UNIVERZA V LJUBLJANI
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Global Trends of Online Journalism in Slovenian Print Media

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Doktorska disertacija

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SLOVENIAN SUMMARY

Globalni trendi spletnega novinarstva v slovenskih tiskanih medijih

Avtorji v medijskih in komunikacijskih študijah v zadnjem desetletju in pol ugotavljajo, da se novinarstvo vse od družbenega vzpona interneta oziroma spleta občutno spreminja in da to zahteva vnovičen premislek o vsem, kar vemo o novinarstvu. Fleksibiliziranje novičarskega dela, prestrukturiranje uredništev in reorganiziranje uredništev, novosti v praksah in principih ustvarjanja novic ter težave samorazumevanja novinarjev namreč nakazujejo velike spremembe v novinarstvu poznomoderne družbe, ki globalno preoblikujejo naše védenje o novinarstvu, predstave o tem, kaj naj bi bilo novinarstvo, in kaj njegovo razumevanje v praksi. Toda družbene dinamike spreminjanja novinarstva lahko prepoznavamo z zgodovinskim vpogledom v njegov razvoj, ki kaže, da so se družbene vloge novinarjev, pomeni novic in obravnave novičarskega dela vselej prilagajali vsakokratnim družbenim napetostim med kontinuitetami in spremembami na strukturnih, organizacijskih, uredniških in individualnih ravneh. Disertacija tako s študij manifestacij globalnih trendov spletnega novinarstva v določenem družbenem kontekstu dopolnjuje te razprave ter ponuja nova teoretska premišljevanja in empirične ugotovitve o družbenih dinamikah med kontinuitetami in spremembami v novinarstvu. V tem okviru se zapolnjuje vrzel integrativnega teoretskega premisleka ter spletno novinarstvo v času globalizacije proučuje na mikro, srednjih in makro ravneh. Glavni cilj disertacije je tako udejaniti multidisciplinarno, teoretsko-integrativno in zgodovinsko zasnovano študijo spletnega novinarstva, da bi z raziskovanjem (1) strukturnega razvoja spletnega novičarskega dela, (2) družbene organiziranosti spletnih oddelkov, (3) logike ustvarjanja spletnih novic in (4) samorazumevanja družbenih vlog spletnih novinarjev celovito proučili družbene dinamike med kontinuitetami in spremembami v sodobnem novinarstvu.

Z analitičnega vidika disertacija prehaja meje med disciplinami in združuje zgodovinski vpogled, kritično-ekonomski vidik, družbenoorganizacijsko študijo, kulturno analizo in politični pristop v raziskovanju novinarstva. Multidisciplinarni značaj teoretskega premišljevanja avtorju ne omogoča le, da prekorači deterministične predpostavke glavnih paradigem globalizacije v medijskih in novinarskih študijah, ampak tudi, da v raziskovanju spletnega novinarstva kritično oceni prevlado študij iz Združenih držav Amerike in deloma Evrope. Z razumevanjem globalizacije kot dialektičnega procesa, ki izhaja iz družbenih napetosti med partikularnim in skupnim, kjer se elementi globalizacije in lokalizacije med različnimi akterji sooblikujejo in se nenehno artikulirajo v čezlokalnih transakcijah, avtor v disertaciji kritično prevprašuje prevladujoče konceptualizacije in manifestacije novinarstva, novic in novičarskega dela skozi prizme njihovih zgodovinskih izvorov, konceptualnih težav v pozni moderni in globalno izpodbijanih kontinuitet v digitaliziranem medijskem okolju. V teoretskih razmišljanjih o spletnem novinarstvu tako prevzema tehnološkokonstruktivistični pristop k razmerju med novinarstvom in tehnologijo, ki inovacijo zaobjema kot nasprotujoč in negotov proces, vpet v določen družbeni sistem in tako ne prinaša vnaprej predvidenih racionalnih in tehnološko determiniranih rešitev.

Raziskava globalnih trendov spletnega novinarstva v slovenskih tradicionalnih medijih in proučevanje transformacij novinarstva v tem okviru tako ne temeljita na menjavi dominantnih konceptov novinarstva, novic in novičarskega dela, temveč na teoretskem in empiričnem prepoznavanju družbenih kompleksnosti, ki se kaže s postavljanjem skozi zgodovino oblikovanih »starih« elementov v »nov« družben kontekst. S historizacijo družbenih vlog slovenskih novinarjev, prevladujočih pomenov novic in uveljavljenih obravnav novičarskega dela avtor v disertaciji konceptualno prepoznava širše trende spletnega

novinarstva. Na eni strani se ti kažejo v zgodovinsko-lokalnih posebnostih slovenskega novinarstva in v spremembah na globalni ravni, ki po drugi strani prinašajo nove družbene dinamike, s katerimi se novinarstvo tradicionalno ni soočalo. Tako v diahroni zgodovinski analizi disertacija ugotavlja, da se je slovensko novinarstvo v svojem razvoju nenehno spreminjalo – »stari« konceptualni vzorci družbenih vlog novinarjev, prevladujoči pomeni novic in uveljavljene obravnave novičarskega dela so se krhali ali uničevali z občutnimi družbenimi transformacijami, medtem ko so vznikale »nove« tradicije novinarstva. S sinhronim prerezom avtor hkrati razkriva transformacije v slovenskem novinarstvu po koncu socializma, ki so predvsem tehnične in ne paradigmatske, zato ne prinašajo »novih« novinarskih tradicij, temveč prilagajanje »starih« spreminjajočemu se tehnološkemu okviru. Z zgodovinsko obravnavo se tako potrjuje, da razvoj slovenskega novinarstva ni linearen in tehnološko pogojen, temveč vpet v družbeno-specifične povezave med strukturo in delovanjem, ki so samosvoje in nenujne, saj se lahko oblikujejo, razdirajo in ponovno konstruirajo v okoliščinah, določenih z različnimi družbenimi transakcijami med lokalnimi, nacionalnimi, transnacionalnimi in globalnimi ravnmi.

Z upoštevanjem družbenih dinamik med strukturo in subjektivnostjo avtor skozi to prizmo premisli svojo raziskovalno pozicijo in na podlagi tega prilagodi metodološki okvir. Četudi je prepoznal tri valove znanstvenega proučevanja spletnega novinarstva, trendi empiričnega raziskovanja niso vplivali na odločitev, katero metodo prevzeti, temveč jo je odločilno oblikoval glavni raziskovalni cilj disertacije in z njim povezane epistemološke predpostavke. Etnografijo tako disertacija prevzame kot metodološko strategijo in jo prilagaja teoretsko-integrativni in zgodovinsko zasnovani študiji, namenjeni celoviti obravnavi manifestacij trendov spletnega novinarstva v določenih tiskanih medijih. Raziskovanje je zoženo na dva raziskovalna subjekta, *Delo* in *Dnevnik*, vodilni časopisni hiši v Sloveniji glede na naklade njunih dnevnih časopisov, število različnih obiskovalcev njunih spletnih mest ter številčnost osebja in obseg dnevnega novinarskega ustvarjanja. V času opazovanja v obeh uredništvih, analiziranja strateških dokumentov in izvajanja intervjujev s člani spletnih oddelkov avtor prevzame vlogo kritičnega etnografa ter tako z metodološkim agnosticizmom in raziskovalno samorefleksijo doprinese k fleksibilnosti proučevanja na terenu. V zadnjih mesecih leta 2010 je preživel 43 delovnih dni v uredništvih *Dela* in *Dnevnika*, kjer je aktivno opazoval procese in odnose v spletnih oddelkih *Delo.si* in *Dnevnik.si*. V tem času je avtor tudi analiziral na ducate internih dokumentov ter zbrane podatke o formalni strukturi uredništva in organizaciji procesov v njem primerjal s tistimi, ki jih je zbral med opazovanjem. Po koncu opazovanja je opravil 29 polstrukturiranih poglobljenih intervjujev z zdajšnjimi in nekdanjimi člani *Delo.si* in *Dnevnik.si*, ki jih je izbral glede na formalno odločevalsko strukturo v spletnih oddelkih obeh uredništev, s čimer je lahko z zbranimi interpretacijami intervjuvancev nadalje analiziral procese, odnose in percepcije v oddelkih *Delo.si* in *Dnevnik.si* znotraj okvira glavnega cilja disertacije.

V tem okviru je avtor disertacije z zbiranjem, selekcioniranjem in analiziranjem etnografskih podatkov pridobival védenje o štirih glavnih problemskih področjih, ki jih odpira glavni cilj disertacije. S pregledom literature je namreč prepoznaval glavne smeri razvoja spletnega novinarstva, ki se pojavljajo onkraj lokalnega, in jih sintetiziral kot globalne trende tega družbenega fenomena in se jih problemsko lotil v kontekstu slovenskih tiskanih medijev: (1) evolucija spletnega novinarskega dela v smeri fleksibilizacije, (2) reorganiziranje in prestrukturiranje delovnih okolij spletnih novinarjev, (3) tehnološko preoblikovanje ustvarjanja spletnih novic in (4) samozaničevanje spletnih novinarjev v tradicionalnih medijskih hišah.

Prvič, z raziskovanjem vprašanja, kako se globalni trendi razvoja dela spletnih novinarjev manifestirajo v slovenskih tiskanih medijih, disertacija prepoznava družbene dinamike med strukturnimi silami novičarskega dela in individualnim delovanjem spletnih

novinarjev in ugotavlja, da odslikavajo širše diskontinuitete v razvoju novičarskega dela. S povezovanjem kritično-ekonomskega vidika medijev in družbenoorganizacijskega pristopa v historizaciji spletnega novinarstva avtor ugotavlja, da so bili spletnonovinarski projekti v poslovnih vizijah odločevalcev pogosto usmerjeni v uspeh na kratki rok, in ne v bolj eksperimentalne projekte, ki bi lahko poslovne uspehe prinašali na dolgi rok. Spletno novičarsko delo lastniki uveljavljajo kot individualno ali kolektivno dejavnost v uredništvu, ki ga s krčenjem stroškov in večanjem produktivnosti, učinkovitosti in fleksibilnosti usmerjajo v varčevanje in stalno negotovost. Kognitivni značaj novičarskega dela se krha, saj prevladujejo močno rutinizirane in racionalizirane prakse, neaktivno uredniško delovanje ter pavperizirana delovna razmerja spletnih novinarjev. Avtor s pomočjo del Sennetta in Baumana pojasnjuje te pojave in ugotavlja, da je razvoj spletnega novičarskega dela na *Delu* in *Dnevniku* zaznamovan s tekočo fleksibilnostjo, ki od spletnih novičarskih delavcev zahteva, da so se po eni strani pripravljeni nenehno odzivati na spremembe in se hkrati zavedati, da vpeljane spremembe ne prinašajo stabilnosti, ampak kratkotrajno veljavo.

Drugič, s proučevanjem raziskovalnega vprašanja, kako prestrukturiranja novinarskih oddelkov in reorganiziranja uredništev oblikujejo zbiranje informacij, njihovo selekcijo in upovedovanje spletnih novinarjev v slovenskih tiskanih medijih, avtor ugotavlja, da se uveljavljene tradicije prostorske ureditve, delitve dela in uredniškega nadzora zamegljujejo kot rezultat procesov konvergence uredništev, ki so usmerjeni v integriranje prostorov, tehnologij in zaposlenih pri ustvarjanju novic. Z družbenoorganizacijskim pristopom k dinamikam med strukturo in delovanjem analizira, kako izginjajoča tradicija organizacije uredništva prehaja v dva različna modela konvergence uredništev in kako se globalni trend združevanja prostorov, tehnologij in osebja manifestira v prostorskem integriranju spletnih oddelkov v uredništvih *Dela* in *Dnevnika*, kaotični delitvi dela med spletnimi novičarskimi delavci ter v šibkem uredniškem nadzoru pri ustvarjanju novic za *Delo.si* in *Dnevnik.si*. Poleg tega s pomočjo del Boczkowskega v uredništvih analiziranih časopisnih hiš prepoznava pojav mimetične izvirnosti, kar pomeni, da inovacije, ki se nanašajo na globalni trend konvergence uredništev, predvsem zaradi sledenja poslovnim ciljem imitirajo delitev dela, uredniški nadzor in čezoddelčne odnose v tradicionalno decentraliziranih uredništvih. Na podlagi tega disertacija ugotavlja, da je tradicija decentraliziranih uredništev v procesu preoblikovanja, toda ne v smeri izumljanja »nove« tradicije uredništev, temveč kot posledica spreminjanja rutin s spodbujanjem fleksibilizacije in individualizacije, s katerima institucionalni dejavniki izgubljajo substanco in pomen.

Tretjič, z raziskovanjem vprašanja, kako značilnosti spletnega komuniciranja vplivajo na odnose spletnih novinarjev z drugimi subjekti v procesu ustvarjanja spletnih novic v slovenskih tiskanih medijih, disertaciji ugotavlja, da ni veliko dokazov o normalizaciji idej hipertekstovnosti, interaktivnosti in multimedijskosti v odločanju novinarjev in osmišljanju njihovega dela ter da je praksa ustvarjanja spletnih novic bolj določena s hitrostjo kot s temeljnimi značilnostmi spletnega komuniciranja. Z združevanjem družbenoorganizacijskega pristopa k ustvarjanju spletnih novic in kulturne analize novinarske prakse disertacija dokaže, da je ustvarjanje spletnih novinarjev *Delo.si* in *Dnevnik.si* tehnološko, organizacijsko in kulturno podrejeno idejam produktivnosti in učinkovitosti, kar odločilno vpliva na to, kako spletne novice nastajajo in kakšne medsebojne odnose imajo novinarji, viri informacij in člani občinstva. Analiza pokaže, da imajo te dinamike posledice na organizacijski ravni, kjer spletni oddelki delujejo kot prostori ekspirementiranja fleksibilnosti delavcev in njihovem izkoriščanju; na tehnološki ravni, kjer postavljeni sistemi za urejanje z vsebinami (CMS) omejujejo razvoj bolj kontekstualiziranega, participativnega in kreativnega ustvarjanja novic; in na kulturni ravni, kjer med spletnimi novinarji bolj prevladujejo tehnološki konzervativci, ki se zavzemajo za ohranitev hirarhičnosti v odnosu med novinarji in občinstvom, kot tehnološki entuziasti, ki bi tak odnos v svojem spletnem ustvarjanju odpravili. Z deli

Bravermana in Baumana avtor pojasnjuje, da ugotovitve raziskave na *Delo* in *Dnevniku* odslikavajo novinarsko neveščinskost, s katero postajajo odnosi med novinarji, viri informacij in občinstvom drugotnega pomena, potenciali za kontekstualizirano, kolaborativno in kreativno ustvarjanje novic so omejeni, prevladujoča mimikrija v spletnem novinarstvu pa prinaša trend homogenizacije novic v digitaliziranem medijskem okolju.

Četrtič, s proučevanjem raziskovalnega vprašanja, kako spletni novinarji slovenskih tiskanih medijev razumejo svojo vlogo v družbi, disertacija razkriva paradokse v odgovorih intervjuvancev – po eni strani ustvarjanje spletnih novic razumejo v skladu z normativnimi predispozicijami klasične oziroma visokomoderne paradigme novinarstva, po drugi strani pa sami sebe ne vidijo kot »pravih« novinarjev. Z združevanjem političnega pristopa k analiziranju vloge novinarstva v družbi in kulturne analize samorazumevanja spletnih novinarjev je avtor v študiji na *Delu* in *Dnevniku* lahko proučeval identifikacijske težave novinarjev v kontekstu ustvarjanja spletnih novic, ki mu primanjkuje izvirnosti in ki ga spletni novinarji in njihovi časopisni kolegi ne razumejo kot »novinarskega«, ter fleksibilnih delovnih razmerij spletnih novinarjev, ki jih glede na odgovore intervjuvancev določajo kot institucionalno degradirane novičarske delavce. Spoznanja študije disertacija pojasni z deli Sennetta in Baumana in prepozna korozijo novinarskega značaja med spletnimi novinarji *Dela* in *Dnevnika*, ki se zaradi tveganih delovnih razmerij, spreminjajočih se delovnih okolij in fleksibilnih delovnih zahtev kaže v razkrajanju integritete različnih dimenzij poklicne ideologije. Paradoksi samorazumevanja spletnih novinarjev namreč nakazujejo, da intervjuvanci samih sebe nimajo za »prave« novinarje, a hkrati so idealno-tipske vrednote poklicne ideologije, kot so javni servis, objektivnost, avtonomija, neposrednost in etika, pomembni označevalci artikuliranja družbenih vlog spletnih novinarjev.

Disertacija kaže, da je spletno novinarstvo kot družbeni fenomen in kot predmet znanstvene obravnave na križišču med kontinuiteto in spremembo. Spletno novinarstvo slovenskih tiskanih medijev na različnih ravneh med globalnim in lokalnim izpodbija kontinuiteto novinarstva, ki je bila skozi zgodovino nenehno reproducirana, in spodbuja spremembe v odnosu med novinarstvom in tehnologijo, ki odražajo širše trende fleksibilizacije novičarskega dela, integriranja uredništev ter združevanja novinarskih identitet in pripadnosti. V tem okviru je ključno, da tehnologija ne determinira sprememb, temveč manifestacije novinarstva na spletu pomembno sooblikujejo družbena specifičnost novinarstva, novic in novičarskega dela in nasprotja med partikularnim in skupnim, v katerih so univerzalistične in partikularistične družbene dinamike v vzajemnem odnosu. Avtor v disertaciji nakaže, da pri transformacijah sodobnega novinarstva ne gre za ostre revolucionarne spremembe, temveč za odprte in postopne odzive na napetosti med uveljavljenim in marginalnim v novinarstvu, boj za legitimacijo novih oblik posredovanja novic, odpor proti obnovljenim procesom ustvarjanja novic in za vztrajne poskuse ohranjanja avtoritete v družbenem življenju.

Poleg tega ugotovitve disertacije nakazujejo, da je treba prilagoditi teoretska premišljevanja o novinarstvu, metodološko uokvirjanje novinarstva kot predmeta znanstvenega proučevanja in analitičnega usmerjanja v probleme empiričnega raziskovanja. Na podlagi prepoznanih primanjkljajev v diskusiji in zaključku disertacije avtor predlaga, da pisci v prihodnje prekoračijo uveljavljene teoretske pristope in se začno ukvarjati s primarnim teoretskim delom. Črpajo naj tudi iz teoretskih virov izven družbenih ved in poskušajo v svojem raziskovanju združevati kvalitativne in kvantitativne metode. V empiričnem proučevanju naj prestopijo močno uveljavljene ločnice med procesi ustvarjanja novic, novicami kot rezultati teh procesov in vključevanjem ljudi v ustvarjanje novice. Ti morebitni premiki lahko pridodajo k intelektualni prenovi v premišljevanju o novinarstvu in njegovem raziskovanju ter novinarskim študijam vsaj deloma pomagajo ponovno premisliti ne le o tem,

kaj vemo o novinarstvu in kako pridobivamo novo védenje o njem, temveč tudi, kako se oblikuje konsenz o tem, kaj vemo o novinarstvu in kako naj ga spoznavamo.

Ključne besede: spletno novinarstvo, globalizacija, novičarsko delo, uredništvo, ustvarjanje novic, samorazumevanje novinarjev

ENGLISH SUMMARY

Global Trends of Online Journalism in Slovenian Print Media

In the last decade and a half, there have been persistent claims from media and journalism scholars that, since the rise of the internet, and most notably the web, journalism has been experiencing significant transformations. This has been accompanied by suggestions that everything we know about journalism needs to be rethought. Indeed, the increasing flexibility of newswork, the restructuring and reorganising of newsrooms, novelties in news making and the problems affecting journalists' self-perceptions indicate that larger changes are occurring globally in journalism in late modern society, reshaping what we know about journalism, how we understand what it is supposed to do and how we see what it does in practice. The dynamics of change, however, can be identified throughout the history of journalism, where journalists' roles in society, the meanings of news and the negotiations of newswork have been accommodated within tensions between the continuity and change shaping journalism at the structural, organisational, newsroom and individual levels. In theserespects, by studying manifestations of global online journalism trends in print media organisations situated in a particular social context, this dissertation supplements these debates and provides new theoretical and empirical accounts of social tensions between continuity and change in journalism. The dissertation thus strives to overcome the absence of integrative theoretical reconsideration of journalism in contemporary studies and to provide a rare comprehensive empirical investigation of online journalism in the period of globalization, linking the macro, mezzo, and micro levels. Thus, the main goal of the dissertation is to conduct a multidisciplinary, theoretically integrative and historically informed study of online journalism in order to comprehensively examine social dynamics between continuity and change in contemporary journalism, by studying (1) structural developments in online newswork, (2) social-organizational settings of online departments, (3) the logic of online news making, and (4) self-perceived societal roles of online journalists.

From the analytical standpoint, the dissertation goes beyond disciplinary boundaries and combines historical inquiry, a critical-economic perspective, a social-organizational approach, cultural analysis and a political science approach. The multidisciplinarity of the theoretical examination enables the author not only to overcome the deterministic stances of the prevailing paradigms of globalisation in media and journalism studies, but also to critically assess the dominance of studies from the United States and partly of those from Europe in online journalism research. By adopting globalisation as a dialectical process emerging from social tensions between the particularistic and the common, where globalising and localising elements are mutually reshaped among different actors and rearticulated in transactions across locales, the dissertation challenges dominant conceptualisations and manifestations of journalism, news and newswork through the prisms of their historical origin, the conceptual difficulties of late modernity and the globally contested continuity in the digitalised media environment. In this context, in its theoretical reconsiderations of online journalism, the dissertation takes a technological-constructivist approach to the journalism-technology relationship, suggesting that innovation is a contradictory and uncertain process that is not about rational-technical problem-solving, but a product of a particular social system.

In this sense, the study of manifestations of global trends in online journalism at Slovenian print media organizations is based not on the substitution of dominant concepts of journalism, news and newswork, but rather on gain and complexity through reconsiderations of the historically developed "old" concepts in the "new" context. By historicising Slovenian journalists' societal roles, the prevailing meanings of news and the established negotiations of

newswork, the dissertation conceptually pins down larger trends in online journalism by moving from local particularities that have evolved in the history of Slovenian journalism to global developments that bring new dynamics that may be different to those to which journalism is traditionally ready to respond. In this sense, on the one hand, diachronic historical inquiry reveals that Slovenian journalism has throughout its development been subjected to change, where "new" traditions occurred when rapid societal transformations weakened or destroyed the "old" conceptual patterns of journalists' societal roles, meanings of news and negotiations of newswork. On the other hand, synchronic investigation discloses transformations in Slovenian journalism after the fall of socialism, where these changes are not paradigmatic, but rather technical and therefore they do not indicate patterns of "new" journalistic traditions. The historical assessment reaffirms that Slovenian journalism's development does not correspond to a linear evolutionary model and technological determinism, but rather to the social specificity of connections between structure and agency that can be forged, broken and constructed again in particular circumstances defined by different social interactions between the local, national, transnational and global levels.

Through this prism, by reconsidering elements of structure and subjectivity, the dissertation analytically renegotiates its research position and adopts a particular methodological design. Despite three identified waves of scientific research into online journalism, the decisions on which methods to use and how to apply them do not rest on trends in empirical research, but rather on the main research goal and its epistemological assumptions. Therefore, the dissertation adopts ethnography as a methodological strategy and legitimises it as a way of conducting a theoretically integrating and historically informed study for the purpose of comprehensively elaborating on manifestations of online journalism trends in particular print media organisations. As its case studies the dissertation chooses *Delo* and *Dnevnik*, which are the leading Slovenian print media organisations in terms of readership of theirdaily print editions, the number of unique visitors to their news websites the size of staff and the volume of their daily news output. When conducting newsroom observations, analysing strategic documents, and conducting interviews with online staffers, the author takes the role of a critical ethnographer and with consequential agnosticism and self-reflexivity lends the research the required flexibility. In late 2010 the author spent 43 working days in the newsrooms of *Delo* and *Dnevnik* and actively observed the processes and relations of *Delo.si* and *Dnevnik.si*. During that time he analysed dozens of internal documents reflecting formal structure and organization in relation to data gathered through observation. Afterwards the author conducted 29 semi-structured in-depth interviews with recent and former staffers according to the formal structure of authority, and by collecting interpretations of the interviewees he further analysed processes, relations and perceptions in the online departments of both newsrooms within the scope of the main research goal.

In this sense, ethnographic data was gathered, assembled and analysed to gain knowledge in the four main areas of inquiry into online journalism set out in the main goal of dissertation. The areas of inquiry correspond to what can be labelled as global trends in online journalism, reflecting general patterns of development across locales, which are identified by intersecting a vast number of studies: (1) evolution of online newswork towardflexibilisation, (2) reorganising and restructuring online journalists' workspaces, (3) technologically appropriating online news making, and (4) the self-deprecation of online journalists.

