Print journalism and the creative process: The social organisation of journalism and its influence on print journalists' creative practices

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Abstract

There has been little emphasis in journalism research on the creativity of the individual journalist. Investigating how journalists produce fresh news items every working day by examining the social and cultural forces that influence them could give a different perspective to the daily tasks a journalist engages in. This paper explores how the social structure of print journalism, what creativity research Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi calls the field, influences creativity in journalism as well as journalists' interaction with the field and what effect this interaction has on journalists' creative practices.

The paper is generated from the results of a PhD research project that is investigating the creative practices of print journalists in Australia. The project is using Csikszentmihalyi's creativity theory, the systems model, as the principal theory to examine how cultural, social and individual influences affect how print journalists produce, or create, their work. Csikszentmihalyi suggests that creativity can be found in the confluence of three elements: a structured body of knowledge (domain), a social system that understands the domain (field) and an individual. These three elements make up his systems model of creativity and each are equally important for creativity to occur.

Data analysis of semi-structured interviews conducted with journalists and editors has indicated that, as per Csikszentmihalyi's contention, the field is a crucial element in the production of creative media texts.

Introduction

A print journalist's interaction with the cultural and social structures of journalism is crucial in how they produce, or create, their texts. This paper is focusing on how the social structures—what creativity researcher Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi calls the *field*[1]— affects creativity in print journalism and how journalists interact with the field to write their article. Csikszentmihalyi argues that to produce a creative text, an individual learns and draws from a structured body of knowledge he calls the *domain* (the cultural structure). The individual produces a variation and presents it to the field, a social

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[1] Please note that in the systems model, the *field* is not the typical understanding, which, according to the dictionary is, "an area or sphere of action, operation, or investigation" (Oxford University Press, 2007), nor is it related to field theory. Csikszentmihalyi uses *field* very specifically to describe the social structure of a domain.

system that understands the domain, for verification that the variation is novel, or creative. The domain, individual and field are elements in Csikszentmihalyi's systems model of creativity (1988; 1990; 1997; 2003; Feldman et al. 1994) and each is equally important to creative production.

Creativity, in this sense, is not the Romantic view where a creative product is produced by a lone genius, who is slightly mad and produces Art without structures or constraints, but draws on a Rationalist approach that argues an individual is one part of a dynamic system of social, cultural and individual influences. Csikszentmihalyi's systems model is a Rationalist theory and is an example of confluence theories of creativity, an approach that suggests a multiple of elements must be present for creativity to occur.

Although journalism research has examined newsroom production (see for example Gans, 1980; Tuchman, 1978; Fishman, 1980), there is surprisingly little emphasis given to journalists' creativity and how this is affected by the social and cultural forces journalists work within to produce fresh articles every day. Gardner et al. contend the media has an enormous influence:

> It is not quite true that the media have replaced real life; but they have become a predominant determiner of what people attend to, how they interpret it, and how they experience it. (2001, p. 125)

Considering journalists are part of the media—i.e. part of how we get our messages—the relationship between a journalist's creativity and the social and cultural forces would appear to be a rationale for investigating creativity in journalism. Furthermore, by applying outcomes from the creativity research domain to print journalism, valuable insight about the creative processes of journalists may be forthcoming. That insight could give a slightly different perspective to the daily tasks a journalist engages in and contribute to greater knowledge of professional practices for working journalists.

This paper is drawn from one part of a larger project and explores how a journalist interacts with the social structure, or the field in Csikszentmihalyi's terms, and how the field contributes to the creativity of journalists. After conducting interviews with members of the print journalism field, data analysis confirms that, as per Csikszentmihalyi's contention, the field is as important in the creative production of a piece of print journalism as the domain and the individual. The field is intrinsically linked to how a journalist (as the individual in the systems model) and the domain (the knowledge system of print journalism) contribute to the production of the work.

