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| **ST. JOSEPH’S COLLEGE (AUTONOMOUS), BANGALORE-27** |
| **SEMESTER EXAMINATION: DECEMBER 2022****WRITING AND THE ETHICAL PRACTICE OF JOURNALISM****JN 5119: Advanced Journalism** |
| **Time: 2 ½ hrs Max. Marks- 70****Instruction:**1. **This paper is meant for V semester students of BA-JIP course.**
2. **You are allowed the use of a Dictionary.**
3. **You will lose marks for exceeding the suggested word-limit.**
4. **This paper contains FIVE pages and THREE sections.**
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**I. Read the following passage from the Economist and answer the questions that follow.**

“FOR 20 years we must stop this brain from functioning,” intoned the prosecutor at Antonio Gramsci’s trial in 1926. Benito Mussolini’s nascent fascist regime (at that point only two years in power) had decided that Gramsci, a prolific journalist and high-ranking communist, was a danger to the state. Yet despite the courtroom declaration, Gramsci was allowed to write during his incarceration. The result was the “Prison Notebooks”, a wide-ranging collection of musings that have gone on to have a strikingly diverse and enduring influence. Their story is explored at the [Italian Cultural Institute in London](http://www.icilondon.esteri.it/iic_londra/en/gli_eventi/calendario/i-quaderni-del-carcere-di-antonio.html), which is putting the original notebooks on display for the first time outside of Italy.

Gramsci’s legacy is an unusual one for a Marxist political theorist, in that people of many different political stripes have made use of his writings in the years since his death in 1937. His ideas underpinned one of the largest communist movements outside the Soviet Union: the “Euro-communists” or “Gramscians”, who gained many adherents in the 1970s and 80s. It was, at the time, referred to as a “Gramsci boom”: ideas in the notebooks were taken up by Stuart Hall, a left-wing scholar, and would eventually go on to influence the ascendant political force of New Labour. At the same time, far-right groups in France and Belgium—Nouvelle Droite and Vlaams Blok, respectively—were inspired by Gramsci’s analyses. In the 21st century he has been name-checked by Podemos in Spain, and even by Michael Gove, a British Conservative cabinet minister who said in 2013 that the Italian communist was a major influence on his educational policy.

The most popular notion to emerge from the “Prison Notebooks” was Gramsci’s formulation of the idea of “hegemony”: that political success depends on a consensus of opinion in the cultural, social and economic worlds as well as good governance or successful parliamentary machinations. To give an impression of consensus across these different spheres, as Hall argued Margaret Thatcher had achieved, was key to being able to make lasting changes to society. Hall described Thatcherism as a project to “reshape common sense”, and argued in the late 1970s that left-wingers had to develop a similarly panoptic programme if they were ever to win power.

In one sense it is obvious why various political movements might find the idea of hegemony attractive: for the ambitious it can represent a roadmap to power, and for the thwarted it can provide a logical explanation for a lack of success. Indeed, there is a general sense that the persistence of Gramsci’s writings is partly because they can offer so many things to so many different people. Sometimes written in deliberately ambiguous language to frustrate fascist censors, the notebooks are voluminous and fragmentary. They cover countless topics, from the effects of labour automation in America to the philosophy of Benedetto Croce, the works of Machiavelli and the essential elements of a state education system.

The latter topic, of course, is where Mr. Gove and this Italian Marxist found some agreement. Gramsci, who escaped from grinding poverty in rural Sardinia through stunning success in the early 20th-century schooling system, believed in a rigorous education in the classics. For Mr. Gove, this story of social mobility enabled by traditionalist education was an inspiring parable (that Gramsci’s education had led him to question the very basis of conservative society was beside the point).

The tussle over who can lay claim to Gramsci’s legacy is still very much alive today, as evidenced at the launch of the exhibition in London. Silvio Pons, the president of the Gramsci Foundation in Rome, gave a talk in which he warned against the decontextualized and ahistorical use of Gramsci to score contemporary political points. He was followed by the Italian Ambassador to Britain, Pasquale Terraciano, who energetically argued that Gramsci would have opposed Brexit, eliciting loud applause in the packed room (Mr. Pons, standing behind the ambassador, did not clap).

After both talks, a young Italian man named Alfredo, who described himself as a Marxist-Leninist, fulminated outside that the smartly suited men in the grand Belgravia building were trying, in his opinion, to present Gramsci as “some kind of centrist social democrat”. A grey-bearded man selling the Worker’s Liberty newspaper nodded in quiet agreement. “He was a revolutionary Communist!” Alfredo insisted.

Such vexed questions of ownership and identity are, of course, simply less fruitful and less interesting than the bare facts of the notebooks’ existence. Written in desperately defiant circumstances, as Gramsci’s health sharply deteriorated, they have gone on to have a remarkable effect on global political history. For the general reader, Marxist-Leninist or not, their energy and erudition are evident today.

**I. A. Answer any TWO of the questions in 200 words EACH (2X10=20)**

1.The writer says that, “political success depends on a consensus of opinion in the cultural, social, and economic worlds as well as good governance or successful parliamentary machinations.” What is your understanding of the phrase ‘a consensus of opinion’? Elaborate with examples.