First, by focusing on the research question of how global trends in the evolution of online newswork have manifested themselves in Slovenian print media, the dissertation locates dynamics between the structural forces patterned in newswork arrangements and individual online journalists' performance in general, and stresses that they reflect larger social discontinuities in the development of online newswork. Specifically, by combining a critical-economic perspective on media and a social-organisational approach to journalism,

the historical inquiry into online journalism reveals that online news projects have often been more concerned with the short-term success of products related to what decision-makers have seen as the core business than with the uncertain possibilities of more experimental material which may only deliver in the long run. The dissertation shows that online newswork is emerging as an individual or collective action of editorial practices enforced by the ownership and importantly shaped by the ideas of productivity, efficiency and flexibility, oriented toward cost-cutting and manifold contingencies on different levels. The study indicates that the cognitive aspect of the work has been eroded and turned into a highly routinised and rationalised practice, that editorial flow of online departments is fairly tardy, and that the work statuses of online journalists have been negotiated as poor relations. By drawing on the works of Sennett and Bauman to explain these findings, the study indicates that the development of online newswork has increasingly been subjected to what can be labelled as fluid flexibility, indicating that newsworkers are continually open to change at short notice and that at the same time this change cannot bring stability but only a short-term effect.

Second, by focusing on the research question of how recent reorganisations and restructurings of newsrooms have shaped the gathering, assembling and supply of news for the websites of Slovenian print media organizations, the study at *Delo* and *Dnevnik* shows that traditions of spatial arrangement, division of work and editorial control are becoming blurred as a result of newsroom convergence processes that are oriented toward particularly integrating spaces, technologies and staffers in news making. By taking the social-organizational approach to dynamics between structure and agency in the newsroom, the study indicates how the fading tradition of decentralised newsroom structure and organisation in Slovenia is turning into two rather distinctive models of newsroom convergence, and how the global trend of bringing together formerly separated spaces, technologies and staffs is manifested in integrating spatial arrangements, rather chaotic work divisions and loose editorial control in the online departments at both organisations. Additionally, by building on the works of Boczkowski, the dissertation explains that the contested traditions and encouraged transitions at the newsrooms of the respective Slovenian print media organizations are mimetic in their originality, signalling that innovations generated by referring to the global trend of newsroom convergence are imitating a division oflabour, editorial control and cross-department relations in traditional decentralized newsrooms, because of the pursuit of primarily economic objectives. It seems that the tradition of decentralised newsrooms is being reshaped – not as an outcome of print media organisations' attempts to reinvent the newsroom tradition, but rather through re-routinisation via rationalisation and individualisation, as a result of which institutional factors are losing their substance and relevance.

Third, by focusing on the research question, of how the elements of the emerging online media shape relations between the online journalists at Slovenian print media organizations and other subjects involved in online news making, the dissertation shows that there is not much evidence of the normalisation of the ideas of hypertextuality, interactivity and multimediality in journalists' decision-making and sense-making, and that the practice of online news making is defined by speed rather than key elements of online communication. Specifically, by bringing together a social-organisational approach to online news making and a cultural analysis of its practice, the study at *Delo* and *Dnevnik* indicates subordination of technological, organisational and cultural attributes to productivity and efficiency, which decisively shapes how online news gets made and how online journalists, their sources and the audience relate to each other. The examination shows that these dynamics have consequences at the organizational level, where online departments appear as laboratory experiments in workforce flexibility and labour exploitation; at the technological level, where content management systems constrain the proliferation of more contextualised, participatory

and creative news making; and at the cultural level, where social tensions between technological conservatives who want to maintain a hierarchal relationship between journalists and audiences, and technological enthusiasts, who think the opposite, are tipping in favour of the former. By drawing on the works of Braverman and Bauman, the author explains that online news making at *Delo* and *Dnevnik* reflects journalistic deskilling, where relations among journalists, information sources and the audience are downsized, the potentials for contextualised, collaborative and creative news making are being diminished and the mimicking and homogenisation of digitalised news relay is being strengthened.

Fourth, by concentrating on the fourth research question, of how online journalists working at Slovenian print media organizations perceive their roles as journalists in society, the study reveals paradoxes in interviewees' sense-making – they understand online news making in accordance with normative predispositions of classical or high-modern journalism, but at the same time they do not see themselves as "true" journalists. By combining a political science approach to the role of journalism in society and a cultural analysis of online journalists' self-perceptions, the study at *Delo* and *Dnevnik* connects problematic online journalists' identification processes with the fact that they practise online news making that lacks originality, which is not regarded as "journalistic" among online journalists and their in-house print colleagues, and perform in the flexible work environment of online journalists, which makes them feel like institutionally downgraded news workers. By explaining the findings through the work of Sennett and Bauman, the author maps the patterns of the corrosion of journalistic character among online journalists at *Delo* and *Dnevnik*, where the integrity of dimensions of occupational ideology is degrading due to, inter alia, contingent work relations, unsteady work environments and flexible duties. Specifically, the paradoxes of their self-perceptions indicate that it is indeed the ideal-typical values of the occupational ideology of journalists, such as public service, objectivity, autonomy, immediacy and ethics, which appear as crucial qualifiers in articulating their role in society. At the same time, they regard themselves not as "true" journalists, reflecting contingencies in their identification processes.

Thus, the dissertation indicates that online journalism as a social phenomenon and as an object of scholarly inquiry is at an intersection between continuity and change. In this sense, the dissertation shows that the dynamics between global and local at different levels within online journalism among Slovenian print media contest the continuity of journalism that has been constantly re-accommodated and reinvented throughout its history, and encourage changes in dynamics between journalism and technology, corresponding to larger trends towards more flexible newswork, integrating newsrooms and converging journalistic identities and belongings. In this sense, it is clear that technology does not determine change, but that manifestations of online journalism in Slovenia are significantly shaped by the social specificity of journalism, news and newswork, and universalistic tensions and particularistic dynamics interrelate. Thus, the dissertation indicates that the changes happening in contemporary journalism are not clear-cut revolutionary occurrences, but rather open-ended and evolutionary responses to tensions between journalism's centres and its margins, struggles for legitimacy over new ways of news relay, resistance toward renewed processes of news making and stubborn attempts to remain an authoritative voice in public life. Additionally, in this context, the findings of the dissertation indicate that journalism as an object of scientific inquiry needs to be readjusted in terms of theoretical thinking about journalism, methodologically framing journalism inquiries, and focusing scholarly interests on empirical research. In this sense, the dissertation proposes to change toward shifting from tributary to primary in theoretical work and borrowing from theoretical sources outside social sciences, complementarily conducting research by using qualitative and quantitative methods, and breaking down the long-standing boundaries between the processes of news making, the

resulting news and people's engagement in news in empirical research. These possible new paths might bring intellectual renewal to journalism scholarship and they may, at least to a degree, help journalism studies to rethink not only what we know about journalism and how we gain new knowledge, but also how we agree on what we know and how we come to know it.
Keywords: online journalism, globalization, newswork, newsroom, news making, self-perception of journalists

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1. INTRODUCTION

With the rise of the internet, most notably its graphic interface, the World Wide Web, online journalism has become an important part of social, political, economic and cultural life in many societies around the world. Online journalism's manifold development is embedded in the changing methods of 21st-century journalism, which is being globally shaped by emerging transformations and contested traditions. In this sense, some authors say that the dynamics between continuity and change have in recent years reached a "historical juncture" (Dahlgren 2009a, 146), arrived at "a liminal moment" (Mitchelstein and Boczkowski 2009, 561), or suggest that "journalism, as it is, is coming to an end" (Deuze 2007, 141), yet it appears that, despite a large amount of literature on the journalism-web relationship, journalism scholarship has not provided enough theoretically and historically informed empirical insights to exhaust the issues of contested traditions and occurring changes in contemporary journalism (cf. Mitchelstein and Boczkowski 2009). Thus, the main objective of this dissertation is to provide a fresh empirical account of tensions between continuity and change in contemporary journalism by studying online journalism trends at print media organisations situated in a particular social context.

In this attempt, the author learns from scholarly inquiry into online journalism, which has, in the last decade-and-a-half, developed through three different analytical waves – from normative studies focusing on the "revolutionary" character of the web (cf. Kopper *et al.* 2000; Boczkowski 2004a), through empirical research based on technologically deterministic theoretical assumptions and "testing of the ideal models" (cf. Scott 2005; Domingo 2008a), to theoretical reconsiderations and empirical investigations based on a constructivist approach to the relationship between journalism and the web (cf. Mitchelstein and Boczkowski 2009). However, the research agenda, which is theoretically and methodologically rather diverse, but not integrative (Boczkowski 2011), has been "dominated" by studies produced in the United States and to a lesser extent by those from Europe, whereas rare inquiries from Asia, South America and Africa have adopted the analytical and conceptual paths of North-American and European scholars (e.g. Kopper *et al.* 2000; Scott 2005; Deuze 2007; Domingo 2008a; Mitchelstein and Boczkowski 2009). In this respect, a large amount of literature dealing with online journalism has not formed a consensus, let alone laid out the integrative theory of journalism that would enable researchers to link macro or structural, mezzo or organisational, and micro or individual levels of online journalism in their studies, which is crucial when complicated issues of dynamics between continuity and change in a time of globalisation meet

the theoretical, methodological and empirical complexities of online journalism (cf. Erjavec and Zajc 2011, 26). Thus, the dissertation *Global Trends of Online Journalism in Slovenian Print Media* attempts to respond to these challenges by examining larger common paths in the existence of online journalism and investigating their particularities as manifested in Slovenian print media. From this perspective, the main goal of the dissertation is to design a multidisciplinary, theoretically integrative and historically informed study of online journalism in order to comprehensively examine the social dynamics between continuity and change in contemporary journalism by studying structural developments in online newswork, the social-organisational settings of online departments, the logic of online news making and the societal roles of online journalists.

A review of recent works in the media and journalism studies reveals analytically distinct lines of academic inquiry into online journalism, adopting above all a constructivist approach to the changing nature of the journalism-technology relationship, and moving beyond a functional-systemic approach to online news making (cf. Kopper *et al.* 2000; Scott 2005; Mitchelstein and Boczkowski 2009; Boczkowski 2011). From this perspective, identifying broader trends in online journalism is not an easy task, given the social, political, economic, cultural and technological complexities emerging between the local, national, transnational and global levels in people's conduct. However, it appears that common lines of scholarly focus and empirical reality can be identified, which embed common tensions between continuity and change. Specifically, journalism has changed in ways that are yet to be well understood, as a result of the recontextualisation of technology in news making (e.g. Paterson and Domingo 2008; Boczkowski 2009; Deuze 2009a; Örnebring 2010; Meikele and Redden 2011; Domingo and Paterson 2011); social shifts in the relationships between journalists, their sources and the audience (e.g. Bruns 2009; Papacharissi 2009; Singer *et al.* 2011); the restructuring and reorganising of newswork environments and the routines of journalists (e.g. Boczkowski 2004a; Deuze 2007; Meier 2007; Avilés and Carvajal 2008; Avilés *et al.* 2009); the normalisation of flexible newswork and pauperised newsworkers (e.g. Splichal 2005a; Deuze 2007, 2008a, 2009b; Örnebring 2010; Dahlgren 2009a); the contesting of normative predispositions of journalists' societal roles; the transformation of the empirical realities of their position in political life (Friend and Singer 2007; Zelizer 2009; Dahlgren 2009a, 2009b; Tunney and Monaghan 2010; Singer *et al*. 2011; Lee-Wright 2012). These trends, which can be labelled as global, have only partly been empirically explored. What seems to be missing is the adoption of a holistic approach to online journalism research that would comprehensively examine tensions between continuity and change by exploring the identified issues of the

economic nature of the development of online journalism, trends in the social organisation and structure of online newswork, cultural manifestations of online technologies in news making and self-perceptions of online journalists through global lenses. This dissertation tries to respond to this challenge by combining theoretically and analytically different approaches in order to multi-dimensionally explore broader trends in online journalism. Yet this is not an easy objective, since systematic combinations of distinct apparatuses are required when context-related academic work seeks to link micro, medium and macro levels of inquiry.

In this sense, through a global perspective, the identified trends are increasingly difficult to investigate, as social, political, economic and cultural cross-local interchanges result in unprecedented complexities in articulations between continuity and change within journalism at different entry points. The crisis of journalism as a social institution and cultural practice has emerged from the subordination to the political and economic system across locales (cf. Altheide and Snow 1991; Hardt 1996; Močnik 2003; Splichal 2005a; Deuze 2007; Dahlgren 2009a; Schudson 2011) and has intensified, with the recent global financial and economic crisis resulting in deeper uncertainties in (trans)national media markets and damaging journalism as a business and an occupation (cf. Fenton 2010; Fortunati and Deuze 2011; Lee-Wright *et al.* 2012). Despite many indications that the multi-faceted phenomenon of journalism is converging toward a single model, diversity remains, based on the local traditions and specific contexts in which journalists operate (cf. Weaver and Löffenholz 2008; Preston 2009; Zelizer 2009; Papacharissi 2009; Wright-Lee *et al.* 2012). In this context, journalism research in the globalised world must cope with complexities on different and intertwined levels of change, from structures, norms and features to roles. Therefore, some media and journalism scholars (e.g. Schudson 2005; Löffelholz 2008; Zelizer 2008; Fenton 2010; Boczkowski 2011; Erjavec and Zajc 2011) have called for a multidisciplinary approach when investigating the central issues of online journalism, because this approach enables scholars to examine cross-locally emerging commonalities of journalism multi-dimensionally, by identifying the social, political, economic and cultural particularities of the phenomenon in question. A cross-section of contemporary scholarly inquiry into trends in online journalism shows that authors respond to the complex processes and dynamics of the global media world by building on conceptual differences in approaches to online journalism – from political economy, political science, sociology and history to cultural studies – which are "slight but clear-cut, with each discipline tackling journalism by asking a slightly different version of the same question" (Zelizer 2008, 255). Yet, communication, media and journalism studies often approach global dynamics widely and loosely (cf. Kamalipour 2007), predominantly adhering

to traditional divides between lines of inquiry and not yet providing a body of scholarly work that would interlink the critical economy of journalism, the social organisation of newswork, the cultural analysis of news and historical inquiry into journalism (cf. Schudson 2005; Zelizer 2008; Fenton 2010; Erjavec and Zajc 2011). As a response, the dissertation tries to provide the missing link and adopts a theoretically manifold perspective to journalism research that is integrative, rather than prioritising either structure or agency, in order "to reach a position that understands the place of both and seeks to uncover the dynamics of power therein" (Fenton 2010, 5).

In order to theoretically frame the comprehensive empirical study of online journalism, the dissertation combines a critical-economic perspective on media, which focuses on how economic factors interlock the social process in traditional media organisations and emphasises the dynamics between the structural factors in the media industry and newswork (cf. Schudson 1989/1997; Boyd-Barnett 1996; McChesney 2000; Fuchs 2009; Freedman 2010); historical inquiry, which locates problems in context, weaving prevailing currents of thought and empirical realities across time into a narrative that renders journalism's past understandable (cf. Zelizer 2008; Hardt 2008; Schudson 2005); a social-organisational perspective on journalism, which treats news making as structurally constrained by organisational, technological and occupational demands (cf. Tuchman 2002; Altmeppen 2008; Domingo 2008a; Boczkowski 2011); a cultural approach, which emphasises the constraining force of deeper cultural traditions and symbolic systems regardless of the structure of the economic organisation or the character of the existing routines (cf. Schudson 2005; Carey 2007; Hartley 2008); and a political science perspective, which draws on the interdependency between journalism and politics and queries how journalism should operate under optimum conditions (cf. Zelizer 2008; Christians *et al*. 2009). Although combining analytically different, sometimes opposing approaches has often been seen as confusing or affected by irreconcilable differences, some scholars stress that such distinctions are less sharp and that there is much to be gained from embracing "a dialogic multidisciplinarity" (Fenton 2010, 5). Therefore, this type of manifold, integrative perspective might help to examine the trends which have been identified by intersecting a large volume of online journalism literature, and to apply research into changes in online newswork, the organisation and structure of online journalists' workspaces, articulations between technology and online news making and self-perceptions of online journalists to the specific Slovenian context. These are also four areas of inquiry where tensions between continuity and change appear most salient and which lie at the heart of the dissertation's primary research goal.

First, traditional print media organisations have acted rather reactively, defensively and pragmatically to the rise of the web, which has significantly reshaped the evolution of newswork in Europe, North America and Asia (cf. Kopper *et al.* 2000; Kawamoto 2003a; Boczkowski 2004a; Scott 2005; Pavlik 2008; Mitchelstein and Boczkowski 2009). In this predominantly critical-economic perspective, traditional print media organisations have primarily reacted to structural developments rather than proactively contributed to them, focused on protecting print output rather than investing in online news projects and emphasised smaller short-term successes rather than less certain long-term benefits. By partly combining the critical-economic perspective, focusing on macro-questions of media ownership and control, with historical inquiry, social organisation of newswork and a cultural analysis of the creation of a news product, scholars acknowledge that taking compensatory measures to spread risk has led to an intensification in the flexible nature of online newswork, in terms of processes of news making, cooperation across departments and the employment status of online journalists. Since online newswork has evolved within the structure of tensions between continuity and change, articulated in the particular link between the local, national, transnational and global, this dissertation attempts to study these non-essential, varying and context-related connections in the development of online newswork. Moreover, Slovenian media and journalism studies do not provide a comprehensive picture of the evolution of online newswork in Slovenian print media organisations, since valuable examples where online journalism in Slovenian print media has been historicized are rare and rather narrow in diachronic scope, as they pursue their particular research agendas and goals (cf. Oblak and Petrič 2005; Oblak Črnič 2007; Poler Kovačič *et al.* 2010; Vobič 2009b, 2010). Therefore, putting these insights together leaves some gaps unfilled and demands that further attention be paid to online journalism research in Slovenia. In this sense, the objective of the dissertation is to build a periodisation of the evolution of online newswork in Slovenian print media by focusing on diachronic dynamics in the complexities of editorial workflow, processes of news making, the relationship between print and online departments and work relations between online journalists in order to understand the broad outlines of online newswork development and to be able to contextualise the findings from critical-economic, social-organisational and historical perspectives.

Second, traditions of newsroom structure and organisation have become increasingly hard to identify in the last decade or so right across the world (cf. Boczkowski 2004a, 2004b; Klinenberg 2005; Dupagne and Garrison 2006; Deuze 2007; Paterson and Domingo 2008; Avilés and Carvajal 2008; Quinn 2009; Verweij 2009; Avilés *et al. 2*009; Domingo 2011),

with processes of convergence resulting in various outcomes for media organisations in terms of newsroom organisation and structure and different outcomes for their online departments as often socially specific newswork entities. Namely, trends towards bringing together workspaces, technologies, departments, staffers, processes and content are strategically orientated to change traditional arrangements of space, work division and editorial control worldwide, in order to prepare media organisations to respond to technological innovations and cross-media news making, the fragmentation of audiences and corresponding uncertainties in media markets, as well as the individualisation of news experience and the diminishing role of journalism in public life. Since the trend of newsroom reorganising and restructuring results in distinct manifestations that vary from country to country and from media organisation to media organisation, this dissertation attempts to adopt a social-organisational approach to online newswork in order to explore the emerging transformations of traditional newsroom organisation and structure, to investigate the constraints imposed by traditional media organisations despite the individual intentions of online journalists, and to emphasise the inevitability of social construction of the processes of gathering, assembling and providing news for websites.The dissertation does not take the functional-systemic approach, however, instead bringing in the reciprocal understanding between structure and agency. Slovenian media and journalism studies provide neither in-depth insights into traditions of newsroom organisation and structure in print media nor systematic analysis of newsroom transformations in the contemporary media environment. Yet, there are some studies in Slovenian journalism history that superficially discuss the emergence of modern newsrooms and the tradition of journalists' workspaces (e.g. Vatovec 1967, 1969; Amon 1996, 2004, 2008; Vreg 2002), and recent newsroom-centred research has explored processes of newsroom convergence in Slovenian print media (e.g. Borko 2008; Vobič 2009b, 2009c). From this perspective, the dissertation attempts to overcome the deficit of scholarly attention, as its aim is to provide a more complex image of newsroom continuity and change in Slovenia through the prism of online journalism and critically examine changes brought about by newsroom convergence processes in recent years in order to better understand the dynamics of tensions between continuity and change on the social-organisational level, which reveal the larger logics of online newswork development and lay the foundations for a more profound analysis of Slovenian online journalism which does not declare primacy of structure over agency or *vice versa*.

Third, a review of the media and journalism literature (e.g. Dahlgren 1996, 2009a, 2009b; Singer 1998, 2004, 2008; Deuze 1999, 2004, 2007; 2008a; 2009; Pavlik 2001, 2008;

Kawamoto 2003b; Boczkowski 2004a, 2004b, 2009; Domingo 2008a) shows that the "major pillars" (Deuze 2004) of the web, that is, hypertextuality, interactivity and multimediality, are manifested in news making distinctively, and there are no strong indications that the logic of online news making is being normalised around the world. Nevertheless, despite epistemologically quite diverse standpoints, there is apparently firm agreement that it is necessary to explore changes that are occurring to the principles and practices of news making and its logic. How to approach these issues is a different matter again – some, in the manner of technological determinism, suggest that researchers should investigate how technology shapes news making (e.g. Bardoel 1996; Singer 1998; Kawamoto 2003b; Nip 2006; Bruns 2009), while others, in the manner of the constructivist approach to technology, stress that studies should explore how the established principles and practices of news making shape the manifestations of technology (e.g. Boczkowski 2004a, 2004b; Deuze 2009a; Domingo 2008a, 2008b; Paterson and Domingo 2008; Domingo and Paterson 2011). In any case, there have been significant changes in news making over the last two decades, which have been "supercharged" by the internet and the web (Deuze 2009a, 82), but at the same time these studies suggest that the transformations did not revolve purely around technology, but around the established meaning of news and existing relations in news making among journalists, their sources and the audience within a particular societal constellation (Zelizer 2009b). From this perspective, this dissertation adopts a social-organisational approach to news making and extrapolates it to a cultural analysis of relations among online journalists, their information sources and the audience, in order to explore what appears to be an emerging logic of online news making. The relevant cultural perspective, where the term culture is applied to the domain of ideas as well as to social practices (Williams 1965/1996), enables the author to take into account the symbolic determinants of technology in the relationships between the ideas and symbols. Slovenian media and journalism studies provide some valuable insights by revealing that traditional media organisations do not encourage interactive and participatory principles and practices (e.g. Oblak 2005; Oblak and Petrič 2005; Poler Kovačič and Erjavec 2008; Vobič 2010), do not strive for more diverse online multimedia news formatting (e.g. Vobič 2011) and do not opt for more interconnected and interlayered online news and hypertextualised relations within it (e.g. Oblak 2005). However, these studies leave some questions unexplored, for instance how hypertextuality, interactivity and multimediality are manifested in news making among online staffers and what role established relations among journalists, their sources and the audience play in the shaping of online news making logic. Thus, the dissertation goes beyond technologically deterministic early studies, which focused

on the analysis of texts, towards investigating relations among different actors in online news making from the technologically constructivist perspective in order to understand the contextual factors that shape online news making and assess the cultural groups engaged in online news making, a crucial grounding for analysis of the fluid journalism-technology relationship and identification of online journalism's position in social, political and cultural life.

Fourth, a cross-section of recent works in media and journalism studies suggests that assessments of who is a journalist and who is not in the online environment appear increasingly difficult, as two branches of discussions emerge. On the one hand, one group of scholars suggest (e.g. Platon and Deuze 2003; Singer 2003; Gillmor 2004; Zelizer 2004; Splichal 2005a; Friend and Singer 2007; Dahlgren 2009b; Couldry 2010; Nip 2010; Robinson 2010) that the question of who is a journalist and who is not becoming increasingly difficult in the online environment, where non-press news providers are gaining legitimacy and power in the public sphere. From this perspective, research shows that journalists at traditional media organisations try to hold on to the status of central news deliverers and sense-makers in society as they adapt to the contingencies of the online environment. On the other hand, the other group of media and journalism authors (e.g. Deuze and Paulussen 2002; Boczkowski 2004; Deuze 2007, 2008b; Colson and Heinderyckx 2008; Domingo 2008b; García 2008; Quandt 2008; Deuze and Marjoribanks 2009; Singer and Ashman 2009) says that the answers to the question of who does or does not count as a "true" journalist within contemporary news making in traditional media organisations are not clear-cut. Related research indicates that those who make news in online departments are often not regarded as the "true" journalists because they perform as a struggling group of low-status newsworkers, who experience difficulties in working in accordance with the occupational ideology of journalism, since they are required to make news continuously and to do it effectively and profitably at the same time. However, despite dealing with the problems of defining journalists, only a handful of studies (e.g. Deuze and Dimoudi 2002; Qaundt *et al.* 2006) have approached the issue of journalists' roles in societal life and the current difficulties of such assessments in the contemporary media environment. Therefore, this dissertation attempts to systematically combine, on the one hand, the political science approach and examine what are normative predispositions of (online) journalism and how online journalists should operate under optimum circumstances (Schudson 2005, 190), and, on the other hand, the cultural analysis perspective, referring to the domain of ideas and the terrain of social practices, and "link the untidy and textured *materiel* of journalism – its symbols, rituals, conventions, and stories –

with the larger world in which journalism takes place" (Zelizer 2008, 260). Such an approach enables the author to investigate the roles of online journalists in the online environment by assessing normative predispositions of journalism in the specific society and cultural complexities of online journalists' self-perceptions – in relation to the non-press news providers and other journalists within the "interpretative community" (Zelizer 2004). Research into Slovenian online journalism explores this question superficially when dealing with other issues – online journalism's position within the journalistic community (Oblak Črnič, 2007), the wider implications of newsroom convergence in print media organisations (Vobič, 2009a), and the credibility perception of online news among journalists (Erjavec et al, 2010). From this perspective, the goal of the dissertation is to systematically explore the dynamics between continuity and change in manifestations of normative underpinnings of journalists' roles in Slovenia in the cultural dynamics of online journalists' self-perceptions, in order to establish online journalists' understandings of their role in connecting people to political life and to reflect online journalists' position within the journalistic community and their place in people's gathering of information in a specific context.