Background to the study

The research is an ongoing PhD project applying Csikszentmihalyi's creativity research model, the systems model, to the print journalism domain to examine how social, cultural and individual influences affect how print journalists in Australia produce, or create, their work. The research is using an ethnographic methodology with semi-structured interviews, participant observation, and document and artefact analysis as the methods of choice with content analysis of four publications as a further method. Up to this point, 36 interviews have been conducted with members of the journalism field: editors and managers, sub-editors, freelance and staff journalists, cadets and a student journalist. Out of the 14 interviewees from management positions, 12 had worked as journalists and answered questions both as management and practitioners. The sample includes 17 females and 19 males ranging in age from 20 to 26 and they work at a

variety of publications, both newspaper and magazine. Newspapers include national, metropolitan, regional, suburban and rural publications from News Limited, Fairfax, APN News and Media, Rural Press (as it was then known), Fairfax Community Newspapers and independent publishers. Interviewees also work for different styles of magazines and these include weekly, fortnightly, monthly, quarterly, niche and mass market publications from a number of Australian publishers.

It is important to keep in mind that the data for the following analysis is from interviews and document and artefact analysis only since, at the time of writing this paper, participant observation was still ongoing. The participant observation component of the research will include three newsrooms: a metropolitan weekly paper, a regional tri-weekly paper and a regional weekly paper. It is crucial that this ongoing observation of newsrooms is added to the results in the final thesis as participant observation "directly records what people do, as distinct from what they say they do" (Denscombe, 2004, p. 199) and provides another way to validate the data collected in the interviews. However, early indications from newsroom observation are confirming the following analysis.

Csikszentmihalyi's systems model of creativity

Csikszentmihalyi (2003) argues that creativity has traditionally been viewed as a primarily mental process with the individual as the central element and that this position is an injustice to the complexity of creativity. It needs to be examined within cultural and social milieus as well. He claims there must be an existing culture, with traditions and conventions in place for the individual to refer to, before a difference can be produced and that creativity is inherently social. In other words, how do we know something is creative if we have nothing to compare it with and how do we know it is creative if it is not presented to a social group to be verified? McIntyre (2006) proposes the following definition of creativity that takes this into account:

> [C]reativity is an activity whereby products, processes and ideas are generated from antecedent conditions by the agency of someone whose knowledge to do so comes from somewhere and the resultant novel variation is seen as a valued addition to the store of human knowledge.

Therefore, Csikszentmihalyi proposes that creativity can be found within a system of three elements—a domain, an individual and a field—with all three elements in this structure equally important in producing creativity. Csikszentmihalyi describes the systems model as

> a dynamic model, with creativity the result of the interaction between three subsystems: a domain, a person, and a field. Each subsystem performs a specific function. The domain transmits information to the person, the person produces a variation, which may or may not be selected by the field, and the field in turn will pass the selected variation to the domain (1990, p. 200).
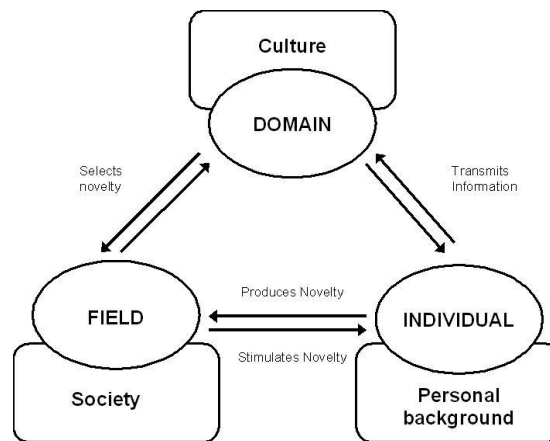
Figure 1   Csikszentmihalyi's systems model of creativity (2003, p. 315)

The germination for a creative act can come from any of the three (Csikszentmihalyi, 1997):

- the domain—a domain eventually gets to a point where there needs to be a change and the creative individual senses the tension and acts upon it;
- the individual—using the creative person's own experiences; and
- the field—where the individual is influenced by members of the field or the field requests a solution.

