A CHANGE OF ROUTINE: UNDERSTANDING THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN NEWSPAPER REPORTER ROUTINES AND NEW TECHNOLOGIES IN THE AGE OF MEDIA CONVERGENCE AND ECONOMIC TURMOIL

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DISSERTATION ABSTRACT

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Title: A Change in Routine: Understanding the Relationship Between Newspaper Reporter Routines and New Technology in an Age of Media Convergence and Economic Turmoil

This study examines the role of the reporter in the newsroom amid economic challenges and changes to technology over the past 10 years and how reporter routines have changed in response to those challenges and changes. The past 10 years are significant from a technological standpoint because of the rise of social media and the growth of video and use of smartphones. During that same time period, the recession of 2007 hit and caused a large number of layoffs and the need to restructure the newsroom due to smaller staffs—all of which affect reporter routines. This study employed in-depth interviews conducted at three newspapers across the country with business, features, news, and sports reporters. In addition, the managing editor and executive editor at each newspaper were interviewed because they, too, influence reporter routines. This study finds that reporters are working increasingly longer hours to address new duties created by technologies and social media. Sports, which was first to adopt new technology, was also the one to most harness the power of technology and enthusiastically use it in a variety of ways, from tweeting to blogging to creating video. Features came in second for

embracing technology, while the news section adapted to it to a lesser degree, and business not at all. This finding was true at all three newspapers. On the economic side, staffing cutbacks have resulted in the elimination of investigative teams, as those reporters are needed for daily work. In addition, the cutbacks to copy editors, as well as the need for speed, have resulted in "community editing," the reliance on readers to help edit materials once they have been posted. As surprising was the widespread shift to immediacy first, in that reporters are encouraged to write short stories for online posting, if necessary, followed with continual updates throughout the day until the story for the print edition was ready to be filed. All this results in a change of routines for reporters.

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For my mom and dad

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The newsroom is changing. Over the past 10 years, the newspaper industry has faced radical challenges because of the economy and new technologies. With the number of editorial staff peaking at 56,900 in 1989, staffing plummeted by 29% by the end of 2011 (The State of the News Media, 2013). Employment numbers continued to drop by 6 percent in 2012 and 3 percent in 2013, with the remaining number of fulltime journalists at 36,700 in 2014 (The State of the News Media, 2015). As a result of these diminished numbers, journalists have more work to complete, with fewer people and less time to complete each assignment. The decline has also meant that fewer reporters are specializing in a particular beat, a trend noticed in 2006 (The State of the News Media, 2006; 2012). Today more generalized skills are in demand. For reporters, this means there is greater likelihood that an assignment may be for a story on a subject that he or she is unfamiliar with. Furthermore, an editor may or may not have time to go over the story before the copy editor reads it, if a copy editor reads it. Sometimes a reporter can be found working on the design or copy desks.

More changes in the newsroom include the copy desk often merging with the design desk in an effort to allow both designers and copy editors the flexibility to edit stories. In other cases, stories are sent off to a newspaper chain's central hub for multiple papers to be edited and designed.

Technology has had an impact in the newsroom where, during the past 10 years, there has been a clear shift toward online news first. An announcement in early 2015 by the New York Times has made that even more clear. In February 2015, the executive editor, Dean Baquet, announced a move away from pitching stories in the morning for Page One of the newspaper and instead putting the emphasis on the digital products. The goal was for top stories to receive the best play on all digital platforms, including mobile, web, and social media (Mullin, 2015). This is significant because at least 50 percent of the general public finds international and national news on the internet (Caumont, 2013).

Social media are also part of the evolving technologies that have changed newsrooms. Reporters now can interact with their audiences in new ways. Facebook is the most popular form of social media for the purpose of viewing news, with 64 percent of U.S. adults using the service and 32 percent accessing news from posts on Facebook, though their discovery of stories is often accidental (Anderson & Caumont, 2014; State of the News Media, 2014). Twitter is also important, though it doesn't have nearly the same reach, with 16 percent of adults using Twitter and 8 percent of Americans getting news from this source (Anderson & Caumont, 2014).

As a researcher and former journalist, I have found it important to understand the relationship between reporter routines and technology, both today and historically because newspapers have long been seen as fundamental for democracy. In this paper, I explore reporter routines and their relationship to technology through Shoemaker and Reese's Hierarchy of Influences model: social systems, social institutions, media organizations, routine practices, and individual level. The levels cannot be examined in isolation; each interacts with the others. Several other theoretical perspectives can inform this model, such as work on journalistic norms, economy, and diffusion of innovation, which can help explain the changes in routines that relate to technology. An economic perspective, for example, can offer insights about how technology is employed to increase productivity and ultimately gain power over competition. And diffusion of innovation offers a way to understand technological adaption/or lack thereof by reporters in the newsroom. Using qualitative interviews, I explore the relationship between reporter routines and technology, along with the influence of the economy. The past 10 years are significant from a technological standpoint because of the rise of social media, including Facebook and Twitter, and the growth of video. During that same time period, the recession hit in 2007 causing large numbers of layoffs and the need for other changes in the newsroom due to smaller staffs—all of which has affected routines.

Because they now have to produce stories for web and for print, newspaper staffs are having to do more with fewer people and have less time to complete the same amount of work. In this new dynamic, the change in reporters' routines bears analysis. The purpose of this study is to see how reporter routines have changed over the past 10 years. To explore this, I employ in-depth interviews with reporters from three large newspapers across the country.

INDUSTRY HISTORY

The Industrialization of the Newspaper. Historically, changes to the means of production, in the form of technology, have altered the labor process—including journalism. In the newspaper industry, the introduction of the printing press in the 1400s changed the routines of the workers (Emery, Emery, & Roberts, 2000). Gutenberg is credited with the invention of the printing press and movable type in Europe (Emery et al., 2000). The result was the ability to produce a newspaper cheap enough to meet the masses. To produce a publication, there first needed to be some sort of incentive for gathering information and then processing that information for the general public as news (Emery et al., 2000).

During the Industrial Revolution, the newspaper became a commodity that could be afforded by most, instead of just the elite (Schudson, 1978). With the development and implementation of this press came changes to the labor structure. What soon followed was the separation of the "newsroom" from the mechanical work in the second half of the nineteenth century (Nerone & Barnhurst, 2003). The first daily newspaper in the United States, the *Pennsylvania Evening Post*, was established in 1783 by Benjamin Towne in Philadelphia (Emery et al., 2000). By 1822, a new hand printing press was developed by Peter Smith, with the R. Hoe & Company, which had a much faster lever for hand printing than existed at that time (Emery et al., 2000). "Until the 1830s, a newspaper provided service to political parties and men of commerce; with the penny press a newspaper sold a product to a general readership and sold the readership to advertisers" (Schudson, 1978 p. 25).

In the 1830s the term "reporter" began to be used in reference to a person who worked for a newspaper and was paid to write the news. It is important to note that not all newspaper content was staff-produced; much of it was reprinted from other papers and sources. Prior to this, correspondents were paid as amateur writers, a dynamic that continues throughout the adaption of new technology in the field of journalism.

As a result of the Industrial Revolution, goods became less expensive, and one of the results was cheaper paper. Hand-powered presses, though they were becoming faster, were too slow to meet the growing demand of newspapers. Harnessing the power of the press was the next step. With the age of steam, inventors began working toward a steam-powered press. There was partial success in 1822, when Daniel Treadwell of Boston tried to make a steam press. A steam press was later developed successfully by Isaac Adams of Boston in 1830, for producing books and was popular for many years. But the process for speedy power printing was finally perfected by Friedrich Koenig of Saxony. What made Koenig's press unique was a movable bed that carried type back-and-forth for re-inking of each impression, while also being steam operated. By 1833, all the pieces had come together to be able to sell a newspaper for one cent available to the masses, in comparison to the six-cent papers that only the elite could afford (Emery et al., 2000). Along with this increased circulation to the masses came the interest of advertisers who wanted to buy space in every issue. "The large circulation of the penny papers now made it feasible to publicize articles for sale that formerly would not have warranted the advertising." (Emery et al., 2000, p. 101).

The demand for the penny press amplified the need for faster and faster presses as well as better print quality. The *New York Sun* in 1837 bought a new steam-driven Hoe cylinder press that was capable of producing 4,000 papers an hour (Emery et al., 2000). By 1840, the steam press was dominating the market (Schudson, 1978).

Another invention expedited the speed of information transmission—the telegraph, developed in 1844 by Samuel F. B. Morse. The New York *Sun* received an exclusive report from President James Polk by telegraph, with his message to Congress calling for war with Mexico. The use of the invention allowed James Gordon Bennett of the *New York Herald* to outperform all his rivals. With the ability of wire transmission came the Associated Press in 1849 (Emery et al., 2000; Neuman, 2013). None of this could have been brought about without technology, which increased mass circulation and continued to allow a greater capacity to produce as well as to receive information.

This speed was expedited further with Richard Hoe's type-revolving press, first installed at the *Public Ledger* in Philadelphia in 1846. Hoe's new press substituted horizontal cylinders for flat beds. "Counter sunk in these cylinders were curved iron beds, one for each page in the paper. Type was locked in these beds by an ingenious system of wedge-shaped rules to keep the type from flying out as the cylinders revolved at high speed." (Emery et al., 2000, p. 117). By 1849, the *New York Herald* installed a six-cylinder version capable of 12,000 impressions an hour. By the time of the Civil War, some newspapers were able to print 20,000 papers an hour. Additional improvements included the invention of curved, solid plates by making impressions in a soft mold and then curving the mold to fit the cylinder. Finally hot lead was poured into the molds to make a type plate (Emery et al., 2000).

While the presses were able to increase production and do so at a faster rate during the Civil War, an additional change was also occurring because of technology. "Dependence on the telegraph led to modification in news writing, as correspondents tried to save tolls by striving to be more concise" (Emery et al., 2000, p. 141). The result was a need to exclude opinion and colorful description. Between 1890 and 1900, the United States newspaper industry continued to become more mechanized, industrialized, and urbanized. To help newspapers along, Congress subsidized their mailing with the Postal Act of 1879 at a rate of a penny-a-pound. Between 1870 and 1900, the U.S. population doubled and the number of daily newspapers quadrupled, while the number of copies sold each day increased six-fold, resulting in circulation increases from 1870 and 2.6 million copies sold to 1900 and 15 million being sold (Emery et al., 2000).

As inventions from the typewriter to the telephone appeared, newspapers published an increased number of editions to enable more timely dissemination of news, and it became more popular to do summary leads for stories. Also essential from 1880 to 1900 was the expansion of the railroad, which doubled its number of tracks, and the telegraph, which quadrupled its lines. The Associated Press expanded as well in 1875 by leasing wire between New York and Washington, which carried about 20,000 words per day. By 1884, the service expanded to include Chicago and by 1900 included New Orleans, Denver, and Minneapolis (Emery et al., 2000).

The growth of the modern newspaper went hand in hand with the evolution in printing. The Industrial Revolution allowed for the creation of typesetting machines, faster presses, stereotyping, color printing, dry mats, electrotyping, and photoengraving. R. Hoe & Company invented the stereotyped plate, which allowed for the breaking of column rules for illustrations, headlines, and advertisements, which had been impossible with the type-revolving presses. This type of plate increased the amount that could be printed in an hour and allowed for extra stereotyped plates to be produced to use on additional presses. This innovation was followed by web printing—a continuous printing from a roll of paper—in the 1950s and 1960s, which modernized the process (Schudson, 1978). Other changes allowed for the ability to print on both sides and then by the 1890s, color printing. By this time, the Hoe press could run 48,000 copies of 12-page papers in an hour. Some of the large newspapers were working to install multiple presses by this point. By 1893, the *New York World* had color presses. During this same time, rag-stock newsprint was replaced by sulphite pulp, a process of chemically produced wood pulp that greatly reduced the cost of newsprint (Emery et al., 2000).

Advancements also were taking place in photo engraving. Initially, woodcuts had been created for any images used in a newspaper. The replacement technology, photo engraving, used a halftone process that had been developed in England in 1860 and was reworked by Frederick E. Ives. He produced a photo engraving of a pen-and-ink drawing, which was published in a student paper in 1878. "Ives saw that the way to break up masses of dark and light was to lay out a series of prominences on a plate that would transfer the ink to paper point by point. If the points were close together, the mass would be dark: and the more widely they were spaced, the lighter the mass would become" (Emery et al., 2000, p. 190). Artist Stephen H. Hogan was the first to do this for a newspaper. The process then spread to other newspapers as it became easier to do and could produce a better print (Emery et al., 2000). Most of the developments in the 19th century were mechanical and electrical, but the improvements in paper and printing followed an increased demand for books and newspapers. Schudson (1978) notes that the push for schooling and widespread literacy during the 19th century could have stimulated the demand for newspapers.

In the 1950s, the major invention was a “cold-type” process. These machines—such as Fotosetter, Linofilm, and Photon—produced words on film, which could then be transferred onto a printing plate, eliminating the need for Linotype machines, which were hot-type metal machines. In 1939, the Opelousas Daily World was the first to successfully use this offset printing method (Emery et al., 2000).

Optical character recognition (OCR) was a precursor to newsroom computerization, in which newspapers used special IBM typewriter fonts to produce text that could be scanned and phototypeset. This was a change that directly affected both the newsroom and the composing room, and it was the beginning of the shift toward back-shop typesetting to the newsroom. Then came video display terminal (VDTs), which replaced typewriters and accelerated experiments with pagination: The process was the direct transmission of completed pages from the computer to the printing plate. A small number of newspapers began to explore videotext and teletex in the 1980s, after watching what their European counterparts were doing (Emery et al., 2000).

Newspapers and firms in the financial services were among the first to explore the relationship between telecommunications and computing, as well as electronic and online alternatives to print publishing (Bockzkowski, 2013), which led newspaper publisher James Batten of Knight-Ridder to work with Viewtron, a videotext project. He was alarmed that some of these new systems could eventually be a threat to the daily newspaper. Viewtron lasted two years and was discontinued because it wasn’t viable commercially, though it worked technologically. It delivered news, advertisements, and other information to dedicated terminals via telephone lines. The problem was that most users found it slow and unresponsive to their interests, and it also tied up the phone line. After considerable losses Viewtron was discontinued in 1985. Knight-Ridder no longer believed it would compete with the newspaper (Bockzkowski, 2013). Some have attributed the slowness of the newspaper industry in taking advantage of the web to the Viewtron debacle.

The problem with new technology was that it was expensive, but newspapers saw the conversion to it as inevitable. The next step was to install graphics and photo subsystems so that the whole page could be typeset at the same time. The development of the personal computer really changed things in the newsroom (invented by Apple, PET, and TRS in 1977). Also new was that reporters could now use a miniature cassette recorder, called an electronic notebook, to record speeches and interviews at high speeds and without changes in pitch. In the mid 1970s they also began using remote terminals connected to the paper by slow-speed modems—which also had an impact on jobs—a few reporters could write and file from the game or city hall instead of having to phone in stories or notes for rewrite. Soon to follow was desktop publishing and the invention of QuarkXPress (1987) and Aldus Pagemaker (1985) for news page design and Adobe Photoshop (1988), Adobe Illustrator (1986), and Aldus Freehand (1988) at newspapers large and small for photography and graphics. High-speed computers allowed the Associated Press to send stories and data at speeds of up to 9,000 words per minute, instead of the 60 words per minute that was allowed on an old Teletype machine (Emery et al., 2000).

By the late 1980s and early 1990s, there was renewed interest in using computers to communicate with the public. With consumers jumping on board the internet, newspapers felt pressed to join in. According to Steve Outing (1996):

> Newspapers' online services have been around since the early 1990s, yet the industry didn't get excited about online service until the end of 1994, when the internet became a household word and subscribing to a service like America Online began to become mainstream. But while internet providers and big commercial online services were making money, the newspaper industry, in general, was not (1996).

By 1995 several hundred newspapers and magazines had joined the online environment with websites (Fidler, 1997). On the positive side, "They have recognized brand names and the ability to promote their online sites extensively in their print editions. They also have financial resources to fund a potentially long start-up period, an infrastructure already in place to gather and process information, and the credibility and connections to create instant cyber communities and marketplaces" (Fidler, 1997, p. 235). On the negative side, people are generally interested in specific topics, and the newspaper might be too general, according to Fidler (1997). At the beginning, it was unclear what effect this new technology would have on the newspaper industry. For newspapers to be available on the web, an increase in the number of staff to cover this new area of production was required. Individuals with new specialized skills were needed. By the late 1990s, all major newspapers had developed an online presence, and the majority of small-to medium-size papers soon followed (Boczkowski, 2005).

Though the impact of many of the technological changes throughout newspaper history was primarily to increase production efficiency and reduce cost, some had a more direct impact on the routines of journalists. The telephone, for example, allowed reporters to be able to call in stories from a distant location, resulting in a need for a rewrite person in the office who took information reported by others and crafted a story from it. Before the telephone, journalists could not call in stories and report from the scene. The decreased cost of production and the expansion of readership allowed newsrooms to add additional staff and become more specialized.

Today's Journalism

In today's digital era, technological change is happening at a greater speed than at any other time in history. The reporter, too, has gained new tools. With the development of the laptop, it is much easier for reporters to no longer be tethered to their workstations to produce a story. Instead, the reporter could take a laptop out on assignment. This eliminated the need for typists to take dictation by phone, or the delay in waiting for a reporter to return to the office, as the reporter now had the equipment to report on scene.

Today, the reporter's role is changing. In a time of staff cutbacks, some specialist beats have been turned over to generalists. Any writer may be assigned an environmental story, for example, and an editor may or may not have time to go over the story before the copy editor reads it. In some cases, the copy desk has merged with the design desk in an effort to allow both designers and copy editors the opportunity to edit stories (and reduce the number of staff). Sometimes a reporter can be found working on the design or copy desk when staff resources are shorthanded. The new means of production, with the addition of new software programs, such as CCI and DTI publishing systems, have been able to integrate multiple products, including online, the print paper, and magazines and allow for a shift of reporter routines toward producing multiple products. In addition, social media, such Twitter and Facebook, and blogs have added responsibility to the reporter to post and respond to feedback. Also, some (although by no means all) reporters are now expected to do their own photography and their own video for some assignments.

Concentration of newspaper ownership, a trend that had been growing for decades, has continued unabated as newspaper chains such as Gannett and Gatehouse continue to buy newspapers as owners look to cut costs and see potential for profit. Synergies among members of these larger companies allowed for further cost-cutting measures, through combining of regional staffs, regional printing hubs, and job eliminations. Increasingly, the local paper was no longer owned by local interests (Lawson-Borders, 2006). As these organizational and institutional changes accelerated, the news worker's job continues to evolve. With all of this change, Deuze (2007) suggests, "For a media profession so central to society's sense of self, it is of crucial importance to understand the influences of changing labor conditions, professional cultures, and the appropriation of technologies on the nature of work in journalism" (p. 143).

Establishing Professionalism. As newspaper competition decreased in the 20th century, so did the reader's trust in the newspaper. This resulted in a need for a professional set of norms and ethics. It was thought that reporters should "produce an ethos of professionalism, centered on the ideal of objectivity, which allowed newspapers to claim that their (authoritative) presentation of news was independent of the economic interests of their owners" (Nerone & Barnhurst, 2003, p. 438). At the same time, concerns arose over advertising and news being too closely linked to the newsroom. This resulted in the need for a clearer division between advertising and news and a literal or figurative wall separating the two (Barnhurst & Nerone, 2001). Out of these concerns rose the first set of ethics guidelines in 1923 called the "Canons of Journalism," later to be taken over by the Society of Professional Journalists and called the Code of Ethics in 1926. It was then rewritten in 1973 and revised in 1984, 1987, 1996, and 2014. It contained four basic principles: "Seek truth and report it"; "minimize harm"; "act independently"; and "be accountable and transparent" (Society of Professional Journalists, 2014).

As the professionalization of reporting continued, technological change allowed for information to be transmitted in different forms. It resulted in a structural shift in how the paper was presented to the reader; the newspaper could now be divided by topics (Nerone & Barnhurst, 2003). By the 1890s, there was interest in adding a visual method of reporting to the newsroom (Barnhurst & Nerone, 2001). It wasn't until the 1920s, though, that photographs and illustrations became more mainstream. At this point, there was not a division of labor between the writer and the photographer; that shift came about in the 1940s (Nerone & Barnhurst, 2003).

CURRENT STATE OF NEWSPAPERS

The newspaper industry today is unstable. The recession that began in 2007 took a huge toll on the media. Journalism traditionally has relied primarily on advertising for revenue, which plummeted from approximately 54,000 newsroom jobs in 2005 to roughly 32,000 newsroom jobs in 2015 (Edmonds, 2015). The result is that newsrooms have shrunk by about 20,000 staff positions, or 39% over the last 20 years. (State of the News Media, 2016). Even though online revenue has grown over the past several years, in 2015 it declined by 2% (State of the News Media, 2016). Fifty percent of the public cites the internet as one of its sources for national and international news. This is particularly significant for younger readers between the ages of 18 and 29, where 71% get their news this way (Caumont, 2013). Print media is important to society because it provides a service to the citizen. It covers major stories from every angle, as well as covers smaller issues that might come up at a city council meeting. This is important because 85% of news is still gathered by news workers (Jones, 2009).

After a year of slight gains in 2013—around 3%—news circulation fell again in 2014 (Barthel, 2015). Although revenue from circulation increased, ad revenue continues to fall, declining by 8% from 2014 to 2015 (State of the News Media, 2016). The problem is that digital ad revenue doesn't make up for the falling revenue in print. Although there is great discussion about a shift toward digital, most newspaper readers continue to read the news in print form. In 2015, more people accessed newspaper websites from apps and mobile than from desktop devices (Barthel, 2015).

It is important to note, however, that 51% of those who read newspapers do it exclusively in print form; 5% will also read it on a desktop/laptop; 7% read it on mobile and desktop. Only 5% will read it on a mobile device exclusively (The State of the News Media, 2016).

As of January 2015, mobile traffic for newspapers exceeded desktop visitors, but mobile users do not spend as much time on a website. Visitors to 25 of the top 50 newspaper sites who accessed the site by desktop spent at least 10% more time on the website than those coming from mobile. With this migration online comes a shift in advertising and a need for a new revenue model. Despite efforts, a sustainable model has not yet been found. Although mobile advertising was up 78% in 2014 (Lichterman, 2015), it remained a small part of a newspaper's revenue. Visitors use several different devices to access news. Sixty-four percent of tablet owners and 62% of smartphone users say they found news on their devices during 2012. Of that number, 73% of tablet owners read some in-depth articles, while 19% said they did so daily. Smartphone users did less of this, with 61% consuming lengthier stories on their smartphone on occasion and 11% doing it on a regular basis (Caumont, 2013). All of these actions, to a greater or lesser degree, have had an influence on how reporters do their jobs and handle their workloads.

As the industry reacts to these changing platforms, additional shifts are taking place. New native digital websites have cropped up, such as Huffington Post, Politico, BuzzFeed, Vice, and the Bleacher Report, prepared to report the news through original news reporting to varying degrees. Most of the jobs for these companies have been created in the last half dozen years—almost 5,000 full-time editorial positions

(Jurkowitz, 2014). The Associated Press has launched a partnership with several dozen newspapers to begin licensing its content to aggregators—with the goal of receiving royalties for use of its content. At the same time, daily newspapers across the country (450 of the country's 1,380 daily newspapers) have begun offering digital subscriptions or have set up pay walls to control and attempt to monetize readers' access to their news content online (The State of the News Media, 2013). The combination of the digital paywall movement and subscriptions has helped revenues remain steady and in some cases increase (The State of the News Media, 2013). But print circulation has continued to decline and so have ad revenues. Despite these efforts, the newspaper industry is no closer to a new revenue model, and it continues to lose ground as it fights to stay on top of changes in technology (The State of the News Media, 2012). The challenge is that two-thirds of revenue (69%) is derived from advertising, and primarily from print (Holcomb & Mitchell, 2014).

As has been described thus far, technology and the economy have had a large effect on journalism over the past 10 years. In the following chapter, I take a look at some of the theory that helps explain what is happening in journalism, in particular, the Hierarchy of Influences model, diffusion of innovation, journalism ethics, as well as journalistic norms.

CHAPTER II:

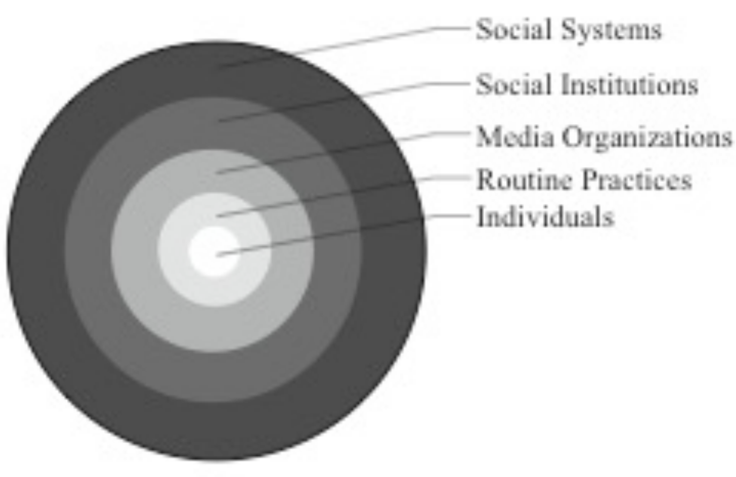
LITERATURE REVIEW

JOURNALISM ROUTINES

The study of journalism routines began in the 1950s with White's (1950) examination of how editors select what news to print for that day—gatekeeping—and continued with the work of Breed (1955) and his focus on describing the socialization process of journalists in their roles. Tuchman's (1977) work went a step further, suggesting that the routines of news staff have contributed to the professionalization of the field. Research by more recent theorists has focused on how to examine the different levels of routines that influence the journalist. Shoemaker and Reese (1996) suggest that journalism routines are "those patterned, routinized, repeated practices and forms that media workers use to do their jobs" (p. 100). These routines were based on gatekeeping theory, the process by which information is filtered by the media before it is published, which limits the information available for the public to see (Shoemaker & Vos, 2009). Shoemaker and Reese adopt what they term a media sociology approach, which refers to "this larger body of interests concerning how patterns of symbols are linked to social structure—how the mediated symbolic environment gets constructed—by individuals within a social, occupational, institutional, and cultural context" (Shoemaker & Reese, 2014, p. 2).

Shoemaker and Reese (1996) derive five distinct levels of influence called the Hierarchy of Influence model: It "is the basic premise of this approach, rather than some tentative theoretical perspective, that the media exert their own unique shaping power on the symbolic environment, a shaping that is open to explanation using various theoretical perspectives—which we combine into the Hierarchy of Influences model" (Shoemaker & Reese, 2014, p. 4; Figure 2.1). According to Shoemaker and Reese (1996; 2014), this model is also influenced by the work of Gans (1979) and Gitlin (1980) and their discussions of content. Shoemaker & Reese's (2014) work includes media workers' socialization and attitudes, media organizations and routines, social institutions and forces, and ideology and maintaining the status quo. The conceptualization of the model takes into account how one level of the model interacts with another, while also showing how multiple forces interact and react on media.

Figure 2.1 *The Hierarchy of Influences model, composed of five levels of analysis.* (Shoemaker & Reese, 2014, p. 9).



In earlier work (Shoemaker, 1991; Shoemaker & Reese, 1996), the authors used the individual level of analysis as a starting point. They revised this approach for the

2014 edition, starting with the macro level (social systems, formerly ideology) and moving toward the micro level (individual level of analysis), because the social systems level of analysis incorporates perspectives from all the different levels of the Hierarchy of Influences model from the macro perspective. Shoemaker and Reese (2014) note, however, that it would be easy enough to make an argument to begin at the individual level of analysis. The Hierarchy of Influences model involves:

- *The social systems level of analysis (formally ideology)*. At this more complex level, influences on news media content come from social structure, ideology, as well as economics, politics, and culture. The change from ideology to social systems incorporates and broadens the perspective, leaving ideology as an important element (Shoemaker & Reese, 2014, Shoemaker & Vos, 2009). More specifically, the social systems level is interested in "the relationships between people and the institutions they create" (Shoemaker & Reese, 2014, p 64).

- *The social institutions level of analysis (formerly the extramedia)* (Shoemaker, 1991; Shoemaker & Reese*, 1996).* Media rely on others when gathering content, and those people and organizations exert influences. It is not only communication organizations that play a role, but other groups, including marketers, audiences, advertisers, and financial markets (Shoemaker & Reese, 2014).

- *The media organization level of analysis.* The corporate structure acts as the frontline gatekeeper that passes information to others. Its goals and structure act as a constraint on the individual (Shoemaker, 1991; Shoemaker & Reese, 1996).

- *The routine practices.* This area is most interested in how media do what they do, including shaping content and writing, and the relationship that people have to content, along with their influences. The authors outline three sources of routines – the audience, the organization, and the content producers (Shoemaker, 1991; Shoemaker & Reese 2014).

- *The individual level of analysis.* Decisions are personal and based on an individual's likes and dislikes (Shoemaker, 1991; Shoemaker & Reese, 1996; 2014).

The following explores these different influences in greater depth.

Social systems level

At the macro level, the social systems level of analysis is the basis from which media content is derived, as well as the point at which all the other levels connect. Social systems focus on the larger structure rather than focusing on the separate parts. Shoemaker and Reese (2014) bring it back to Marx, where social and historical context are essential to study society. Castells (2007) suggests that in the "history of communication and information have been fundamental sources of power and counter-power, of domination and social change. This is because the fundamental battle being fought in society is the battle over the minds of the people" (p. 238).