2.The writer says, “In one sense it is obvious why various political movements might find the idea of hegemony attractive…” Why do you think the idea of hegemony is attractive to political movements?

3.The writer quotes, Gove “this story of social mobility enabled by traditionalist education was an inspiring parable”. Based on the passage above, do you think Gramsci’s writing can be seen as this ‘traditionalist education’?

**II. Read the following article published on the 11th of June, 2019 in the Conversation Australia written by Michael J. Socolow and answer the questions that follow.**

Sometimes the best journalism tells us the worst news.

The United States has a tradition of learning troubling news through extraordinary reporting efforts from combat zones. During the Vietnam War, award-winning journalism revealed the slaughter of Vietnamese civilians by American soldiers at My Lai. More recently, reports describing the [torture and abuse of prisoners at Abu Ghraib in Iraq](https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2004/05/10/torture-at-abu-ghraib) embarrassed the U.S. government.

Such investigative reporting ultimately helped American citizens hold accountable those charged with acting in their name. But that did not mean the news was welcome, or even appreciated, at the time.

It’s important to recall these examples in light of [the raid by the Australian Federal Police](https://www.abc.net.au/news/2019-06-05/abc-raided-by-australian-federal-police-afghan-files-stories/11181162) at the headquarters of the Australian Broadcasting Corporation on June 5. Comparing the way these two western democracies protect – and undermine – investigative reporting raises important questions about journalism’s role in democracy.

**Journalists and their sources**

The Australian police acted in response to a series of online and broadcast news stories, called “The Afghan Files,” that originally appeared in 2017 and 2018. The reports [alleged atrocities were committed in Afghanistan](https://www.abc.net.au/radio/programs/am/afp-raids-the-latest-chapter-in-afghan-files-war-crimes-saga/11184362) by Australian soldiers.

The [police obtained a warrant](https://www.abc.net.au/news/2019-06-05/abc-raided-by-australian-federal-police-afghan-files-stories/11181162) to search the premises and computers of the Australian Broadcasting Corporation in order to uncover – and possibly indict and prosecute – the sources informing the story. The leaking of such embarrassing secret information likely violated Australian law, leaving both the leaker and the Australian

 Broadcasting Corporation vulnerable. The Australian police’s broad warrant allowed the police to spend hours copying “data holdings” including hard drive files, emails, and other documents, and they left the network’s headquarters in possession of USBs filled with electronic files related to the Afghanistan stories.

Australian Broadcasting’s lawyers [secured a two-week period](https://www.abc.net.au/news/2019-06-06/abc-raids-what-they-tell-us-about-press-freedom/11187364) in which to carefully review the documents seized by police. But Australian journalists lack both the constitutional protections and the established body of case law that often [allow American journalists to protect their sources](https://www.cjr.org/united_states_project/journalists_privilege_shield_law_primer.php).

**Power from profitability is no more**

The destruction of the [advertising profits that funded ethical and professional journalism](https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/forty-years-after-watergate-investigative-journalism-is-at-risk/2012/06/07/gJQArTzlLV_story.html?utm_term=.7c440687c5a4) has [made journalistic outlets less enthusiastic about](http://www.hup.harvard.edu/catalog.php?isbn=9780674545502) [supporting bold and difficult reporting.](https://reason.com/2017/02/22/where-did-all-the-investigativ/) There are fewer reporters to carry out this painstaking and time-consuming reporting, and the financial peril faced by many news organizations has left them much more vulnerable to attack.

Journalism is now in a transitional state. The kind of power that outlets like CBS News and The Washington Post possessed in the Watergate era [was based in the enormous commercial profitability](https://www.niemanlab.org/2018/05/why-the-golden-age-of-newspapers-was-the-exception-not-the-rule/) that effectively insulated investigative journalism.

Controversial reportage – no matter how accurate and verified – is now regularly derided as “[fake news.](https://www.vox.com/policy-and-politics/2018/5/9/17335306/trump-tweet-twitter-latest-fake-news-credentials)” [Support for journalism is eroding](https://rsf.org/en/rsf-index-2018-hatred-journalism-threatens-democracies) even in Western democracies, according to journalism advocates Reporters Without Borders.

**Police warrants mean intimidation**

The Australian police raid wasn’t the only one aimed at journalists in recent weeks. On May 24, San Francisco’s chief of police [was forced to apologize](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/05/25/us/san-francisco-police-chief.html) for raiding a journalist’s home two weeks earlier. Aside from violating the Constitution, the San Francisco police department may have broken California’s [journalistic shield law](https://www.sfchronicle.com/bayarea/article/California-journalists-shield-law-one-of-the-13846045.php). That law was designed to protect the ability of journalists to keep sources confidential.

But in Australia, shortly before the Australian Broadcasting Corporation raid, authorities searched [a newspaper journalist’s home in the nation’s capital](https://www.bbc.com/news/world-australia-48511217) looking to discover her source for a report about a secret government surveillance plan. Though the press howled in outrage, the raid was legal.