In keeping with the research focuses listed above, this dissertation has to analytically renegotiate its investigative position by switching between the elements of structure and subjectivity, which calls for a particular methodological design. In studies on online journalism, a methodological shift can be identified – from concentrating almost solely on the text to focusing primarily on processes (cf. Kopper *et al.* 2009; Cottle 2007; Domingo 2008a; Mitchelstein and Boczkowski 2009), and also an epistemological one – from the functionalist understandings of online news making that once prevailed to more critical approaches (cf. Domingo 2008a; Puijk 2008; Deuze 2008a). Despite transitions in research trends in studying online journalism, news and newswork, the decisions on which method to use and how to apply it should not rest on recent trends in empirical research, but rather on the epistemological assumptions of the researcher and the research aims pursued. This dissertation narrows its focus on the production perspective of online journalism and neglects the other two perspectives within the "media lifecycle" – textual and reception (Boczkowski 2011, 165). The purpose of focusing on the production aspect of online journalism is twofold: first, to concentrate on the main research goal and to explore structural developments in online newswork, the social-organisation of the newsroom and articulations between technology and news making in the practices and perceptions of online journalists within print media organisations, which is not possible when analysing texts or researching reception (cf. Paterson 2008); and second, to critically assess the prevailing top-down approach in

traditional media and journalism history, which has privileged property and ownership at the expense of understanding newswork and the social construction of technology often neglected in text-based and audience studies (cf. Hardt and Brennen 1995). Therefore, by problematising the "unfortunate and premature" shift away from newsroom-centric studies (Paterson 2008, 2), this dissertation adopts an approach of "institutional ethnography" (Smith 2002) to study manifestations of broader trends in online journalism in the local newswork environments of particular media organisations chosen as case subjects. By focusing not so much on descriptions of daily processes as on the case patterns of newsroom dynamics and relations and their institutionalisation in relation to individual journalists these approaches seek to "reveal the constraints, contingencies and complexities 'at work' and, in so doing, provide means for a more adequate theoretization of operations of the news media and the production of the discourses 'at play' within news media representations" (Cottle 2007, 2). From this perspective, the author conducts a multi-method ethnographic case study that uses and combines methods of observation, qualitative document analysis and in-depth interviews in order to investigate global trends in online journalism at two Slovenian print media organisations, *Delo* and *Dnevnik*, which are the two leading Slovenian print media organisations in terms of daily readership (Slovenska oglaševalska zbornica 2011a), the number of unique visitors to their news websites (Slovenska oglaševalska zbornica 2011b) and the size of staff and volume of their daily news outcomes (Vobič 2011). From late September to late December 2010, the author spent 43 working days at both newsrooms, where he conducted dozens of short interviews with online journalists, drew up 130 pages of notes and analysed dozens of internal documents in the course of research. Afterwards, from mid-January till mid-February, the researcher conducted 29 semi-structured in-depth interviews with actors according to authority structure and decision-making at both online departments – in total the conversations lasted more than 46 hours and resulted in more than 700 pages of transcribed text. In order to operate within political, economic, social and cultural perspectives on online journalism and use the related multi-method ethnographic case study, this dissertation needs to develop a complex conceptual toolkit if the fallout of data gathering specific to each and every scholarly perspective is to be compensated in the empirical data assessment.

This multi-method approach, with a multidisciplinary perspective borrowing from critical-economic approach, political science, sociology and cultural studies, may help to explain broader trends in online journalism in the global and local context, and to assess the historical changes in journalism, but, as Schudson (2005, 191) states, "to the extent that these changes

emerge from broad historical forces, any research focused on the news institutions themselves is likely to fall short". Historical inquiry is central not only to establishing the "longevity of journalism" by using the past – its lessons, triumphs and tragedies – to understand contemporaneity (Zelizer 2008, 257), but also to drawing detailed pictures of the conceptual frameworks in which journalism has established itself and evolved over time (Schudson 2005, 191). In this sense, analysis of recent changes in journalism, even more so in the context of the internet and the web, should not be based on the substitution of "outdated" concepts and traditions of journalism, news and newswork, but rather on gain and complexity through the modification of the "older" ones that have developed in history. Hence, studying the history of journalism is crucial to theoretical reconsiderations and empirical investigations of online journalism in the globalised world, since it helps, on the one hand, to conceptually pin down insights into the dynamics between continuity and change in flexibilising newswork, the reorganization of news making, rearticulations between technology and news, and self-perceptions of journalists, and, on the other hand, to frame the empirical analysis of broader trends in online journalism, by moving from local particularities that have evolved in Slovenian journalism history to global developments that bring new expectations that may be different from those to which journalism is traditionally ready to respond. For these two reasons, the dissertation historically assesses Slovenian journalism by taking an overview of conceptual discontinuities in the defining societal roles of journalists, framing the prevailing meaning of news and negotiating newswork. At the same time, the dissertation combines these insights with generalisations when drawing the larger conceptual linkages and gaps between the notions of journalism, news and newswork and surveying the difficulties of identifying their social specificity through the prism of the paradigms, prospects and problems of the journalism-globalisation relationship.

As assessed above, with the realisation of the set objectives, the dissertation *Global Trends of Online Journalism at Slovenian Print Media* contributes to journalism studies on theoretical, methodological and empirical levels. First, on the level of theoretical investigation, the dissertation tries to provide (re)consideration and (re)conceptualization of the notions of journalism, news and newswork in the context of the dynamics of contemporary society. By trying to interlink theoretically distinct frames of thought and analysis borrowing from history, the critical-economic approach, political science, sociology and cultural analysis, it could provide a fresh account of theoretical thinking not only about journalism, but also about communication and society in late modernity. Second, on the level of the methodological framing of the research, the dissertation uses the ethnographic methods

of observation, in-depth interviews and document analysis in order to tackle the multidimensional perspective of the multidisciplinary character of the case study, which has been overlooked as an add-on in modern ethnographic investigations into online journalism transformations. Such methodological guiding could help to recognise the manifold manifestations of online journalism trends on the micro, medium and macro levels and to rethink the phenomena in question within the broader context. Third, on the level of empirical research, the dissertation uses comparative case study analysis to investigate modern newswork, to gain fresh insight into articulations between news making and technology, and, at the same time, to look into self-perceptions of journalists as societal actors. By relating insights from messy newsroom environments to the traditional traits of Slovenian journalism, this dissertation delivers a rare account of empirical investigation into the dynamics between continuity and change of contemporary journalism.

The structure of the dissertation roughly resembles the levels of scientific contribution of the work to journalism studies and consists of three parts – theoretical, methodological and empirical. Chapter 2 thus presents an outline of theoretical reconsiderations of the multiple natures of journalism and globalisation as it deals with social specificity of the notions of journalism, news and newswork, overviews paradigms, prospects and problems of thinking about and investigating journalism in the age of globalisation, and highlights the need to localise and historicise in contemporary journalism research. Building on the latter, Chapter 3 historically assesses the conceptual dynamics of the Slovenian press, foremost through the prisms of journalists' societal roles, the prevailing meanings of news and negotiations of newswork. The chapter primarily focuses on larger conceptual transformations in Slovenian journalism which have been occurring from when modern conception of journalism came about until its late modern contingencies, and discusses its outcomes in the context of the dynamics between continuity and change. Chapter 4 moves onto the terrain of online journalism – by reviewing the literature it recognises trends in its development that emerged somewhere between the local and the global level of inquiry and sets the theoretically informed research questions. Chapter 5 provides the methodological framework of the study as it presents ethnography as a strategy, the pillars of the case study research and the three research questions. Chapter 6 presents the results and critically assesses changes in online newswork, the organisation and structure of online news making, articulations between technology and online news and self-perceptions of online journalists in the specific contexts of the two case subjects. Chapter 7 provides a discussion on the scientific contribution of the study to journalism studies by conceptually discussing tensions between continuity and

change in online journalism as a social phenomenon and online journalism as an object of scientific inquiry, reconsidering the implications of the results in the context of journalism and in the broader societal perspective, and identifying future avenues of online journalism research. Chapter 8 (re)contextualizes the dissertation as a whole in order to (re)examine its main purpose – to conduct a multidisciplinary, theoretically integrative and historically informed study of online journalism in order to comprehensively examine the dynamics between continuity and change in contemporary journalism by studying structural developments in online newswork, social-organisational settings of online departments, the logic of online news making and the societal roles of online journalists.

2. THE MULTIPLE NATURE OF JOURNALISM AND GLOBALISATION

Journalism responds to specific social context, which means that the referent of the notion of journalism differs from one historical period to the other, it is distinct among countries, varies even among media organisations and their departments, and differs to those who try to define it (cf. Splichal and Sparks 1994; Hardt 1995; Weaver 1996; Splichal 2000; Carey 2007; Dahlgren 2009a; Schudson 2009a). Historically the answers to the questions of who journalists are and what they do differ widely diachronically and synchronically – from the earliest period of occasional journalistic activity (cf. Splichal 2002), through "part-time" journalism, when the larger concept of communicator was attached to the role of the journalist (cf. Splichal and Sparks 1994), to the modern period of full-time journalists (cf. Lee-Wright 2012). Despite journalism's variety, stresses Zelizer (2009a), it has tended to favour uniform, unidimensional and unidirectional notions of how journalism works, which have moved further out of touch with the multiple forms of journalism on the ground. In other words, stresses Hardt (2003, 18), a conspiracy of ideological power and technological speed has helped determine the roles of journalism in the expansion of political and economic authority in society – from the earlier times of more or less exclusively local negotiations of journalism (cf. Carey 2007; Hardt 2008; McNair 2009; Brennen and Hardt 2011a) to the multiform patterns of global journalism transformation over the last two decades (cf. Deuze 2007; Dahlgren 2009a; Hallin 2009; Lee-Wright *et al.* 2012). In other words, the processes in the promotion of ideas and knowledge production have been bound by the complex relationship between changing notions of communication and power, which makes it impossible to give an exhaustive definition of journalism (cf. Splichal and Sparks 1994; Carey 2007; Zelizer 2009b; Papacharissi 2009).

Multiple competing and overlapping manifestations of journalism coexist, and journalism has never been rigidly differentiated from other social activities, but has worked in relation to a variety of political, economic and cultural institutions and practices (Hallin 2001, 7995). This range of possibilities constitutes a wide field within which understandings of journalism may be drawn, but the very breadth of the range makes unanimity unlikely (Splichal and Sparks 1994, 18). Specifically, Splichal and Sparks (1994, 17–26) systematically discuss specific approaches to forming a working definition of journalism: first, attempts by journalists themselves, which are not uniform across locales but appear to be self-legitimising as a response to social and technological change; second, attempts by political parties and states to define journalism as an activity and an occupation by defining

the rights and duties of journalists; third, attempts by scholars, which can be divided into "strict" and "liberal" definitions. The former typify the North American tradition and they argue that journalists are engaged in creating news items at traditional media organisations, which is, according to Splichal and Sparks (1994, 25), "logically inconsistent and obscures many more very important aspects of social reality than it illuminates". The latter are more characteristic of the European tradition, and they are broader, since they present the boundaries between news and entertainment as porous, resulting in a vague definitional apparatus. Hence, both the strict and liberal scholarly definitions appear to be limited and imprecise in the contemporary media environment, where the challenges include (but are not limited to) the following (Lee-Wright *et al*. 2012, x–xiv): hard-to-define lines between press and non-press news providers, a further blurring of the categories of news, entertainment and propaganda, and the reduced autonomy of journalists in traditional media organisations as their employment is flexibilised.

From this perspective, not only does journalism have myriad forms and definitions that are differentiated across regional boundary, technology and (un)workable power relationships with other societal institutions, but, "as we roll it forward across time and space", writes Zelizer (2009a, 3), "it displays wrinkles and creases that should be causing us to question the originary form from which we thought it evolved". From earlier forms of oral delivery to the most recent exchanges of information in the contemporary "multi-epistemic order" (Dahlgren 2009a, 158–159) and "cultural chaos" of the global media environment (McNair 2006), journalism has always been multidimensional and multidirectional, and "its multiplicity has become more pronounced as journalism has necessarily mutated across region and locale" (Zelizer 2009a, 1). Thus, in contemporary society the reasonable difficulty of defining journalism appears even greater, regardless of the societal position of those who try to define it – whether they be journalists themselves, part of the state or scholars.Specifically, as "the prismatic character of social reality confronts monolithic versions of the world" (Dahlgren 2009a, 157), which socially, politically, economically and culturally defines the very terrain of journalism, news and newswork, the world of journalism appears to be more unstable than ever before.

From this perspective, it seems that media and journalism studies have theoretically not dealt comprehensively with the dynamisms between local, national, international, transnational and global levels, when studying the roles of journalism, the meaning of news and negotiations of newswork, which reflect the moving boundaries and complex transactions among people in a political, economic and cultural sense (cf. Löffelholz and Weaver 2008).

This stance appears to be particularly important in late modern society, where concepts such as heterogeneity, fragmentation and individualisation are emblematic, and when answers to the questions of who is a journalist and who is not become increasingly difficult to provide (e.g. Deuze 2007; Heinonen and Luostarinen 2008; Zelizer 2008; Dahlgren 2009a, 2009b; McNair 2009; Lee-Wright *et al. 2*012). The multiple nature of journalism is strongly pronounced within the horizontal and vertical interrelations in the globalisedcontemporaneity, where attempts to provide a global definition of journalism have fallen short due to social, political, economic and cultural changes that are hard to grasp (e.g. Splichal and Sparks 1994; Splichal 2000; Löffenholz and Weaver 2008; Zelizer 2009a; Lee-Wright *et al.* 2012). However, there is a need for conceptual thinking on journalism, news and newswork across locales when empirically investigating these phenomena, because research cannot be narrowed down to specific local traditions without looking at the dynamics from a broader perspective. Additionally, in most of the current debates on the uneasy contemporaneity of journalism (cf. Lee-Wright *et al.* 2011) and discussions on the unpredictable future of journalism (cf. Domingo and Paterson 2011), the technological perspective, particularly the implications of the internet and the web, has taken "a central position" (Domingo 2011, xiv). Nevertheless, common technological changes need to be examined alongside manifold sociocultural, business or economic and professional-normative changes (cf. Heinonen and Liostrainen 2008), which together indicate that complex dynamics of reciprocity between the larger levels, often labelled as global levels, and local levels, often tied to the concept of the traditional, are at work.

In this respect, issues identified in Chapter 1, that is, the recontextualisation of the journalism-technology relationship, the reorganising and restructuring of newsrooms and newswork, and difficulties in defining who a journalist is and what journalism's role in the society is, appear to be reshaping journalism as a social institution, as a business and as a cultural practice around the world, and have become common challenges for scholars in many countries. How do these global dynamics of change shape traditionally prevailing local manifestations of journalism, news and newswork? How do journalism, news and newswork as social phenomena relate to the complex processes of globalisation? What are the prospects and problems of globalisation in relation to journalism in different countries? What are the forces that rearticulate tensions between continuity and change in transactions between the local and the global? How should we conceptually think about journalism and design a context-related study? It seems that journalism studies do not offer a sufficient theoretical grounding to deal with these questions comprehensively (Löffelholz and Weaver 2008).

Therefore, these issues are taken into account in the next three parts of the chapter in order to build a theoretical framework with which to design an interdisciplinary, theoretically integrating and historically informed study of journalism, to retain the required theoretical complexity of the matters and to bolster conceptual clarity.

In this respect, the purpose of this chapter is to theoretically and conceptually tackle central notions of journalism research – journalism, news and newswork; the different levels of contemporary journalism's emergence – local, national, transnational and global; and the interconnected dimensions in which journalists operate, news is made and newswork is conducted – past, present and future. Thus, the first part provides a conceptual discussion on the notions of journalism, news and newswork in scholarly debates, by combining the social, political, economic, cultural and technological perspectives in order to reveal the dynamics that shape these phenomena in specific settings and circumstances. In the second part, the processes of globalisation are revealed by overviewing different paradigms which have emerged in contemporary media and journalism studies in order to obtain a sense of reciprocal complexities between the global and the local when examining journalism in the context of globalisation. From this perspective, the third part reconsiders established approaches to journalism research and argues that the particularities of historicality and specifics of locality need to be acknowledged when multidisciplinarily investigating relations between global trends and local traditions in contemporary journalism, news and newswork in order to "inform any discussion about the future of journalism" (Brennen and Hardt 2011b, 1). Combining the insights in these three parts is crucial to executing an empirical inquiry into online journalism that moves beyond the technological determinism and functional systematic approach of early studies, because they bring a social, political, economic and cultural syntheticisation of thought on the journalism-technology perspective, but also provides a framework for conducting a theoretically solid context-related study of tensions between continuity and change in the context of larger commonalities of online journalism and the local idiosyncracies of these trends.

2.1 Social Specificity of Journalism, News and Newswork

Journalism, news and newswork are interrelated phenomena but different notions, tied to broader societal relations, prevailing conceptions of reality, changing technological frameworks and complex processes in political, economic and cultural life. Using journalism, news and newswork as synonyms of one another has produced much confusion in theoretical

investigations and empirical research. The historical cross-section of social communication is defined by discontinuities that shape the notions of journalism and news and steer the conceptual place of newswork within knowledge production in specific social contexts (e.g. Berkowitz 1997; Heinonen 1999; Splichal 2002; Carey 2007; Stephens 2007; Hardt 2008; Paterson and Domingo 2008; Örnebring 2010; Brennen and Hardt 2011; Paterson and Domingo 2011). By trying to overcome a linear evolutionary model and its progressive narration, grounded mostly in the concept of technological innovation and progress (cf. Hardt 1990), this part of the dissertation tries to reveal the dynamics that conceptually shape the societal roles of journalism, manifestations of news and negotiations of newswork in specific societal settings. By reviewing scholarly debates and insights from communication, media and journalism studies, this part tries to counter concepts emerging from "the dominance" of journalism inquiries from the Western Europe and the United States, which are caused by English being a world language, by the United States having the lengthiest tradition of journalism studies and by the subsequent concentration of academic publishers in Great Britain and the United States (cf. Josephi 2005, 576). From this perspective, the author challenges dominant conceptualisations of journalism, news and newswork through the historical prism and in the context of conceptual difficulties in late modernity. Understanding journalism, news and newswork not only as conceptually distinct notions, but as historically and socially specific phenomena is necessary for clarifying theoretical reconsiderations and empirical investigations of dynamics between continuity and change, which will come later on in the dissertation. Despite the fact that it is difficult to debate journalism, news and newswork separately, for the sake of transparency and understandability the author structures this part of the dissertation in this way, at least to a degree.

Contemporary scholarly reflections on the question of what journalism is are often a result of combining sociocultural, economic, professional and normative reasoning (cf. Heinonen and Luostrainen 2008), often placed within the framework of or in relation to Western-style democracy and (neo)liberal capitalism and, at least to a degree, and neglecting the historical and social perspective of this presumption (cf. Curran and Park 2000; Josephi 2005; Lauk 2009). Journalism, however, conceptually emerges as an important public domain in a long and complex historical process, which is in many regards particular to each society, but also similar, as it continuously reproduces conceptual separations of fact and fiction, fact and opinion, and public and private, which appear to be inherent to any negotiations of journalism, irrespective of the means of communication– oral, written, painted, printed, broadcast or otherwise communicated. Journalism – "mainstream" or "alternative" – develops

as a device for calling into existence an actual social arrangement, a form of discourse and a sphere of what appears as independent political influence (Carey 2007, 12). In this regard, the meanings and roles of journalism in society have been the result of continuous articulations between prevailing normative models of media and the political order, on the one hand, and journalists' reproduction of political, economic, cultural and technological realities under the historical conditions of newswork, on the other. Deuze (2008a) writes that journalism is important to society not just because of what it should produce and what it produces, but also how news gets produced and why: under what conditions, for what purposes, within which institutional mindset and occupational identity. These connections between ideas and objectives, and the social realities of knowledge production, are particular and non-essential, they can be forged and broken in particular circumstances; they vary in their tenacity and in their relative power within various societal configurations. Thus, different conjunctions between, as Christians *et al.* (2009, vii) put it, what journalism's role is in society and what this practice should be empower competing meanings of journalism and different possibilities for journalists to "link people to political life" (Dahlgren 2009a, 150).

Specifically, contemporary forms of journalism and the accompanying manifestations of news and newswork have moved on quite considerably from the Ancient Greek concept of journalism as δημοσιογραφία (demosiografía), which means "writing about/for the people", and are focused on the social substance of journalism, by emphasising people, rather than political class or nature (Splichal 2002, 34). Since *demos* means more than population, journalism implies political relevance, which indeed was its most significant common trait until very recently (*ibid.*). From this perspective, conceptions of journalism that compete with what is often named the "high-modern" or "classical" paradigm of journalism, grounded in liberal concepts of participation, power and democracy (cf. Hallin 1992; Dahlgren 2009a), have emerged in the past and are continuing to do so in the present (cf. Vobič 2009a). As a multifaceted notion, journalism is structured with sets of connections between the distinct but not necessarily incompatible kinds of service journalists normatively provide to their clients (Splichal 2000), and realisations of these ideals in specific political, economic and cultural circumstances (cf. Christians *et al. 2*009). For instance, with the rise of the internet, most notably the web, it has been increasingly difficult to distinguish between journalists and non-journalists, as millions of people gather, assemble and provide news online and assume a role in one way or another in shaping the nature of contemporary engagement in societal life (e.g. Splichal 2000; Deuze 2003, 2007; Scott 2005; Papacharissi 2009; Dahlgren 2009a, 2009b). In this respect, conceptualising contemporary journalism is increasingly dificult, since, writes

Dahglren (2009a, 159), there is a troubling degree of non-communication between disparate actors in the public sphere, as well as in certain forms of journalism. If the conceptualising of journalism rests on articulations between prevailing normative models of media and political order, it is increasingly difficult to do that in late modern society, where a "cognitive segregation among groups" is taking place and "respective worldviews are reinforced by journalisms that do not connect to each other" (*ibid*.)

Due to "the dominance" of scholarly inquiries from Western Europe and the United States, the prevailing meanings of news are foremost grounded in pragmatic philosophy, which in contemporary journalism studies is introduced foremost with the works of Lippmann (1920/2008; 1922/1960) and which shapes the notions of reality and truth, where the method of verification refers to what is to come, what does not exist, but can be perceived as brought into being. The notion of news, however, has historically developed as a manifold phenomenon tied to different prevailing conceptions of reality and truth, despite many commonalities, and faces unprecedented difficulties in the contemporary "multi-epistemic order" (Dahlgren 2009a). Historically, transmitting news has its beginnings in interpersonal contacts, when information passes directly from source to intended receiver (Hardt 2001, 71). The invention of a tradition of the new some three centuries ago, with a move from the predictable, archetypal and traditional towards what was individual and common, useful and unique, original and new, was pivotal in the emergence of the modern notion of news (Carey 2007), regardless of the fact that "the need for news" in a social sense emerged much earlier (Stephens 2007, 9–10). In this context, newspapers of the 16th and 17th centuries were named appropriately: "Aviso" and "Relation" in Germany, "Examiner" and "Spectator" in England, "Messenger" in Italy, or just "News", "Novelties" or "Gazette" in various countries and languages (Splichal 2002, 15). During the 18th and early 19th centuries, newspapers became a "tribune", even taking on this name, where news intended for the public at large was followed by discussion and opinion was expressed in order to influence large number of readers, profoundly influencing the meaning of news (cf. Splichal 2002, 14–15). When steam presses and typesetting machines made it possible not only to print more copies for less money, but also to do it more quickly – the main uses of technology were to increase both the speed of news making, the quantity of its outputs and the character of social communication at large (cf. Örnebring 2010, 62). With wider political, economic and cultural circumstances, which shaped the more or less monolithic understandings of the world and the prevailing conception of cooperation among people, usually based on automatism in power, property and work, the

meaning of news as communication shifted, and news making changed as a result of the gradual process of the internalisation of technology in news making (cf. Hardt 1990, 355).