It is at this level that several subsystems appear: ideological, cultural, economic, and political. At the ideological subsystem, the term ideology represents a societal-level phenomenon, which fits within the European tradition of media studies, "in which ideology is considered a total structure within a social system" (Shoemaker & Reese, 2014, p. 70). Culture is related to ideology. At this level, "communication is central in the development and evolution of culture, as the media help constitute how people think of themselves and how they construct values and norms" (Shoemaker & Reese, 2014, p. 73). Another subsystem level is economic, which is particularly important when studying developing countries and international communication. At this level, one finds transnational media, which produce content in one nation but are owned by multiple corporations in multiple countries. Finally, the political subsystem, which "both constrains and is conditioned by the media of communication" (Shoemaker & Reese, 2014, p. 72) is significant because of the importance of news to functioning democracies.

Social "systems affect the interactions of social institutions, the existence and makeup of media organizations, the types of routines adopted, and the values of individuals" (Shoemaker & Reese, 2014, p. 93). It is important to note that the authors do not consider the social system level of analysis as the top one, but rather all the different influences within the hierarchy are important, not secondary. It is more a matter of what the researcher is looking to emphasize.

Social institutions level

The social institutions level deals with the forces outside the formal media structure. In this realm the media interact with other institutional powers and places, shaping media content. These social institutions that help shape content vary from government officials to interest groups and also include institutional agents, advertisers, officials, and sources. The media are just one part of this web of institutions. An example is a media company's board of directors, which has relationships with other firms. This level examines how media practices are situated in relation to other centers of social power, and if the media don't come to them, they go to the media (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996). Large organizations are easier to access because they have large full-time staff that are easier for the journalist to access. Private individuals pose a much greater challenge because their availability is much more limited: "The problem is, of course, that organizations often go out of their way to be available, whereas individuals rarely have sufficient time to or resources to compete effectively for the journalists' attention" (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996, p. 180).

Media organizations level

"The organization is a collective of individuals and/or groups whose members work toward common goals, giving the organization an identity. An organization distinguishes itself from others based on its ownership, goals, actions, rules, and membership, establishing boundaries" (Shoemaker & Reese, 2014, p. 130). The organizational level has a critical impact on media content. Its primary goal is to create, modify, produce, and distribute content to receivers (Shoemaker & Reese, 2014). Further exploration needs to be given to these key areas of content creation by exploring how these organizations are structured, what their policies are, and how those policies are enforced (Shoemaker & Reese, 2014). "Organizational structure influences content by affecting the occupational culture and by determining the degree of independence media organizations have from the larger corporate enterprises" (Shoemaker & Reese, 2014, p. 163). Understanding these media corporations' relationship to content is particularly important when few media conglomerates dominate the market.

The challenge is that the primary goal of most institutions is to make a profit. These pressures were particularly high in the late 2000s. Technology has played a major role because technological changes, especially involving online journalism, have had an impact on content because content today must be distributed in new and different ways to a potentially different audience. These include a range of different organizations, mass media, social media, as well as other products and services (Shoemaker & Reese, 2014). Although the transition to online has not been an easy one, computer hardware and software have made it easier for media businesses to develop an online presence and for their audiences to gain access to content in new and exciting ways. What was once a simple story now has the potential to be interactive and reach an even larger audience.

At this level, Shoemaker and Reese (2014) look at organizations' influence on content through gatekeeping theory, as the gatekeeper interacts with the organization and the relationship:

> Understanding the gatekeeping process, however, considers news item selection to be a complex series of interrelated decisions made at all five levels of the Hierarch of Influences model. Rather than think of news items as being selected by a series of gatekeepers, each bounded by his or her routines … we look more broadly at the organization as gatekeeper" (Shoemaker & Reese, 2014, p. 138).

At this level, the primary goal is economic, to make a profit, while the secondary goal is more toward producing a "quality product, serving the public, and achieving professional recognition" (Shoemaker & Reese, 2014, p. 139).

Routine practices level

This paper is primarily concerned with the routine practices level, as well as the individual level. It is impossible to discuss these, however, without first considering the other types of influences, because they all influence each other and there is a direct relationship between organizational level routines and reporter routines. Routines develop into responses to practical needs, methods to cope, and a method for classifying different types of news (Shoemaker & Reese, 2014). Although they develop often because of the practical needs of the reporter, there are also influences from the organizational side. Routines have several levels: the audience, organizations (covered earlier), and suppliers of content. Each is part of the environment in which news workers do their jobs.

Tuchman (1997) talks about the routines of journalists and how they must be able to organize their jobs, particularly in preparation for disaster situations. This can be done by shrinking the amount of content being covered by news organizations by classifying different types of news into hard news, spot news, soft news, and continuing news. For classification, it is not what has happened but how it has happened that is significant. Schudson (2000) posits a set of constrained organizational and occupational demands that focus on these routines, practices, and interactions by which a journalist is classified as a journalist.

One of the problems in developing routines of the newsroom is that organizational rules are already in place: to increase income is a goal as is to decrease expenses. The goals of more cost-effective work and increased productivity influence the routines level of analysis. At the most basic level, the architecture that each is trying to build is competing with the other, with the organizational level maintaining control. An additional factor that has to be recognized is that sources have the power to control the information, either facilitating it or constraining it, which interferes with the reporter's ability to maintain journalism routines—or at best puts a strain on this capacity (Shoemaker & Reese, 2014). The goal of the study of media routines includes "how the media make decisions, how content is shaped, how stories are written, and the mediation of content by people who have a lot to gain from their successful influence" (Shoemaker & Reese, 2014, p. 164). As was mentioned in the organizational level, gatekeeping also plays an important role in helping to define media professionals and what types of information they choose to cover and what are discarded. Gatekeeping also takes place at the individual level.

The audience, as consumers of information, including newspapers and online content, has come to demand entertainment as part of its news consumption. This can be seen by celebrities ending up on the front-page of the newspaper, whether they are truly newsworthy or not. Editors can no longer always be the gatekeepers as they must cede some control to the audience. As Fuller (2010) notes, the brain is well equipped to receive bad, celebrity, and flashy news. He suggests that hardcore news without those elements is obsolete: the result is Rush Limbaugh and Fox News. McLuhan (1967) notes "Our newspapers create an information environment, yet without crime as content we would not be able to perceive the environment. The newspapers have to have bad news, otherwise there would not be any newspapers, but only ads, or good news. Without bad news we could not discern the ground-rules of the environment" (p. 165).

News values are used to predict what an audience finds appealing and important. The audience also directs gatekeepers to make consistent decisions about what to cover in their newspapers. Through routines, news values have become predictable as to what people will find interesting and important to know, such as prominence and importance, conflict and controversy, the unusual, human interest, timeliness, and proximity (Dennis & Ismach, 1981). Although gatekeepers use news values to help select content that is most attractive to their audience, other routines help journalists avoid offending their audience or their sources. These defensive routines include fact checking, objectivity, audience and narrative structure, framing, and proximity and scope.

Fact checking has long been a tradition of journalists to avoid publishing a mistake, which could affect the integrity of their news organization. Another is objectivity, which can be viewed as a defense mechanism so that editors and reporters remain "preoccupied with facts to avoid public criticism and embarrassment for the newspaper" (Shoemaker & Reese, 2014, p. 174; Tuchman, 1972). This concept of objectivity developed over the 19th and 20th centuries (Schudson, 2011), starting with the "Canons of Journalism" and developing into the Society of Professional Journalists Code of Ethics.

It is the goal of the gatekeeper to appeal to the audience's needs and select information for its newsworthiness. It is important to have a narrative structure that represents the routine way of handling what happened, guiding the reporter as to what facts to include. Closely related is the application of framing in a news story, creating a factual description of events into a meaningful storyline. Related to framing is the proximity and scope of the news story. "Whereas proximity is simply the closeness of the media organization to an event, scope is the contextual spin that journalists put on an event" (Shoemaker & Reese, 2014, p. 176).

As a result of the internet, news routines are changing, and new ones may need to be developed. Beyond the reporter, Facebook and Twitter users also have a say as to what constitutes news by what they retweet and repost for further viewing. Email, social media, and cellphones have all had an effect on reporter routines (Deuze, 2009). With a world immersed in messages, whether personal or marketing, each is directed at the individual. The news industry must harness our emotion and attention if it is to succeed. Fuller

(2010) argues that emotions have evolved to seize the information-processing resource in our brains.

Individual level

At this level, media content is influenced by the journalist's attitudes, values, and beliefs, both personal and professional. These influences help determine what the individual decides to explore or put aside. Shoemaker and Reese (2014) write:

> Demographic factors, such as gender and race, influence content indirectly both through shaping personal attitudes and values and through their links with professional roles and education. Personal and professional factors are closely related, and both help determine content, particularly to the extent that communicators have the power necessary to imprint their own decisions on the product (p. 238).

The individual has taken on new meaning in digital communication when it comes to emerging issues of "identity." "If before it was possible to identify a media communicator, located within a specific occupation and organization, that task has grown more difficult with developments in media technology and concurrent societal shifts" (Shoemaker & Reese, 2014, p. 204). Institutional membership once traditionally helped predict attitudes and beliefs, but now there is a "rise of networked relationships meaning that the primary distinction now is between Self and Net" (Shoemaker & Reese, 2014, p. 205). Castells (1996) writes, "People increasingly organize their meaning not around what they do, but on the basis of what they are, or believe they are" (p. 3). The result is that people's identities are much less determined by their jobs because they feel "correspondingly less loyalty to and reliance on their employers for a personal sense of self" (Shoemaker & Reese, 2014, p. 205).

Deuze (2003) agrees, saying that as practices have become more streamlined and standardized in many respects for online and print, the role and the work of the individual journalist is moving in the opposite direction. This shift suggests that there is real room for change in the journalism profession and the role of the professional journalist. Deuze focuses his efforts on the news-producing individual as a way to explain what types of content are available within today's complex media system. He looks at how the individual used to be filtered through a process of socialization, ownership structure, and occupational ideology (the principles discussed previously.) Yet not everything is changing; newspaper writers and editors retain some gatekeeping skills. If the story is not breaking news, it may not be posted on the web right away, depending on the newspaper.

Other perspectives can add depth to the framework laid out by Shoemaker and Reese when it comes to reporter roles and technological change.

SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY, A PATHWAY TO ETHICS AND NORMS

Journalism, as a communications field, has always had a special power and prestige, with those in the profession often thought of as public servants. Social responsibility theory offers a point from which journalism ethics and norms can be explored. Social responsibility for the journalist can be described the following way: "the media ownership and operation are a form of public trust or stewardship, rather than an unlimited private franchise" (McQuail, 1994, p. 124). This theory led to the creation of a general journalism code of ethics, which consists of four basic principles to guide reporters and editors in making ethical decisions:

- *Seek truth and report it.* “Ethical journalism should be accurate and fair. Journalists should be honest and courageous in gathering, reporting, and interpreting information” (Society of Professional Journalists, 2014).

- *Minimize harm.* “Ethical journalism treats sources, subjects, colleagues, and members of the public as human beings deserving of respect” (Society of Professional Journalists, 2014).

- *Act independently.* “The highest and primary obligation of ethical journalism is to serve the public” (Society of Professional Journalism, 2014).

- *Be accountable and transparent.* “Ethical journalism means taking responsibility for one’s work and explaining one’s decisions to the public” (Society of Professional Journalists, 2014).

As the field of journalism has continued to evolve, so have the standards (last revised in 2014). The latest changes addressed technology in general to get at trends and themes in journalism—yet the basic principles of truth, fairness, compassion, independence, and accountability remain. More specifically, the new guidelines cover journalism across platforms—including social media. From a technology standpoint, the code singles out social media by suggesting the necessity for journalists to consider the consequences of publishing personal information, given the extensive amount of private information available on social media. It also suggests that journalists should consider the long-term implications of permanent publication online, as well as the extended reach of the content and whether that reach is appropriate. The change in language was needed to state that journalists weren’t tied just to traditional forms of journalism (Society of Professional Journalists, 2014).

Also important to the reporter are the journalistic norms of objectivity, immediacy, and autonomy. Journalists integrate these norms directly into their roles as reporters. Deuze (2005) suggests that this process allows journalism to continually reinvent itself through the revisiting of debates in areas that include commercialization, bureaucratization, new media technologies, and the concentration of ownership and fragmentation of readership. Although the norms may not always be obtainable, journalists strive to achieve each one.

Objectivity

In American journalism, achieving objectivity has been one of the most important norms (Schudson, 2001). Reporters and editors strive for objectivity in their work even though it is, admittedly, a difficult standard to meet. They want to be fair and impartial. This normative value is important because it sets up the basis for credibility (Deuze, 2005). "The media are obligated not only to make profits but to maintain credibility in the eyes of the reader" (Schudson, 2011, p. 33) because that is their most valuable asset. This includes the population at large, along with expert and important subgroups in the population, especially in Washington, D.C. (Schudson, 2011). A study by Stenaas (1986) of local wire reports showed an increase in objectivity from 1865 to 1934. During the period of 1865 to 1874, the wire service was 40% objective. From 1905 to 1914 the wire service was 65.8% objective, while from 1925 to 1934 the wire service was 80% objective. In this same study, a strong relationship was found between the use of the “inverted pyramid” and authoritative sources, according Stensaas. He also found that local stories and wire stories were equally objective.

Immediacy

Not surprisingly, today’s media culture has also had an effect on the notion of immediacy. New technology has provided the reporter with the ability to constantly edit and update stories on the web. Reporters can also interact with readers through social media before, during, and after a story is written. This need for immediacy has helped drive competition between newspapers and other news organizations to get the story first online, differing from the traditional notion of publishing a story for the print product as an exclusive. To meet the demands of this multi-platform environment, the need for speed, fast decision-making, and an accelerated workflow have each become important to the notion of immediacy (Deuze, 2005). The result is a 24/7 news cycle, increasing the importance of immediacy, as reporters and editors struggle to get their news story out before other sources (Deuze, 2005). According to Stephens (1988) and Nerone and Barnhardt (2003), journalism has always relied on certain routines that enable the reporters to manage an ever-increasing load of information, while trying to manage continual deadlines. According to Deuze (2005), the speed of news work can be seen both as an essential value and a problematic side issue.

Autonomy

An essential part of the social obligation of journalists is to maintain autonomy. "In a traditional media world, one in which news organizations controlled access to the means of distributing information to large numbers of people, such claims to autonomy were relatively difficult to challenge" (Hayes, Singer, & Ceppos, 2007, p. 273). This claim to autonomy has changed in the ubiquitous computing world where nearly anyone can serve as a source, member of the audience, and/or information provider. McDevitt (2003) suggest that this need for individual autonomy precludes reporters from interacting and being supportive of community engagement through their work. This same approach can be applied to editorial autonomy and helps to explain why journalists resist technological innovations in journalism—including more new ways of interacting with readers (Singer, 2003).

As the journalistic norms of objectivity, immediacy, and autonomy are challenged, it is important to understand how reporter routines are changing, as well as the forces that influence their decision-making within the context of technology.

ECONOMY OF THE MEDIA

Journalistic routines and technology can be explained at a variety of levels. One approach that takes a broader perspective than the individual or organizational levels is the economy, which looks at media at the social system and institutional levels as well. Robert McChesney, a political economist, has written extensively about news media and newspapers in particular.

For McChesney, challenges facing journalism are beyond that of journalism routines and technology, and encompass political and economic issues. In capitalist economies, there is an endless drive to develop new technologies. These are important incentives to increase productivity and gain advantage over competitors. If one newspaper harnesses the technology and another doesn't grab the same opportunity, that second newspaper loses to the competition: "Hence technological change is built right into the system and always will be" (McChesney, 2013, p. 46). The goal of the technology is to increase productivity and lower costs, which is best done in the situation of an oligopoly: "Technology is central to growth, and growth is central to capitalism. It is one economic system that delivers serious increases in output over time, to some extent because the system requires economic growth to survive" (McChesney, 2013, p. 47). For most historians and economists, major technological changes like the invention of the railroad or the automobile stimulated investment and propelled the economy for decades (McChesney, 2013).

McChesney argues that journalistic standards and good practices are being challenged because of the economic factors at play. He believes this area of research is important because journalism plays an important role in understanding the U.S. capitalist economy, as well as offers a platform for understanding the influence of political power on journalism and capitalism (McChesney, 2008b).

For McChesney, the nature of journalism is that of a "public good." He argues that journalism is necessary for society but produced in insufficient quality and quantity by the marketplace. This idea of journalism as a "public good" arose in the 1st century of

American history when printing and postage of the newspaper was subsidized. As a "public good," the newspaper has three important roles in democratic society:

- To act as a watchdog of those who are in power and those who might try to gain power.
- To uncover the truth.
- To offer informed positions on important daily topics, from diverse viewpoints (McChesney, 2008b).

These key areas relate to the Society of Professional Journalists Code of Ethics as mentioned earlier. For McChesney (2008b), “The political economy of media has always been about the task of enhancing participatory democracy; media and communication systems are a means to an end, with the end being social justice and human happiness” (p. 151). From this framework, McChesney suggests that journalism in its current state is failing in all three key areas. He suggests that:

- *Watchdog journalism has disappeared*, and journalism has come to regard anything said by official sources to be the truth without questioning the information. This includes information supplied by government officials and prominent figures, losing the voice of the working class.
- *Journalism lacks contextualization*, unless provided by an official source or PR group. Information is often not verified, but used as truth whether or not the information could be verified. This has led to the telling of one-sided stories.
- *Journalism takes into account the commercial owners’ and advertisers’ politics and values* when making news decisions. (McChesney, 2008b)

With concern over journalism failing in these ways, McChesney calls for media reform. McChesney’s perspective suggests that other forces are important in considering the changes seen today in journalism and what journalists do. Looking back at the Hierarchy of Influences, these failures affect each level as they interact with each other. Most significantly, they affect the organizational level, which has a critical impact on media content. It is at this level where the primary goal is to create, modify, produce, and distribute content to receivers (Shoemaker & Reese, 2014). At this level, economic pressures have changed or eliminated routines.

DIFFUSION OF INNOVATION

Another way to study technological change and reporter routines is through diffusion of innovation. As new technologies enter the journalism sphere, how and why they are adopted can be explored using diffusion of innovation theory, which offers a platform for studying how journalists choose to use technology in today's media environment. Diffusion is defined as "the process by which an innovation is communicated through certain channels over time among the members of a social system" (Rogers, 1995, p. 5). It was first used to explain the adoption of technology by farmers (Rogers, 1958) but has since expanded to include other areas—including industrial and service industries, as well as public service and public policy innovations. It has also been used in education and health care fields (Nutley & Davies, 2000; Rogers, 2003). For Rogers (1995), innovation is "an idea, practice, or object perceived as new by an individual or other unit of adoption" (p. 35). This suggests that the idea need only be new to the person experiencing it and that it is independent of anyone else's perceptions.

This perspective offers a possible explanation for why reporters may or may not adopt new technologies. This model follows five steps that the receiver must take in order to decide whether to adopt or ignore an innovation (Figure 2.2). This first step is referred to as knowledge. In this step, the receiver learns about the new idea. During the second step, the receiver must be persuaded to try it. Then the receiver must decide to accept or reject it. If accepted, the idea must then be implemented and confirmed. The rate of adoption, how quickly the idea is assimilated into culture, is determined by the adopters and will eventually reach critical mass if the innovation is successfully adopted. Some of the different areas that influence whether an idea is adopted include the relative advantage of using the new idea, whether the idea is compatible with the existing frameworks, how simple or complex an idea is, whether it can be experimented with easily, and how visible an idea is to observers (Rogers, 2003).

Figure 2.2 *How Diffusion of Innovation Works* (Rogers, 2003, p. 172)

Diffusion of innovation theory offers a framework to help explain the different ways people respond to technology, such as identifying people as innovators, early adopters, early majority, late majority, and laggards. Innovators are the first to adopt a new idea. This group is often young and willing to take risks and has available financial resources. The category of early adopters often includes people who are considered opinion leaders (people who spread the negative or positive information about an innovation). They tend to be young, well educated, and financially well off but are more conservative than innovators. The early majority is significantly slower at adopting a new idea than the innovators or early adopters. This group tends to have contact with the early adopters, have an average social status, and generally does not act as opinion leaders. The late majority tend to be skeptical of an innovation, have very low financial liquidity, and be of an average social status. Those who fall into the laggards group tend to be the last to adopt an idea. This group shows little to no opinion leadership, is older in age, and resistant to change (Rogers, 1962). This framework offers one way to better understand the individual reporter's relationship to technology and may help to explain the differences in how reporters accept or reject new technology. Diffusion of innovation theory fits within Shoemaker and Reese's (2014) Hierarchy of Influences. At the individual level, there is a scale from early adopter to skeptical. The organization enables or constrains the diffusion of innovation. At the level of the organization, it enables or constrains the diffusion of innovation within the organization.

Understanding the relationship between reporter routines and technology is complex. Examining the changes in light of Shoemaker and Reese's Hierarchy of Influences, which address questions at and between different levels of influence, can provide a deeper understanding. At a practical level, to better unravel these relationships, the researcher needs to be able to connect the reporter's role in the newsroom to how and why individuals are using technology, as well as how its use has changed over time. Also important is understanding whether those relationships hold across all study venues. Over the past 10 years, a number of innovations have diffused into the newsroom, from social media to video. During that same time period, economic instability has led to large numbers of layoffs. As a result, how has the newsroom changed?

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND METHOD

With all this history and theory in mind, I examined the following research questions.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

RQ1: How have reporter routines changed (from 10 years ago)?

RQ2: What is the relationship between reporter routines and technology (from 10 years ago)?

RQ3: How are newspaper reporters using social media in the newsgathering process and dissemination process?

RQ4: What is the relationship between reporter routines and the economy (from 10 years ago)?

RQ5: How does management see the role of the newspaper, looking at technology and the economy (from 10 years ago)?

METHOD

Qualitative Research

Qualitative methods allow for a rich examination of concepts and provide an exploration of how reporters do their jobs, and what factors, if any, affect that process. Qualitative interviews allow for a comprehensive understanding of how reporters view their jobs, based on the use of their language, perceptions, and motivations concerning their work. A qualitative approach is useful because cause-and-effect models or statistical analysis may miss subtle nuances while trying to arrive at meaning. Berg (1989) writes, “Qualitative procedures provide a means of accessing unquantifiable facts… [and] allow the researchers to share in the understanding and perceptions of others to explore how people structure and give meaning to their daily lives” (p. 6). The “thick” description that results examines individual experiences, feelings, and emotions, as well as how to operate in organizational and professional arenas (Geertz, 1973). The result is the ability to discover meaning held within various layers of the journalistic process.

Outlying information is extremely important: “Where patterns and trends have been identified, our understanding of those patterns and trends is increased by considering the instances and cases that do not fit within the pattern. These may be exceptions that prove the rule” (Patton, 1990, p. 463). In the case of this research, how and why a person used technology or chose not to use technology was important. The following section examines how data were collected.

Data Collection

Changes in the economy and technology have played a part in the newspaper industry, but how have they affected the role of the reporter over the past 10 years? In-depth interviews took place with journalists who had 10 years or more experience working in three newsrooms across the country. In addition to the interviews, which were conducted on-site, two days were spent observing the newsroom and the events that took place each day at each paper. Observing the newsroom gives the researcher the chance to get a perspective on how the newsroom operates, from getting a general sense of the discussion of the stories for the day to the needs of the print and online editions. Also important is that observation can help inform questions about routines. Field notes were kept throughout the process.

In-depth interviews. To better understand the nuances of reporter routines, including technology and the economy, this study employed one-on-one interviews with reporters at three newspapers, with beats in four sections: business, features, news, and sports. Different types of beat reporters were included to give as full a picture as possible of reporters' roles and relationships to technology and the economy. The researcher also conducted one-on-one in-depth interviews with the executive editor and the managing editor of each paper to get a sense of the management's perceptions about how technology and the economy have affected their newsrooms.

The in-depth interview, which is one of the most frequently used qualitative research tools, "permits delving into subjects' perceptions and contexts of key terminology and processes" (Boynton, 2001, p. 93). The interview process allows the interviewer to access journalists' experiences and perceptions regarding their jobs for the past 10 years. As McCracken (1988) explains, in-depth interviews "can take us into the lifeworld of the individual… [and] give us the opportunity to step into the mind of another person, to see and experience the world as they do themselves" (p. 9). In-depth interviews are particularly useful for exploratory and explanatory research, as well as sensitive and complex topics.

Interviews can be structured using predetermined questions that are asked the same way and in the same order every time, or interview questions can be semi-structured, allowing the interviewer to probe responses for richer detail. The latter was used for this study. An interview guide outlined the different topics and helped keep the interviewer focused. Question order varied by participant to allow for delving into areas that may not have been foreseen. On occasion, the reporter may bring up topics out of the order listed on the sheet. From McCracken's (1988) point of view, it is important to pursue "extemporaneous strategies of investigation" (p. 25) as a way to better understand the subject's views and beliefs.

This research used open-ended and non-directive questions to allow the participant to elaborate on experiences, ideas, and feelings without any presuppositions of the interviewer. The questions covered a wide range of areas from experience, behaviors, opinions, feelings, knowledge, and the participants' backgrounds. The interview guide began with nonthreatening questions related to their job and how many years they had worked for the paper, as well as what section they worked for. This was important to build trust with reporters and to show that the researcher had a genuine interest in what they were doing.

The next set of questions delved further into jobs and how and why each reporter did certain things, as well as how technology and the economy had affected his or her job. Prompts were given as necessary to encourage elaboration. Interviews were conducted in person to gather the information that was said as well as the information that was not said. According to McCracken (1988), it is the job of the interviewer to be aware of how the interview is progressing, how participants react, and provide appropriate feedback to keep participants engaged if necessary. The challenge is that interviews are subjective and the interviewer is the instrument of the research. Part of her job is probing for and understanding the experiences of respondents (McCracken, 1988). In asking my questions, I was interested in media organizations' level of routines, routine practices level, and individual roles, as well as diffusion of innovation. The goal of the interviews was to have the participants' views emerge through conversation without my leading the conversation. Throughout the conversations with each participant, the hope was these areas would emerge, but probes were used as necessary to focus the discussion on areas of interest.

The length of each interview varied from 30 to 45 minutes because of time constraints of the reporters and other noise and interruptions that went along with their jobs. After talking with several executive editors, it was clear that I would not be given more than 30 to 45 minutes a person if I agreed to do the interviews in their newsroom. For all three newspapers, interviews were conducted in a conference room on-site. Although this has the potential for the reporters to be not as open as they might be at a neutral location, I found each reporter to be very candid. I discussed the logistics with each managing editor to coordinate the visit. In each case, a conference room was found that was off the beaten path, where the noise of the high-traffic areas could be avoided.

Each interview was recorded on a digital audio recorder for accuracy of the conversation and to be able to replay the voice recording over again to listen to the tone of voice. Using a verbatim recording is essential, according to Patton (1990), "to record as fully and fairly as possible that particular interviewee's perspective" (p. 348). Essential to the recording process is that it frees the interviewer up to make notes and probe for more details.

Each participant signed an informed consent form describing the protocol for this project, clarifying that the participant's identity was to be kept confidential as a participant they were confidential, and agreeing to be audio recorded. I provided a copy of the consent form to the journalist and kept a signed copy for my records (see Appendix A).

Once consent was granted, the interview guide was used to direct the conversation. The rapport-building questions were followed by "grand-tour questions" (McCracken, 1988, p. 21). These were broad, non-directive questions to allow the reporters to tell their stories in their own words. These open-ended questions were asked in a similar order for consistency from an interview guide, with follow-up questions as necessary (see Appendix B). The questions were broad, asking about their typical day, technology, and the economy. The same procedure was followed for interviews with the executive editor and managing editor. (see Appendix C). Their questions focused on the role of the newspaper in the community, technology, and the economy.

The participants. The next step was selecting the interview participants to find "a search for information-rich cases" (Patton, 1990, p. 348). Straus and Corbin wrote, "The more sensitive the researcher is to the theoretical relevance of certain concepts, the more likely he or she is to recognize indicators of those concepts in the data" (1998, p. 206). For this study, sample selection was not limited to any specific type of reporter; it included business, features, news, and sports. Reporters were only excluded if they didn't have more than 10 years of experience; it didn't matter if their job had changed. Because this study is designed to get at reporter routines, it is important to understand how each reporter went about his or her day today and 10 years ago.

There isn't a formula for how many participants are needed for a qualitative study. The number of interviews completed relates to the purpose of the study, information sought, time limitations, and resource constraints. The goal, however, is data saturation, where the process of data collection and comparison continues until no new examples emerge, and if there are any negative cases that come up, they are only minor. The goal is not to generalize across a population but to explore meaning. "Qualitative research does not survey the terrain, it mines it" (McCracken, 1988, p. 17).

To keep the cost and time requirements reasonable for the project, research was limited to three large newspapers across the United States. Interviews took place the week of June 15, 2014, the week of Nov. 8, 2015, and the week of Dec. 6, 2015. All interviews were conducted in person. It was important to have at least three newspapers because there are differences among how large newspapers operate. More specifically, newsrooms have different physical layouts, organizational structures, and technology (with some having TV studios in the newsroom, for example). This is not an exhaustive list, but all of these can impact routines. Pilot interviews with three reporters were conducted at a local newspaper to test the interview guide and to identify potential problems or sensitivities. A debriefing followed each pilot interview to help uncover weaknesses and strengths of the questions. Minor modifications were made based on the pilot study.