In the United States, the closest parallel to the Australian Broadcasting Corporation search occurred in 1971, in response to the CBS Reports documentary [“The Selling of the Pentagon.”](https://interviews.televisionacademy.com/shows/cbs-reports-the-selling-of-the-pentagon)

That program revealed how taxpayer funding underwrote domestic propaganda to convince Americans to support the military during the controversial Vietnam War. “The Selling of the Pentagon” made allegations of impropriety and illegality. Public controversy erupted immediately. At least two government representatives claimed the film had been manipulated to alter the substance of their remarks, resulting in a congressional subcommittee demanding to see CBS News’ draft scripts and film outtakes.

Frank Stanton, the president of CBS, rejected the subpoena, arguing that all reporting materials were protected by the First Amendment. After announcing [he was prepared to go to jail to protect CBS journalism](https://books.google.com/books/about/Fighting_for_the_First_Amendment.html?id=Fv9kAAAAMAAJ&source=kp_book_description), the public rallied in favour of the network and the House committee voted to stand down.

Former CBS President Frank Stanton discusses “The Selling of the Pentagon” and defying a government subpoena for reporters’ notes.

**Public support for journalistic liberty**

Stanton’s ability to challenge Congress occurred because he had the backing of his corporate board. And his defiance was empowered by public support for journalistic liberty.

By the time “The Selling of the Pentagon” aired on CBS, the [American public had turned against the Vietnam War and viewed the Pentagon with suspicion](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/01/07/opinion/sunday/vietnam-the-war-that-killed-trust.html). Attacking CBS News backfired on Congress and the Pentagon, as the charges made in “The Selling of the Pentagon” were given new life by continuing press coverage.

The same thing [seems to be occurring](https://twitter.com/abc730/status/1136128785504321536) with the heavy-handed tactics employed by the Australian police now.

Australians are, courtesy of the police, being reminded of the original ABC reporting. It’s become so embarrassing to the government that Prime Minister Morrison – after stating he’s [“never troubled” by police who are upholding the law](https://indaily.com.au/news/2019/06/06/government-not-to-blame-for-media-raids-morrison/) – has now said that his government “[is absolutely committed to freedom of the press](https://indaily.com.au/news/2019/06/06/government-not-to-blame-for-media-raids-morrison/).”

In my opinion, Morrison’s reversal is simple: He’s sensed public opinion turning against his administration’s anti-press tactics.

**The chilling effect**

Whether it was “The Selling of the Pentagon” or the “Afghan Files,” [these intimidation tactics](https://theconversation.com/state-intimidation-of-journalists-leaves-media-freedom-in-jeopardy-25282) are never primarily concerned with the reporting at hand. In both cases, the stories were already public. Any damage they caused had already been absorbed by the time the governments sought remedy.

The real purpose of these legal actions is to [discourage new independent reporting in the public interest](https://rsf.org/en/2019-world-press-freedom-index-cycle-fear).

Courageous journalism is critical to democracy, and [its role in checking the power of state authority is essential](https://www.cambridge.org/core/books/driving-democracy/92B639505D8D6B1D0CD46FF055DA0257#fndtn-information). So, these moves against future investigative stories are actually attacks by the state on democratic governance and the authority of the citizenry.

If law enforcement in the U.S. or Australia can lodge doubts and instill fear in the minds of journalists and their sources, or if they can get news organizations to shy away from controversial stories, then these raids will have served their purpose – even if no follow-up charges result.

It’s called the “[chilling effect,”](https://heinonline.org/HOL/LandingPage?handle=hein.journals/bulr58&div=39&id=&page=&t=1560125235) and its success can only be measured in the negative, when stories *aren’t* reported.

That hesitation and uncertainty in the mind of every journalist and confidential source represents the real damage to democracy. But it’s something that will receive far less publicity than any police raid.

**II.A. Answer ANY TWO of the following questions in 150 words EACH (2x10=20)**

4. The writer says, “Controversial reportage – no matter how accurate and verified – is now regularly derided as “[fake news.](https://www.vox.com/policy-and-politics/2018/5/9/17335306/trump-tweet-twitter-latest-fake-news-credentials)” Is this accurate? Elaborate with examples drawing from your reading of current investigative journalism stories.

5. The writer says “Journalism is now in a transitional state.” The writer suggests that with diminishing profits, funding for professional ethical journalism is also dwindling” is this a fair assumption? Substantiate.

6. . The writer says, “ The destruction of the advertising profits that funded ethical and professional journalism has made journalistic outlets less enthusiastic about supporting bold and difficult reporting.” What is your understanding of this statement? Elaborate.

**II.B Answer ONE of the following questions. (20 Marks)**

 7. The writer suggests that public interest in investigative journalism can support journalistic liberty. Is there a lack of public interest in investigative journalism today? Draw from current investigative journalism stories to support your argument.

8. What does the writer call the “chilling effect”? Do you see evidence of a “chilling effect” in India today?

**III. Answer any ONE of the following questions.** (**10 Marks)**

9. Write a short pitch asking for funding to launch a magazine that covers local news. What are the local stories would you cover? Explain in your pitch, why this news space needs to exist and why you deserve funding for the same.

10.Have you ever cut out stories from a newspaper/newsmagazine? What gets archived in collecting and saving stories?