When the nature of news is explored from this perspective, the "need to know" and "should know" answers become only a small part of the definition of news. The emphasis shifts from communication – on the one hand, to the work by which journalists decide what news is to the social forces that influence and limit news making, that is, gathering, assembling and providing news (cf. Berkowitz 1997; Deuze 2008a; McNair 2009), and, on the other, to its societal role, that is, in what way news links physically separated but spiritually interrelated individuals to political, economic and cultural life (cf. Splichal 2002; Schudson 2000; Hardt 2008). News, in this sense, is the outcome of practicalities and constraints in the processes by which it is made, and, in turn, is also a force that shapes the values, beliefs and processes by which people manage their lives. In recent years, with the rise of the internet, most notably the web, gathering, assembling and providing news has again been flattened and performed by individuals – not only working for traditional media organisations, but also non-press news providers operating from their homes, which in turn reshapes the meaning of news in contemporaneity and the social significance of its novelty and commonness (e.g. Domingo 2006; Friend and Singer 2007; Paterson and Domingo 2008; Allan and Thorsen 2009; Dahlgren 2009a; Domingo and Paterson 2011). Additionally, in contemporary journalism, the notion of "truthiness" shifts (Schudson 2009b), and the difficulties of conceptualising news appear immense with the arrival of "prismatic truth" (Dahlgren 2009a, 158), where it becomes generally understood and accepted that "all storytelling is situated, all perspectives are contingent – not least in a world where political communication is dispersed within a complex media matrix of global character".

The notion of newswork is used as an engaged notion by progressive communication, media and journalism scholars (e.g. Hardt 1996; Hardt and Brennen 1995; Brennen and Hardt 1995; Deuze 2007; Deuze and Marjoribanks 2009), who concentrate on social, political and cultural perspectives in the prevailing capitalist logic of news making and the flexible and risky work relations of journalists. However, a historically informed background to the notion of newswork is based on the capitalist-industrial conception of cooperation among people that rests almost solely on natural automatism among concepts of power, property and work, and to a degree neglects some evolutional extractions, such as "self-managed" newswork in socialist Yugoslavia (e.g. Splichal 1981; Splichal and Vreg 1986; Vreg 1990), and contemporary peculiarities in the processes of "disappearing employers" and the audience as "immaterial workers" (e.g. Deuze and Fortunati 2011). From this perspective, historical

assessment shows that, by interlinking the tradition of the new in communication, the discourse of speed in the use of contemporary information technology, and principles of publicity and free speech, notions of journalism, news and opinion became closely tied, the cycle of periodicity became shorter, and the press became subject to the logic of industry (cf. Hardt 1995; Im 1997; Splichal 2002; Carey 2007; Örnebring 2010; Brennen and Hardt 2011a). As a result, the division of intellectual and manual work was reinforced in the latter part of the 19th century (cf. Hardt 1990), and a stricter demand for a more rigid division between the cognitive making of news and the execution of work to disseminate the outcomes emerged (cf. Hardt 1995). In this regard, newswork as the social and economic relationship between journalists and employers, where the former sell their labour to the latter under more or less agreed conditions and with temporary or regular status, started to appear (cf. Hardt 1995; Im 1997; Carey 2007; Örnebring 2010; Brennen and Hardt 2011a; Deuze and Fortunati 2011).

Specifically, as journalism was paving the way for provisions of the freedom of the press (cf. Splichal 2002, 12–13), newswork started to emerge as individual and collective action in editorial processes largely defined and enforced by the ownership and indirectly by other power sources (Hardt and Brennen 1995, viii). In the process by which journalism was transformed from a craft orientation among printers/editors to a division of work between printers and journalists, for instance, the position of interests of educated workers against owners became, according to Hardt (1990, 360), "an important aspect in the struggle for control over issues of content and versions of truth". Furthermore, the physical and ideological separation of printers and journalists created conditions in the workplace that enhanced the mechanisms of managerial control over the workforce by acknowledging specific forms of knowledge and technological expertise (*ibid.*). In these terms, the "symbolic manipulation" and "sense making" (cf. Splichal 2000, 48–50) of news shape the political and cultural aspects of newswork as the social and economic relationship between news providers and employers, and in turn reflects the prevailing conceptions of cooperation among people and knowledge production in a particular society. In this sense, the dominant understanding of newswork incorporates automatism in relations among power, property and work, tips the tension between social responsibility and private profit in favour of the latter and shapes the gathering, assembly and provision of news more as a pursuit to realise business goals, rather than journalistic ones. However, such an understanding does not correlate with different prevailing conceptions of cooperation among people – at least in principle. For instance, in socialist Yugoslavia, newswork rested on the idea of "human de-alienation" (Splichal 1981,

244), and newsworkers' own management of "the conditions, means and outcomes of work" (Kardelj 1977, 53). Furthermore, in contemporary assessments of journalism, the conceptualisation of newswork appears increasingly challenging – not only because of the complexities of work relations in "atypical" newswork (International Federation of Journalists 2006), but also due to the restructuring of power relationships between publishers, journalists and audiences, which result in a series of trials of strength on a variety of issues, such as the uses of new technology, labour laws and even definitions of what news is in the service of power distribution (cf. Deuze and Fortunati 2011).

The contemporary conceptual difficulties of journalism, news and newswork are reflected in their position within the struggle between individuals and social institutions over political, economic and cultural forms of existence. Namely, as concepts of heterogeneity, individualisation and fragmentation have become common signifiers of societal life in late modernity, it has become even more difficult to identify the common specifics of journalism as a societal institution (e.g. Friend and Singer 2007; Boczkowski 2009; Papacharissi 2009; Tunney and Monaghan 2010), pinpoint the meaning of news as a communicational fabric in increasingly contingent political life (e.g. McNair 2009; Schudson 2009a, 2009b; Dahlgren 2009a, 2009b; Lee-Wright *et al.* 2011), and perceive journalists as a progressive collective of workers, since relations in traditional media organisations are becoming more and more fragmented, individualised, flexible and risk-laden (e.g. Deuze 2009a; Deuze and Marjoribanks 2009; Reinardy 2011; Deuze and Fortunati 2011; Witschge 2012). The discussion above implies that conceptualising journalism, news and newswork faces common challenges in the commonly contingent communication environment of late modern society – however, this is not the case. It is true that the phenomena of journalism, news and newswork have been caught in a changing world and that there are uncertainties about universalism and relativism, language and culture, and continuity and change (Tumber 2008). These contingencies – despite appearing global innature – are particular to the specific locales in which journalists operate. In order to strongly reaffirm the social specificity of journalism, news and newswork, the author critically analyses the journalism-globalisation relationship by taking an overview of existing paradigms, and examining the prospects for such a standpoint and the problems of taking such a universalistic stance in journalism research.

2.2 Journalism and Globalisation: Paradigms, Prospects and Problems

Media and journalism scholars more or less agree that journalism can be understood both as expressions of globalisation and as the forces that drive it forward (cf. Curran and Park 2000; Josephi 2005; Reese 2008; Zelizer 2008; Dahlgren 2009b). However, due to the breadth and multidimensionality of issues that have been connected to globalisation, it is hard, if not impossible, to give an exhaustive definition of the word and grasp the nature of changes implied for journalism, although attempts have been made in this regard (cf. Ampuja 2004; Deuze 2007; Kamalipour 2007; Reese 2008; Zelizer 2008). At the same time, the processes of globalisation have generated a vast literature – ranging from those supporting its prospects in political, economic and cultural life (e.g. Sennett 1998; Giddens 2002), through others who are concerned with the realities of globalisation (e.g. Bauman 2000a, 2000b; 2005; Beck 2000), to authors who proclaim that the implications suggested by the globalisation theories are a "myth" (Hafez 2007). Since the term globalisation is often used "widely and loosely" (Downing 2007, 33) the challenge is to widen and deepen the conceptual base of journalism thinking and investigating in a "global-minded" manner, suggests Ward (2010). In particular, a review of online journalism literature shows that issues of an economic nature in the development of online journalism (e.g. Kopper *et al.* 2000; Scott 2005; Deuze 2007; Domingo 2008a; Mitchelstein and Boczkowski 2009), trends in the social organisation and structure of online newswork (e.g. Boczkowski 2004a; Deuze 2007; Meier 2007; Avilés and Carvajal 2008; Avilés *et al.* 2009), cultural manifestations of online technologies in news making (e.g. Paterson and Domingo 2008; Boczkowski 2009; Deuze 2009a; Meikele and Redden 2011; Domingo and Paterson 2011), and self-perceptions of online journalists (e.g. Zelizer 2009; Dahlgren 2009a, 2009b; Tunney and Monaghan 2010; Singer *et al*. 2011; Lee-Wright 2012), emerge between the global and the local, which are coming together in unprecedented fashion, where traditions meet and overlap by being contested with change. In this context, it appears crucial to reconsider the processes of globalisation in the interests of more comprehensive research into the tensions between continuity and change in contemporary online journalism, and to elaborate the globalised nature of journalism in order to develop a conceptual tool-kit for theoretical and empirical explorations of global trends in online journalism and their local manifestations in the following chapters of the dissertation. Thus, this part of the text tries to emphasise the complexities of globalisation processes by surveying existing paradigms in media and journalism research, and calls for an abundance of universalistic and reductionist approaches in investigations into global trends in different

phenomena, such as journalism, news, and newswork. In this respect, the author develops a rather dialectical understanding of globalisation and sees it as a tension between the particularistic and the common, where universal (globalising) and particular (domesticating) elements reciprocally coexist among different actors and perform in transactions of a social, political, economic and cultural nature across locales.

Although the notion of globalisation is used so frequently that it engenders a certain amount of weariness, as Ampuja (2004, 64) writes, it is of importance in contemporary media and journalism theory. This importance lies in the dual meaning that the term possesses: it is not only used as a descriptive term in discussions about changes in journalism, it has also become a conceptual framework for explaining the changing nature of journalism, news and newswork (cf. Clausen 2004; Downing 2007; Hafez 2007; Löffelholz and Weaver 2008; Allan and Thorsen 2009; Preston 2009; Fenton 2010a; Zelizer 2009b; Lee-Wright *et al. 2*012). Globalisation, writes Splichal (2012), denotes the formation of a global system composed of a variety of combinations among national, international and transnational institutions, corporations, associations, individuals and other groupings, and refers broadly to the increased complexity and interdependency of societies due to all kinds of transactions across national borders, enabled by information, communication and transportation technologies "but not simply triggered by them" (Splichal 2012, 190). From this perspective, what can be understood as the emerging global is embedded in many settings, which makes theorising more challenging and expands the variety of, for instance, what journalism is, how and why news is made, and under what conditions journalists work. Furthermore, over the last two decades, media and journalism studies witnessed what Curran and Park (2000) call "the boom of globalization theory" – with conceptual problems rooted in the past (Curran and Park 2000, 4) and without clear dividing lines between different existing approaches to journalism and the perspectives of globalisation (Ampuja 2004, 65).

The former have its origins in one of the most influential books of the field, titled *Four Theories of the Press* (Siebert *et al. 1*956), which became a landmark study of journalism through broader societal prisms for the next forty years (cf. Curran and Park 2000, 4), but, over the last decade or so, has been widely accused of theoretical shallowness and unsubstantial conceptual uniformity in its generalisations on media, society and cross-national dynamics (cf. Sparks 1998; Downing 2007). About a decade later, the geopolitical approach in debates on communication and worldwide change was accompanied by the modernisation perspective, contributing to the transition from "tradition" to "modernity" by downplaying access, pluralism and locality in media (Schramm 1963; Pool 1963). From the late 1960s and

early 1970s onwards, acknowledge Curran and Park (2000, 6), the media imperialism thesis emerged and "dethroned modernization theory" by promoting the ideas that the "modernization" of developing countries is an expression of the exploitative system of global economic relations and that American capitalist values and interests erode local culture in a process of global homogenisation (Schiller 1969, 1976). Since the 1980s and 1990s, the centralised dynamics of change across local boundaries, facilitated by fuzzy concepts of Americanisation or Westernisation, have been criticised by the counterargument that global flows are "multidirectional" and that the simple image of Western political, economic and cultural domination obscures the complexity, reciprocity and unevenness of its interaction between local and global (Robertson 1995; McChesney 1998; Giddens 1999; Hallin and Mancini 2004). Furthermore, Curran and Park (2000, 17) warn contemporary scholars that identifying characteristics that cut across the boundaries of geography, culture, language, society, region, race and ethnicity appear as simplistic universalist and uniformist perspectives, which have been overcome in recent investigations on journalism globalization – at least to a degree (cf. Curran and Park 2000; Downing 2007; Zelizer 2008; Reese 2008; Ward 2010).

In contemporary critical media and journalism studies, different paradigms of globalisation have emerged, which point at various ways of understanding social reality, different approaches to the notion of change, and distinct conceptions of how globalisation works, what its constituent elements are, and what its implications are. From literature review, three paradigms can be identified within media and globalisation discussions (e.g. Ampuja 2004; Downing 2007; Flew 2007; Reese 2008; Rühl 2008; Dahlgren 2009a, 2009b): media-technological, cultural and political-economic paradigms. Since the boundaries between different approaches to journalism and globalisation are blurred, these paradigms do not exhaust the debate – they represent only the main trends and dynamics.

First, the media-technological paradigm argues that the development of media and communication technologies, most notably the internet, has led to deterritorialisation, weakening the ties of culture and space, as well as to a changed experience of time and space (e.g. Giddens 1991; Castells 1996; Scholte 2000). In this regard, writes Reese (2008, 241), the reach, interconnectedness and real-time properties of global journalism contribute to experiencing the world as a whole, shaping the intensity of that experience and the nature of political, economic and cultural life. Furthermore, by adopting this approach, Pavlik (1999, 2001, 2008) stresses that new technologies present new and more efficient ways for journalists to do their work, transform the nature of news making in potentially positive and

engaging ways, have enormous implications for the management, organisation and culture of traditional media organisations, and transform the relationship between newsrooms and their fragmented audiences. The media-technological paradigm produces a rather progressive understanding of technology, and neglects the process of internalisation of technology in the practice of journalism, shaping the understanding of journalists' roles and newswork relations and modes of news making. Thus, recent challenges arising from the reflexive modernisation of work, bringing open, paradoxical and risk-filled dynamism characterised by general insecurity and numerous layoffs in the news industry, also appear as media-technological in nature (e.g. Deuze 2008a; Deuze and Marjoribaks 2009; Reinardy 2011). The debates on "transnational news" (Splichal 2012, 180) and the global news arena (cf. Flew 2007; Hafez 2007; Reese 2008) do not refer to local, national or regional boundaries in their elaborations, but these do, however, appear central in discussions on "the global public sphere" (Splichal 1999, 15; Sparks 2001, 76). In the media-technological view, which neglects the local nature of these changes (Splichal 2012, 180) and the processes of "domestication" (Clausen 2004, 25–26), journalism operates with similar technology, access, reach and need for timely transmission, and produces universalistic political, economic and cultural implications for the notions of news and newswork, unifying news making even across media organisations operating in vastly different national contexts (Reese 2008, 245), as well as, for the concepts of democracy and participation, delivering utopian visions of the political and cultural nature of the future in "computopia" (Masuda 1983) and rather dystopian concerns in the "degeneration of the public sphere" (McNair 2000).

Second, the cultural paradigm of media and globalisation moves away from technological progress, stressing that global media and cultural flows are multidirectional within the processes in which the relations between the local and the global are being restructured and reorganised (e.g. Robertson 1995; Waters 1995). Through this prism, the globalisation of media and journalism is not leading to homogenisation of global culture but rather "glocalization", "hybridization" and "ecumenization" (Ampuja 2004, 67). In this sense, shared common norms and values are being adopted worldwide, such as public service, objectivity, autonomy, immediacy and ethics (Reese 2008, 241), framing what Deuze (2005) calls the "professional ideology of journalism and journalists". The cultural process of news making trying to nurture credibility, validity and reliability, Hallin (1992) assigns to the cross-national upturn of "high modernism" in journalism, based on liberal concepts of participation, power and democracy, and reproduces journalism as an authoritative voice in political life (Dahlgren 2009a, 147). In the processes of cultural negotiation of the global and the local, the

high-modern nature of journalism brings important implications for the proliferation of the doctrine of objectivity and social responsibility theory, shaping societal roles of journalism, foremost toward the idea of "objective" news making (cf. Splichal 1994), and at the same time bringing in the model of representative democracy (cf. Anderson 2007). In this context, Schudson (2003, 165) writes that globalisation "is not necessarily a mysterious process", suggesting that media models and patterns of journalism are directly borrowed on the basis of broader dynamism in the relations of power, democracy and the media. Similarly, the meaning of news is also "glocally" shaped in this regard, based on the prevailing idealistic conception of reality, carrying objectification into the processes of gathering, assembling and providing news. Furthermore, some critical authors (cf. Clausen 2004; Downing 2007) stress that the cultural processes of globalisation are never independent from the processes of localisation, often referred to as "domestication" (Clausen 2004), and call for a departure from universalism and transition towards a more reciprocal approach to what appear as global processes. Within these horizontal and vertical cultural dynamics, the question of to what extent do journalists (and their readers, listeners and viewers) take on any sense of coherent global identification, adopting more cosmopolitan, pluralistic and universal values, is given little to no attention in contemporary media and journalism studies (Reese 2008, 245).

Third, the political-economic paradigm centres on the economy as the prime mover of structural change, where the most important interconnected processes are, first, the concentration of power in the hands of multinational media corporations, and second, the deregulation of media systems throughout the world (e.g. McChesney 1998; Jameson 1998). For critical political economists, the essential feature of globalisation and the media is the commodification of culture throughout the world with the help of multinational media corporations as "the new missionaries of global capitalism" (McChesney 1998, 2), and not the global homogenisation of culture and politics within increasingly deregulated media systems (Ampuja 2004, 68–69). At the same time, the processes of knowledge production and newswork, respectively, are being increasingly defined by the automatism represented in the dynamics of power, property and work, which naturalised and legitimised such production relations as neutral bases for the admission of opposing interests in political life (Jameson 1981/2002). Consequently, the work of journalists has started to be increasingly engendered across local cultural boundaries as the individual and collective action of news making, based on principles and practices that are largely defined by press ownership and its ties to political and economic realities (cf. Hardt and Brennen 1995). In the political-economic view, journalism has consequently started to navigate increasingly between its "vertical"

orientation, aligned with its host nation state, and a "horizontal" perspective mimicking broader political-economic solutions, importantly shaping culture and significantly affecting societal life (Reese 2008, 243). Within such shifting orientations of power in the media environment, it appears that media around the world have started to mimic what Hallin and Mancini (2004) name the "liberal media model", grounded in Western-style democracy and market economies. Despite the many critics of this observation stressing the contemporary transformations of the liberal model itself (cf. Jakubowicz 2007; Hallin 2009), there seem to be many indications of a growing commercialism in journalism, a trend toward the commodification of news, and the diminishing political relevance of newswork (e.g. Hardt 1996; McNair 2000; Splichal 2005a; Poler Kovačič 2005; Dahlgren 2009a). In a political-economic sense, according to Boyd-Barrett and Rantanen (1998, 1), news is gathered, assembled and provided for the purposes of politics, trade and pleasure, and directed in its generic form by technology, scientism and the market economy. The commodification of culture strengthens the role of journalism in society as entertainment, and the groundwork of what Thussu (2009) calls the "global sphere of infotainment". However, there are two competing approaches to popularisation as journalism's global strategy to gain larger audiences: "negative popularisation", understanding it as a process of dumbing down, trivialisation, sensationalism and cynicism in politics and culture, which is "threatening democracy" (Örnebring and Jönsson 2004), and "positive popularisation", approaching it as the process of addressing those segments of the population who may feel excluded by more highbrow formats and discursive registers, by serving as catalysts for discussion and public debate and "opening up the public sphere" (Dahlgren 2009a).

All three paradigms within media, journalism and globalisation discussions "involve deterministic elements", as Ampuja (2004, 72) would acknowledge. Those who explore the media from the standpoint of media-technological theory predetermine technological change as the primary explanatory factor; cultural theorists position the cultural context as the most important, and political economists hold that economy is the determinant. A review of recent inquiries in online journalism (e.g. Paterson and Domingo 2008; Allan and Thorsen 2009; Tunney and Monaghan 2010; Rosenberry and St. John III 2010; Singer *et al.* 2011; Meikele and Redden 2011) does not signify the realities that would apply to monistic and reductionist understandings of the journalism-globalisation relationship, whether media-technological, political-economic or cultural, but rather approach the global nature of journalism as a result of the processes, as Cohen *et al.* (1996, 154) would say, "characterized by a tension between the particularistic and the common; the shared world and the divided one; the effort to defend

cultural borders and, at the same time, the effort to blur them". In other words, the global consists of interconnected political, economic and cultural commonalities and particularities that are shaped in reciprocal articulations between the global and the local.

Therefore, this dissertation adopts a non-reductionist approach to the journalism-globalization relationship, suggesting that journalism is defined by a combination of political, economic and cultural forces which – enabled by contemporary information, communication and transportation technologies – do not operate unidirectionally and uniformly, but are rather articulated between the global and the local. Thus, the author develops a rather dialectical understanding of globalisation, and sees it as a tension between the particularistic and the common, where universal (globalising) and particular (domesticating) elements reciprocally coexist among different actors and perform in transactions of a social, political, economic and cultural nature across locales. These connections are contingent, as they can be forged or broken in particular social contexts and as they are manifested in different ways across the globe, due to the different relations of dominance and subordination in connoting, symbolising and evoking the prevailing conception of the world and cooperation among people, shaping journalism, news and newswork. The dissertation adopts a reciprocal understanding of globalisation which responds to all kinds of technologically enabled transactions among people on social, political, economic and cultural matters across once constraining locales that reshape the traditions of journalism's place in political life, the particularities of the social meanings of news, and the specifics of the power-related development of newswork. Such an understanding of the journalism-globalisation relationship parallels the major tendencies at work within the overall changes in late modern society, where concepts such as heterogeneity, fragmentation, niche-building and individualisation have become normalised, bringing additional contingencies into definition of the social phenomena in question and approaching accompanying processes as research targets (cf. Deuze 2007, 2008a, 2009; Dahlgren 2009a, 2009b; Meikele and Redden 2011; Lee-Wright *et al.* 2012). Since online journalism is connected to wider issues in online newswork organisation and structure, the logic of online news making and the societal roles of online journalists emerge "as a consequence of certain social (including technological and economic) developments and it is attached to certain cultural (including political) formations" (Heinonen 1999, 11), where globalisation and localisation perform reciprocally in the dynamics between continuity and change. This reality calls for appropriation in (online journalism research) that would be oriented towards multidisciplinarity, localization and historicisation, which would

address the problems of the connections between the divergent processes in late modernity and converging global trends, which are anything but steady, predictable and uniform.

2.3 Contemporary Journalism Research: Toward Multidisciplinarity, Localising and Historicising

Journalism studies are neither a homogenous field with an exclusive research apparatus, nor are there any converging trends of development in this regard (cf. Schudson 1989/1997, 2005; Zelizer 2008; Löffenholz 2008; Rühl 2008). Furthermore, since journalism, news and newswork denote the historical processes within which they emerge and the contemporary societal dynamics reflecting tensions between continuity and change (cf. Splichal and Sparks 1994; McNair 1998; Hallin 2001; Splichal 2000; Zelizer 2004; Hardt 2008; Brennen and Hardt 2011a), directions of contemporary journalism research in the context of globalisation and the challenges of late modern society are regarded as manifold and uneven (Schudson 2005; Domingo 2008a; Heinonen and Luostarinen 2008; Reese 2008; Zelizer 2008). Yet, journalism research is becoming multiple in terms of theories, methods, paradigms and findings, and some scholars have started to argue that investigations into journalism need to be multifaceted in order not to lose grip on the phenomena in question and their historical origins (e.g. Schudson 2005; Domingo 2008a; Reese 2008; Zelizer 2008; Heinonen and Luostarinen 2008). These issues appear to be corresponding to central theoretical issues in online journalism research which scholars face in many countries (e.g. Paterson and Domingo 2008; Allan and Thorsen 2009; Tunney and Monaghan 2010; Rosenberry and St. John III 2010; Singer *et al.* 2011; Meikele and Redden 2011).Specifically, studies of global trends in online journalism, expanding from its evolutional development, the organising and structuring of online newswork, articulating technology in online news making, and negotiating the societal roles of online journalists, require a flexible analytical scheme in regards to the disciplinary position of the researcher, the locale of the synchronic investigation and the diachronic perspective of the research. Thus, this part of the chapter has a dual purpose: on the one hand, it identifies and presents three lines of inquiry in contemporary journalism research that emerge from literature review – that of an interdisciplinary approach to social phenomena, historicising the development of research problems, and localising the investigation of identified issues of interest, and, on the other hand, it delivers arguments on

why the adoption of such an analytical stance is necessary to research into the dynamics between continuity and change in the context of global trends in online journalism and investigation of their local manifestations.