Pseudonyms were used in this project for the names of the newspapers and also for the reporters because of editor requests. For two of the newspapers, the Gazette and the Times, a list of potential participants was gathered from the executive editor of each paper and emailed to the researcher, and that potential pool of reporters was sent an invitation to participate in this study examining the changing role of the reporter in the newsroom over the past 10 years. Each person who expressed interest was interviewed. No pressure was applied to coerce the journalists to be involved. According to Marshall and Rossman (1995), if participants show reluctance to participate, the researcher should respect their right not to participate in the study. In addition, the researcher addressed confidentiality issues by keeping all information confidential that was shared with her. The respondent's interview material was not made available to anyone outside the study: According to Weiss (1994, p. 62) "Nothing reported from the study, in print or in a lecture, should permit identification of the respondent." In the case of the third newspaper, the managing editor chose the participants based on the researcher's requirements and handed the researcher a list of people and times they would be available to interview. He walked around the room with a clipboard and signed up those who were available. At the end of each interview, a survey was given to help gain basic information about technology use as well as demographic information (see Appendix D). As noted by McCracken (1988), the questionnaire, which is often overlooked as discretionary, is actually indispensable as a tool for gathering information from each respondent in a systematic way.

A total of 63 reporters participated from the three newspapers, as well as the executive editor and managing editor of each paper, who were also interviewed. The newspapers will be referred to as the Gazette, the Times, and the Tribune. From the Gazette, 19 reporters were interviewed: 3 from business, 4 from features, 8 from news, and 4 from sports. From the Times, 25 reporters were interviewed: 3 from business, 5 from features, 12 from news, and 5 from sports. From the Tribune, 19 reporters were interviewed: 4 from business, 4 from features, 7 from news, and 4 from sports. A total of 41 men and 22 women participated. The average age for respondents from each newspaper ranged from 50 to 59. For the Gazette, the average length of time that each subject had worked as a reporter was 25.6 years. For the Times, the average was 28 years. For the Tribune, the average was 29.5 years (see Appendix E).

Data analysis. Data analysis began with interview transcriptions, which the researcher took verbatim from the audio files. Interpretation of the data began after the completion of the transcription process. The transcribed text was examined using qualitative analysis coding procedures described by Glaser and Strauss (1967). The process began with scanning the text to identify similarities and differences, then forming categories that move from specific to general (Charmaz, 2006; Strauss & Corbin, 1998).

A two-part coding method was then used for analysis (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). "The goal was to open up text and expose the thoughts, ideas, and meaning contained herein" (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p. 105). The initial open-coding process was used to explore major themes, thoughts, and ideas contained within the interviews (Charmaz, 2006). Concepts and context were compared for similarities and differences, with the goal of identifying a broad range of meaning. For the purpose of this process, each sentence served as an individual unit of analysis. Examining each paragraph was too big a unit of analysis because a paragraph often covered several different thoughts. Whenever possible, *in vivo* codes were used—words or phrases that came directly from the transcripts—as labels for the developing categories (Charmaz, 2006). Consideration was given to theoretical literature, but categories emerged through *in vivo* codes.

The next step was axial coding, the combining of individual codes into mutually exclusive codes and subcategories (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss & Corbin 1998; Charmaz, 2006). During this phase, the data are examined to find links among categories found in open coding. It is important not to draw conclusions during axial coding. The researcher keeps an eye out for those cases that don't fit the norm. The next chapter examines the results.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

The coding scheme used for this dissertation can be seen in Table 4.1 and 4.2. With open coding, there were 23 categories. That collapsed to 11 categories during axial coding. The headers used through the results section correspond to the two tables, acting as a framework from which the results section was written.

Table 4.1: CODES RELATED TO REPORTERS

Category	Classification	Coding Type	Description	Axial coding
Similarities in the workday	Open coding	In vivo	Comparing similarities of the workday for reporters.	Reporting the story
· Today	Property	In vivo	A specific comparison of today at these papers.	
· 10 years ago	Property	In vivo	A specific comparison of 10 years ago at these papers.	
Differences in the workday	Open coding	In vivo	Comparing difference of the workday for reporters.	
· Today	Property	In vivo	A specific comparison of today at these three papers.	
· 10 years ago	Property	In vivo	A specific comparison of 10 years ago at these three papers.	
Finding sources for stories	Open coding	In vivo	Looks at the approach taken by	Building new routines

			reporters to find a source.	
· Today	Property	In vivo	Finding sources today.	
· 10 years ago	Property	In vivo	Finding sources 10 years ago.	
Writing for multiple platforms	Open coding	In vivo	Journalists now have a variety of platforms to choose from.	
Finding story ideas	Open coding	In vivo	The approach taken to find a story by reporters.	
· Today	Property	In vivo	The approach to finding stories today.	
· 10 years ago	Property	In vivo	The approach to finding stories 10 years ago.	
Producing the story	Open coding	In vivo	The steps taken to compete a story	
· Today	Property	In vivo	The steps taken today to complete a story	
· 10 years ago	Property	In vivo	The steps taken 10 years ago to complete a story.	
Time in and out of office	Open coding	In vivo	When reporting, reporters are in the office more than 10 years ago.	In the office more and out of the office less during the day.
Copy editing and editors	Open coding	In vivo	Reporters find the copy desk more important than they used to.	"An error ruins your day:" valuing the copy desk and other editors
New competitive pressures	Open coding	In vivo	It is no longer just the neighboring paper that newspapers are competing with it	Doing more with less

			is the bloggers and other online news outlets.	
Meeting deadlines	Open coding	In vivo	Deadlines are earlier and more often, especially with breaking news.	
Economic pressures	Open coding	In vivo	Staff sizes have shrunk and reporters have more work to do.	
Print vs. online challenges	Open coding	In vivo	Reporters have to balance how they prioritize their time.	
Meeting work expectations	Open coding	In vivo	With more work, and layoffs looming, reporters are concerned about meeting work expectations.	
Meeting 24/7 expectation	Open coding	In vivo	The reporter is now on the job 24/7	Technology and work life changes
Web First	Open coding	In vivo	With breaking news, the priority is web first.	
Making the news immediate	Open coding	In vivo	There is a new level of immediacy in the newsroom.	
Training, facing new technology	Open coding	In vivo	Reporters want training, but generally don't have time to participate.	
Trying new tools	Open coding	In vivo	With so many new tools, reporters have many options when it comes to how they	Relying on technology in an all-encompassing way

			report.	
· Writing for blogs	Property	In vivo	One of the newer tools reporters are experimenting with is writing for blogs.	
· Smartphones—the essential tool	Property	In vivo	Smartphones have become one of the most important tools journalists use.	
· Exploring the social media demands of Facebook and Twitter	Property	In vivo	Both Twitter and Facebook are prioritized differently in the newsroom, with Twitter being the favorite choice.	

FIGURE 4.2: CODES RELATED TO NEWSPAPER EXECUTIVE EDITORS/MANAGING EDITORS

Category	**Classification**	**Coding Type**	**Description**	**Axial coding**
Communicating the mission	Open coding	In vivo	The mission of each newspaper	
· Trusted source	Property	In vivo	Sources that are valuable because they are trusted	
· Choosing who or what to believe	Property	In vivo	Finding value and truthfulness to the paper	Management, "Our Mission hasn't changed"
· Choosing Print vs. Online	Property	In vivo	Making decisions about the value of print and online	
Adopting to new technologies	Open coding	In vivo	Technology is used in different ways, good and bad	Struggling to embracing technology
Updating the web with a sense of	Open coding	In vivo	Management expects reporters	

immediacy			to be first with news	
Educating reporters on technology use	Open coding	In vivo	Metrics are used to show the value of the online product	“Technology changes so fast, its hard to keep up”
Meeting economic challenges	Open coding	In vivo	Economic challenges have added to the struggles of the newspaper	
· Conserving money	property	In vivo	Money is a constant issue at each newsroom	“We used to…but…” dealing with limitations
· Laying people off	Property	In vivo	Each paper has seen major layoffs and the affects	

PART I: FROM THE REPORTER’S PERSPECTIVE

Reporters are the workhorses of the newsroom. They’re out in the field, in the office, on the phones, searching out the news and all its details. Today they are likely to be on social media, as well, promoting their stories as well as looking for sources or story ideas. Technology and the staff reductions have significantly modified their work, yet the basic role remains.

REPORTING THE STORY

Similarities and differences in the workday, comparing today and 10 years ago

Ten years ago, the majority of those reporters interviewed would have gone directly into work, reviewed emails, and made a few phone calls before going out on a story. Sports would have been the exception. Today, it is not uncommon for a reporter to go directly to an interview and then come into the office to write later in the day. "It just totally varies. Maybe a typical day would be I go out for an assignment and am gone for an hour or two, and then I spend the rest of the day doing phone interviews and working from my desk," said Rebecca of News at the Times. No day is ordinary anymore, according to her. One of the biggest challenges in the newsroom is dealing with breaking news. A reporter may have an early "Plan A," but those intentions often change because of breaking news, or because an editor needs something else covered.

How each reporter goes about his or her job varies, but there are some similarities. For Andy of News at the Gazette, the morning begins at 9 a.m. when he reads the paper and the website, does an early round of tweeting about his stories, linking back to the website. He then calls sources and meets them: A typical activity of reporters. He also might file a series of records requests from his computer, a difference from 10 years ago when he would have gone down to the courthouse and searched for the records, copied them, and returned to the office to analyze them and write the story. For Andy, who does a lot of enterprise work (a more autonomous position focused on short projects that last a week or two), there are always many records to be obtained. Because he is doing more in-depth research, his interviews tend to be an hour long, instead of the 15 minutes more typical for a daily story.

For others, the news day begins long before the reporter has entered the office. For many it begins while still at home, as they check email, Twitter, and Facebook before heading to work. The newspaper has become a 24-hour business so, even when they're off the clock, they feel the need to work in order to keep ahead of the news. Even if it's not something for a story they write that day, it may be something they need to know about for a story tomorrow or next week, according to Richard of News at the Times.

About half of all the interviewed reporters check their email before getting out of bed. “This morning I saw that the zoo was introducing a new snow leopard, and I thought ‘Oh, I can write a quick little feature about that. It’s visual and could be a centerpiece,’” said Sandy of News at the Tribune. Others begin their day reporting from home. Richard of News at the Times starts his day at 5 a.m. from home doing traffic updates for the web until 9 a.m., when he comes into the office. Ten years ago, reporters would have waited until they arrived at the office to contact sources, check email, and read competing newspapers. The shift also starts early for Caroline of News at the Gazette. She wakes up at 4:30 a.m. to begin looking at TweetDeck (a social media application to manage Twitter accounts) to figure out what stories will grab readers’ attention when they wake up. She also reads all the local papers in the morning. “Then I go back to tweeting and sending out things. As news starts getting in at 6, I will be looking at breaking news stories or a crime story that has grown, and there is an apparent story to be followed. If not, I look for something funny or weird to write about.”

Others don’t come into the office at all, which is particularly true of sportswriters, such as Alexander at the Times:

> I am almost never in this office. I don’t work in the office. I work in the arena and that is kind of my office when I’m home…. I am kind of old school and I don’t like people eavesdropping. I don’t want people to hear if I’m talking to the coach of the sports team on the phone. It’s not going to be the most professional conversation you’ve heard.

The sports reporters' day has most dramatically changed. Their reporting might start between 10 and 11 a.m. on a game day. Starting early is important to get information posted on their blogs. Then it becomes important to get a preview story up on the web. Next comes talking to players before and continuously tweeting throughout the day. At the end of the game, a story must be ready to be posted online instantly, and shortly thereafter that same story, often with some small changes, must be ready for the print edition of the newspaper. Jacob of Sports at the Tribune said, "Baseball reporting is about as labor intensive, as big a grind, as there is in journalism. I don't really know of anybody who spends more time on the road or works more hours than we do. And all the tweeting and blogging that we do now, that's something we didn't have to do 10 years ago. It's very stressful. It didn't used to be that way." As Jacob points out, it is the pure volume of work that has changed significantly. Ten years ago, sportswriters were required to show up and cover the game, do interviews, and write a story. Now there is so much more.

Then there are sports reporters who almost never come into the office, which is true at all three newspapers. It's been about 10 years since Larry of Sports at the Tribune last worked out of the newsroom. All the sports reporters interviewed said they spent little time in the office, a change that took place over the last five to 10 years. The demand of their beats, the amount of travel they do, as well as the blogging, tweeting, video, and photography that have become part of their job keep them out of the office.

Other reporters feel more tied to the office than 10 years ago because the technology available at their desk is much faster than the mobile technology currently available. Information that once took days or weeks to find now can be accessed online in a matter of minutes to hours. Reporters feel like time has been compressed because of larger beats, more stories to write, competition from bloggers (amateur and professional), and citizen journalists, as well social media sites, such as Facebook and Twitter.

Common among all three papers is the importance of the crime beat. Erica, a News reporter at the Gazette who has been writing crime stories for the past 14 years, said not much has changed on her beat except fewer reporters are covering it. Yet it is still important. “My day-to-day diet of murder and mayhem is still the same: the serious felony crimes and the odd ones. The big thing is asking the question ‘why’ and taking it from there,” said Erica. The Tribune and the Times also place high value on crime stories. They too, though, have cut back on the number of reporters covering crime.

One difference found at all three newspapers is the creation of hybrid jobs as reporters and editors take on multiple roles because of staff cutbacks. This particularly tends to happen with jobs in the Features section with its book, food, and travel editors and with outdoor writers (this is not an exhaustive list). With that comes the challenge of balancing two jobs and trying to be successful at both. Each of the reporters/editors interviewed who hold these hybrid jobs acknowledge that the workload is challenging and difficult to manage, but each has figured out how to cope. “There just aren’t that many papers with books editors anymore,” said Sophia of Features at the Gazette who has a hybrid editor/reporter job.

Also, all three newspapers have shut down suburban bureaus and combined staff, resulting in the newspaper covering fewer communities than 10 years ago. Reporters used to cover different counties as their beats, but now those positions no longer exist. Bureaus at the Tribune were most substantially cut. The Gazette and the Times still have some bureaus, but far fewer than in the past.

Finding story ideas

Each reporter has developed his or her own way to find stories. But they all agreed that traditional way is to talk with people (who may become sources) and listen carefully. "Talking to people, sources, looking at filings with public agencies and, of course, if there is competing media outlet with a story that would be of interest to our readers," said Jeremy of Business at the Gazette. Others are out and about looking for story ideas. About a third of the reporters noted this as a good method for discovering ideas. For others, their beat generates stories continually, and often one story leads to another. Robert of News at the Times said:

> I was working on stories about airport noise and also the number of errors occurring at the control tower, and I got a list of the errors from our local airport, as well as a list from around the country. Our city had more errors than any other airports that were as large or larger than us. It was an interesting story. So that's using technology to crunch numbers and provide context and more details than you otherwise would be able to do.

Technology has simplified how some reporters look for stories. Alexander of Sports at the Times used to wake up and read almost every article about his sport, but now he receives an email digest of what's going on with his team. He also keeps close tabs on Twitter for news and stories. Most reporters interviewed had at least occasionally found stories from their Twitter feeds.

In the office more and out of the office less during the day

With the exception of sports, reporters generally said they spent less time out of the office than they did 10 years ago. One reason is that public meetings can be covered by webcast live in each of those cities. Despite this, Peter of Business at the Tribune said, "I do try and get out at least two to three times a week for something. You do miss something by covering a public meeting from your desk, and that's the interaction with the public."

Also many beats in the past had two or more reporters covering them and now have only one. At the Tribune, only one reporter worked nights, Ben of News, who pointed out that he is unable to get outside the office to report many stories. Part of the problem is that reporters feel that it's important to be at the office in case something happens. This is particularly true at the Gazette and the Tribune and is a result of shrinking staff resources. Several reporters at the Gazette mentioned that the company expects that they will be around the newsroom in case of breaking news. However, the reporters would prefer spending more time out of the office.

Some reporters don't leave the office at all, which is far different from 10 years ago. "Sometimes I can write a story and not go out at all, and that's kind of sad to say, whereas I don't think that ever happened before [10 years ago]," said Kathryn of News at the Gazette. This is a result of too little time to write stories, as well as staff cuts. Ten years ago, reporters at all three newspapers would listen to police calls on the scanner. Today many reporters follow Twitter instead, rarely leaving the office.

Some reporters' beats dictate when they are in or out of the office. For instance, if a reporter is working on a trial, he or she may not be in the office for a week or two. If they are doing something more office-based or records-based, they will be in the office every day. Usually it is some combination of the two. Others do the majority of their work by phone out of necessity, as their workload is too heavy, and they don't have time to get out of the office. Kelly of Features at the Tribune says, "Whenever I do get out it's like, 'Wow, this is really fun!' And you realize how you get a whole different story when you do it in person."

Michael of Business at the Times suggests that it is advantageous to get out in the community. Sources get more comfortable after they know a reporter a bit, which is valuable. As a "relationship-based" journalist, he likes to get out and talk with sources to get to know them. He admits, though, that much of his work is done online and on the phone.

A minority of the reporters, fewer than 10 percent of those interviewed, said there is no difference between now and how much time they spent in the office 10 years ago. Ashley of Features at the Gazette said, "I am in the office half the time, no different than 10 years ago. It's the nature of my job and the fact that I like to be out. I come in the office to meet with my editor and write. Then the rest of the time I am out and about, seeing people and talking to people, seeing what's going on."

Michael of Business at the Times is out of the office less these days, and as a result he says he wastes less time than he did 10 years ago. He said:

> I would just go to things and think, 'This might be interesting. That might be interesting.' I do less of that. I'd go to more receptions, more luncheons, more

> get-togethers and more expositions, and I do less of that now, I think for good reason, because there were times I'd come back and say, 'That was nice but there was nothing there for me. What do I do now?'

Finding sources for stories

Reporters go about finding their sources in a number of ways. Some go out into the community, others use the phone and email, still others use personal connections or harness the power of Facebook and Twitter. The most popular way to get sources was through Facebook and Twitter, and Twitter was the favorite. Ten years ago reporters would have to go straight to the source, and there was little interaction with readers. With social media—Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram—reporters can find source information based on topic of interest. Amy of Features at the Times agrees that Facebook and Twitter are good resources because information and sources are available so quickly. She constantly checks Twitter and Facebook for story ideas as well.

Twitter is often useful for finding sources for breaking news stories because reporters can find people at an event who are live tweeting. Reporters generally have to locate the appropriate hashtag to find these sources. Facebook is less useful for breaking news because followers are usually not the general public but friends of the reporter. Reporters originally started their Facebook pages for personal use, not for work. Twitter and Facebook are also references to discover what the competition is producing and to see whether there is need to do a new story. Jackie of News at the Tribune said, "I keep in touch with sources for stories as well through Twitter, and, in turn, they pass along other story ideas."

Ashley of Features at the Gazette notes she has a long list of sources because she has been in the news profession a while. If she is working on a story, she often relies on her sources as a starting point to build further contacts for a story. She finds that building sources is a "person-to-person" effort. This approach is common among reporters at all three newspapers to take what they know and build from there. Others rely on making phone calls to make connections. From the perspective of Joseph of Business at the Gazette, "It's about meeting people. It's about going out and meeting with people and talking with people about what it is they are doing." The majority of reporters feel that this is the best way of finding sources, but fewer and fewer of them do it as much because of time constraints, reflecting the demands of what they have to produce each day.

Other reporters maintain contact with their sources in multiple ways. These include reaching out through email, Facebook, and Twitter. There are more options than ever before. "If you can't find somebody's phone number because they're the CEO of some organization, you can go at them through email, or you might be able to find a Twitter handle for them, and you can go at it that way. So there are multiple ways of getting people's attention," said Amy of Features at the Times. The majority of reporters in this study suggest that it is getting harder to reach people by phone because many people don't return calls. As a result, some reporters have found that if they send a tweet or an email, there is a more prompt response. "So when I try and contact someone, I contact them in every way possible. I call. I tweet. I email. Maybe it's annoying or too aggressive, but I don't know how people want to be reached. It is just becoming harder and harder to get a hold of people," said Michelle of Features at the Times.

In some cases, the source finds the reporter. This happens when the reporter is out in the community and runs into someone who recognizes him or her. It also has become common on Twitter for sources to tweet at the reporters about potential stories. Or reporters find sources at events, when that's the focus of a story.

Other methods of finding sources come from attending city meetings, reading local newspapers, and watching news stations. News releases get attention, too, as do government websites. "I am probably a little bit old school, but I feel strongly about going to meetings in person and not watching them on the internet, because I feel that is a great way to meet people in the community who are making decisions and also see the decisions being made. I can then easily talk to them after the meeting and get sources," said Sarah of News at the Gazette.

Reporters covering law enforcement say those contacts keep them apprised of what various agencies may or may not be doing. Also common with the police beat is checking in with an editor to see if anything might have happened overnight on the police beat. Other reporters are tied to beats where they follow specific companies, and in those cases they build their sources from within. Those in Business at all three newspapers are most likely to go out and meet sources. "It's a matter of beat maintenance. Just the other day I had coffee with one of the executives of the company. So I get out and I try and meet with folks and talk to them. As part of my beat, I am constantly learning about the company and trying to get my foot in the door so that I have better access and more sources," said Joseph of Business at the Gazette. Over time, reporters have built up a long list of potential sources, allowing for a variety of people to be contacted. This is particularly true of the reporters in this study because they are all veterans, many having the same beat for 10 years or more. Reporters find sources through tips, too. This approach is common among reporters at all three newspapers. In general, the reporters who took place part in this research study have been in the business long enough that sources find them through email and by phone. Sandy of News at the Tribune said, "People just email and say 'What do you think?' Eighty percent of the time it is nothing, but there's that 20 percent that actually pan out to be something, potentially something important." The problem for many reporters is keeping up with all the information that comes in and distinguishing the important from the useless. Robert of News at the Times said, "There's just this whole flurry of baloney that keeps rolling at you all the time that you have to sort of sift through." Reporters at all three newspapers have found that this has increased over the past 10 years.

Sports reporters from all three newspapers rely on close connections they have with the coaches and the players. "We just sort of continually stumble into things all the time. You're out there. The coach talks to you after practice, and those become the most newsworthy thing, rather than try and find something specific," said Christopher of Sports at the Gazette. All the sports reporters agree that the relationships they build with coaches and players are the key to getting the story. The challenge for all three newspapers in sports is taking national stories and making them local. "Our job is to react to what is happening to the team and look for ways to more deeply expand on it," said Randall of Sports at the Tribune.

One of the changes is that reporters in the past had to have two sources for verification. “Now someone throws something up, one of the national guys from Yahoo or whatever, I get one person to confirm it and you go with it. It’s just the push to be more timely is more important than being accurate,” said Eric of Sports at the Times. All three newspapers deal with this issue when it comes to being first with the news. Of the newspapers interviewed, the Tribune seems to be the most conservative, having a strong preference toward two sources.

Researching stories

As a result of technology, it is much easier to check facts, find phone numbers, and do reporting than ever before. The majority of reporters say they wouldn’t want to go back to life with less technology. It is much easier to research stories. It may be looking at public records, collecting background information, or making phone calls. Something as simple as finding song lyrics for a story is simple rather than hunting through record stores, notes Wade of Features at the Tribune. With greater access to information though the internet, Don of News at the Tribune said he has become more involved with data collecting and researching information visually than earlier. Most of those interviewed said they devoted several hours a day to doing research online, which has been a huge change in the last decade. Although a few librarians are left in the newsroom, the cutback hasn’t been a big issue because the majority of research is handled by the reporter through the internet. Ten years ago reporters would have been more reliant on researchers and librarians. Technology has made doing your own research more efficient. Adam of

News at the Times said, “I’m online reading anything I can about this particular incident that led to the case, while at the same time asking my source questions.”

To be first with a story, such as a breaking news story on a court case, it is essential to do sufficient research in advance. Veteran reporters understand this process of preparation. But research has its limits. After staying up late waiting for a story to break, sports reporter Eric at the Times said he fell asleep and missed his story by 10 minutes. Twitter is also used for research. “Sometimes I just throw out a question and say, ‘Anybody know someone who can talk about X?’” said Amy of Features at the Times. This is becoming a more popular tactic among reporters because they get responses more quickly compared to other methods.

But technology can get in the way of tracking the story. Alexander of Sports at the Times said:

> I was sitting for three days in front of Twitter and my head was going to explode. I couldn’t even really dissect what was real news, what was rumor. Finally, I just said, ‘You know what? I’m going offline.’ And I went out, and I reported the story. I went out, I got in my car, and I went to the airport, and I basically stalked the people I was looking for as they came back from their trips. I broke a huge story.

Also helpful are colleagues who when they hear that a reporter is working on a particular story, make suggestions for sources. Sometimes they repost inquiries for sources for their colleagues on Twitter or Facebook.

Overburdened staff

Ten years ago, all a reporter had to do was write a story that would be used for both online and print. The reporter's role has changed to include many more duties that must be done each day. This is particularly true of Sports where Thomas of the Gazette notes that he used to be able to write a story and then go home. Now he has to write a story and do video with it, tweet it, and write updates all day. The pressure is worse in Sports because their stories are conducive to video, and readers have come to expect extensive tweeting and blogging. It has become challenging in News, as well. Reporters at all three newspapers agree that 10 years ago the pace was much more leisurely, although they didn't think so at the time. There was less sense of urgency and immediacy. Reporters had time to find and write stories. Lack of time is the biggest difference with digital, say these reporters, who noted that they rarely have time for a lunch break today. More often they eat their noon meal at their desk while multitasking.

Writing for multiple platforms

Ten years ago, a journalist would have a story to write and likely would have until 5 p.m. to do so. "Now it's write as soon as you can a version of a breaking news story of a couple paragraphs, which I find maddening, the idea of editors saying, 'Just give us two, three paragraphs' that doesn't tell the reader generally anything," said Neal of News at the Gazette. The typical story length has shrunk, according to reporters at all three newspapers, even though there is more room to write online. The exception is for columnists, where the story lengths in print have gotten longer. Today a column no longer holds on the section-front page but is often used as a centerpiece that jumps inside. A small number of reporters cited an increase in space, but typically they had changed to a beat where lengthier stories were expected. Despite the overall shortening of most stories, there is still a call for the layering of stories with sidebars, boxes, and other elements; this trend began more than 10 years ago. At the same time, reporters are saying they have less time to research and write. Reporters from all three newspapers tend to agree that they probably spend more time writing than they used to because they are writing for different platforms.

The job of writing a story that might have taken five hours in the past has been replaced with multiplatform efforts. “Storytelling doesn’t just involve writing anymore. It involves pictures, it involves video, it involves a presence on social media and how I am going to present all of this. It is a different five hours now where it was just about the writing before,” said Jordan of Sports at the Tribune

With limited time, the challenge has become what to write about. Is X worth more time than Y? Luke of Sports at the Times notes that he once had a whole day to work on a story, which meant he could write a little bit and then come back to it later. Now he must complete the story all at one sitting. He doesn’t think that the quality has changed, but he definitely has had to work faster. Reporters’ opinions are mixed about whether speed has resulted in a lower quality product.

But despite these changes, Jordan of Sports at the Tribune notes that part of being a journalist is being able to write on a tight deadline, which means improving skills to meet earlier deadlines.

Producing the story

There are two different routes for stories to go, print and online. But the typical story goes through both. In the case of breaking news, a quick few paragraphs are often sent via iPhone into the editor to be examined before being placed on the web. For the Times, it is all about being able to access the publishing system, which is cloud-based. This technology allows the reporter to work from anywhere. The other two newspapers do not have a cloud-based system, and they end up emailing or texting their stories directly to their editor. These short bits of information are quickly edited and sent to the online desk, where they may or may not be reviewed before posting. It isn't unusual for a reporter to be required to provide an SEO headline—a headline specifically written with keywords that will rank high in search engines—to go with the story to expedite the process. Often there are two versions of the same story. "I start with a story due at 1 o'clock, so that's about 13 inches, which is long for online. Then I'll rewrite it for tomorrow's newspaper, and that'll be about 18 to 20 inches long. So you break the news in the afternoon, and then you try to give a context for the following day," said James of Business at the Times. Jackie of News at the Tribune produces at least one story a day and often more than that. She'd love to have more time to write stories but recognizes the importance of writing for the daily newspaper and continually filing stories for online. But there is a bigger pressure to produce than there was a decade ago, and it has to do with all the new technologies that are being used. Sports reporters at all three newspapers are required to blog, tweet, do video, and write stories all in the same time that, in the past, they had to write only print stories. In Sports, video particularly offers a new way to tell stories. It gives viewers access to the athletes and a new revenue stream for advertising on the web.

Robert of News at the Times said, “There was a time, probably back 10 years ago, where you could write 55- and 60-inch stories if they were important, if everyone agreed it was a front page Sunday story. Now it is much less, and you need special dispensation to go over 40 inches.” Story length varied by paper from 35 to 45 inches when it came to front-page stories. For other areas of the newspaper, stories ranged from 10 to 20 inches at all three newspapers.

Online is different from print, not only because it’s faster, but also because there are not as many layers of editing. Blogs receive no editing at all, unless a reader or staff member notices problems. For online stories, the general process is to write the story, hit publish, and then ask a colleague to take a look at it to make sure there are no glaring errors. In the past year or two, this has become a fairly common practice at all three newspapers.

Not everyone at each newspaper feels that there is more pressure to produce. This can vary by beat, for example, having one that isn’t focused on breaking news. Others feel the crunch to produce more work every day. “We’ve been told that they [management] want about 100 stories a year or something like that—that it’s not necessarily a quota. That’s just what I hear, and it leaves open a degree of uncertainty as to whom that quota applies. It’s the unknown that is scary. I wish we had more clarifications on expectations,” said Robert of News at the Times. It's even a matter of keeping up with readers 24/7 for some reporters. Eric of Sports at the Times has followers on Twitter from all over the world. If he wakes up in the middle of the night, he checks his Twitter feed, to see if someone from a different time zone is responding.