Csikszentmihalyi contends that for an individual to be able to produce a creative product, they must learn the rules and procedures of the domain but also the preferences of the field. In other words, what the field will find novel and acceptable.

It is crucial to note that this paper is one part of a larger project and in no way implies that the field is more important in a journalist's creative practices than either the domain or the individual. Other papers produced from the larger project have dealt with the individual (Fulton & McIntyre, 2009), the individual's interplay with the organisation worked for (Fulton, 2009) and the individual's reaction to technology as part of an evolving domain (Fulton, 2008).

The field

The field is the social structure of the domain and has also been called the "gatekeepers" (Abuhamdeh & Csikszentmihalyi, 2004; Csikszentmihalyi, 1988; 1990; 1995; 1997; 2003; Webb et al., 2002) or the "intermediaries" (Sawyer, 2006; Stein, 1963) to the domain and it is their role to separate valuable contributions from the eccentric. In print journalism the field consists of, for example, editors, deputy editors, chiefs-of-staff, other journalists, sub-editors, the audience and media owners. To summarise, the field is all the people who make the decision as to what new product, process or idea is to be included in the domain.

According to Csikszentmihalyi, there are three ways the field can influence the incidence of creativity: is the field reactive or proactive; is there a narrow or broad filter to select a creative product; and how connected is the field to the rest of society (1997, pp. 43-44)? Illustrations for each of these three points can be found within journalism's literature.

Firstly, Csikszentmihalyi contends, "[a] reactive field does not solicit or stimulate novelty, while a proactive field does" (1997, p. 43). Journalism provides news, a word based on "new", and therefore it can be argued that the field of journalism solicits novelty. Further to this is the notion of "the scoop", where a publication breaks a story before its competition does. Journalists are actively encouraged to break news (Allan, 2005), particularly because news is a commercial enterprise.

> For a profit-hungry, commercially focused, globally targeted news media, speed and exclusivity are hugely important. (McNair, 2005, p. 158)

The above quote highlights the importance of the scoop; however, the commercial nature of the news industry, and the constant need for new stories, can also lead to shoddy work practices. Gardner et al. list a number of ways the news industry can fall short of expected standards because of the constant need for "the new":

> . . . telling stories from the perspective of the newspaper's owner, reporting premature "scoops" that turn out to be mere gossip, attracting readers' attention with sensational headlines and exaggerated accounts of trivial events, mixing facts and opinion, advertising products in the context of a news story, and refusing to cover stories that could make influential sectors of the public uncomfortable. (2001, p. 160)

Secondly, creativity can be affected by whether the filter the field uses to determine novelty is broad or narrow. Csikszentmihalyi (1997) argues that too narrow a filter can starve a domain of novelty by not allowing enough new ideas, which therefore leads to stagnation, but too broad a filter is just as dangerous: "When a field is too open and accepts every novelty indiscriminately, the domain risks losing its credibility" (Csikszentmihalyi, 2003, p. 326). A current concern in print journalism is about the future of journalism with the Internet and social media seen as a threat to practice (Media, Entertainment and Arts Alliance, 2008). News bloggers, for example, are seen as a danger. The nature of the blog—it is easy to set up, it does not need to apply journalistic standards and blogs can circumvent the traditional media "gatekeeper" role (Davis, 2008)—means anyone with the available technology can publish. As Jay Rosen says: "Freedom of the press belongs to those who own one, and blogging means anyone can own one" (2005, p. 927). This is an example of too broad a filter; if the members of the field accept news bloggers without fully considering the "set of symbolic rules and procedures" (Csikszentmihalyi 1997, p. 27), journalism as a credible domain would be threatened. However, on saying this, Csikszentmihalyi also notes that "some of the most creative breakthroughs occur when an idea that works well in one domain gets grafted to another and revitalises it" (1997, p. 88), and this could happen with journalism and blogging. Alternatively, news blogging could well become its own domain and this possibility is discussed by Gardner et al.: "When enough specialised knowledge has been codified for smooth transmission to new practitioners, we call the resulting symbolic system a *domain*" (2001, p. 22).