First, the complexities of contemporary manifestations of journalism, news and newswork suggest that researchers should look beyond disciplinary lines in order to analytically cope with sociocultural, business or economic, professional-normative and technological change in journalism (Schudson 2005; Hardt 2008; Heinonen and Luostarinen 2008; Zelizer 2008). Moving within disciplinary boundaries appears insufficient for providing a more complete account of all that journalism is in the contemporaneity of late modern societies, where communication is dominated by unpredictability and instability rather than control and order (McNair 2006) and where cognitive segregation among groups makes it difficult for journalism to perform as a fabric of society – locally, let alone globally (Dahlgren 2009a). Thus, the contemporary world of journalism requires new ways of scholarly reasoning and inquiries that combine from distinct analytical backgrounds – it seeks a multidisciplinary approach. In this respect, Schudson (2005), for instance, signals the need to introduce different levels of analysis or degrees of social aggregation (individual, organisational, institutional and societal) by summarising three research traditions in journalism studies and research (political economy, sociology and cultural studies). However, writes Schudson (1989/1997, 10) in one of his earlier works, even taken together, these approaches have fallen short of a comparative and historical social science of journalism. Similarly, Zelizer (2008, 253–264) argues that, despite wide-ranging scholarship, few attempts are being made to share knowledge beyond disciplinary boundaries. "Tracking journalism's understanding across the different prisms," she writes (Zelizer 2008, 261), "is critical, because failure to do so will further isolate journalism scholars from the complexity and singularity of the phenomenon they seek to examine". Zelizer (2008) analyses five main types of inquiry concerning journalism research – sociology, history, language studies, political science and cultural studies – and points out the paradigmatic and theoretical limitations when the processes of globalisation are explored. In similar fashion, Heinonen and Luostarinen (2008, 227–239) examine the changing locus of journalism by analysing different dimensions of change – sociocultural, business or economic, professional-normative and technological – and call for a wider, multidisciplinary perspective. It seems that a combination of reasoning of different disciplinary approaches is necessary if a researcher plans to explore some of the central problems in online journalism research – political economy in the development of online journalism (e.g. Kopper *et al.* 2000; Scott 2005; Deuze 2007; Domingo

2008a; Mitchelstein and Boczkowski 2009), the social-organisational approach to the organisation and structure of online newswork (e.g. Boczkowski 2004a; Deuze 2007; Meier 2007; Avilés and Carvajal 2008; Avilés *et al.* 2009), a cultural analysis of manifestations of online technologies in news making (e.g. Paterson and Domingo 2008; Boczkowski 2009; Deuze 2009a; Meikele and Redden 2011; Domingo and Paterson 2011), and a combination of political science and sociology to examine the societal roles of online journalists (e.g. Zelizer 2009; Dahlgren 2009a, 2009b; Tunney and Monaghan 2010; Singer *et al*. 2011; Lee-Wright 2012). Although combining analytically different approaches has often been seen as confusing or resulting in irreconcilable differences, some scholars stress that such distinctions are less sharp and that there is much to be gained from embracing "a dialogic multisciplinarity" (e.g. Fenton 2010, 5). Therefore, the dissertation adopts this sort of integrative stance in order to reconsider the trends, which have been identified by intersecting a large volume of online journalism literature, and to appropriate the investigation of changes in online newswork, organisation and structure of online news making, articulations between technology and online news, and self-perceptions of online journalists.

Second, the complexities of contemporary manifestations of journalism, news and newswork suggest that researchers should reconsider and investigate across, and not within, changing local, national, transnational and global lines (e.g. Curran and Park 2000; Josephi 2005; Downing 2007; Reese 2008; Deuze 2009a). Until recently, local, national and international levels of analysis have been standard ways of planning and executing journalism research, but in contemporary social contexts the global is interconnecting with these other levels in new and important ways, which significantly shape how journalists do their work in the newsrooms and why they do it (Reese 2008, 240). From this perspective, the International Communication Association (ICA) and the European Communication Research and Education Association (ECREA) run special divisions in order to provide better opportunities for researchers to study journalism beyond narrow local paradigms and broad universalistic global perspectives (Weaver and Löffenholz 2008, 3). Behind these transitions is a body of literature (e.g. Curran and Park 2000; Clausen 2004; Tumber 2005; Josephi 2005; Downing 2007; Reese 2008; Deuze 2009a) indicating that globalisation is not a set of universalistic processes but particular ones; it is rather localisation, often labelled as "domestication" (Clausen 2004), that stands for the framing of news making and newswork in accordance with national, cultural and organisational grounds, that is, a universal phenomenon. Furthermore, there are other indications suggesting that media and journalism scholars should narrow their scope. For instance, articulations between the local, national, transnational and global have

become particularly hard to grasp in what McNair terms "cultural chaos" (McNair 2006), where no elite group – of whatever ideological position – however firmly anchored in the corridors of power, is insulated from journalists' probings in local settings. Additionally, political, economic and cultural particularities can be observed on micro-local levels, since, according to Dahlgren (2009a, 158–159), contemporary media and journalism operate in "multi-epistemic order", where it becomes generally understood and accepted that all storytelling is situated and all perspectives are contingent. Further, a review of studies on online journalism from various countries reveals that global trends are manifested particularly and suggests that research should not be restricted to a single level of analysis. Namely, online journalism development is tied to a particular political-economic framework (cf. Kopper *et al.* 2000; Gordon 2003; Scott 2005; Deuze 2007; Domingo 2008a; Mitchelstein and Boczkowski 2009), the organisation and structure of online newswork is (re)shaped within national traditions of newsroom arrangements (e.g. Boczkowski 2004a; Deuze 2007; Meier 2007; Avilés and Carvajal 2008; Avilés *et al.* 2009), online technologies are manifested in news making in accordance with prevailing local conceptions of journalism and news (e.g. Paterson and Domingo 2008; Boczkowski 2009; Deuze 2009a; Meikele and Redden 2011; Domingo and Paterson 2011), and societal roles of online journalists are negotiated in articulations between established normative models of media and democracy and the local or even organisational empirical realities of their work (e.g. Zelizer 2009; Dahlgren 2009a, 2009b; Tunney and Monaghan 2010; Singer *et al*. 2011; Lee-Wright 2012). Therefore, the dissertation adopts an analytical position that resembles the reciprocal nature between globalisation and localisation, where universal and particular elements coexist among different actors, perform in the complex transactions of a social, political, economic and cultural nature across locales, and occur in the specific dynamics between continuity and change.

Third, the complexities of contemporary journalism, news and newswork suggest that research should not be based on the substitution of "outdated" theories, paradigms and methods, but on the complexity that is gained through fresh reconsiderations of the "old" (e.g. Löffenholz 2008; Hardt 2008; Zelizer 2008; Domingo 2008a; Amon and Erjavec 2011; Brennen and Hardt 2011a). In other words, media and journalism scholars should approach journalism's contemporary development not as a linear progressive evolution determined mostly by technological progress, but as a flow of discontinuities and beginnings. In the context of "dramatic change", as Hardt (2008, 5) writes, when journalism's autonomy is being embedded in politics and commerce, and where uncertainty, flux, change and conflict are

permanent everyday conditions, the need to historicise becomes important. "Always historicize," writes Jameson (1981/2002), acknowledging the importance of social history, cultural tradition, economic development, the national configuration of power and the evolution of state policies for contemporary conceptual sense-making, methodological framing and research execution. It is indeed the acknowledgment that a universal and exhaustive definition of journalism does not exist, not because definitions of the notion are too numerous and exclusive, but because of the particularities and paradoxes of historical conditions within which it is constructed, that lead journalism research to look into the past to understand and analyse the present (e.g. Löffenholz 2008; Hardt 2008; Zelizer 2008; Domingo 2008a; Brennen and Hardt 2011a). From this perspective, as Brennen and Hardt (2011b, 1) write, to know the history of the press is "to understand the challenges faced by previous generations, which have struggled to reassess the nature of journalism and its place in society" and "to inform any discussion about the future". For instance, one of the often thematised "struggles" in journalism history revolves around the tensions between newswork arrangements and technological progress (e.g. Hardt and Brennen 1995; Hardt 1990, 1995, 2008; Domingo 2008a; Zelizer 2008) that reflect the complex process of the social positioning of journalism, highlight the variety of solutions in news making, and reveal the background of contemporary power negotiations among newsworkers. In this respect, some media and journalism scholars (e.g. Boczkowski 2004a, 2004b; Domingo 2006, 2008a; Deuze 2008a) stress that historicising helps online journalism researchers to explain the complex process through which online journalists at traditional media organisations are defining online news in relation to the "people formerly known as the audience" (Rosen 2006) and within shaken power relations among publishers, editors and journalists (Deuze and Fortunati 2011), and highlighting the diversity of solutions or understanding the reasons for homogeneity (Domingo 2008a). From the perspective of online journalism research, Domingo (2008a, 17) writes that historicising helps researchers to acquire a critical perspective on the actual developments in online news and place responsibility for the future of journalists back into the hands of journalists. This dissertation adopts this position in order to study the dynamics between continuity and change in Slovenian journalism, by arguing that it is important to return to the conceptual origins and to trace the historical development of the manifold societal roles of journalists, the competing meanings of news, and the various manifestations of newswork, in order to better understand how these phenomena are shaped in late modern articulations between the local, national, transnational and global, accompanied with an array of different kinds of transactions among people.

The multiplicity discussed in this part may, on the one hand, be seen negatively as a lack of focus, as Löffenholz (2008) fears, or, on the other hand, as the necessary answer to the many challenges involved in a scientific tackling of the changing faces of journalism (Heinonen and Luostarinen 2008). The author takes the latter stance, as the three identified and assessed lines of contemporary inquiry into (online) journalism are combined to study the tensions between continuity and change in journalism throughout the dissertation. In Chapter 3, Slovenian journalism, foremost the conceptual strata of the societal roles of journalists , the meanings of news and the negotiations of newswork, are historically assessed by bringing together insights from studies with different disciplinary approaches. Chapter 4 attempts to identify and problematise global trends in online journalism, but at the same time strives to reveal the complexities behind them and their universal particularities, expressing locally – with a special emphasis on Slovenian print media, from where the author develops research questions. Chapter 5 assesses the multi-method ethnographic study, framing it in a way that scientifically corresponds to the needs of interdisciplinary, localised and historicised inquiry into online journalism. Chapter 6 presents the results of the study as the author combines data gathered by observing, interviewing and analysing documents, and assesses them in a multidisciplinary way, examines the results through the local lenses built in Chapters 3 and 4, and contextualises them with the conceptual toolkit developed in Chapter 3.

3. LOCAL PERSPECTIVES: HISTORICISING SLOVENIAN JOURNALISM

Journalism historically developed by being tied to larger societal relations, prevailing conceptions of reality, changing technological frameworks and complex processes in political, economic and cultural life. In this sense, historical inquiry is central not only to establishing the "longevity of journalism" by using the past – its lessons, triumphs and tragedies – to understand contemporaneity (Zelizer 2008, 257), but also to drawing detailed pictures of the conceptual frameworks in which journalism was established and evolved over time (Schudson 2005, 191). Therefore, it is important to assess how scholars approach historicising in terms of scale (Zelizer 2008, 257) – whether small, that is, referring to memoirs, biographies and organisational histories; midway, that is, organised around temporal periods, themes and events; or large, that is, addressing linkages between journalism and the state. From this perspective, Hardt (1990, 349) argues that a reading of most journalism history texts confirms that the history of journalism is "a biography of power".Specifically, the dominant ways of writing journalism history have been based on an evolutionary model, which can be characterised as ineffective due to its linearity and reductionist nature and predictable due to its progressive narration, grounded almost exclusively in technological progress, as critical journalism history texts acknowledge (e.g. Schudson 1978; Hardt 1990, 2008; Hardt and Brennen 1995; Zelizer 2008; Örnebring 2010; Brennen and Hardt 2011a). These authors more or less agree that journalism history has mainly focused on the study of decision-makers, concentrating its gaze on ownership, and produced a narrative based on investigations and analyses of the powerful elite and a linear evolution of political, economic and cultural power structures and relations. Only rarely have readers of journalism history texts had the opportunity to obtain a sense of culture that is based on the experience on diversity (e.g. Hardt 1990), the economic realities of industrialisation (e.g. Splichal 2005a) and the societal conditions of change (e.g. Brennen and Hardt 2011a) – including the roles of journalists in society, the meanings of news and negotiations of newswork (e.g. Hardt and Brennen 1995; McNair 1998; Schudson 2000; Boczkowski 2004a; Örnebring 2010; Amon and Erjavec 2011). As assessed in Chapter 2, critical histories of journalism help scholars understand the dynamic stratum behind transformations and comprehend the shifting nature of tensions between continuity and change. From this perspective, some media and journalism scholars (Boczkowski 2004a, 2004b; Domingo 2006, 2008a; Deuze 2008a) stress that historicising helps online journalism researchers to explain the complex process through which online

journalists at traditional media organisations are defining online news, and highlighting the diversity of solutions or understanding the reasons for homogeneity.

From this perspective, this chapter departs from the conception of Slovenian journalism history as a biography of power, which has been a predominant approach over the last half-century in Slovenian media and journalism studies (e.g. Vatovec 1967, 1969; Amon 1996, 2000, 2008; Merljak Zdovc 2008), and attempts to assess that history as a flow of discontinuities and new beginnings, an approach recently adopted by Amon and Erjavec (2011) and Jontes (2010). The objective of this chapter is to complement these efforts by trying to conceptually dismantle notions of journalism, news and newswork diachronically from early patterns of modern journalism until the fall of the socialist self-managed press, and synchronically envision the conceptual dynamics of Slovenian contemporary journalism after the adoption of Western-style democracy and (neo)liberal capitalism. The diachronic and synchronic assessments of the dynamics between continuity and change are necessary in order to develop a theoretical view on empirical research into Slovenian journalism – more specifically, synchronic manifestations of global trends in journalism in Slovenian print media organisations. In this sense, the analysis of recent changes in journalism, even more so in the context of the internet and the web, is not to be based on the substitution of "outdated" concepts of journalism, news and newswork, but rather on gain and complexity through the modification of the "older" concepts that have developed in history. Hence, studying the history of journalism is crucial to theoretical reconsiderations and empirical investigations of online journalism in the globalised world, since it helps the inquiry in two ways. First, it conceptually pins down insights into the dynamics of change in newswork, the reorganisation of news making, rearticulations between technology and news and self-perceptions of journalists. Second, historical investigation frames empirical analysis of larger trends in online journalism by moving from the local particularities that have evolved in the history of Slovenian journalism to global developments that bring new expectations that may be different from those to which traditional journalism is historically ready to respond.

For these two reasons the dissertation historically assesses Slovenian journalism by surveying the conceptual discontinuities of defining the societal roles of journalists, framing the prevailing meaning of news and negotiating newswork, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, by combining it with generalizations that emerge from drawing the larger conceptual linkages and gaps between the notions of journalism, news and newswork and surveying the difficulties of identifying their social specificity through the prism of the paradigms, prospects and problems in the journalism-globalisation relationship. In this sense, the chapter builds on

interconnected levels that have throughout Slovenian journalism history emerged as the areas in which tensions between continuity and change have occurred – that is, societal processes between the local and the global, and articulations between technology and journalism. By departing from the prevailing evolutionary and progressive understanding of history, this chapter attempts to present the historical diversity of the roles of Slovenian journalists in societal life and the historically competing meanings and conceptions of the notion of news in Slovenian press, from the first outlines of the modern organisation of newswork in the latter part of the 19th century to flexible and risk-laden news making in the newsrooms of the early 21st century.

Thus, in this chapter, the "non-linear development" of the Slovenian press (Amon in Erjavec 2011, 7) is assessed through a review of conceptual discontinuities in the notions of journalism, news and newswork from "the industrial period" to "the information society" (Amon 2004). The chapter begins by setting the scene and assessing how to produce a conceptual investigation of the history of the national press in the era of globalisation, which later on is used to illuminate articulations between the local, regional, national, international, transnational and the global, as well as, to explore the tensions between continuity and change in order to analyse prevailing conceptions of the world and cooperation among people in relation to the societal roles of Slovenian journalists, the meaning of news in Slovenian society and the negotiation of newswork in the particular historical circumstances of the Slovenian press. The second part diachronically assesses changes in Slovenian journalism from the early patterns of the modern press to the late modern contingencies of the contemporary Slovenian press. It provides basic conceptual premises that have emerged with greater discontinuities and does not delve into those details in the historical development that are not crucial to mapping the societal roles of journalists , meanings of news and negotiations of newswork. The third part provides a synchronic vision of Slovenian contemporary journalism and in greater detail surveys the heterogeneity of the societal roles of Slovenian journalists, controversies and responses to the changing articulations between the notions of "truthiness" and news, and contemporary negotiations of newswork decisively shaped in late capitalist organisational settings. The last part of the chapter reconsiders historical inquiry into transformations within Slovenian journalism as a theoretical toolkit and elaborates tensions between continuity and change in order to ground empirical research into online journalism at Slovenian print media organisations later in the dissertation.

3.1 Setting the Scene: National Journalism History and Globalisation

Although there are indications that journalism at traditional media organisations is turning toward a single global model, diversity still remains in contemporary journalism, based on local traditions (e.g. Clausen 2004; Downing 2007; Hallin 2009; Lee-Wright *et al.* 2012). Until recently, the national and international levels of analysis have been standard entry-points for investigating the historical dynamics between continuity and change in journalism, due to the centrality of the nation in the shaping of journalism (cf. Josephi 2005, 586; Reese 2008, 240; Domingo 2008a, 20–21). With attention also shifting towards the processes of globalisation in the second part of the 20th century, the focus has changed in some of the literature from awareness of the locales of national journalisms to global generalisations of journalism's transformations (Curran and Park 2000, 16). Despite many indications over the last two decades that the nation-state is in crisis (cf. Dahlgren and Sparks 1991) and that structures and processes grounded in the concept are being downsized in the transnational political, economic and cultural environment (cf. Splichal 2010), this processes do not *per se* mean that the nation has lost its meaning in society and place in the moving loci of journalism. Despite the fact that the history and cultural tradition of news, as well as journalism's position within the configurations of political and economic power, appear to be less important factors when journalism as practice is assessed in the context of the contingencies of late modern society, where millions are technologically empowered to gather, assemble and provide news (cf. Dahlgren 2009a, 2009b), they are still considered to be significant determinants of theoretical and empirical investigations into the contemporary journalism of traditional media organisations – particularly its changing (e.g. Zelizer 2008; Hardt 2008; Jakubowicz 2007; Splichal 2009).

As a response to the prevailing universalistic global view in some parts of journalism theory and research, the nation has been re-established in very conscious attempts at broadening journalism's conceptual and empirical landscape by localising and historicising (Josephi 2005). In this regard, Downing (1996, 2007), for instance, provides reflections on "internationalising media theory" in Eastern Europe between 1980 and 1995; Hallin and Mancini (2004) underpinned this need in an attempt to "de-westernize media studies"; Jakubowicz (2007) highlighted accounts of journalism transformation during the nation-building and democratisation processes in Central and Eastern Europe that followed the collapse of state socialism; and Clausen (2004) and Hafez (2007) identified strong processes of "domestication" that frame changes in journalism in accordance with national, cultural and

organisational grounds. These are only some of the authors, as Curran and Park (2000, 3) indicate, that are "embarrassed about viewing the rest of the world as forgotten under-study" and set out to question and correct "the self-absorption and parochialism" in current media and journalism research. Furthermore, Josephi (2005, 575) stresses that, as media and journalism studies have entered an era of growing global awareness, research is only reluctantly acknowledging conceptions of journalism, participation and power other than the Anglo-American. In this sense, Curran and Park (2000, 12) suggest that the nation is a very important political and cultural marker of difference in journalism, acknowledging that "it is precisely the historical grounded density of these relationships that tends to be excluded from simplified global accounts of journalism". Similar critical remarks have been made by Domingo (2008a) when reviewing online journalism research over the last two decades, suggesting that the hegemony of theoretical and methodological proposals from American researchers have been uncritically adopted by studies in Europe and Asia. At the same time, a growing number of authors (e.g. Boczkowski 2002, 2004a; Paterson 2008; Domingo 2008a; Zelizer 2008) are calling for journalism research to be localised and historicized in order to avoid the risk of theoretically and methodologically shallow investigations into the articulations between the local, national, international, transnational and global – as these dimensions change as well, not just the boundaries and connections between them.

According to Hafez (2007, 167), globalisation has proven one aspect of the trans-disciplinary preoccupation with international processes, to a similar extent as with the "older" processes of modernisation. Modern journalism is the result of industrialisation and is also in turn an active component in the larger process of the modernisation of society (Hardt 1995, 2). Histories of the modern press reflect the rise of liberalism, the establishment of participatory democracy and the impact of the capitalist mode of production on the modernisation of society. As a result, modern accounts of journalism call less for individual leadership than for organization and structure (Salcetti 1995, 66), which, arranged in the relevant fashion, appear as indicators of modernisation in prevailing modes of knowledge production and bring implications for democracy and participation.Specifically, when newswork encountered industrialisation, which demanded sacrifices by journalists to technological advancements, the press started to emerge as an important political and cultural institution (Hardt 1995, 3). Looking at the modern press, Bücher (1893/2001, 242) calls it a "capitalistic enterprise, a sort of a news factory in which a great number of people /…/ are employed on wage, under a single administration, at very specialized work, producing news for an unknown circle of readers". Furthermore, according to Hardt (1990, 354), the

emergence of newsroom technologies created the conditions for modern journalists who defined their roles as producers of specific images and appeals rather than as independent sources of a political and cultural enlightenment. In this sense, modern newsrooms evolved in workspaces with top-down management, linear hierarchies and a clear division of labour in order to standardise news making, homogenise output, retain control at all times and steer a new course, if the context changed (e.g. Warner 1970; Epstein 1974; Tuchman 1978; Bantz *et al.* 1980; Fishman 1980). In this sense, some authors highlight the industrial nature of newswork organisation and structure, leading them to term traditional media organisations as "news factories" (Bantz *et al.* 1980) and to call modern newsrooms "news manufactures" (Tuchman 1978).

Further, modern press appears to be a facilitator of the prevailing conception of knowledge production in society, built on the specific relationship between concepts of power, property and work.Specifically, it looks for neutral procedures and organs of public communication in order to balance opposing interests, without addressing antagonisms and contradictions in the prevailing mode of production (cf. Sekloča 2006). Modern newswork, in this respect, engages people by bringing automatism into the relationship between property and control, and legitimises them as a neutral grounding for participation in political life. In this sense, there is a "real or potential conflict" between two of the major roles of the modern press and its journalism: public service – as an independent societal institution that produces and disseminates information for public consumption – and private enterprise – as a commercial medium that caters to specific business and political interests (Hardt 2001, 5). Innis (cf. 1951/1991) reaches a similar conclusion when he assesses the traditional and unavoidable ties between politics and business that affect the workings of journalism. However, although processes of modernisation appear as uniform and overwhelming in the historical evolution of journalism, there are particularities – as a result of distinct historical articulations between continuity and change that play an important part in shaping today's journalism. As a result, there are fundamental differences between different parts of the world, countries and other entities, deriving from different evolutionary paths in journalism history – although, writes Esser (1998, 375), "from just looking at the final product one would hardly assume it". This has become even more evident in late modern society, where the concepts of flexibility and individualization have significantly changed the shape of what is implied by modern journalism – more and more contingent, open and risk-laden work relations reflect the downgraded societal role of journalists working in media organisations (e.g. International Federation of Journalists 2006; Deuze 2007, 2008a; Reinardy 2011), and a

growing array of non-press news provides have introduced additional identity problems for those who used to be consensually referred to as modern journalists (e.g. Paterson and Domingo 2008; Allan and Thorsen 2009; Zelizer 2009b; Domingo and Paterson 2011;). Therefore, in order to precisely address the historical process of modernisation, journalism, news and newswork development need to be localised and historicized if a more comprehensive picture of the dynamics in articulations between continuity and change in journalism is to be conceptualised and the broader implications for democracy and participation identified (e.g. Heinonen 1999; Cottle 2000; Boczkowski 2002, 2004a; Domingo 2008a).

As assessed above, uniform and monolithic visions need to be confronted with localisation and modernisation if media and journalism scholars plan to provide more telling historical assessments of journalism as a changing social phenomenon. Contemporary journalism's national character, which responds to articulations between the local, national, transnational and global, and modern direction, and derives from articulations between continuity and change, has been challenged, since, in late modern society, the boundaries and connections in people's conduct vary in their tenacity, are broken and forged again and assessed particularly in different political, economic, cultural and technological circumstances. In this sense, according to McNair (2009, 348), existing boundaries between journalism and non-journalism, and also other boundaries, such as those between professional and amateur, between media platforms, between genres, between news, commentary and entertainment – which are already dissolving, will be eroded further locally and globally. In this light, Hallin (2009, 334) writes that, 20 years ago, it was not uncommon to imagine that the end of journalism was upon us, but now, when diversity is very clear in contemporary journalism, it is often wrenching change that is more likely to prevail. This becomes especially salient in the context of the globalisation of communication between individuals, groups, institutions and political cultures, as well as within national societies divided by political horizons, ethnicity and culture, writes Dahlgren (2009a, 157–158), before acknowledging that "there are in principle many possible stories to tell about the same phenomenon" (*ibid.*).