Creating a "brand" on Twitter

Social media has resulted in the need for reporters to brand themselves. This is particularly true of Sports at all three newspapers and of Features at the Times and at the Tribune. Part of the branding is linking the reporter to the newspaper. Reporters use Twitter to help brand themselves, as well as to interact with readers. "I have 22,000 followers from my sports beat, and I feel that I need to be making at least as many tweets as I have followers. The challenge becomes, if you build a brand, having to rebuild it if your beat changes, which can be a problem," said Eric of Sports for the Times. People would still know who he is, but he would have a very different following. As a result of his Twitter account, he has been stopped occasionally by fans who want to talk sports because they know that he is that sports guy. That would never have happened 10 years ago because he didn't have a picture of himself associated with his work in the newspaper. Alexander of Sports at the Times noted that his brand has become so popular that when a survey went out about where to go to for information on his sport, he won over other media in town, including websites such as ESPN.

Erica of News at the Gazette said that she values all of her Twitter followers. Her goal is to be the "go-to" source for information when it comes to books. She uses Twitter as a way to reach her audience, as well as to respond to it. A lot of content gets put out on the web through Twitter, particularly through tweeting out links to stories, which often drives the reader to the website. This is common for many of the features writers interviewed. Branding varies by beat, and although some feature reporters have found it successful, others have not. Ashley of Features at the Gazette said, “I carry my own brand and that is part of being in this town for 18 years. I have my picture in the paper, and I know a lot of people in town.” General news reporters tend to not have a brand and simply use Twitter and Facebook for posting stories, not interacting with their Twitter and Facebook communities. Rebecca of News at the Times notes, however, that connecting a reporter’s brand to the newspaper is becoming more and more essential, though she doesn’t believe her newspaper is doing a good job of it. Zachary of News at the Tribune mostly uses Twitter to promote stories he’s written, as well as work by colleagues. “I feel like Twitter relies on me developing some community where people are interested, and I am just not there yet,” said Zachary.

In some cases, tweets are sent out without connection to the newspaper when there is breaking news but no story to link to. Sports makes more of an effort to tweet out a story with a photo attached, though there is often a disconnect between the tweet and the newspaper. Tweeting news without a link to a story happens because of the need to be competitive: No one wants to be scooped by another news organization (or blogger, for that matter). In Sports, the subject is so competitive, with many different sources that a reader can go to, that it becomes essential for reporters to create a brand for themselves. It isn’t uncommon for Sports reporters at newspapers of this size to have 50,000 or more followers on Twitter. Features writers tend to have a smaller number of followers, often under 5,000.

For some reporters, it is too disconcerting to put themselves out in the public. One or two people interviewed at each newspaper felt this way. “I thought it was a little unsettling to let people know who I was personally. So one of the things I did was not put up a picture of myself,” said Ben of News at the Tribune. One of the issues with Twitter is that there is more pressure to tweet and continually stay in contact with an audience. Even on vacation, there are hard-core tweeters busy on social media throughout the day. This is particularly true of sports. As noted earlier, all Gazette reporters are required to tweet out their stories, though few are actually trying to build a brand for themselves.

“An error ruins your day:” valuing the copy desk and other editors

One of the biggest changes reported by reporters has to do with the copy desk. After multiple rounds of layoffs, the copy desk was hit hardest of all departments at the three newspapers, which changed the quality of editing that each story receives. Max of Business at the Tribune said, “I’m from the day when copy editors would edit line by line every story. Now, it’s just done on the fly. That’s no criticism of copy editors. They’re a gift from God. Their safety net is incredible, but we have hardly any copy editors anymore. Now your story gets read by an editor and a quick read by the copy desk. That’s it.” The same can be said about section editors at all three newspapers. There are fewer editors to go around for the amount of content that needs editing. The challenge for all reporters is avoiding errors online or in print. All the reporters agree that more errors—factual, typos, and contextual—are getting into the newspaper and online than in the past, and they blame that on the decimation of the copy desk. Sophia of Features at the Gazette said:

> It's terrible. Every time they cut, they cut the copy desk. We just don't have any real backup anymore. If I have something I really want to be sure I get right, I ask another person in Features to read it. A couple of weeks ago, when I did this rant on a particular topic, it was a really busy week and I spelled a name wrong. Fortunately, one of the Features editors saw it on the budget, he realized it, and I was able to catch it. But five or 10 years ago, a copy editor would have caught that, but it just doesn't work like that anymore.

Bailey of Business at the Tribune contends that the copy desk is what separates his newspaper from the amateurs, and the copy desk there has been gutted. Many of the reporters from each of the three papers held this view. The problem is there is no end in sight and more cutbacks were looming for each newspaper. Jordan of Sports at the Tribune notes that no one edits her blog, so she relies on friends and family to text her if they see an error. As a result, she has found self-editing to be crucial. This idea of self-editing has become important for writers not only at the Tribune, but also at the Times and the Gazette. Reporters are finding a need to produce cleaner copy than before because the likelihood of another set of eyes seeing it before publication is slim. At the Times, it isn't uncommon for a story to not get a second read for the first edition of the paper. However, it would be vetted later for the final edition. Kyle from Features at the Times said, "A story, which was not a late-breaking story, that was filed way in advance, had a name misspelled in the headline. We're just making more mistakes that could have been avoided. That mistake was as bad as spelling Bob Dylan's name incorrectly." For the Features section at the Gazette, finding a copy editor to look over work has become a challenge. The sole copy editor was recently moved to what is called the "universal desk" (where copy editors handle content from all departments), and now copy editors pitch in a few times a week, but no one who is constant. As Hilary of Features at the Gazette notes, if reporters want it done right, they have to do it themselves. All those interviewed agree that the focus of editing today is primarily on the front page of the newspaper.

Reporters at all three newspapers agree that errors are getting in the newspaper often and all of them attribute it to the shrinking of the copy desk. “The burden has now been put on the shoulders of the reporter to not be sloppy. The stories need to be clean and, if I can’t do that, I should be fired. I have been at this for 30-plus years,” said Peter of Business at the Tribune.

Also of significance is that reporters once received calls at home about their stories from copy editors, but it rarely happens today. Reporters at all three newspapers noted that they no longer get those calls, which makes them concerned that the stories aren’t receiving as much editing. They view the role of the copy editor as ensuring accuracy. “Reporters hate making mistakes. Reporters hate making corrections. We want it to be right the first time, and I strive never to make errors, obviously. It ruins your day. With the web, sometimes it is even a reader that catches that error, which can be quickly fixed online, but it shouldn’t be that way,” said Dillon of Business at the Tribune. This was a common complaint among writers. The advantage to online is that errors can be caught early and corrected before the work appears in the print edition of the paper.

It is important to note that there still are frontline content editors who review assignments and look over stories. In general, there is more editing time available in features, as these reporters are not generally dealing with breaking news, than in news because of the issue of immediacy. The situation is similar at all three newspapers. One of the issues, though, with every section is that there is not as much feedback as there was a decade ago. Rebecca of News at the Times said:

> You'd hear if you did something wrong, and my immediate editor, she'll be good about saying when she edited the story: 'I rewrote the lead because I like this version better' or she'll make suggestions—that type of thing. The amount of editor feedback has decreased as the workload has increased, and I think the editors have more work to do, as well.

In general, Max of Business at the Tribune notes editors are stretched thin these days. He, along with many other reporters, agrees that it is difficult to find time to sit down and chat with an editor about a story, because editors are being pulled in too many directions. Others complain that their editors are lazy and don't take the time to edit their work. This was reported infrequently at each newspaper but is worth noting.

Part of the reason editors aren't available, according to reporters, is that they too have an increased workload, editing for both online and print. There simply isn't enough editing power to do both digital and print well. The result is that stories go online without editing, which is especially true of breaking news, unless the story is particularly sensitive, in which case an editor will take a look at it. The editing standard is lower for online for all three newspapers. Each reporter noted that this lack of editing occasionally gets them in trouble, but the benefit to online is that it can quickly be fixed. Another difference is that editors and reporters have to think about headlines for print and SEO for the online product that they didn't have to deal with 10 years ago. Most reporters have to provide an SEO headline for the online product. That approach to online headlines was designed to cut back the workload of web staff.

Because of the lack of editing of online stories, Scott of News at the Times takes extra precautions. “If it’s going in the newspaper, they are editing. If it’s going online, I ask someone to edit it for me. I’m a good speller. I can recognize typos. I’m a pretty good proofreader. But as you know, it’s always surprising when you see it in a different format, on paper versus a computer screen.”

Luke of Sports at the Times says he doesn’t want to overlook a key fact in his stories and look foolish. Many reporters at the three newspapers worry about the lack of online copy editing. Scott from News at the Times was told by an editor:

> ‘Don’t bother with spelling and punctuation; just get it online.’ This is a huge frustration, scary, and discouraging. As a result of our focus online, we have really lowered our standards. Is immediacy that important? We could get something wrong.

No other reporters noted similar discussions, though each has published unedited work. The majority of the reporters interviewed agreed that reading their own work is difficult to do because it’s easy to overlook the obvious—typos and other errors—when the work is familiar.

In the online world, blogs are posted unedited and rarely do editors get a chance to read them after the fact. Fact checking tends to be done by the readers of the blogs, who write comments or send notes back to the reporter when they spot errors. Sometimes writers ask their fellow colleagues to take a look at a blog entry right after it is posted. In sports, their blogs are usually posted too late to have a colleague read them. Anthony of News at the Times tends to post breaking news on the blog rather than online, which is usually unedited. Although he doesn’t handle breaking news often, it still concerns him that no one has his back. Luke of Sports at the Times said, “Large blog posts don’t always get front-end editing, especially if they're kind of breaking-news speed. Our editors do on occasion have the time to edit the blog posts, but not very often."

New competitive pressures

One reason for the lack of editing has to do with beating the competition. This includes other newspapers, business journals, TV, bloggers (professional and amateur), and citizen journalists. Beating the competition has meant working harder and faster to match the work of the competition. It also depends on the significance of the breaking news. Peter of Business at the Tribune said, "We know it's competitive and other people are going to get it, so I usually just tweet it out really quickly." This method of publication is permitted by all three newspapers, but the preference is that the reporter link back at least to the home page of the newspaper for more information. A decade ago, if the reporters thought the other newspaper in town wouldn't write a particular story immediately, they could wait to do theirs or spend more time on theirs. But now there are too many news outlets to hesitate. It has become necessary to write at least something, albeit short, so that the subject is available on each newspapers' website. The issue, as mentioned earlier, is that they don't want to be scooped by the competition. It is only on a rare occasion that a story will be broken in the print edition of the newspaper. Alexander of Sports at the Times said, "It was 9 o'clock at night, and we went back to the old days, and we didn't put it out until like 11, 11:30 p.m. online, and we just kicked the other paper's ass. I feel like we made a great call. I got in touch with our editors; they were comfortable that I was not going to get scooped, and so we went with it."

Reactions to bloggers and others on the web

Following citizen journalism can be good in that reporters find out issues they would never have known. The challenge is that the media have to respond to the expectations of readers' constant need for instant information. The result is the newspaper has to put out its own stories much more quickly. Sarah of News at the Gazette said, "I wish that more readers were more skeptical and critical of what they're reading and that they realized how vetted our news is, how we're edited. We're professionals. What we do is pretty solid, and I think that there is a lot of stuff out there that is just basically crap." Most reporters interviewed are frustrated that readers don't always differentiate between a journalist and a layperson with a blog or Facebook page or Twitter feed. Reporters see themselves as more credible.

Many reporters agree that there is value in some of the competition, which provide stories and information that reporters may not have been aware of. The problem is that the newsroom has lost some of its power as the sole authority because of competition from non-news sources, such as citizen journalists and other bloggers on the internet, notes Sandy of News at the Tribune. Several journalists noted that although challenging for reporters, competition benefits consumers who have the information at their fingertips. As noted by Matthew of News at the Gazette, the value of the journalist is that he or she isn't fooled by flashy websites. He notes that anyone can build a website, or put information up that looks good but it could be inaccurate, shallow, misleading, or incorrect. Reporters at all three newspapers brought up concerns about readers not being able to tell fact from fiction.

Hilary of Features at the Gazette said the newspaper staff is highly trained, highly ethical, and has high standards, while bloggers who call themselves citizen journalists walk around shooting pictures and saying whatever they want. “It’s a struggle to remember that there still are legitimate news sources out there that strive to be impartial. And I think newspapers are probably the last of them, but it is hard to get people to understand the value of a newspaper in the community,” said Hilary. The problem that Lily of Features at the Tribune sees is that truth doesn’t exist in the world of the internet, where anyone can say anything. She notes that comments at the end of stories online are often mean-spirited and meaningless, with many of the same individuals commenting on each story. She feels that this is the downfall of the news industry. Tanner of News at the Tribune notes that he puts his heart and soul intro writing stories and then looks at the comments from the readers and finds them disheartening. It has become important to be thick-skinned when looking at comments. He said, “I do look at them because I want to make sure they aren’t saying something insulting about the person I wrote about, because that happens too often.”

Meeting Deadlines

In general reporters face pressure to produce more stories now than 10 years ago. This pressure has to do with internet demands and the need to produce content for different platforms, as well as the stress of breaking news. Story lengths are also a factor. Robert of News at the Times noted that there seems to be a quota for the number of stories individual staff members produce during the week, and that would be two to three.

This number was greater at the Gazette and the Tribune. He said 10 years ago he had significantly more time to write a story:

> If it is a story with three sources, it's a 15- to 20-column-inch story. That's no sweat. But if you mix in a 40-inch story with a couple of 24- to 30-inch stories, that's more difficult to do, and it depends on the nature of the story also. But there's more pressure to produce more, and I think it's all related to the downsizing of the industry over the past few years, and that will probably continue.

The number of stories produced varies greatly by reporter, and by beat, as well as by newspaper. For some, it is not unusual to produce a story every day of the week. The challenge for Rachel of News at the Times is to know when they need to stop updating a breaking news story and start writing for the print edition. For others, like Mary of News at the Gazette, it's a matter of asking for extra time when you need it, though she was an exception of those interviewed. "I'll just tell my boss I'm not going to get it done and that I need more time. And for the most part, I'm able to get that time. When there's a pressing reason to turn something fast, I'll do it. But sometimes there just isn't the flexibility I am talking about." Most reporters dealt with their deadlines and produced work accordingly. As Max from Business at the Tribune noted, there has never been enough time and reporters simply have had to do their best work in the time allotted. Reporters, in general, are feeling rushed and unable to take all the time they need to report a story as thoroughly as they would have done a decade ago.

ECONOMIC PRESSURES, STAFFING CUTS ARE SHRINKING THE NEWSROOM

As newsrooms continue to shrink with buyouts and layoffs, reporters are having to do more with less and rely on technology at times to fill the gaps. The biggest changes related to economic pressures fall around staffing cuts, a smaller news hole, immediacy, and the need to continually develop new skills. Each newspaper has about one-third to one-half of the staff that it had 10 years ago because of buyouts and layoffs. Other staff members retired and were not replaced. “It’s scary, I just read that another newspaper chain is letting go of another 500 journalists. With our cuts, we don’t have the breadth that we used to. I am hopeful, however, as a news consumer. It is fun to see the new things that are happening. No one has to figure it out yet, but the time is coming,” said Andy of News at the Gazette. The other challenge facing reporters is they have less time to write stories than they did 10 years ago. There are fewer staffers, but there are more stories to write than there is time to write them, said Matthew of News at the Gazette. Reporters at all three newspapers mentioned this problem. One of the ways reporters make more time in their day is cutting out their lunch hour, which is a change from 10 years ago. “On the rare occasion someone goes to lunch, they have their cellphone, and they’re just this far away from work and can do productive work when the phone rings or they get a text or an email,” said Derek of Business at the Times.

As mentioned previously, bloggers (amateur and professional), national news outlets, business journals, citizen journalists, as well as other media are all competing to post the news first. In addition, the need to interact with social media has left less time for each story. Newsrooms have become very shorthanded. “You just don’t have the colleagues you can turn to and say, 'Hey, can you help me with this? I got a little problem writing this story.' Instead, you are dealing with the challenge of a tugboat crashing into a bus on a bridge, while trying to write another story. It really puts a damper on my enterprise work, but there is no one else to do it," said Neal of News at the Gazette.

Immediacy and the need to be first are critical. There is also a need to balance the work flow for print and online stories. It isn't uncommon to be juggling two different stories for the print edition and online, and reporters still have to get the work done on deadline. The result is there isn't as much time for enterprise work because there is a need to get the daily work done. Ten years ago, it was possible for a reporter to spend two or three months on a story and then come back and say the story didn't work out. This is no longer acceptable. If given the time, it is expected that reporters will produce. This is the sentiment at all three newspapers.

At the Gazette, the cuts to the staff are so deep, according to Matthew of News, that it is becoming impossible to do the same quality work that he did in the past because of the demand to get things done quickly. "I spent six years on the investigative team before we had the cuts, and they moved us back out, and then eventually did away with that team altogether. We've lost a key tenet of journalism and that is being a watchdog," he said. This has also happened at the Times and the Tribune.

The areas hardest hit at all three newspapers are the photo and copy editing departments. Sometimes there isn't enough photo staff. This is particularly true on game day. "So I use my iPhone and do the best work that I can. It certainly isn't the quality of a professional photographer, but at least there is a photo to put online and possibly go in the paper," said Tanner of News at the Tribune. Reporters at the Times and the Gazette are doing this, too. From the standpoint of copy editing, Brian of News at the Times makes the point that they have just cut back the copy desk. "Instead of having four or five people read a story, you have two or three. Then the copy desk chief just skims it, and that's about it these days."

For many beats, those staff reductions have meant cutting the number of reporters covering a topic from two or three to one. "Now I am the only one left covering my beat, and I am doing at least two people's jobs, if not three. From this perspective, the economic impact has increased the pressure of my job and what I have on my plate," said Jeremy of Business at the Tribune. This was common among all three newspapers, resulting in a heavier workload. For Lily of Features at the Tribune, the last 10 years in journalism have been a tumultuous challenge. She notes that she doesn't even know if she'll have a job six months from now, but she loves journalism and works hard to keep her job. She has gained skills in photography, producing, coding, writing, and editing. To make herself valuable, she feels that she needs as many skills as possible.

The internet has been a blessing and a curse in the newsroom. It has helped reporters with research and connected the reporter to the reader in ways that weren't available 10 years ago, but it has hurt the industry as well. Tanner of News at the Tribune noted:

> I rave about the internet, but the internet has also killed us. All our classified advertising is now on Craigslist, and so forth. I feel like newspapers are gasping right now. They're just gasping for air, and they're seeking out what their future is going to be, and I wish it looked bright, because I feel particularly the print product isn't going to last, and that's where the majority of our money stream comes from.

It's not just Craigslist ads that newspapers are losing. If a company such as a local retailer stops advertising with a newspaper, that can mean the loss of jobs the next quarter. Zachary of News at the Tribune said, "I feel like most newspapers are completely helpless and uncreative in the face of declining revenue. The only thing they know how to do is cut, cut, cut, cut." This is a concern held by many of the reporters interviewed, but the consensus is there isn't much that they can do about it other than to keep doing the best job that they can with the resources they've been given. The Gazette newsroom was particularly bleak because rumors of buyouts and layoffs were looming; they did, in fact, take place several months after the interviews were completed. The Times and the Tribune also had additional buyouts and layoffs after interviews were completed at their newspapers.

In the case of the Tribune, one of the effects of the economy is that no one has received a raise in eight years. "We took a pay cut at that time, and then we got one raise since then that pretty much restored us to where we were," said Helen of Features at the Tribune. But there are some coping mechanisms in place to help the reporter. At all three newspapers, freelance budgets help fill in for a smaller staff. They are cheaper and aren't paid any benefits. Even with cuts, it is still occasionally possible at each of the newspapers to fly reporters to conferences for training, though the preference is to bring outside experts in or to lean on training via the web. The Times relies on freelancers, as well as wire stories, to fill out the story budget because of the limited number of staff working in Features, with fewer resources now than in the past. Ultimately, it is quality over quantity for their staff. “They’d rather we take time to do the stories right than to say, ‘No you have to do a story every day,’” said Kyle of Features at the Times.

When talking about the economy, some question whether the right decisions are being made when it comes to layoffs and buyouts. Scott from News at the Times said, “I think the economy and technology are forcing us to reassess what we do, and I’m not sure we are making the right decisions. I think we are catering too much to speed and shallowness rather than to quality and depth.” This is a concern shared by many at the Tribune, the Times, and the Gazette, but no one has any solutions for the problem. Mark of Sports at the Gazette believes that the problem lies in veteran, often older and not technology savvy, who nevertheless are in charge of technology. He said it wasn’t until recently that his newspaper started to hire staff who specialize in technology. This sentiment was shared by others at the Gazette, but not at the Times or the Tribune. Mark of Sports at the Gazette brought up a concern about journalism ethics and what type of information is being placed on the website. He notes that photographs of the top 20 cheerleaders would draw a lot of viewers, but questions if that is journalism. He acknowledges, “We need to get people to understand how to do stuff that actually resembles journalism and make it something that people are going to look at. It’s tough, but we have to overcome it if we really want to be an ethical journalism institution.” Viewer clicks online equal ad revenue, which is much needed for online content. Despite the struggles, Zachary of News at the Tribune said that the paper has a commodity that readers want. It’s only a matter of finding a sustainable way to make money from it.

Doing more with less

Reporters are definitely doing more with less. From blogging, to photographing, to filling in on other beats, to Twitter and Facebook, to writing the occasional obit, the job has definitely changed over the past 10 years. Pattie of Features at the Times acknowledges that, in the past, she didn't do much more than check her stories online to see if they were put up correctly. Ten years ago, online was a mysterious group of staff who worked on a different floor and took care of what appeared on the web page. That has all changed. Now at each newspaper, reporters have the ability to post stories immediately themselves; however, they tend not to do this because they want their work edited before it is published online. Pattie said:

> I was trained as a reporter, but in the past three years, my job has included taking photographs and doing occasional video. The change was prompted when I was issued an iPhone and was told that anyone who received a company-wide iPhone was expected to do significantly more social media with it in order to keep it. And I did. Outside the sports department, I am one of the more active social media folks at the newspaper.

At each of the newspapers, there is no longer a specific obit writer. That job must be filled by one of the reporters from another beat. In general, the job of writing obits goes to those with extensive time at each newspaper because of their knowledge of the community. Another change is that for economic purposes the Times expanded its coverage of a section when it found a major advertiser to support it. Despite the increase in space, however, no additional staff moved to that section. Wire stories are used to fill the extra space.

Jacob of Sports at the Tribune says the greatest challenge is keeping up with the number of different beats he has to cover during the off-season. He's done high school football, high school basketball, college basketball, professional basketball, and football. "At any moment, I could be called to do any number of jobs whereas before we had people filling all those roles, and everybody had their little area of expertise. Now we have to be flexible and versatile," he said. This held true for all the sportswriters at the Tribune, as well as at the Gazette. At the Times, the staff is still allowed to specialize slightly more. For all three newspapers, doing more with less has meant that the workday has increased for many of the reporters. As mentioned earlier, even when they are at home, they feel driven to keep up with their email and social media, resulting in days that can be 10 to 12 hours long.

TECHNOLOGY AND WORK LIFE CHANGES

Print vs. online challenges

Reporters handle the online versus print relationship in different ways. Ten years ago, the story that was written for print would simply be posted online late in the evening. Today, the story posted earlier online on occasion may be the same story used later in the print publication. In other instances, depending on the newspaper, the print and online stories will differ. The Times tends to write separate stories for online and print. The Gazette and Tribune will occasionally write a different story for print than online, but they are less inclined to do so. When it comes to breaking news, each newspaper continues to update the story as new information arises. Michael of Business at the Times said, "The story first going up on the website is pretty much 'Just the facts, ma'am.' And then what gets in print will usually be longer— maybe a little bit more expository." Eric of Sports at the Times adds that there is about 30% new information when it comes to the print story, but it will be packaged differently with a new lead and perhaps different organization. In spirit, however, both will be basically the same story. Pattie of Features at the Times says technology has made some of her work more efficient, such as finding sources and doing research, but she still faces a crunch to get different stories completed for print and online.

At each newspaper, reporters work to update breaking news stories as often as they can, but often find that they run out of time to rewrite the stories for print, leaving the same story as appeared online. This occurs most often at the Tribune and the Gazette. Jackie of News at the Tribune tries to at least rewrite the lead for the print story, which she often considers to need a different focus since the story has been online all day. By the time the story reaches the print edition, it feels more like a second-day story. The issue she has is trying to get someone to edit her online work, which is why many reporters prefer to write one story for online and print—to ensure that their work gets edited.

Hilary of Features at the Gazette does different stories for online and print. The challenge is prioritizing what to do when. "I try and get on my assignments right away instead of sitting on them until 4 p.m. I want to get them done and moved [to the copy desk] because the copy flow starts backing up, and I really like my editor and I don't want to piss him off," she says. Once she has information, she starts writing immediately because there is a constant need to publish content online. The big challenge for the paper, according to Hilary, is that there is a need to continually stock the website with stories.

When she is done writing, she posts links to the story on Facebook and Twitter, then she's on to the next story. It is a continuous cycle.

The challenge at the Gazette, according to Joseph of Business, is doing the original reporting that the reader can't find anywhere else for both online and print. His logic is, if people are finding these unique stories at their site and can't find them anywhere else, then they will be more likely to spend money on subscriptions. "I think that is one of the biggest challenges with online, and I don't think the Gazette has figured out how to navigate that yet. It's still a challenge, but that's what appeals to me about journalism. It is a challenge, and that's why I am still here," he said.

Meeting work expectations

The editor of the Times doesn't have any particular set of rules when it comes to social media. The only exception is that reporters produce enough stories and that, if issued a smartphone, the reporter must do extensive work with social media. The editor from the Tribune doesn't currently have a standard, but is considering putting one in place. The editor of the Gazette has a set of standards about how much needs to be produced, including the use of social media. This is written into their reporter contracts. Part of the requirement is posting to Facebook and Twitter, as well as using video and photography. The challenge for reporters is meeting the multiple demands of their jobs, which range from the reporting of 10 years ago to the photography and blogging of today. For a small minority, it has meant avoiding photography and blogs to lessen work demands. "It used to be that I would complain 10 years ago about not having enough time to write stories. I didn't really know what I was talking about because then I had time," said Helen of Features at the Tribune.

There are more demands on each reporter's time. No longer are there investigative teams doing long-term research. Today daily journalism is much more of the focus. "It's like I used to have one job. Now I have five. It never stops," said Eric of Sports at the Times with regard to writing stories for print and online, doing social media, and produce video and photography. For some reporters, it has become a matter of choosing the story that is easier to write, because if they need to do something longer, they have to plan ahead and start earlier to make up the difference.

Tweeting has definitely become an extension of the job for most of the reporters interviewed. Luke of Sports at the Times notes that time spent on Twitter is difficult to measure. He does it occasionally throughout the day, whether at home or at work. The same is true of email. Even on vacation reporters feel pressed to stay connected to their beats, because if they don't, there isn't anyone else back at the newspaper keeping up with what is going on. For Ryan of Sports at the Times, "Even on vacation—we're going to Florida next month—I'll probably check Twitter 10, 15 times a day. I'll scroll through real quick and just see if anything big is happening. It's like you just have this need to know what's going on. You don't want to miss anything big." Sports reporters from all three newspapers felt more of this pressure then other reporters did. It also showed up as an issue in features, primarily at the Times.

For Max of Business at the Tribune, the problem is overlooking stories. As the newsroom has shrunk, there are more stories to write than reporters to work on them.

Another challenge is the lack of small talk in the newsroom with colleagues. Chatting among reporters would sometimes lead to story ideas. “It would get creative juices flowing. We’re all just nailed to our desks and hardly ever talk because there’s just no time,” said Kelly of Features at the Tribune. This was a theme at all three newsrooms.

In the past 10 years, it has become easier to see whether newsroom expectations are being met through online analytics, which report instantly on how the home page as well as how specific stories are doing. Software allows the Times to test two headlines on a story to see which gets more viewers. Occasionally reporters at the Times see charts from their section editor that show how many viewers are drawn to their content and how many are sharing it on social media. Reporters recognize the importance of these metrics, but it is difficult for reporters to make sense of them. The Gazette and the Tribune have them as well, but do not explain to reporters what they mean on any regular basis.

For those who have chosen to pull back from the 24/7 cycle, work life has gotten easier—though this is not the norm. Jackie of News at the Tribune, who has a young child, said she ignores work when she is at home; she does not check Facebook, Twitter, or email. She sees this as a change from 10 years ago, when she worked constantly from home and in the office. Her life-changing circumstances with a child have led her to change how she works. Others, like Randall of Sports at the Tribune, have come to realize that reporters can’t break every story on their beat. “You’d drive yourself mad,” he says. Instead he has adopted a philosophy that he does what he can and leaves it at that. He avoids blogging, which helps keep the pressure off, unlike many others in sports, who do extensive amounts of blogging.

Reporters note that some of the pressure to meet expectations is offset by the smaller size news hole of the print edition, though this doesn't help with breaking news. Panic sets in when reporters see that another news outlet has a story that they don't have. The response at all three newspapers is the same—to drop everything and take care of it.

None of the top editors interviewed discussed story quotas, but a general consensus among reporters is the more they produce, the more valuable they are to the newspaper, which serves as job security during times of staff cuts. Jeremy of Business at the Gazette says that with rumors of layoffs in the near future, the amount of work that he is producing is important, along with how he connects with social media.