Finally, how connected the field is to the rest of society can affect the incidence of creativity. Print journalism is a key component of the cultural industries, which play an important role in our understanding of the world (Hachten, 2005; Harcup, 2004; Hesmondhalgh, 2002; 2006; Machin & Niblock, 2006; Meadows, 1998; 2001; Negus & Pickering, 2004; O'Shaughnessy, 1999; Schultz, 1994a; Sheridan Burns, 2002; Tapsall & Varley, 2001). Therefore it can be argued that, for the time being, the field of print journalism is well-connected. Csikszentmihalyi (1997) claims that a well-connected field can attract resources to the domain, and this includes economic support as well as the ability to attract new practitioners, both of which are necessary for creative

production. However, this "connectedness" could change and the debate raging in the industry at the moment between traditional print media and the use of social media as well as the economic difficulties experienced by many news publications may mean print journalism becomes less relevant. Referring back to the second point, how the field reacts to this threat will determine the future of the print journalism domain.

Keith Sawyer (2006) also discusses the field's influence on creativity and contends there are more likely to be creative outcomes in a field that has structured training procedures in place, systems to identify creative young people, experienced practitioners to pass on the domain's knowledge systems, both formally and informally, and opportunities and challenges for new practitioners. Analysis of the interview data to date has shown that each of Sawyer's criteria can be found within the print journalism domain.

Journalists and the field

As part of the interview process, respondents were specifically asked about their interaction with the field with questions asking them about several areas: the importance of work colleagues; mentoring; interaction with management; and training. However, throughout the interviews, the field and its effect, both positive and negative, was frequently referred to and this provides support for the argument that each element "affects the others and is affected by them in turn" (Csikszentmihalyi, 1988, p. 329). The field is important throughout the production process and analysis of the interviews indicated how strongly the field influences journalists. But this should not necessarily be seen as a negative. The structure the field provides can actually enable the journalist's creative process. As Giddens (1984) and Wolff (1993) both argued, rather than constraining, these structures should be looked on as enabling factors: they can provide the impetus and support a print journalist needs to produce a creative text.

The journalists in this study noted a number of ways they interacted with the field and how the field supported their writing. The field is a source for stories, other journalists are used to bounce ideas off, senior members of the field are mentors and teachers, management provides training courses, there is an awards system and, of course, a journalist's work is edited before publication. This section of the paper discusses the journalists' perceptions of the field and also includes those from management with journalistic experience.

The following observations are not a complete list of everything a journalist needs to know about how the field works. They are examples of the general theme that a journalist must learn the "criteria of selection, the preferences of the field" (Csikszentmihalyi, 1997, p. 47) and while the comments by the journalists may not be surprising of themselves, when combined with Csikszentmihalyi's systems model, the conclusions open up a useful way of examining the day-to-day practices of journalists. Knowledge of the field—how the field works and what the field wants—can only lead to a more efficient production process. As Sawyer states:

> The most successful creative people are very good at introducing their ideas to the field. They know who the key people are, and they know how the selection process works. (Sawyer, 2006, p. 309)

Furthermore, in journalism education, teaching students how important the field is, along with the other important elements in journalism education such as learning how

to write, learning interviewing skills, learning legal and ethical obligations, etc. will enhance their work practices as well.

Ideas for articles

Csikszentmihalyi's (1997) contention that the field is as likely to provide the stimulus for a creative product as both the domain and the individual is supported within the data analysis. When asked, "Where do you get ideas for articles?", the respondents listed several sources: media releases, wire services, talking to friends, other media, "beats" such as the court, the Council and police, scheduled events, cultivating contacts, and what's going on in society. As one journalist said, "I guess if you're a good journalist you're never completely off-duty so you always have an antenna out there" (J18, personal communication, 2008). However, the journalists also revealed how the field generated story ideas—for example, editors or chiefs of staff, the audience and other journalists.