3.2 Diachronic Assessment of Slovenian Modern Journalism

One of the "many possible stories" (*ibid.*) is the historical development of modern Slovenian journalism – from its early modern conceptions in the latter half of the 19th century to the fall

of the particular socialist paradigm of the press and the arrival of liberal conceptions of democracy, participation and communication in the late 20th century. As diachronically assessed below, the story of the conceptual development of Slovenian journalism confirms previous studies (e.g. Hardt and Brennen 1995; Amon and Erjavec 2011; Brennen and Hardt 2011a), which concluded that the evolution of journalists' societal roles, prevailing meanings of news and negotiations of newswork relations is not a linear process, but rather a non-linear process shaped by discontinuities and not progressive historical continuity. From this perspective, the historical assessment of the Slovenian press reflects the variation in the diachronic evolution of prevailing conceptions of reality and established ways of cooperation among people which have been articulated in complex combinations among local, national, international and transnational institutions, associations individuals and other groupings. It refers broadly to the increased complexity and interdependency of Slovenian society, due to all manner of transactions across national boundaries enabled by the development and availability of information, communication and transportation technologies. Thus, the 150 years or so of modern Slovenian journalism indicate that uniform and monolithic visions of history need to be confronted with context-related critical synthetization of social, political, economic, cultural and technological dynamics in order to appreciate the continuous reassessment of the nature of the press and its place in society and to conceptually ground scholarly discussions of future development. This part of the chapter provides insights into the dynamics between continuity and change, which have in the last century-and-a-half also resulted in the decline of several "old" traditions and the invention of "new" ones. In other words, this part sketches the conceptual development of the Slovenian press in relation to changing societal boundaries and debates the broader implications of this assessment. In this context, the author reexamines how the societal roles of journalists, meanings of news and negotiations of newswork evolved from phenomena embedded in local surroundings to conceptions tied to larger transnational and global processes after the fall of socialism two decades ago.

Thus, the first section skims through the transformations from early patterns of modern political journalism in Slovenian society until the First World War, when journalists performed as publicists and provided news as interpretation. The second section analyses the fall of the Slovenian political press, the emergence of "objective" news and the consolidation of the modern conception of newswork, as well as the radical response of initially underground political movements that made news as interpretation in non-institutional settings. The third section assesses the development of propaganda journalism in Slovenia

during the Second World War, drawing a distinction between different the propaganda roles of Slovenian journalists, distinct conceptions of news as propaganda and presenting the different production settings of modern daily newspapers and battlefield improvisation. The fourth section analyses the societal role of Slovenian journalists, the prevailing meaning of news and newswork as "socio-political" work during the period of socialist "self-management" in Yugoslavia, where the conception of reality was grounded in a particular understanding of historical materialism and cooperation among people and moves on from automatism in power, property and work from earlier periods – at least in principle.

3.2.1 The Rise of Modern Political Journalism

The modern nature of newswork in Slovenia started to surface in the latter half of the 19th century with the rise of the political press, as journalists took on the role of advocates of the nation and provided news as interpretation. In their struggle for press freedom and societal recognition, Slovenian newspapers started to transform gradually from more or less individual organs for poets, novelists, playwrights and clergymen supported by the state and/or the church, towards the organisation of individual and collective actors in the editorial process of news making, gaining its modern conceptual clarity in the latter half of the 19th century (cf. Jesenko 1884/2001; Amon and Erjavec 2011). Journalists played an important role in political and cultural development by reproducing the imagined national community, grounded in the interrelated "universally-imperial" and "particularly-national" identities of the time (Anderson 1983/1998, 98–99), as the relationship between press and nation was a crucial connection between the spiritual and material spheres of everyday life.Specifically, the process of modernisation of Slovenian journalism and the emergence of the first daily newspapers did not reflect the dynamics of urban settings, as they did in the United States, for instance (cf. Hardt 2001, 4), but rather the dynamics of the countryside as a dominated cultural and political realm at that time (e.g. Luthar *et al.* 2008, 328–333; Tomanić Trivundža 2010, 189; Pelikan 2010, 322; Amon and Erjavec 2011, 95). This significantly shaped Slovenian journalists' societal roles, the prevailing meaning of news and the first modern negotiations of newswork in the latter half of the 19th century and the early years of the 20th century.

At that time, Slovenian journalists performed as advocates of Slovenians through various ideological prisms and by trying to realise more or less particular political interests (Amon 2004), and, as such – in the Slovenian and German languages – operated against the active authority and coercive power of the state, which also resulted in censorship (Vatovec

1967; Žigon 2004; Cvirn 2010; Amon and Erjavec 2011). Despite ideological differences, Slovenian journalists started portraying the nation predominantly as a central concept accompanying the religion of ideologisation within the multinational cross-locality of the Habsburg Monarchy (Granda 2001; Pinter 2001; Luthar *et al. 2*008; Pelikan 2010; Amon and Erjavec 2011). Closely tied to the Central European tradition of the press (e.g. Knies 1857/2001; Schäffle 1881/2001; Bücher 1893/2001; Weber 1918/1976; Habermas 1962/1989; Donsbach and Klett 1993; Esser 1998; Hardt 2001), Slovenian journalists were regarded as "publicists" (Vatovec 1969, 23). They were journalists who propagated certain political ideas and were more than just "reporters" (Hallin and Mancini 2004, 155), dealt with public affairs, particularly those which related to public law, and as authors asserted certain political beliefs (Noelle Neumann and Schulz 1971, 11). Or, as Weber (1918/1976) ascertained in his lecture "Politics as a Vocation", "the political publicist, and above all the journalist, is nowadays the most important representative of the demagogic species". Moreover, the partisan nature of advocacy journalists became even stronger with the rise of political consciousness, the establishment of political parties and the beginnings of a party press in Europe, suggests Bücher (1893/2001).

The advocacy aspect of journalism in Slovenian political newspapers, for instance the liberal *Slovenski narod* [1868–1943] and the conservative *Kmetijske in rokodelske novice* [1843–1902], rejects the existence of an objective reality and shapes the notion of news as interpretation of the political. Slovenian journalists in the last third of the 19th century mixed "facts" and "opinion" (Kalin Golob 2003, 91; Amon and Erjavec 2011, 123), brought together information from different sources of varying credibility from other parts of the Monarchy or abroad (Vatovec 1969, 24–25), and sometimes even made things up (cf. Jesenko 1884/2001, 20). The concept of news as interpretation was wedded to German Idealism, which grew out of the crisis of the Enlightenment and established itself as a prevailing conception of the world and relations among people in Central Europe (e.g. Rothman 1979; Donsbach and Klett 1993; Esser 1998). All its various forms – the transcendental idealism of Kant, the ethical idealism of Fichte and the absolute idealism of the romantics – were attempts to resolve these *aporiai* of the Enlightenment (Beiser 2000, 18) and carried the argument that "objective or even neutral accounts of reality were not possible" (Donsbach and Klett 1993, 57). In other words, Esser (1998, 384) suggests, such a conception of the world led to the assumptions in journalism that *Weltanschauung* would inevitably influence one's own perception of reality and its representation. In other words, every characterisation of news that we can devise is bound to be constructed by a journalist, working within a specific political, economic and

cultural constellation. Positioning the political press within the political, economic, and cultural system pushed journalists to adopt "the habit of interpreting and reprocessing the information according to the political doctrine that the newspapers defended" (Chalaby 1996/2008, 98).

In the second part of the 19th century, newswork in many countries started to emerge through the transformation of the full-time craft of an individual into more modern collective organisation in order to systematically gather, assemble and provide news (Carey 2007). In the southern provinces of the Monarchy, Slovenian newspapers suffered from financial uncertainties due to the small number of subscribed readers, uneasy private investors, low income from advertising and the high costs of print, which significantly affected the conditions and the ways news was made, sometimes even resulting in presses being stopped (e.g. Reisp 2001, 212–213; Žigon 2004, 161–165; Amon and Erjavec 2011, 124). At the same time, until the late 19th century, Slovenian newspapers were still mostly the result of the efforts of rather small groups, as the industrialisation of the Slovenian press came "late" (Amon 2004), because printing houses were primarily run according to political doctrine and not as profit-seeking enterprises (Reisp 2001, 213), and because labour within the Central European newsroom was not divided to the same degree as in the United States (Esser 1998, 379). It is at that time that journalism in Central Europe started to be viewed as "a holistic occupation", which has to be looked at as an integral whole in relation to the ownership (e.g. Esser 1998; Wilke 2003; Amon 2004).

The holistic organisation of newswork did not normally result from separate editorial processes for assessing "facts" and providing "opinion" in Central Europe (Esser 1998), referring to journalism as advocacy agency (Donsbach 1995). By adopting an advocacy role to pursue certain political goals, the editor's work in the Slovenian press resembled that of a multifunctional all-rounder, suggested Jesenko (1884/2001), two decades after the Slovenian press featured its "first professional editor" (cf. Amon and Erjavec 2011, 122). The rise of steam presses, typing machines and the telegraph made it possible to print more newspapers more quickly and the cycle of periodicity became shorter (Örnebring 2010, 62). In the final third of the 19th century, modern boundaries between the conception of news (i.e. planning the newspaper, deciding what type of material to print, taking steps to gather that material), and the execution of work (i.e. the gathering, assembling and writing of news), also started to emerge at Slovenian newspapers (cf. Vatovec 1967, 165) and began to resemble "the cultural arms of the industrial order from which they spring" (Gerbner 1972, 51).

3.2.2 The Fall of Political Journalism and the Radical Response

The main purpose of Slovenian and Yugoslav journalism in the first decade after the First World War remained to serve political causes in the narrow sense (Amon 2008, 19–21), unlike the political journalism which emerged in the early 20th century in some European countries, where the journalist was seen as a neutral arbiter of political communication, standing apart from particular interests and causes, providing information and analysis "uncolored" by partisanship (Hallin and Mancini 2004, 26). Furthermore, it was not uncommon for political leaders or those who had carefully nurtured their cults of established newspapers to become editors-in-chief (Amon 1996, 95). Hence, unlike in other countries where "scientific naturalism" was becoming a central paradigm within knowledge production (Splichal 2000, 48) and where the "objectivity doctrine" was being normalised in the journalisms of the United States, Great Britain and also France (Chalaby 1996/2008), journalists in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia performed advocacy for groups, defined more by ideology than societal intercourse, and acted as what Weber (1918/1976) names "types of professional politicians".

The decline of the Slovenian political press started a decade after the First World War in an intense political and national atmosphere following the "dictatorship of January 6", when, in 1929, King Karađorđević abolished political parties and their newspapers, which brought changes to Slovenian journalism and societal life (Amon 1996, 95–98). On the one hand, Slovenian journalists working for the "big dailies", such as the liberal *Slovenski narod* [1868–1943] and *Jutro* [1920–1945], and the conservative *Slovenec* [1873–1945], adopted the role of "objective" mediators of events and relations, thus resembling their American counterparts, as observed by Lippmann (1920/2008). However, these changes in the newspapers, which were given loans under better terms by the national bank (*ibid.*), did not result in the growth of "the news paradigm" as witnessed in the United States and Great Britain in the late 19th and early 20th centuries (cf. Høyer and Pöttker 2005), but amounted to an attempt by the regime to impose the principle of disconnecting societal activities in relations between the state and the citizens, most notably through state censorship (cf. Amon, 1996, 143; Vodopivec 2006, 218–225; Luthar *et al. 2*008, 400–418).

On the other hand, rising political movements that were initially underground responded by establishing a radical press, and journalists within their circles took up the role of persuaders, performing even more committed advocacy journalism than that of the late 19th and early 20th centuries (Amon 1996, 95–98). The papers of the peasant, labour, communist,

nationalist and student movements took on a transformative, radical role –one previously performed only by the underground communist and socialist press (Amon 2008, 22). Similar to the radical press from other contexts (Christians *et al. 2*009, 126), Slovenian political activists acted as persuaders focused on exposing abuses of power with their news making, which aimed to raise public consciousness of wrongdoing, inequality and potential for change. It appeared that the common goal of journalism within Slovenian political movements was a fundamental change in society – "not just superficial changes, such as voting procedures, but changes in the core of the existing social institutions" (Christians *et al. 2*009, 178).

In the years between the world wars, the meanings of news corresponded to the various conceptions of reality shaped by specific societal interests and different approaches to the concepts of democracy, nation and power in the Yugoslav press of the first half of the 20th century. In the 1920s, news in the Slovenian press was reproduced primarily as interpretation by political parties. In this sense, readers were informed, but through the specific and explicit ideological prisms of particular political parties, ideologically framing the emerging concepts of human rights, democracy and parliamentarianism (cf. Prunk 2010). Such "partisan news" (Amon 1996, 95) implies the continuation of the causally idealistic conception of reality, leading to the assumption that the world view of a journalist, shaped by strong societal impulses, determines the outcomes of his/her accounts and representations of reality, making it impossible to provide "neutral", "impartial" and "unbiased" news (e.g. Donsbach and Klett 1993; Esser 1998). Furthermore, news as partisan interpretation implies that citizens need the press to advocate for specific societal groups and their interests within the prevailing currents of political thought.

In the 1930s, news appeared as "objectively" mediated "facts" by the regime's press. Despite the fact that the norm of journalistic objectivity came at a time when, as in the United States, "subjectivity had come to be regarded as inevitable" within the superveniently idealistic conception of reality (Schudson 1978, 157), it did not aim to bring about drastic social change through the power of the "objective fact", as envisioned by Lippmann (1920/2008; 1922/1960), but was implemented rather as a coercive notion of politically disinterested neutrality. Hence, the Yugoslav and Slovenian press did not adopt what is known as "the news paradigm", resting on liberal concepts of participation, communication and democracy (e.g. Høyer and Pöttker 2005), but took the "neutral" political stance in order to satisfy legislation, conform with state censorship and at the same time cater to the biggest possible audience.

In the run-up to the Second World War, news delivered by Slovenian political movements emerged as transformative persuasion. This specific adoption of news arises from a criticism of reality, in the sense of revealing what most people do not see. Due to the ideological variety of political movements at that time, the conception of reality and the understanding of news in the Slovenian radical press cannot be labelled as idealistic or materialistic, but as different expressions of "an alternative vision to hegemonic policies, priorities and perspectives" (Downing 2001, v). The meaning of news as persuasion coming from the Slovenian political movements – with the exception of the national-unitaristic movement and their papers – was close to what Christians *et al. (*2009, 178–181) relate to the radical role of the press, that is, to go to the roots of power relations in society, challenge injustice perpetrated by hegemonic alliances, and to propose instead a new social order, support movements opposing these injustices, and to take steps to ensure the redistribution of political, economic and cultural power.

In the two decades following the First World War, the dynamics of change in the Slovenian press were not only political and cultural, but also economic. The "big dailies" and printing houses started binding to the economy more strongly than before (cf. Amon and Erjavec 2011, 124), especially after the arrival of foreign capital, and newspaper and printing organisations were turned into joint-stock companies, which were given loans under better conditions (Amon 1996, 142–148; Reisp 2001, 213). The processes of consolidation in the modern press resulted in "editors-politicians" transforming into "editors-managers", who knew how to run an enterprise and had a sense of how to manage the growing number of journalists (Amon 1996, 143). The desire for greater incomes and the adoption of modern technology appeared to expose the "poisoned" nature of the press (Schäffle 1881/2001), grounded in the centralisation that bred powers that use the press for particular purposes and exerted influence on newswork. In these economic conditions, journalists resembled what Hardt and Brennen (1995) have termed as "newsworkers", who are individual and collective actors in the editorial processes whose news making was largely defined and enforced by press ownership, departing from the tradition of journalists as publicists (Splichal 2005b, 141).

Yet, in the last decade before the Second World War, alternative political movements established a radical press that was not grounded in an idealistic automatism among power, property and work, but in a more materialisticautomatism. Despite exceptions among the papers run by national-unitaristic movements, such as *Pohod*, *Borba* and *Bojevnik*, which were financed by the government and even by advertising (Amon 1996, 218), the alternative

radical press, for instance student and peasant-workers' publications, was primarily financed by the workers themselves and subscribers, and constantly faced financial difficulties (Amon 1996, 209). However, the press of political movements at the time understood news not as a commodity, in the way the regime dailies did, but rather as a device for political action rather than commercial persuasion. If news providers in the national-unitaristic movements operated in rather controlled work settings and printed through larger publishers (Amon 1996, 171–193), working conditions in the radical press were difficult and improvised. News making was based on a voluntary and non-paid workforce gathering and assembling news and handling the cyclostyle printing presses (Amon 1996, 193–217).

3.2.3 Propaganda Journalism during the Second World War

During the Second World War [1941–1945], Slovenian journalism displayed salient features of propaganda. At that time, news and propaganda came together and formed one whole. However, competing concepts of propaganda as practice, content and work distinctly shaped the societal roles of Slovenian journalism at that time, the meanings of news in society, and newswork negotiations during wartime.Specifically, journalism as propaganda operated along two distinct lines of inquiry, which were based on different understandings of authority, progress and communication (Amon 2000, 11–12; Šmicberger 1988, 11–12).

The first line of propaganda journalism emerged within the pre-war regime press and the new periodicals of the Home Guard movement ("domobranstvo") and their supporters, and provided service to the Nazi and Fascist propaganda system (Godeša 2010; Mlakar 2010). Journalists from the "big dailies", such as the Catholic daily *Slovenec* [1873–1945] and the weekly *Domoljub* [1888–1944], as well as the liberal dailies *Slovenski narod* [1868–1943] and *Jutro* [1920–1945], supported and spread occupation propaganda by taking a "neutral" stance (Amon 2000, 11). From 1941 to 1943, their news making reflected the guidelines of the Fascist propaganda system, which aimed at complete fascisation and the fusion of the local population with the Italian political and cultural realm (Godeša 2010). From 1943 till the end of the war, propaganda was patterned in Göbbels's terms (in Doob 1950, 426–427) across a large part of Slovenia's territory. Journalists wrote reports or were dispatched to crucial areas to write features, steps were taken to ensure a supply of "authentic news" from across the globe, and a change in personnel was contemplated "to inject fresh blood into journalism" and thus deliver "better" news (*ibid.*). As the war progressed, "neutrality" was gradually overcome and newspapers adopted an explicit anti-communist sentiment (Šmicberger 1988,

167). At the same time, during the war, the Home Guard established new printed publications, for instance *Slovensko domobranstvo* [1944–1945], which were grounded in more radical conceptual grounds and rhetoric than the collaborationist mass press (Mlakar 2010). These publications "praised occupationa authority", "glorified victories of German and Italian armies", and "supported organization and work of the Home Guard" (Amon 2000, 13).

The second line of propaganda journalism was practised by the National Liberation Struggle ("Narodno osvobodilni boj" – NOB), which was ideologically diverse, but managed primarily by the communists. Their many periodicals, such as *Slovenski poročevalec* [1938, 1941–1958], mostly adopted Marxist-Leninist views of the press as collective propagandist, agitator and organiser (Vatovec 1967; Amon 2000; Deželak Barič 2010). "The revolutionary press" (Šmicberger 1988) adopted the Marxist-Leninist version of advocacy journalism, based on historical materialism (cf. Močnik 1984, 8–9; Vreg 1990, 205–215) and a rather pragmatic understanding of Slovenian nation, culture and tradition (cf. Pirjevec 1995, 119; Prunk 2008, 163; Luthar *et al.* 2008, 435–437). Lenin's (1901/1961) normative understanding of the role of propaganda journalists was taken out of historical context, disfiguring the idea of the press as "the tribune of the people" (Vreg 1980, 290). Propaganda journalists were not collectively organised, but instead operated at the service of the political leadership, jeopardising their autonomy as agitators and organisers of the masses (Amon 2004, 65). At the beginning of the war, the leading editors and writers within the NOB press were leading communist political figures, who operated as "politicians-cum-journalists" and simultaneously "journalists-cum-politicians" (Šmicberger 1988, 8) In the fourth year of the war, the communist leadership of the NOB pushed for a more centralised communication system, forming and cultivating leading newspapers at the level of the OF, KPS and within partisan detachments, developing many controlled papers and bulletins based on a wide network of field correspondents, including common partisans (Šmicberger 1988, 27–29; Amon 2000, 20; Deželak Barič 2010, 328).

From this perspective, news as propaganda had many faces in Slovenian journalism during the Second World War. The manifold notion rests on the competing conceptions of reality and progress, shaping relations between propaganda and news. As a result, the press portrayed different dynamisms among notions of self, community and history, whether resting on Nazi and Fascist ideology or, at least in principle, grounded in Marxist-Leninist normative assumptions.

First, the journalism of the pre-war regime press adopted "step-aside" standards of conduct, already developed before the war, and provided "objective" news, which instead of

the promised "impartiality" evidently provided a propagated "partiality" of reality. According to Göbbels (in Doob 1950, 427), "the best form of newspaper propaganda was not 'propaganda' (i.e. editorials and exhortation), but slanted news which appeared to be straight". These Slovenian newspapers used German and Italian propaganda departments as their primary information sources, which purported to correspond to reality only to reinforce the credibility of future outputs (Godeša 2010; Mlakar 2010). In this regard, Göbbels (in Doob 1950, 426) asserted that the news could not be completely manufactured; it had to have some factual basis, no matter how slight. Despite the adopted "objectivity", news rested mostly on ideologised visions of right and wrong, rather than on factual evidence and expert analysis (Godeša 2010; Mlakar 2010).

Second, news made by the Home Guard and its supporters was strong on visual material – photographs, caricatures and cartoons, which possessed greater credibility than spoken or written words (Göbbels in Doob 1950, 427). Furthermore, the Home Guard's printed publications provided news to spread anti-communist and anti-Semitic sentiment in accordance with Göbbels's (in Doob 1950, 429) understanding of "news policy" as "a weapon of war", the purpose of which was "to wage war and not to give out information". According to Amon (2000, 13) and Mlakar (2010, 327), the Home Guard's papers, bulletins and other printed periodicals operated under the guidelines of the Home Guard provincial administration and were controlled by occupation bureaus for "Propaganda, Presse und Kultur", which made sure that the Home Guard press used the same phrases as German propagandists (*ibid.*).

Third, in principle, the NOB press adopted the Marxist-Leninist concept of news, based on the historical-materialistic conception of reality proliferated by Lenin (1901/1961). News theoretically reflected reality as a "historical necessity" of dialectical materialism, which, however, ideologically resulted in "historical coincidence" – censorship (Močnik 1984, 8–9). In other words, everything that was published by the NOB press was controlled and approved by Agitprop commissions if it was in line with the ideas and goals of the leadership of the resistance (Šmicberger 1988, 27–29). The NOB press, in principle, provided Leninist propaganda as a collective, transformative and progressive force (Vatovec 1967, 84), but there are indications that coercive authority reduced the role of propagandists to providing information to further the cause of communist leadership and oppose the causes of the occupation forces (Amon 2000, 11–12), and to exerting censorship (Deželak Barič 2010, 328).

At the same time, there were considerable differences in terms of technological circumstances, material conditions and working places among the regime press controlled by Nazi and Fascist rulers and the revolutionary NOB press (Vatovec 1967; Šmicberger 1988; Amon 2000; Godeša 2010; Mlakar 2010). If news from the former was gathered and assembled in line with modern newsroom organisation, which was established before the war, the latter was making its news in improvised settings and unpredictable circumstances near battlefields, in cottages and apartments (Deželak Barič 2010).

On the one hand, the Slovenian pre-war regime press was similar case to the press in other occupied countries under Nazi rule, as the division of departments and design outlook hardly changed (cf. Wilke 2003, 472). Hence, news continued to be made in decentralised newswork settings, nurturing a holistic understanding of journalism and the spatial division of departments according to content sections (Amon 1996, 142–148). Within the automatised relations of power, property and work, which remained firm after the Fascist and Nazi rulers seized the press, Slovenian journalists from the regime press resembled individual and collective actors in the editorial processes of gathering and assembling news as enforced by the occupation authorities, who appeared as the new owners (Amon 2000, 13). The imperative was not to make profit, but follow the guidelines of propaganda bureaus with the goal of "maintaining and strengthening the morale inside the Reich" (Göbbels in Doob 1950, 433). As a result, "politicizing" was not allowed in the conduct of Slovenian journalists (cf. Šmicberger 1988, 164–165), as they performed "no longer as publicists (from Balzac's times), but rather as a link in a complex organization", where iterative processes and routinised practices are continuously adopted and reproduced (Vreg 1990, 45).

On the other hand, the NOB press had to continuously move and improvise their workplaces, usually finding them in apartments, cellars and cottages (Vatovec 1967, 83–84). In the early years of the war, the editors of periodical papers were themselves the leaders of the NOB and at first had only a small number of news makers (Šmicberger 1988, 93). During the war, there was an increase in the number of voluntary correspondents (Vatovec 1967, 76–77), who usually wrote their text by hand, then typed them on often "worn out" typewriters, and later printed them on cyclostyle presses or in illegal printing houses (Vatovec 1967, 84–85; Šmicberger 1988, 93–173). The continuous search for print, ink and other materials eroded the traditional division between intellectual and manual work, blurred the lines between editors and printers, and fostered a closer relationship between them (Šmicberger 1988, 16–17). Attempts to control and centralise the communication of the NOB press in the latter part of the war indicate discrepancies between normative aspects of "fighting

journalism" in the Marxist-Leninist sense (Vreg 1980, 289) and actual newswork during the Second World War (Deželak Barič 2010, 328).