Training, facing new technology

With all the new demands on reporters, the question of training for new technology arises. In some cases, the newspapers provide training, and in other instances it is lacking. All three newspapers offered some sort of training, but reporters said that it often interfered with their schedules, so they didn't go. The exception was the Gazette, which made training mandatory. Reporters at the Times and the Tribune sometimes arranged their own training by taking classes at their own expense. Each newspaper rarely supports sending people to training outside the company.

The Times has a social media editor who develops staff training related to the basics of social media. The Tribune and the Gazette do not have that position. When a reporter is issued a new iPhone at the Times, a staff member of the technology office demonstrates how to use the phone. Few reporters at any of the papers are content with the company training they receive. Exceptions would be Linda and Sarah from News at the Tribune, who both say the newspaper generally does a good job. They both recently completed Videolicious app training for doing video. Ashley of Features at the Gazette had video training the week before she was interviewed. She found it helpful because she not only learned about video but also about advertising and clicks, as well as how the newspaper makes more money with video because readers tend to stay with it longer. Each reporter at the Tribune notes that there is often a brown bag with some sort of training and that they have to make time to participate, though few actually make the time to attend. Andy of News at the Gazette is one who does make the time: "We have plenty of in-house expertise, and there is a lot of sharing going around. Our digital photo guys are amazing and they have shown me a lot." Finding time is a struggle at all three newspapers. The challenge is how to complete a daily story if the reporter goes to a workshop for one or two hours during the day.

Others at the Times, Tribune, and Gazette have made the decision to get training on their own, including buying equipment in some cases. "I taught myself to livestream video. I bought a camera in 2007 because the paper wouldn't lend me the one they had for spring training. They wanted all that stuff, but they weren't willing to provide me the support to do that. It took two years before the paper decided to buy one and by then it was obsolete. So I just go and figure things out on my own," said Mark of Sports for the Gazette. It was not uncommon at all three newspapers for staff to be self-taught on how to use new technologies or do additional training on their own time.

Meeting 24/7 expectations

From email, to Twitter, to Facebook and blogs, reporters have more responsibilities than before. There is also a 24/7 stream of information with which to compete. The mindset of reporters is that if you don't do something with the news, then someone else will. This drives the need to always be on top of breaking news stories and other stories that might be of interest to their readership. Pattie of Features at the Times said:

> There is always competition to get the story faster and better than your competitors. When I think back 10 years ago, I really wasn't busy even though I thought I was—it was nowhere near what I do now. Nor was there the sense of never being able to turn off being a reporter, as there is today, which is why I post stories online over the weekend. Today, there is also so many more venues and news outlets that are nipping at our heels—including bloggers, rather than journalists—which has an impact on how quickly we have to work. At times we are urged to put up news without usual vetting (or without copy editors checking content)—all in the rush of getting the news up first. It's exhausting, and at times energizing.

Reporters must be vigilant to keep up with what is going on throughout each day and night. As most of the reporters noted, the only time they are really off the clock is when they are sleeping. Checking email is a priority and something many reporters do as soon as they wake up. This monitoring continues throughout the day and night, which reporters find to be a significant distraction. Many reporters are on email lists so that they can better track the news of the day in their subject matter. Michael of Business at the Times said, "I try to pull things together at night because I don't know what I will have to deal with in the morning—so when you leave work, you don't leave work."

Twitter is the other workday disrupter. Reporters feel they need to continually monitor it, which has made it easier to find stories, but it takes a toll when the reporter is trying to write a story. “You need to know what is going on with Twitter all the time. It used to be that I could go play golf in the afternoon, but now I have no idea what is going to happen during the day. It is just such a 24/7 news cycle now,” said Christopher of Sports at the Gazette. Twitter, according to most reporters interviewed, has made everyone continually alert for news. Recently, Christopher had to shift to breaking news while he was trying to finish an enterprise story. He couldn’t complete the enterprise story. Many reporters described this conflict. Even when a reporter is writing a story, it is not uncommon to stop every 15 minutes or so to see if anything new has broken on Twitter. Most reporters felt that it would be helpful to step back from technology on occasion. Thomas of Sports at the Gazette said:

> I just wish there was some way sometime to get away from it all, and technology has become so advanced that that is impossible. There are occasions where I just want to be separated from it, and I just can’t do that the way technology is today. Ten years ago, I would write my story and go home, maybe get a phone call from the copy desk, but that is it.

Staff from all three newspapers report having extended work days, with sports being the most affected because of the extensive blogging before and after games, along with the rest of their work requirements.

Rebecca of News at the Times reports going on vacation and checking her email every day constantly to make sure she didn’t miss something. This was a common theme at all three newspapers. Rebecca said, “I haven’t taken a vacation where I’ve completely walked away from, not had responsibilities, since probably 2008. You're just always on call with smaller staffs these days."

As mentioned earlier, as a result of the 24/7 news cycle, reporters' work days have changed from eight-hours to more like 10 to 12. At each newspaper, the formal hours are the same; the problem is the encroachment of overtime that's not compensated. Despite the longer day, reporters at all three newspapers have an unwritten rule that they don't put in for overtime, even though they are entitled to it in their contracts. For many, it has come down to good time management. Sandy of News for the Tribune said, "I think to myself, I don't have enough time to write these three or four stories, but I am pretty good at time management and being efficient, and if it's got to be done, I can do it." For some reporters, it's a matter of beginning the writing process earlier in the day, instead of starting mid-to late afternoon.

Despite the demands of immediacy and social media, quick internet access to information has made reporters' jobs faster and, in some senses, easier, though it doesn't completely compensate for the extra work. It's not only today that reporters have to consider, but also what information can help them later in the week or with future stories. It's also a matter of keeping up on the news industry, as well as the beat the reporter is covering. Several reporters pointed out the flaws with the 24/7 news cycle, including all the details needed to verify a story that may not get done with hurried deadlines. Neal of News at the Gazette said, "There's not as much time to think about an approach to a story, nor is there as much time to really go over it again and make sure you're comfortable with everything you've written. I think that has added a little more danger to what we do, whether it's all accurate or not."

For some, the never-ending cycle causes problems because of the continuous demands on time throughout the week. "I just become so frazzled trying to do all of my work during the week that, by the time you get to the end of the week and you realize you have a hole to fill for Monday's paper or Sunday's paper, you're just kind of throwing things together, and so I do worry about the quality because the demands have increased and staffing has decreased," said Rebecca of News at the Times.

Despite these challenges at the Times, some reporters feel that quality trumps quantity, though there is pressure ever year to produce more. Not all the reporters at the Times feel this way. Most say that more stories is the standard, regardless of quality, when it comes to getting breaking news stories up. The Tribune and the Gazette reporters also struggle with this issue. In general, at all three newspapers, if the story is more of an enterprise effort, quality comes first, but if the story is more of a breaking news issue, it is immediacy and quantity that matter most.

Web first

When it comes to online, each newspaper is still struggling between prioritizing either the print or online product. At each newspaper, there is movement toward online-first, though it generally isn't prioritized at each newspaper's morning and afternoon meetings. The Times is closest to being a digital-first publication, as editors have begun to ensure discussion of the online product during their morning meetings. The majority of ad revenue comes from print**, so** there is still a significant focus on it. At each newspaper, though, breaking news online trumps everything else. Ten years ago, the print product still was more important than the electronic one. Even up to the last several years, the priority has been print. But it's changing.

Ten years ago there was a sense that reporters wanted to protect their stories and that if they put a story on the internet, they would tip off the competition. Now that's not the focus. Now urgency is the priority, and feeding the internet has become the principal job. Each newspaper is in a constant search for updates to keep its site fresh. Samantha of News at the Times noted the complexity of updating stories for the web while continually updating her blog as well. The biggest problem facing online work is the limited staffing in the department. Very few producers at each newspaper do the majority of the online posting, leading to problems with stories not being posted promptly and inadequate time spent looking over the stories. This was true at all three newspapers.

The challenge now has become to feed the web as many stories as possible from breaking news, to news releases, to daily stories. Each story is made available for the reader, particularly if there is some competition involved. The challenge for reporters is that online takes time, especially when one has to update multiple stories. Adam of News at the Times said, "The question that each reporter needs to ask him or herself is if it is worth more to get it first, and if it's a little sloppy, that's okay."

The other challenge is balancing what reporters publish as breaking news on Twitter and what they publish online for the website. Samantha of News at the Times said, "They've always told us that the website is more important, but we need to be reasonable about what we can do, and so in some cases tweeting is much faster way to get it out, and then we have people watching for more tweets for updates." It is acceptable at all the newspapers to tweet information first, but the preference by management is that the reporter then link to the home page so that the readers can get more updates there.

The timing for writing updates is important. "I would write one version of a story for one news cycle. Then it's noon and I need to freshen up that story. Then I need to freshen it up for rush [hour]. Then, wait a minute, I have to freshen up the story for the print edition the next morning. The final version for print doesn't look anything like the web version, except for the facts," said Linda of News at the Tribune.

The breaking news process is fast with the reporter writing a few sentences to a few paragraphs that will be posted and constantly updated. Caroline of News at the Gazette said, "Get it up fast even if it is two sentences. Whatever you know is true, get it up immediately. Updating the story depends on the story itself, but sometimes I update a story 12 to 15 times if it is a breaking news developing story." This type of deadline work has become part of the norm. The pressure can be intense with breaking news. "It can be stressful, but as journalists we were trained to work under pressure," said Christopher of Sports for the Gazette.

In most cases, reporters want to freshen up stories for the print edition. They might keep certain details out of online stories that they know they want to save for print. There is an expectation that the story on the website all day will have a completely different lead than the one they write for the newspaper. Such revision is a challenge because of time constraints. This happens more often at the Times than at the Gazette and the Tribune. In some cases, online stories need to change from present tense to past tense for the paper. This is particularly true of transportation stories about the morning commute. For bigger breaking news stories where reporters are out reporting, a write-through person at the office handles all the updates to the story for expediency.

Sportswriters, in particular, have a tough time getting what they need produced for the web. It is not uncommon on game day to have one or two pregame stories, a postgame story, a feature, blog postings, and video. Because sports deadlines at the end of the game are so tight, the same story that was written for online will generally appear in the newspaper. “It's a race to the finish line each game day, especially with the immediacy of getting the game day story up immediately after the game. Sometimes we only have 25 minutes to write post-game,” said Jeffrey of Sports at the Gazette. These parameters are similar at all three newspapers.

Another way that newspaper reporters feed online is by rewriting news releases. These tend to be three paragraphs to six paragraphs in length and sometimes end up as briefs in the next day’s newspaper. Each newspaper has writers in different sections who select which of these news briefs is worthy for the website.

With online stories, one of the considerations is add-ons to the stories, such as maps, photographs, and quizzes. Not every story needs these extra items, but reporters need to consider the need for such material before posting a story. Reporters generally produce them on their own with help from online staff to get them put up with the story. Michelle of Features at the Tribune takes a lot of her own photos and has been told it is important to take horizontal photos for the web because they fit the layout much better than vertical shots. She said she has to constantly remind photographers who sometimes come with her on assignment to make sure they've shot some horizontals so that she has something to post online. Maps can also be a significant addition to help locate a story that takes place in an unfamiliar place, as well as up-to-date traffic maps to show the best route to get to work on a given day. Though reporters are aware of these options, few do them. However, those who do have found them to be an important part of their beat.

One of the advantages to the online model of posting stories before they go into print is that staff and readers who are following the stories have a chance to find errors before they land in the final print product. Wade of Features at the Tribune notes, "That is a side benefit of the way we do things now that we didn't have 10 years ago." Yet too many errors still appear on the web. There are occasions when a breaking news story gets online, and there are typos and spelling errors.

Making the news immediate

Ten years ago the focus of the newspaper was not on breaking news in the same way that it is today. The only deadlines you had to meet were ones in the evening, depending on what edition the story was for. During the day, the reporter would report the story and an editor would edit it before it was put in the newspaper. Now there is a push to be first by all three newspapers when it comes to breaking news. Reporter routines now include checking on breaking news possibilities as soon as the reporter comes to work. This is the priority of all three newsrooms. Over the last few years, reporters have gained the power to directly post to their newspaper websites. “It used to be that everything had to go through our web team, but now I can just push a button and post my work. In a breaking news situation, you can be a reporter, writer, and editor all in one, though I prefer someone edit my work before it is posted,” said Matthew of News at the Gazette. Though several reporters brought up the ability to post stories themselves, most did not actually do this. They longed for the old days when there was a safety net of editors reading behind them.

Information didn’t move as quickly 10 years ago as it does now. The newspaper’s strategy is to get relevant information out immediately and then come back with deeper stories later in the day and for print. With breaking news, the challenge becomes whether to post directly to Twitter or whether to break the news on the website. The reporters who were interviewed tend to prefer to break stories on Twitter. The problem is that the newspaper doesn’t make money off those posts. In general it is rare to break the story on the website and then tweet out the story, though that is changing. Most of the time, reporters tweet the news and hope that it gets associated with the company.

Rebecca of News at the Times has developed a system for her breaking news stories. She begins by getting one or two paragraphs up on the website. Then she will make some phone calls and quickly refresh the story with a little bit more information until she has all the basics. She will continue to update the story throughout the day. She then fleshes out the story with reaction and quotes. If time is available, she rewrites the story for print into more of a narrative. A concern among most reporters is that they are sacrificing some of their reporting with breaking news because they're trying to publish immediately.

It isn't just the stories that break quickly; the reporter also has to respond to comments from the community. If the story is controversial, the commenting function will be turned off by the web team to avoid personal attacks, racist comments, or otherwise derogatory posts. Whether writers respond on comments to their stories is entirely dependent on the individual at all three newspapers, and so is whether he or she chooses to read the comments. Caroline from News at the Gazette notes that she used to fear the commenters, but now she realizes that she needs to figure out how to work with them. She believes that reporters are all trying to find a way to listen to what the audience has to say. She also values the audience because there are things that they can teach her to make her a better journalist. Commenters sometimes notify reporters of mistakes in their articles, as well as grammatical errors, which lets reporters correct the story. This happens at all three newspapers.

Trying out new tools

From photography and Facebook to Twitter, video, and blogs, reporters are continually experimenting with new tools. For every reporter, the web has become an important research tool. With smaller library staff, the use of the internet has become essential and has expedited the research process. The camera is one of the most popular tools. Larry from Sports at the Tribune likes to carry a DSLR camera along with his iPhone on assignment because he is never sure if there will be a photographer at the scene to take pictures. He has found that the DSLR camera takes better photographs than his iPhone. As noted earlier, photographers have been cut heavily at all three newspapers, and reporters now have to do more photography. Lily of Features at the Tribune does this as well, though it is not common practice among all reporters. “I shoot photos on my phone, and I just started shooting video, too. It’s hard to juggle both of them and take notes for a story at the same time. It is really a juggling act. I can’t prioritize one over the other because the paper needs both.” She is also responsible for editing her own pictures. At the Times and the Gazette, the situation is similar. Patricia of Features at the Gazette notes that she is starting to think visually for the first time. “I never really was a photographer before. Now that I have a phone with me all the time and there’s so much video and so many photos to take all the time, I’m always thinking about more ways to present information visually.” Many of the reporters interviewed agreed. They all need to think visually.

Others also say that video is changing how they cover stories. At all three newspapers, Sports was the first to experiment with video. Sports reporters have found that videos are popular with fans and they do videos whenever possible. Other departments are expanding their use of video. Sportswriters shoot videos of press conferences and often conduct video interviews. Shooting pregame video and postgame video is also popular.

At the Tribune, Sports reporters conduct Skype interviews after games with another media organization—non-newspaper—which is then used on the Tribune’s website. “They interview us and then they put together the package in their studio, and package it up, and then it's put on our website. It's like a split screen there in the studio, and we're at the ballpark. It is really fun to do but a challenge to do after just making deadline at the end of the night," said Jordan of Sports at the Tribune. In addition, the sports reporters often try to do podcasts on game day. Video is also used to support sports reporters' blogs, which are generally linked to on Twitter each night. Sports reporters at the Times have been doing video for three to four years. The challenge with video is that it is time consuming. "I thought those were just easy [video]. They're not, not if you want to do them well. You have to ask the right kind of questions, and they're different than print. I also don't think people feel as comfortable to talk to me when I put them on video all of a sudden," said Jordan.

Video has other advantages. A small number of reporters are using it to remember details of where they have been. When a reporter goes to write, he or she will review that video to get a better sense of the scene and other details. Video acts as an extra guarantee that the reporters get the details correct. This is particularly helpful for reporters covering crime stories.

Social media tools are also popular. Twitter is the preferred social media platform; few reporters use Facebook regularly for work. Caroline of News at the Gazette said, "I think you can say whatever you need to say in 140 characters. It's good for journalists to boil down, distilling it all. Later when I look back at my tweets, that's my story. I tweet out everything I think is important. My tweets are my outline at the end of the day." She was the only reporter who said she used Twitter as a framework for writing a story at the end of the day. Twitter is also advantageous as a way to stay connected to the sources that reporters write about in their stories. Not every reporter is a heavy user of Twitter, however. It varies by beat, with sportswriters most active. They tweet regularly throughout the game, give updates and analysis, and engage fans. Jacob of Sports at the Tribune said:

> Those tweets are pulled into a platform which appears on our website, and it's updated in live time, so readers who come to our website looking for coverage will see this platform with my tweets. They're able to engage that way if they don't already follow us."

The Times also gathered tweets onto their website, though the Gazette did not.

Writing for the blog

The popularity of blogging varies by department. It is particularly prevalent in sports, though features, news, and business also blog to varying degrees. Reporters post video, photographs, and text to their blogs. They use it to link to other information, as well. The goal is to keep the reader connected. Reporters who blog generally like it because they have complete autonomy in doing so. Luke of Sports at the Times said:

> I started doing my blog in 2006 when not many people even knew I had a blog. It got very little traffic. Today I do both a pre-game blog and a post-game blog. It's a lot of extra work between tweeting during the game, doing video work, and writing a story for the paper. But there are no limits with blogs. I can write as much detail as I want to, and I have an audience now. I get a lot of clicks.

The Times introduced blogs to its website earlier than the other newspapers. The other newspapers only started blogging within the last five to seven years.

For Alexander of Sports at the Times, the blogging effort takes place immediately after an interview. He wants to keep his audience as informed as possible and writes about 5,000 words a day. For him, writing for the paper has become an afterthought. It is not uncommon for sports reporters to blog several times throughout the day. This is common at all three papers. It's a way to continually keep their audience updated. The paper's space has shrunk, and sometimes the only place the reporter can put extra information is on the blog. This is common among sports reporters at all three newspapers. A typical story length in sports is about 18 inches, so they blog to get extra space.

The editor for Eric of Sports at the Times has told him numerous times that he is writing too much for the web. Eric's response: "It can't be too long. It's the web. It's impossible." He has found that blogs are also essential for community engagement. Reporters are also able to get information up quicker, which readers appreciate. Jordan of Sports at the Tribune said, "Our emphasis is getting information out there quickly, and we worry about quality second. We want as many eyes on the website as possible, so I rush to post things. The unfortunate part is quality does suffer, and I think that that is an unfortunate byproduct of it."

It's not uncommon for 5 p.m. to roll around before the reporter realizes that a print story has to be written. "The web has changed everything and has added a much greater workload to our schedules. But it is exciting as well with the challenge of getting information out as quickly as possible," said Eric. Throughout each sports department, it isn't uncommon for the print story to be the last work to get done.

Reporters from news, business, and features write blog posts, too, though not as many, whereas every sportswriter has his or her own blog. From health and science to traffic and commuting, a variety of blogs appear online. As story lengths have become shorter, these reporters feel that a great way to supplement what they write for the newspaper is to publish a blog. It isn't uncommon for reporters to post a few briefs during the day to keep their blog active for people viewing it. Richard of News at the Tribune said, "I blog live traffic information for commuters, along with weather information that affects commuting. So, I'm kind of all over the map and try to find fun stuff, too, that will make people laugh. I found a misspelled sign recently that was telling people to go the wrong direction." Briefs are also often found in blogs for different sections, particularly in news. Zachary of News at the Tribune said, "As a health and science writer, I try and blog at least two to three briefs a day about local things going on. They usually come from papers from universities and hospitals. They are very quick to write up, and I try not to take more than an hour a day to do so." In Features, at all three newspapers, the primary reason to blog is that stories in the newspaper have become too short and reporters need more creative space. Online there isn't any length limit and reporters can expand on what they wrote for the newspaper and offer additional features such as video and photographs.

Don of News at the Tribune likes to blog because he wants the public to contribute to what he is writing about. He also likes the fact that, by interacting with the public, a lot of his errors get caught. There is a general consensus among writers that, although their work isn't proofread by another individual before it goes online, the community does a good job of finding errors and letting the reporter know. A number of reporters at each of the newspapers expressed this sentiment. Each would prefer to catch the errors before the post, but all are grateful that the errors did get caught almost right away through the community of readers. Kathryn of News at the Times has noticed this trend, which she has come to call "community editing." "You get calls on things that you've posted, so people do see the story before it's in the paper the next day, so you might get calls from sources who have opinions on what you've written or want to contribute in some way, so that can be interesting." Having a smartphone also allows a reporter to keep track of comments on a story. This is particularly useful if someone finds an error, because the reporter can make a quick fix. Readers finding errors has put reporters on edge about their reporting.

Smartphones—the essential new tool

Generally, smartphones have become essential to the job of the journalist whether it be to take a picture or video, tweet something, use Facebook, or write a story. "I rarely take my laptop out anymore when I am not in the office. The phone can do everything," said Anthony of News at the Tribune. The majority of the journalists I interviewed couldn't do their job without their smartphones. If they left their phone at home, they would have to go back and get it. Mary of News at the Gazette notes how utterly dependent she has become on her phone. "If I forget it, it's like I lost an arm or something. It just allows you to stay so in touch with everything. It is almost addictive."

The smartphone has influenced the reporters' day with at least an hour or two devoted to its use, from checking email, sending and receiving messages, and taking photographs and video. One advantage is that reporters can file stories from the little keyboard on their phone. If there is a press conference, they can record the person speaking and ship the audio or video clip to the newsroom. During an interview, reporters can quickly look up information if they have a question. Reporters can tweet from it. They can take photos with it. They can be one-person roving reporters. “It’s for better or for worse because I know the video quality when I do that isn’t as good as when we send a producer, a video producer with a better camera, but when we have to pick and choose and there are only so many things we can do, that’s pretty decent quality, and it’s enough quality for the things I am doing,” said Luke of Sports at the Times. Ten years ago reporters would have had to remember to bring along a point-and-shoot camera or video camera. The problem with doing everything with the phone is that not all reporters are good photographers. Ideally a photographer would go out on all assignments, but there are not enough of them, so the reporter ends up taking the picture. Reporters suggest that lesser quality photos and video are acceptable because of the need for immediacy. Most agree that they are not trying to substitute for what a photographer would typically do because they aren’t as accomplished in that skill.

The phone has become indispensible for reporters for many reasons. They’re able to check their email while out of the office or return a phone call. Despite the technology, about half of the reporters interviewed still find it easier to do interviews in the office, if they can. Although Sarah of News at the Gazette uses her phone to email her subjects, she prefers to talk with each one-on-one and uses email for follow-up questions. She keeps a constant watch on with what is going on with Twitter and Facebook, though, in case of breaking news. She does this even when out on another assignment. The value for Amy of Features at the Times is that as a reporter she doesn’t have to be in the office to keep up with what is going on. She has Facebook and Twitter at her fingertips. “The iPhone allows me to tweet next to my blog and add breaking news, and I file remotely in a way that I couldn’t 10 years ago. I can even record digitally where I didn’t before,” said Jonathan of News at the Times. Reporters generally have found the smartphone great for sending in a few paragraphs of breaking news and then sending it quickly to their editor. Sandy of News at the Tribune has written 25-inch stories on her phone while sitting in her car. “I zip it right through to my editor and send a few photographs, audio, or video. It’s immediate and so amazing. Reporters today have no clue what it was like 10 and 15 years ago. Before the internet, I had to look everyone’s name up in the phone book when I didn’t know how to spell a name, or call, or fax,” she said. Ten years ago, a reporter would have called in a story, dictating it to someone who would type it.

Despite all the technology, it is still commonplace for reporters to use pencil and notebook when interviewing subjects, even if they are recording the conversation. The journalists still don’t completely trust technology. There is always the possibility that the phone didn't record anything. Good reception also can be a problem, and for that reason several reporters prefer to do their interviews from a landline. Scott of News at the Times said: “There is too often static or a bad connection with my cellphone. The iPhone reception just isn’t as good as a landline when you need to capture every single word someone is saying.”

The biggest challenge for reporters is separating themselves from the technology. This is why some reporters have a love/hate relationship with their phone. Smartphones keep reporters from ever being in the dark about information, but on occasion they would like to be. “I have a cabin about 80 miles from here, and I’ve written several stories from up there about news that has broken over the weekend, or when I’m on vacation where I’m the only one with the expertise to write the story,” said Anthony of News at the Times. Because there are fewer reporters covering each beat, this behavior has become common. There are few places anymore where reporters can completely disconnect from their job. The only limitation to the smartphone is the battery and the rare occasion when a person is out of range for cell reception.

Of those interviewed, only one did not have a smartphone. He would be getting one soon for work, but he was not pleased about it. Michael of Business at the Times said he already has too many people contacting him each day and adding a smartphone will only make things worse. “I don’t want to be online all the time. I want the chance to be offline sometimes too. I am not looking forward to getting that phone in the next few months. It is just going to make my job a whole lot more difficult.” For the small number of reporters who are not very technology savvy, the smartphone is more than they need to do their reporting. They occasionally use it for email or the occasional photo, but in general they avoid using it as much as possible. Business reporters at each paper pointed this out, as well as a few others in different departments.

Exploring the social media demands of Facebook and Twitter

Ten years ago, reporters could go to a concert and decompress and not worry about their beat the entire night. Now on these evenings, reporters are constantly worrying about what’s happening on their beat. Social media is constantly pushing new information out, and in particular, Twitter. Social media has many advantages for **reporters but** also has created problems.

The most common use of social media is the tweeting out of stories that the reporter wrote, as well as the work of their colleagues. Ryan of Sports at the Times said, “We started using Twitter in summer 2008. We didn’t really know what Twitter was, but we thought we’d try it. We started tweeting what was going on during practice and it caught people’s attention right away. They went crazy. We were like ‘Holy cow, this thing works.’” Because it was so successful, they kept doing it, and other sportswriters began to use it, too. At each newspaper, sports was the first to try out the new technology, whether it be Twitter or the iPhone. The one challenge that Ryan has found is that if you tweet too much during a game, say 50 to 100 times, you miss some of what is going on during the game. Extensive tweeting has become part of the sports reporter’s job. He also notes that as a sports reporter he is expected to be on Twitter 15 to 18 hours a day. “Or you’re not doing it right,” he said.

Reporters also like to use social media to look for good story ideas. One of the ways to look for national stories that can be localized is by reading through Twitter and other websites. Feature writers often do this. They can also keep up with their beats and learn what conversations are going on that they need to be part of. Luke of Sports at the Times said, “Twitter has been the biggest game changer of all, aside from the ubiquitous term ‘technology.’ I think Twitter has been one thing that makes everything real-time and opens up so many cans of worms—gives you different access to people on Twitter, who will say things, make news unwittingly on Twitter, things like that.”

One of the advantages of Twitter for sports is followers who see a story elsewhere will tweet that information to the reporter. For high-school sports, which newspaper reporters are not following on a regular basis, they would not have known about a story if a follower hadn't notified them via Twitter. This happened to Alexander of Sports at the Times. "It was about a player going to the minors, but if I wasn't in the dentist chair and saw that, I would have never known. It turned out to be a good story," he said. The challenge with using Twitter is that stories are so fluid. The reporter might be right when he or she tweets something out, and five minutes later it might be wrong. Alexander also said, "I feel like we're almost not reporters anymore. It's like we listen and we put it out the second we hear something. We give it to the reader and there's no absorbing things anymore, and there's no reporting things out anymore." One issue for sports reporters is that athletes can tweet out their own news announcements. The Times sports department is by far the most active on Twitter, but the Tribune and Gazette are not far behind.

Other departments also use Twitter and Facebook. As mentioned earlier, the Gazette requires stories to be tweeted, as well as posted on Facebook. The newspaper prefers reporters to get their stories out there. Paul of News at the Gazette said, "I mainly use it to post my column, but I don't usually use Twitter daily." About half of reporters at the Times have Twitter constantly visible on their desktop computer, but keeping track of tweets can be a challenge. Reporters at all three newspapers often tweet at events, sports or otherwise. A few reporters tweet to connect the reader back with the newspaper's website. At the Times, the reporters don't tend to link back to the paper. "The natural reaction is to throw it on Twitter, because that's faster. Well, the editors will tell you we make no money on Twitter so what they want us to do is blog it and then tweet out your link so it's driving people to the newspaper website," said Kathryn of News at the Times. This is a common concern at both the Times and the Tribune. Reporters at the Gazette tend to link their tweets back to the newspaper home page for updates.

Reporters tweet their stories because they want readers to know they are available. Where the story lands on the newspaper web page can make a difference. Reporters tweet so readers will find their stories even when they're not prominent on the home page.

Tweeting is even more successful when your photos are included. Reporters have learned that photos help attract the audience and provide one more way to get the reader hooked. The constant checking of Twitter can be distracting, though, and it can be challenging to write a story and keep up with Twitter. Most reporters use either Tweetdeck or Hootsuite to track multiple Twitter users at the same time. Reporters also set alerts to track specific people or topics they consider most important so they get an alert on their phone or computer.

