (Batty 2012)

Warlpiri Media in Yuendumu and EVTV in Ernabella in the south were creating what Batty hoped Imparja would create—what Meadows refers to as ‘overlapping public spheres’, communication spaces that ‘articulate their own discursive styles and formulate their own positions, on issues that are then brought to a wider public sphere where they are able to interact across lines of cultural diversity’ (Meadows 2005: 38). Batty wanted Imparja to perpetuate a discursive Indigenous media space by acting as the cultural aggregator for community and CAAMA and BRACS content. He also wanted the BRACS communities to take CAAMA/Imparja content (Bell 2008). The aim was to use the Imparja footprint and the BRACS units to create a diverse Indigenous content sphere. Unfortunately politics and responsibilities to advertisers led to programs like Sale of the Century being broadcast on Imparja. CAAMA also found producing daily, even weekly television, much more difficult than radio and hence could only deliver a small amount of its own video content. Batty’s vision and the reality were at times difficult to reconcile. As to which vision—Batty’s, Michael’s or the government’s—created the more diverse cultural sphere can be readily determined by applying a test for diversity.

For many scholars source diversity sits at the heart of a healthy public sphere (Jakubowicz 1994; Dahlgren 1995; Napoli 1999; Hartley & McKee 2000; Meadows 2005; Deuze 2006; Bruns 2011). This is primarily because source is often defined through ownership and ‘can be measured in terms of diversity in ownership of media outlets, the workforce and content’ (Napoli 1999: 12). To this end the originators of BRACS believed that a larger number of outlets—80 units were deployed nationally—would lead to more diverse ownership at source, delivering a diverse content stream that would receive national exposure. According to Napoli (1999), these are the primary
components of the diversity equation. However, as discussed earlier, the lack of training about how to create video programs diminished the potential for BRACS to create diverse local content. ‘The policeman’s wife would take it over and be the program director and bring in all that commercial junk like Dirty Harry on a Friday night’ (Batty 2012). In those Central Australian communities where training was lacking, many BRACS were reduced to being a radio re-broadcaster, or no more than a re-transmitter for the RCTS (Imparja) broadcasts of sport, soaps and commercial DVDs. Exposure can be distinguished by content ‘sent’ or content ‘received’, and seen either from the perspective of the broadcaster or what the audience selects, the assumption being an audience with diverse content options consumes a diversity of content (Napoli 1999: 25). This would provide ‘exposure to a diversity of views and public issues’ (Sustein 1993: 22), but it did not occur at Imparja, where choice of content was restricted primarily to mainstream aggregation, with the odd Indigenous program. In providing a reason for not broadcasting a one-hour Indigenous documentary co-produced by CAAMA Productions and Channel 4 (UK), the director of Imparja said he was driven by commercial imperatives when he advised that no one would watch it because it was Indigenous.

Meadows advises that the utopian goals of an Indigenous public sphere ‘should not be understood in terms of a non-dominant variant of the broader public sphere’ (2005: 38). CAAMA, Imparja, Warlpiri Media and also BRACS, need to be viewed as unique offerings in confrontation with the mainstream public sphere. They are relevant because they enable Indigenous people to deliberate and develop their own counter-discourses, identities and experiences that enable interaction with the wider public sphere (Meadows 2005). While huge gains were made, real opportunities to create a unique Indigenous subfield of communications were missed: ‘to expand the organisation you had to take the Aboriginal people with you and the prime example of that not happening is Imparja TV’ (Batty 2012). The type of deliberations Meadows refers to are ‘central to democratic theory and practice’, with new technologies becoming society’s ‘central nervous system’
After more than 25 years of campaigning by organisations such as Warlpiri Media and CAAMA, in 2005 the Australian government supported the development of National Indigenous Television (NITV), with funding of $48.5 million. Even though NITV eventually delivered over 350 hours of first-run Indigenous content per annum (Stevens 2010: 92), its first three years were turbulent. Grassroots organisations, including Warlpiri Media and CAAMA, felt the funding could have been better spent on programing at a local community level rather than on urban producers and infrastructure. These are the same criticisms levelled against Imparja twenty years earlier.

In 2010 the Australian government held a review of its investment in the Indigenous broadcasting and media sector (IBR). The key terms of reference were: a consideration of cultural benefits for Indigenous Australians from investment in Indigenous broadcasting and media, and consideration of the impact of media convergence on the Indigenous broadcasting and media sector. Submissions to the IBR acknowledged the relevance and contribution of NITV but were scathing in their rebuke of its centralised aggregation model. The IBR found that a ‘one size fits all’ approach would not work given the significant differences between communities (Stevens 2010: 2). Hence at the heart of the IBR recommendations is a need to empower and resource a more diverse media, especially in remote communities.

One aim of the NT Mojo study was to investigate whether multimedia storytelling skills and digital technology could enable a more diverse local content sphere. NT Mojo continues traditions of participatory Indigenous content creation, and capitalised on current changes in communication technologies, practices and government policies, by delivering control of all phases of digital story production and publication at a local level. At a seminal point in our communication history, this research provides one possible road map for introducing mobile journalism practices to remote Indigenous communities. What is hoped is that the experience will become more than
another remote Indigenous media experiment that comes and goes. This will only occur if the program is embraced by the education sector, and local and mainstream media acknowledges the results.

5.2.2 Parameters for an evaluation

As explained in the Methodology chapter, empirical studies such as NT Mojo are often seen as prime examples of qualitative research. Like all qualitative research, this investigation adopts an interpretive approach to data, in part defined by the context and the subjectivity of researchers (Clough 2006; McNiff & Whitehead 2006). Designed to explore communities of practice, the case study investigates a group of participants (mojos) who engaged in a process of collective learning (Schramm 1974; Wenger 2007). Based on a concept of generational learning, the NT Mojo participants were ‘a group of people who have had the same life experiences or significant life events’ (Weerakkody 2009: 53). The mojo workshops are designed to augment that experience with skills and technologies to create trained mojos able to work as community media practitioners or be employed by mainstream news agencies. In all workshops participants were required to undertake practical journalism work based on a training manual and a set of guidelines. The primary emphasis was to produce and publish complete digital stories. In keeping with usual qualitative research practice, the mixed-method case-study approach of this thesis involved a process of action research that situated the researcher as a participant agent of change (McNiff & Whitehead 2006; Wadsworth 2011).

Evaluation occurred in three phases: identification of communities and participants, the training package and the immediate impact of the training. Researcher Yolande Wadsworth observes that we evaluate all the time: ‘every time we choose decide, accept or reject we have made an evaluation; (Wadsworth 2011: 7). In action research we do this by taking a piece of the world and holding it up against a known value (Wadsworth 2011: 7). In this case the representation by media, and the use of media by remote Indigenous communities, contrasted with the possibilities offered by the mojo
training package. This type of evaluation occurred daily during workshops, done by participants and trainers. Communities and the funding body evaluated the finished videos against previous media output from communities. Figure 4 provides a pictorial example of the evaluation process.

Figure 4 Action Research Evaluation Process (Wadsworth 2011)
The phases of action research as they applied to NT Mojo evaluation are:

- **Noticing**: We bring a set of expectations and values based on previous experience and we notice the discrepancies between what we are observing and what we expected. In the case of NT Mojo these were my prior observations of Indigenous media and my experience and understanding of previous attempts to alter the situation. For example, in 1990 I found it difficult to get Indigenous people to appear on camera. In 2011, following two decades of commercial television penetration, it was a different story. In 1990 communication with communities was almost impossible; today each community had access to five bar 3G telephone reception. In 1990 finding accommodation and food in communities for an extended research period was difficult; today there are air-conditioned ‘dongas’ for hire and community supermarkets.

- **Design**: This phase explores the problem in more detail—who is experiencing it, to what extent and what is the fix? Part of the design involves determining who or what is being researched; who is the research for and who is the researcher? Based on this I developed a program of recovery, in this case, mojo training. I wanted to explore changes in remote communications possibilities since the 1990s and the government agency that funded the workshops wanted information on the possibility of being able to deliver locally generated in-community messaging. The researcher was an experienced television producer with a track record of working with non-professionals to create and deliver video-type content. These factors impacted the design, the skill level being imparted and outcomes. My background in television and self-shot content meant that professional skills were being taught and outcomes could include job possibilities.

- **Fieldwork**: This occurred around a formal training workshop followed by a further four weeks of supplementary training. Being on the ground with the mojos I was able to better understand the historical and cultural imperatives (sorry business, family commitments and social structure) that potentially impact this form of storytelling (see below).
• **Analysis and conclusions:** These are based on the researcher’s immersion and associated observations of mojo reactions during production and the reception to the stories by mojos, community, public and networks. These observations are contrasted against survey responses, the final shorter comments from mojos and interviews with experts. An element of quantitative research also occurred and the evaluation of this data is represented in a series of graphs. This data was vetted by a highly skilled academic and quantitative data expert and used to supplement the action research findings (see Chapter 6).

• **Feedback and planning:** This began on the ground during the workshop. In this case it led to a number of other workshops to determine sustainability, transition and implementation of mojo skill sets into MSM. To facilitate supplementary training in the other spheres the program required a tonal shift.

### 5.2.3 The NT Mojo workshop primer

I developed the mojo concept based on my previous experience working with citizens on self-shot television series and from my time spent producing content and running training in remote Indigenous communities. During travels around NT communities I broached the mojo concept with a number of community elders to gauge interest. Early scoping was essential to enable the completion of ethics proposals (NEAF). The program lasted eight weeks and comprised formal training, in-community training and production, and follow-up discussions. The various stages of the workshop are outlined below. While many stages overlap, I have tried to list them in chronological order, primarily to provide a guide for researchers wanting to replicate the process and activity.

Once the project had NEAF approval it developed in the following stages:

• **Funding:** The Department of Families, Housing, Community Services and Indigenous Affairs (FaHCSIA) was approached and agreed to fund the workshop, primarily because it provided an opportunity to train local people
with job-ready skills, increase literacy levels and create local messaging to augment their Closing the Gap\textsuperscript{44} campaign responsibilities. FaHCSIA suggested an NT training partner would make it easier for them to fund the project. Batchelor Institute for Indigenous Training and Education (BIITE) was chosen.

- \textit{Partnership}: I felt the association with BIITE would provide the mojo program with an opportunity for long-term sustainability. Mojos came from a number of communities, so BIITE would be viewed as neutral ground for running the one-week formal training workshop. At BIITE I was able to train two BIITE trainers to help with the in-community training phase. The fact that BIITE is located in Batchelor, 100 kms south of Darwin, meant students did not go walkabout while there. However, during training we observed that many community people did not like being away from their communities. Working at BIITE had its drawbacks, but having mojos together for the training phase made it easier to begin the process of creating a community of practice where mojos could help and inspire each other. In hindsight, while this had a positive impact I do not believe it was the most effective method. In subsequent workshops I ran formal training in community or in nearby communities. This relaxed mojos, introduced their work to community earlier, and enabled them to record local content for their training stories.

- \textit{Community support}: I wrote a project overview that was sent out to 30 NT communities. Local elders were asked to discuss the project and its requirements—to photograph people and homes and create digital stories for publication online. We chose communities where I had previously worked and where elders were receptive to the concept. This decision was made to save time and money during the selection phase. I discussed with elders and community representatives my desire to exclude professionals. My decision was based on my desire to scope the relevance of mojo training for ordinary citizens and to determine how willing they were to record their own stories. The elders and community representatives

\textsuperscript{44} Closing the Gap is a government initiative to address the disadvantage faced by Indigenous Australians in life expectancy, child mortality, education and employment.
agreed. Choosing to omit semi-professionals is a form of gatekeeping like any form of limitation, whether essential or not (Wadsworth 2011: 7).

- **Permissions**: Beginning the collaborative process by meeting with elders before a camera arrived was important. It enabled a more relaxed setting for discussions about cultural restrictions on photography that included: difficulties showing certain material; controlling the mass mediation of photography beyond the face-to-face exchange; class and gender restrictions; the need to account for temporality (what is authorised today is not necessarily authorised tomorrow); and mortuary restrictions (Michaels 1994). Elders thought having mojos film their own story was one way of managing these cultural protocols at a community level, where mojos understood local customs. There were no transgressions during filming, and elders like Mavis Ganambarr from Galuwinku were generally delighted by all the stories produced: ‘I’m so happy about the stories and to see them kids working this way…so proud’ (Burum 2012a)

Candidate mojos received a project description prior to being selected, which also advised they could withdraw at any time. Mojos provided permission for us to film them and for their work to be broadcast. Mojos required permissions from people they filmed. This meant explaining the story, which meant mojos had to think about their story and why they might need to interview a particular person or film a specific event.

- **Project Guidelines**: Having developed a number of UGC television series, I wanted to test whether there were benefits to using guidelines. While these may appear restrictive they establish clear working parameters and legitimise the project as something more than just movie making. Guidelines also assuaged some of the fears the funding body had that mojos would use the cameras to record and publish non-authorised content. The Project Guidelines proved to elders that we had thought about possible issues as they outlined the parameters and actions to be taken if a transgression occurred. Candidate mojos were provided with a copy of the guidelines before they decided to become involved.
Also, in traditional communities, without the parameters education inherently places on activity, the notion of ownership is very grey. The guidelines helped establish an ownership pattern for mojos to protect their equipment and their right to participate. The guidelines described the project in detail, including project partners and the roles and responsibilities of mojos. They outlined the selection process so mojo candidates knew on what basis selection occurred and what was expected of candidates selected for the program. In traditional communities, where everyone knows everyone, recording and broadcasting material that is incorrect can prove disastrous. Hence, the guidelines included information on editorial aspects, such as what could and could not be filmed or said, a reminder of the importance of checking facts and not defaming people. The guidelines were an important aspect of the NEAF application process to indicate to the ethics committee that the project had considered cultural and editorial matters comprehensively.

It is worth noting that there were no transgressions using iPhones for unauthorised browsing and filming, which was a concern of the funding body, given the government’s intervention response to allegations of child abuse. The guidelines were used in one subsequent educational workshop and were replaced by educational guidelines and educational scaffolds for those workshops. This effectively tested educational and mainstream scaffolds around the types of issues dealt with in the guidelines. These were effective, but project-specific guidelines had the advantage of clearly identifying project parameters.

A selection of the guidelines and their outcomes are listed in Table 4 below.

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45 A package of government initiated changes to welfare provision, law enforcement and other measures, introduced in 2007 to address allegations of child sexual abuse and neglect in Northern Territory Indigenous communities.
### Table 4 Guidelines and outcomes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Guideline</th>
<th>Outcome</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>G 1.3: Each participant will have to produce one short video during the training phase and a series of 4–8 short videos during the production phase of the NTM project.</td>
<td>All mojos produced a video during training and produced 23 videos during the production phase, an average of 2.5 videos per participant. The lower number was due to two factors; a cyclone and mojos’ low literacy levels, which made writing voiceovers and structuring stories a longer process than anticipated.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G 1.4: In keeping with the rules of the NTM project, videos will focus on these suggested themes: health, sport, music, employment, family, my community, art and culture. Final themes will be confirmed at the training workshop after considering your suggestions for themes.</td>
<td>We found this broad set of themes covered mojos’ desired areas.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G 1.7: The NTMPT reserves the right to change or amend rules at any time. Any such modification will take effect as soon as the participants are advised of the change.</td>
<td>This was included as a request from the funding body, but there were no transgressions and the only modifications were stylistic, at the request of the mojos and as part of training.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G 2.6: Participants can be disqualified if they regularly fail to attend the course and produce material as directed, or if they fail to meet any other requirements of the course, as set by NTMPT.</td>
<td>We had one transgression during training where two mojos were up all night and missed a morning training session. Participants were not disqualified but chastised by their peers for letting the team down. How they took this reaction was not investigated. But they did not miss training after that.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G 3.3: If a participant younger than 18 is considered this will only be with the approval of community elders, the school and the parents of the participant.</td>
<td>We chose a number of participants who were under 18 at the suggestion of the community, but they could not do the training because local floods resulted in crocodiles swimming through the community.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G 5.3: Each participant will be supplied with a Telstra mobile account with predetermined cap and data allowance. Calls to the NTM production office and for other NTM-related</td>
<td>This did not work. Participants used the accounts to talk with each other across communities. They were running up bills and using all their credit, so at times were not</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guideline</td>
<td>Outcome</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>matters can be made. Participants must not use their NTM Telstra accounts for personal calls. Each account will be itemised and records kept.</td>
<td>contactable via the smartphone (G 6.7). BIITE did not cap the calls and so found it was responsible for large bills. In subsequent workshops I insisted on capped plans and bills were not an issue.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G 6.8: During the production phase NTMPT representatives will visit participants to further assist with video production.</td>
<td>Mojos found this essential and beneficial. In fact this is one of the main elements that made this multi-community project difficult. It was why subsequent projects were community specific.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G 6.9: All participants are encouraged to keep a video journal each day of the production phase.</td>
<td>This could not be policed due to the number of communities and was not a factor in the final analysis. Post workshop interviews were used instead to gauge responses.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G 7.2: Each participant will be responsible for their equipment and keeping it safe and in working order.</td>
<td>We had one breakage, which occurred on the plane returning from training to community.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G 7.3: This equipment remains the property of the NTMPT until NTMPT deem the participant has successfully completed the NTM project after which we will enter a discussion about the possibility of mojos being allowed to keep the equipment.</td>
<td>We decided to give the mojos their iPhone kits because we reasoned they would need them to continue mojo. However, a month later many of the kits were lost, damaged or unaccounted for, except in the communities where a local media center existed, and had become responsible for the kit.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G 8.1: Prior to any recording, participants must make sure that all necessary authorisations and clearances have been obtained concerning the subject or the object of the video. All potential legal problems must be avoided.</td>
<td>Participants made sure everyone depicted on camera agreed at least verbally. There were no complaints and hence no transgressions. Participants understood well the need to be ethical in community settings.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G 11.1: The participant acknowledges the stakeholders will have the exclusive right to use all material recorded by the candidate without limitation in any and all media, including but not limited to television, radio, videotape, disk and multimedia throughout the world without any limitation in time.</td>
<td>These are wordings government required for funding and it was expressly agreed that mojos would hold copyright on their work, with stakeholders having the right to use the work only in line with project imperatives and in a non-disparaging and professional manner.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Participant selection: We received a positive response from eight communities to our call for participants: Daly River, Lajamanu, Bathurst Island, Gunbalanya, Ramingining, Angurugu, Numbulwar and Galiwinku. In each case community leaders like Mavis Ganambarr sanctioned the project: ‘I think that’s a great opportunity for young people to be doing something that they can learn…and I’m really happy very, very happy’, she said (cited in Burum 2012).

Community leaders had also discussed and chosen an appropriate community mojo support person whom we decided to train. This provided a friendly face during out-of-community training and an extra hand during in-community training and filming. Support people were generally senior community people, either teachers or those working in a media-related field.

The selection team generally stayed overnight in each community and met with a group of candidates before interviewing them individually. We spoke with 54 candidates and were looking for mojo participants who were interested in telling digital stories. Following the in-community briefings and interviews, possible participants were discussed with community representatives. A list of selected candidates was presented to the community for consideration. In the early 1980s, when Eric Michaels ran his video experiments, elders were concerned that any proposed television model should focus on languages (Michaels 1989). In 2011 elders wanted to use mojo to create positive television and web images to get young people ‘off the mischief and sniffing and all that is happening here’ (Mavis Ganambarr cited in Burum 2012). So elders looked for participants who would be able to convey this.

When I first came to work in the NT in 1990, the choices about which person in a community could be involved in a video production were limited. Michaels (1989) said these would be made according to skin groups and a person’s position in the community. By 2011 this requirement was no longer overarching. Agreement from community
leaders and representatives was generally based on their knowledge of the candidate, whether they thought he or she could stick it out and if they were a ‘humbugger’\textsuperscript{46} or not. In 2011, television was not seen as ceremonial, but rather as utilitarian. Once senior community representatives agreed, they approached each candidate to discuss commitment, the Project Guidelines, and to collect signed participation forms. All candidates identified and asked to participate agreed to be involved.

• The mojos: We selected 13 mojos and one support person from each of six communities. One of the support people wanted to make stories as well, and this took the number to 14. We based our choices on candidates' availability and passion to be involved. ‘I was praying for this…and one lady tell me, we got job multimedia job (mojo course), this old lady tell me and I was, thank God!’ (Participant in Burum 2012a). The mojos’ ages ranged between 16 and 32 and there were eight male and six female, a spread we felt necessary to assure a diversity of stories ideas and content. All mojos had been to secondary school, two were still attending and all but two of the others had completed Year 12. All mojos spoke some English, a prerequisite we imposed because of time constraints and the level of job-readiness we hoped to achieve.

At the commencement of training the group from Daly River had to return home due to floods and crocodiles on their football field. Following training two female mojos, one from Ramingining and one from Numbulwar, withdrew for family reasons. The support person who wanted to make stories found they were too busy, so we were left with nine mojos.

In the pre-training interviews we discussed the following with 14 participants. As indicated in Table 4, some mojos had more than one motivation for wanting to learn to mojo.

The digital storytelling aspect of mojo interested participants for traditional

\textsuperscript{46} Someone who is persistent in creating problems and might not want to stick at something.
storytelling reasons, ‘the mojo workshop it’s a new thing for me, it’s all about to tell stories….it could be a dreamtime story, it could be football….stories are very important, passed on from generations….my grandfather always told me stories and I tell my young ones’ (participant in Burum 2012a). Others saw mojo as an opportunity to pass on lifestyle messages: ‘we can teach kids not to do bad things through mojo work’ (Participant in Burum 2012a).
Table 5 Pre-training interviews

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>No of response</th>
<th>Typical response</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Why they wanted to be a mojo?</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>They wanted to share positive stories with the rest of Australia and they liked how mojo gave them an opportunity to tell the stories their way.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Wanted to work as journalists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Just wanted to use the skills at school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Wanted to make community messaging</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type of stories they wanted to produce?</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Wanted to produce stories that supported their cultural practices such as art</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Wanted to produce stories on how they live in harmony with their surrounds, such as bush medicine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Wanted to produce sports stories</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Were very specific about wanting to promote a healthy life for young people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whether they would be able to attend out-of-community training?</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>All said they could.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Were concerned about the time away from community.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We also demonstrated the mojo kit.</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>All mojos took to the technology immediately.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Explanation of the timeframe</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>All were happy and able to commit to the one week of out-of-community training and four weeks in-community filming/training.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Explanation of guidelines and project requirements.</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Understood the requirements, the need for the guidelines and all were happy to sign and commit to the project.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- **Equipment**: Hirst, Harrison and de Wall (2004), addressing the holistic nature of convergent story practices, point out that any story produced will need to form part of a larger publishing model. Their example was a convergent newsroom model in a tertiary environment called Newspace. While receptors like Newspace are essential, students first need to have the tools and skills to make strong digital stories, otherwise the end result
is kludge. Further, change research informs us that how we define mobile technology at the outset of its use will determine how it is used for generations (Boczkowski 2004). So, I developed the neo-journalistic approach and digital storytelling skill set to test the technology. I also developed a semi-professional production kit (discussed in detail in the iBook) consisting of: the iPhone 4 which was chosen as the camera because (a) it shoots in high definition (HD) and records digital audio, (b) it has great hedonic appeal—no mojo had owned one and everyone wanted one, (c) it has excellent functionality, (d) it offers the required 3G and WiFi connectivity, (e) it enables certain functions to be restricted, and (f) it works with the 1st Video Editing App (now called Voddio). The fact that it was first a phone, second a camera and then an edit suite, made it less threatening and immediately accessible.

- **Edit App**: VeriCorder in Canada developed a commercial-grade editing App enabling multitrack vision and audio editing and mixing. The current iMovie 2.0 is the only other edit App with multivision tracks (see the iBook). As my intent was to scope the commercial application of mojo training, it was critical that we use a professional edit App. Two video tracks are essential when teaching students how to make **content at speed**, or how to use a B roll, which can be the difference between dynamic multimedia and static video stories. Voddio also has a slide **all content left or right** feature, essential when training people to edit, and one of the most important professional edit functions. The Apps include a subtitles feature, which is essential for language work, a tool for creating **name supers** and a facility to enable an audio mix. One important feature is a facility on the Voddio App that enables devices to be pre-programmed to send content to specified target sites. Voddio’s **resumer** function restarts a send from the point it drops out, which is helpful in remote environments when using 3G to upload content. The iMovie 2.0 App released in 2013 has features that make it a viable, easy to use alternative. The *How To Mojo* iBook manual
includes detailed information and videos explaining the mojo kit, which includes the mCAMLite, a microphone and a portable light.

- **Telephony:** Having both 3G and WiFi functions enables the user to choose the fastest upload connection. WiFi is not common in private homes in remote communities. At some in-community organisations like government agencies, WiFi is inaccessible because it is wrapped in proxy servers and government security protocols. So we mainly used 3G to upload stories.

Table 5 indicates video upload speeds from remote communities.

**Table 6: 3G Upload speeds**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Resolution</th>
<th>File size</th>
<th>Upload speed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1080p</td>
<td>170 megs</td>
<td>34 min</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>720p</td>
<td>80 megs</td>
<td>16 min 30 sec</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>360p</td>
<td>27 megs</td>
<td>4 min 45 sec</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>270p</td>
<td>6 megs</td>
<td>1 min 30 sec</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 5.2.4 Training: Transfer of knowledge elements

NT Mojo training occurred in three stages: a five-day formal workshop, a four-week block of intensive in-community training and production, and follow-up discussions. The aim throughout was to find a balance between theory and practical training, to produce what media scholar Lee Duffield refers to as ‘start-ready recruits for media jobs backed by a study of contexts’ (2011: 141). The context in our case was location-based mobile journalism skills, which include writing, recording voice and audio, editing and basic legal and ethical considerations. The formal training workshop, which lasted one week, involved four phases:

- basic journalism: simple elemental research and storytelling techniques including a community relevant primer on defamation and ethics;
- technical: use of the iPhone for recording audio and video;

47 Cradle for the iPhone (see iBook).
• editing: using the 1st Video (Voddio) edit App; and
• publishing: uploading stories to a website.

To cover these phases I developed a comprehensive mojo training manual to teach basic mobile journalism and associated technical skills, which each student received with their mojo kit. Aspects of the manual are reproduced in the How To Mojo iBook.

**Journalism skills:** These were taught by first teaching the elements that make up a story. Participants were introduced to simple story building blocks—actuality, narration, interviews, overlay (B roll), piece to camera (stand up) and music (see iBook). Training involved treating the elements like Lego and learning about their individual shape, before learning how the elements form story. When learning how to drive a car, we first learn to use the accelerator, then the brake and finally the steering wheel. Combine those elements in a various sequences and you have different driving experiences. Learning to tell stories by learning individual story elements first and then structure is a similar experience that is less daunting than learning complete story structure from the outset. This elemental approach also places the emphasis on coverage and editing. Finally, the training exercise helped demonstrate how these elements are used to create a beginning, middle and end of a mojo story. Story construction, or what I call the ‘story bounce’, which differs between story styles depending on how elements are constructed, was the most difficult aspect of training. While a third of the mojos were confident enough to tackle this on their own during the training production block, the majority relied on trainer intervention. By the end of the one-week formal training block mojos had a strong grasp of story elements and a rudimentary understanding of story structure.

Mojo participants were required to outline their in-community stories during the formal training workshop. I determined not to get involved in this process, instead allowing discussions to develop between mojos and support people to establish this practice. Once participants had developed their own stories I made suggestions about content and structure. I chose this process to try and
avoid the danger of story choice being a reflection of what makes the teacher happy (Worth & Adair 1972).