3.2.4 From Socialist to Self-Managed Journalism

The end of the Second World War brought profound normative and empirical changes to the press. On the basis of historical materialism and the accompanying conception of reality and understanding of cooperation among people, a new paradigm of journalism was constructed in Socialist Yugoslavia [1945–1991]. It appears that journalism based on the application of Marxist-Leninism was relatively monolithic in Central and Eastern Europe at that time, but there were considerable differences among various countries from the synchronic and diachronic perspectives (Gross 1999, 196–198).Specifically, in the first few years after the war, Slovenian journalism in the People's Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [1945–1963] was "mystified" by Lenin's conceptualisation of the press as collective propagandist, agitator and organiser (Vreg 1990, 205–216). However, the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [1963–1991] established a socialist system that was distinct from those in the Soviet Union and their allies. As a result, a refined normative grounding was put in place for "self-managed journalism" and an understanding of journalists as advocates of the Slovenian and Yugoslav working class in its historical struggle (Kardelj 1977, 220–221), news was conceptualised in accordance with the "common truth" (Močnik 1985, 15–18), and newswork was negotiated as socio-political work (Splichal 1981, 244).

In the first decade after the Second World War, Slovenian journalists operated as radical facilitators of social change, embedded in a wide range of processes in politics, commerce, health, education and welfare. This was a period of a "revolutionary statism", "state planning" and the "bureaucratization of social processes" (Vreg 1980, 292), when there was a powerful tendency to establish a communication system with an accentuated hierarchal and centralised settlement within the new political and economic reality. Slovenian journalists, in principle, remained collective agitators, propagandists and organisers who ought to act as political instruments to vitalise the revolutionary movement of the proletariat and as a means of exchanging experiences, materials and resources (cf. Lenin 1901/1961). The press was to be open to anyone – a forum for non-journalist peasants and workers – to participate in the communication of a new society (Hardt 2000, 36). However, the idea of the press as "the tribune of the people", which would be able to react to every manifestation of tyranny and oppression, was, according to Splichal and Vreg (1986, 51) disfigured under the

political and economic circumstances of postwar Yugoslavia, when power, state property and social communication were reassessed in order to steadily tip the balance in favour of state bureaucratic structures. In that context, journalists appeared foremost as advocates of the Communist Party and its agencies, propagating a bureaucratised interpretation of political reality, detached from the working class and alienated from social processes.

A significant change in negotiating the societal role of journalists came with the model of "self-managed democracy", which tried to interlink often competing and even contradicting ideas of Marxism, Anarchism, Socialism and Yugoslav revisionism (i.e. Kardelj 1973). The social stratum was grounded in the dialectic nature of historical materialism and the idea of the "self-managed society", in which all "producers" would manage political, economic and cultural processes and institutions, and would take part in decentralised decision-making under the guidance of the League of Communists ("Zveza komunistov") (Splichal and Vreg 1986, 33). In this context, the role of advocacy journalists at newly established newspapers, for instance, the dailies *Delo* [1958–], *Dnevnik* [1951–] and *Večer* [1945–], was grounded in a refined version of Marxism-Leninism, predisposing "objectivity" of communication and proclaiming its progressive nature based on collectivism. In this regard, Kardelj (1977, 220) idealistically stressed that journalists were "a political force of socialism" and that the press was "a means of the progressive forces of socialist consciousness and critique". In this fashion, the Code of Yugoslav Journalists (Zveza novinarjev Jugoslavije 1973) stated: "Objective communication is an inescapable essential characteristic of self-management, a constitutional right of citizens and the ethical law of our practice." However, the realisation of self-management in news making did not live up to normative predispositions, since many coercive measures were taken by the state.Specifically, media and journalism acted as a "transmission belt" for the holders of political and economic power to definereality (Splichal 1992, 33). The League of Communists asserted that censorship was not possible in socialism, yet a much more comprehensive "informal censorship" was carried out (Tomc 2010, 332), turning self-managed journalists that ought to advocate for the working class into "agents of bureaucratic class struggle" (Močnik 1985, 18).

News in socialist Yugoslavia moved away from the idealistic conception of reality and was grounded in Marx's (1859/1977) historical materialism and accompanying dialectical conception of reality, in which change occurs through a process of internal and external conflicts and transformation from one form to another. Concepts of truth and news, normatively based on existing modes of production and exchange, were considered as "common and universal" in socialism, and thus interchangeable and functionally compatible

(Močnik 1984, 17–18). However, there are many indications that the press in Socialist Yugoslavia hardly functioned as the "public tribune of citizens empowering democratic forms of opinion expression and exchange", as Vatovec (1967, 90) envisioned, and the essence of news was not the commonness and progressiveness of the truth in a historical-materialistic sense, but rather a pursuit of bureaucratic influence (e.g. Močnik 1984; Splichal 1992, 1995; Poler 1996).

In the first few years after the Second World War, Lenin's (1901/1961) normative provisions of the press as collective propaganda, agitation and organisation were understood as "eternal law" (Splichal 1981, 212) and bureaucratically "manipulated" by the socialist holders of power (Vreg 1980, 220). Similarly as with "the socialist press" in other Central and Eastern European countries, Yugoslav journalism at that time had not overcome the historical hierarchal power relations in communication, and the division among "authorised" and "unauthorised" writers remained (Splichal 1981, 212–213). News, as Splichal (1981, 213) writes, was made in material and spiritual dependency on the state and its bureaucratic apparatus: "The life of media organisations is parasitic; although the essence of their practice is not profit, the logic of their operations is a reflection of that in capitalistic monopoly." (*ibid.*) Hence, at that time the revolutionary nature of discovering propaganda as a basic condition for breeding the revolutionary activity of the masses transformed itself into a lever of centralised management in the hands of the state bureaucracy, which became the only "authorized critic" (Splichal 1981, 244).

However, throughout most of the history of Socialist Yugoslavia, the meaning of news was grounded in ideas of decentralised socialist self-management, attributing a common, universal and progressive nature to news (Vatovec 1967, 90; Gorjup 1978, 75–82; Splichal 1981, 223–230). Despite the transformative role of news in Yugoslavia's self-managed "path toward communism" (Gorjup 1978, 126), the principle of objectivity was strengthened in Slovenian journalism, distinctive from the enforced apolitical norm in the pre-war Slovenian regime press and resting on significantly different normative grounds than that of Anglo-American journalism. In principle, Slovenian journalists operated as advocates of the working people by "objectively informing on social phenomena, needs and relations, so they could better play their role in self-management" (Zveza novinarjev Jugoslavije 1973). The consonance between news and "common truth" based on dialecticism of historical materialism was also implied by the same self-regulatory document, stating that "objective information is an inevitable and essential" characteristic of social processes and progress (*ibid.*). Splichal and Vreg (1986, 69) further developed this meaning of news by asserting that

"getting close to objective information on the social system" does not mean that "information should be without the subjective and creative elements of a journalist /…/ committed to the processes of progress and change". However, space for subjectivity and creativity appeared to be narrowed by the "post-bourgeois censorship" (Močnik 1984, 15–18), which was based on a "universal" and "bureaucratic" separation between "truth" and "untruth" in the socialist system.Specifically, wrote Močnik (1984, 18), naming a journalist a socio-political worker who advocates for the working class by providing "common truth" is "a rabbit from a cylinder of the bureaucracy". "Why do we need a special emphasis that a journalist is a socio-political worker?" Močnik (*ibid.*) asked. "To rob the journalist of his/her individuality and transform him/her into an advocate of common truth."

After the Second World War, historical materialism became the framework of the prevailing conception of cooperation among people, grounded in the dialectics in modes of production and exchange. By criticising idealistic automatism between property, power and work, and revealing the consequent exploitation of workers in all spheres of society, the socialist understanding of communication normatively portrayed journalists, their work and news making as socio-political (cf. Gorjup 1978; Splichal 1981; Vreg 1980; Splichal and Vreg 1986; Poler 1996).Journalists were labelled as "socio-political workers", who were "consciously attached to the ideas of Marxism and Leninism" and who in their work "publicly cooperated" in "constructing and developing socialist self-managed society" (Zveza novinarjev Jugoslavije 1973).

According to Splichal (1981, 208–212), in the first years after the Second World War, the processes of "nationalisation" of the press implied subordination of production relations to the bureaucratic apparatus of the state, as they did not remove "the essence of private property", but rather put "the socialist state above the society" (Splichal 1986, 15). Newswork was, in this sense, reduced to an "important lever in the system of centralised management", which was subordinated by the state as "a transmission in political agitation and propaganda" (Osolnik 1963). In a similar way, Hardt (2001, 39) explained that the bureaucratic subordination of news making in state socialism resulted in "the management of thought and the repression of the public discourse". Hence, press freedom turned into a privilege, which was protected, reinforced and perpetuated by specific political interests (*ibid.*). Newsworkers performed as socio-political workers in a narrow sense, that is, as individual and collective actors within the editorial processes of news making that were largely enforced by the press's owners – the socialist state.

At least in principle, many things changed when the new socialist path started to be marked out by the Yugoslav elite. Socialist self-management introduced "societal ownership" of the press and the belief that the question of the (non-)productive character of newswork in socialism should be answered in view of the presumption of "human de-alienation" (Splichal 1981, 244). The idea was that the production responded to the worker, who managed "the conditions, means and outcomes of work", which was regarded as the basis for "objective socialist production relations" (Kardelj 1977, 53) and which would eventually turn newswork into societally managed socio-political work, as Gorjup proclaimed (1978). In this context, the Central European tradition of holistic newswork and decentralised newsrooms remained (Donsbach and Klett 1993; Esser 1998; Wilke 2003), as the division of work was low, editorial control was decentralised and members of the newsroom predominantly communicated strictly up the hierarchal structure (Vobič 2009a).

However, newspapers as organisations were controlled by the League of Communists and represented an example of societal ownership, but they received state subsidies and were partly financed by advertising (Splichal 1995, 101–102). This substantially shaped the role of the press in socio-political life. Newspapers economically depended on the subsidies from their founders, they were socio-political organizations and at the same time they were determined by "the rules of supply and demand" and financed through advertising (Splichal and Vreg 1986, 159). At the same time, journalists in Yugoslavia and in other socialist countries acquired relatively high professional prestige (Splichal 1992, 82) and were seen as public relations representatives for the state and the party, "For quite a long period of time, the political elites even believed that the press should be written by party officials rather than by professional journalists, a belief congruent with the dominant conception of a media as a means of education and propaganda." (Splichal 1994, 69) Hence, the system that emerged forced the press into political and economic dependency and collaboration with the power holders and structures, which had consequences for newswork negotiation, and at the same time gave the journalists an elite status in communication and societal life, which was somewhat remote from the ideas of self-management.

Thus, these transformations in the notion of communication in socialist Yugoslavia brought profound changes in journalism, news and newswork, but not toward democratisation of public communication as envisioned by Lenin (1901/1961) and later by Kardelj (1977), but rather its subordination to the power holders, embodied in the political, economic and cultural structures shaped by the Communist Party and later the League of Communists (cf. Splichal 1992, 33). In the late 1980s, there were normative changes in communication and empirical

shifts in the political and economic system in Central and Eastern Europe, the reasons for which were and still are "a matter of great debate" (Jakubowicz 2007, x). They brought many changes to the societal life of Slovenians, as the promulgation of different views about a broader spectrum of social problems than those recognized by the authorities was possible (Mastnak 1994, 95).

The Slovenian authorities did not declare the alternative social movements to be a "counterrevolution" and "opened up space for legitimate public action by powers that were questioning the legitimacy of the regimeitself" (Žižek 1989, 68). At that time, journalists jumped on the bandwagon and took a rather collaborative role in relation to the emerging new Slovenian leadership. *Delo* removed the statement "Workers of the World Unite" from its masthead and started identifying itself as an "Independent Daily for Independent Slovenia" (cf. Delo 2010). "Vulgar Marxism" was being overcome (1990, 216) and the rise of liberal concepts of democracy, power and citizenship transformed journalism's loci in political life, grounding it in responsibility to the public in the "bourgeois" sense, reinvented the history of the Slovenian nation, and reimagined idealism in property, power and work relations (cf. Luthar *et al.* 2008, 494–514). These shifts gradually eroded the tradition of advocacy journalism in the Slovenian press, tied the prevailing meaning of news to a pragmatic understanding of the truth (Vobič 2009b), and naturalised new work relations as neutral bases for the acknowledgement of opposing interests in political life (Splichal 1995). The broader reorientation of power in knowledge production in Slovenian society two decades ago brought new articulations between the global and the local and various contingencies in the press, embedded in the triangle of the liberal conception of politics, the capitalist economic system and the commodification of culture (e.g. Splichal 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995; Erjavec and Poler Kovačič 2004, 2010; Luthar 2004).

3.3 Synchronic Assessment of Slovenian Contemporary Journalism

In providing an overview of conceptual issues in Slovenian journalism, this chapter supplements the diachronic assessment of Slovenian journalism, from early patterns of the modern conceptualisation of the press until the fall of the self-managed press, with a synchronic vision of Slovenian contemporary journalism. As synchronically assessed below, the story of conceptual dynamisms within Slovenian journalism over the last two decades indicates the societal roles of journalists, the prevailing meanings of news and newswork negotiations have developed in a discontinuous manner, rather than linearly and

progressively. From this perspective, a synchronic assessment of the Slovenian contemporary press reflects the variety of the last two decades – in terms of the prevailing conceptions of reality and established ways of cooperation among people, on the one hand, and their changing articulations in the complex processes between the local, national, transnational, and global that variously shape tensions between continuity and change in journalism, on the other.

From this perspective, contemporary journalism in Slovenia and elsewhere in Central andEastern Europe faces similar contingencies in newswork, technology and identity relations (e.g. Splichal 1994; Poler Kovačič 2005; Jakubowicz 2007; Lauk 2009). Yet, they reflect the particularities of the complex transition processes from socialist self-management, which was primarily nationalin nature, to neoliberal capitalism, which is closely tied to the processes of globalisation (e.g. Jakubowicz 2007; Lauk 2009; Splichal 2012). From this perspective, the particular uneasy relationship between state, civil society and the press reflects profound political, economic and cultural changes since the fall of the socialist system two decades ago, which significantly shapes the dynamics of societal life, where concepts such as the national interest and the economic growth became emblematic (e.g. Splichal 1994; Jakubowicz 2007; Lauk 2009). The societal roles of journalists, the prevailing meaning of news in political life and the negotiation of newswork transformed significantly and rapidly in the "capitalist enlightenment" of the early 1990s (cf. Splichal 1995), which tried to speed up the historical process of societal change, which lasted many centuries elsewhere (cf. Jakubowicz 2007), and started to be gradually shaped in accordance with liberal conceptions of journalism and media, which has intensified with the growth of complex transnational transactions among institutions, corporations, associations, individuals and other groupings in the 2000s (cf. Splichal 2012). These transformative processes, depicting tensions between continuity and change, have reshaped prevailing conceptions of reality and cooperation among people, which has in turn redefined notions of journalism, news and newswork within the specific Slovenian social context.

On the one hand, the normative grounding of the societal roles of Slovenian journalists departed from the historical materialism of "self-managed journalism" toward the idealistic high-modernism of "classical" journalism, rapidly transforming journalists from advocates of the working class into "objective" mediators of reality following the principle of objectivity (e.g. Splichal, 1992; Poler, 1996; Poler Kovačič 2005; Vobič, 2009a). On the other hand, the mimicry of liberal media design and the adoption of capitalist logic in news making brought automatism in power, property and work relations and consequently naturalised the

continuous assimilation of technological innovations in news making, redefined newswork relations and damaged journalists' roles in society (e.g. Erjavec and Poler Kovačič 2004; Splichal 2005a; Poler Kovačič and Erjavec 2008; Poler Kovačič 2009; Vobič 2009a). From this perspective, fairly paternalistic media and communication policies, continuous financial struggles, unknown to editors and journalists in socialism, and shifts in the relationship among elites, journalists and the audience, have refined the processes of subordinating the press to the narrow interests of holders of political and economic power (Bašić Hrvatin and Petković 2007, 196), made journalists vulnerable to the interests of political power holders and commercial corporations (Splichal 1995, 113), and turned them into reproducers of established power relations following the profound normative changes in Slovenian society in the 1990s (Poler 1996, 108–109). In this regard, the prospects of journalism playing a progressive role in a lively and democratic societal life are rather slim.Specifically, political-economic power elites have continued to use the media as power generators, yet, at the same time, both have oriented towards the maximisation of profit as a way to legitimise political changes (e.g. Splichal 1995, 102; Močnik 2003, 148–149). It appears that Slovenian journalism faces larger contingencies of societal contemporaneithy, which are reflected in the hard-to-define societal roles of journalists, the fluid character of the meaning of news, and risk-laden and flexible newswork (e.g. Splichal 2005a; Poler Kovačič and Erjavec 2008; Vobič 2009a).This became particularly evident when Slovenian traditional media started appearing online (Oblak and Petrič 2005; Oblak Črnič 2007; Vobič 2009b; Poler Kovačič *et al. 2*010).

In this context, journalists adopted a variety of societal roles, which respond to contemporary contingencies in the negotiation of the meaning of news in society: on the "ideal level", the latter is based on a pragmatic understanding of truth and liberal concepts of participation, power and democracy (cf. Erjavec 2004; Poler Kovačič 2004a); on the "real level", news has many competing faces, due to the prismatic nature of social reality and market-driven commodification in the production of knowledge (cf. Vobič 2009b). Additionally, as an acknowledgement of opposing interests in political life, idealistic automatism in power, property and work relations was reimagined in the 1990s, resulting in newswork being framed by the logic of capitalist production and exchange within larger processes of what Poulsen (in Splichal 1995) names "commercial Darwinism", and continued in increasingly individualised, flexible and risk-laden work relations as telling signifiers of globalisation in late modernity (Vobič 2011). Thus, the next three sections examine the heterogeneity of the societal roles of Slovenian journalists, controversies and responses to the

changing articulations between the notions of "truthiness" and news, and contemporary negotiations of newswork decisively shaped in late capitalist organisational settings.

3.3.1 Heterogeneity of Societal Roles of Journalists

The ideas of freedom of enterprise, private property, freedom of political association, parliamentary democracy and national unification, which were revolutionary in the 19th century, have emerged as normative guidelines in societal development following the collapse of socialist systems in Central and Eastern Europe, including Slovenia, two decades ago (Splichal 2001, 35). In a rather dynamic and contingent social environment, the transformation from "old" journalists, who performed as advocates of the working class and were regarded as "socio-political workers" (Zveza novinarjev Jugoslavije 1973, 1982), to "new" journalists following the principle of objectivity in providing "true" and "genuine" information to the public (Društvo novinarjev Slovenije 1991), has been anything but predictable and uniform (cf. Splichal 1992, 78–94). In this context, Lauk (2009, 79) acknowledges the vividness of journalism's transformation in Central andEastern Europe and says that journalism "creates their nationally coloured journalism culture based on their historical and cultural traditions." In Slovenia these societal dynamics resulted in a specific heterogeneity of the societal roles of journalists, negotiated in a specific transitional political, economic and cultural context.

If the 1988 Code of Journalists of Yugoslavia offered "only slight, non-essential changes" in defining journalists' role in society, the 1991 Code of Journalists of Slovenia represented "an immense change" (Poler 1996, 109). However, there was no explicit definition of journalists' role in society, but rather an emphasis on their duties: "A journalist's fundamental obligation is true and genuine informing of the public" (Društvo novinarjev Slovenije 1991). According to Poler (1996, 109) the code established journalists as decision-makers who were not committed to act on behalf of their homeland, nation and working class as they did during socialist self-management, but to perform on behalf of the public, implying a paradigmatic shift in Slovenian journalism toward high-modernism.

The classical or high-modern paradigm of journalism is, specifically, based on traditional liberal ideals about democracy, participation and citizenship (cf. Erjavec 2004; Poler Kovačič 2005; Dahlgren 2009; Hallin 2009). Through its narratives, classical journalism claims to provide accurate and impartial renderings of reality that exist external to journalism and its contributions in defining the public agenda. "It is aimed at heterogeneous

citizenry that basically shares the same public culture, and citizens use journalism as a resource for participation in societal life," says Dahlgren (2009, 147), signalling a responding model of "competitive democracy" grounded in pragmatic division between news and truth (cf. Strömbäck 2005, 334–335). This paradigmatic shift, which eroded the advocacy tradition of Slovenian journalism (Splichal 1992, 78–94), is also reflected in the self-perception of Slovenian political print journalists, who indicate that they primarily provide impartial information on the basis of which citizens make decisions, and understand their role as gathering, assembling and providing news on behalf of the public in order to bring to its attention to any abuses of power (Vobič 2009a).

While the normative role of journalism in socialism was about teaching, education and advocacy, with the establishment of the new Slovenian state, the prevailing normative service of journalists has become the impartial mediation of reality (Luthar 2004, 665). However, despite stressing disinterested detachment, the separation of "facts" from "opinions", the balancing of claim and counterclaim as a contribution to the public good, Slovenian journalism research casts doubt over the realisation of normatively grounded and codified conduct and the roles of journalists (cf. Poler Kovačič 2004b, 108). Furthermore, literature review (e.g. Splichal 1992, 1994; Erjavec and Poler Kovačič 2004; Luthar 2004; Močnik 2003; Poler Kovačič 2005, 2009; Poler Kovačič and Erjavec 2008; Vobič 2009a) suggests that processes in the realisation of normative ideals cannot be regarded as uniform and homogeneous, but rather fluid and heterogeneous –from the diachronic and synchronic perspectives.

In the early 1990s, there was more appreciation for columnists, essayists and commentators than for reporters, and the prevailing practice of journalism was still advocacy in support of the interests of the ruling elites, despite the normative shift, says Splichal (1992, 78, 85–86). However, at the same time, there was a clear tendency to develop both a commercial and critical journalism. While the first was fully compliant with privatisation efforts, the second was much more controversial – it was generally associated with the sort of investigative journalism which was critical of the holders of political, economic and cultural power (Splichal 1992, 79). By embedding journalism in the currents of market economy, rearranging political-economic relations in societal life and increasing the routinisation of journalism, as many authors note (e.g. Košir 2003; Poler Kovačič 2004a, 2009; Erjavec and Poler Kovačič 2004; Luthar 2004), responsibility to the owners of the press and power-holders surpassed the normatively defined responsibility to the public. In this context, Poler Kovačič (2004b, 96) points out that the model of market-driven journalism has prevailed in

Slovenian journalism, meaning that journalists do not offer what the public should know, but provide what the audience (allegedly) wants. Specifically, studies reveal that sensationalism, dramatisation, trivialisation and simplification have become common denominators in Slovenian journalism (e.g. Košir 2003; Luthar 1998; Poler Kovačič 2004b; Močnik 2003), primarily serving the "public curiosity" of consumers, rather than the "public interest" of citizens (Poler Kovačič 2004b, 96).

In these market-driven societal dynamics, Slovenian journalists have taken up normatively wide-ranging societal roles, which have degenerated as a result of journalism's embeddedness into the political and economic system and its cultural subordination to the idea of technological progress: "Journalists have turned from working for the good of the citizens to providing service for the good of the consumers" (Vobič 2009a, 31). There are many indications of Slovenian journalists turning from being "objective" mediators of reality into "infotainers", who reduce structural problems to individual motivations by blending news and entertainment, and who neglect factual and reliable daily accounts of matters relevant to political life (Luthar 2004, 664; Poler Kovačič 2004b, 103–105; Košir 2003, 119). Recent research indicates that mixing advertising with editorial content has emerged as "advertorial production", which, despite being illegal, remains unpunished by the authorities (Erjavec and Poler Kovačič 2010).

In the shifting normative context and complex societal dynamics, Slovenian journalists have also taken up different societal roles, such as the "watchdog" role, which rests on different conceptions of responsibility and power from those of the prevailing "objective" journalism (e.g. Šuen 1994; Poler Kovačič 2003; Močnik 2003; Poler Kovačič and Erjavec 2008; Vobič 2009a). However, these responses have not fundamentally contributed to political life, but have instead been a signifier of the political, economic and cultural circumstances in which Slovenian journalism is embedded., On the one hand, Poler Kovačič (2005, 38–39) identifies the phenomenon of "quasi-investigative journalism", emerging as an outcome of the eroded critical watchdog role of Slovenian journalism, which does not aim to hold public figures and institutions to account for conduct which might impact on societal life, but rather provide sensational presentations of affairs and scandals regardless of their truthfulness. In other words, the commercialization of the press has brought the trend of "investigative journalism at any price", which implies that journalistic representation of scandals is not necessary truthful – "as long as it brings profit" (Košir 1994, 16). In a recent investigation, Poler Kovačič (2009) identifies "semi-investigative journalism", which, however, cannot be dismissed as sensationalist, since it has made positive contributions to the

public good, but can still be regarded as "semi-investigative" due to economic and political influences, as well as the organisational and structural limitations of news making in the press. At the same time, in recent years Poler Kovačič and Erjavec (2008) have identified another example of the eroded societal role of Slovenian journalists – "quasi-citizen journalism". The latter stands for the abuse of the concept of "citizen journalism", which refers to one of the communitarian approaches to journalism where the audience assumes more power and control over news making (e.g. Nip 2006, 2010; Allan and Thorsen 2009; Papacharisi 2009; Zelizer 2009b; Rosenberry and St. John III 2010; Tunney and Monaghan 2010; Fenton 2010a), and the exploitation of the interactive and communitarian nature of contemporary technologies, such as the internet and mobile telephony, for commercial purposes (cf. Poler Kovačič and Erjavec 2008).