Respondents noted that publications conduct regular, formal news conferences with the senior staff and journalists where story ideas are produced and either encouraged or dismissed.

> [Publication name deleted] has all journalists in a one hour, not one hour, forty-five minute conference, every [day deleted] morning where we throw up three ideas and the editors then go away and decide which ideas they like. (J4, personal communication, 2007)

Further to this, idea generation between the field and the individual is happening on an informal basis as well. As one editor explained:

> . . . we're always talking about things we've seen coming to work, on the news broadcast or the ABC news of a morning or when we're walking around town. We don't formalise it but it's happening all the time. (E9, personal communication, 2008)

However, both magazine and newspaper editors also request that journalists do stories, although not always, seemingly in the public's best interest.

> . . . sometimes they get a bee in their bonnet about ATMs and carjacking. I had to do a feature on that because the editor had his car jacked. (J20, personal communication, 2008)

The audience, as members of the field, also contributes to the idea generation process. A number of respondents, particularly at the rural publications, discussed how they received phone calls, emails and drop-ins from the public. At the metropolitan newspapers, story ideas are also generated from the public, although sometimes in a more technological way.

> [The Daily Telegraph] wrote a story last week, the police reported it about a suburb in Sydney that had decided to set up vigilante groups because the police were ineffective and [they] got so many responses on the Internet that they wrote a second story about those responses. (J2, personal communication, 2007)

Additionally, story ideas come from other journalists:

> . . . you have your rounds so if you come across health stories or environment stories, which bore me to tears for some reason, I don't know why, so if I come across a bit of a scoop I happily pass them along. So you do help each other in that regard. (J4, personal communication, 2007)

The above examples indicate that, although the individual may generate article ideas, the field is also a crucial element in story generation.

Interaction with other journalists

The majority of journalists interviewed found interaction with other journalists to be helpful in their creative process, although the level of this varied between the respondents, depending on where they worked and their individual outlook, personality and experience. Colleagues are used to bounce ideas off, to brainstorm and confirm that what they are writing is appropriate.

> I really bounce ideas off my colleagues. People who sit next to me probably get driven nuts because I'm constantly saying, "do you like this lead or that lead". (J3, personal communication, 2007)

Journalists also noted how colleagues influenced the way they work. Journalists are socialised into their workplace and learn what is required of them by watching how their colleagues work. Breed's study into social control in newsrooms detailed how a publication's policy was learned "by osmosis" (1955, p. 328) by new staff. There were indications within this data that journalists learn from their colleagues.

> I think I owe the way I've developed to quite a number of people in terms of what they've been able to teach me, whether consciously or subconsciously; by seeing the way they've actually gone about assembling a story and then what they've written. It's been a great help in determining the rules, and determining how you can break them once you know what they are. (E8, personal communication, 2007)

On a final note, the respondents in this study are all avid consumers of other media and other journalists' work, particularly newspapers, and this is encouraged in the workplace. In fact, one journalist noted the following:

> Journalists are so widely read . . . you know it's one of the few occupations in the world where you can have your feet up on your desk with the newspaper and have your editor walk past and say "well, he's flat out". (J4, personal communication, 2007)

Interaction with management

It is not only in story generation that journalists interact with management. At the smaller newspapers, the editor is often the sub-editor as well and respondents commented that it is from the editor that they learnt how to write.

> My first editor was good but once Fairfax bought the paper, the editor I worked with then, she was just fantastic. Amazing. Taught me a lot . . . she was very good at giving you feedback and giving it to you in a way that made you go, "Oh yeah" and make you really want to do better. (E11, personal communication, 2008)

However, it must be mentioned that not all interaction with management is positive. A number of respondents noted that early attempts at journalism, and how they learnt to write as journalists, included editors with a more abrasive style of teaching.