One of the advantages of having all mojos attend formal training was that when learning occurs through engagement in a group, the group becomes a community of practice, and participants learn from each other (Wenger 2007). According to Duffield, a community of practice is particularly helpful in the transference phase, where skills are mastered to form new knowledge (2011). For transference to occur, Duffield suggests providing guidelines in the form of readings. In my case, I provided a slide show, a comprehensive training manual, or workbook, a set of guidelines and an interactive workshop. It was the group dynamic, and working in front of others repetitively, that enabled transference and helped overcome what Indigenous people call the shame48 factor, which can lead to disengagement.

Hanrahan and Madsen (2006) make the point that any training using digital media sets up a dichotomy between learning styles, in particular writing and storytelling conventions. New, more innovative ways of learning multimedia storytelling lead to participants having higher expectations. Our participants experienced the immediate gratification resulting from actuation. The growing realisation was that a balance between the hedonics and tech creep (which drove the higher expectations) and storytelling and traditional journalistic skills was required for effective mojo. Communal practice was helpful in reducing individual frustration by locating mojos in a group experiencing similar issues. When mojos returned to their communities we found this changed and some were sidetracked by peer pressure.

Another aspect of journalism skill that was easier to convey was the need for ethical reporting and care to avoid defamation. Ethical concepts made sense to the mojos, who lived in tight-knit communities and had first-hand

48 Indigenous people from isolated communities often get embarrassed about having to stand out in public or in certain other situations (McChesney 2007: 221), which is due to attention rather than action (Leitner & Malcolm 2007).
experience of unethical treatment by the MSM. An interesting discussion ensued about how mojos should portray negatives, like alcohol abuse, which they believed needed to be addressed. They reasoned those types of stories should become an exploration of what is being done about the problem rather than the problem. Mojos initially agreed to seek elder approval to tell this type of story, primarily to get permission to make the story and to ensure, through traditional tribal osmosis, that the community knew they had permission. Two mojos tackled these types of stories.

**iPhone recording:** I left the introduction of the iPhone and camera until participants had received basic journalism training. This proved a valuable decision for two reasons: (a) it enabled us to focus on, and stress, the importance of journalism techniques before technology, and (b) it contextualised the use of the iPhone into a device for doing journalism. Seven trainees answered the question relating to mobile phone use. All seven had previous experience with mobile phones, but only one had a smartphone. Figure 5 below shows that all but two used their mobile for recording audio and all but one used their mobile to record video. The video was unedited and kept for family and friends and was distributed between community members using Bluetooth. The high percentage recording video and audio is probably due to the fact that five mojos had previous training in video production at school. At 71 per cent this is a much higher percentage of previous video training than we saw in the secondary and J School workshops we ran later.
What was a revelation to the group was the level of coverage (B roll) required to make stories look professional. This was a difficult concept to convey and was achieved best through demonstration and editing during the production exercise. It required all mojos to record and edit specific shots, voiceovers, narration and a piece to camera. Having this exercise scripted meant that elemental decision making was taken out of mojos’ hands so they could concentrate on what is essential in the early training stages—style, technique and how elements come together to create story bounce. Once mojos began editing their shots they began to see how sequences are created—how story elements marry—and began to notice what elements they had missed. Half the group understood this during the formal training stage while the remaining members needed extra time.

From the outset I tried not to underestimate the potential for people to learn new skills. For example, I believe the ABC had underestimated the possibilities for ABC Open by focusing primarily on still content. The ABC producer’s rationale was that many of their contributors would be elderly and would find it difficult to come to terms with video. My experience is the opposite. In 1993 I introduced self-shot video production to people as old as 82. They loved the experience and their work was inspiring. On further investigation it was determined that much of the reason the ABC and many teachers of multimedia choose a stills approach, or an ineffective edit App, is that digital trainer skills lag—a lack of digital storytelling experience that can
hamper trainers’ ability to create dynamic and professional multimedia (see iBook).

**Editing:** Multimedia storytelling can involve a variety of media; for example, actuality, archival, pictures, documents, narration, Tweets and music. These can be constructed using online placeholders like Storify to provide form for UGC, or form can be created using edit suites. In our case we were using mobile edit Apps that turned iPhones into pocket creative suites capable of producing complete user-generated stories (UGS). Bathurst Island support person Louis Kantilla found the edit technology liberating. ‘Small mojo portable digital, you know the screen is better than a camera where you take out the cassette and do it in a mixer in a computer. But this little gadget, you do everything by snapping the finger, bang you can do it’ (participant in Burum 2012a). All mojos learned the practical aspects of editing on the iPhone. This involved creating a project, choosing content and moving around a timeline. As indicated in Figure 6, the 1st Video Edit App (and iMovie 2.0) has two video tracks, a feature that enables more professional checkerboard editing and a more visible element integration with B roll on a separate video track (see iBook for detailed explanation).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>V2</th>
<th>B Roll</th>
<th>B Roll</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V1</td>
<td>Sync</td>
<td>Sync</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A1</td>
<td>Narration</td>
<td>Narration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A2</td>
<td>Music</td>
<td>Music</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 6 Checkerboard edit example**

Participants created a short 35–45 second training video that incorporated all the basic story elements—pieces to camera (stand ups), narration, overlay, actuality, music—creating a finished video to demonstrate how quick the process is and to provide a sense of achievement. It is clear that doing this early in the training phase is a key component of mojo training.

On a mobile device, which enables almost instant story creation, editing needs to go beyond the kinesthetic or mechanical experience of stitching one shot to another one after another. Mobile editing is done on location, and this
impacts the type of content and style of the edit. There should be more actuality and the feel should be dynamic. This is achieved using a hand-held shooting style, with dynamic editing in and out of pictures, to create a news-type story bounce. Editing in general is a way of thinking influenced by ways of seeing various states of immediate possibility. This is particularly relevant in close-quarter storytelling like mojo, where the immediate is an essential story component. It is based on a state that has been described as fluid, where ‘the relationship between what we see and what we know is never settled’ (Berger 1972: 7). Yet we need to impart skills that settle perceptions.

In this context mojo praxis, and editing skills especially, work as a filtration system to make sense of the flowing relationship between two separate unsettled realities—traditional Indigenous and western worlds. Hence two aspects of the edit process need to be discussed.

First, because the NT mojos came from six different communities, and spoke different languages or dialects, mojo was like their common digital language. Worth and Adair note that ‘although the parallel between film and language is not exact, it may be that the manipulation of images…and structuring in editing is not a random activity’ (1972: 44). In my practice and previous research, I have learned that this is often true, where the edit language follows structural forms like any language does. Hence, my premise was that if we taught mojos how to edit (and we did this by introducing an understanding of story elements) and how to sequence stories with a journalistic bounce, they would learn that language style, and then ‘develop patterned ways of filming’ (1972: 45). I thought these patterned filming structures would be based on their already known culture and languages, which influence not only their ‘semantic and thematic choice of image’, but the ‘very way they put images together in a sequence’ (1972: 45), the way they naturally structure story. For the most part, what actually occurred was that mojos were happy to follow the structural patterns, or bounce, they had learned during the formal training course. In fact, I saw a mojo story produced 18 months after the mojo workshop in exactly the same style with the same story bounce I had taught. I believe this indicates participants required more time and training for them to be able to break away from story structures.
learned at training, which they felt safe with.

Secondly, mojos felt that the story bounce we established was ‘just like television’, and they liked television. This raised a question as to the relevance of the patterns of journalistic story structure I introduced, which in one sense seems so different to their traditional storytelling structures. I believe there is, as Worth and Adair observe (1972), a universality involved in working with pictures and music that most people understand and that transcends cultural boundaries. If this is true, then additional training time is required to enable training stories to be deconstructed and restructured in a number of ways to demonstrate different outcomes and editing possibilities that take into account other possible structures. The question is, when should they be introduced?

*The in community training and production phase:* This involved putting into practice what mojos learned during the formal training workshop. It also involved trainers moving between communities to assist with aspects of story production and to continue training. Below I have listed my observations about three aspects of this phase.

*Story choice:* The majority of mojos recorded one of the stories they had identified during the formal training block. Mojos chose their own stories generally based on location, family, local issues and availability of interviewees. The mojos produced 20 stories in four weeks: five health, three sport, four art and culture, three youth, three media, and two local news stories. The two news stories that were a response to the flooding caused by cyclonic rains were produced after trainers had left the community. Mojos produced six issue-based stories: *A Natural High* (petrol sniffing), *Bush Medicine* (native healing plants), *Chooky Brothers* (youth delinquency), *Youth Pathways* (learning to work as a team), *Aged Care* (looking after the elderly), *Numbulwar Night Patrol* (fighting and alcohol abuse). Issue-based stories such as these proved difficult to develop in small communities where everyone knew each other. One of the mojos spoke with elders about wanting
to produce a story about petrol sniffing, which elders thought important. The
mojo then constructed a method, without help from trainers, of telling this
without offending locals. She used drama reconstruction laced with interview
grabs from elders. It was a smart and effective way of dealing with a sensitive
issue and an indication that the workshop was having a positive effect. It also
showed that mojos could think outside the patterned story bounce I
described.

Production and Edit: Mojos were concerned with some aspects of production,
namely, recording interviews. Because they had never recorded interviews, at
times they felt shame. This sensitivity was weighed against the importance of
their work in the community—mojo as modern-day storyteller. All nine mojos
who made stories said their biggest difficulty was constructing the story—
choosing which bits to shoot and which bits to edit. This was expected.
However, I found that when I showed them how narration works and
explained why it might be required, they settled into the task to develop their
own draft form of words. Trainers worked with mojos to massage these
before the mojos recorded their voiceover on location, often at night, directly
onto the iPhone.

All mojos had friends attempting to borrow their production equipment. Mojos
agreed that signing the Project Guidelines enabled them to tell their friends
they weren’t allowed to lend equipment. In a communal existence, where
people share almost everything, this proved essential.

Publication: We established a discreet website at ntmojos.indigenous.gov.au,
where edited and moderated stories were uploaded using 3G or WiFi
connections. Publishing stories was critical for a number of reasons. Firstly, it
was the icing on the cake, which made mojos feel they had achieved
something special. Publishing on the web is seen as being professional and
like television, legitimising the extra effort required to ‘get it right’. Secondly,
publishing is a way of getting a less marginalised message out to other
communities and to the non-Indigenous population. Finally, it is an
opportunity to sell content and for mojos to be compensated for their story, as
occurred with sales of mojo stories to NITV.

The irony was that even though communities had terrific 3G-connectivity, the digital divide meant that not many households had computers. Hence, many families often could only view stories on the mojo’s iPhone, or when they went to the school or the local media and community center, or when the mojo stories were broadcast on television. As one of the mojo’s mums said, seeing those stories was just the incentive families needed to ask their communities for computers and computer training.

All NT Mojo stories were shot in High Definition 2 (HD2) 1280 x 720 and most were uploaded in that resolution. Current technology has advanced to High Definition 1 (HD1) 1920 x 1080 resolution. If the 3G signals were slowed, stories were rendered and uploaded in 640 x 360, which is a typical YouTube resolution.

5.2.5 Outcomes

The NT Mojo project was developed because access to technology combined with relevant journalism skills meant that citizens living in remote communities could become producers of their own politicised content. This ideal, first envisioned in remote Australia in the late 1970s, is yet another way of attempting to overcome Indigenous marginalisation brought about by geography and the gatekeeping practices of the MSM.

The success of the NT Mojo’s first stage mojo training program can be gauged against a number of criteria:

- *The transference of skills and the level of learning:* One major question arising out of the mojo workshop is the degree to which participants might become self-sufficient after trainers leave and be able to work on their own, or with other community members, to develop, produce and publish stories. Table 7 shows a summary of what participants did and what skills they had following the mojo workshop.

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Table 7 Mojo skill audit

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Skill</th>
<th>Details</th>
<th>Level achieved</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Story choice</td>
<td>All mojos determined their own stories and provided an initial list of interviewees.</td>
<td>Intermediate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Story structure</td>
<td>Mojos decided on the type of material they wanted to cover in discussion with support people, and in some cases trainers, who helped structure material before interviews and footage were recorded. In other instances mojos developed this on their own and began the filming process even before trainers arrived in the community. One example is found in the petrol-sniffing story from Galiwinku. Here the mojo developed the story outline, chose the talent, scripted and filmed a drama reconstruction before trainers arrived. In Ramingining the mojo worked with community members and support people after the trainers left to choose, develop, film, edit and publish two stories (Ramo News and NT Bula Bula Arts) without assistance from the assigned trainers.</td>
<td>Intermediate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coverage</td>
<td>Mojos mainly did their own filming. Occasionally trainers would intercede to provide advice or describe technique. Where there were two mojos in a community each would help the other with filming pieces-to-camera or other difficult on-camera material.</td>
<td>Intermediate—more practice required covering and editing sequences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sound</td>
<td>Mojos recorded their own actuality sound and they recorded their own narration.</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Writing</td>
<td>Where possible, mojos tried to write their own narration after discussing with trainers what was required. Mojos often got the thought of the narration piece right, but sometimes needed help with words. In some instances trainers helped augment and write narration with mojos. A great deal of training time was spent on this key element during the training/production phase.</td>
<td>Low—needs more specific and longer training beyond the scope of this workshop. Mojo teaches writing for an audience and to augment pictures and this is more complicated.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Editing</td>
<td>All mojos did the mechanical aspect of their editing. They</td>
<td>Intermediate to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skill</td>
<td>Details</td>
<td>Level achieved</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>operation</td>
<td>learned to operate the edit system very quickly. Some were very proficient.</td>
<td>high</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Story editing</td>
<td>On those stories completed without trainers in community, mojos did all aspects of editing. Where trainers were present and as required, they helped with editing and offered advice on structure. The degree to which mojos edited without trainer input was determined by their understanding of story structure and not the mechanical aspect of editing on the device, which all mojos could do relatively well. More training is required in story editing. This might be best achieved using the training exercise and re-editing it using different structures to see the difference.</td>
<td>Low—this was the most difficult of training elements and requires more time and more specific work.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supers</td>
<td>Mojos entered their own name supers and subtitles on their stories.</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Render and upload</td>
<td>Mojos learned to render stories at various resolutions and to upload their stories.</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethics and defamation</td>
<td>Mojos received basic information on ethics, defamation and copyright. There were no issues. As expected mojos were aware of local cultural protocols and the proclivities of living in small communities. However, given the interest by MSM in their stories and skills, I believe a greater emphasis is required in this area.</td>
<td>Low—more specific modules are required, especially given story reach is global.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mojo stories produced during the workshop can be found at http://ntmojos.indigenous.gov.au/. At the following link http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aB9S9S1ijAg is an example of a mojo story called ‘NT Mojos RSD Galiwinku’. Produced by the Galiwinku mojo and the community 12 months after the mojo training program, it is an example of skill transference, something we tried to achieve with mojo.

- **Recognition of their achievements:** When two of the mojos beat professional filmmakers at the Fist Full of Films Festival in Darwin and won major awards, media and the education sector began to see a potential. The NT Department of Education and Training wanted to
know how to implant mojo in schools and media began to make enquiries. All nine mojos were offered fee-for-services community stringer work on a story-by-story basis by ABC TV news in Darwin and NITV news. Two of the mojos secured video commissions for the government and two secured ongoing media work in their communities. This is critical to the success of mojo. Indigenous people have so often been marginalised; when they are recognised with awards it means they can compete. Being offered stringer work is critical to creating a less marginalised voice. Active mojos can remain in communities and begin to gain money from mobile journalism praxis—a first and empowering step to creating a less marginalised Indigenous public sphere that overlaps with the more mainstream sphere through its intersect with the MSM.

• **Youth sport and recreation**: Following on from the success of the project, an NT government department has purchased 36 mojo kits for use in communities across East Arnhem Shire.

• **Improving the model**: Table 8 identifies aspects of mojo training that will need to be incorporated in future programs.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Element</th>
<th>Change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Training location</td>
<td>Workshops will need to occur in community or communities within close proximity to enable mojos to feel more at home and to slowly introduce their communities to mojos’ responsibilities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Training partners</td>
<td>Could include community media centers, schools and MSM interested in the region. Partnering mojo with existing in-community media and schools provides it with its best chance of sustainability.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equipment ownership</td>
<td>One of the major issues during the community phase of the workshop was equipment control. Mojos found it a constant battle to keep the mojo kits away from interested community members. This poses a conundrum, as one of the aims of mojo is to create a greater awareness of the possibilities of mojo. In our case we determined that the mojo kits should be left with mojos after the workshop in recognition of (a) their empowerment as mojos, (b) to enable mojos to react to stories without having to ask permission to use the mojo kit, and (c) to enable mojos to earn income from mojo activities. Some of those mojo kits are now unaccounted for.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In-community supervision</td>
<td>A more substantial training/production phase is needed which includes a facility to have trainers oversee the program on an ongoing part-time basis over an extended period of time.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethics and defamation</td>
<td>As discussed above, a more in-depth component is required during formal training. This will be required when mojo is taken to a next, more investigative stage and when developing UGP for web TV.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Story construction</td>
<td>More time and more exercises are required to enable the re-edit of the training story. The creation of a second and third more comprehensive story during formal training will enable exploration of interview styles and recognition of associated issues, including varied styles of editing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coverage</td>
<td>More specific coverage exercises are required during formal training. These exercises need to be structured around sequencing so that the focus is on story coverage and not shot-gathering.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community contact</td>
<td>Government instrumentalities, agencies and interested MSM will need a community contact point for mojo content. Following NT Mojo I received calls from MSM wanting mojos to cover stringer-type activities like car accidents and floods. On these occasions I was not able to get hold of the mojos, who were out bush.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Element</td>
<td>Change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subsequently I provided ABC TV News in Darwin and NITV with the names of mojos and a number of community contact points. Formalising this process by early association with in-community media and schools will help. I also had an approach from ABC Darwin to advise mojos to provide free content for ABC Open. I advised mojos of the offer. Their response was that they would rather get paid for content, and if not they would prefer to upload to a community website.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guidelines and consents</td>
<td>These are helpful to any mojo project and need to be comprehensive; they also need to provide a no-penalty mechanism for withdrawal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Safeguards</td>
<td>A series of safeguards protocols were available. The degree to which these need to be employed will depend on the nature and location of the project. I have supplied an example of these as Appendix B.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 5.3 Summary

In summary, the possibilities of projects like NT Mojo to deliver tools to enable the creation of dialogue with Indigenous people at grassroots level potentially overcomes the sensitivity that Marcia Langton (1993) identified, which requires an indirect approach to news interviews and extensive negotiation with communities. With Indigenous communities potentially able to create and publish their own local stories, bypassing even the more mainstream Indigenous media organisations, this negotiation becomes an ongoing internal cultural process that MSM will need to buy into or miss out on the real news.

Because of the low level of investment in technology, the real potential of mojo is to create in-community employment opportunities. Achieving this for all mojos was one of the key outcomes that was not fully realised. Even though there was overwhelming interest in the mojo concept and the mojos,
offers of work beyond those discussed above were not forthcoming. The study showed that mojos received ongoing community employment only through in-community media organisations, not as a result of external offers. These came from ABC News, in the form of stringer requests, for news like user-generated content (UGNC) (Hirst 2011), but mojos were not in community when the call came through. Notwithstanding this, and with MSM now showcasing mojos’ work (ABC and NITV), the opportunity has never been greater to create a more sustainable early adoption model in remote, regional and urban schools, and that is the focus of the workshops discussed in the following chapter.
6 Supplementary workshops

‘I don’t know if you realise but before I did the mojo course I couldn’t hold a complete conversation.’

Robert French 19, Cherbourg Mojo

6.1 Overview

This chapter investigates the introduction of mojo across to two other important spheres of communication: education and mainstream media (MSM). This was done to test the workshop training methods and training manuals across multiple spheres. There are a number of reasons for these workshops, including:

- validation of mojo and user-generated stories (UGS) as more than an alternative community-based toolkit and form;
- investigation of accessibility (level and pitch) and sustainability within the education system;
- application of mojo skills in helping print journalists across the digital divide, where a positive outcome would further validate the training package and community and school mojo outcomes as a valid form of alternative journalism.

The aim was to see whether mojo skills and literacies could form the basis of a common digital language across multiple spheres of communication. I contend that this digital language could form a digital media bridge between the spheres.

The success of the NT Mojo project in imparting mojo skills to enable the creation of UGS and the possibilities of citizen journalism in remote communities resulted in numerous inquiries from education departments, schools, universities and the MSM. As Roberts’s comments show students were inspired to achieve beyond expectations (theirs and other peoples). Hence, schools were interested in exploring the possibilities of using mojo to provide challenge based literacy training. After successfully completing ethics
(NEAF) applications I embarked on a series of short supplementary workshops in Australia and internationally. These were designed to investigate the sustainability of mojo and the possible ties with the education and professional media spheres. After conducting the NT Mojo workshop it became apparent that if mojo was to succeed, especially in remote environments, it needed to be tied to sustainable in-community programs in order to provide ongoing support. Inquiries from schools indicated educators were looking for a way to modify and transform literacy programs to make them more dynamic and hopefully more relevant.

I decided to explore mojo with primary and secondary schools to determine its effectiveness as a cross-curricular literacy tool. Two primary schools were identified in far north Queensland that had a mix of Indigenous and non-indigenous year six students. The secondary schools were in the NT, Victoria and Western Australia. I also ran the mojo program in tertiary J schools in Australia and China to determine its effectiveness as a multimedia tool set to prepare J school graduates with the skills they will need to work in digital media newsrooms. In Table 8 I have listed the skills learned in basic mojo training 101. The level at which these are taught depends on whether the students are primary, secondary, tertiary level or professional journalists.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Skill</th>
<th>Benefit</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Research</td>
<td>Enables the mojo to undertake investigation and to use social media to develop the story while analysing their intended structure and thinking about the editorial implications.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Camera</td>
<td>Enables mojos to cover sequences on a mobile that can be edited, are dynamic and relate to the story being covered.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Audio</td>
<td>Enables mojos to record clear audio in a number of environments using a number of digital methods.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interviews</td>
<td>Enables the mojo to learn how to conduct and record interviews on location using a variety of styles.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>On camera</td>
<td>Mojos learn to work in front of a camera creating stand ups.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Writing</td>
<td>Enables the mojo to write narration in and out of pictures to make dynamic use of media, including an ability to create sharp headlines and editorial segues.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Editing</td>
<td>Enables the mojo to combine pictures and audio in a dynamic structure to gain the most impact and to edit these on mobile non-linear edit equipment.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Publication</td>
<td>Enables the mojo to use YouTube and WordPress, or to upload via FTP, to create their own voice or supply UGC or UGS to professional agencies.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Web and blog</td>
<td>Training on Word Press and YouTube (to which students uploaded their stories).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Budget and schedule</td>
<td>Scheduling a multimedia story is different from a print story. Knowing how to do this provides the mojo with skills that enable them to cost stories and teaches them producing.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Publication, web and budgeting skills were not taught at primary level. My aim was to scope whether the above skills translated into schools and whether teachers and lecturers would find the skills accessible and transferable across the curriculum; whether students were engaged; whether short class times impact mojo training; and the optimum group size. In working with the MSM in Australia, Timor-Leste and Denmark, the aim was to determine the effectiveness of the mojo workshops as a tool for providing professional journalists with multimedia skills. Its effectiveness here would validate it for university communications, television and journalism courses.
6.2 Primary mojo workshop

In the education sphere the mojo program was first introduced at two Queensland primary schools, one in remote Queensland and one in Cairns. As one aim was to scope its effectiveness in large class sizes, two teachers from each school were trained to provide support during the workshop and to continue with the program in their schools. Most students used iPods to create their stories. The workshop was difficult to run and 43 students proved to be the limit of control. The class included five deaf students who used iPads and required specialist attention from one of the teachers. This left three teachers and me running a workshop with 38 students. Once the formal training was completed, students formed small practice groups to develop stories and storyboards. The smaller, more manageable groups, made it possible for student to take on production roles—as writer, camerapeople and journalist or editor. All participants in the team had a role that suited them. Once teams developed a story structure each group recorded their stories over a two-hour block.

Most of the students, who were around 11 years old, found the mechanical aspects of filming and editing accessible. Developing story and structuring the story edit proved a little more difficult. A number of the students commented that they felt they were too young to understand this aspect of the training. However, Dan White, one of the teachers involved in the workshop, said he was seeing the potential of mojo to build storytelling and communication skills. Robyn Thompson, the specialist deaf teacher in the workshop, felt deaf students responded well because the more visual aspect of mojo helped overcome their general reluctance to write. All mojo participants produced their own in-class mojo story exercise and all mojo collectives produced one group story. The cohort viewed all stories with the Cairns principal, who wanted to integrate mojo into the curriculum.

While I have listed some findings at the conclusion of this chapter, the clearest observation in the primary setting was that students loved making digital stories and teachers welcomed the integration. The students found the
edit App confusing, but I believe they would find the new iMovie 2.0 App accessible because it functions very much like their other internet operating system (iOS) devices. Story editing was also slow, but it was remarkably successful. Students created their own rhythms but managed the concept of stand-ups, narration and cover shots. They also felt comfortable devising questions and recording interviews. Students at this level relied heavily on teacher input.

6.3 Secondary mojo workshop

Workshops were run in a number of secondary schools across Australia, using the same mojo package employed with NT Mojo and with primary schools. It proved effective across all levels from years 7–12, primarily because a large number of students were mobile phone users with experience using iOS devices. The modular way I teach multimedia storytelling was also effective and enabled students to grasp individual elements, before having to build their cache of elements into a story.

In the NT I ran two mojo workshops for secondary students. Both workshops included a ‘train the trainer’ component. One of the schools set up a WordPress site, <http://gunbalanyamojo.wordpress.com> to publish their mojo stories. Prior to the NT school workshops, I ran a train the trainer workshop for two teachers. Following this I ran a student workshop where teachers helped me train the students. During the workshops I slowly relinquished more of the training to the teachers as they became more comfortable. Difficulties of getting more teachers at the train the trainer workshop included the school’s reluctance to release teachers and teachers being unwilling to undertake training in their own time.

The train the trainer element began to create a mojo knowledge base and an awareness of mojo within the school, and it began the buy-in process with staff. I incorporated this as an integral component of future schools-based workshops. In Western Australia I ran a series of workshops for teachers from six schools and then for students from those schools. These schools are currently developing a hyper-local network to share mojo created UGS and
views about their education programs and communities. In doing so they hope to empower students with a unique journalistic voice and promote community-based citizen ideals as described by Schofield et al. (2011). This sense of the collective is essential in the transformation of UGC to UGS.

Despite initial success, the process has not progressed as quickly as expected in participating schools because of competing scholastic imperatives. Carly Follington, a teacher from Kolbe College in Western Australia, who attended a mojo workshop, feels that pressures of everyday teaching get in the way of initiatives like mojo. ‘At Kolbe, we always have a million things going on at once, sport carnivals, students out for excursions, exams, retreats, and the like’ (Follington 2013). The Head of IT at Corpus Christ College in Perth, Trevor Galbraith, believes teachers still don’t understand the potential of mojo. ‘I don’t think people yet understand what it is and how powerful it is to give the kids a voice…and they don’t like to take a risk…but there is no risk with what the children are doing, putting it out there’ (Galbraith 2013). Galbraith says this attitude leads to ‘scheduling’ issues, which has led Galbraith to write his own mojo program and run it as part of the IT curriculum at his school. ‘After talking with you I am including storytelling in it now…last term the whole course was about students interviewing themselves, their parents and breaking down barriers’ (2013).

The establishment of Galbraith’s hyper-local network is intended to form part of a follow-up study.