For those who use Twitter as a source, it can be a challenge at times to contact a real person to further explain the situation. This happens often with police when there are follow-up questions to an investigation and no one is available. Multiple reporters at the Gazette cited this issue. Adam of News at the Times said:

> What we used to do is we had a list of every police department, people at the airport, the state capitol, just all the emergency type numbers, hospitals. And there are certain ones that we call at certain times of the night, just to see if something's going on. Now what they tell you to do is go to Twitter and see what other media are reporting on. I was just blown away when they said that. I said, 'That's how we do it now?' They said, 'Yeah.' And I said, 'So if something happens and it's not reported or tweeted by a TV station, we're going to miss it?' They said, 'Yeah,

> but we don't have time necessarily to make all those calls anymore.' It is really disappointing to me.

Several reporters mentioned the need to always go back to the source from a Twitter post before reposting it to verify its authenticity and accuracy. This is an issue because it takes time. Rachel of News at the Times finds Twitter useful for gathering source information. For example, she said, "I am just trying to get close to someone who might know someone who was there. It took a long time, but my patience paid off in only a few hours actually. The payoff for the time is real small, but sometimes it's those small pieces that you need for the story."

In the Times newsroom, on occasion reporters get carried away with their tweeting. Sometimes the reporters are too busy tweeting and not filing stories online. Rachel of News at the Times said," I finally had to tell the editor, 'Tell them to stop tweeting! File! We need the story! Sometimes we get so wrapped up in the technology and the immediacy that we lose track of the actual reporting."

Whether reporters use Facebook and Twitter often has to do with the specific beat. Business reporters at each newspaper find Twitter less useful because, they say, the typical person they need to connect with is not on social media.

Wade of Features at the Tribune says Twitter is the primary social media application he uses to connect to theater people. The literary and food communities are also very active on Twitter. In each case, Twitter is a good place to find out what's going on for a beat, as well as a place to let followers know what's going on from the reporter's perspective. Don of News at the Tribune finds Twitter useful to connect with the stakeholders in public health. Kathryn of News at the Times, on the other hand, used to tweet when she had the education beat because all her sources were there. Now that she is on general assignment, she doesn't need to tweet very often. She still does keep an eye on her Twitter feed, however.

Out of all the reporters interviewed, only two did not use Facebook or Twitter. They were Derek of Business and Charles of News, both at the Times. They said they chose not to use it because their job didn't require it, and neither saw any utility in it.

At the Times and the Tribune, reporters primarily use Facebook personally rather than professionally. The Gazette is the exception because it requires reporters to post stories on Facebook. Lilly from Features at the Tribune, on the other hand, finds Facebook to be very useful to her beat; it is a great way to find stories. "She was the only reporter to note this, however. The most common use of Facebook by reporters is to search for people, particularly when it has to do with crimes or accidents. It used to be that reporters could message people on Facebook and hope to get a reply or otherwise find other connections, but Facebook has put up a barrier to this, requiring reporters to pay in order to send messages directly to people who aren't their Facebook friends. Without that payment, the message goes into junk mail and is unlikely to be seen. Still, Rebecca of News at the Times searches for public Facebook pages and pays to send messages. She also messages relatives of those she's trying to reach when there is a death involved. In the case of a crime story, Adam of News at the Times said, "I am absolutely amazed, especially people who are accused of crimes, the stuff they put on their pages. But you get the information. Do I rely on it for the paper? No, because I don't know who posted it."

Relying on technology in an all-encompassing way

Ten years ago there wasn't much more than the internet available for a reporter. Rachel of News at the Times said, "I was a government reporter back then and you actually had to go to the government offices and copy stuff, and now today all I have to do is do an online search for everything, and I can call up what I am looking for. It's very expedient." It wasn't long ago that, a reporter would have to go sort through many collections of paper binders and folders, or case files, or use copy machines or faxes. Newer technology has eliminated a lot of that time-consuming work, and now reporters can find the information they need from the computer at their desk. All the interviewed reporters agree that they couldn't do their jobs without technology, which has accelerated the speed at which they do their jobs. Thomas of Sports at the Gazette said:

> What has revolutionized the way I do my business is Google and the research availability. Before, when I started out, every fact had to be looked up in a book or I would have to make a phone call. Now it is all available online with a quick Google search. It now takes 10 minutes to find what you're looking for, whereas 10 years ago it might have taken hours to find it. With a smaller staff and lots of work to do, this is a blessing.

Ten years ago, reporters would have had colleagues in the library who would help them figure out the most fundamental facts that are now a mouse click away. Richard of News for the Times said, "Ten years ago, I would have to punt. If I knew somebody's phone number, great. Otherwise I would have to check the phone book. Now there are a number of online resources for reaching people that are much faster and more efficient." Facebook is the primary source, along with Twitter.

Luke from Sports at the Times said, “Technology speeds you up. It makes days pretty exciting because you get to do a lot of different things, but it’s probably less time sitting around or decompressing or thinking. You’re in the process of doing a lot more than you are thinking these days.” Technology can also be used for documenting notes and saving information whether or not it’s used for stories. By the end of the year, Sarah of News at the Tribune usually has about 400 pages of notes to save in case another story comes up for which she might need to access her notes. From a technology standpoint, reporters often noted a desire for an easy way to transcribe their recorded interviews; currently there isn’t a reliable option.

Reporters use their technology in different ways. Some use it to access courtroom documents. Jeremy of Business at the Gazette is now able to search PDFs, something he was unable to do 10 years ago, which is a major time saver for lengthy documents. Other reporters use technology to search through jail registries to look for new bookings and to look up past offenders, as well as juvenile ones. Erica of News at the Gazette still must go down to the courthouse, as this information is not posted online.

The availability of resources is also different. Now it is possible to contact anyone around the world, according to Max of Business at the Tribune. Reporters can also find their way to stories that somebody else wrote that might be of relevance. “Everything has just gotten easier. It is easier to find people, it’s easier to find sources—it’s easier to get a quick opinion about something. It’s easier to gauge what people are doing, it’s more efficient to have my phone be my most important work tool,” said Michelle of Features at the Times.

Most of the reporters interviewed from all three newspapers have found themselves deeply connected to technology. “Oh I’m a slave to it, and I don’t even do all the things that other people do. I don’t tweet, but I can’t live without Google and email,” said James of Business at the Times. Luke of Sports at the Times notes that he can’t do his job without the help of technology anymore. There are simply too many expectations from tweeting to video. “I can’t think of a single thing we do that isn’t dependent on technology right now. If you go shoot and edit a video, that’s all technology. And you have to tweet too,” he said. Many reporters are signed into Twitter, have Google open for quick searches, as well as have their newspaper website available for quick reference throughout their entire shift.

While covering courts, Samantha of News at the Times Skypes each morning at trial with the video department at her newspaper where the staff captures the video and posts it. She then continues to tweet during any breaks. Cellphones are not allowed in the courtroom, so she has to rush out and spend 10 minutes connecting, tweeting, and getting back to her seat. “When I am on the road for stories, and I am in a small town, and I need to get something up quickly, I can usually find a hot spot where there’s Wi-Fi so that I can connect to work. If not, I always have access to my iPhone.”

Amy of Features at the Times said the real problem is keeping up with the latest apps and all the new technology as they come out. For most reporters, the important lesson with technology is to use it, to use it wisely, to use it to augment their reporting, and not to be too quick to let it dominate their news coverage.

Not all reporters say they are dependent on technology. Tanner of News at the Tribune, and Neal of News and Pat of Business at the Gazette say that they have not become dependent on technology. They believe that they haven't lost sight of the human component of their job, which is meeting people and interviewing them. Tanner notes that he shows up to write something and he writes it, which hasn't changed over time. In that sense, his work today is similar to 10 years ago. Pat of Business at the Gazette said, "It is great to have photo capabilities and video capabilities when you need it, but it isn't something I do every day, but usually once or twice a year."

The past decade has brought significant changes to the routines of reporters from the physical (more time in the office, except for sports reporters) to the method of finding sources (Facebook and Twitter) to the competitive nature of the news business (now a 24/7 production). Smartphones, personal brands and multiple platforms have changed the daily workload, while the general nature of the job—getting news in front of readers—remains the same.

PART II: FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF EXECUTIVE EDITORS AND MANAGING EDITORS

Executive editors and managing editors also influence reporters and their work. The information from the executive editors and managing editors of these large papers is meant to set the stage (and, in some cases, show a contrast) in what the organization is doing from the perspective of its mission, technology use, and the economy. It is meant to be brief and not exhaustive. This study is mainly concerned with the contrast in the role of the reporter now and 10 years ago. But the author found it necessary to include some information from managements' perspectives because it relates to how and why reporters work the way they do.

MANAGEMENT: "OUR MISSION HASN'T CHANGED"

The goals of the three newspapers—the Times, the Gazette, and the Tribune—are similar: to be a community-driven newspaper, to maintain credibility, and to offer depth to the news. Each newspaper seeks to chronicle communities that are undergoing change and provide context about what is happening in the lives of their readers. It is also important to act as a government watchdog and "be that force that holds people accountable so that society in general and in our community can make sound decisions in a democratic republic and also entertain with stories that enlighten and reflect our community as it is today," said Edward, executive editor of the Tribune. These are ideals shared by the Gazette and the Times, as well. Their role is to be the gold standard and give people local and national news of depth and fairness, as well as accuracy.

Each newspaper produces different sections to reflect varied audiences: business, features, news, and sports (among others). The division into sections is true for the online edition, as well. Harnessing the power of the web, newspapers provide readers the option to interact with stories through video, comments on stories, and other methods of participation. At each newspaper, the mission is the same whether it is the print or the online edition. Technology has always fit into the mission of these three newspapers, even if it was simply the ability to print hundreds of thousands of copies on a big press that gave them the authority and power to reach citizens, as well as to distribute the newspaper to households across a metropolitan area. Technology gives them all sorts of tools and methods of reaching readers, as well as providing news and information in ways that are more convenient to the audience. Print or online, each newspaper will deliver it [the newspaper] however its audience demands. What differs is what the variety of digital platforms allows as far as interaction among readers. Gail, the executive editor of the Gazette, said:

> We get to be more engaging with readers on digital platforms than we can be in print. We get to publish more stuff. We have unlimited capacity online. So, in some ways, digital publication is more freeing. We can tell stories in different ways. We can use video; we can use interactive graphics. It really enhances our ability to tell the stories. But the mission, the basic mission of keeping people informed and reflecting what life is like in this area of the country, is still the same.

The challenge is the new affordances that technology has allowed and how to use them. All three executive editors agree that social media has allowed them to take the conversation off their printed pages and into the virtual world with comments online at the website and more comments on Facebook and Twitter that allow them to take advantage of expertise by tapping the sources they have and pulling them together, making them more available to the community at large.

What has changed over the past 10 years is that reporters are more dependent on social media now in terms of not only using it to report news but also to discover news. This is significant because sometimes the first flash of possible news shows up on Twitter. Each executive editor believes there is a need to constantly monitor Twitter in the manner once used in the newsroom to watch the nightly newscast and listen to the police scanner. The challenge is so much information is coming across Twitter that it is easy to miss something significant, so it requires constant attention. However, Twitter does have its perils and misinformation, as well as hoaxes. Edward, executive editor of the Tribune said:

> There was a lockdown at a school a few nights ago. We noticed it because of Twitter, and we work with another local paper on breaking news, so we contacted them to know what was going on. Well before we even got the story up, they found out it was false. It's important to verify first before posting any stories.

For all three newspapers, more value is still put on the print product as it remains mission critical. Newspapers can't afford to neglect the digital front and expect to survive, and they can't ignore the print product because that's still where they make most of their money. Neither product is competing in any meaningful way with the other, but each one feeds the other. All three newspapers have paywalls, which has helped online from cannibalizing print with people dropping subscriptions. The greatest challenge for the Times is that it still has a large audience of readers who have a tremendous preference for print, and many of those readers are concerned that someday the print product will no longer be produced. The Times executive editor tries to reassure readers that the print product is solid and will continue to be around. But he recognizes that mobile access to the internet is surging and the newspaper can't ignore it. "They're just different tracks and we would be in trouble if we diminished our attention to print, and we would obviously be in trouble if we didn't charge really hard at all the new digital platforms from mobile to iPads. They're both high priorities," said Sam, executive editor of the Times. Despite the demand for the print product, the Times has shifted toward focusing on digital first by prioritizing it in the morning and secondarily discussing what should appear in print. This hasn't been perfected yet, and there still is a struggle between online and print, but there is progress toward emphasizing digital.

The Gazette, too, acknowledges that though the print product is the larger moneymaker, the online product needs more attention than it has needed in the past. "I think particularly on weekdays we need to turn around our planning so that we first think about what we are doing about stuff digitally rather than just assigning things to print pages," said Lance, managing editor of the Gazette.

The shifting emphasis to digital content has resulted in copyeditors, news editors, and desk editors coming in earlier in the day to work on the digital product. The challenge is that directing more resources to online diminishes their ability to focus on issues with the print product, particularly because of diminished staff from buyouts and layoffs. Although newspapers have been laying off staff for years, 2007 marks the year when the number of journalists laid off increased substantially, with each newsroom losing at least one-third to one-half of its newsroom employees within a year or two. For now, the newspaper is still too print-focused, according to the managing editor and editor of the Gazette. In their planning, they are not yet focused on digital first. But both editors at the Gazette recognize this and are trying to change their workflow around online posting times and concerns over presentation. "But it's a struggle, and we're not there yet. We are trying to figure out how to do that," said Lance. Editors at all three newspapers report resistance among reporters, as well as limited financial resources as constraints.

Like the Gazette and Times, the Tribune also struggles with the challenge of balancing digital and print. The structure of the newsroom is still focused on print. It is a big challenge for the Tribune to overcome. Aaron, managing editor of the Tribune, said:

> There is still a lot of infrastructure needed to get out the print paper. We stripped that down as far as we could strip it, and the reality is if you are a page designer, you have to devote your whole shift to that. There are people, because of necessity, that are still doing print because it is labor intensive, so digital ends up being the way a lot of us think of news coverage throughout the day.

He calls print a double-edged sword. On the one hand, it's the language that many older staff members are more familiar and comfortable with. On the other hand, there is a digital product that needs to be constantly fed throughout the day. "No matter how much I say we do digital, I am very much aware print is still a culture of the language we live in," said Aaron, managing editor of the Tribune. With that challenge of digital culture comes getting reporters to get information online quickly, even if only a few sentences. None of the editors were expecting the challenge they faced in shifting reporters toward getting breaking news up quickly with only a few paragraphs. But journalists had a hard time letting go of their routine of writing an actual story. The staff is more comfortable reporting when they have complete information, rather than posting early online. Those staff members who are resistant are concerned about the ethics of verification, as well as their role of providing context to stories, according to Aaron.

Once information reaches online, the next challenge is getting it to the right place and to the right audience. The front page of the website is particularly tricky, especially on weekends when fewer staff members are working in the newsroom. News judgment is needed to decide the play of the story, while too often on weekends producers post the stories without attention to their position on the home page. “I will think, ‘Oh my god, why is that story in the number-three position?’ And what would happen is that it would be the third most recently posted story. No news judgment there,” said Aaron.

Ultimately, different platforms serve different readers. Some want a copy of the printed newspaper and some want breaking news as quickly as possible online. It is the job of the three newspapers to discern which information gets to the right group of readers in a timely manner. That balance is still being negotiated as each newspaper continues to maintain its print audience and build its online presence.

ADAPTING TO NEW TECHNOLOGY

Each newspaper has to contend with new technology that allows users to connect more with the newspaper and its writers. It also allows readers to connect with others. Joshua**,** managing editor of the Times, said:

> [In the past] people could send a letter to the editor. They could call and tell you how much they loved your story or how much they hated your story. But now that kind of stuff plays out in a more public forum where people can see comments and people can even in the middle of the day give you a tip, ‘Oh I see you’re writing about X, you should call so and so. She’s got more documents.’

The challenge here is that all three newspapers are learning how to post stories on Facebook and Twitter in order to reach a broader audience. Once the audience has gotten interested in a topic, the challenge then is continually feeding it more information to maintain that interest.

Because of technology, metrics have become an important tool for figuring out who is accessing what and for how long. As Joshua points out, there aren’t metrics for the print product as there are for the digital one. Specifically for digital, this means that the newspapers don't have to spend money and time on stories that don't interest readers. Metrics gauge how much time the reader is spending with each newspaper article, and on what particular topics, as well as at what time of day. Although Lance, managing editor of the Gazette, notes that metrics are in their infancy in terms of what information they yield, they do provide a whole different awareness of the both the readers' interests and the stories being offered. It doesn't always mean newspapers have the resources to work with all the metrics they receive, but it is a starting point from which to build. Joshua, managing editor for the Times, has found that expectations about what metrics say are influenced by the topic. Theater may not get as much attention online, he suggests, but "sports and politics are the two areas where it's constant; it's almost 24 hours a day and you have to do that stuff well." He puts the responsibility on reporters to understand their subject areas and figure out what works best for their group of readers, as well as what they respond to. Joshua suggests that it is important to share metrics throughout the newsroom so that the staff discover a better sense of what is working well and what is not. Editors at all three newspapers say they use metrics in this fashion, though reporters suggest those metrics are not being shared with them.

Aaron, managing editor of the Tribune, suggests that it is important to understand that the print audience differs from the online audience. A seasonal top story online for several hours might be Christmas cookies, which would never make the front page of the print paper. It is a matter of thinking about how readers consume news and then adjust their work accordingly. He watches how stories are doing online and, if they aren't picking up an audience, he wants to find out why. Often it is a badly written headline that isn't catching online attention. All three newspapers have found that the right headline for online can be a challenge. This is significant because reporters at all three newspapers are writing their own SEO (search engine optimization) headlines, an added step to reporter routines from 10 years ago.

Expectations vary from newspaper to newspaper about who uses technology and how each tool is used, from multimedia such as photography and video to social media such as Twitter and Facebook. The Times does not have any rules requiring the specific use of technology, the Gazette has strict requirements for the use of technologies such as the use of Twitter, Facebook, video, and photography as part of reporter routines, while the Tribune is in the process of creating rules and/or guidelines for the use of technology. The Times is hesitant about requiring the use of these types of technology because the editor doesn't want staff members to become so wrapped up in technology that they forget to cover something well or that they abandon covering something because they have too many gadgets to deal with. His goal relates to coverage, not technology itself: "We're going to have a certain kind of political coverage, that we're going to have a certain kind of arts coverage, that we're going to have books coverage and health coverage, and so we have to be very mindful to say this is our core mission."

The Gazette has more strict policies about technology use. These were implemented after newsroom workers studied different emerging platforms. Gail, the executive editor, said that they ask these questions with each new technology. "Does this work for us? Does this help us? Does this enhance our storytelling abilities? Does it give us a new platform for sharing those stories, for publishing stories?" The Gazette requires that technology be used by reporters, from Twitter to Facebook to the creation of video. Lance, managing editor of the Gazette, said, "We have built a sort of expectation in their contracts. Before we just left it sort of freeform, and that's not good enough, particularly because we need to drive traffic with social media," he said. The requiring of different technologies is an ongoing process at the Gazette.

The Tribune is somewhere in between. It currently doesn't have any expectations formally for reporters about how they should use technology in their jobs, but managers have established a task force to work on the minimum requirements for technology use by reporters, editors, copyeditors, and designers, with the understanding that there will be different needs in different departments. Sports reporters use the most technology—photography, video, and Twitter on every game day (as well as blogging), for example. This is true at all three newspapers. Ultimately, the goal for each is the same: To harness the technologies available to allow reporters to do their jobs better and to connect with readers.

All three newspapers have found that technological tools have allowed them to get more data out of government websites, whereas once, not long ago, reporters would have to put in a request via paper to obtain public records. Now a well-trained reporter can find the information with only a few keystrokes. A reporter on a news scene is no longer dependent on a photographer. Reporters can use a smartphone to capture photographs and video. "Whether it's politics or whether it's sports or whether it's entertainment, it's allowed us to take our coverage into a whole new realm—video—in a way that we never used to be doing," said Sam, the executive editor of the Times. This activity, though, is still an uncommon occurrence at all three newspapers. Having reporters do video and photography allows the newspaper to get an image up quickly with the story, which never would have happened 10 years ago. A reporter would have had to wait for a photographer to show up.

All three newspaper editors agree the challenge with smartphones is for the reporter to maintain a work/life balance, because if they have smartphones, staff members can never really get away from work and have downtime. Aaron, managing editor of the Tribune, notes that newspapers might worship at the altar of technology too much. He said:

> I think a lot of newspapers in our country, if they have one opening and they could get a Pulitzer Prize winning reporter or a 24-year-old who is a whiz online with digital skills, I'm guessing the majority of newspapers would take the 24-year-old who has the digital skills. I'm still at a point in my life where I find that horrifying, but I know that is how it is.

UPDATING THE WEB WITH A SENSE OF IMMEDIACY

One of the challenges is what should go up on the web and how often it should be updated. According to the executive editors of all three newspapers, on average 150 to 200 pieces of content are posted online daily, and the website is constantly updated about every three hours with fresh stories from 6 a.m. to 6 p.m. It is important to note that this study looked at large newspapers and that small newspapers wouldn't update as often. Getting people to read a story can be a challenge, and the key is using good online headlines that use search engine optimization. Aaron, managing editor of the Tribune, said:

> We were watching in real time and the headline used the word gaming and, if the title said casino or gambling, it would have caught on. But because it said gaming, it wasn't something that people were picking up on. So there is much more a sense of immediacy, a sense of urgency, a sense of real time communication with the reader.

Most immediate, of course, is breaking news. The immediacy is so great that at the Gazette partial stories will be uploaded to the website first with only the bare facts without an editor or copy editor reading the story before it gets posted. Because of the need to compete with other newspapers, local and national bloggers (professional, as well as amateur), and citizen journalists, editing of the story is often delayed until after a story has been posted. The Tribune wants to get the information up on the web quickly, but an editor or copyeditor must look at it first. However, it is permissible to post the story even if the reporter hasn't been able to get a response from all the sources. This doesn't happen in all cases, however. Aaron suggests that the vast majority of stories receive editing before it goes up by at least one editor. If the information is considered to be very important, reporters may go ahead and post, with editing taking place after the filing.

The Gazette takes a slightly different stance. Gail, the executive editor, said:

> In a perfect world, we would have at least something on the website that says 'developing' online that we could link to, but what we've been told, after lots of experimenting, is get the news out there first. First get it right. But if we don't have a story to link to, just link to the home page, and then as quickly as you can get something on the home page that says, 'Hey, we're working on this.' And that's OK. And it's been really hard. It's been one of the hardest cultural changes to get reporters who really care about the news and really care about their beat to embrace the fact that that's OK, because they want to have the story.

There is still a desire among reporters, according to all three executive editors, to write 10 paragraphs before posting to the web. This is a cycle that the editors and managing editors hope to break. According to Lance, the managing editor of the Gazette, reporters have become comfortable posting information without having a copy editor look at it. The hope is that at least an assigning editor gets a chance to look at the story, but there are still times when a reporter posts directly to the web, bypassing the editing system.

For the Times, the general rule is to post a story of 50 to 70 words and tell readers to "come back for more—we're just getting started on this story." The editor suggests that this takes some of the pressure off for an immediate complete report. Ultimately, what they want to avoid is errors. Story flow is such that if it's a midday news development, it goes to a reporter, to his or her editor, to the readers, and again the story is updated. "The challenge then becomes sitting down and writing a story with a different lead for the print product that is fresh," said Sam, executive editor of the Times. At the Times, in particular, it is important that the stories be different for online and in print. Technology has made it so that an editor can click a button and post a story, and almost immediately it shows up online. This couldn't have been accomplished even two years ago at these newspapers. Technology has become that much more efficient.

EDUCATING REPORTERS ON TECHNOLOGY USE

With all these changes in technology comes the challenge for executive editors and managing editors to educate their reporters on how to best use the new tools available.

Each newspaper has found the need for reporters to have a baseline set of abilities, though they define them differently. Although each newspaper considers itself to be providing sufficient training, there is still work to be done. The challenge is to find the time and money to do training at the level each editor would prefer. Throughout the year, each newspaper sets individual goals when it comes to technology about what it will focus on. But the process is slow and only one aspect of technology is prioritized at a time. For the Times, one year's focus was on photography and video, and another year's focus was on spreadsheets and databases. The Gazette has focused on a variety of training in 2015. It began with social media training on Twitter, Facebook, and Pinterest and was followed by video training for every reporter in the newsroom. "As we identify priorities for the company, part of our commitment is that we train to those, as well," said Gail, the executive editor of the Gazette. With these challenges, most of the training ends up being in-house. As Joshua, managing editor of the Times, points out, "If you combine someone's talent and their drive and their smarts with the right tools, and they can do stories no one else can do, and you do it across an organization, you get a steady stream of those kinds of stories."

But it's not just training that is an issue; it is also keeping up with the equipment that is needed. One challenge is to make sure that staff maintain the highest standard of integrity on all these different platforms. "Our brand as a news organization is really rooted in our credibility, so we have to be consistently good at what we do," said Sam, executive editor of the Times. When it comes to these new technologies, those in charge need to ask how Instagram can better inform arts coverage or sports coverage.

Despite the need for training, editors suggest that reporters are concerned there isn't enough time in the day to do their jobs and do the training, too. The other problem that arises is that reporters use those tools infrequently or not at all, so they forget how to work with them. Aaron, managing editor of the Tribune said:

> There is no one in this room who hasn't had the training in Videolicious, which is a video editing app. But if I went out now and said, 'Hey, everybody, make a video using Videolicious,' there is probably a small number of people who would have success.

The paper often offers brownbag lunches for reporters to beef up their technology skills. Despite this effort, many reporters still complain they don't have time for the trainings.

Other resources the newspapers use include Lynda.com, a website that offers tutorials on a variety of technologies, and webinars from groups such as the Poynter Institute. Each editor suggests that the tape recorder, notebook, and pencil that were used over the past 10 years are inadequate in this changing news environment. As Sam, executive editor of the Times, said, "People need to be trained in all kinds of ways. When we pursue data to give our stories more credibility, there's a lot of training which goes into how you get that data and assess it."

MEETING ECONOMIC CHALLENGES

Although newspapers began cutting staffs long before 2007, that year marks the point where layoffs and buyouts increased dramatically because of the financial situation throughout the country. In some cases, editors have looked to technology to save money as well as for efficiency. With fewer staff, though, there is less coverage in certain areas, including government. Gail, executive editor of the Gazette, said, "We used to have a freestanding Features section and pretty robust features coverage, and now we don't. We used to do a lot more, and now we can't." The problem is that print circulation continues to decline and the industry hasn't found a way to monetize digital news in a way that supports an organization of their size. The result is that each newspaper has gone through at least a half dozen or more layoffs and buyouts since the early 2007 staff cuts. Each newspaper has prioritized keeping reporter positions, especially for those core areas of coverage that are vital, as well as for new ones that reflect changes in technology, such as staff who work with databases. This is the attitude among executive editors at all three newspapers.

Gail, executive editor of the Gazette, notes that the newspaper used to be able to charge $30 for a print ad. That same ad on the website is now $3, and on mobile it's 30 cents. Year over year, each newspaper has had a 10 percent drop in advertising, and they still aren't breaking even, with more layoffs looming. To gain new revenue, the Tribune is working to build multimedia platforms around core beats and then have advertising and marketing departments sell sponsorship to those beats, which target a particular audience. One example is a sponsorship package around football coverage, for which an advertiser bought a six-figure package for both print and online.

The clear message from those in charge at these newspapers is that their mission has not changed. Their intent is to provide news to readers on all types of platforms. Like any industry facing an evolution of technological change, newspapers have had challenges adapting to the new standards of equipment (in this case digital and social media options, as well as smartphones) and the changing demands of their readers, who play a far greater role than ever in the presentation of newspapers today.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The newsroom is changing. As mentioned in Chapter I, over the past 10 years, the number of newspaper reporters nationally has plummeted because of the economy and the dramatic decline in advertising revenue at newspapers. Newsrooms have also had to deal with continual changes in technology. During this time, reporter routines have been in flux as journalists deal with economic and technological challenges. As defined in Chapter II, routines are "those patterned, routinized, repeated practices and forms that media workers use to do their jobs" (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996, p. 100). Reporters use routines to:

- Structure their day.
- Find sources and stories.
- Determine how to best use technology.
- Determine what to write about.
- Determine how to approach a story.

In this section, I attempt to answer my research questions, offer analysis, and suggest further research. With regard to reflexivity of this topic, I share my experience as a journalist, as well as mention the limitations of this study.

EXAMINING THE RESEARCH QUESTIONS

RQ1: *How have reporter routines changed (from 10 years ago)?*

The routine practices discussed here are related to how reporters accomplish what they do, including shaping content and writing, and the relationship that people have to that content. There are three sources of routines—the audience, the organization, and the content producers themselves (Shoemaker, 1991; Shoemaker & Reese, 2014). This question, along with the next three, is primarily concerned with the content producer—the journalist. The organization will be dealt with in RQ5 (see p. 181), and research was not done on the audience.

New storytelling routines

Ten years ago, reporters were likely to file a single story in a day, often in late afternoon or early evening, that would be examined by a series of editors (from an immediate supervisor to several rounds on the copy desk). Their finished work would appear in the print edition of the newspaper, and the same version often appeared online. That routine is long gone, in great part because of the competitive nature of news today.

The routine of each journalist varies throughout the day, more so than it ever has, because of the many tools available to the reporter now and the tools' expanded role in the process of storytelling. These changes are primarily taking place at the individual level of reporters because their decisions are personal and have yet to be routinized—though in some instances they have been. Looking more specifically at the sports reporter, they are working at the routine practices level where they have routinized much of their technology use. They have developed these routines as coping mechanisms, as well as in response to practical needs. Ten years ago, reporters wrote and photographers took pictures. Today it's far more likely that journalists have multimedia roles to play in the newsroom, not only writing text for both print and online but also shooting photos and videos, recording podcasts, or appearing on camera. The role of a reporter has changed from writer to multimedia storyteller.