> . . . when I was at [publication name deleted] we had an editor who used to yell, didn't happen that often, but he'd go through stages where he'd yell at different people and he'd pick up on little things. We all make little mistakes, like spelling mistakes or something like that, but he'd yell and call you a fucking idiot or slam the phone down or be just absolutely hideous to you. (J3, personal communication, 2007)

A further negative interaction with management is that journalists noted how the publication they worked at directed their work, either consciously or unconsciously. This, again, is in line with Breed's (1955) contention that a journalist learns what is expected and acts accordingly.

> I'm fortunate in that I do crime and straight news, which are relatively apolitical, particularly on [publication name deleted], compared to something like the environment, which has a very strong political alignment. So the environment writer here very often has strict instructions on how to do something, what to do and often has his story rewritten to fit certain principles that guide the paper editorially. (J2, personal communication, 2007)

Although journalists act within management's expectations, this is not to suggest that these structures are totally deterministic. It is important to remember that within these structures a journalist has agency and can use these expectations to enable their action and generate work that is both novel and appropriate, thus producing a creative text.

Mentoring

Sawyer (2006) notes that one of the ways the field can support creative endeavours in a field is through mentoring. In line with this, Mandy Oakham (2004) found cadet journalists placed high importance on the interaction with mentors and senior journalists and, while none of the respondents in this study discussed a formal mentoring program within their workplace, the majority had informal mentoring relationships with older journalists, editors and trainers.

> My first ever editor at [publication name deleted] was a great mentor and a really beautiful writer himself and was the person who gave me the sense that I could be a journalist. (J17, personal communication, 2008)

Formal training

The field also provides on-the-job training to teach journalists. Rural Press[2] was discussed as one organisation that did this:

> . . . we get training about three times a year; he'll [the respondent's editorial trainer] come down with us and go through individually what we need to know. (J4, personal communication, 2007)

News Limited and Fairfax also provide courses to update their journalists' skills "ranging from Media Law to Management training" (J6, personal communication, 2007). Academic and "mojo" expert Stephen Quinn, for example, is teaching newspaper journalists about social media and how to use tools such as Twitter, RSS feeds, blogs and Google tools in their practise (Quinn 2009).

Further to this is the cadet system. Although not as extensive as it once was[3], this is still an avenue journalists can take. Rural Press, for example, hires university graduates as third-year cadets and provides a week-long orientation and training seminar to instruct cadets on how to work under the Rural Press banner. This includes training in media law, photography, shorthand, layout and sub-editing, and writing articles (J9, personal communication, 2007).

In regards to university education, Amy Forbes (2009) notes how a key feature in Australian journalism schools is that graduates need to demonstrate their knowledge of journalism but they must also be workplace ready. Forbes contends that, although many

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[2] Please note that the interviews done with Rural Press journalists and editors were before the takeover by Fairfax.

[3] Barbara Alysen's (2005) study into entry level employment in journalism found that News Limited Sydney, which includes *The Australian, The Telegraph, Sunday Telegraph, MX* and *The Sportsman*, appointed ten cadets in 2001 and one cadet in 2005.

employers look favourably on degrees, students need to have backed this up with newsroom experience and this can be achieved through internships and work placement during formal education. One respondent in this study is a student who had done an internship with a magazine. This is a way the field can encourage young people into the profession. As Sawyer noted: "A field is more likely to experience creativity if it has systems in place where potentially young people can be identified and selected by older members of the field" (2006, p. 308).

Awards

The Australian Walkley awards are probably the best known journalism awards in Australia and provide a peer-voted process to reward Australia's best journalism. However, apart from the Walkleys, other awards include the Excellence in Education Journalism award, Northern NSW Journalism Awards (the PRODIs), the JEA Ossie Awards for Student Journalism and the Melbourne Press Club's Quill Awards. These are all examples of the way the field encourages journalists. One respondent discussed how his employer, News Limited, have their own in-house awards (News Awards) and how this encourages the journalists in their work.