The hyper-local network set up by the Queensland government to broadcast mojo stories from the primary school workshops prohibited access outside schools. This defeated one of the major aims of mojo—to disseminate content to the broader community. I am uncertain how to overcome these reservations, which are based in part on the school’s loco-parentus and pastoral care responsibilities. The workshops show that the editorial skills that come with mojo training deliver student-driven moderation at source, across content, and before exposure.

One way of changing attitudes is by promoting mojo’s success stories. When
one student we trained during the Gunbalanya mojo workshop won the ATOM award it created an unprecedented interest amongst the student body, and the teaching staff who admired the student’s determination to tell a community-based story. As identified by Funk (1998), this sense of community responsibility, tied to creative ability, leads to a growing social identity and interest. Schofield, Clark and Monserrate (2011) found that students with a ‘commitment to benefit the collective, were more likely to engage in behaviors that would benefit the societal interest than those who did not express such interests’. Mojo praxis promotes a eudemonic philosophy, where students begin thinking about more than immediate hedonistic gratification. They begin to interact with the wider community and think as citizens. Mojos’ effectiveness across the curriculum—a cross-disciplinary pedagogy—enables eudemonic attitudes to develop across school and community, a concept that is expanded in the following chapter.

6.3.1 Primary and secondary effectiveness

The mojo kit proved accessible, with students and teachers taking to the iOS devices intuitively. Even though 73 per cent of the primary students who attended the workshop did not have a mobile, the training package could be adapted for primary students because iOS is a platform they regularly use in class. Multimedia storytelling skills were more difficult to impart at primary level. Hence for the primary program I simplified the explanation about the use of mobile technology and the modular storytelling elements. Partitioning story elements as discreet items, with their own story function, makes them manageable, moveable and accessible (see iBook). However, these workshops showed that editing these into a structural form—wrapping them in a journalistic story bounce—requires more time at primary level. Most teachers, even media teachers at secondary level, suffer from digital trainer skills lag. Teachers who have some digital experience generally have an IT background, so their view tends to be technologically determinist. Teachers who have never produced multimedia stories will require professional development to get up to speed. The development should focus more on digital storytelling than use of technology, which teachers picked up
very quickly. While teachers saw mojo as an excellent tool for creating innovative literacy programs, the major problem they foresaw was scheduling mojo training. To overcome scheduling difficulties at his school, Dan White formed a mojo club that meets two lunchtimes each week, and even more often before school events. At the club students plan, develop storyboard and co-ordinate mojo stories. To overcome scheduling issues in high school, Follington (2013) has restricted mojo to Year 9s: ‘I'm not restricted [at Year 9] at all by curriculum for that subject. They're an enthusiastic age. And there are some really talented kids in that year group’. To overcome timetabling issues mojo can be taught in 13 distinct phases—from 70-minute to two-hour classes. The phases are as follows:

- Students receive an overview of the basic storytelling elements of mojo. The story elements, including SCRAP,49 are reinforced and developed over the following weeks as per my Mojo Training Manual.
- Students receive instruction in shooting strong video and recording clean audio. They record the mojo story exercise.
- Students are introduced to the edit App by editing the mojo story exercise. They learn about two-track vision checkerboard editing.
- Students complete the edit and learn the onboard titling tool and the mix features of the edit App. Students learn about how to use four tracks of audio.
- Students create a YouTube channel and a WordPress site before uploading their story, writing a post and embedding the link into the blog.

Secondary students also learn the following:

- Students develop a final outline for their 2nd story, a local issue-based in-community story they have been researching at home, which will be between 1 and 1.5 minutes long. Teachers check sources and the story plan for structure and safety.

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49 Story, Character, Resolution, Actuality (SCRAP) acronym describing the verification stages of UGS.
• Students shoot their second story. They set up and record a greater number of interviews, work with multiple sources, shoot more specific actuality\textsuperscript{50} and B roll. Particular attention is paid to lighting, sequencing coverage and clan audio.

• Students edit their second story where they learn to plan, structure the edit and how to use B roll and narration. Specific attention is paid to writing in and out of pictures.

• Students insert name supers, mix and upload their second story.

• Students plan their third story, which will be 2.5 to 3 minutes long and include at least four sources with at least two sources being used more than once.

• Students shoot the third story. They learn to interview more effectively and for structure. They learn to cover sequences that are specific to story, and particular focus is paid to interview specific B roll.

• Students prepare the edit by choosing grabs, grading footage and writing a paper edit map and an edit script.

• Students edit their third story, with the focus being on creating a journalistic story bounce, with a strong story structure. Writing in and out of pictures to create story bounce is a key skill.

• Students insert supers, mix and upload their third story. The focus here is key fame or more advanced audio ducking and mixing.

In subsequent classes secondary students would learn how to use UGS to form longer user-generated programs (UGPs).

All the teachers I worked with saw mojo as a relevant tool for increasing literacy skills across the curriculum. The editorial aspects—choice making—that occur in mojo are helpful when teaching students to make structural choices in writing. ‘You’ve set us on a path and we believe we are going to improve kids’ literacy and storytelling confidence, I’m getting students whose self-confidence is growing enormously as they see their work published’

\textsuperscript{50} Footage and audio recorded of unfolding events.
White (2012) believes it is too early to tell how successful mojo will be across the primary curriculum, but he is already seeing improvements in some students’ writing ability. White puts this down to the choices that need to be made during the editing and scripting stages of mojo. Galbraith (2013) believes the engagement, or interactive aspect of mojo, helps develop communication skills between students and the community: ‘mojo is the one single factor in my time in teaching that’s exploded the connection between school, and community’. Researchers have identified this connection as leading to an increased level of *citizenry ideals* amongst students (Schofield Clark & Monserrate 2011). Mojo potentially modifies previous literacy practices, turning them into new undefined methods through a series of challenge-based learning tasks—research, planning, interaction, filming, editing. Mojo works to redefine ways of structuring interaction, conversation and story elements. This will be discussed at length in the next chapter on pedagogy. The development of mojo UGS involves a shift in thinking from the personal to the collective or the eudemonic. At a story level this involves developing UGS into UGP, which can be the basis of web TV formats. At an inter-school level this can involve forming hyper-local networks to create collective UGPs constructed from school-based UGS. This will be discussed in the chapter on pedagogy and in the conclusion to this exegesis.

6.4 Tertiary journalism school workshop

6.4.1 Overview

I trialed the package in a tertiary environment to determine the degree to which J students were exposed to multimedia storytelling, the effectiveness of the mojo training package for J students, and to further scope a mojo training pedagogy for training skilled multimedia journalists. Given the critical nature of the transition phase between study and work, particular emphasis was placed on eliciting student responses around the above criteria.

On investigation of the websites of a number of leading journalism schools, I found they did not include UGS training of the caliber I am advocating. At the 2012 Journalism Education Association of Australia (JEAA) conference in Melbourne I found that not one of the journalism lecturers I spoke with was
working with mobile to make user-generate stories (UGS). In 2013, I was a speaker at the International Symposium if Online Journalism conference in Texas, where I found the same. Keynote Andy Garvin summed up the trend when he advocated the need for more engagement with the audience through social media: ‘why don’t we use these incredibly powerful tools to talk with them, listen to them, and help us all understand the world a little better?’ (Garvin 2013). I agree with Garvin but believe the audience can provide more relevant and more complete content offerings than is available in a 140 character Tweet.

During the research for this exegesis, I spoke about mojo at four national and eight international conferences. I found it amazing that the idea of creating UGS was something of a side step from the main game, which was still to keep it traditional, and to promote engagement through social media. Journalism schools were still thinking of mobile as a medium for connecting to user-generated content (UGC), tweets and other social media content. Many journalism schools were still stuck in the analogue and print-to-digital transition phase. Caught off guard, they are delivering a curriculum that falls short. Advocating one based around social media, they risk throwing the baby out with the bath water. I contend that what is needed is a neo-journalistic approach, where elements of traditional storytelling are wrapped around new multimedia tools and practices. Only then will we, as Garvin suggests, ‘slow down the news cycle’ (2013). What’s required is time to be reflexive and to question the public, ask them for more and collate this information into multimedia stories, rather than a never-ending stream of curated headlines. The question is, how is this possible in a 24/7 always on news environment?

6.4.2 Deakin University workshop

I ran the mojo workshop with a number of cohorts of third year journalism and communications students at Deakin University over two six week blocks. Following the Deakin experience I thought that the workshop is best run in four, eight, sixteen or twenty-four hour blocks (see Chapter 7) and not the two-hour sessions scheduled there. A two-hour session can end at a crucial
point and the mojo leaves without having been taught the complete skill set, making homework frustrating. On further investigation, and after developing the training, I found that the first and possibly the second class should be three or four hours long. The following classes could then be run in two hour blocks.

I ran a similar style of workshop to the one run in secondary schools (see pp173-174) predominantly because the students were only available for six by two hour classes (half a semester). We established a WordPress site called Go2News. The group of third year journalism, PR and communications students, with a number of second year students, were asked to load the 1st Video edit App (Voddio) onto their iOS device. Those who didn't own an iOS device borrowed one of the school's iPods.

At completion of training, 53 students were given a survey including structured and open-ended questions asking about previous digital experience, the usefulness of the course, how they would change it and so forth. Forty-three (81 per cent) completed the survey and a summary of the key findings follows.

Questions about whether students had previous digital training and whether or not they found this helpful are presented in Figure 7. A third year elective, 'Broadcast Journalism', is available to students, but only six students (14 per cent) had received any video journalism training during their course. Thirty-seven students (86 per cent) had received no video journalism training while enrolled in their course. Forty students (93) felt they either benefited, or would have benefited from previous digital video training.
Those students who thought that mobile journalism training was important gave a number of reasons:

- Knowledge about multimedia story structure (creating stories using pictures and words) is essential
- More time to develop the skills to be better prepared by third year and deal with the realities of the current journalism industry
- Could have a portfolio ready by placement time
- Would help with their placement where they could ‘try it out for real.

Students received basic training on identifying and recoding story elements, recording strong vision and clean audio and editing on the iOS device. They were required to produce one training exercise and one video of their choice, which was assessed and uploaded to the Go2News blog (Hirst & Burum 2011). I ran a more complex introduction section than for secondary students, which included definition(s) of journalism and a discussion about styles of storytelling and more specifically journalistic multimedia storytelling. Students were also asked to write an assessable report on the mojo experience.

- **Length of classes and the course:** The short two-hour classes impacted on the practical aspect of mojo training. As mentioned above mojo
workshops require time to get through the various phases. In the first instance a four-hour workshop works best to complete the basic mojo elements exercise. Without this being completed, classroom training concludes at the two-hour point of the first phase of the practical component: the commencement of the edit, the most difficult point to stop training.

Thirty-six students answered the survey question: Should the mojo training course be changed? Of those who answered, eight students (22 per cent), felt the course should not be changed. The majority, sixteen students (44 per cent), felt the sessions and the course duration needed to be longer. I would suggest a 12-week course.

- **iOS device:** As described earlier, the choice of iOS devices was based on hedonic appeal, widespread use and my preferred edit App, which is only available for the iOS platform. The University did not own any iOS kits so we purchased 15 iPod Touches. We were anticipating students would own one of the current iOS devices: iPhone, iPod Touch or iPad. We found that 34 of the students (79 per cent) who enrolled in the mojo class and completed the survey owned their own smartphone. Of those, 23 students (70 per cent) owned an iPhone. It was anticipated that students who owned an iPhone would use the edit App beyond class requirements.

Students who owned a smartphone gave the following reasons for buying their device (Figure 8).
Figure 9 shows what percentage of students used the various functions on their smartphones. Phone (73.5 per cent) and text (64.7 per cent) were lower than social media (accessing the Internet) at (76.5 per cent). I concluded that some students did not mention phone because all students used their phone for calling. What was initially surprising was that fewer mentioned they used their phone for music, but this is probably due to these students owning an MP3 or iPod for listening to music.

Figure 9 Functions used on smartphone

- **Technical**: Many of the students who owned a smartphone had never shot video on their smartphone and almost none had edited video into a story using their smartphone. Hence, during the workshop they experienced issues in the following technical areas:
  - **Coverage**: Students had problems with shot steadiness, exposure and the level of coverage. More practice and a 12-week training block would allow time to run exercises to fix this. Knowing how to cover a scene requires some practice and is closely linked to understanding screen structure and language. The most common mistake was a lack
of coverage—not enough close-ups or useable overlay (B roll) to help tell, compress and expand the story. Thinking in terms of sequences, and not shots, is the first step to thinking video and not stills. Exposure was also an issue. Mostly the problem was backlit, or dimly lit subjects. This can be rectified through more hands-on exercises in how best to use natural lighting to advantage. A video grade App is available which can be used to enable poorly exposed shots to be fixed. These issues are all addressed in the second phase of mojo (see iBook for description).

- **Focal length:** Students often complained that they could not get close enough to the action. It is not the camera’s fault that a mojo is not close to the action. It is best not to use a long lens,\(^{51}\) which may mean moving closer to the action. A wide lens up close provides a sense of being there and is more stable when using the camera hand-held. In some cases the mobile journalist is not able, or it is too dangerous, to get in close. In this case what is required is a zoom on the video function or a doubler\(^{52}\) for the mCamLite\(^{53}\) lens, or an adaptor\(^{54}\) to use DSLR lenses. Current iPhone cameras have a zoom and the Filmic Pro App enables greater control over focus (see iBook).

- **Sound:** This is a critical element and is often disregarded, especially when using smart devices. The golden rule is to get in close to try and eliminate background sound. This is another reason why using a zoom during training is a not a good idea. Many of the students did not have a microphone plugged into their iOS device, because they didn’t own one. The various sound options are described in the HOWTOMOJO iBook manual. A mojo course that ran for a full semester would enable more in-depth sound training.

- **Edit:** all participants thought the edit App was the key to this mojo workshop, identifying its ability to make mobile multimedia stories on the run its unique feature. At the outset of editing, a number of

\(^{51}\) A long lens is a telephoto lens that makes objects look closer. On a 70–200 mm zoom lens the long end is towards the 200 mm focal length.

\(^{52}\) A doubler doubles the focal length of the lens but they can result in lower quality image.

\(^{53}\) A stabilising iPhone cradle with fix points for lights, microphones and tripod (see iBook).

\(^{54}\) Fits on the front of the mCamLite lens.
participants also said they were having difficulties with the small screen. This changed as they became more proficient. The issue could also be resolved by transferring data to an iPad for the edit, or to a laptop, which could negate the advantages of using mojo on location. The complexities of editing pictures and words are not resolved in a 12-hour course. One way to begin this process is to have specialist story edit training modules, which occur in Phase 2 and 3 of mojo, or to run a 12-week course (see pp 194-195).

- Experience blogging: the survey results presented in Figure 10 indicate that only 23.3 per cent of students had a website, while 48.8 per cent had a blog site.

![Figure 10 Students’ use of web and blog sites](image)

Of those students who had a blog site, ten (47.6 per cent) used it for accessing news, while five (23.8 per cent) said they used it for gossip. No one who used it to access news said they also used it for gossip. The vast majority, eighteen students (85.7 per cent) said they used it for other reasons, which were identified as music and travel type info, with the majority identifying comment. No student who had a blog site said that they used it for uploading video. This is not surprising given that before the mojo workshops most students said they had not done any video multimedia training or made
videos.

This correlates with the findings of Hirst and Treadwell in *Blogs Bother Me* (2011). They found that many of the journalism students they surveyed were not digital natives. ‘The point is we cannot assume every student participates in the Twitterverse, understands Photoshop or Dreamweaver, or can write PHP code and manipulate audio or video files in editing software without some frustration and learning through failure’ (2011: 451). I think many digital natives couldn’t operate Photoshop or Dreamweaver. The point is, even if they could do all those things, they may still not think like a digital native or multimedia journalist, and may not have the skills to produce multimedia stories. In fact, understanding Photoshop or Dreamweaver still has little to do with being a multimedia journalist.

- **Go2News Blog**: Due to a lack of funding Martin Hirst and I could only set up a free blog which we linked to a YouTube site. We chose WordPress and named our site Go2News (deakinnews.WordPress.com). We set up a YouTube site also called Go2News (<www.youtube.com/user/go2news>). Students from the two cohorts produced 76 UGS. Eight months after our Deakin workshops, J schools like Reynolds in Missouri were deciding to evaluate mojo and were only thinking about tips and tricks (Deckert & Redoh 2012). At Deakin students were already making UGS. In my experience in researching and training mojo participants over the past three and a half years the Go2News experience was the most advanced use of mojo skill sets at an educational institution.

6.4.2.1 **Students’ reports**

Following the unit, students were given a series of questions and asked to write a report to evaluate the workshop. The report was completed by 86 percent of students and the responses to five specific questions relating to different aspects of the workshop are shown in Figure 11.
All but one participant felt the workshop was useful for their future work prospects. Students mostly found the App intuitive, but felt hybrid training—mojo workflows to laptop and desktop systems like Final Cut Pro—would be beneficial. They had issues with sourcing interviewees (see Figure 15 for further details).

Students had the opportunity to provide more information for the first four specific questions presented in Figure 11. They provided information on why or why not they found mojo useful; what was or was not easy to use; if and how they would change the workshop; and what issues they had with interviewees. Using a qualitative theme analysis process, where evidence is extracted from data values to provide new knowledge (McNiff & Whitehead 2006), the responses were grouped according to the main reason or issue given. The following pie charts show the proportion of students who mentioned each reason or issue in the further inquiry into each of the questions.

**Mojo Usefulness:** The reasons students gave for why the mojo training was useful are presented in Figure 12.
Analysis: Many students (43 per cent) felt a key factor was that mojo provided multimedia skills that made them more employable. Discussion with online news editors suggests that mojo skills will make journalism graduates more employable and immediately useful. Twenty-eight per cent of students believed mojo practices sharpened their writing, camera, editing and interview skills. Fifteen per cent felt that breaking stories was a critical aspect of being a successful journalist, and being able to produce every phase of the story on a mobile and publish quickly, without leaving location, was an important benefit. Some students (7 per cent) felt mojo skills would be valuable across professions and different tertiary disciplines. Students are already using the skills in other areas to pitch ideas and 4 per cent believe it has led them to be more analytical about news stories on TV.

Device and edit App accessible: Even for practitioners experienced in working with pictures and words, their first experience of producing a complete UGS was daunting. Figure 13 shows the main reason students found the iOS device and edit App accessible or easy to use or not.
Analysis: The majority of students (52 per cent) felt the edit App was intuitive, easy and empowering once they learned the basics. The students thought they would have benefited from at least the first class being four hours long, as this would have enabled more time to understand the basics of the App. In other mojo workshops I delivered, in community and with professional journalists, I found the first four hours to be critical, with the two-hour point of the class being most crucial.

A number of students (14 per cent) found the screen too small and had problems making the wipe and tap movements. They would have preferred to edit on an iPad. Because of internal WiFi protocols in the classroom we were not always able to transfer from the iPod or iPhone to the iPad or PC. A number of students (13 per cent) chose a different edit App on their device (iMovie) because they wanted to edit on a laptop that used the same edit program, or because they had problems with their iDevice and there were no replacements. A small group (6 per cent) did not have access to an iDevice either because they were off campus or because the university could not provide one. Almost one in six students (15 per cent) felt that they needed more time during training. In fact many students felt the skill sets being taught were so useful that the course should have been run for the full semester.

Workshop improvements: As this workshop had not been previously tried with students over a 6 x 2hr structure, it was important to gauge their response in
order to adjust the workshop for future cohorts and to develop it into a more substantial program across the curriculum. Figure 14 indicates student responses to the main thing they would change in future workshops.

![Figure 14 How the workshop could be improved](image)

**Analysis:** Fifteen per cent of students felt the mojo workshop did not need to be changed. Of those who felt change would help, the majority (41 per cent) thought the workshops should have been run for the full semester. I was allowed to run the mojo workshop for six weeks (6 x 2hr university classes) of a 12-week block. I articulated the view that a substantial mojo workshop required 24 hours of face-to-face, or 12 x 2hr university classes. I was advised students would do extra work at home. By all accounts this homework was not done until the last minute, as students had many other competing projects to complete.

Almost one quarter (24 per cent) of the students felt they did not allow enough time to prep stories. The majority felt their focus on print made them blind to the extra work required to produce multimedia stories: face-to-face interviews, shooting B roll, selecting the best footage and interview grabs, writing a narration script, doing the edit and mix.

Approximately one in ten (8 per cent) of the students believed they should
have collected more footage or that they got the wrong type of coverage. One of the most common mistakes when starting to make multimedia, and especially UGS, is the lack of what I call, story coverage. This overlay, or B roll, relates to story specifics like elements discussed in an interview. B roll helps colour the interview to make it more dynamic, enables the use of choice interview grabs in the edit, and enables compression or expansion of story points. Students also wanted more training on sequences; more specifically, how to cover a moving event quickly.

Some students (4 per cent) felt their stories needed more interviewees (sources). When broadcasting raw footage, seeing one extended interview grab seems to work. However, when we construct story we need a number of points of view. For an inexperienced multimedia journalist the need for a variety of opinions often does not become apparent until they do their first edit. During the edit they realise they need to choose sections of interview and write pithy narration to bounce story from one sync grab to the next. This important realisation transforms their next mojo piece dramatically.

A small number of students (8 per cent) felt their gear was restrictive. They either wanted a zoom on their iOS device’s video camera (current Apps can), or they wanted to edit on a PC for more control. A number of students thought that it would help if they were all taught on the same gear so that they could help each other if required.

*Interview issues:* When moving from a photo-plus voice environment (stills and comment) to a moving pictures format there are many factors that change. Apart from the creative considerations, there are logistical and psychological issues that require attention. One of the main comments we often hear is ‘there was nothing or no one to shoot, everything was boring’. This is a comment I first heard in 1993 from participants on *Home Truths*, an ABC self-shot series that was a precursor to the current mojo format. We also determined that when they said a location was boring, they meant that they were embarrassed to dig below the surface to find information or ask people to be interviewees on camera. Figure 15 outlines the main issues the J school
mojos had with interviewees.

![Figure 15 Interviewees issues]

**Figure 15 Interviewees issues**

*Analysis:* Fifty-six per cent of students had no issues doing interviews. Further research is required to determine whether these were J students who had previous experience with face-to-face interviews. Students were all experienced in doing print interviews but not necessarily face-to-face video interviews, and the realisation that the formal interview could not be done over the phone caused a number of scheduling conflicts. This is a common finding when moving from print to more interactive video formats like UGS. Many interviewees, 14 per cent, said *no* due to time issues; 13 per cent could not agree to an interview because they weren’t able to get approval from their superiors; 11 per cent didn’t want to appear because they were embarrassed. They would have agreed to a print interview but not on camera. Local and technical reasons caused some issues (1 per cent).

*Introduction of digital video training:* The survey results suggest that modern journalism courses should include a multimedia component, similar to mojo. Students were asked for their views on when mojo studies should be introduced in a J course and their responses are shown in Figure 16.
Analysis: Of the students who responded, 27 per cent believed mojo should be part of the foundation skills in a communications and journalism course. Approximately one in five (19 per cent) felt that it should be introduced in second year, after students received grounding in writing and interview skills. A similar proportion (17 per cent) believed it should be developed over three years of the course, creating new and more advanced mojo skills each year. A quarter (25 per cent) felt that its current placement in 2nd semester in third year was right. Industry employers want graduates who can make multimedia stories, write headlines and have experience running interviews. Beginning this training early would assist in developing UGS skills to a high level, including the production of user-generated programs (UGP) required for web TV.

6.4.3 Ningbo University workshop
To assess the impact of short class times and course duration, I ran mojo over three consecutive eight-hour blocks for a cohort of communications students at Nottingham University in Ningbo, China. The program was successful and all students found the eight-hour sessions enabled substantial immersion in the various phases of the program. Moreover, it was apparent
that at critical points of mojo training it was important that the program was
continued over the next hour or so to answer a new batch of key, but
frustrating, edit questions. I found that during this phase students who had
grapsed the technology and, in particular, the edit App, were able to support
other, slower students. This student-to-student teaching approach is more
difficult to achieve in short one- or two-hour workshops, after which students
leave class and become busy with other school commitments.

At Ningbo I noticed student stories all had a political edge: safety, lack of
amenities and dangerous traffic were some of the topics. This is possibly
because of the state of repression that still exists in China, like the recent
bans on Internet search providers such as Google. Because Google was
banned, so was YouTube, which caused issues when publishing. A number
of the students indicated they would continue mojo to become citizen
journalists even if they couldn’t get work with the MSM in China. According to
journalism Professor Stephen Quinn, as a result of their involvement in mojo,
Ningbo students formed a China chapter of NUTS, the Nottingham University
Television Station. NUTS produces student-generated news and
entertainment programs.

6.5 MSM workshop

6.5.1 Overview

As I am advocating that mojo skills form part of the journalist’s toolkit, it was
important to determine if the mojo program was relevant to MSM. This is
particularly important given that traditional print media is losing its revenue
source and its audience, and print journalists are facing the prospect of being
under-skilled and unemployable as print becomes multimedia and moves
online. To test mojo in the MSM, I ran three workshops at Fairfax in Australia;
at The Dili Weekly, a bi-lingual print and online publication in Timor-Leste;
and at Ekstra Bladet, a large Danish tabloid. Except for The Dili Weekly,
where I ran a three-day version of the Phase 1 workshop, I ran eight-hour
mojo programs with groups of 10 journalists. The reason only single
workshops could be run was because management could not release
journalists for any longer, despite mojo training being essential to keep them functioning in the digital age. The aims of the workshop were to provide journalists with an overview of the technology, to deliver basic multimedia skills to enable them to record video and audio, and to complete a basic story, if required. In Australia and Denmark the modified workshop involved creating an in-class exercise in the morning and an in-community exercise in the afternoon. In Timor-Leste, because of the language barrier, we needed three days to complete the same level of training.

Participants in the Fairfax workshops (journalists and photographers) gained useful knowledge and felt that all their journalist and photographer colleagues should attend. As a result they petitioned management and a number of workshops were scheduled. The outcome was positive, but convincing management of the benefit of teaching journalists and photographers to edit was another matter. Fairfax management was of a view that all they wanted their journalists to do was to upload raw unedited footage from location, in low resolution, as quickly as possible. I argued that teaching staff to edit was crucial on two levels. Initially I described how my experience working internationally for *Foreign Correspondent* demonstrated clearly that the most useful camera people were those who worked in bureaus, primarily because they edited their own footage. Knowing how to edit helps the journalist decide what to record in the field. Secondly, I proposed this scenario. The chief of staff sends a journalist to a missing person possible drowning five hours away from the office. The journalist covers the retrieval of a backpack at 7am and, using their iPhone, uploads this and a short on-camera grab from attending police. The journalist knows the body will pop sooner or later; so what do they do while waiting? They interview some witnesses and they begin to write and edit their news package. Around lunchtime the body pops. The journalist covers the retrieval and gets a few grabs from the attending officers who also advise that the parents are on their way to identify the body. The journalist uploads the retrieval footage. While waiting for the parents to arrive they keep editing their package. When the mum arrives they record an interview with mum and upload this before completing their edit, which they upload via 3G as they leave location and begin their long drive home. The office receives
three updates and also an exclusive package for the evening bulletin, which no other media has. Fairfax continued mojo training in 2013 and workshops included editing.

Mojo workshops were also run for six journalists working at The Dili Weekly in Timor-Leste. The primary aim was to determine if mojo training translates to non-English speaking environments and smaller news operations. Some mojos spoke no English while others spoke only a few words. Even though workshops were run using a translator, the skill level achieved was high. Participants began using mojo immediately to create stories around the 2012 national elections. Stories were uploaded to a new video page on their website, <http://www.thediliweekly.com/en>. Post training, TDW mojos are producing one to two UGS per week, and have been doing this for more than 18 months.