A 40-hour work week no longer

The journalist's job has changed in many ways over the last decade. First, the majority of journalists no longer work a 40-hour week, as many did 10 years ago. The workday is now generally more like 10 to 12 hours a day, and even longer for some sports reporters on game day. For the majority of reporters who participated in this study, the workday now begins when he or she wakes up, grabs the smartphone, and checks email and social media to see what is happening, before even getting out of bed. This has become the norm. The ritual of checking email and social media continues throughout the day until bedtime, when the reporter checks the smartphone for the last time, to make sure there isn't anything that needs to be taken care of. This is happening to some extent at the routine practices level—the checking of email—and to some extent at the individual level of the Hierarchy of Influences—social media use.

Reporters generally feel if they are not constantly monitoring their beat that they are not working hard enough and that they could potentially miss a significant story. A few turn off their phones after work, and a few others might glance at the phone once or twice during the evening, but that is not the norm. The news industry has shifted to a 24/7 presence online, resulting in journalism careers that have become increasingly demanding and beats that require close attention by the reporter who doesn't want to be scooped on a story by a competitor. Ten years ago, each newspaper had more of a monopoly on the news. That isn't true today. The question here is how feasible the increased work hours are for reporters long-term.

Competition

Reporters note that there is less time than ever for producing longer stories that involve more analysis. With the pressure to produce constantly and immediately, stories often are not held for more reporting until later dates because of the reasonable fear that a competitor will report a story first. This pressure to produce varies by beat and, as mentioned earlier, is felt most by features and sports. I found that competition is greatest for these two departments because they generally have more competition locally and nationally than the news section has for news. Sports is competing with bloggers (amateur and professional), national websites, and even the players themselves. Sports reporters have had to work harder to connect with the players and encourage them to break their news through the reporter rather than by tweeting it themselves. It is becoming more common for athletes to do this, creating a new routine that leaves the sports reporter to retweet the news and quickly learn more information to post online.

The pressure is great enough, particularly in sports, that even on vacation reporters will continue to monitor social media and sports sites. This is common throughout the newsroom, but is particularly noticeable in the features and sports departments, in part because the features and sportswriters don't have any backup, whereas the news section has general assignment reporters who can fill in during a beat reporter's absence.

It is competitive enough in sports that their day, which once began late afternoon/early evening, has required a change in routines that means being ready in the morning for the potential of breaking news. This change grew out of the adoption of Twitter across the country and the need to be connected at all times. For many features reporters, it's the same, constantly monitoring Twitter and competing to be first. News is also competitive, but at each newspaper that department has more resources than either sports or features.

Breaking news

No longer is news consumed primarily by print readers. Today news is more likely to be first seen online, and often on a mobile device. News sites—39 out of 50 of the top digital news sites based on an analysis of comScore—get more traffic from mobile devices than desktop computers (Barthel, 2015). Mobile devices have made it much easier for readers to get their news 24/7, which consumers have come to demand. As a result, newspapers have had to work harder and faster to be the ones to break the news, and reporters post news stories early and often. The emphasis has switched from waiting until the end of the day to publish, as it was 10 years ago, toward publishing stories immediately. Breaking news is still handled at the individual level, as reporters and management continue to develop their own routines about how and where they will post news. Generally, breaking news is either tweeted, blogged, or posted on the web, depending on the reporter and the needs of the newsroom. The problem is that a reporter tweeting information before it is posted online dilutes the newspaper brand because the information is not yet associated with the newspaper. Reporters, though, find tweeting necessary to keep up with competition. Though managers prefer that reporters post to the website first, they recognize that it isn't always possible. It might be expected that management would require a particular set of routines. However, new routines have developed by the reporters themselves at the individual level, and in some cases they have become routine at the departmental level. Reporters publish what they have, even though it may only be a paragraph or two, and continue to add context to the story throughout the day as more information becomes available. Ten years ago, reporters didn't worry about breaking news online. They would break it in the newspaper the next day. Nor would they continually be updating stories throughout the day. The accepted practice for breaking news at all three newspapers is publish it without editing first, primarily for the sake of expediency. The need to be first is the driving force.

As a result of each newsroom's focus on breaking news and the unlimited space available online, there is a diminished role for gatekeeping online. Gatekeeping, the process by which information is filtered by the media before it is published, limits the information available for the public to see (Shoemaker & Vos, 2009). Breaking news online has opened the floodgates of news, without the constraints of the number of print pages dictating how much news can fit in the newspaper. The main limitation is the number of reporters available to write stories. It has become routine for gatekeeping to be done less with breaking news. At the organizational level, management is demanding that breaking news be put up immediately, while at the individual level reporters are trying to put up as much news as possible

"Get it up fast even if it is only two sentences. Whatever you know is true, get it up immediately," said Caroline of News at the Gazette. To post breaking news, the writer of the story may not even have had time to interview a source about the story. Accuracy becomes a concern. As discussed in Chapter II, part of the code of ethics for journalists is to "seek truth and report it." Part of that tenet of journalism is to "take responsibility for the accuracy of their work. Verify information before releasing it" (Society of Professional Journalists, 2014). In the case of breaking news, this is not always happening. The other basic principles of reporting haven't changed over the past decade. The professional goals "minimize harm," "act independently," and "be accountable and transparent" have been updated slightly to emphasize the need to be transparent.

Autonomy, immediacy, and objectivity

As mentioned in Chapter II, the norms of objectivity, immediacy, and autonomy have long been important to journalism and are reflected in reporters' routines. Of these, the sense of immediacy has changed most as news has become a 24/7 business. Today online news is driven by a sense of urgency, because of the competition following the same story and the insatiable interest of news consumers who are checking their smartphones for the latest news.

At the individual level, the reporter makes the choice to create the initial tweet or publish breaking news on the website. Reporters are not always verifying information before they tweet it. It is alarming to a minority of reporters to put up a couple of paragraphs for breaking news and call it a story. The issue here is whether immediacy is becoming too immediate and, in effect, threatening the professional ideal to "seek truth and report it." In many cases reporters accomplish this with breaking news, but in other cases immediacy prevails.

Immediacy has become a big issue for newsrooms because they don't have the editing capacity or feel they have the time to have breaking news edited. "There's not as much time to think about an approach to a story, nor is there as much time to really go over it again and make sure you're comfortable with everything you've written. I think that has added a little more danger to what we do, whether it's accurate or not," said Neal of News at the Gazette. Where two sources were the standard in the past to confirm news, today's online news posts may reflect only a single source. Waiting to find a second source before posting news has become too cumbersome in many cases and could result in the newspaper not getting the story posted quickly enough to be competitive. Speed trumping accuracy appears to be the norm at each newspaper for breaking news, not the exception.

In the past, reporters were able to rely on their editors and the copy desk to serve as backup on issues of accuracy. This is no longer the case, with fewer resources at newspapers—both a smaller number of copy editors and often fewer supervisory editors; reporters now must ensure accuracy themselves.

The two other areas of concern are autonomy and objectivity. The latter is one of the most important norms (Schudson, 2001) because it sets up the basis for credibility (Deuze, 2005). This is important because the reporter's credibility is at stake because of the lack of careful confirmation of sources and lack of editing. "Sometimes we get so wrapped up in the technology and the immediacy that we lose track of the actual reporting," said Rachel of News at the Times.

Social media

Social media have become important parts of the reporter's day, and they have dramatically changed routines. In the past, only a few columnists were well known at newspapers, and they were the first to develop personal brands. Most reporters, despite their bylines, were obscure to readers. In the last few years, social media have enabled reporters to "brand" themselves, particularly on Twitter, and thus become better known to the public.

Social media have increased the workload for many reporters, who now are expected to promote their stories, as well as those of colleagues, on Facebook and Twitter. This expectation comes from the organizational level of the executive editor and the managing editor. This activity has meant a constant interruption in the workday for reporters who are busy with an ongoing story, often resulting in extra hours of unpaid time. Pattie of Features at the Times says, "When on social media, your bosses don't think of it as work time. If you spend four hours on social media on the weekend, you don't get time off to compensate." Furthermore, reporters use social media and online comments on their stories to monitor accuracy, which is a first for newsrooms, where reporters traditionally relied on their editor and the copy desk. Today reporters check comments often during the day to be sure that their hastily posted stories do not contain errors. This finding was unexpected.

Physical changes to routines

Routines have changed physically, as well. Reporters are more often in the newsroom than they had been, in part because of the need for speed. They conduct their work by phone so they can put up the resulting information as quickly as possible, not wasting time on long drives. One result is less interpersonal contact with the public and potential sources. Even a public meeting can often be covered by watching a live stream of it online. These decisions are made at the individual level. In part, reporters feel an obligation to be around the office because of breaking news. It is still easier to cover it from the office with multiple tools than it would be to do so remotely, but not if you need photo or video for the story. Although smartphones have the capacity to do the same things, they can be slower if needed to write a story of greater length.

It was surprising to find that reporters are also concerned about being visible at the office, due to organizational pressure, when there have been so many rounds of buyouts and layoffs. Journalists want to show they are valuable. Yet, when reporters leave the office for interviews, they do not have to wait to post online because they bring along their laptops and smartphones. Shortly after the completion of this research, all three newspapers had both buyouts and layoffs. Another consideration for not leaving the building is that there is now generally only a single reporter covering a beat compared with two to three reporters 10 years ago. "Now being the only reporter at night, I'm not out of the building as much as I used to be. That's one of the biggest changes to my job," said Ben of News at the Tribune. The exception is sports, which has done the opposite, with no reporters at their desks, enabled by technology to report from anywhere, though there has been a trend toward this action for more than 10 years in some cases. The average sports reporter is seen in the office, at best, once a month.

Several previous routines have become quite rare in the newsroom, including journalists interacting with one another in the office. "The newsroom used to be a place to joke around about things, and there would be a lot of humor about the news of the day. There's just not time for that anymore," said Linda of News at the Tribune. Also worth noting is that reporters rarely take lunch breaks now. Ten years ago, they would have felt they had enough time to take a break.

What does this mean?

The long hours that many reporters describe raises the question of how sustainable this business model is. The increase in workload, in part due to social media as well as fewer resources and more competition, has happened over the past five to eight years. As younger staff, newly hired and more social media savvy, move into their own life changes (marriage or children) and perhaps shift their perspective from the prior all-consuming focus on journalism, will there be a revolt about the long hours? This is one issue to examine for future research. Working long hours without additional pay is a legal issue as well because reporters are generally entitled to overtime in their contracts. This issue has long been ignored more than honored in the newspaper business, however. The implicit pressure to work long hours because of fear of being laid off is a concern. It can lead to burnout and the loss of staff members management doesn't want to lose. Three other points worth considering include:

- The question of accuracy, given the lack of editing resources and the reliance on immediacy, is ripe for research.

- The lack of interaction with the community is a potential concern. In the past, the serendipity of finding news depended on reporters being out of the office.

- The ability to conduct research by reporters rather than library staff is an innovation that is still evolving.

RQ2: *What is the relationship between reporter routines and technology (from 10 years ago)?*

The tools for reporters use have evolved, including online research tools, smartphones with video and photo capabilities, and software for blogs. Each new technology needed to be tried and then either accepted or rejected, according to diffusion of innovation theory (Rogers, 1962). If the innovation is accepted, routines are built around how to best use that new tool. Despite all the changes to technology, the pencil and reporter's notebook still remain important, according to the reporters interviewed. In this section, in addition to exploring technology, I look at the role that training has played in the adoption of technology. I then look at diffusion of innovation theory and how it applies to journalists' adoption of technology.

Tools of the trade

The capacity to find all the information to tell a story online has shaped the industry. Because most library staff were laid off because of the economy, reporters who relied on that help had to find a way to expedite the research process. So reporters who weren't already doing all of their own research by 2005 turned to Google, a search engine, which continues to expand and has become a more robust research tool every year. Although Google started in 1998, few journalists used its full research capabilities until much later. Furthermore, with so much more public information online, reporters are able to conduct research from their desk. Clipping files of past stories generally became electronic for these newspapers in the mid 1980s.

The smartphone

The smartphone is at least equally important to the pencil and notebook as an important tool for journalists. “The phone has changed my life,” said Don of News at the Tribune. The iPhone is the most common version used by reporters. It has allowed the reporter to become a one-person multimedia presenter, who handles news stories, photographs, videos, and social media. “It’s hard to juggle both of them [doing video and photo] and take notes for a story at the same time. It’s really a juggling act. I can’t prioritize one over the other because the newspaper needs both,” said Lily of Features at the Tribune. It is much easier, though, than when reporters had to carry around additional camera equipment to do video and photography, such as point-and-shoot cameras or video recorders.

Sports has streamlined its approach to taking video and photographs and has made the use of these tools part of routine practices. In features, it has become part of departmental routines to use the smartphone for photos and social media. News still struggles to find it as useful, though more than half of the reporters in this area are using this technology to some extent. For news reporters, using photo and video it is still at the individual level, with the determining factor in adopting the technology being the specific beat and whether a reporter feels the technology is useful. The business section is the farthest behind, generally not doing video, but occasionally doing photographs. Business reporters are much more cautious and do not feel it necessary to work outside their immediate role as writers. For them, the decision is also at the individual level. It was surprising to find an entire department—across all three newspapers—with a similar mindset. The question is why there is no perceived need for the technology in the business section. It may be that there isn't a demand for it, or there may not be interest in the use of photography being added to stories by the business community.

Singer (2003) suggests that autonomy can help to explain why journalists resist technological innovation. She believes that technology limits reporter autonomy. In general, reporters at all three newspapers believe they have more autonomy now because of technology, an unexpected finding. Reporters post stories themselves, they blog without editing support, and they can choose what gets posted in their Twitter feed or on their Facebook page.

The advantage of the smartphone is that it keeps reporters connected 24/7. The biggest challenge for reporters now is separating themselves from the technology. The smartphone has made a big difference in staff members' ability to report, especially when layoffs or buyouts have limited the availability of photographers. Interviews indicated that the earlier a reporter received a smartphone, the more likely he or she was to be an early adopter of other technology, such as Twitter. The adoption of technology happened at the individual level, but was influenced by the organizational level by the executive editor or managing editor that in many cases made the suggestion for the use of that technology. Now, particularly in sports, technology has become part of reporter routines.

One of the unexpected advantages of having a smartphone as a tool for capturing images was the ability for news reporters to take photographs and video of the scene so that they could replay it when they got back to the office and be more accurate when they wrote their story. Reporters at the Times and the Tribune did this; it was not mentioned by reporters at the Gazette. Video was particularly useful because it also picked up the sounds at the scene. This was an unexpected finding. Adoption of this technology occurred independently by the reporters, at the individual level, who found it much easier and preferable for recording the details of an event, instead of taking extensive notes. It was also particularly useful because reporters are often working on more than one story at a time, another change from 10 years ago.

The blog

Blogs have become another vehicle for storytelling. In 2006, the Times was the first of the three newspapers to use blogs. Sportswriters, in particular, like writing for the blogs because it gives them more autonomy, an important journalistic norm (Hayes et al., 2007). Unlike what Singer (2003) suggests about journalists being resistant to technological innovation because of editorial autonomy, the sports reporters are embracing technology because they feel that their readers demand it. The blogs provide sportswriters with unlimited space to devote to their teams. With the creation of blogs came the ability to create a personal brand for individual writers that wasn't controlled by the newspaper leadership.

Each sports reporter has freedom with a blog to write at will, and there is no length limit, as there is in print. Because reporters have more autonomy with blogs, they tend to prioritize writing for them throughout the day. How often they write and the amount written varies greatly by reporter. The decision is at the individual level, rather than the routines level. Ryan of Sports at the Times, said, "When you're writing a blog, I know no one is editing it. You're sort of out there on your own." Business, features, and news have blogs as well, though fewer, whereas each sportswriter has a blog. As in sports, news blogging is done at the individual level. Features tends to use the blog as more creative space, an extension of newsprint where there isn't enough space. News tends to use blogs for commuter information, breaking news, and briefs. Very few business reporters have blogs, but if they do, it is primarily for briefs.

Training for using technology

One of the challenges each newsroom faces is the ability to train reporters on new technology. Training takes place from the top down, at the organizational level where executive editors and managing editors make decisions on the topics for training reporters. The Times has a social media editor who helps offer training on the subject, which reporters have found to be helpful. Guest trainers also come in to present particular topics. The Gazette and the Tribune tend to do training with staff with expertise in particular areas. Andy of News at the Gazette said, "We have plenty of in-house expertise and there is a lot of sharing going around." The Gazette has gone so far as to make training mandatory, at the organizational level, requiring reporters to attend training sessions, as well as to use the technology. For the Times and Tribune, the challenge is getting reporters to attend training presentations. It is often difficult because of all the demands on reporters, especially breaking news.

Throughout the year, each newspaper sets goals when it comes to technology and what it is going to focus on. The process of training reporters is slow, and only one aspect of technology is prioritized at a time. For many reporters who go to the trainings, understanding new technology can be a big challenge, and they may not fully understand the concept through a single training session and might require additional training before using the technology. The time from training to routinization of that technology can be months to years. Hilary of Features at the Gazette was unhappy with the training for video, especially since doing the work is part of her job description. "There's a pretty steep learning curve, and 10 minutes here and 10 minutes there is going to get you nowhere," she said. Reporters who really want to get into new technology have found training on their own. This is particularly true of sports and features, whose reporters were more likely to be early adopters of technology.

Diffusion of innovation theory

Reporters were very forthcoming about their use of technology at their newspapers. The Gazette newspaper's staff members interviewed can be classified as early adopters (4), early majority (6), late majority (4), and laggards (5). The Times newspaper's staff members interviewed can be classified as early adopters (5), early majority (6), late majority (10), and laggards (4). The Tribune newspaper's staff members interviewed can be classified as early adopters (4), early majority, (4), late majority (6), and laggards (5). These classifications come from diffusion of innovation theory, discussed in chapter II. These classifications arose primarily out of reporters' self-identifying themselves during their interviews, without the researcher asking them where they fit on the scale of technology adoption.

Training is an element that enables or constrains the diffusion of innovation within an organization. As mentioned in Chapter II, Rogers (1995) suggests that diffusion of innovation, which operates at the individual level of Hierarchy of Influences, is about the individual making decisions and being classified in particular ways. Diffusion of innovation theory's framework identifies people as innovators, early adopters, early majority, late majority, and laggards. Innovators are the first to adopt a new idea. This group is often young, willing to take risks, and has available financial resources. In the early adopters category are often those who are considered opinion.

The early majority is significantly slower at adopting a new idea than the innovators or early adopters. This group tends to have contact with the early adopters and have an average social status. Generally they do not act as opinion leaders.

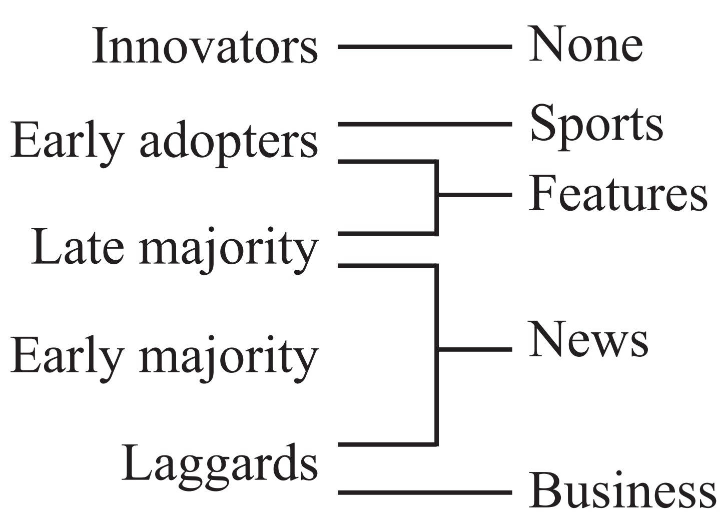
The late majority tends to be skeptical of an innovation, have very low financial liquidity, and be of an average social status. Those who fall into the laggards group tend to be the last to adopt an idea. This group shows little to no opinion leadership, are older in age, and are resistant to change (Rogers, 1962). When it comes to adoption of technology at each newspaper, it is a matter of suggesting a new tool to reporters, which is generally done at the organizational level, and then having the reporters try it. According to the sports reporters, the tools were needed to keep pace with what everyone else was doing in the sports world. To maintain their audience, they felt that they needed to adopt. At each newspaper, sports was the first to receive smartphones, as well as the first to try tweeting. Features was second, and slowly the technology began to diffuse throughout the newsroom.

For other areas of the newsroom, competition was less of an issue. Though reporters in news still found value in technology, their need to harness its power was not as immediate. There, technology use tended to gravitate toward specific beats. As mentioned earlier, the reporter covering education needed the technology for her beat, but when that beat changed, she found very little reason to use Twitter. Business reporters, on the other hand, did not initially find utility in the new technologies.

This is particularly interesting because this group of journalists tended to be over 50, which would suggest that they might all fall into the laggard category, according to diffusion of innovation theory. As mentioned earlier, the journalists interviewed are a group of veteran reporters who bring a significant amount of experience to the newspaper. Contrary to the belief that early adopters tend to be young, at these newspapers that demographic does not apply. What the data suggest is that these journalists adopted the tools they needed to do their jobs—and to keep their jobs during difficult economic times. Because of technology, sports reporters maintain a loyal fan base and have become the source for sports in their region and at times nationally. To maintain their fan base, they have to constantly be on Twitter, blog, make videos, and write timely stories. Features is close behind sports, competing to be number one in their region, as well. None of this would be possible without advances in technology. As mentioned earlier, news to some extent, and business exclusively, do not think it is necessary to fit these new technologies into their regular routines.

According to diffusion of innovation theory, none of the journalists were innovators. Early adopters were in sports, and while some features reporters were early adopters, others were early majority. News reporters ranged from late majority to laggards. Generally business reporters could be classified as laggards. Although the theory classifies business and news as laggards, there might be other reasons that they have not adopted technology. One consideration might be that there really isn't the need

Figure 5.1 Diagram of diffusion of innovation theory as it applies to the different sections of the newsroom. It is consistent at all three newspapers.



to adopt multimedia in the same way that sports and features have. It could also be that business and part of news simply aren't as conducive to visual coverage as sports and features are. Another consideration is that business coverage consumers might not care about photos and videos as much as those who follow sports and features. They may simply be responding to different coverage priorities—choosing which technologies will work for them and which won't. These alternative explanations suggest that the diffusion of innovation theory may be less universal than it might suggest. As noted earlier, even at the same organization, technology adoption occurred differently among reporters. In general, those who have adopted technology have done so because they found it useful to their beat. Adoption has consistently taken place at the individual level, as suggested by diffusion of innovation theory, with some influence from the organizational level of the Hierarchy of Influences discussed by Shoemaker and Reese (2014).

What does this mean?

Technology has been of great benefit for sports, as well as features. The challenge for sports and features is to continue to hold onto their audience, as well as continue to build more viewers online and readers in print. To do this, they are constantly tweeting, blogging, photographing and doing video, and writing timely stories both online and in print. Future research should explore each newspaper's audience to see what type of posting online is most effective. One of the issues found in this study is that those who have harnessed technology are also the ones working the longest hours. Each of the new technologies that reporters adopted require additional time beyond writing a story, as well as a potential web story. Utilizing these technologies can easily add an hour or two or more onto the workday. This may also be a reason why business and part of news have not adopted some of the new technologies.

RQ3: *How are newspaper reporters using social media in the newsgathering process and dissemination process?*

Social media has taken the newsroom by storm, having as dramatic an effect on reporters and disruption of routines as the newsroom's move to computers from typewriters decades ago. It has fundamentally changed the workload for journalists by intensifying the workday. "We have become a slave to social media," said Jacob of Sports at the Tribune, with whom many reporters agree, as social media in its many forms has infiltrated their day. No longer are most reporters off the clock, even on vacation. Instead they must always be ready to engage with breaking news online and viewers hungry for more. I expected to find reporters using social media, especially Facebook and Twitter, as part of their jobs, but I did not expect the intensity of this engagement and its disruption of previous routines, as well as the creation of new ones.

Age did not seem to be related to the use of social media, though diffusion of innovation theory indicates it should be. Instead, the beat that a reporter covered mattered most, with those in sports and features using social media much more than others. They pay attention to social media because of competition, both locally and nationally, by other professional journalists, as well as amateur writers and bloggers. Sportswriters adopted it because they realized its importance. In features, some writers initiated their social media approach about two years later than sports, though, unlike sports, they tend to do it on a more individual than departmental basis. News uses social media to a much lesser extent than either sports or features, and business has yet to do so. The exception is at the Gazette, where reporters are required to participate. However, in those cases, they do the minimum and limit their efforts to posting links to their own daily stories on Twitter and Facebook and do not generally use either for additional work purposes.

Facebook is the less popular of the two primary social media tools used in the newsroom. This is a trend noticed by Santana and Hopp (2016) as well. Reporters use Facebook to get basic contact information on an individual (and this is particularly true if the story has to do with a crime or a death). For Facebook, reporters have concerns because they originally began using it as a personal forum and not as a workspace. “Facebook is for my family and friends, nothing else,” said Jordan of Sports at the Gazette. As a result, reporters don’t want to turn something personal into something public. If a reporter does use it, it is at the individual level of the Hierarchy of Influences. This suggests that not all technologies are equally valuable—that reporters tend to choose to adopt the ones they see as most useful for their purposes. This is a theme throughout the adoption of technology, including the adoption of the printing press.

Unlike Facebook, Twitter accounts were generally started for the purpose of the news organization and did not have the personal component, which made it easier to adapt Twitter to the job. Some use Twitter to reach out to the public to be part of a story (for example, asking for volunteers for a story on back-to-school fashions). It’s also used for breaking news. Journalists use Twitter to monitor the activity (and stories) of their competition at other publications. How journalists use Twitter varies by individual and thus is at the individual level in the Hierarchy of Influences, as some reporters use it to break news before it even appears on the newspaper website. The exception is the sports department where it has become part of routines, suggesting the potential for Twitter to become part of routines for other departments as well.

Twitter does not tend to be a source for news for most readers. As mentioned in Chapter II, although 16% of adults use Twitter, only 8% of Americans get their news from this source (Anderson & Caumont, 2014). Facebook's greater reach suggests that more effort could be placed on getting reporters to post links to their work there to attract a wider readership to news articles.

Creating a brand

Sportswriters have integrated Twitter into their routine practices of the Hierarchy of Influences, throughout the day—from checking Twitter constantly for breaking news to tweeting throughout the game. Sports reporters have created a brand for themselves as the source for all things sports. Sportswriters at all three newspapers do this, though only the reporters at the Times brought up branding as intentional. Reporters at the Gazette and Tribune hadn't thought of their Twitter handles as a particular branding opportunity for themselves as individuals.

In this case, branding takes place at the individual level. It is defined as "differentiating a product, guaranteeing its origins and quality, and forming a relationship with the buyer through a variety of techniques, including both mediated and interpersonal communication" (Molyneux & Holton, 2015, p. 228; also see Coomber 2002). This is the definition is used in marketing and is applied here because one has not yet been developed for journalism per se. Key to branding is the identification of a target audience and the crafting of messages that are well received by that audience (Molyneux & Holton, 2015). It is also important to emphasize what is unique about the brand as far as what it has to offer compared to other competitors (Murphy, 1987). This is why sports reporters work so hard to be the number one source of information for their sport. Their brand requires continued efforts "to manage and maintain a product or entity's image and identity" (Molyneux & Holton, 2015, p. 229). The building and maintaining of their brand has resulted in a 24/7 job, making sure that no breaking news is missed. Even on vacation, sports reporters tend to be hard-core tweeters throughout the day.

This focus on individual branding is a change from 10 years ago where the focus would have been on conforming to the newspaper's brand. Molyneux and Holton (2105) said, "Importantly, journalists appear to devote more time to build personal brands than to building organizational brands" (p. 229). Having their own Twitter persona allows reporters to be more transparent about themselves with their audience, one element in the code of ethics for journalists (Society of Professional Journalists, 2014). In these cases, each reporter has had to create a public-facing identity. The concept of branding is not new to journalism. For columnists, branding generally took place at the organizational level of the Hierarchy of Influences. Selected by management, local columnists appeared in a regular position in the print newspaper and tended to be associated with the newspaper. As mentioned earlier, beginning in 2006, sports reporters began to brand their blogs at the individual level at the Times. The latest trend has been to create individual brands on Twitter, one that is also at the individual level of the Hierarchy of Influences. When journalists tweet, that information is associated with them personally, not necessarily with the organization (Hanusch & Bruns, 2016). Although most clearly found in sports, personal branding can also be seen to a lesser degree in features. Only a few reporters in news have a brand, while none in business do.

What does this mean?

As reporters continue to brand themselves, it is important that those brands be connected clearly back to the newspaper in order for the newspaper to reap the benefits. Further research needs to be done on how reporters are branding their work on social media and now those brands are being reconnected with the newspaper. With the newspaper name comes a strong sense of credibility. The issue is whether allowing reporters this type of autonomy hurts or promotes the brand of the newspaper, which can be significant because newspapers need as many viewers as possible to generate advertising revenue. The other issue is what information journalists use in their public profiles (does it promote the publication?). Another question for future research is what happens to a self-branded reporter who leaves a newspaper for another organization? Does the brand, and its followers, stay with the newsroom or go with the reporter? Of course, this depends on many factors, including who owns the social media account, who created the content, and whether the account is associated with a brand of the individual. In some cases, reporters are hired for new jobs because of their followers (Antelotti, 2014). Social media blur the lines between a journalist's personal and professional life. If a newspaper creates an account associated with the reporter's beat, the reporter generally leaves the account behind should he or she take another job. But if the account is in a reporter's name, that can be more difficult (Antelotti, 2014).