> We have an in-house award system. We have a yearly prize, as well as the external prizes like the Walkley Awards, we have an internal News Limited system . . . People get overseas postings and all sorts of things. (J5, personal communication, 2007)

Editing

It is in the editing process that journalists have a large amount of interaction with the field. It is a sub-editor, or an editor at smaller publications, who checks a journalist's copy and corrects mistakes, checks the story is appropriately written for the publication, cuts out unnecessary information, and reduces or reorganises the story if necessary. The majority of journalists interviewed, contrary to common opinion, depend highly on the sub-editor.

> Sometimes too you can get caught up in a story and you know every detail about it. You've spent days and weeks working on it and you care about it and you've gotten so involved in it that you actually overlook the screamingly obvious and so it's the sub-editor who picks up that story for the first time cold, the same way a reader does, and so that set of eyes is sometimes a whole lot less emotionally involved and a whole lot less tied up with the nuances and is actually almost in a better position to run a big red line through parts of it and say, "Don't care, don't care, don't care. That's in the wrong order. That's the wrong way. This isn't as good as it could be" because they're coming to it the same way a reader does. Without any of the background, without any of the baggage or any of those factors which influence how you wrote it. (J6, personal communication, 2007)

It is the collaboration between the field and individual that these journalists believe assists them in their creative production. As one freelancer said: "This is life in newspapers. If you don't want your work altered, become a sub-editor. I don't mind, they make my work look even better" (J11, personal communication, 2007). Interestingly, several respondents noted that experienced journalists expect to be edited and it is novice journalists or contributors who can find it difficult to accept.

> I always say, when I hand something to my contributing editor, "Make it good!" . . . it's normally people who are lay-writers or people who are studying a Communication degree or someone who's never published before that you get [complaints] from whereas journalists

expect editing and in fact would be quite astounded if you let one of their spelling errors get through. (E7, personal communication, 2007)

It is interesting to note that one of the reasons journalism is not seen as a creative profession is because of the editing process. One of the creativity myths is that a creative person produces their work with no support or input from others. This has been disputed by a number of creativity researchers (Bailin, 1988; Boden, 2004; Negus & Pickering, 2004; Wolff, 1993), including Sawyer (2006) who argues that even poetry, a form of writing considered to be highly creative, is dependent on input and editing from a social structure.

Interestingly, a research project using Csikszentmihalyi's systems model to examine Australian fiction writers found similar results in relation to how important the field is in that domain (McIntyre & McIntyre, 2007; Paton, 2008). Fiction writing has the Romantic image of solitary creation and Sawyer notes that writing would seem to be a domain that is isolated from social influences (2006, p. 206). However, Paton's work noted the importance of agents, editors, critics, the media, the audience and other writers and how these members of the field of fiction writing shape and support a writer's work in a similar fashion to the field in journalism.

Conclusion

Contrary to popular myths of the individual as the centre of creativity, this research is so far supporting the hypothesis that social and cultural influences are significant in the production of creative texts. Although the field is one element in Csikszentmihalyi's systems model, its influence on how creativity is produced is highly important. Furthermore, analysis of the data collected so far in this study has demonstrated that the individual's interaction with the field is a vital component in creativity. A journalist, as the individual in the systems model, learns the preferences of the field but is also supported by the structures of the field and this enables the production of creative texts. Learning these preferences and structures will help a journalist to be more efficient in their work processes. More significantly, the data is also showing that models of creativity can be applied to a domain such as print journalism and provide evidence of creativity in a profession not typically considered creative.

The next stage of the research process involves investigating further how the individual affects the field, how the field interacts with the domain and the domain and individual's relationship. After all, if the evidence in this section of the investigation strongly supports Csikszentmihalyi's view of creativity as a systemic activity, it is likely that further examination of the data will also provide evidence of the systems model in action.

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