My hypothesis is that TDW management was more receptive to the holistic nature of mojo and UGS because they had no other options. Mojo provided them with the type of multimedia coverage that would otherwise have been unaffordable. Mojo is now providing TDW with another source of income, with journalists stringing for other large news organisations and mojo footage potentially creating a saleable content archive. The major issue in Timor-Leste was the difficulty experienced uploading stories. This was primarily due to the low bandwidth of the current Internet system, but with the Internet monopoly now broken, new more powerful Internet services will see TDW journalists trained and ready to supply their mojo-created UGS globally.

Further along in their conversion to online (15 per cent of the population visit their site daily), Ekstra Bladet (EB) management, like Fairfax Media, initially wanted raw UGC from their reporters. However, they also realise the importance of journalists being able to deliver complete UGS because of their desire to move to what I call Phase 3 of online multimedia conversion, user-generated programs (UGP) and web TV.
Three or four years ago we decided there was no way back we needed to be delivering in the channel people wanted, on the web, and not newspapers as a free service. It’s been working well but now it looks like without paid content on our web site we won’t be able to keep all our staff and a serious media player needs at least 130 journalists. (Madsen 2013)

As discussed earlier, *EB* managing editor Poul Madsen has decided that advertising alone is not enough to keep journalists employed; he needs to offer paid content on the web (2013). This paid-for and more developed content also demonstrates to the company’s journalists that *EB* is still interested and able to deliver powerful journalism. This will be available all day and also begin a journey to the public via the smart device, to the smart TV by the time the customer arrives home.

Five years ago no Dane had a smartphone and today 70% have one. In 3-4 years when 70% of Danes have smart TVs, with the EB logo on it, we will be ideally placed producing content that will first appear on their mobiles to watch on the train on the way home and then be ready for them on their smart TV when they arrive home. (Madsen 2013)

*EB* already has ‘50% of Danes 14 and up looking at the site daily and we are aiming for 3-4 million people’ (Madsen 2013). To be successful they will need to retrain their journalists: ‘from smartphone we can develop television and that’s why we have you here to teach them to do this’, so that soon they will ‘consider the smartphone in the way they consider the pen’ (Madsen 2013).

6.5.2 MSM workshop outcomes

Even though for many of the experienced print journalists mojo was the first time they had broken story down into its components, overall, working journalists and photographers found the mojo skill set valuable and accessible. The modular way story elements were dissected and taught made sense to journalists.
Analysis: The editing component is an integral aspect of mojo. In my view the reasons why Fairfax training managers did not consider editing important before our workshops is that they:

- had editors on staff;
- did not believe journalists would welcome being asked to edit;
- believed any edit process would slow the upload process;
- believed raw UGC is more useable.

At EB journalists have already used their new mojo skills to deliver complete stories. One of the journalists who embraced the mojo training has now developed his skills to a point where he is running mojo workshops for other journalists. A group of 10 mojo super-users, two from each of the editorial groups, has been established to promote skills and mojo praxis throughout the group. In particular they will assist other journalists with the edit process, which is now seen as a critical skill for all EB journalists working online. There are two reasons for this: (a) editing teaches journalists how to shoot the right type of coverage to create stories that will be required across their platforms; and (b) there is not enough editing support to edit the extra video content resulting from mojo activities.

The reality is that news agencies want raw footage and have always wanted complete stories as well. You can have both. Sonja Pastuovic, a fixer and producer during the Bosnian war, describes the relevance of being able to edit and supply complete news packages from the field.

I worked for APTV, a pocket bureau based in Zagreb. My role was to quickly decide what to cover and who to send. Many times there were actions that required a pool cameraperson, so it was critical we sent someone who could put a story together. In the field, in action, you don’t have the time to think. Without the right logical pictures you wouldn’t have the battle on tape even though you were caught right in the middle of it. The cameraman had to be able to edit—the great ones shot with

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55 Reuters, APTV, EBU are three news agencies who provide news services to broadcasters.
an editor’s eye—because we needed to piece a three-minute story together very quickly. Agencies preferred the longer stories with a script, which I wrote, as these could be delivered long and short for our list of more than 150 clients. Therefore knowing how to edit is an essential skill for camera people, journalists and producers (Pastuovic 2013).

*EB* journalists are not wading through rivers of blood every day, but as management develops formats for its web TV platform, the UGS skills developed in the mojo workshops become a jumping off point for print journalists wishing to participate. The current danger is that because some online editors are ex-print journalists, without multimedia experience, web TV becomes radio with pictures. For example, one of the first *EB* formats was an extended studio interview profile concept that they ran in a radio with pictures style—talking studio heads. Yet creating VT packages—short UGS—around at least three stages of that interview, would provide another editorial level that enabled the concept to be formatted and sold to other networks, or wrapped into their paid content area.

### 6.6 Summary

It’s clear from the supplementary workshops conducted as part of this research that mojo is a useful toolkit for developing literacy skills across the curriculum. In all cases, teachers were receptive to new ways of teaching literacy and welcomed the shift in emphasis from classroom to more community challenge-based learning activity, which mojo encourages. Teachers felt the requirement mojo puts on interactivity is essential to creating citizen-minded students. Its holistic approach combines literacy and numeracy skills into a communications package that sees communication skills as an integral part of community life. Teachers felt that scheduling mojo would be difficult, but felt that its strength would be in an interdisciplinary approach as a tool for helping create more dynamic classes.

Secondary and primary students welcomed the opportunity to learn digital literacies in an interactive way. They enjoyed the teamwork aspect of mojo
and found the technical skills easy to learn. Younger primary students found the story aspect of mojo challenging, but understood the story bounce when they saw it edited. I ran a composite workshop with year 7 and year 10 and 12 students and found that the younger students were helping the older ones with the technology while the older students helped with story elements. The modular elemental way of teaching story helped overcome some issues with teaching structure to younger students.

Publication is key to literacy training. It is also key to the outcomes that mojo espouses, such as generating higher self-esteem and greater confidence, more command of language and a willingness to interact with the community. Hence showcasing students’ UGS on a website that is accessible to the community is a crucial part of the process. Teachers will need to resolve internal proxy servers and other security protocols that might inhibit more robust viewing of school websites.

MSM workshops seed mojo praxis and philosophies into the professional newsroom. In a market searching for revenue streams and affordable content, alternative student and citizen journalism has economic value. However, the degree to which the potential of a citizen content sphere is realised will in part depend on the extent to which citizens create the type of content that forces mainstream organisations like the BBC to adopt alternative content streams (Entwistle 2012). It is my hypothesis that one way this can become sustainable is by developing citizen output from UGC to a more formed UGS that is in opposition to MSM offerings to maintain its alternative weight, and in apposition with its professional styles and formats.

I believe that the BBC’s desire to embrace citizen content is driven by more than economic rationalism. Just as film theory is more about a wider enquiry into cultural studies (Turner 1988), the citizen form of journalism, like film and television, can form ‘part of the wider argument about representation’ (1988: 38). This concept of citizen journalism drives the democratic ideals that underpin this research in the same way that television and other broadcast or publication media have depicted culture as a social practice (Turner 1988).
Today new forms of expression such as mobile journalism practices and publication on the web are capable of taking on that role. The great advantage the digital age has over analogue is that the ubiquitous nature of communication devices means today’s conversation does not need to be representative. Because the technology is accessible, the representative becomes local and, as McChesney (2007) observes, inclusive. Findings from the mojo workshops suggest it can be.

Harcup (2011) suggests that the production of alternative citizen participatory forms of media can be seen as an example of active citizenship. He cites Hartley as suggesting that alternative media can provide ‘a rich vein of journalism which is simply invisible in journalism studies’ (Harcup 2011: 15). This rich form is what Atton and Hamilton (2008: 1) identify as activity that ‘proceeds from dissatisfaction not only with the mainstream coverage of certain issues and topics, but also with the epistemology of news’. I agree that citizen journalism can be this, if and when citizens shift from their predisposition to recording and uploading anything they accidentally witness, to more purposeful citizen journalism and politicised UGS.

As discussed in Chapter 3, a number of methodological and verification factors, including my own background as a practitioner, need to be considered when evaluating the mojo workshops (Wadsworth 2011). I am not an experienced academic versed in running this type of study. My television and journalism background brought a depth of self-shot multimedia experience, which I had been testing with citizens for more than two decades. This is one of the reasons the case-study workshops were successful in delivering a practical model that:

• is the basis of a hyper-local network being established amongst secondary schools in Western Australian;
• sits at the core of a new ongoing mojo workshop being developed with TAFE in Queensland;
• is being used by Danish print media to help develop their online news and a web TV platform;
• is inspiring government agencies to use it as a form of delivering community messaging.

In conducting this empirical study I tried to follow the three principles of data collection identified by Yin (2003):

• use multiple sources of evidence—these are described at the outset of this chapter;
• create a case-study database—this was done using the survey questions and forms a data set on which the graphs are based;
• maintain a chain of evidence—I have kept surveys, the documentary provides evidence of the major NT mojo workshop, stories published online provide evidence of outcomes, interviews have been transcribed, and a peer reviewed paper has been published, as have a number of articles in high profile industry publications (The Channel and The Walkley magazines). The exegesis collates these various sources of information into a useable and referenced document, as do the HOWTOMOJO iBook, the training manual and documentaries.

There are a number of pros and cons I discovered when using particular evidence. Documentation was important and the texts and documentaries that are referenced provide important background information. Having said this, the mojo I discuss, which leads to the creation of UGS, is a relatively new subfield of journalism (Atton & Hamilton 2008) on which very little documentation exists. Interviews, especially with Indigenous participants, were important not only to solicit base-line comments but also to relax participants and begin their relationship with the lead trainer. Interviews with professionals were important to provide the MSM perspective and to collate a record in a moment of change in our media landscape. The Interview with Phillip Batty, 30 years after Freda Glynn, John Macumba and he began CAAMA, provides a rare insight into their vision. As interviews can be fraught with response bias, or a reflexivity based on what the interviewee thinks the interviewer wants to hear (Wadsworth 2011), I also included surveys where warranted. These were fraught with possible bias and, as with all interviews,
were a form of their own gatekeeping based on my own preconceived views and aims.

Hence direct observation was critical to this investigation as it enabled me to witness unfolding actuality. Bringing to bear my past experience with Indigenous communities proved to be both a positive and a negative. On the positive side, my more than 20 years of experience in remote communities enabled an important familiarity with how communities function. On the negative side, reflexivity was at times difficult. My experience in communities and also in mainstream television occasionally had participants agreeing with my view. I found I had to work hard to illicit the participant view, and I can’t be certain I always got that; but I tried. The direct observation method of research is time consuming and because the observer is not always able to be in one location, they need, at times, to rely on others to provide an overview.

In addition to the findings already provided in chapters 5 and 6, the following is a summary of the major conclusions reached from the case-study workshops.

- **Mojo Training Package**: functions across three spheres of communication, with level and intensity being determined by the age of participants, their language ability, experiences, the context and desired outcomes. Because the package is modular and focuses on story elements it can be modified to suit different training environments and skill sets. This is explained in more detail in the following chapter on training.

- **Technology**:
  - The iOS technology is accessible and its hedonic appeal leads to participants being willing to experiment. Many of the participants felt that all participants should learn using the same iOS device. While there are advantages in teaching students using the same device, I
don’t believe these outweigh students learning on *their own devices*. This is especially true with students’ own iOS devices.

- The Voddio edit App is an effective training tool enabling professional training, multitrack editing and online publishing from a mobile device. Some journalism lecturers think the App is difficult to use, but not school teachers. I believe this is because those university lecturers have not had much experience making multimedia stories, whereas school teachers have been immersed in the technology and student multimedia activities for much longer. This digital skills lag impacts trainers and online editors (in MSM) who have no or limited experience with multimedia forms. The new iMovie 2.0 App, which provides almost all of the functions required, is more user friendly for both trainers and participants. We are seeing better results in skills retention using this new edit App (see iBook).

- **Sustainability:**
  - In Indigenous communities a sustainable model is needed to realise the long-term benefits of mojo training and production. Any such model should include funding for online publishing and if possible a mechanism for story payment for UGS sales or UGC stringer-type work. It may be the result of government contracts for health and other local messaging campaigns or from local business or media. An important consideration is an interim point of contact for community mojos to negotiate rates and licences.
  - In primary and secondary education, sustainability will rely on being able to train enough teachers to introduce mojo practices and scheduling mojo training and praxis. The rigid school timetable is one major concern; in at least one school it is being overcome by forming out-of-class mojo collectives. Sustainability will be enhanced when schools begin to form hyper-local networks with other schools to share ideas, knowledge and the results of mojo praxis.
  - At tertiary level, sustainability will be achieved when multimedia storytelling is recognised as a professional skill set. Students
learning mojo felt multimedia storytelling was relevant to their
careers and that it should be introduced earlier to provide a
background in the type of skills online editors say are missing from
graduates. Many of the students left their mojo exercises until the
last minute and were caught out trying to rush them to completion.
The Ningbo workshops showed that running mojo classes in eight-
hour blocks is extremely effective. Notwithstanding this, I believe
that if the course at Deakin had run for the full semester, the
shorter two-hour classes would not have been a problem. I believe
the first or second class in a workshop being taught in two-hour
blocks needs to be extended to four hours, to get students over the
tech crunch phase that occurs at the two-hour mark of the first
class on using edit equipment.

- MSM sustainability is based on being able to integrate mojo into the
bigger online shift occurring in the news business. The MSM
workshops indicated that journalists of all ages are interested in
learning multimedia skills. Their story training is a benefit, but can
also restrict lateral thinking. Like school principals, media managers
found it difficult to schedule time for journalists to be away from
their core business of aggregating stories. Management initially felt
journalists did not need to learn to edit, yet journalists understood
that being able to edit helped them understand how elements came
together and what was required for multimedia storytelling. The
relevance of mojo practices will be enhanced as MSM move away
from seeing multimedia as merely a way of enhancing online print
stories and more about creating UGS and UGP for their online, pay
wall or web TV platforms.

In conclusion, the mojo training package investigated in this exegesis is
designed to provide skills to train citizens, students and journalists to
participate in a new subfield of journalism called mojo, which uses hand-held
devices to create stories. Mojo practices transform UGC into more complete
UGS. The thought process and effort required to move from creating UGC to
UGS is a first stage in transforming citizen witness activity, into citizen
As Benson observes, the production of cultural discourse is ‘marked by the struggle for distinction’ and to survive; any new subfield, such as mojo, ‘must mark one’s difference’ (2003: 122). This mark occurs when UGC transforms to a more autonomous small-scale subfield of mass communication (Atton & Hamilton 2008: 131) called UGS. The final important ingredient is a politicised will that generates a need for a voice and shapes story. But how do we attain this state?

In 1989 I went to Mindanao in the Philippines to make a series of documentaries. On the way back I made a short film at Lake Laguna about a group of kids protecting their lake from pollution. They worked at this every day in their spare time. On arrival back in Australia I showed this film to a group of 12-year-old students and asked how they spend their time. One remarked, ‘you know what I do after school, I play video games’. Two weeks after he watched the film, that student who was learning digital video production was working for an hour every night after school in the school’s vegetable garden. Four weeks later he was documenting that experience and sharing it with others—he was a student videographer or mojo—a eudemonic philosophy that is more civic minded.

Digital storytelling provides praxis, but also the beginnings of a theoretical underpinning for action necessary to overcome obstacles even oppression. As Paolo Freire (1970: 164) so eloquently writes, ‘Only in the encounter of the people with the revolutionary leaders—in their communion, in their praxis—can this theory be built’. That is what the next chapter on training establishes: a theory on how to create this revolutionary praxis and a common digital bridge that will enable communion between the three spheres of communication discussed above, and resulting in our own young (and old) revolutionary leaders.
7 Training: a common cross-sphere pedagogical bridge

‘True simplicity is derived from so much more than the absence of clutter and ornamentation; it’s about bringing order to complexity.’
Jon Ivey, Chief Designer Apple 2013

7.1 Overview

The aim of this chapter is to discuss a pedagogy for creating form around UGC to provide a road map to a more autonomous subfield of journalism called mojo that operates across the three spheres of communication. In this context, mojo becomes a neo-journalistic style of multimedia storytelling that shifts the focus away from a technological determinist view to one that posits the importance of digital storytelling skills and reflexivity. A detailed explanation of how I teach mojo is provided in the HOWTOMOJO iBook manual, and in a more comprehensive outline in the Mojo Training Manual (print version). This chapter will discuss issues related to mojo training and pedagogy. It will:

a. introduce behavioral psychology, which underpins my mojo praxis;
b. investigate multimedia storytelling, specifically at secondary school;
c. discuss how mojo might be introduced into tertiary journalism curriculum;
d. introduce various ethical issues that need further consideration.

McLuhan’s (1964) well-known trope about communications in the twentieth century, ‘the medium is the message’, has been tossed around like a Frisbee for almost 50 years. Today, UGC content that results from the use of ubiquitous mobile technology has imbedded itself in the message, a content Keen calls ‘gossip’ (2006) and Jenkins calls ‘kludge’ (2008). However, the potential exists to develop common digital literacies that help transform UGC into more purposeful user-generated stories (UGS). This creates a common language, a digital bridge across spheres of communication: secondary (school) mojo that encourages eudemonic philosophies and creates young citizens; and tertiary J school mojo studies that include the training MSM is
looking for in graduates and will help print journalists cross the digital divide. Our task as educators is to find models to enable this shift.

Mojo is a holistic representation of the relationship between mobile technology and journalism skills built around a relational philosophy that posits 'any extension, whether of skin, hand or foot, [which] affects the whole psychic and social complex” (McLuhan 1964: 19). McLuhan suggests that the ‘personal and social consequences of any medium...of any extension of our selves—result from the new scale that is introduced into our affairs by each extension of ourselves, or by any new technology” (1964: 23). Today, smart mobile technology is resulting in a change in the scale and nature of communication and the power balance between what Bourdieu (2005) called the various subfields of communication. Our ability to change our communication references and adapt to a new pace that mobile flexibility encourages is one of the ‘startling discoveries [that] often result[s]’ (McLuhan & Firore 2001: 10) when technology and society are put in apposition.

However, realising the full potential of this nexus will depend on our ability to transform the hedonic appeal of smartphones into eudemonic or collaborative values (Hassenzahl 2003). I contend this will largely depend on the willingness and ability of educators to develop new media literacy curricula.

This is a philosophy that cultural critic Raymond Williams espoused more than half a century ago when he said that we need ‘a common education, that will give our society its cohesion and prevent it disintegrating into a series of specialist departments, the nation become a firm’ (Williams 2000: 34). This is especially relevant in the mobile age where a lack of standards, definitions and purpose about digital content creation is often replaced by a and a technologically determinist view that’s encouraging fragmentation. What is required is a relational digital literacy program across all three spheres of communication like that which I have identified in this exegesis. Hence, one of the key roles for educators is to decide ‘what kind of values and expectations are expressed in this digital culture’ (Deuze 2006: 2). Will digital literacy values be aligned to technology, skill sets, culture or a combination of all three; and how will educators best help trainees to express these?

Multimedia storytelling, and specifically mojo training, is one example of this
expression.

In the multimedia age, digital literacy has three major components:

a. Content literacy: an ability to understand and analyse a mediated text or other kinds of messages.

b. Media language or grammar: an ability to read visual languages.

c. Medium literacy: understanding the (technological) functions of a medium both on a micro and macro level. (Meyrowitz 1998)

Mojo training resulting in UGS enables these three stages by providing:

a. skills to dissect and comprehend media content messages;

b. an understanding of the key elements of a new common digital language;

c. skills (technology and social media) to enable users to apply the medium to create a local voice and/or participate in news workflows.

From a cultural perspective, these skills can help build what Barbara Gentikow (2007: 79) refers to as a ‘nation’s cultural canon’.

Increased levels of cultural capital can lead to a heightened cultural awareness, which is a key to enabling citizens to participate in what Mark Deuze calls ‘life politics’ (Deuze 2003: 4). This identity-forming shift begins once we move from the early sublime stage of artifact evolution, where we were awestruck by hedonic functionality and form, to the banal, when artifacts ‘lose their role as sources of utopian visions’, and ‘become important forces for social and economic change’ (Mosco 2004: 3). Henry Jenkins believes this shift first occurs in the brain of the individual through what he coins ‘convergence talk’ (2007), which he says is the time taken to discover, agree and settle on change. This is an attitudinal transition from ‘passive receivers to proactive consumers, who decide what they want, when they want it, and how they want it’ (Kovack 2005 cited in Hirst 2011: 109). However, as Boczkowski (2004) points out, much of what becomes unique or revolutionary about new technology usually develops at the outset of its use. Hence it is imperative we begin this shift as early as possible after adoption. On way to create this shift is through UGS-type skill sets. It can also occur using UGC,
which has its own use value that creates ‘self-talk’ possibilities (Archer 2007). But for sustainable change to occur the form will need to be auspiced by educational institutions, journalism and associated subfields of communication. As it becomes relational the form continues to develop, opening up new opportunities for media research and pedagogy. Citizen mojos, students and digitally trained print journalists become interlocutors or ‘force-fields’, ‘acting and reacting to one another’ (2005: 11). Mojo is the binding agent, a common language across the spheres.

Bourdieu distinguishes between heteronomous forces ‘external to the field’ and autonomous forces represented by the ‘specific capital unique to that field’ (2005: 4). The journalism field is predominantly heteronomous, due to its reliance on advertising and, with state-owned media, its reliance on the shifting priorities of the political field (Phelan 2011: 133). The mojo subfield is more autonomous and relies on a mojo’s social capital. Potentially, it can become heteronomous as it becomes increasingly reliant on government, education and media funding to provide its legitimacy and sustain its development as a form of participatory journalism. Increased funding and implementation across curriculum will enable long-term planning and more comprehensive research, but this will require mechanisms to preserve the form’s alternative relevance.

Understanding the relevance of the participating voice is as critical to creating a more diverse society as is publication of that voice. John Berger writes that the very act of writing was ‘nothing except the act of approaching the experience written about’ (cited in Goodrich 2010). Understanding the story of relational participant narratives, whether in the workplace, community or school, is a first step to educational reform. These life narratives are defined by relational properties and the forces that act on them. For example, one narrative that impacts marginalised community education results from what has been described as ‘deficit theorizing’ (Bishop et al. 2009: 3); that is, where teachers believe problems are due to students, rather than the education programs themselves. Conversely, with the narrative, or self-talk, around UGC exalting it to the lofty heights of citizen journalism, the two
become self-supporting and the story becomes non-productive folklore. This, like any ‘unresolved narrative’, can fail ‘to fulfill its subsequently understood function’ (Goodrich 2010). In this case a sustained voice that fulfills the hoped-for function of citizen journalism. Goodrich provides the clever analogy of spinning thread, which can also be used to describe mojo praxis; he suggests that while a single fibre alone is weak, combining fibers (in the case of mojo, technology, skills and publication) results in strength. Literally, narratives have traditionally been the result of an act by a writer (producer) designed to affect the reader (consumer). But this dyadic relationship is changing in the digital world. As more audience members become publishers fibers can float aimlessly online in unwoven, fragmented unfulfilled forms.

Another example of a failing digital narrative—that technology alone will fix societies woes (Hirst & Harrison 2007)—is the technologically determinist view often used to describe the Arab Spring revolutions (Hirst 2012). While effective as a short-term change agent, the mobile narrative (rioters with smartphones and grievances equals life-changing revolution) loses long-term potency unless it has form that comes from a marriage of technology and journalistic skills—the fibres that make up the mojo narrative. This is supported by training structures that result in skills and tasks, which creates change that results in outputs and outcomes. Figure 17 is a mojo techne-flow map that works as a self-perpetuating training helix. It swings back on itself, enabling a more advanced use of technology by participants whose skill set is expanding as a result of applying skills to technology. This results in more advanced tasking, which creates further opportunities and new levels of training, in a subfield of journalism called mojo.
Figure 17 Mojo techne map

Training—the successful marriage between technology and skills—enables a mojo to perform tasks—research, produce and publish—which result in output. Each task, like each individual fibre, becomes more complex and involved as we weave the mojo narrative from research, through production (filming, editing) to publication. This transformative phase results in output, which generates a more digitally aware user with greater literacy and increased self-confidence being able to communicate with people who
probably don’t know each other. As users begin to recognise each other’s *content signals* (their online UGS), they begin uniting (weaving) in concert as niche online virtual communities of practice or network societies (Rheingold 2002, Wenger 2007, Castells 2008). They form a collective digital narrative to ‘gain new forms of social power, new ways to organise their interaction’ (Rheingold 1994:12), which results in diverse content and hence the possibility for a greater level of democracy (Napoli 1999). Weaving UGC into ‘narrative fibres’ to create UGS, or turning anonymous network societies into democratic communities of practice, requires an understanding of how fibres weave to form digital *narratives*. Mojo is a very tactile form of storytelling, with an emphasis on hedonic technology coveted by youth, hence my contention that teaching citizens to weave fibres to create a more engaged eudemonic voice should begin as early as possible. That is what will be discussed in the following section.

7.2 Mojo: transforming behavioral aspects within communication pedagogy

The research presented here demonstrates that schools, which practise mojo, can potentially become participants in defining current communications and journalism *subfields* by creating job-ready mojo students. This is a mechanism for exploring the community and for engaging youth with literacy and communication learning. The mojo discussed here was first developed from *self-shot* local journalism workshops I ran in 1982 with students in an inner-city school in Melbourne. I used storytelling as a *behavioral intervention* to help students engage with each other, the curriculum and their community.

Students are drawn to local journalism because it provides an opportunity to speak out to protect what they view as their collective interest. As identified by Schofield and Monserrate (2011), the idea that storytelling can redress

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56 Self-shot is a term I use to define early experiments in UGC.
57 A set of tools designed to address behavioral issues by creating a desire and opportunity for engagement.
alienation tendencies is consistent with emergent concepts of self-actualised and engaged citizenship amongst students who practise journalism. Schofield et al. posit ‘participation in the culture of high school journalism can provide young people with opportunities to develop the skills and experiences necessary for civic engagement, including the experience of collective decision-making’ (2011: 417). Pedagogies employed to deliver mojo, or high school journalism, which promote a state of self-actualization or fulfillment, and which foster collective citizenship ideals and engagement amongst young people, are grounded in behavioral psychology and educational developmental theories. One such behavioral theory is the social development model (SDM), which hypothesises that we adopt the beliefs and practices of social units, including family, schools, peers and communities, to affect change (Hawkins & Catalano 1992). SDM is based on broad risk and protective factors within these key domains of a young person’s life. Drawing its foundation from processes embedded in the life course, SDM suggests that individuals and groups exist within the social contexts, values and structures—cultural norms and economic factors—of their society (1992). This aligns with Bourdieu’s (1986) previously discussed theory that early development is determined through an introduction of cultural capital which initially stems from social interaction or habitus, that is, the four domains described above. The SDM posits that the following key identifiable assets are required for young people to learn, to effect change and to enhance well-being within their social domain(s). Table 9 shows how these assets align with mojo practices:
Table 10 SDM assets and mojo intersect

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Asset</th>
<th>Effect</th>
<th>Impact of mojo</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Opportunities</td>
<td>Encourage interaction with family, community and workplace</td>
<td>Mojos learn new technologies and new skills, and become part of a subfield of communications, a coalition that encourages the interaction necessary to tell local stories, publish globally or work as a mojo.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skills</td>
<td>Prepare the student for social, emotional and practical interaction and application of skills with peers, family and community</td>
<td>Mojo provides technical, journalistic, publishing, organisational and motivational skills to fulfil tasks, which create outputs and deliver outcomes. In the process mojos develop increasing skill levels, self-esteem, which potentially leads to engagement, and further learning.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recognition</td>
<td>Reward from the social unit, peers and the wider community and/or workplace based on application and result</td>
<td>Mojo enables outcomes such as local reaffirmation from peer groups, school and community, real job prospects and publication online in a growing subfield of journalism.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While the SDM model is generally used to explain behaviours with marginalised youth, its significance is enhanced because its input assets can work to enhance the diversity principle, as described by Napoli (1999). In mojo praxis:

- Source diversity occurs as a result of the individual opportunity the mojo content creation package provides.
- Content diversity occurs as a result of input of skills—journalism, editing and publishing—which leads to a more thoughtful politicised voice and hence more healthy and diverse public sphere content.
- Exposure occurs at communal (family, school and industry) and global levels when mojo stories are published and recognised online.