Part of the value of the newspaper is that it comes with its own brand and its own credibility. More research needs to be done to see whether newspapers are diluting their own brand by allowing reporters to tweet stories from their personal social media or whether this activity enhances the news brand. Although most reporters identify in their profile that they are affiliated with a particular newspaper, not all do. It is acceptable at all the newspapers to tweet information, but the preference is that the reporter then link to the home page for updates. In addition, research could be done to see whether the credibility of the brand of the newspaper transfers to the reporters when they connect the breaking news tweets back to the newspaper. There are no established routines or rules at any of the three newspapers about how each reporter should be identified on social media and whether that identification is associated with the newspaper. The Tribune has placed the tweets from sporting events on the front page of its website so that readers can connect through the web, as well as through the sports reporter's Twitter account.

Additional research to consider is looking more in-depth at those who aren't using technology as readily—specifically, business and part of news—to better understand their reasoning. Is readership affected by their lack of adoption? More research could also examine the social media habits of business reporters, as well as those in the business world to see whether the reporters are taking a cue from how business leaders use (or don't use) social media.

Further research is recommended to study social media guidelines at newspapers around the country, as well as to look at the prospect of sharing social media analytics with newsroom staff on a regular basis, which some of the largest newspapers do. If reporters know which of their stories are being read by the most viewers, it may encourage them to either promote their work on social media or to change the way they write their stories. Sports has its own variation on analytics by virtue of the increase in followers that happens for reporters, based on their work online (whether it's a blog, Twitter, or online stories).

RQ4: *What is the relationship between reporter routines and the economy (from 10 years ago)*

Newspapers have smaller staffs and overall resources than they had a decade ago, as a result of economic struggles in the industry. The result has been massive layoffs and buyouts at many newspapers, including at the three in this study, which has left newsrooms with fewer reporters and a limited number of photographers, copy editors, and librarians. At the three newspapers, where once there were two to three people covering a beat, now there is only one. The result is more work for those in the newsroom. "I haven't taken a vacation where I've completely walked away from work, and not had responsibilities, since probably 2008. You're just always on call with smaller staffs these days," says Rebecca of News at the Times. The extent to which the reporter's job has infiltrated time off was an unexpected finding. Reporter routines have changed in such a way that the current expectation is to receive calls from work while on vacation or when ill, with the assumption that reporters are always available for work, necessitated in part by the fact that there is no one to replace many of them during an absence. The rise of the 24/7 news cycle as exacerbated this issue.

"A public good"

As a consequence of smaller staffs, reporters have to cover larger beats, while others are left unfilled. To save time with limited resources, staff members have changed their routines to use more technology (taking photos and videos, conducting internet research, handling social media such as Facebook, and Twitter). Newspapers in this study have also hired more freelancers to fill the gaps because they are less expensive and the newspaper doesn't have to provide benefits. As reporters are asked to do more, stories begin to go uncovered. The newspaper is considered a "public good," according to McChesney (2008), yet it does not produce stories in sufficient quality and quantity for the marketplace.

As mentioned in Chapter II, the effect of the economy on journalism has resulted in less watchdog journalism and the ability to uncover the "truth." One area of staffing that has been eliminated at all three is the long-term investigative team—reporters who might spend months or years on a project, which is a change at the organizational level. The pressure to produce has become too great to allow reporters the time to do this type of work; the demands of the daily newspaper and online need to be met first. Even if time is given to do a longer investigative story, there is an expectation in the newsroom that the reporter will come back with a story, regardless of what the reporting has found. Furthermore, those longer stories generally must fit into already busy reporting schedules, with reporters often working on both long- and short-term coverage at once. The expectation to produce takes place at the organizational level of the Hierarchy of Influences, but it affects not only routines but individuals too (Shoemaker & Reese, 2014).

I expected that all three newspapers would have drastically cut back investigative reporting. I did not expect those positions to be eliminated. Generally, reporters who had been doing investigative work were back writing daily stories for the news section. According to McChesney (2008b), the role of newspapers is to act as a watchdog to those in power, to uncover the truth, and to offer informed positions on important daily topics. The capacity at these three newspapers has been severally diminished because of buyouts and layoffs with staff reductions of about one-third to one-half at each, while the cuts at some other large newspapers have been even deeper. At the organizational level, editors at each of these newspapers value what McChesney suggests is the role of the newspaper, but because of economic reasons, they cannot completely fulfill it.

The copy desk

Although I expected that the copy desk would have been hit hard by layoffs, I was surprised to find out how reporters are compensating. Ten years ago, the copy desk was responsible for editing all the materials that went in the newspaper, as well as online—those stories were the same in either format. Now, with skeleton crews for copy editing, more and more errors are finding their way into newspapers and online. Not copy editing online stories isn't a new trend. Russial (2009) noticed this pattern in a survey of

155 U.S. newspapers ranging in size from small, to medium, to large. Results for newspapers larger than 100,000 circulation suggested that roughly 42% of the 100,000+ newspapers always edited stories online and 25% never did.

The interviews at the three newspapers (conducted eight years later), suggest that those numbers may have shifted toward even less online copy editing. All three newspapers copyedited very little material that ended up online. Because of staffing and the immediate nature of the web, few stories online make it through the copy desk unless the web and print stories are the same. Also at issue are schedules—often copy editors are not available to read material that's going online because of when their shifts are scheduled, which tend to be late in the day or early evening. Some newspapers have adjusted schedules or split schedules to try to accommodate this. The result is that reporters are relying more on self-editing and the readership, and less on their editors, to catch errors after stories are published online. "With the web, sometimes it is even a reader that catches that error, which can be quickly fixed online, but it shouldn't be that way," said Dillon of Business at the Tribune.

Relying on readers to help with corrections was unheard of a decade ago, and an unexpected finding. It is becoming more acceptable to reporters at the individual level, as well as to management at the organizational level, to correct errors they discover through readers' comments. Some reporters now routinely check the comment section of each article they write, several times daily, to make sure that no errors are mentioned. The adoption of this method of finding errors is happening at the individual level of the Hierarchy of Influences, where decisions are still personal. Not all reporters do this, but for some it has become a new routine, particularly those who handle breaking news. Kathryn of News at the Times has come to call this “community editing.” Reporters gain some editing power through getting a phone call from a potential source, or a comment from a reader that adds additional context to a story or corrects information that can easily be added to the story or fixed before the print copy goes to press. Although there weren’t any innovators in the initial adoption of technology, such as social media and smartphones, the reporters who figured out how out how to use the technology to do “community editing” at each newspaper can be considered innovators under Rogers’ (1962; 1995) diffusion of innovation theory. Some reporters do this for every story, and some do not do it at all, though they wouldn’t necessarily be considered “laggards,” as that would imply that they have a need for it and are not using it. It is possible that many reporters may not need to edit work in this fashion. This method of editing has spread to approximately one-fourth of the reporters interviewed and requires constant vigilance. Others find this method unacceptable. They do not look at online comments because they do not find them useful.

What does this mean?

As a “public good,” journalism is an essential part of our society. The loss of investigative teams at each of these newspapers is significant. Although these newspapers are no longer doing large investigative stories, the question for further research is what are they doing on a smaller scale to uphold their watchdog role in society? Because of the potential for errors creeping into online work, "community editing," as described by Kathryn of News at the Times, may be worth considering.

RQ5: *How does management see the role of the newspaper, looking at technology and the economy (from 10 years ago)?*

The executive editors and managing editors of these three newspapers have been primarily concerned over the past 10 years with economic pressure and a decline in readership. The difference from a decade ago is that they have a digital platform they need to feed with breaking news. An additional change is the need to vary content between the print product and online. Ten years ago, the print product and the online product would have been almost the same. At the organizational level in the Hierarchy of Influences model suggested by Shoemaker & Reese (2014), changes are happening much slower than at the routines level of the reporter. As mentioned in Chapter II, a media organization is responsible for creating, modifying, producing, and distributing content to the audience. The corporate structure acts as the frontline gatekeeper that passes information to others within the organization. Its goals and structure act as a constraint on the individual reporter (Shoemaker, 1991; Shoemaker & Reese, 1996). Although the media organizations themselves are often owned by larger media corporations, the editor and managing editor are highly influenced by that organizational structure, acting as the frontline gatekeepers in the newsroom for the organization.

Whether it is online or in print, each of the three newspapers was concerned about putting out a quality product and producing fair and accurate news. These expectations of journalism in society go hand-in-hand with McChesney's discussion of newspapers' importance as a "public good."

In the Hierarchy of Influences, at the organizational level, change is happening slowly as the editors and managing editors try to figure out how to deal with new technology. For the most part, each newspaper is still in the experimental state. Technological change is nothing new to the newspaper business, as mentioned in Chapter II. Newspapers amassed their "power" and "authority" because of their ability to distribute large quantities of news to the masses using new technologies, including faster printing presses. Today, with multiple platforms for gathering and displaying content, there are many more ways to view news content (Shoemaker & Reese, 2014). The challenge for management is to stay on top of the changes in technology and not fall behind, while also figuring out their utility. Each executive editor and managing editor has developed a preliminary approach to using new technology. For the Times and Tribune, the idea has primarily been to allow reporters to experiment with technology. The Gazette, in contrast, has introduced rules and made them part of each reporter's contract, including required posting of stories to Facebook and Twitter and using video and photography.

At the organizational level, management has the power to make policy, and it is interesting that few rules are being put into place about posting breaking news. It was also surprising to find that reporters want rules and say they need a clear set of expectations. This is particularly true of breaking news, which is handled in different ways: as an addition to a blog, a tweet, or a paragraph or two on the newspaper's website.

It is left up to the reporter at the individual level of the Hierarchy of Influences to decide where to post it. The Gazette was the only newspaper where management created rules about technology use, and even those were very general. Those rules required the use of photography, video, and social media. The only rule at the Times was that if you had been issued an iPhone (about one-third of the newsroom), you had to be posting to social media extensively or you would lose the phone. The Tribune did not have any policies.

I had expected that all reporters would have jumped on the bandwagon to use new technologies. Part of the struggle with technology can be put on the executive editor and managing editor at the organizational level as newspapers try to determine to what degree the newspaper is a print product or an online product, though they have to support both for the foreseeable future. Interviews suggest that the newsrooms of the Gazette and the Tribune are far too print-focused, and the editors of these newspapers acknowledge it. I had expected to find that these newsrooms had switched to a more digital-first focus. The challenge is primarily an economic one as the majority of the funding for their journalism enterprise comes from advertising in the print product. Editors continue to struggle to find an economic model that can support an online product.

Despite its focus, the Times, although it is struggling too, has editors who have focused their morning meetings on the online product, rather than print, a change the New York Times (February 2015) has recently made. The Gazette and the Tribune are much farther behind, though they talk about making a change toward a digital-first orientation.

I expected that each newsroom would offer a certain amount of training on how to use new technology, though I did not expect to find such a discrepancy between what executive editors and managing editors considered adequate training and what reporters expected. Top editors feel that their efforts to provide training to the newsroom have been adequate, but reporters generally are not satisfied. They want more training, as well as longer training sessions, because not all are able to grasp how to use the new technologies in the time devoted to training.

I was well aware that the editors had the capability to gather metrics about online stories and expected to find that they were using that information to inform reporters. Instead, although editors were collecting metrics, that information was not always being shared with reporters in a way they felt they could use. That information may be useful in determining what kinds of stories their readership is most interested in and what kinds of stories they are not. Some argue an overreliance on metrics can lead to publishing content simply to draw viewers—such as cat photos, or other clickbait. Metrics can be useful because of staff shortages and the need to maintain readership. Conveying metrics to reporters may prompt or encourage changes in routines.

Branding is an issue for the reporter at the individual level of the Hierarchy of Influences, and it also an issue at the organizational level of the executive editor and managing editor. For management, this issue is how brands should be created by the reporters and connected with the newspaper. It is important to consider how that brand affects the organization as a whole. “Our credibility, our brand as a news organization, is really rooted in our credibility, so we have to be consistently good at what we do,” said

Sam, the executive editor of the Times. It is an issue that has arisen over the last five years or so. Executive editors and managing editors are primarily concerned with the brand of the newspaper and want as much news and information to be connected with the newspaper as possible. The newsroom struggles with connecting all of the unique brands that reporters have created back to the newspaper. They are still experimenting. Management is still working to sort out this issue, but for now, reporters maintain autonomy for the most part with their Twitter accounts, and the brands, in some cases, that they have created.

Each newspaper has slowly adapted new technologies that help in the news gathering process, as well as with audience interaction; however, each newspaper is still in an experimental phase when it comes to technology. From having online interactive materials, including comment boxes, to the ability to interact with the audience on Facebook and Twitter, these three newspapers are trying to utilize new technologies as they become available. The challenge for management is getting the whole newsroom on board with new technology. Part of that may be bringing together the knowledge that reporters have learned from experimenting and turning those insights into newsroom policies. Instead of making decisions at the organizational level from a top-down structure, executive editors and managing editors are looking to the reporters at the routines level and the individual level to develop policy.

What does this mean?

Two changes that might be helpful include:

- To routinize breaking news across each newspaper with reporters following the same policies.

- To have a Twitter feed linked to the home page so that the readers have a place to get more news (when Twitter is the accepted method of breaking news).

Although this study touches on the organization, further study needs to explore how newspapers adapt to technology and create policies about its use. Gail, executive editor for the Gazette, offers four questions that are worth considering when it comes to adopting new technologies. She asks, "Does this work for us? Does this help us? Does this enhance our storytelling abilities? Does it give us a new platform for sharing those stories, for publishing stories?" The answer may be 'yes' or 'no' to any one of these. The challenge is determining which.

REFLEXIVITY AND LIMITATIONS

Research reflexivity

My own experiences and beliefs are interwoven throughout this study. It is important to acknowledge the perspective that I bring to the project—given my five years as a news designer, and on occasion writing and editing stories at two large regional newspapers. I worked in the newsroom from 2004 until 2009 and experienced the effect of the financial crisis on my newsroom. That included the layoff of about half my newsroom by mid-2009 (including me). I went back to school to earn a master's degree, with the hope of pursuing a Ph.D.

I have been in the newsroom on days when the news process went smoothly, as well as on days when the newsroom exploded. I bring this expertise to the research and realize that this experience can be a lens through which I view economic issues and technology use in the newsroom. “In qualitative studies, the researcher is the ‘instrument.’ Her presence in the lives of subjects invited to be part of the study is fundamental to the paradigm,” wrote Marshal and Rossman (1995, p. 59). My experience in the newsroom helped me relate to the interviewees and, in turn, helped shape the study. Personal experience can influence the analysis. For example, my own newspaper experience was at publications similar in size to the three chosen for this study. Had I worked at much smaller newspapers, I would have brought a different set of experiences. As someone who worked inside the building, primarily dealing with reporters and section editors, for example, I may have different views about technology and routines than reporters who spend at least some of their time (and in the case of sports, most of their time) outside the building. Because of my experience on the inside, I likely have a perspective somewhat different from reporters—I might tend to see a greater need for policy and rules than someone who worked more on his or her own.

Study limitations

A limitation of this study is that all three organizations were well regarded, award-winning large newspapers. Not all newspapers of this size have reputations as stellar. In addition, the corporate structure of newspapers can vary, from being independent to being part of a large corporation. It is important to note that these three newspapers have different pressures than small newspapers do, as well as different concerns than some of the largest newspapers in the U.S., such as the Washington Post, New York Times, and Wall Street Journal, face. It is important also to consider that those who were interviewed at these three newspapers either volunteered or were chosen by their editor to participate. The study doesn't necessarily reflect all reporters. An additional issue is that the majority of the reporters who were interviewed were age 50 or older, which may not reflect the average age of the reporter in the newsroom or relate to the industry as a whole. This age was partly a result of the requirement that those interviewed had to have been in the industry for at least 10 years. It is also worth noting that staff skew older at larger newspapers because they tend to have more years of experience than reporters at smaller newspapers.

A limitation of the study reflects financial and time constraints. The study was limited to three newspapers due to minimal funding. However, I did consider it to be important to study at least three different newspapers from around the country for a perspective from different locales. I also found it important to visit each of the locations in person to see what was happening, as well as to ask reporters about it—rather than to talk by phone—to gain a better sense of what was going on in each newsroom.

FUTURE RESEARCH

The broad nature of this research study brings up a variety of future research questions from issues of accuracy, to issues of branding, to issues of social media guidelines, to the future of investigative journalism. Each of these areas is ripe for further research. Below is a list of potential further research areas for further exploration, as this dissertation offers only a snapshot of the issues at hand.

- The first issue is accuracy. Given the lack of editing resources and the need for immediacy, have changes taken place there? Have newspapers become less accurate ? To examine this, I would suggest a content analysis.

- Another question to consider is does allowing reporters their own autonomy with Twitter hurt or promote the newspaper brand? Of additional consideration is how does the information listed in the reporter's profile affect the newspaper. To examine this, I would suggest a survey of audience perceptions or an experiment to see whether different types of information are more valuable.

- There is also the question of whether newspapers are diluting their own brand by allowing reporters to tweet stories from their personal social media accounts. One again, to examine this, I would suggest a survey of the audience's perceptions.

- Because business reporters tend to be the least-heavy users of technology, it is important to understand why. Are business reporters taking their cues from what business leaders do? To examine this, I would suggest a survey of business reporters and their attitudes, as well as what they do.

- With different ways reporters are using technology and newspapers rules, or lack of them, how are newspapers incorporating social media guidelines across the country (if there are policies)? Here I would suggest a survey of newspaper editors/social media editors as to what is happening in their newsrooms.

- Another big concern suggested by the results of this dissertation is the lack of investigative journalism taking place at the three newspapers studied. I would be interested to find out if the investigative reporting of the past is no more, what are journalists doing on a smaller scale to uphold their watchdog function? This could be studied by a survey of editors and reporters, particularly those that are doing enterprise work. It could also be studied using content analysis.

APPENDIX A

Participation Consent Form

University of Oregon, School of Journalism and Communication
Informed Consent for Participation as a Subject in The Change of Routines
Investigator: Jenny J. Dean
Adult Consent Form

Introduction

- You are being asked to be in a research study looking at the role of the reporter today and 10 years ago.
- You were selected as a possible participant because you write stories for either the business, news, features, or sports sections of the newspaper.
- We ask that you read this form and ask any questions that you may have before agreeing to be in the study.

Purpose of Study:

- The purpose of this study is to understand how the role of the reporter has changed over the past 10 years with particular interest in technology.
- Participants in this study are from the xxx, xxx, and two other newspapers.

Description of the Study Procedures:

- If you agree to be in this study, we would ask you to do the following things: Participate in one 30 minute interview and complete a short survey (2 minutes). There will be approximately 20 participants from your paper.

Risks/Discomforts of Being in the Study:

- There are no reasonable foreseeable (or expected) risks.
- This study may include risks that are unknown at this time.

Benefits of Being in the Study:

- The purpose of the study is to better define what technological and economic influences affect the role of the reporter.
- The benefits of participation are making a contribution towards the better understanding of the current role of the reporter.

Costs:

- There is no cost to you to participate in this research study.

Confidentiality:

- We will not include any information that will make it possible to identify a participant and we will only refer to this newspaper as "one of the nation's bigger regional papers" or "a large paper in the United States."
- The records of this study will be kept private. In any sort of report we may publish, we will not include any information that will make it possible to identify a participant. Research records will be kept in a locked file.
- All electronic information will be coded and secured using a password-protected file. If audio or video tape recordings are made, only Jenny J. Dean will have access to them so that interviews may be transcribed. At the completion of the project, all files will be deleted and paper information shredded.
- Access to the records will be limited to the researchers; however, please note that the Institutional Review Board and internal University of Oregon auditors may review the research records.

Voluntary Participation/Withdrawal:

- Your participation is voluntary. If you choose not to participate, it will not affect your current or future relations with the University.
- You are free to withdraw at any time, for whatever reason.
- If you chose not to participate, it will not affect your relationship with the newspaper.

Contacts and Questions:

- The researcher conducting this study is Jenny J. Dean. For questions or more information concerning this research you may contact her at (303) 909-7600 or dean2@uoregon.edu.
- If you believe you may have suffered a research related injury, contact Jenny J. Dean at (303) 909-7600 who will give you further instructions.
- If you have any questions about your rights as a research subject, you may contact: Research Compliance Services, University of Oregon at (541) 346-2510 or ResearchCompliance@uoregon.edu

Copy of Consent Form:

- You will be given a copy of this form to keep for your records and future reference.

Statement of Consent:

- I have read (or have had read to me) the contents of this consent form and have been encouraged to ask questions. I have received answers to my questions. I give my consent to participate in this study. I have received (or will receive) a copy of this form.

Signatures/Dates

____

Study Participant (Print Name)

____

Participant or Legal Representative Signature **Date**

Consent for audio recording

____

Study Participant (Print Name)

____

Participant or Legal Representative Signature **Date**

APPENDIX B

Reporter Interview Questions

I am interested in your experience as a reporter, and in particular your use of technology over the past 10 years.

Q: How much of your day is spent online?

- Searching for story ideas/posting on social media, etc…//Twitter/Facebook

Q: Tell me about your beat, the stories you produce (Today, 10 years ago?)

- Finding stories/sources
- Story length
- Number of stories/day/week/etc…
- Time to write stories (fewer resources?)
- Technology use
- Job Description
- Training
- Is the pressure to produce greater now than 10 years ago?
- What sorts of things have increased the pressure (i.e. staff cuts, greater demand for breaking news online, etc…)?
- Updating of stories?

Q: Tell me about your typical workday (Today, 10 years ago).

- How do you approach finding story ideas?
- What digital resources are you using?
- How have they changed over the past 10 years?
- How do you use technology, the web, etc… throughout the day?
- To gather information (from digital sources)?
    - What challenges and advantages does the use of technology create for you in the workday?
    - How has the smartphone influenced your job, as well as other technologies?
    - Does technology extend your workday? (do you work more hours because of a smartphone or iPad or social media?)
    - What do you think of the idea that anyone can post news or opinion (role of the public contributing digital content)?
    - How much time do you spend working out of the office?

Q: What role do you play in the production of web content (Today, 10 years ago)?

- Walk me through that process.
- How does it differ from print? (Editing different?)

Q: Has anything changed in terms of editing support?

- Do stories get edited as thoroughly now as they did 5 years ago, 10 years ago (print vs. web consideration)?

Q: Tell me about how your dependence on technology has changed over the past 10 years.

Q: Anything else that you think it is important for me to know?

APPENDIX C

Executive Editor/Managing Editor Interview Questions

I am interested in how technology is being adapted/used.

°How long have you been in your position as executive editor?
- How long have you been in a leadership role?
- How long have you been a journalist?

Tell me about the role of the paper in the community.

Tell me about what you see as the mission of the newspaper.

Tell me about the role technology plays in your newsroom (social media, cameras, etc…)?
- Are there any requirements for using technology by reporters? If so, can you describe them?
- With new hires, how important are technology skills? What do you look for? (Do you expect different skills for different positions, say reporters?)
- What kind of training is available to reporters/photographers to learn new technologies?
- Are there plans for continual training? If so, how is this done and how often?
- Job description of employees?

° Tell me about how you prioritize the online vs. print product?
- What is your policy for getting news up immediately online?
- What does immediately mean for you?
- How often is information updated on the web?

Q: Tell me about how your dependence on technology has changed over the past 10 years.

Q: What challenges/advantages does technology bring to your role as the executive editor/managing editor at the newspaper?

Q: Tell me about how the economy has affected the paper?
- Relationship to technologies?
- Do you have fewer resources than you did 10 years ago?
    - How does that affect your staff?
    - Has technology helped?

Q: How has the number of staff writers changed over the past 10 years?

Q: Is there anything else important I should know?

APPENDIX D
Reporter Questionnaire

NAME (PSUEDONYM, TO BE FILLED IN BY THE RESEARCHER): ____________

- WHICH SECTION DO YOU WRITE FOR PRIMARILY (TODAY):

  ____

- WHICH SECTION DID YOU WRITE FOR PRIMARILY (5 YEARS AGO):

  ____

- WHICH SECTION DID YOU WRITE FOR PRIMARILY (10 YEARS AGO):

  ____

- WHAT IS YOUR BEAT (TODAY): _________________________________

- WHAT IS YOUR BEAT (5 YEARS AGO): ___________________________

- WHAT WAS YOUR BEAT (10 YEARS AGO): ________________________

- HOW MANY ASSIGNMENTS DO YOU COVER IN A WEEK? ________

- HOW MANY STORIES DO YOU WRITE PER WEEK ON AVERAGE? ___

- WHAT TECHNOLOGIES DO YOU UTILIZE FOR YOUR JOB TODAY, PLEASE LIST (examples include: Facebook, PhotoShop, Twitter, a camera, LAPTOPS, IPADS, VIDEO, IPHONE, etc…)?

  ____

  ____

- WHAT TECHNOLOGIES DID YOU UTILIZE FOR YOUR JOB 10 YEARS AGO, PLEASE LIST (examples include: Facebook, PhotoShop, Twitter, a camera, LAPTOPS, IPADS, VIDEO, IPHONE, etc…)?
- FULL TIME or PART-TIME (CURRENTLY)?:
- FULL TIME or PART-TIME (10 YEARS AGO)?
- FULL TIME or PART-TIME (5 YEARS AGO)?:
- FEMALE or MALE (OPTIONAL)?:
- NUMBER OF YEARS WORKED AT THIS NEWSPAPER?:
- NUMBER OF YEARS AS A REPORTER (including work at other papers)?

- **EDUCATION (SELECT THE HIGHEST LEVEL DEGREE COMPLETED):**

  ___ HIGH SCHOOL

  ___ TWO-YEAR DEGREE

  ___ FOUR-YEAR DEGREE

  ___ MASTER'S

  ___ MBA

  ___ PH.D.

  ___ J.D.

- **AGE, SELECT ONE (OPTIONAL):**

  ___ 18-29

  ___ 30-39

  ___ 40-49

  ___ 50-59

  ___ 60+

APPENDIX E
The Participants

THE GAZETTE

Reporter (Pseudonym)	Section write for	Number of years as a reporter	Education Level Achieved	Age
Andy	News	20	Four-year degree	40-49
Ashley	Features	32	Master's degree	50-59
Caroline	News	17	Four-year degree	40-49
Christopher	Sports	30	Four-year degree	50-59
Erica	News	18	Four-year degree	40-49
Hilary	Features	25	Four-year degree	40-49
Jeffrey	Sports	14	Four-year degree	40-49
Jeremy	Business	20	Master's degree	40-49
Joseph	Business	28	Master's degree	50-59
Mark	Sports	24	Four-year degree	40-49
Mary	News	25	Four-year degree	60+
Matthew	News	37	High School degree	60+
Neal	News	26	Master's degree	50-59
Pat	Business	13	Four-year degree	60+
Patricia	Features	17	Four-year degree	50-59
Paul	News	40	Four-year degree	60+
Sarah	News	32	Four-year degree	50-59
Sophia	Features	32	Master's degree	60+
Thomas	Sports	36	Four-year degree	50-59

THE TIMES

Reporter (Pseudonym)	**Section write for**	**Number of years as a reporter**	**Education Level Achieved**	**Age**
Adam	News	35	Four-year degree	60+
Alexander	Sports	23	Two-year degree	40-49
Amy	Features	10	Four-year degree	30-39
Brian	News	40	Master’s degree	60+
Charles	News	41	High School degree	60+
Derek	Business	36	Master’s degree	60+
Eric	Sports	30	Four-year degree	50-59
James	Business	42	Four-year degree	60+
Jonathon	News	17	Four-year degree	50-59
Kathryn	News	10	Four-year degree	10
Kyle	Features	38	Four-year degree	60+
Luke	Sports	18	Four-year degree	30-39
Matthew	Sports	30	Four-year degree	50-59
Michael	Business	35	MBA	60+
Michelle	Features	10	Four-year degree	30-39
Rachel	News	34	Master’s degree	50-59
Rebecca	News	10	Four-year degree	30-39
Renee	Features	38	Master’s degree	50-59
Richard	News	27	Master’s degree	40-49
Robert	News	39	Four-year degree	60+
Ryan	Sports	20	Four-year degree	40-49
Pattie	Features	35	Master’s degree	60+
Samantha	News	18	Four-year degree	40-49
Scott	News	33	Four-year degree	60+
Steven	News	32	Four-year degree	50-59

THE TRIBUNE

Reporter (Pseudonym)	Section write for	Number of years as a reporter	Education Level Achieved	Age
Bailey	Business	30	High School degree	50-59
Ben	News	21	High School degree	60+
Dillon	Business	38	Four-year degree	60+
Don	News	31	J.D.	50-59
Helen	Features	35	Four-year degree	50-59
Jackie	News	20	Master's degree	40-49
Jacob	Sports	24	Four-year degree	40-49
Jordan	Sports	25	Four-year degree	40-49
Kelly	Features	39	Four-year degree	60+
Larry	Sports	37	Four-year degree	60+
Lily	Features	10	Four-year degree	30-39
Linda	News	32	Four-year degree	50-59
Max	Business	25	Four-year degree	50-59
Peter	Business	31	Four-year degree	50-59
Randall	Sports	37	Master's degree	60+
Sandy	News	31	Four-year degree	50-59
Tanner	News	35	Four-year degree	60+
Wade	Features	30	Four-year degree	50-59
Zachary	News	29	Four-year degree	50-59

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