The aim of any intervention, such as mojo, is to encourage bonds between
the individual and a socialising unit (family, school, peers, community media centre, mainstream media), to impact behaviours by increasing an individual’s stake in the values of the unit. Even if they do not participate in ongoing creation of mojo stories, journalism training makes the student more discerning of professional journalistic services (Duffield & Cockley 2006). This is what happened to Shayha Watson, one of the participants in the *Cherbourg Mojo Out Loud* film.58 ‘I’m starting to see things differently. I can’t really explain it, but…when I watch TV and stuff I see it in a different way now, the voiceovers, the music and the pictures and you know how they do it, it’s mad’ (Burum 2013).

The SDM model is often institutionalised in schools and large community-based programs that require long-term funding to provide an overarching social construct for dealing with young people’s issues (Leffert et al. 1998). And even though SDM includes provision for individual strands (Catalano et al. 2005), the Positive Development Model (PDM) offers a more personalised approach to traditional problem-solving paradigms for increasing the well-being of adolescents. The PDM typically includes a broad set of individual attributes that impact all youth and emphasise the assumptions (Small & Memmo 2004) noted in Table 10.

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58 The making of a documentary about the Cherbourg Mojo project.
Table 11 PDM assets and mojo intersect

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Asset</th>
<th>Impact of mojo</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Helping youth achieve their full potential is the best way to prevent</td>
<td>Mojo builds literacy and holistic multimedia skills, which develop confidence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>them from experiencing problems.</td>
<td>that increases potential.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Youth need support and opportunities to succeed.</td>
<td>Mojo is based on core teamwork skills that enable mojos to recognise and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>work with support networks to achieve immediate and sustainable goals while</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>also having the holistic skills to enable individual success.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communities need to mobilise and build capacity to support the</td>
<td>Mojo promotes community journalism practices and principles that politicise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>positive development of youth.</td>
<td>engagement and increase local capacity.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Youth should not be viewed as problems to be fixed but as partners</td>
<td>Mojo advocates local and hyper-local working models, where mojos, community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>who are cultivated and developed.</td>
<td>and local media integrate to create relevant local content.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Built around specific developmental assets, or building blocks, which are essential for promoting healthy youth development, PDM assets reflect internal and external qualities that can be categorised into eight types:

- **Support development**—Mojo praxis encourages development of the individual and their role as a team member. This leads to a greater appreciation of their role in the family support unit and community relationships and initiates the family–school conversation, which more actively involves family with scholastic ideals.
- **Empowerment shifts**—As mojos begin to appreciate their individual worth and communal values, new opportunities emerge for engagement with local service sectors.
- **Boundaries and expectations shift**—The production, organisational and editorial skills taught in mojo workshops help establish an
understanding of the need for rules and regulations in society, at home and in school. This leads to a growing ability to work with authority figures such as teachers, parents and positive peer models, which develops social capital that supports and encourages expectations.

- **Constructive use of time**—Mojo is an extra-curricular activity that requires and encourages time-management skills.

- **Commitment to learning**—Published mojo stories lead to positive reinforcement and generate energy, motivation, engagement and a thirst for further research and learning.

- **Positive values**—As a result of immersion in community (home, school, workplace) mojos become more aware of the value of a eudemonic consciousness and share skills with others. Training focuses on integrity in reporting style and mojos agree to take responsibility for their new politicised actions.

- **Social competencies**—Successful mojo praxis requires planning for interviews, filming, editing and publishing. It also involves extending school and family relationships, which form the basis for mojo interaction and narratives. During workshops this has led to resistance to peer group pressure and an ability to work in a team and show a willingness to resolve conflict.

- **Positive identity**—Overall, mojo praxis leads to greater self-esteem as mojos connect with family and community, begin to make statements about their lives, receive recognition and begin planning for the future.

Another young Indigenous participant in the *Cherbourg Mojo Out Loud* film, Irene Sandow, believes mojo ‘gives a person a voice [and] if that person is smart enough they can use that voice to speak for their community, they can take it to the news stations and what not, they can put it up on the Internet’ (Burum 2013).

During the process of this research I have found in the education sphere, on both at a personal and a social level, that mojo praxis provides a framework
for evaluating and intervening youth behaviour against a set of social circumstances, where mojo technologies and skills provide opportunities to:

• communicate with peers, teachers, family and community to create a unique narrative;

• express personal views to create a less marginalised, more healthy grassroots politicised school and community voice;

• generate new online communication environments for sharing knowledge, which inspire a greater level of confidence;

• create job-ready skills in communication that can be used in environments where infrastructure is marginalised; and

• create new and more interactive ways of fulfilling and redefining core requirements across curriculum.

The use of mojo within curriculum offers exciting possibilities for encouraging youth to become part of a larger collective consciousness. Robert French, also from Cherbourg Mojo Out Loud, says, ‘We were all friends and acquaintances when we started the program. Now we are more like a family; we can sit there and talk to each other in trust and confidence. It’s great how the power of mojo changes people’ (Burum 2013). How we initiate this transformative process within schools is what will be discussed next.

7.3 Mojo as a transformative tool for 21st-century school learning

‘We are certainly getting buy-in. Since you were here I’ve had to put two of my IT support staff on mobile journalism and at Kolbe College they rewrote their whole communications course.’

Trevor Galbraith, Director IT, Corpus Christi College, Perth

Ruben Puentedura also believes we need to rewrite our definitions of communications, especially the relationship between technology and learning. He identifies three tiers of consideration relevant to the use of technology in education. Puentedura suggests that because we live in a mobile world we should not be thinking about ‘a computer in fixed location “A” at school and a computer in fixed location “B” at home’ (2013). We should be thinking about ‘what can a student do at all locations between school and
home [and] how do we go from traditional learning places to a continuum of learning spaces so that the entire world becomes a place of learning for the students’ (2013:1).

The second consideration is past research on technological approaches to education. Bloom’s Taxonomy (Figure 18), developed in 1956, expanded concepts of learning from behaviorist model(s) to those that are more ‘multidimensional and more constructivist in nature’ (Marzano 2007). However, the model has a number of identified shortcomings, not least that evaluation is listed as occurring at the top of the scaffold, defined by Bloom as a judgment based on criteria either ‘determined by the student or those which are given to him’ (Bloom & Krathwohl 1984). Hence it follows that evaluation should occur at every stage of the learning process and should include exercises in reflexivity, which is also critical to the student’s understanding and participation in evaluating each move, from one stage to the next.

![Bloom's Taxonomy Table]

**Evaluation**: use a given criteria to determine the value of a thing or quality of a product or performance

**Synthesis**: put parts back to form new whole

**Analysis**: breaking into parts in order to understand, organise and clarify

**Application**: use learned material in a new situation

**Comprehension**: grasp the meaning of material

**Knowledge**: recalls facts or remembers previously learned material

*Figure 18 Bloom's Taxonomy*
The final tier of consideration is a delivery model, which helps teachers transition from the promise—of the *digital classroom sublime*—to the reality of having to teach students with differing levels of uptake. One of these transitional models, Substitution, Augmentation, Modification and Redefinition (SAMR) analyses technology use by placing a scaffold under the cycle of technology adoption in the classroom. The SAMR adoption cycle (Figure 19) is divided into the four stages—Substitution, Augmentation, Modification, Redefinition—and two sections—Enhancement and Transformation. The model explains how technology and practices such as mojo can be integrated into classrooms. Unlike Bloom’s Taxonomy, the education level in SAMR is the same at any stage, but the use level of technology at each given stage changes, either *enhancing* or *transforming* the task.

![Figure 19 SAMAR App map](image)
The column on the left describes the various developmental stages of the SAMR model. The column on the right describes the various Apps and computer software that relate to a specific stage. An example of how SAMR pedagogy applies to the creation of mojo stories follows.

Substitution: Technology acts as a substitute without functional change; for example, using a word processor to write a script instead of a pen. Mojo provides a story construct around which to discover the impact of the technology.

Augmentation: Technology acts to augment the task, resulting in functional improvement; for example, searchable word tool, spell checker, font enhancement or format to write and pretty up the script. Mojo provides research parameters with technology enabling searchable characters in a script that was begun at the substitution stage.

In the next and first stage of the transformation phase, mojo comes into its own as an educational tool for enhancing classroom experience, literacy levels and building student confidence.

Modification: Technology modifies and transforms the task; For example, creating a visualisation of the script with a storyboard in a form that can be rearranged on the page, with associated audio grabs of readings and a data mind map of links to themes, plot settings and character, which can be presented via Word document, spreadsheet or PowerPoint. The task is modified to a level not possible without technology: that is, from a flat individual task to one that can be viewed online and modified by others. Mojo requires visualisation and an understanding about coverage.

Redefinition: Technology enables the creation of previously inconceivable tasks. Mojo skills transform a written story or script into a digital UGS and enable immediate global exposure. This leads to online communication between schools and communities to provide a level feedback and perspective previously inconceivable. ‘This is a real world authentic task in
education’ (Nalder 2013). If a student made a movie using stand-alone video, generally it would be seen locally by the teacher or peers—arguably there’s ‘not a lot of incentive or motivation’. Suddenly using mojo publication as a catalyst for challenge-based learning activity, ‘the world will see my product, hear my voice’ and it becomes ‘a real world authentic experience’ even at primary school, something ‘they wouldn’t usually get until they are much older’ (Nalder). In my experience publication is an incentive to work harder on outcomes.

Schofield Clark & Monserrate have found that school-based journalism models can transform an individual student’s perspective ‘beyond peer groups to some form of collective identity’ (2011: 429). Costanza-Chock (2011) also identifies this with the Voz Mob program. They contend that this eudemonic conscience, which lies beyond the hedonic appeal of *me and techne*, can only be achieved through a search for identity and a desire to belong to a broader world, encompassing school, home and community. This becomes a first step to promoting citizenship ideals (2011). Mojo focuses on understanding storytelling elements and being open to structural discovery, where the student life experience, their relational narratives, inform teacher practice beyond deficit theorising, which can lead to a use of remedial and behaviour modification programs (Bishop et al. 2009).

The democratic nature of mojo training begins with a one-to-one tools policy that enables instant feedback on personalised learning outcomes. Participants are encouraged to be reflexive about the hands-on approach and the developing pedagogy. Authorising students’ experience enables immediate feedback and informs teacher practice in a meaningful way to make ‘what they teach more accessible to students’ (Bishop et al. 2009: 735). With an instant overview of the level of classroom understanding, teachers can alter their approach and level of collaboration and reflexivity accordingly. This leads to a fresh focus by teachers on problem areas and motivates students to participate more constructively and take a vested interest in their education and their lives. This type of expansive classroom approach that authorises the student voice to legitimise a discursive reflexivity about their
family or community empowers students ‘as knowledgeable participants in learning conversations’ (Bishop et al. 2009: 735).

Authorising student views in this way accords with findings that young people express citizenship through self-actualisation informed by relevant issues that enable them to express their own values (Bennett 2008). Using mojo or journalism at school supports the above hypothesis. It helps young people find their own identity, which Bennett (2008) argues is important to civic action. ‘When young people engage in citizen actions the process enhances their own goals of self-actualization, personal expression, and identity’ (Schofield Clark & Monserrate 2011: 429). Mojo helps young people to be personally expressive, a process that is centered on identity and citizen-mindedness. Enabling this process potentially begins a new dialectic in education: around the relationship between curriculum and the community, theory and praxis and alternative and mainstream perceptions of the role of the media; and the relationship between the three spheres of communication discussed above.

Moreover, I anticipate that students will carry this citizen participatory attitude from their school community into home, work and adult life. In some cases this will involve transitioning through tertiary journalism studies, where students will want to further discover and modify their evolving attitudes about participatory citizen journalism, creating professional multimedia praxis. Hence if primary and secondary education is embracing mojo training, tertiary institutions will need to provide something complementary to entice the students into J school. That is the topic of the next section.

7.4 How mojo might be introduced into journalism curriculum

In ‘Blogs Bother Me’, Hirst and Treadwell (2011: 450) identify how the old ‘silo’ model of teaching journalism units in print, radio, television and online is no longer viable. However, knowing what is required in a curriculum and being able to make the relevant curricular shift is often very difficult. My recent
experiences in running mojo workshops at Deakin University revealed journalism students were only receiving one unit of multimedia training in their three-year course. At the JEAA conference in 2012 it was evident—in comments like ‘You do that on an iPhone?’, ‘You can actually edit on that?’, ‘Really, broadcast quality?’—that journalism academics are still finding it difficult making the shift from traditional journalism curriculum to more relevant multimedia skill sets.

Recently the appointment of a traditional journalist as the Dean of the Columbia School of Journalism was labeled a ‘disgrace’ (Rosensteil 2013). The appointment was viewed as the result of unwillingness to acknowledge current trends in a profession that is redefining the skill sets that graduates require. Indiana University has done away with traditional stand-alone journalism training, fearing the trade school model of teaching journalism is not working. The thinking is that because of the pace of change a range of options is safer than a single one. At the Reynolds Institute for journalism, at the University of Missouri, they have prioritized more scientific economic research into the news industry. In 2013 Columbia University was about to graduate its first double degree majors in computer science and journalism. At Munk, in Toronto, they are recruiting subject experts to become journalists in their own disciplines. Poynters is researching distance learning, and Rosental at the University of Texas is training across international borders (2013). However, when I introduced mojo, and specifically UGS creation, at the 2013 International Symposium of Online Journalism (ISOJ) in Texas, it was still strangely underconsidered in the new journalism landscape. Is it because storytelling is seen as old hat and irrelevant? If it is, then what should J schools teach their journalism students?

Raju Narisetti, managing editor of the Wall Street Journal Digital Network, believes a first step to deciding this conundrum lies in redefining the news business; how organisations develop the experience around content. News has been trying to integrate print and online but it needs to ‘integrate technology and content’ (Bürén 2012: 15). Narisetti believes video is one key to this shift and that mobile is the key to delivering video (2012). Ole
Molgaard, who heads the Media Executive program, a cooperative research effort between WAN-IFRA and CBS, believes companies ‘have to redefine themselves and rediscover their core reasons for existing and their goals’ (cited in Jolkovski 2013). Hence effective journalism education will need to address innovative models for creating and delivering news.

Geir Ruud of *Ekstra Bladet* agrees and says education will continue to play a ‘pivotal role in transforming journalists’ perceptions and business practices from analogue to digital’ (2012). He adds, ‘there’s a role for the traditional journalist if the traditional journalist is not too traditional…I had some students who weren’t used to writing their own headlines…it seems they [professors] are not interested in what we [online news] are doing because it was better in the old days’ (2012). Ruud believes ‘journalists should start with social media training on day one of the academy. If you want to be a carpenter you get a hammer and nail on day one, start training’ (2012). And that’s a perfect fit for mojo: ‘getting the thing done and delivered that’s what mojo does…most days you can make three stories a day or 13 if you work for our website. Give them a computer and an iPhone and see if they can float’ (2012). However, with academic institutions experimenting around forms of journalism studies that go way beyond the hammer and nail approach, the formula for the new curriculum may be more complex than merely supplying technology or relying on traditional skills.

One aspect of journalism training that will need to be considered is whether it is taught as a discreet course or as an interdisciplinary unit across, for example, communications, aw, science or teaching degrees. Alternatively, Hirst, in an unpublished document, argues that tagging journalism within research areas such as citizenship provides ‘graduates with a range of skills and attitudes that allow them to be employed across many industries and sectors’ (2013). Ruud believes teaching mojo will give graduates the skills to make them employable in a frenetic online news environment. My research indicates both are right. It is clear that journalists will benefit from an understanding of citizenship; a reminder of their fourth estate ideals. As identified by Schofield Clark and Monseratte (2011), teaching student
journalists to mojo might be a method of achieving both—citizenship and eventual employability. At its core, mojo employs holistic journalist skills and supports public sphere ideals. It also enables students, training in other subfields of communication, to learn relevant mobile storytelling skills, which support their chosen profession. Conversely it provides journalism students with multimedia skills that are useful across other professions and environments, potentially increasing their job prospects.

While journalism schools continue to decide whether their curriculum should include science and computer majors (Rosensteil 2013), trends suggest they need to include online video content. With organisations like Time Magazine and Ekstra Bladet taking a more neo-journalistic approach, by developing traditional formats like documentary or magazine into digital platforms, we can assume that web TV will be one of journalism’s new receptors. These more developed content forms will provide the longer formats that advertisers understand, albeit now more dynamic and available online. The skills required to make these also makes journalism graduates employable across television and web TV non-news formats.

In line with current trends in news and communications—for example, 33 per cent of people are getting their news on at least two mobile digital devices (Reuters 2013)—mojo’s emphasis on mobile supports its inclusion into tertiary journalism training. Like Narisetti, I believe that mobile will drive video and in particular, the transformation of UGC into UGS, which I contend will morph into more saleable user-generated programs (UGP). As mentioned above, UGPs are already beginning to populate online web TV slates at large traditional print media. Online operators are also banking on mega-stars like Katie Couric, who has moved to Yahoo, bringing with her an audience and the advertising dollar. This suggests that the key to succeeding in today’s punishing media markets is not only content but also the right form of content (Haughney 2013) and, if Yahoo is right, with the right face in front of it.

59 Time has established Red Borders to produce long form documentary for the web.
With social media like Facebook finally able to make large profits from mobile (Husson 2013), it is apparent that mobile is becoming the delivery mode of choice, and organisations like Facebook have become better at monetising it. Considering Facebook generated almost 0 per cent revenue for mobile at close of 2011, when it had 432 million monthly users, current revenue figures of 41 per cent from mobile, generated with 819 million monthly active users, are impressive (Husson 2013; Kern 2013). This trend indicates that Facebook has learned to integrate mobile ad-flow and that more people are using mobile to access social media (Husson 2013; Kern 2013). But perhaps it knows something we don’t. Given its reliance on mobile-generated revenue, its purchase of What’sApp, a brand built on no advertising, is a strategy to watch carefully.

Notwithstanding the above, journalism education needs to provide much more than mastery of the techno–content relationship. It should teach students to search for answers and to seek to develop pathways to citizenship. In that sense, journalism training is highly relevant across many disciplines, as evidenced by the directions many of the world’s eminent J schools have taken. However, it is argued in this exegesis that if journalism is to survive as a relevant tertiary discipline, journalism teachers need to teach useable skills that get journalism students jobs in journalism and associated subfields. Hence if J schools embrace a cross-curricular vision, the definition of journalism will focus more on communication and include more abstract subfields. This shift of emphasis has, according to journalism lecturer and commentator Lee Duffield, resulted in greater need to offer journalism and other students, ‘an introductory experience of creating media, using common “new media” tools with exercises that will model the training of communication principles through practice’ (Duffield 2011). My research suggests that mojo might be such an offering. But it might also be much more.

7.4.1 Mojo at journalism school

Mojo training takes a neo-journalistic approach. Elements of traditional and multimedia journalism are used to form a skill set that includes the intellectual processes and the turn-around skills required in the 24-hour news cycle. At
the risk of oversimplifying, there are four essential components to the new journalism and communication curriculum:

- **Digital skills**—These enable the journalist to work across platforms and devices either from an office or mobile. Once journalists possess these skills they need to refine them to develop their preferred ways of delivering news. Mojo provides skills that enable journalists to shoot video, record audio, write, edit and publish.

- **Journalistic integrity**—Fourth estate ideals, including a citizenship and community involvement, is what the public expect. Notwithstanding various proposed models of policing media standards and journalistic integrity (Finklestein 2011) and commissions (Leveson 2012), journalism needs publishing models that will rebuild public trust (Patching & Hirst 2014). Training mojos to publish very early in their training can instil the need to get it right, and to publish balanced news.

- **Knowing the business of journalism**—Journalists need to know their market. The more journalists begin to work independently, as stringers, freelancers or one-man bands working in remote isolations, the greater their need to understand their business and their audience. Digital journalism, whether alternative or mainstream, requires an ability to quickly identify news that will interest an audience. Knowing the audience helps sharpen news sense, a first step to understanding news value. The lower cost of publishing mojo stories (compared to traditional video production) enables more stories to be made for a wider variety of audiences. Understanding audience as both consumer and producer (Napoli 2011) is an area that requires further study.

- **The ability to research, verify and write**—These are key journalistic skills that will always be relevant. Strong research necessitates inquiry, verification requires scepticism, knowledge of ethics and legal implications, and of course writing, require literacy skills and a logical way of thinking. Journalists need to learn that online writing can be sharper and more dynamic, that lists and subheadings work and that stories with video can get up to 20 per cent more hits (Madsen 2012).
7.4.2 Model: mojo curriculum

Mojo uses all the above skills on every story and, as mojos make more stories, these skills are sharpened and an expertise is developed. Hence mojo is ideally suited to J school training. The equipment is High Definition broadcast quality yet relatively cheap, enabling every student to participate. Mojo includes traditional skills, enabling existing lecturers to up-skill and participate.

The manifestations of mojo are from simple UGC to more complete UGS and longer formatted and more complex UGPs. These levels can be taught as three-semester long units across three years. A fourth unit built around specialist UGP is a further option. Table 11 describes a typical 12-week curriculum for the Mojo 101 first year unit:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Emphasis</th>
<th>Skills audit</th>
<th>Home</th>
<th>Dur</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C1 Introduction: overview, slide show, basic mojo</td>
<td>Identify multimedia story construction possibilities.</td>
<td>Teach multimedia journalism skills and identify five main story elements and</td>
<td>Consider two stories and the elements.</td>
<td>2hrs</td>
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<td>information and style, basic copyright, mojo elements and SCRAP</td>
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<td>structure.</td>
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<tr>
<td>C2 Mojo exercise: shoot in class 30 second multimedia story that combines the elements</td>
<td>Practise using the iOS device to record shots and audio and speak to camera.</td>
<td>Learn to manage coverage and sequencing, quick lighting, camera presentation and audio recording tips.</td>
<td>Practise doing stand-ups, panning shots and record audio.</td>
<td>2hrs</td>
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<tr>
<td>C3 Editing exercise: learn the edit App and edit the exercise and record narration [Note C2 &amp; C3 best as one class]</td>
<td>Edit pictures and words.</td>
<td>Edit on multi-track smartphone-based system, write and record narration.</td>
<td>Complete the picture and sound edit.</td>
<td>2hrs</td>
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<td>C4 Name supers, mix and audio duck tools, grading App.</td>
<td>Complete a professional looking and sounding video, augment narration and grading pictures if required.</td>
<td>Learn to create professional name supers and mix and duck audio, learn about grading Apps.</td>
<td>Smooth out picture and audio edits, plan UGS 1.</td>
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<td>C5 Create social media site(s) and upload a story.</td>
<td>Create their own WordPress, YouTube, Storify.</td>
<td>Blogging, editing, legal checking, uploading stories, aggregation and curation tools, headline writing and dynamic copy</td>
<td>Plan UGS 1.</td>
<td>2hrs</td>
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<td>C6 Plan UGS 1 Advanced research, story and charter</td>
<td>In-depth discussion of story structure, interviewees,</td>
<td>Create a left and right column outline. Write to</td>
<td>Plan shoot, interviewee availability.</td>
<td>2hrs</td>
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Table 12 Mojo 101
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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Emphasis</th>
<th>Skills audit</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>analysis</td>
<td>shooting, elements</td>
<td>pictures. Introduce style. and do the shoot</td>
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<tr>
<td>C7</td>
<td>Shoot UGS 1</td>
<td>Location recording and organisation and time management (Dur: 1–1.5 min)</td>
<td>Planning, vision and audio recording, interviews, scheduling</td>
<td>Practise shooting, audio and interview questions.</td>
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<td>Getting everything</td>
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<td>scheduled and shot on</td>
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<td>time is the key</td>
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<td>C8</td>
<td>UGS 1 Edit</td>
<td>Advanced structure and writing in and out of pictures (emphasis on not</td>
<td>Advanced edit, and narration writing and super skills</td>
<td>Complete edit, narration record and</td>
<td>2hrs</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Emphasis is content</td>
<td>over writing)</td>
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<td>mix, publish, final plan</td>
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<td>management, two track</td>
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<td>editing, story structure</td>
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<td></td>
<td>and finishing.</td>
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<td>C9</td>
<td>UGS 2 Shoot – Investigative</td>
<td>More sources, more advanced edit with pictures and words. 2–2½ minute</td>
<td>Advanced interviews, more specific shots, clear audio, interview specific</td>
<td>Plan and start UGS 2 edit</td>
<td>2hrs</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Emphasis is on better</td>
<td>length, better coverage (vision and audio)</td>
<td>overlay</td>
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<td>coverage, cleaner audio</td>
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<td>and more succinct line</td>
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<td>of questioning.</td>
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<tr>
<td>C10</td>
<td>UGS 2 Edit</td>
<td>Structure, script and narration to create a professional story</td>
<td>Advanced story structure and edit techniques such as the ‘Boston layoff’</td>
<td>Complete edit.</td>
<td>2hrs</td>
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<td>Emphasis is on doing a</td>
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<td>base edit and strong</td>
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<td>investigative structure.</td>
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<tr>
<td>C11</td>
<td>UGS 2 Post</td>
<td>Finalise mix, publication, screening and class discussion.</td>
<td>Audio ducking, music use, grading, mix, evaluation</td>
<td>Complete 800 word review.</td>
<td>2hr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C12</td>
<td>UGS to UGP</td>
<td>Overview of relationship between UGS and UGP Phase 2</td>
<td>Analytical and format development</td>
<td>Hand in review.</td>
<td>2hr</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Twelve weeks is illustrative depending on the length of the term. But the above course is flexible enough to be able to run anywhere from 10 to 13 weeks.

The second stage of mojo introduces more advanced training, with a number of aims to prepare the mojo student for the professional workflows and standards required to complete this unit. The students specialise in an area of
news and become more acquainted with SCRAP (see *How to Mojo* iBook), the five-point plan and writing intros and headlines. Finally, a written story will accompany one of the UGS and focus on the theme. The students will also need to have one of their UGS published on a mainstream news website. The unit is summarised here:

- Practical: development and production of three by four minute UGS around a theme, which will be assessed;
- Segue: advanced writing in and out of pictures;
- Camera: advanced coverage, simple lighting and lenses;
- Audio: the more complex options including radio microphones and situational audio selection;
- Editing: including advanced non-linear transfer and application;
- Finishing: mobile grading and audio mixing;
- Legal and ethics: what can be said and shown.

As indicated above, the further focus in second year is to produce the three stories around a specific theme; for example, citizenship or the political state in Australia focuses on marginalised groups or has a consumer, sport or economic focus. Emphasis is placed on choice of story, with the student required to conduct more in-depth research to establish story plausibility and choose the correct interviewees. The student further develops skills for writing in and out of pictures, and practices editing various elements in a different order and structure to gauge impact on the story.

The third stage of mojo is that the unit uses the three stories completed in the second stage, or three new stories, to create a UGP. One format is that the student chooses expert interviewee(s) to speak about aspects raised in the UGS and to link them. The aim of this format is to use the expert interviewee to broaden the focus of the stories and to link them into a complete UGP. The student can use video cameras and a desktop non-linear edit system (optional). The student will need to work with a number of other students in a team. The aim is to achieve a high degree of editorial and presentation skills. A written paper on the theme and the process is also required.
Multimedia literacy, including an understanding of social media, is not optional for communications and journalism students. Alfred Hermida notes social media should be an introduction to ‘the notion of journalism as a conversation’ that reaches out to the audience to ‘seek out ideas for stories’ (2010: 2). This is exactly what I was taught in J school over 30 years ago—to chase down leads by talking with people. But learning multimedia storytelling is much more than learning how to use social media.

Finally, creating UGS and UGPs will develop program-producing skills that will potentially create more job prospects for students by enlarging the potential job market. The aim is to equip students with relevant skills to enable them to create a show reel of both journalistic and production work. Mojo provides the required holistic approach that does not teach students to use the ‘camera to write’, but to write in and out of the camera (pictures). In my experience students cannot learn to use a camera properly without the coverage being story specific. It is like banging a nail into thin air: the action is right, but there’s not concrete outcome. Mojo is designed to supply outcomes.

Roger Patching (1996) identified the journalism studies dilemma when he posed the journalism training conundrum, ‘900 into 300 won’t go. Patching identified that there were three times as many journalism students graduating as there were jobs in journalism. His research was conducted at the cusp of current changes sweeping the industry and was based on traditional journalism studies. However, the study has some relevance today. Journalism schools are still trying to graduate students without relevant skills, binding them within the Patching equation.

Patching identifies the explosion of desk top publishing as ‘giving many graduates the opportunity to produce boutique publications’ (1996: 60). These opportunities are only small when compared to the possibilities available to graduates today. Mobile digital devices have created a never before envisioned content-creation sphere. At fast turnaround rates, the amount of content uploaded to YouTube in 2011 could equate to $1,950,000,000,000 if it was accessible and of a high enough technical and editorial quality. With
the right training this energy could supplement new online media, web TV and over the top (OTT)\textsuperscript{60} digital broadcast models. These new communication environments could potentially alter Patching’s 900 to 300 equation by broadening the definition of journalism and increasing job prospects for graduates in nascent content-production fields.\textsuperscript{61} Together with social media training, mojo content-creation skills are in line with the type of training print journalists are currently receiving in multimedia storytelling. This is what will be discussed next.

7.5 MSM pressing, tapping and challenges to implementation

Is it mandatory these days to know how to tap and swipe to be a journalist? Mark Deuze observes that we constantly search for a consensus about this. As journalists working in mainstream and alternative media begin to embrace social media, the definition of journalism, says Deuze, is ‘constantly reinventing itself’ (2005: 447). Social media, described as being in apposition to ideals and values of ‘real journalism’ (Bruns & Highfield 2012), are setting their own agendas and building platforms, where traditional journalism is being questioned. This further blurs the line between consumers and producers of media content (Rosen 2006; Bruns 2008), and becomes even more conflictual when citizens begin learning the craft and creating news-like content (Hirst 2011). The blurring is a two-way process called normalisation. While normalising their micro-blogs, in line with traditional norms, journalists appear also to be adjusting these for evolving social media practices (Dopfner 2013). The result is traditional online news content that includes a greater amount of UGC (2013) and occasionally a degree of citizen journalism, for which social media and blogs are important platforms (Bruns & Highfield 2012). It is this growth that has led media bosses to fast track multimedia

\textsuperscript{60} Over-The-Top Content (OTT) describes broadband delivery of video and audio (Netflix, Now TV) without a multiple system operator being involved in the control or distribution of the content itself. OTT is an advertiser funded delivery model for smart devices including mobile and TV.

\textsuperscript{61} My current job as the Head of Mobile Content Development at Ekstra Bladet in Denmark is a newly defined position, within traditional print media, to facilitate content development for web TV.
training for journalists and it is in this climate of uncertainty that I embarked on three mojo research studies with MSM:

- *The Dili Weekly*, a small newspaper in Timor-Leste with a new online presence;
- *Fairfax Media*, an Australian media institution where 1900 staff (Zaponne 2012) were sacked in 2012;
- Denmark’s *Ekstra Bladet*, a world leader in online reporting and an innovator evolving from print to online over the past 10 years that wanted to train its journalists to deliver digital content for their online and new web TV platform.

The training program used with the MSM, discussed in the previous chapter and outlined in the *How to Mojo* iBook, is the same as the one I used for the tertiary, secondary and community case-study workshops. While each of the organisations had slightly different realities and requirements they all wanted their journalists to be able to record video and audio. Simon Morris, video news editor at Fairfax Media, wanted his staff to know how to record and upload raw footage: ‘We want it low res, we want it when it happens and we want to be the first with it online’ (Morris 2012). The managers at *Ekstra Bladet* also thought that teaching journalists to record raw footage would be enough. But four weeks after I began my workshops they sent an email advising that the pool of curating journalists with video editing skills didn’t have the capacity to edit the extra level of content and journalists should learn to edit their own stories. *Ekstra Bladet* wanted its journalists to record raw footage, but eventually realised that being able to edit gave them two bites at the story pie. *The Dili Weekly* in Timor-Leste was never going to be able to afford to create and edit videos traditionally, so management welcomed the opportunity to produce complete mojo stories, which they have now been producing for the past two years.

In addition to the earlier reason given to validate the need to teach journalists to edit, in my experience working for *Foreign Correspondent*, in more than 35 countries, the camera people who covered story best were those who worked in news bureaus, because they edited their own work. Editing teaches visual
storytelling, which in turn informs coverage, which is what news editors need. Each news editor accepted this as long as they could still receive raw footage for breaking news. The reality is that the edited story interested them greatly. At *Ekstra Bladet* trained mojos went to Spain to cover a sporting event the day after training and delivered raw footage plus two stories each daily. The real question was not whether news editors would take the edited story, but what was the ideal length. A three-minute story produced by an eminent investigative *Ekstra Bladet* journalist was deemed brilliant, but too long, even though it received a high number of clicks. The general saying, by print journalists working online, is if it’s over 30 seconds, it’s too long. So what is the right length? The BBC believes 75 seconds is the maximum length (see later). At *The Dili Weekly* length was kept to about a minute because weak Internet made uploads difficult. Connection speed is a reality that mobile journalists will face and that also impacts story length.

Fairfax Media was not sure about length as editors were only just realising their journalists might produce *edited* multimedia stories. *Ekstra Bladet* was willing to experiment with mojo and story length because it believes the future of content delivery will be on mobile. Vizibee’s Neha Manaktala, believes micro-videos and ‘mobile is where our starting point is and where the audience is as well’ (cited in Reid 2013). This is the perfect use of mobile for holding the audience while they travel home (Madsen 2012), to bridge the home (community), school, work continuum (PuenteDura 2013).

### 7.6 Summary

In summary, it is clear that the MSM will need to face a multitude of issues as it continues on its convergent journey from print to digital publishing. These issues are many and varied and are summarised in the following headings: Bridging the divides; Once were producers; Social branding with hot tech tools.
7.6.1 Bridging the divides

The techno-geographical void that Puentesdura identifies is symbolic of two other divides that traditional journalists are having to bridge. The first is the transition from print to online. As described by Deuze, journalists should be living a ‘media life extreme’ because, like the rest of us, their personal and work life ‘takes place in media’ (Deuze 2012: 3). Today media is more than just an ‘external agent’, it impacts the way we are and ‘we can only imagine a life outside of media’ (2012: 3). That may be true, but there is a digital divide between imagination and willing immersion in digital. At *Ekstra Bladet* a senior investigative journalist said, ‘I’m not afraid of the technology, I’m just worried about not having enough time to do it right’ (2013). This view is supported by findings from a research project conducted with journalists in Sweden that indicates 8 per cent of respondents using Twitter sent tweets while 17 per cent read tweets. A larger number (27 per cent) of journalists surveyed read blogs, while only 4 per cent wrote blogs (Deuze 2012: 1).

The 24-hour news cycle requires journalists to do more, much more quickly. Hence finding enough time for social media and multimedia training is always difficult. However, in the digital era multimedia skilling is a key journalistic asset and the lack of skills in this area might create new professional divisions, between users and non-users (Reid 2013). Mojo’s neo-journalistic approach, with its focus on a blend of storytelling (old) and technology (new) is not as frightening. My research has identified the following considerations that need to be addressed when journalists move from print to online:

- How do we take our journalists with us as we move online?
- What skills are required to be a successful online journalist?
  - How do print journalists practise mojo in the field while still having to create print?
  - What role do photographers play and does this need to be refined in light of online requirements?
- How do we introduce digital video (mojo) skills without frightening journalists?
• What is the relationship between print and online, web TV and paid content areas and will there be an overlap between the aims and mandates of web TV and subscription, or is the relationship complementary?
• What roles will the audience play and what role will journalists play in the intersect between UGC, UGNC or UGS? This role is crucial to the dialectic that exists within alternative journalism, which posits that it can be produced in community, be professional and still be alternative.

7.6.2 Once were producers

Once journalists kept a little black book, often in their head, and refused to reveal sources. Working in social media exposes journalism processes. Corrections are highlighted in real time so that sources like Twitter become part of the evolving story. News organisations need social media, but journalists also need time to learn social media skills to be able to process and verify social media in order to keep up with the 24-hour news cycle. This creates a shifting state of media work (Hedman & Djerf-Pierre 2013) and a blurring of the lines between producer and consumer (Bruns 2008). Further, growth in citizen journalism creates a real possibility that journalists can be trumped, not only by UGC, but by more complete representations of news events produced by citizens (Deuze 2007).

7.6.3 Social branding with hot tech-tools

Traditionally many print journalists remained faceless: ‘a journalist’s (often secret) network of sources has always been one of his/her most important professional assets’ (Hedman & Djerf-Pierre 2013). It was, some say, also part of their strategy for remaining impartial. Social media has tipped that on its head and the active journalist is now using it to build a brand for their organisation and for themselves through being more transparent and by ‘creating a sense of personal relations and audience loyalty by interacting, promoting celebrity by being seen’ (2013: 5). Being re-tweeted by the right
followers is seen as enhancing a journalist’s social capital in the professional online arena. Conversely branding may be problematic by inviting criticism from other traditional journalists, guided by anonymity and neutrality. Hence creating UGS that make journalists more visible may pose a problem for some who are slow to change.

Fairfax Media’s state of transition means their journalists generally make the shift from analogue to digital through social media, which is used more as a branding tool and also functions as a story ideas incubator. The Dili Weekly, which exists in a very small market encumbered by slow Internet, found that social media was often difficult to access. Mojo gave them an opportunity to have an online presence by working offline until stories were ready to publish. In particular, mojo gives them an unprecedented opportunity to create local commercial content allowing them to compete with better funded organisations and enabling their journalists to stand out from the consumer content-creation sphere. Because of their long-term proactive view about the shift to digital, Ekstra Bladet is in a more advanced state of transition. Journalists are being trained to create UGS and UGP to supply content forms for a variety of their multimedia platforms.

The Ekstra Bladet model is a glimpse of one future for news organisations. Their freemium soft paywall model, where free online content drives users to a premium layer that is behind the firewall, will require content that citizens will want to pay for and that advertisers will invest in. This will require more developed content and formats that are editorially sound. Like the TV formula, unique content presented on longer and larger real estate should result in more competition and if it is informative and entertaining, higher levels of subscription and/or advertising dollars. This will require journalists who are skilled in producing multimedia, and more specifically UGS and UGP content, as discussed in the concluding chapter.
8 Conclusion

‘Skilled professionals who can turn isolated units of social content into compelling stories, who can shape the narrative emerging out of the cacophony of conversation flowing through the social web...’

Mark Little, Storyful CEO

8.1 Overview

This thesis, including the artifacts and exegesis, arises from my investigation of the potential for using mobile communications technology and associated skills to help create a grassroots voice amongst marginalised citizen groups, intersecting with the three evolving communication spheres outlined earlier. In essence I am investigating what is required for citizens to be able to shape their own narratives in a democratic cyber corridor that ensures their unique voice is heard from source through to exposure. The citizen’s ability to engage in that activity is seen as fundamental to notions of democracy. It is so important that media scholar Lee Duffield recommends, ‘everybody could do well to become a journalist’ (2013: 5). I’m not exactly sure what Duffield means, but for this to occur in any meaningful way, citizens will need a skill set that enables them to use current digital technologies to create a more developed form of citizen content that I call user-generated stories (UGS). To test my hypothesis I ran a series of mobile journalism workshops in remote Indigenous communities. In order to further explore aspects of sustainability my study included supplementary workshops in the education sphere; and to understand the possibilities for more formal publishing relationships between the community and the education sphere, I investigated the impact of mojo training within professional media.

My research outcomes, as discussed in chapters 5, 6 and 7 validate the following:

- with minor adjustment to tone and language, the mojo program is flexible enough to form the foundation of a storytelling pedagogy
across community, education (primary, secondary and tertiary) and professional communication spheres;

- mojo praxis can result in grassroots, developed UGS that has a local perspective;
- mojo is an effective tool for providing job-ready skills and advanced levels of digital literacy to enable communication across multimedia platforms.

The accessibility of mobile technology in community; the move in schools to multimodal cross-curricular challenged-based learning using mobile devices; the shift in professional media from print to mobile digital multimedia and web TV—a multimodal version of content creation—requires, as Mark Little of Storyful observes, a profession with a new, more relevant skill set. Only with such a skill set will the millions of hours of social online kludge, into more meaningful narratives. The mojo skill set brings a narrative structure to social web conversation that will be needed for new multidisciplinary, multiscreen and multiplatform content streams. This nexus requires a common digital language to bridge spheres of communication and to support the shift in role and responsibility of the audience: from consumer to citizen contributor, or produser (Bruns 2011) in today’s more diverse global public sphere (Napoli 2011).

8.2 Communities

My investigation in remote Indigenous communities demonstrated that citizens could learn to create professional digital stories of a quality that can be sold to the MSM. It also confirmed that mojo training could result in local media employment and professional recognition. Overall the research shows that while the technology and training program is accessible, gaining long-term traction in communities will be difficult without ongoing support. Ad hoc training without support will not create generational change.

More specifically, the research in Indigenous communities demonstrates that:
• it is important to reject deficit theorising and focus on positive cultural attributes;
• care needs to be taken to treat participants with cultural respect and as partners in the mojo process and outcomes;
• special attention is required when dealing with potential community politics and ethical issues that impact process and outcomes;
• more planning could be done with schools, local media and other bodies to facilitate long-term benefits;
• more work is required to develop sustainable post-training models.

My recommendation is that mojo needs to be integrated as part of a strategic collaborative in-community communications framework if it is to become sustainable. This infrastructure could include existing BRACS or RIBS\textsuperscript{62} operations through the local media center, as happened in Galiwinku, where state and federal government groups used mojos to create local health messaging. The aim is to provide ongoing encouragement and technical and peer group support with continued in community training. The research demonstrates that one effective method of achieving sustainability is to introduce mojo through local schools, where teachers have a curricular interest in using technology as a literacy tool to elicit a more engaged student narrative and informed pedagogy (Bishop et al. 2009). To test this hypothesis I conducted supplementary workshops in community and urban schools.

8.3 Schools
The research indicates that mojo skills and praxis can form the basis for innovative literacy programs across the curriculum that work to explore cultural, social and linguistic differences in a more holistic way. Mojo acts as a key to authorise associated experiences through more reflexive challenge-based learning activities. As English becomes a world language and as new communication technologies deliver multimodal patterns of literacy much broader than language alone, these differences become more pronounced (Walsh 2011). New global connectedness makes it imperative to deal with technology, language and culture as a type of multi-literacy that is seen as

\textsuperscript{62} The Remote Indigenous Broadcast Service is the updated version of BRACS.
central to civic life and promoting citizenship ideals (Cope & Kalantzis 2012). Mojo praxis provides an innovative way of using technology and skills of engaging students to think constructively and comment about their local environment, including community, school and workplace. This provides students with exposure to a broader spectrum of society that begins a life-long civic process (Schofield Clark & Monserrate 2011).

Trevor Galbraith, Head of IT at Corpus Christi College in Perth where I ran mojo workshops, is already seeing this. ‘We put together [a mojo of] the archbishop of Perth’s appeal to all the schools in WA and two staff and four kids from your session then interviewed a refugee from Thailand, who didn’t want to speak with a big media but [were] happy with mojo. This is remarkable, mojo experiences for our young students’ (Galbraith 2013). Mojo at school is about marry school projects with community life to create a more holistic narrative in a new dialectic between school and community. The primary and secondary workshops demonstrated the following:

- Students from age 11 can cope with the storytelling and technical aspects of mojo.
- Unlike traditional school-based video production that is restricted to class use because of associated costs, mojo uses relatively low cost smartphone technology. Accessible outside school hours, it enables all students to participate in all phases of mojo production at school and at home.
- Students have used mojo to create stories quickly, which have won national competitions like the national ATOM63 awards.
- In composite classes older students were observed helping younger students with script and the younger ones helped the older students with the technology.
- Teachers see mojo as an accessible tool to augment and modify existing curriculum in areas including English, history, social studies, drama and even sciences.

63 The story in this link <http://gunbalanyamojo.wordpress.com/2012/01/10/gunbalanya-meatworks/> won the Australian Teachers of Media (ATOM) award for middle schools.
• Schools involved in the workshops are creating their own mojo resources.\(^{64}\)

• Schools involved in the workshops are building hyper-local mojo networks to share ideas, teaching initiatives and mojo stories online.

A major difficulty of embedding mojo in education is scheduling. At Cairns West primary school teachers have developed lunchtime and after school mojo groups to overcome these issues. Galbraith believes scheduling is a problem that is being resolved: ‘After doing your course [one college] has rewritten their whole communications course around mojo’ (2013). Galbraith is now working with schools that participated in the mojo training workshops to develop a hyper-local network for exchanging content and ideas.

Similarly, a TAFE\(^{65}\) in-community workshop for disengaged Indigenous youth resulted in students being offered work. One student was offered a contract to cover a sporting event, a commission that had previously been done by professionals. The communication skills and self-esteem of that student, who declared he could not hold a complete conversation before mojo, has grown to where he is confident enough to speak on an education panel with the Queensland Minister of Education about the literacy benefits associated with mojo.

One of the features of the TAFE workshop was a preliminary train-the-trainer component to train teachers to plan, film, edit, write and publish UGS. The train-the-trainer workshop was successful, but the art of storytelling, knowing what to film and where to cut is a much more difficult skill to learn. Hence it is critical to choose potential trainers carefully, on the basis of their interest in digital storytelling, journalism, video production, participation in web-type activities and their willingness to work out of hours. TAFE in Queensland was impressed with the results and is planning to introduce mojo training to its teachers across 36 campuses. When this roll-out occurs it is hoped it will form the basis of further investigation. Further research needs to be undertaken on how best to:

\(^{64}\) Mojo resource created by school <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_n_4opL0xBw>.
\(^{65}\) Technical and Further Education.
• develop school-specific mojo strategies,
• train teachers to create digital stories,
• train teachers to create basic web and blog sites,
• develop curriculum that supports and modifies existing literacy programs,
• enable effective cultural teaching praxis that accounts for marginalised students,
• develop monitoring tools that reflect outcomes to advance pedagogy.

8.4 Tertiary

I believe there is real potential for mojo to form part of a communications degree based on a pedagogy that locates it as an inter-disciplinary area of study between journalism and television studies. This would capitalise on the current trend by professional media to use mojo skills to create UGS and even UGP formats for their web TV platforms. Students trained to create mojo stories and programs potentially broaden their job prospects.

Hirst and Treadwell (2011: 12) identified the ‘old silo’ model of teaching journalism units in print, radio, television and online as no longer viable. Mojo’s more holistic approach suggests it could be introduced early in the J school curriculum (see chapters 6 & 7). Table 12 lists journalism training objectives and how they intersect with mojo training.
Table 13 Journalism training and mojo intersect

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Journalism training objective</th>
<th>Intersect with mojo</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Obligation to truth and citizens</td>
<td>Mojo requires face-to-face storytelling that delivers firsthand information from citizens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advanced story and verification skills</td>
<td>Mojos are trained in every facet of mobile journalism and taught to verify content before publication from the beginning of training</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independence</td>
<td>Mojo tools enable mojos to undertake every aspect of story production</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forum for criticism</td>
<td>Mojos publish online to enable widespread critique of their work</td>
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Because mojo includes production skills, a potential exists to create on campus television hyper-local networks that use mojo praxis to provide students with real-world turnaround, content creation and editorial experience. At Nottingham University in Ningbo China, students who attended mojo workshops were inspired to set up their own television network called NUTS. At the Danish Journalism School at Aarhus University in Denmark, post-graduate students intend to use their new mojo skills to create multimedia stories for a new university-run online news site, *Jutland Station*. Campus-based, student-run networks can also use mojo praxis to produce UGS and UGPs for the MSM’s vertical content streams. In the process students learn about long-form structure, content licensing and the extended use value of content packages. These types of online networks were once cost prohibitive; today they can exist in education and be linked nationally, even internationally. The benefit of tertiary networks is that they can provide students with a variety of real-world training experiences and a relevant and broader skill set when applying for communications jobs. This is an area of future research.
8.5 Professional media sphere

Research with professional journalists completed a triangulation of the use value of mojo. It enabled mojo praxis to be tested in the professional sphere, to determine its relevance and to validate mojo training at the tertiary feeder level. If Poul Madsen, managing editor of *Ekstra Bladet* is right, and ‘things have changed so much, so quickly that in three years’ time we won’t earn any money from our newspaper’ (2013), journalists will need to know how to make digital content to survive. Finding the right model to ‘keep journalists [and] produce strong content and make money’ (Madsen 2013) should be every editor’s current focus.

We know media organisations realise economies of scale by having staff specialise in operational areas they are most suited to: production, editorial or post. However, mojo suggests that one person can learn the skills needed to do it all, across all phases of multimedia story production, to become a complete mobile journalist. For example, knowing how to edit makes the mojo a much better cameraperson, and knowing how to write in and out of pictures makes them a better editor. These skills become vital as news organisations and media networks, like the BBC, begin to source more complete citizen and journalist content for their new web TV formats. But what this form looks like and the ideal length of UGS is what my research investigated. As introduced earlier, in the online news environment content length is an issue. During my research with *Ekstra Bladet* I was told that 30 to 45 seconds is the preferred length for multimedia news content. Marc Settle from BBC College of Journalism says it was thought to be 75 seconds because that was the standard length of a report or rant on the BBC—when someone talks to the camera and explains what is happening (Reid 2013). Their view is that short-form digital equals mobile. While 30 to 75 second durations might work for a news bulletin, they will not work for content sitting behind the paywall or destined for web TV platforms. *Ekstra Bladet* managers initially also told me that they did not want journalists to edit their own content on their mobiles, the premise being that a central hub of reporter curators would edit all

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66 Models like the Beyond way of creating content where specialists are employed to do one specific role in the creation chain, is designed to maximise output and minimise cost.
journalists' mobile content. Four weeks later an email was circulated advising staff that deadline commitments and increased volume of UGC made it imperative that journalists learn how to edit. The TV department’s story curation team of predominantly desk-bound journalists did not have time to edit field journalists’ footage.

Journalism lecturer Usha Rodrigues (2008) notes a comment by Mathew Ricketson, then writing at *The Age* newspaper, that ‘technology and deadline pressures were encouraging journalists to stay at their desks and thus risk losing touch with their audience’, and that with information ‘available via mobile phones and computers’, the need to ‘press the flesh had been greatly reduced’ (2008: 120). What my research shows is that as journalists begin to make more formed digital content, in particular UGS and UGP, they will need to ‘press the flesh’ more, not less. Rodrigues cites Gary Hughes, former head of the investigative journalism unit at *The Age*, who says that ‘the investigative approach or thorough research, perseverance in reporting and the mental attitude to do in-depth reporting is being lost’ (ciited in Rodrigues 2008: 120). I see that investigative journalists are currently still researching in-depth stories; the DNA is still here and still being passed on to younger journalists. *Ekstra Bladet* hopes that a mix of advertising and paywall revenues will provide a funding stream to sustain investigative journalism (Madsen 2012). Because senior investigative journalists are being asked to do more digital work, they are worried about not having enough time to do it well and they may choose not to up-skill and rather wait for retirement packages.

The current trend suggests that making mojo UGS is not going to be enough at organisations like *Ekstra Bladet*, where a string of planned TV channels will further complicate the audience versus producer and level of content versus quality equations. As discussed earlier, the ‘news treated as an article’ philosophy poses problems as news converges from print to multimedia and longer web TV formats. This view is shared by *Guardian* journalists: ‘the article is no longer the atomic unit of news’ and ‘we should reconsider the article and its place’ (Jarvis 2011). At *Ekstra Bladet* perseverance is resulting
in a cultural shift. Recently one of the journalists who undertook my mojo workshop planned to run his own workshop for others in his editorial team. He and nine other journalists who have learned mojo are now part of a super-users group who will support the other 90 journalists who have attended mojo workshops. They will train interns and further develop the style for their online news and web TV formats.

Alongside this neo-journalistic approach to story convergence, a countervailing activity called social media is impacting communications. While social media like Twitter provide a global social awareness representation of the lives and opinions of its users (Hermida 2012), it has altered how real-time news is received and created. Its own description of it connecting users to the latest on what they find interesting is both its appeal and an Achilles heel. As Kovach (2006) noted, ‘from the moment the 24/7 digital news was introduced, the process of verification, the beating heart of credible journalism in the public interest has been under challenge’: the verification act bestows credibility on journalism for a role the profession suggests only journalists can fulfil (in Hermida 2012: 3). Yet as Hirst says, journalism can so often suffer from a ‘bias of convenience’ (2012: 104) that, together with gatekeeping, shapes a form of journalistic truth. Much the same criticism is leveled at books, which are said to suggest completeness and truth containment (Pettitt 2013). This attitude is reflected in Shakespeare’s A Winter’s Tale, ‘I love a ballad in print…for then we are sure they are true’ (Shakespeare 1996: 258). The reality is that local community or student media content is not quarantined from this type of bias, especially in untrained hands.

Currently journalism practices are understood as a set of literacies informed by ethics standards and routines set by print journalism. As new technology develops we will need new literacies ‘that integrate, written and oral and audiovisual modalities’ within ‘screen-based and networked electronic systems’ (Prinsloo cited in Hermida 2012: 4). Hermida argues that new literacies require a shift from individual intelligence, where expertise and authority are located in individuals and institutions, to a focus on collective intelligence, where expertise and authority are distributed and networked.
I agree that the Internet can supply a collective intelligence, but this does not negate the role individual learning plays to facilitate collective reflexivity, ethical praxis and a eudemonic focus. This is even more crucial in community or schoolyard journalism, where audience and producer are known to each other.

The debate around whether new literacies value participation over publication (Hermida 2012) is also relevant. New literacies like mojo enable informed online participation, especially because they lead to publication, which is pivotal to creating a functioning democratic global communications public sphere. Mojo provides skills to enable individuals to search for and embark on what Kovach and Rosentiel (2007) describe as ‘journalistic truth’. Even in 24/7 newsrooms truth is filtered by reporter curators—up to 50 times an hour on specific stories (Ruud 2012). As more of the audience learn digital journalism literacies, journalists lose their exclusive control of the flow of meaningful checked content and become ‘just some of the many voices in public communication’ (Deuze 2008: 12). One tension described by Westlund (2011) involves investigating how media workers make sense of this shift from the old role to the new. Indeed, how long will the reporter curator want to curate the news from Tweets and other social sources and the two-way information flow? “Is this why I studied for three years…to sit behind a desk and trawl the net?”, was a rhetorical question asked by one of Ekstra Bladet’s junior reporter curators. As journalists begin to embrace digital and mobile possibilities, in particular UGS and UGP creation, they begin to search for a more productive work environment. No longer is the old ascribed a lower value (Deuze 2004) when the new, which fosters sense making (Westlund 2011: 338), forms a neo-journalistic partnership with the old: ‘Individuals’ memories, experiences and knowledge form organisational intelligence that not only records and stores the old, but transforms and applies this knowledge into the shaping of the new’ (338).

Organisations like Ekstra Bladet deal with this reality by driving the marketplace realities with their shift to more formed content. While analysts predict an uncertain future for the news business, Madsen is upbeat as he
plots the move from the ageing notion of publication to platforms and workflows. He sees a time when *Ekstra Bladet* will split its division into news and TV. ‘It’s so easy to create a news channel now, you just do it, you need content and programs’ (Madsen 2013). His is a two-year vision for the *eb.dk* portal to sit alongside *eb24 news* and a number of other channels. ‘We are combining great journalism, our tradition at EB, and for me it’s a great pleasure to be head of this organisation. You need content and programs where we can combine doing it on different medias, with mobile or mojo at the centre of it all. Yes, there’s a plan that will give us a great future’ (Madsen 2013).

Madsen’s plan is focused on commercial realities and expansion involves trained mobile journalists and the transformation of a print news organisation into a web TV news provider. On the back of growth in its digital audiences, declining print circulation and advertising revenues, and a £33 million loss in 2010, *The Guardian* has also stepped up its digital first vows (Jarvis 2011). With 50 million distinct monthly users, it predicted doubling £47 million pound of revenue in 201167 to almost £100 million by 2016 (Sabbagh 2011). Unlike Madsen, *The Guardian’s* managing editor Alan Rusbridger is not yet publically predicting the death of the print edition: ‘Every newspaper is on a journey into some kind of digital future. That doesn’t mean getting out of print, but it does require a greater focus of attention [on] the various forms that a digital future is likely to take’ (2011)

*The Guardian* is a registered trust and social justice is high on its agenda. Following two years of juggling size and shape, *theguardian.com* is now the third largest English-language newspaper website in the world, opening new offices in the US and Australia. CEO Andrew Miller summed it up this way: ‘We have to change the way that we do things, but we can never change what we are’ (Robertson 2013). *The Guardian’s* DNA is such that it is embracing citizen input in a more formal way. The group’s head of diversity, Yasoir Miza, is working on two interconnecting programmes to ensure

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67 Actual 2011 digital revenue was £45.7 million.
editorial coverage from minority groups ‘is more inclusive and representative’\(^{68}\) and moves away from stereotypes and labelling to increase the breadth and depth of minority voices within our papers and online’ (Miller 2013). Miller adds that, ‘Journalism can be a powerful tool in creating dialogue, understanding and cohesion, while promoting pluralism…if we open up our platform to draw in often unheard, marginalised voices [we] enrich our coverage and fulfil our commitment to social justice and open journalism values…’ (Ibid). In an effort to encourage diversity-open journalism, The Guardian has run a series of mobile technology workshops for people living in marginalised communities in India. Partnering with a development organisation called Radar, they taught marginalised people to produce SMS texts featuring their views of local events. Five of the citizen reporters have been given opportunities to pitch their ideas to The Guardian.

In summary, one aim of mojo praxis is to provide a foundation on which to realise components of the earlier discussed diversity principle (Napoli 1999). The above practices and commercial and government policies are based on an assumption that a diverse production source will lead to content diversity and in turn a diverse exposure of content streams, including programs and ideas across demographics and types (Napoli 1999). But this relationship has been proven to be questionable (Napoli & Karppinen 2013). The earlier discussed introduction of 80 BRACS sites in remote Australian communities is an analogue example of communication policy driven by source diversity principles that did not always work. While issues of spectrum scarcity, license allocations and high barriers to entry are no longer obstacles within the context of Internet communications, as Napoli points out, it would be wrong for policy makers to assume the Internet solves all diversity policy issues (2013: 4).

8.6 Internet policy

The Internet has maintained its current open framework since 114 countries gathered in Australia in 1988 to agree on a treaty of international telecommunications free from economic and technical regulation. But a

\(^{68}\) Miller’s use of the term ‘representative’ to define a one representing many view is often characterised by stereotypical outcomes.
proposal by a group of ICCIS countries, to restrict the use of social media, could threaten its independence (Pappas 2012). Australia’s legislation regarding the Internet was an amendment to the Broadcasting Services Act 1992 designed to provide a means for addressing complaints about certain content; to promote quality television to audiences throughout Australia; to make Internet technologies available to the Australian community; to encourage providers of content to respect community standards; to restrict access to certain Internet content; and to protect children from exposure to Internet content that is unsuitable for children. But much of the Internet’s content is available to all children who can access the Internet. The government passed an Amendment Bill in 1999 aimed at controlling Internet content and the access to it. It can be argued that the government’s view was contradictory: they wanted to improve regulation to ensure public interest imperatives did not impose unnecessary financial and administrative burdens on Internet content hosts and Internet service providers. This view, which appears to be contrary to public interest, together with increased Internet traffic, meant the deficiencies of the 1992 legislation were compounded, so recently the government initiated a number of media reviews:

- Review of Australian Government Investment in the Indigenous Broadcasting and Media Sector (IBR 2010),
- The Convergence Review (CR 2011),
- Independent Inquiry into the Media and Media Regulation (MI 2012).

In relation to online content and Internet use the CR addressed these key concerns: that Australians should have access to and opportunities for

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69 Russia, China, India, Brazil, South Africa and other countries established the International Code of Conduct for Information Security (ICCIS).
participation in a diverse mix of services, voices, views and locally-generated content that reflects and contributes to the development of national and cultural identity; that Australians should have access to a diverse range of content across platforms, services and devices; and that an investigation is needed into whether training can help address aspects of use, legality, ethics and editorial issues in order to meet public policy objectives (DBCDE 2012). Moreover, while the three reviews had uniquely identifiable aims and objectives all three identify the need to alter regulations that govern content providers and define content in the context of the new, converged media landscape.

However, Napoli believes one of the issues confronting Internet legislators is that often, when defining regulation, issues are ‘not discussed explicitly under the theme of “diversity” but under other Internet governance terms such as free flow of information’ (Napoli & Karppinen 2013: 5). One reason for this may be that instead of the established goals of source and content diversity, concerns around delivery modes, such as search engines and their providers, tend to relate more to the issue of exposure diversity, which remains less established in policy making. Yet, many of these issues, like flow, that have not been articulated in terms of diversity ‘would seem to be directly relevant to what’s been called “diversity by design”, or “creating an architecture or service that helps people to make diverse choices’” (Helberger cited in Napoli & Karppinen 2013: 5). So what does policy look like when, as Napoli (2013) advocates, it considers audiences in a more evolutionary context—more than consumers of media but rather as citizens and publics?

In its deliberations the CR concluded that policy and regulation in the following areas is justified in the public interest to facilitate a diverse media sphere:

- **Media ownership**: Concentration of services in the hands of a few can hinder the free flow of news and debate.
• **Content standards across all platforms:** Services should reflect community standards, including protecting children from inappropriate content.

• **Production and distribution of Australian and local content:** Social and cultural benefits arise from content that reflects Australian identity, character and diversity. (DBCDE 2012)

The CR based its conclusions on the premise that access to diverse media creates a more democratic state and that all people ‘regardless of ability, must have access to information and the services in order to be an equal citizen, equal consumer, equal member of the public’ (Boreham 2012). Nowhere is this more crucial than in the Indigenous media sphere, where mobile journalism practices, as described in this research, can assist in meeting the IBR’s recommendations for a well-resourced and skilled Indigenous media sector, working to enhance self-esteem, self-identity and pride in communities, while providing training and employment opportunities (DBCDE 2011b). Chair of Australian Indigenous Studies at Melbourne University, Professor Marcia Langton, observes that ‘it’s essential for Indigenous people to control the means of production [of media] for a meaningful change to occur’ (Finklestein 2011). Langton’s observation applies equally to all citizens who can improve their state of being by participating as publishers in a diverse online media space. Language and cultural preservation was the validation for Michael’s policies and practices in participatory journalism in Yuendumu almost 40 years ago (Michaels 1986). Today, sitting at the core of Internet policy is a desire to increase ‘cultural and linguistic diversity’ (Napoli 2013b). The so-called father of the Internet, Tim Berners-Lee, sees this principle as central to the unifying ideal of ‘the humanity connected by technology’ which as Napoli suggests is a facilitator in forging larger global communities and seeing a multilingual Internet ‘as a citizen right and a government obligation’ (Berners-Lee cited in Napoli 2013b).

But as Berners-Lee and others are realising, maintaining the ideal and a level of net neutrality, to promote access and diversity within the corporate
imperatives of the Internet, is a key to realising a diverse content stream. The
degrees to which government legislates media will impact diversity and hence
net neutrality—the equal ability to access common opportunity and services
on the Internet—a state where providers do not provide favors to strategic
partners. Even before the Internet was ubiquitous, access to media was used
as a tool for totalitarian propaganda. Recent examples are: the Germans
before and during WW2; Mugabe’s control of media and economics in
Zimbabwe; edited propaganda televised into Sarajevo by state controlled
networks during the Bosnian War; underground media in Kosovo in the late
90s to avoid state controlled propaganda; embedding and controlling
journalists in the Iraq war; the Great Firewall of China and government ISP
closure during and after the Arab Spring.

Defined as a network design principle where “maximally useful public
information network aspires to treat all content, sites, and platforms equally”
(Wu 2003a: 1). The degree to which government legislates and defines the
Internet within a telecommunications framework, or as a commercially
available information bandwidth, will determine a level of net-neutrality. For
example; the Internet is a platform—email, web and streaming—where
diverse competition among application developers occurs, who “are in a
battle for the attention and interest of end-users”, hence it is “important that
the platform be neutral to ensure the competition remains meritocratic” (Wu
2003b: 146).

Moreover, in the US the level of net neutrality is seen as a measure of the
health of the 1st Amendment—freedom of speech. A recent ruling by the US
Appeals Court74 shows that net neutrality is both an ideal and the type of
control valve that impacts a level of commerciality—availability of service and
the ability to report freely—and potentially impacts diversity. The increased
possibility of using the Internet to create a less marginalised voice might be
possible for people who have access. But currently only 34% of people

74 The US Appeals Court rejects federal rules that Internet providers need to treat all web
traffic equally and rules that the FCC cannot impose anti-discrimination laws on broadband
providers.
globally have access (de Argaz 2014) and even in Australia most homes in Indigenous communities in the remote outback do not have ICTs and cannot access Internet facilities. The national broadband network (NBN) will not roll fiber into remote Indigenous communities. Choosing instead to save costs and upgrade satellite services. In central Australia, ‘Indigenous households are 76% of less likely to have Internet access than non-Indigenous metropolitan households’ (Rennie et al. 2011: 9). These deficiencies and with no plans to convert the analogue BRACS (RIBS) systems75, is an indication of the ineffectiveness of net neutrality policies. Providers will only deliver access where it’s viable and provide supplementary arrangements where it’s profitable.

Google’s plans for a dumb phone that talks to its resource full smart-cloud-net, is another example where open source Internet policies, designed to maintain net neutrality, may not work. Access to Google’s smart net will require users to have a Google dumb phone. The same can be said for iOS specific Apps that are not available on Android and other OS; or Comcast’s ability to promote affiliate NBC’s content over ABC’s, to its Internet subscribers, while blocking bit Torrent76. As platforms become more cloud specific, platform owners, like Google, become more powerful and are able to do deals with broadband providers—they become gatekeepers with paywalls that impact net neutrality. An Australian example is Telstra’s unmetered Foxtel video downloads, which give both corporations an advantage in reaching their audiences in ways that others aren’t. This type of sponsorship, which is biased in favor of the commercial partners, makes the net restrictive to some.

The US Federal Appeals Court ruling in favor of providers is an indication of where the US is heading. While it classified broadband providers as information providers, the Appeals Court did not impose anti-discrimination provisions against providers. The immediate rush by companies like Netflix to align with providers like Comcast (Google with Verizon) indicates the weight

75 Analogue switch off happened in Dec 2013 leaving all RIBS
76 A protocol supporting the practice of peer-to-peer file sharing that is used to distribute large amounts of data over the Internet
of that decision.

Professor Susan Crawford from Harvard, put it simply, “companies that are selling Internet access to Americans are not supposed to choose winners or losers — to decide which applications or services will be more successful in reaching subscribers” (Kafka 2014: 1). But they already are (Gmail, hangout, iTunes). Tim Wu who coined the term net neutrality said in the New Yorker, “Since its creation, the FCC has had the authority to police all communications by wire in the United States. Instead, [then FCC chairman] Genachowski grounded the rules in what is called — in legal jargon — the agency’s ‘auxiliary authority’. If the FCC were a battleship, this would be the equivalent of quieting the seventeen-inch-inch guns and relying on the fire hoses” (Wu 2014: 1). As Wu suggests, this leaves the door open for Google and Facebook to do traffic deals with providers. This is now occurring as one time enemies Comcast and Bit Torrent partner up to create, what in essence is, a tollbooth through the ISP. In essence a long-standing practice commonly referred to as peering connection, which is used to alleviate Internet backbone issues during busy traffic periods. These practices of prioritizing streams include streaming infrastructure discreet to large paying companies like Google and Facebook. So the net neutrality issue is not really fast lanes—which are already fast, but as Tim Wu points out, it’s more the number of lanes that are available (McMillan 2014). And with Comcast acquiring Time Warner Cable, the lanes are decreasing.

Should governments be legislating to tell organisations like Comcast how to manage its network; or to make sure consumers have alternatives to Comcast, if they are unhappy with their Internet service? Or is legislation a road map and exactly what providers are looking for?

While the Internet is portrayed as a place where free speech is possible, the reality is that it’s only possible for some. One way to mitigate the impact of legislation and discriminatory practices is to better educate the public. The Chinese have created the Great Fire Wall; a government shield, which blocks access to online content. In Australia the government has taken a more pro-active approach and launched an education campaign to help users and in
particular students and parents understand the implications of accessing information and meeting people online (DBCDE 2011a). One of the most effective Internet filters, which was not tabled by organisers at many of the international media conferences I attended in the past 18 months, including the Google Big Tent (2012) and the ISOJ (2013), is the role of education to inform and prepare students for their digital role—to help create a more robust public sphere. One of the capacities of mojo and multimedia training is to better prepare citizenry to deal with a lack of net neutrality and keep Internet corporate impact in balance.

Net neutrality has been described as predominantly a US issue. But with some Australian providers being US owned, and with a projected increase in Australian Internet traffic to 270% over the next four years, and Internet users predicted to jump 30% to 23 million by 2018 (Taylor 2014), who gets what and how much we pay for it, is clearly a global issue. In particular, with a predicted rise in Australian Internet speeds to 44mbps, citizens will be streaming more video online (Taylor 2014) and will require the fastest ISP. Given this, the ability to access Internet infrastructure and the cost of data, is an important consideration.

With so many smart devices hanging off networks, running rich media, full motion video and high-resolution images, the network that is able to cope with cost, speed and reliability, will have the advantage. It seems that in a capitalistic market, consumers will drive demand and governments will continue to respond by defining and corralling net neutrality based on a free market approach (Wu 2014), as we have recently seen in the US. In Australia we'll have to wait and see how long the Australian consumer watchdog (the ACCC) can effectively manage net neutrality.

One of the advantages of the mojo discussed here is that we mostly use 3G or 4G and local radio towers to provide connectivity. However mobile and smartphones, which are portable creative suites, are no longer quarantined from net neutrality issues. Recent complaints against telecom giant AT&T over a decision to require specific wireless data plans to use Apple's FaceTime video chat over its 3G network are becoming more common.
The area requires extensive investigation that is beyond the scope of this exegesis. It is an area of investigation this researcher is planning to explore within a new mojo project in Australia (funded and scheduled for December 2014) and a long-term project in Myanmar (tentatively scheduled for 2015), which documents the impact of the introduction of new nationwide mobile infrastructure. The author has proposed a program that investigates protocols for implementing a national digital storytelling (mojo) training program.

In the interim it is incumbent on educators to make sure that citizens are ready to benefit from the net possibilities of being wired. That’s where mojo training can play an important role.

8.7 Common digital language

My research around the development of a common digital language leads me to conclude that legislation around Internet governance that promotes diversity of cultures and languages (in essence alternative content creation) is only one step in creating participatory content spheres. What has been discussed throughout this research is a form of common digital language, a literacy, which makes diverse online UGS possible. This is not unlike what was required at the genesis of the Internet. Even with its foundation laid in 1969, the Internet was not effective until it had a common language scaffold, ‘essentially a set of rules that allows for easier communications between two parties who normally speak different languages’ (Pavlik & McIntosh 2014: 212). In 1971 email enabled a more purposeful use of connected computers and demonstrated the need for a common language. This led to TCP/IP rules, and the term Internet was born (Pavlik & McIntosh 2014: 212). In 1991 the further development of HTML by Berners-Lee created the web page and transformed the Internet into a global publishing platform (212).

In much the same way, UGS creation requires a language and associated skills to realise its potential for enabling digital alternative journalism—schoolyard stories, grassroots community content, mainstream media news
and web TV content—that is balanced and seeks objectivity between events and personal issues. As Forde reminds us, this is important because, ‘journalists are human beings, everything they produce is subjective’ (2011: 119). The humanity Berners-Lee identifies also exists amongst professional journalists who, according to Forde, believe good journalism can reject neutrality (Forde 2011). A key to this conundrum is the dialectic that occurs between the audience turned journalist and the professional, or between alternative and mainstream media, about the emphasis on telling unbiased stories that are verified. What we need to do is to teach citizens and students the skills to tell these types of stories, and remind professional journalists that objectivity comes from being accurate, fair and balanced. It is hoped that these skills will help professional journalists cross the digital divide and develop into citizen journalists with what Forde calls ‘a nose for news’ (116). The question is: What is news value and how does this differ across the three spheres of communication?

Fraser notes that the idea of an ‘egalitarian, multicultural society only makes sense if we suppose a plurality of public arenas in which groups with diverse values and rhetorics participate’; a society with a ‘multiplicity of publics’ (Fraser 1992: 126). Hence, it would follow that there might be multiple definitions of news value between public arenas (spheres) and their publics. However, the neo-journalistic approach of mojo, which retains the primary skills sets required in any good journalism praxis, provides a common standard while importantly enabling the personal skills and tools for citizens to speak in their ‘own voice’ and participate and express their ‘own cultural identity through idiom and style’ (Fraser 1992: 126). It is this commonality that distinguishes publics from enclaves and potentially unites them with ‘the public at large’ (124), in a more purposeful interaction that maintains their multi-faceted voice. These multiple publics, or subfields of communication, function as ‘spaces for withdrawal and regroupment’ within an ‘indeterminate public’ and ‘as training grounds for agitational activities directed toward wider publics’ (124). As this research has shown, inter-public discursive interaction is supplied through common digital tools and literacies—a common digital language. The purpose of this language is to create a nexus between these
two functions and across spheres. Throughout my research this occurred when mojo stories landed on MSM news bulletins and won awards in festivals, which further generated MSM news and public interest. Hence I believe a possibility exists for a hyper-local meeting of these three public spheres facilitated by a common digital language (see Figure 20), not as one communications public but as three diverse, discursive and transformative subfields of communication where ‘publics talk across lines of cultural diversity’ (Fraser 1992: 126). Like a good salad, each ingredient retains its individual flavour (outside the dark green circle), but as the mojo uses the common digital language to spoon into to the center, they begin to reveal the powerful mix of ingredients working as one. Figure 20 describes a hyper-local mechanism for a functioning content sphere. Here creation occurs in all of the three spheres: community, education and MSM. There are three possible curating points in each sphere: the individual—resulting in alternative recorded moments; organisational—with the potential for content creation that has more purpose; and a cross-cultural level—generating an alternative but professional type of content that intersects with all spheres through the common digital language and skills that transform content into more professional UGS or UGP. The use of a common language creates a bridge between the spheres, uniting them in a community of practice (COP—dark green circle), which is generated when like-minded people gather with technology, skills, purpose and a politicised will.
One example of how the above model can be used is for schools or universities to cover events in their community and share the raw and edited multimedia UGC either in raw or UGS form with local media, to use it in news bulletins (as happened with Cherbourg Mojo stories). Media then also establish a web page for local education and community content. This gives the community mojo project extra validation as it is legitimised online and as TV content. Another way is for education and community to set up their own local web TV portals, or marry with local community television\(^\text{77}\) and broadcast their local content (UGC, UGS and UGP) first. Once community or education based hyper-local networks are established, their formats can be licensed by media organisations like the BBC, who increasingly will be looking for more outsourced UGC, UGS and UGP (Entwistle 2012). This may

\(^\text{77}\) See the relationship between University of Western Sydney and TVS.
result in revenue for mojo work in the future. A third way is for MSM to use school or community mojos as local paid stringers, which also potentially works to increase sustainability. The general manager of ABC Darwin made this offer to NT mojos following their workshops. However, a lack of in community support made it difficult to capitalise on this opportunity.

One issue in this self-perpetuating model, represented in Figure 20 is that it requires participants in all spheres to be trained in common digital literacies if they are to create appropriate content. For example, if primary and secondary students and communities are taught to create UGS, tertiary journalism studies courses need to offer more advanced versions. It will not be enough to offer one multimedia elective in an undergraduate program and not offer any multimedia in the graduate diploma, as is the case at the University of South Australia, although their blurb to prospective students says that, ‘graduates of the Graduate Diploma in Journalism degree will have advanced knowledge and skills related to the practice of journalism...’ (Uni-South-Aust 2013).

Figure 21 Hyper-local communities of practice forming network society

The other aspect of the overlapping model described in Figure 21 is its impact on the labour market. Overlapping spheres of labour can initially create exclusion, in particular in new media models, where exclusion can be a result of age, ethnicity and/or geography (Neilson & Rossiter 2005b). Job losses can also be the result of new technology that requires shifts in techne, which may be a barrier and lead to reluctance to embrace new communications.
This is evidenced in the MSM, for instance where there are three levels of journalists working in a print environment. The older journalists, who are well established and credentialed, are willing to have a go; but, mostly because they nearing retirement age, they are not too fussed by digital. The journalists who are mid career, who have mortgages and children at school and need to keep working are the most likely to want to embrace digital. The crop of younger journalists or interns who have just started on their career paths are the most interesting. While they will give digital mobile story creation a go and are quite adept at using technology, they have not had much mobile or multimedia training. Once on the news floor they appear to be more interested in their Cecil B DeMille moment, and are wanting to do what they call real journalism, with a photographer or a crew. I believe this perception will change as mobile is seen as a more professional alternative.

Where communication spheres or fields intersect another shift in labour occurs where new digital languages form new groups of digitally skilled workers. Here a new group of almost itinerant workers exists on the margins of two fields. Good enough to become freelancers, subcontractors and occasional specialist writers, the so-called self-employed live in a state that Neilson (2005) describes as ‘precarity’, where planning is difficult due to the transient nature of labour. In their attempt to become part of a global public sphere, and driven by its notions of the digital sublime, these itinerant participants pit themselves against a more professional communications labour force, forming new working relationships that span cultural and labour markets.

Precarity is a double-edged sword in the transitional state between fields, as digital storytellers move from one field to another. On the one hand it describes the uncertain change to previously guaranteed employment that results in a lack of stability (Neilson & Rossiter 2005a). This environment currently describes the situation of mainstream media and print journalists. On the other hand precarity ‘supplies the precondition for new forms of creative organisation that seek to accept and exploit the flexibility inherent in networked modes of sociality and production’ (Neilson & Rossiter 2005a: 1).
Neilson describes precarity as ‘capital’s response to the rejection of “jobs for life” and demands for free time and flexibility by workers in the 1970s’ (Neilson & Rossiter 2005a: 1), and it might also be a new state that defines a non-permanent itinerant digital communications workforce that crosses spheres of communication. An area that warrants further investigation is the degree to which the increased capital that comes with the CDL discussed in this exegesis is successful in creating a rallying point and the skills needed to enable mobile journalists and new digital media workers, across all spheres, to participate at a permanent or semi-permanent level in a new, more global public sphere.

8.8 Summary

In closing, we can recall that Habermas’ public sphere took shape in the period from the 15th to the 20th century and was defined by textuality, which Thomas Pettitt calls the Guttenberg Parenthesis. This concept suggests mass communication was ‘an interruption in the broader arc of human communication’ (2013: 3). Pettitt says that the current communications revolution closed the parenthesis on textuality and opened the public sphere to more arbitrary communication that includes gossip, comment and more folklore, the stuff that Henry Jenkins describes as kludge. As books and newspapers begin to lose their status as primary sources of truth, Pettit asks; ‘when there were no books, how did people sort out the truth? How did they decide what they would rely on and what they wouldn’t rely on?’ (Garber 2013). They did it through eyeballing and on this side of the parenthesis we do it through digital interaction (see Figure 21).

However, with so much content being uploaded we need a form of self-curation at the individual level. This requires more reflexivity by content creators. We might need to throw away the rulebook developed during the period of closed parentheses but keep the rules that make sense, a neo-journalistic view designed to help create content form. These rules need to be formulated for an open source digital environment in order to perpetuate
organic growth of style and structure. In essence, what we have outside the parenthesis is many styles of digital content that need to be welded into the genre called story (Burum 2008). This will require digital nodes of excellence that seek out and join with like nodes (see Figure 21). But it may be hard changing the fragmented structure of network societies into communities of practice that create relevant content, including UGS and UGP.

This challenge might exist because, as Deuze says (2009: 263), participants in the current public sphere of overlapping forms of communication are a ‘sceptical and self-interested citizenry’ who supercharge the fragmentation of society ‘into countless individualised public spheres’. This makes cohesiveness more difficult, but Fraser posits that it is like any other public sphere where citizens decide what is of concern to them and where there is no guarantee that they will agree (1992). Fraser hopes that, through a process of deliberation, participants are transformed from self-seeking individuals to a ‘public-spirited collective’ (192: 130). As argued previously, one way of achieving this is through education to ensure that ‘men and women deal critically and creatively with reality and discover how to participate in the transformation of their world’ (Freire 1970: 16). Mojo training is one set of tools to enable skills, reflexivity and transformation possibilities through individual and collective publication of UGS and UGP.

In my working life I have experienced the so-called golden age of journalism where old and young reporters went to the local pub to share war stories and advice. I think a new golden age is upon us and what we might see in that cyber bar is a crowd with community, schools and MSM, a cocktail of content creators calling themselves mobile journalists, or mojos. In 1990, I sat in a makeshift TV studio in remote Yuendumu in the Tanami desert in Central Australia and watched Francis Jupurrula Kelly switch on his camera, walk a few metres to his desk and begin reading the evening news. ‘That’s the news, bush way’, said Francis, who was already and old hand at self-shot community program making, which he had been producing since 1982. But as we have seen in Indigenous and other communities, early trends can either succeed or fail. If, as McChesney warns, we act as if social change is
impossible, it will be because this is our human dilemma. Although in critical junctures, he says, ‘our powers increase and the odds can swing dramatically’ (McChesney 2007: 221).

‘Changes come from the power of many, but only when the many come together to form that which is invincible…the power of one.’

Bryce Courtenay 1989

With seven billion mobiles and 2.6 billion smartphones in use in 2013, citizens have control of massive mobile power. The question is: How will we use it?

My form of neo-journalism is an attempt to create a middle ground, a new dialectic between traditional skills and the possibilities of new technologies that impacts the relationship between alternative and mainstream media, and within alternative media itself. If the thesis of this study is correct and this approach will provide a new digital language, a bridge between alternative and mainstream media, then the dialectic occurs in the synthesis of the relationship between the three spheres discussed here. This new ground requires, not only as Merrill (1989) notes, that journalists realise their responsibility, but that all newly trained mojos, working as mobile journalists, do so as well. I contend that only when everyone wanting to produce journalism, in whatever form, understands their responsibility to the craft and to humanity, will journalism, in all its forms, play its great role in creating a new, more diverse public sphere.

Dan Gillmor, one of the early test pilots of the ‘next version of journalism’ (2004: 247), hopes that ‘the former audience’ become ‘active users of news and not mere consumers (2004: 238). An informed citizenry, says Gillmor, must ‘demand more and be part of the conversation’ (2004: 238). He defines this as an input that is thoughtful and nuanced and not a ‘booster shot for knee-jerk reaction’ (2004: 238). I hope this study adds to the discussion about how mobile journalism skills and technology, a next version of storytelling, might be used to advance the conversation to help create a more democratic public sphere. Like Gillmor, I believe mojo can work for anyone if they are given the tools to engage in the reflexivity implied in the dialectic that should
exist between technology (determinist or use value), skills (professional values within alternative journalism) and the profession of journalism (ideals, meaning and business imperatives). I wonder what the next community, school or professional mojo, will teach me.
9 Appendices

9.1 Appendix A—Link to iBook How To Mojo manual

An element of this research is an iBook that describes the mojo training process, the mojo elements and mojo tools. The iBook is designed for people wishing to participate in mojo praxis and contains 12 videos on how to use the edit Apps and how to cover content using an iPhone camera. It also includes a detailed explanation of SCRAP. The iBook can be found at <https://itunes.apple.com/au/book/how-to-mojo/id633249999?mt=11>. See a brief summary of the iBook in Appendix E.

9.2 Appendix B—Links to documentaries

Documentaries were produced by Ivo Burum using a mixture of professionally shot video and the mojos’ own iPhone footage. Both documentaries were screened to the respective mojos and their community representatives before being published. All participants and all communities agreed. All participants were very pleased with their videos and the end result of the documentaries, which were screened for community before they were screened publically.

9.2.1 Mojo Working

This documentary describes the development stages of the mojo workshops—selection and training, the filming and the edit phase of the NT Mojo case study workshop. Shot at BIITE and in remote mojo communities in the Northern Territory, the program showcases mojo footage while providing candid comments from mojos on what they thought about the project. The documentary depicts the filming, editing, writing and publishing phases. The documentary is designed to be used as an introduction to mojo and as a promotional tool for communities and schools wishing to embark on mojo programs. The documentary was screened in community and broadcast on SBS and can be found at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jRmGACFJdJo>.
9.2.2 Cherbourg Mojo Out Loud

This documentary describes the introduction of mojo into one community to assist with engagement of youth who had left school. The comments from participants are powerful reflections on the benefits of mojo praxis. The documentary will be used to create awareness in Queensland and Australia about mojo possibilities within the education sphere. Queensland TAFE intends to use the documentary at literacy conferences and across their campuses to introduce mojo praxis. The documentary can be viewed at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-_ol8Kg7mj0>.

9.3 Appendix C—Safeguards document

This document is provided to Indigenous communities or schools to describe the safeguard protocols. Safeguards are tabled for community members to discuss and agree on. They demonstrate that we have thought about safety issues, such as the potential of mojos misusing their technology to download restricted and prohibited material and uploading their own unplanned and restricted filming activities.

It is important to state to community that Mojos will not have ‘unfettered’ access through the network to use network capacity for illegal or other purposes, including the production and distribution of user-generated content outside the project scope. It is important to assure community members that the safeguard protocols together with inbuilt iPhone restriction technology, the Guidelines and our chosen App’s on-board upload management facility will not allow the use of the iPhone to download or upload restricted material, outside the scope of the project Guidelines:

Safeguard Levels

Choice of participants: This project is about empowering people to take more control of their lives through participation in media to create stories for them and about them. So choosing the right participants is crucial.
Specialists working at [insert community name] will nominate candidates aged between 15 and 18 and be selected on the basis of their desire to be in the program and their trustworthiness as indicated by community elders (or school teachers).

Community elders [staff or teachers] and trainers will mentor and support participants during training, without impacting the fidelity of the research.

My experience, gained from over 17 years of working in the self-shot content, indicates that when given an opportunity like this, participants take it seriously. They don’t want to let their peers, family or community down.

**Guidelines:** These were prepared from lessons learned on previous programs and include an agreement not to access or produce prohibited material and also to reinforce ethical imperatives and issues of defamation. Participants need to agree and sign these. A Los Angeles based participatory story telling collective called Voz Mob also “reinforces agreed upon core values” which guide their work, to their affiliates. We suspect these values—transparency, integrity, honesty, community-decision making, and equitable resource distribution—also apply to participant storytellers.

**Training:** The ability to download content from the Internet and upload videos is not a new mobile concept and can be done on many types of mobiles using readily available data packages. We have chosen to teach a group of people how to use mobile technology constructively, and our training reinforces ethical behaviour and explains defamation and the need for respect of all involved. Stories will not be published unless they follow guidelines.

**Consent:** Mojos are taught about the importance of only filming with proper consent.

**Production:** In this context we reaffirm lessons learned during training. We implement these during the shoot phase and fix anything that needs fixing.
during the shoot and then the edit.

**iPhone restrictions:** We can switch on a number of iPhone parental controls before we hand out the IPhones to participants. We can deactivate the following iPhone Apps:

- **Safari Web Browser**—without a browser to surf the web and find content, mojos will not be able to view and download any material from the web.
- **YouTube App**—deactivating this App means participants lose the ability to upload to YouTube but will still be able to upload to our discreet FTP site using our filming and editing Apps’ pre-programmed management and target functions.
- **Installing Apps**—deactivating this function means participants will not be able to install any other browsers or Apps on their iPhone.
- **Face Time**—deactivating this function will not allow mojos to make explicit or prohibited video calls.
- **Accounts**—we will deactivate any ability to alter accounts and games functions on the iPhone.
- **Other App services**—we have the potential to deactivate other App services (internal functions) where Apps allow this to restrict specific content such a M, R or X rated music, video, TV shows.

In short, if need be the [insert project name] team can have control over what our iPhones are used for.

**Moderation:** Participants upload to a private site and we moderate before going live.

**Upload capacity:** Mojo requires participants to have an upload capacity. The exact amount of data is determined during the training and set-up phase to correspond to the number of expected videos. Participants need all their data allowance to upload their project videos and are made aware of this. With the safeguards in place and with the browser, YouTube and Install Apps deactivated, monitoring data will not be necessary. But usage can be monitored daily and will notice large upload usage. All phones have a capped
call and data allowance, and this prevents massive call cost blow-outs. Our monitoring policy warns if a participant is making excessive calls and we will act immediately.

**Termination:** We reserve the right to terminate participants if they abuse the system.

**Qualifications and integrity of project managers:** The [insert name & bios] team has extensive experience teaching citizens how to produce content.

**The production cycle:** Careful planning is the key to creating an environment where participants feel empowered to excel within project parameters while allowing the creative freedom for participants to grow their skills and confidence. The production cycle summary:

- Develop a project proposal based on appropriate ideals and assumptions that is supported by research parameters;
- Choose the right participants;
- Provide on-the-ground mentoring and support;
- Provide effective training via the specific training manual;
- Provide flexible technology that can deliver outcomes within project parameters;
- Establish a set of proven production guidelines that spell out every phase of production;
- Establish protocols to obtain appropriate filming approvals and access;
- Monitor the filming process while providing participants with the creative freedom to deliver according to research parameters;
- Provide on-the-ground support during the production phase;
- Provide a vehicle for publishing the work (website) to inspire participants to continue the work;
- Provide feedback during and after the project;
- Report on the project to assist in the development of future models.
## 9.4 Appendix D—Code set for quantitative histograms and pie charts

This table provides the coding formula for the quantitative data used in this exegesis.

### Table 14 Quantitative data code

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>How To Mojo PhD Data Codes</th>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Num</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Figure 5 Multimedia Use</td>
<td>Q1A Own smartphone</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>14.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>No</td>
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<td>6</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Q5 Used for audio</td>
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<tr>
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<td>2</td>
<td>28.6</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Q7 Used for video</td>
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<td>6</td>
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<tr>
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<td>No</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>14.3</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Q31 Previous training</td>
<td>Yes</td>
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<td>5</td>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
<td>No</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>28.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 7 Relevance of digital video training</td>
<td>Q31 Previous digital Training</td>
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<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Figure 8 Reasons for buying a smart phone</td>
<td>Q3A Functionality</td>
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<td>Figure 9 Functions used on smartphone</td>
<td>Q4A Phone</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Not Listed</td>
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<td>Q4B Text</td>
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<td>Not Listed</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Q4C Email</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Not Listed</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Q4E Music</td>
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<td>22</td>
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<td>Q4F Video</td>
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<td>16</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Q4G Games</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>50.0</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Figure 10 Students use of web and blog sites</td>
<td>Q22 Web</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>23.8</td>
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<td>32</td>
<td>76.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Q26 Blog</td>
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<td>21</td>
<td>48.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td></td>
<td>No</td>
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<td>51.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 11 Mojo evaluation questions</td>
<td>Q57</td>
<td>Mojo Useful</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>2</td>
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<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q58 App Easy to Use</td>
<td>Yes</td>
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<td>46</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Q59 Workshop needed changing</td>
<td>Yes</td>
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<td>59</td>
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<tr>
<td>Q60 Interview Issues</td>
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<tr>
<td>Q61 Hybrid training required</td>
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<td>53</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Figure 12 Mojo Usefulness        | Q57A | More Employable | Listed | 1 | 29 | 42.7 |
|                                   |      | Increased Speed | Listed  | 2 | 10 | 14.7 |
|                                   |      | Improve other skills | Listed  | 3 | 19 | 27.9 |
|                                   |      | Cross professions | Listed  | 4 | 5  | 7.4  |
|                                   |      | Cross curricular  | Listed  | 5 | 2  | 2.9  |
|                                   |      | More Analytical of news | Listed  | 6 | 3  | 4.4  |

| Figure 13 App usefulness         | Q58  | Intuitive | Listed | 1 | 37 | 52.1 |
|                                   |      | Screen too small | Listed  | 2 | 10 | 14.1 |
|                                   |      | No access to gear | Listed  | 3 | 4  | 5.6  |
|                                   |      | Chose Diff system | Listed  | 4 | 9  | 12.7 |
|                                   |      | Need more Time   | Listed  | 5 | 11 | 15.5 |

| Figure 14 How could the workshop be improved | Q57  | No Change | Listed | 1 | 11 | 15.1 |
|                                               |      | Longer Training | Listed  | 2 | 30 | 41.1 |
|                                               |      | More Prep       | Listed  | 3 | 17 | 23.3 |
|                                               |      | More Coverage   | Listed  | 4 | 6  | 8.2  |
|                                               |      | More Interviewees | Listed  | 5 | 3  | 4.1  |
|                                               |      | Different Gear  | Listed  | 6 | 6  | 8.2  |

| Figure 15 Interviewee Issues | Q59  | No Issues | Listed  | 0 | 42 | 58.3 |
|                              |      | Time      | Listed  | 1 | 10 | 13.9 |
|                              |      | Approvals | Listed  | 2 | 10 | 13.9 |
|                              |      | Camera shy | Listed  | 3 | 8  | 11.1 |
|                              |      | Local restrictions | Listed  | 4 | 1  | 1.4  |
|                              |      | Technical issues | Listed  | 5 | 1  | 1.4  |

| Figure 16 When should mojo be introduced into journalism curriculum | Q61  | Forms foundation skills 1st year | Listed  | 1 | 20 | 26.7 |
|                                                               |      | After writing and interview skills | Listed  | 2 | 14 | 18.7 |
|                                                               |      | Develop over 3 years | Listed  | 3 | 13 | 17.3 |
|                                                               |      | Correct Placement | Listed  | 4 | 19 | 25.3 |
|                                                               |      | Develop in 3rd Year | Listed  | 5 | 3  | 4.0  |
|                                                               |      | No Comment | Blank   | 6 | 6  | 8.0  |
9.5 Appendix E: Overview of How To Mojo iBook

This document provides a short summary of the main points discussed in the How To Mojo iBook.

The mobile journalism or mojo discussed in this book is the result of more than 30 years of television production experience across a variety of factual genres. Creating digital multimedia stories is said to be a relatively new form of storytelling, however the insight gained from working for more than 20 years with citizens to help them tell their own extraordinary self-shot stories, has set the foundations for my work in user-generated stories (UGS).

It is said that making digital stories is not like making print stories, and in many respects the multi-planar nature of multimedia suggests this is true. Common to both forms is a storytelling skill that helps the teller make the story dynamic and resonate with as large an audience as possible. Because current mobile technologies create broadcast quality content, they are regarded as legitimate broadcast tools. This Appendix summary of aspects of the How To Mojo iBook provide a brief overview of mojo principles, tools and technique.

9.5.1 So what’s mojo?
In summary, it is a way of thinking and a method of making stories in the field that almost anyone can learn. It is based around smart mobile technologies, which means it is accessible. It requires some multimedia, writing, camera, sound and edit skills, a neo-journalistic approach to skills that is holistic, and one that enables the user to mojo any time, from basically anywhere with communications connectivity. In mojo praxis, UGC fragments converge to create more complete UGS, which evolve into program-making skills to form user-generated programs (UGP) for web TV and other platforms. The following information is based on mobile technology used to create UGS.

9.5.2 The mojo kit
Mojo kits comprise a smart device, an edit App and ancillary gear.
• **Smart device:** UGS can be recorded using many different types of Android and iOS mobile devices (phone, iPods and tablet). I use an iOS device because it runs my preferred edit App. Look for devices with an 8 megapixel or higher camera that record 1920 x 1080 broadcast quality HD video. A microphone input (usually the head-phone jack) is crucial.

  **Tip:** *Both WiFi and 3G/4G connectivity are important. If you can afford it, buy a device that has both functions.*

• **Camera App:** The on-board back camera is usually a higher resolution. For advanced camera work I use the FILMIC Pro 2 (FP2) App which has a 4 x zoom and full control over focus, exposure, white balance and frame rates, and audio metering. The Filmic Pro App costs $5.49AUD.

• **Edit Apps iMovie 2.0 and Voddio:** My test for technology is application. The most professional edit Apps for iOS are iMovie 2.0 and Voddio because they offer two video tracks. Both have audio mix and fade facilities, FX, supers and subtitles, multi-locational send functions and more. iMovie 2.0 offers picture in picture and split screen capabilities (see iBook for full details).

  **Tip:** *Use Filmic Pro 2 to shoot the tricky stuff, export to iMovie or Voddio for the edit and send the finished product to YouTube or back to Camera Roll. If you need to go to an FTP server, but don’t want to sign up to Vericorder, use the FILMIC free FTP transfer function.*

• **Sound:** In broadcast the quality of sound is often the difference between something being televised or not. In the online publishing world it should be treated in the same way. A directional microphone will help catch the relevant sound and exclude peripheral noise. I use a $25 microphone that comes with the mCAMLite cradle. A lapel microphone can cost between $40 and $300AUD. Appropriate splitter cables enable the use of radio microphones, which can cost from $300AUD upwards.

  **Tip:** *The basic rule is record somewhere relatively quiet and place the*
microphone as close to the subject as possible to eliminate background noise.

In summary, it all sounds very technical, but mojo is more about storytelling than technology, and empowering individuals with a voice by linking community with a global communication sphere. Therefore real mojo requires a journalistic and multimedia skill set to enable the functionality of the technology.

9.5.3 Non-prescriptive rules

Telling digital stories is very different to writing print stories, but what Robert McKee (1999) refers to as the story imperative remains fundamental. Some journalism lecturers, or teachers of storytelling, will tell you the big difference is that digital stories don’t use the inverted pyramid, a journalistic style where facts are presented in descending order of importance. This is not necessarily true. I have made countless short video and digital stories and still like to set them up as quickly as possible and have the story unfold after the set up. The inverted pyramid philosophy of providing an important introduction where the 5Ws (who, what, where, when and why) are described, applies even in a one-hour television program. However, unlike print, where story structures suggest the further you drill the less relevant information becomes, multimedia storytelling’s multi-planar forms mean you can’t chop away from the bottom as easily.

Tip: ‘Tell them what you are going to tell them, tell them and then tell them that you told them’, applies also to multimedia stories.

9.5.4 SCRAP—how to develop a strong story

The most common mistake story-tellers make is that they don’t know they have a story when they find one, and as a result their story lacks focus. On the other hand, when they find the focus they often produce the story for too many audiences and in doing so over produce and then risk losing their focus and their story. This vicious cycle can suffocate creative energy.
Stories can come from anywhere. We may hear of a person or an event that may trigger an interest. Whether the idea is about a character or an event, the first step is to understand the story through investigation.

It is my experience that more often than not stories begin at home and with the age-old phrase ‘I know this person who...’ But we quickly realise that even if our story is a profile, we need to focus on one specific story about the person. We need also to make certain that the story is doable. For this I use a test that I have been using throughout my career, I call this SCRAP (Story, Character, Resolution, Actuality and Production).

**Table 15 SCRAP**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>The 5 Ws</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Story</td>
<td>What’s the story?</td>
<td>A clear focus about the purpose is needed. Knowing the story helps identify and form the character(s).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Characters</td>
<td>Who are they?</td>
<td>Often this is the starting point of your story, <em>I know someone who... or have you heard about...?</em> This is how many stories are pitched. It requires the story-teller to go back to the Story step to find focus and determine how many characters, places, events will be required to tell the story. Knowing the characters informs the story and its logistics.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resolution</td>
<td>Knowing the beginning, middle and end is knowing why.</td>
<td>Of course if your story is current it will evolve, unfold and take shape as you cover it. Then: How can I know the resolve? Well, you can’t know it completely, because life is like that. But let’s say we are producing a story on Valentino Rossi’s love of go-kart racing and specifically about his first competition. We begin with his 12 go-karts loaded into a semi-trailer, his cook preparing breakfast. We know there will be training, the heats and the final. We know his competitors, his Moto GP team boss, who hates this. We know the day will end with awards. What we don't know is whether it will be a fair race, or whether Rossi will end up on the</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The 5 Ws Notes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>The 5 Ws</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Podium or in hospital. We can research a structure that provides the form and the scope to plan the day but which leaves room for story development.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Actuality</td>
<td>Where, what, when and who will I film?</td>
<td>Actuality is usually evolving action that you can’t or don’t need to set up. In this case it refers to everything (evolving action, interviews, B roll, graphics, pictures, music) that can be recorded to tell the story.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Production</td>
<td>How will I make the story?</td>
<td>Knowing how the story will (might) play out, who the characters are, where locations are, what needs to be filmed and when, is the basis for the production, or logistics phase of the SCRAP cycle.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

You might now be thinking, *I'm a journalist not a story-teller or writer, what does this have to do with me?*

Robert McKee in his book *Story* says that all writers need to understand the *who, what, when, where and why* of their story, which in journalism sit at the top of the inverted pyramid. It’s just that journalists can do it in one paragraph (often the first) and generally much quicker than many other writers.

### 9.5.5 Story elements

The following is a list of the basic story elements needed in any multimedia story.

- **Piece to camera or stand up**: shot at location they are used to provide information where no vision exists to set the reporter in a location, to compress or expand information.
- **Interviews**: provide immediacy, gravitas, and an expert and/or a personal view of a story. Who you choose to interview affects the balance of your story.
- **Actualy**: provides the story with dynamics, currency and specifics. It also demonstrates that the journalist was on location. Actuality at an accident could be the unfolding events, the police, the fire department, ambulance and or families.
- **Overlay (B Roll)**: you can never have too much of this as it is a key
journalistic element enabling compression and expansion of story points.

- **Narration**: is the glue that binds story elements. Particularly important in a short piece, it is used to facilitate writing in and out of choice actuality or interview grabs, helping provide the meter or story bounce. Narration is used to compress verbose interviews by enabling the marriage of choice interview grabs with dynamic and relevant B roll vision.

- **Coverage**: thinking in sequence and not shots is the key to dynamic coverage.

- **Sound**: is the most crucial of all elements. We are willing to watch a muddy picture but we can’t listen to bad sound.

These key story elements are discussed in more detail in the iBook.

### 9.5.6 Writing mojo and multimedia stories

Telling mojo stories is not necessarily telling multimedia stories, yet it could be. Like multimedia stories, which use vision, audio, text, graphics, links and stills, mojo stories are multi-planar. By this I mean they are constructed across many planes with a variety of content and elements. How we weave elements impacts style, look and feel of the story.

Good multimedia or mojo storytelling relies on strong reporting, which begins with relevant research and journalism skills. It also relies on being able to convey information quickly. Writing for the web is still about good journalism. However journalism now includes text, stills, pictures, audio, links to other information and tools, interviews, graphics and possibly archive. You might want to consider the following:

- What is the first impression a viewer will get? Is your headline big or exciting enough? Will it be a graphic that interests the viewer?

- How quickly or succinctly can you provide the story overview? Will this involve the inverted pyramid?

- What will the body of the story look like? How will you integrate text and
• When did the story happen and can you write it in such a way that makes it current? Have you used active voice where possible?

• Your audience will want links to other information on the topic; how will you provide these? Do you know if the sites you are linking to are reputable?

• Make sure on-camera characters, your interviewees, are the most interesting you can find.

• Make sure you have as much dynamic actuality that helps your story stand out from the others.

• Have you checked all the elements you can, including your spelling? (We all have an Achilles heel.)

**Tip:** Use key words that work globally and provide a unique string to identify your story. Text stories with video get up to 25 per cent more traffic so surround your words with pictures.

There are basically four writing stages for mojo stories:

• *Research brief:* a description of the key elements of a research brief.

• *Structural plan:* this five-point plan includes the beginning, middle and end and a point between each of these. This spells out your intended structure and provides a skeleton against which you can check incoming information.

• *Edit script:* this is a structural script based on the five-point plan.

• *Narration:* the final stage is writing and re-writing the narration pieces.

Once you have carried out these steps you will have all the information required to write a finished script, if you need one. When scripting, or even if you are just editing from your outline, five-point plan, or field notes, you will
need to concern yourself with the way your story unfolds and its meter, or *story bounce*.

*The story bounce:* I developed the *story bounce*, or the style of creating a visual rhythm, in my short-form work when I had to manage the work of numerous producers in four different states working on a nightly TV series. I needed to create a similarity between their work to give each night’s program a similar feel. I decided that their stories needed a *bounce or meter* to them that identified the series. This *rhythm, meter or story bounce* is a timing thing that occurs as a result of the placement of different story elements and their duration on the screen. The story bounce is created, by considering, amongst other things, the audience’s journey through the story. This is achieved by treating the story as a series of unfolding elements (of information and emotion). How this is conveyed (overlay, actuality, interview, narration, PTC), and when (the order of delivery between story elements and structure), will determine the *story bounce*.

**Tip:** You should be thinking about the story bounce when you are covering your story: *What does the audience need to know next and how is this best conveyed? This is done by thinking about the sequence of unfolding events and not just a series of shots. If you do this you will be developing the story bounce well before your edit begins.*

In summary, the story bounce provides a rhythm for delivering answers to a series of questions posed for the audience. In a sense the story bounce defines the *tempo* of the viewer’s journey through the story, what, in journalistic terms, can be described as answering the 5Ws.

### 9.5.7 Useful mojo tips

This list of questions that have been asked during mojo workshops should help plug any gaping holes:

*Research:* Develop stories that are achievable. Remember SCRAP and in particular the ‘P’ production side of the equation.
Tip: The most relevant research will always still happen on the ground—so be prepared to do the hard yards and to change your story on location.

Structure: Develop simple outlines with a clear beginning, middle and end. Your structure may change, but your story spine will keep your story focused.

Tip: Carry a small notepad on which you can outline a five- to seven-point structure.

Characters: If you have a choice of characters choose the most interesting one.

Tip: Remember the ‘S’ and ‘C’ of SCRAP. Ask is the character who led you to your story the best person to tell the story—even in a news report?

Plan: filming can be done very quickly (no crew, no lights, no baggage) but without planning (often on the run) even the simplest shoot can go wrong.

Elements: Multimedia stories are dynamic and therefore you will need a variety of elements:

   Actuality: Dynamic content or treatment that gives your story currency.

Tip: Actuality married with music can save a dull story and make viewers weep in a strong one—in a news-type yarn too.

Interviews: Try editing interviewees a number of times across the story. Use only the best bits, writing in and out and covering cuts with overlay (B roll of what interviewees are speaking about).

Establishers: Always let us know where your story is set. Shoot a sequence of shots that enable you to run a VO.

Tip: Try starting with a couple of dynamic close-ups (CUs) followed by the WS. Use the time on location while you are waiting for an interview.
to shoot establishers, actuality and overlay.

**PTC or stand up**: Always better done on location. As the audience we don’t know where things are and need all the help we can get, especially in a short news-type story. Be careful there is no *dead air* around your PTC—no empty pause before you begin or after you finish. Experiment with walking and talking PTCs—don’t make them all static. Even a couple of steps will make the PTC more dynamic.

**Tip**: *Practice PTCs in your car*. As you pull up at a set of lights look around and make up a quick PTC about what’s going on and or what you see. Deliver it before the lights turn green.

**Overlay (B roll)**: Try to use relevant actuality or action overlay to highlight specifics mentioned by interviewees or highlighted in the reporter’s narration. Overlay will help compress and expand and cover cuts. Remember a face always looks more interesting than a bum.

**Tip**: *The general practice is to record your interview and then immediately record the associated overlay or cover shots before you forget what was said—maybe use that notepad.*

**Narration script**: Make the script succinct. Don’t shy away from the odd superlative, but don’t over sweeten the script. If we are talking about an Olympian gold medalist, tell us early in the piece. Make sure you record this script in a quiet place, as this will give you more options in the mix.

**Tip**: *Writing in and out of pictures is the key to visual news-type storytelling*. Always read the written script and don’t rush the read, as it will sound like you are busting to go to the toilet. Tell us a story.

**Camera**: A mixture of shots will make the piece more dynamic. Try to think and shoot these as a sequence. If you need a CU, shoot a WS shot as well. You don’t need to button off in between shot changes in a short news piece. Sequencing coverage keeps you in the story moment.
Tip: A change of perspective is as good as a second unit.

Editing: Editing is first about story design and then about seamlessly integrating elements. A special training unit is required.

Tip: One of the major pitfalls of non-linear editing is that you try but don’t buy. Sometimes this results in little finished product at the end of the day.

Audio: Make sure you record clean audio. If the location is loud get in close and/or use a shotgun, lapel or radio microphone.

Tip: Keep the monitoring level on the iPhone or iPod set at 50%-66% and mix using headphones.

Style: Some say style before substance. The truth is style and substance provides the winning formula. Think about the pace of your story. It can be both dynamic and slow (yes even a news story can have emotive structure) depending on the mood or the information you are trying to convey. In the die a short UPSOT ‘I hate bloody guns’, before this piece of narration, run over a door closing and holding on, and narrate, ‘... were the last words he spoke before he locked the door. This was the last time Jim’s family saw him alive’.

While high powered technology makes mojo possible, it is more about a storytelling skill set, which distinguishes the citizen journalist who is practising mojo from the citizen witness who happens to be in the right place at the right time. Mojos create user-generated stories (UGS) and, like all strong journalism, UGS have the power to change lives. Given there could literally be billions of mojos on the planet very soon, mojo really has the potential to change the world.
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