On the basis of an overview of the literature, it is not easy to identify the prevailing societal roles of Slovenian journalists, since the services they provide to their clients are heterogeneous, reflecting the dynamics between continuity and change. On the one hand, journalists normatively operate within the high-modern or classical paradigm of journalism, resting on liberal concepts of democracy, citizenship and participation, and allegedly serve as an integrative force and a common forum for debate. On the other hand, empirical research suggests that the news industry borrows bits and pieces from various normative frameworks and erodes the corresponding societal roles of journalists in the actual news making – by expanding business goals and downgrading journalistic ones.

3.3.2 News as Factual Truth: Controversies and Responses

A broader and more profound societal transition from historical materialism toward pragmatism as a prevailing conception of reality reshaped the notion of news and its relationship with the truth (e.g. Poler 1996; Košir and Poler 1996; Poler Kovačič 2004a, 2005). Emerging signs of pragmatic philosophy, which in contemporary journalism studies was introduced primarily in the works of Lippmann (1920/2008; 1922/1960), shaped the prevailing notion of reality, in which the method of verification refers to what is to come, and what does not exist, but can be perceived as being brought into being. Hence, normative changes in Slovenian journalism toward pragmatism have resulted in the conceptual erosion of news as "common truth", which was characteristic of self-managed journalism (Močnik 1984, 15), and emerged as the basis for distinctive functions of news and truth in Slovenian journalism and news making, whereas only the function of the news can be attributed to the

press (cf. Košir and Poler 1996, 20). Grounded in a pragmatic understanding of the truth, news is transformed in Slovenian journalism into something external to the journalist and independent from her/him, as Glasser (1992) acknowledges in his work. In other words, in such a normative context, "news should respond to the truth it is referring to" (Strömbäck 2005, 334). However, as discussed below, the late-modern conception of "prismatic truth" brings tension to the normatively positioned meaning of news, as monolithic versions of the world no longer apply to contemporary societal dynamics.

Since the profound normative changes in journalism two decades ago, three codes of journalism ethics adopted by the Society of Slovenian Journalists ("Društvo novinarjev Slovenije") have defined news as a direct response to the "factual truth", as conceptualised by Schudson (2009b, 104–113). The Code of Journalists of the Republic of Slovenia from 1991 grounded the notion of news in the "norm of truthfulness", which required journalists to "report as eyewitnesses or on the basis of facts and reliable proofs". The Code of Journalists of Slovenia from 2002, however, did not explicitly require "the truthfulness of news", but, according to Poler Kovačič (2005, 58), implied it through other provisions, such as information verification, impartiality, source identification and separation between facts and opinions. The preamble of the code (Društvo novinarjev Slovenije 2002)said: "Journalists are required to present the whole picture of events." In 2010, the Society of Slovenian Journalists revised the code and incorporated the "norm of truthfulness", first and foremost in Article 15. stating that journalists are required "to separate information from commentary" and that "the distinction between a factual report and commentary should be clear enough, so that the addressee of the message is able to distinguish between facts and the opinions of journalists." (Društvo novinarjev Slovenije 2010)

The "separation norm", as Erjavec (1999, 45–48) names the normative requirement to distinguish between fact and opinion in news making, has grown into "one of the principles of quality journalism", shaping procedures for and the purposes of political decision-making and participation (*ibid.*). This liberal perspective, incorporating the principle of objectivity, considers journalism mainly as a channel of information between the government and the governed, although it rejects advocacy journalism (Splichal 1999, 299–300). Hence, news with such societal meaning places the emphasis on people's ability to judge their own self-interests and assumes that people have the potential to respond, and so the task of the journalist is to gather, assemble and provide information and to comment in order to place news in a proper cultural context and to assist the client in understanding his relationship to societal life (cf. Janowitz 1975/2008, 48). This kind of news sees citizens "as reactive rather

than proactive" in political life (Anderson 2007, 47), and implies he "competitive model of democracy", in which it is the holders of political-economic power that "act", whereas citizens "react" (Strömbäck 2005, 334). In this context, news should provide information that people can trust and act upon, and news should be a means of monitoring power-holders – "both in what they have done, what they promised to do, and what they have done of what they promised" (*ibid.*). Moreover, Anderson (2007) and Strömbäck (2005)say that news is like a marking in the marketplace of goods, where political alternatives offer their services and products to voters, who are then supposed to act as customers and through their votes buy the product that pleases them most.

However, Lippmann (1922/1960, 338–368) was already sceptical about this model and "truthful" journalism's leading role in decision-making and participation, since the press does not provide the "truth", but sells the "news", grounding it in stereotypes and routinised newswork. In this light, says Splichal (1999, 300), endeavours aimed at objective reporting did not abolish stereotypes and the ideological nature of the press, but rather helped to replace one ideology with another. In addition, as a consequence of the application of the objectivity principle and separation within it, "artificially arranged events intended exclusively for the expression of opinion (e.g. press conferences, election campaigns and party conventions) became 'facts' and reporting them 'news', whereas a direct journalist's or citizen's statement remained 'opinion'" (*ibid.*). Or, as Bagdikian (1983, 182) stresses, that "objective news" as a response to "factual truth" widens "the chasm that is a constant threat to democracy – the difference between the realities of private power and the illusions of public imagery". In this sense, news from the Slovenian press realising the objectivity principle, says Splichal (1995, 113), "favours the interests of political, commercial and professional elites and enables them to transmit their ideas, attitudes and instructions to the people". The worst-case scenario of such news-truth relations, according to Erjavec and Poler Kovačič (2010), is "advertising censorship", which operates more covertly than expressions of political censorship during socialism, and is successful mostly because of the lack of autonomy in newsrooms to resist pressures from management.

Within the shifting normative context, debates on relations between the press and the exercise of power in society emerged in Slovenian journalism in the late 1980s the and early 1990s, and some examples of journalists providing news in order to act on behalf of the emerging public in order to bring to its attention any abuses of power emerged simultaneously (cf. Šuen 1994; Košir 1994). However, research shows that these responses have not added to conceptual clarification of the competing notions of "fourth estate", "fourth power" and

"watchdog" (e.g. Sparks 1995; Hardt 1996; Splichal 2002), but instead brought confusion in identifying the societal meaning of news with the rise of "the myth of investigative journalism" (Košir 1994), "pseudo-investigative journalism" (Poler Kovačič 2003) and "semi-investigative journalism" (Poler Kovačič 2009).The topics selected, as well as the disputable veracity of evidence, and/or the methods employed to obtain evidence, provided grounds to believe that labelling such stories as investigative journalism was abuse of the term and manipulation of the public (Poler Kovačič 2009, 100). Some recent accounts have made positive contributions to the public good, says Poler Kovačič (2009), despite being shaped by political and economic influences and organisational constraints within the press.

In addition, declining trust in news as a global characteristic of journalism (e.g. Altheide and Snow, 1991; Hardt 1996; Splichal 2005a; Dahlgren 2009; Gitlin 2009) and changes in the conceptualisation of truthfulness in late-modern multiple versions of the world (e.g. Schudson 2009b; Dahlgren 2009a, 2009b; McNair 2009; Hallin 2001, 2009), have revived discussions and controversies surrounding public journalism and other communitarian approaches to the news – reconsidered also in Slovenian journalism studies and the context of the Slovenian press (e.g. Poler Kovačič 2003; Poler Kovačič and Erjavec 2008; Vobič 2009a). However, news as an outcome of Slovenian journalists presumably taking these normatively different societal roles, relating to the distinct concept of responsibility (cf. Poler Kovačič 2005, 235–238), have also not resulted primarily in easier access for citizens to information and more fruitful citizen interaction, but emerged instead as reproductions of established power relations in society and not something that applies to the "prismatic character of social reality" (Dahlgren 2009a, 157). The identified phenomenon of "pseudo-citizen journalism" (Poler Kovačič and Erjavec 2008) indicates that communitarian ideas are misused in news making to deceive audiences in the name of profit, exploiting contemporary technologies for commercial purposes. Furthermore, Poler Kovačič and Erjavec (2008, 887) state that the intertwining of the normative framework of public journalism, resting on the idea of deliberative democracy, the interactive possibilities of the internet and mobile telephony, and market-driven news making by the press, hardly contributes anything to increasing the emancipation and interaction of the people, let alone interconnects the dynamics of societal life. Moreover, in this context, news relates to what Dahlgren (2009a, 157) calls the "prismatic truth" that as a concept has prevailed in contemporary society. In this sense, there is an absence of common ground in people's reasoning and sense-making, making it difficult for people to participate in democracy – "a tension arises: the prismatic character of social reality confronts monolithic versions of the world" (*ibid.*).

In this sense, the meaning of news in the Slovenian press does not appear to offer a proper answer to overcome heterogeneity, fragmentation and individualisation as emerging characteristics in societal life, as the balance between public responsibility and private profit is steadily tipping in favour of the latter.Specifically, if news is approached from the perspective of "objective" or "watchdog" journalism, Slovenian news making reproduces established power relations and legitimates access to decision-making in the hands of those who have power. If assessing news through the prism of market-driven attempts to empower the audience in news making, it appears increasingly demoralised and powerless in the "cultural chaos" of contemporary journalism (McNair 2003) and in the emerging "multiepistemic order" in late-modern society (Dahlgren 2009a), where tensions between continuity and change decisively shape journalism.

3.3.3 Newswork: Routinised and Contingent

The deterioration of historical materialism after the fall of socialism and the rise of idealism as a prevailing conception in cooperation among people in the new Slovenian state significantly affected the processes of news making and the notion of newswork.Traditional print media organisations, such as *Delo*, *Dnevnik* and *Večer*, transformed from publicly owned enterprises into joint-stock companies through the process of privatisation, in line with a media model characterized by paternalism, commercialisation and nationalism (e.g. Splichal 1994; Bašić Hrvatin *et al.* 2001; Bašić Hrvatin and Petković 2007). "Essentially, this means that no clear differentiation between the state and the market exists, or between political parties and civil society. The state often acts as a political and economic actor," writes Splichal (2001, 52). In this context, the European Federation of Journalists (2006) asserted that these dynamics are manifested in the political-economic "pressures on editorial autonomy" that result from state ownership and the advertising of state-owned companies, the "uncertainty and hard distress" affecting news making and work relations, and the "diminishing basic standards and principles" of journalism and democracy. Additionally, many studies in Slovenia indicate an increased routinisation in news making (e.g. Drame 1994; Košir 1996; Laban 2004; Erjavec and Poler Kovačič 2004; Luthar 2004; Poler Kovačič and Erjavec 2008; Poler Kovačič 2009) and at the same time contingent work relations in the contemporary Slovenian press (e.g. Lubej 2002, Nahtigal 2006; Drakulić 2006; Vobič 2009b).

According to Splichal (2005a), two processes are characteristic of the gathering, assembling and provision of news and characteristic of newswork relations in contemporary

Slovenian journalism. The "industrialization of journalism", which erodes the cognitive nature of newswork and turns it into highly routinised and rationalised news making within contemporary newsrooms, goes hand in hand with the "pauperisation of journalism", which is based on temporary and contingent work relations, providing the basis for redundancies and outsourcing if needed (*ibid.*). These features more or less characterised naturalised automatism in power, property and work relations, resulted in news making being subordinated to capitalist logic (e.g. Splichal 1995; Erjavec and Poler Kovačič 2004; Poler Kovačič and Erjavec 2008), and defined the "imitative revolution" (Splichal 2001), which has ideologically shaped news making according to the concepts of heterogeneity, fragmentation and individualisation and has been expressed in increasingly individualised and risk-laden work relations in the Slovenian press (e.g. Lubej 2002, Nahtigal 2006; Drakulić 2006; Vobič 2009b).

Slovenian media and journalism scholars indicate that, following the profound political, economic and cultural changes, newswork has reemerged as an individual and collective action within editorial process of news making, enforced by the press ownership and its interests (e.g. Splichal 1992, 1995, 2001, 2005; Erjavec 1999; Poler Kovačič 2004a, 2004b, 2005, 2009; Poler Kovačič and Erjavec 2008; Vobič 2009b). In their study, Erjavec and Poler Kovačič (2004) stress that the routinisation of news making in Slovenian press increased between 1990 and 2000, due to economic changes in society and the commercialisation of the press.The use of public relations sources and other institutionalised voices increased in the newspapers *Delo*, *Dnevnik* and *Večer*, and news became based mainly on information subsidies and routine events (*ibid.*), which can be at least to a degree attributed to the principle of objectivity as a central axis in the conception of news in the Slovenian press. Additionally, Poler Kovačič (2004a, 70) similarly asserts that "high routinisation" and the predominance of "elite sources" are characteristic of news making when important issues are being discussed in societal life, reflecting the established roles of Slovenian journalists and in turn reproducing the prevailing models of news and democracy in Slovenia.

The increasingly industrial nature of news making, defined by the routine gathering and assembling of news, is also identified in other studies (e.g. Drame 1994; Košir 1996; Laban 2004; Luthar 2004; Poler Kovačič and Erjavec 2008; Poler Kovačič 2009). However, passive computer-bound routines have become particularly evident in online departments at print media organisations (Oblak Črnič 2007; Vobič 2009b; Poler Kovačič *et al.* 2010), where the shovelling of in-house print content onto news websites, the reassembling of agency news and the translating of news from foreign media are common. News making is enforced by the

management, which is orientated toward rationalisation of newswork, selling the product of news and making a profit (Vobič 2009b). Moreover, according to Poler Kovačič (2005, 85–88), there is a growing belief in the news industry that the press belongs to the owners and not to the public. Newsworkers, in this manner, perform as "butlers to the power-holders" (Poler Kovačič 2004a, 142), since their implied responsibility is to make profit and not to connect people with political life. Through this prism, "the public" towards which journalists pledge "fundamental obligation" (Društvo novinarjev Slovenije 1991) can be regarded as downgraded to a "publicist synonym for the population, some sort of a sum or statistical average, which means the exact opposite to the public" (Splichal 1994, 11).

In the 2000s, market-driven newswork has manifested itself in organisational and structural changes in newsrooms in pursuit of the goals of "rationalisation" and "better human resources solutions" (Vobič 2009b). Print media organisations have started a gradual process of increasing cooperation, collaboration and combination between technologies, staffs, content and spaces between formerly distinct print and online departments (e.g. Vobič 2009b; Borko 2008). However, research in Slovenia implies a range of possible consequences of convergence processes: on the one hand, some studies suggest that newsroom convergence might lead to the strengthening of journalism as a business and the revitalisation of journalism as a public institution (Borko 2008); on the other hand, some works identify fears among journalists that these convergent structural and organisational changes might bring downsizing, redundancies, and having to do more with less staff, budget and resources (Vobič 2009b).

The apparent decline of the cognitive element in news making and newswork highlights the decline in the concept of the active journalist –characteristic of journalism in Central Europe – who sees herself or himself as someone who wants to influence politics (cf. Horvat in Jakubowicz 2007, 323). Furthermore, Slovenia is no exception when it comes to the phenomenon of "atypical newswork", as a result of the rationalisation of news making in the press worldwide (e.g. International Federation of Journalists 2006; Deuze 2008a; Deuze and Marjoribanks 2009; Reinardy 2011).Many expert accounts (e.g. Lubej 2002; Nahtigal 2006; Drakulić 2006) highlight the falling numbers of journalists with regular employment status and the rise of newswork relations that are mainly temporary and contingent, sometimes even without contractual and other stipulated responsibilities for employees and employers beyond the deadline of the respective timeframe, project, story or news item. The journalists' strike in 2004 was "a telling signal of the seriousness of problems in the media sphere", wrote Nahtigal (2007) in a report from the Union of Slovenian Journalists ("Sindikat novinarjev Slovenije").

As newswork in the press is being pauperised, it has become common for Slovenian journalists to work with poor or no social protection due to increasingly contingent working relations, and, as the routinization of news making in the Slovenian press is gaining in its industrial nature, the vulnerability of journalists to commercial and other pressures is becoming normalised. With neither the management, journalists nor the state authorities having either a plan or the will to resolve the situation and reshape these dynamics, "it is by no means an overstatement to call the situation critical" (Nahtigal 2007).

3.4 Slovenian Journalism: Between Continuity and Change

This chapter historically assesses the basic conceptual premises that emerged with larger discontinuities in Slovenian journalism development. On the one hand, it diachronically dissects changes in journalism from the early patterns of the modern Slovenian press to the fall of the socialist paradigm of self-managed journalism.On the other, it synchronically elaborates Slovenian contemporary journalism by surveying the heterogeneity of the societal roles of Slovenian journalists, controversies and responses to the changing articulations between the notions of truthfulness and news, and contemporary negotiations of newswork decisively shaped in late capitalist organisational settings. From this perspective, the chapter shows that it is useful to observe the historical path of Slovenian journalism development in order to better understand the dynamic stratum behind transformations and comprehend the shifting nature of tensions between continuity and change in contemporary journalism. In this sense, the author not only situates contextualised case studies within the larger dynamics of the contemporary media environment, but also elaborates the findings by referring contemporaneity to past developments in Slovenian journalism. In this perspective, the continuously "invented traditions" of Slovenian journalism, as Hobsbawm (1983/1997) would put it, are taken to mean sets of principles and practices normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculculate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past. In other words, the inquiry confirms the findings of previous studies on journalism history from Slovenia (e.g. Jontes 2010; Amon and Erjavec 2011) and elsewhere (e.g. Hardt and Brennen 1995; Hardt 1995, 2005; Carey 2007; Zelizer 2008; Brennen and Hardt 2011a), which say that the development of journalism is not a linear progressive evolution determined by technological progress, but a flow of discontinuities and new beginnings that are oriented toward the future, but at the same time look back at the past.

From this perspective, the dynamics between continuity and change are at the intersections of discussions on the diachronic assessment of Slovenian modern journalism, as well as the synchronic assessment of Slovenian contemporary journalism. On the one hand, diachronic historical inquiry reveals that Slovenian journalism has throughout its development been subjected to the invention of traditions, which occurred when rapid transformations of society weakened or destroyed the social patterns from which "old" traditions had been designed, producing "new" ones to which they were not applicable. On the other hand, synchronic investigation into contemporary Slovenian online journalism reveals changes that do not appear as patterns of new traditions, but are rather designed to facilitate readily definable practical operations and are readily modified to meet changing practical needs.Dynamics in contemporary journalism are not freed of the traditions invented in Slovenian journalism after the fall of socialism, but rather lean on them, as the troubling self-perceptions of journalists are tied to liberal concepts of democracy and citizenship, the specifics of news making are placed within a pragmatic understanding of reality, and the flexibilisation of newswork is in accordance with capitalist automatisation between power, property and work. It is the contrast between constant change and innovation and the attempt to present at least some parts of public life as appearing not to have changed that make the tension between continuity and change an important scholarly endeavor in research into contemporary journalism. In this sense, the chapter not only provides diachronic and synchronic insights into how Slovenian journalists' societal roles, the meanings of news and negotiations of newswork conceptually transformed from the early "industrial period" through to the late "information society" (Amon 2004), but also provides a structural basis to develop a theoretical view for investigating global trends in online journalism at Slovenian print media organizations.

On the basis of a historical overview of journalism development, this part of the chapter provides a synthesis of the dynamics between continuity and change on two interrelated levels which offer recognisable ways to accommodate change through time and place, and facilitate elaboration about the changing nature of the social phenomenon in question. This part discusses processes between the local and the global, on one level, and articulations between journalism and technology, on another, because each enters the conceptual stratum of journalism and its contemporary moment. On the next few pages, the two levels are theoretically reconsidered through the prism of Slovenian journalism history, on the one hand, and in the context of their theoretical usefulness for scientific inquiry into

online journalism, its trends across geographically dispersed locales and its particular manifestations within the boundaries of Slovenian print media, on the other.

First, historical assessment of Slovenian journalism shows that dynamics between continuity and change are embedded in the particular socio-geographical spheres of Slovenian journalism development, which differ according to time and place. From the early patterns of the modern press, combining the universal-imperial and particular-national, till the manifold contingencies of late modern journalism articulated somewhere between the micro-local and the global, the notions of the local, regional, national, transnational and global have changed not only their meanings, but also their referential roles in the evolution of the societal roles of journalists, the meanings of news and negotiations of newswork. Historical inquiry into Slovenian journalism indicates that socio-geographical spheres of journalism evolution have indeed been shaped by larger conceptual frames that defined prevailing conceptions of social action, reality and cooperation among people, on the one hand, and political, economic and cultural realities of the governed (sub- and supra-)entities and their larger terrains, on the other (e.g. Curran and Park 2000; Clausen 2004; Josephi 2005; Downing 2007; Splichal 2012). Within the different socio-geographical spheres that have developed in these dynamics, Slovenian journalism has, over the last 150 years, evolved in the reciprocity between the particularistic and the common. In this sense, universal and particular elements have always coexisted and intertwined within different social, political, economic and cultural transactions across locales. If a diachronic assessment of modern Slovenian journalism indicates that these reciprocal processes in the development of journalists' societal roles, the meanings of news and negotiations of newswork can be conceptually dissected if contextualised, the synchronic assessment of contemporary Slovenian journalism suggests that theoretically pinning down societal processes between the local and the global has become an increasingly difficult task. Over the last two decades, Slovenian journalism has been simultaneously shaped by processes of transition from a socialist system with a particular national pedigree, to a neoliberal capitalism which is global in nature, and by strengthened concepts of heterogeneity, individualisation and fragmentation which utilise unpredictability and instability rather than control and order. From this perspective, it is difficult to picture the socio-geographic sphere, since globalising and localising elements connect non-essentially– they are forged and broken in particular contexts, and, in particular,– they are distinctly manifested across locales. Synchronic assessment of Slovenian contemporary journalism highlights a certain degree of commonness with larger trajectories in journalism in late modern society (e.g. Dahlgren 2009a, 2009b; Hallin 2009; McNair 2009; Schudson 2009a; Lee-Wright *et al.* 2012), yet it

reveals domestication in journalism in accordance with national, cultural and organisational characteristics. Therefore, as signalled in Chapter 2, this dissertation departs from deterministic and universalistic approaches to globalisation and adopts a reciprocal understanding of processes between the (micro-)local and the global, which responds to all kinds of technologically enabled transactions of a social, political, economic and cultural nature between people across once constraining locales which reshape the traditions of journalism's place in political life, the particularities of the social meanings of news, and the specifics of the power-related development of newswork (e.g. Curran and Park 2000; Clausen 2004; Josephi 2005; Downing 2007; Splichal 2012). Such an understanding of the journalism-globalisation relationship enables the researcher to tackle trends in online journalism – from the organisation and structure of online newswork, manifestations of online technologies in news making, to self-perceptions of online journalists – not as universal in character and scope but rather nationally, culturally and organisationally particular in their manifestations.

Second, the historical assessment of Slovenian journalism shows that articulations between journalism and technology have played an important part in conceptual changes in how journalists operate, how news is made and how newswork is executed, and shows journalism's relationship to its traditional bonds. From the early patterns of division between intellectual and manual work in Slovenian journalism in the latter part of the 19th century, through to the late modern flexibilisation of newswork characterised by multiskilling and multitasking, technological innovation enabled the press to make not only more news for less money, but also to do it more quickly. From this perspective, historical assessment suggests that the main uses of technology in Slovenian journalism have been enabling, but not necessarily triggering the gradual acceleration of news making, the greater productivity of newsworkers and the transforming nature of social communication at large. The articulations between journalism and technology are indeed, on the one hand, tied to prevailing conceptions of the world and cooperation among people, and, on the other hand, emerge in particular societal contexts (e.g. Williams 1974/2005; Domingo 2006, 2008). Further, diachronic and synchronic assessments of Slovenian journalism reaffirm that the history of journalism does not correspond to a linear evolutional model and is not the result of technologically determined progress, but rather reveals that connections between journalism and technology are particular and non-essential, as ideas and objectives can be forged, broken and constructed again in particular circumstances as they vary in their tenacity according to context. For instance, during the period of socialist self-management in Yugoslavia, articulations between journalism and technology, at least in principle, critically assessed the

relationship between power and control, on the one hand, and the division of labour and property, on the other. Meanwhile, contemporary journalism-technology connections ascribed to the mutual dynamics between power, property and newswork are naturalised, defining and legitimising journalists as particular social actors. However, despite these conceptual differences, articulations between journalism and technology emerged from the early modern Slovenian press onwards, embedded in newswork that was realised as an individual and collective action in the editorial processes defined and enforced by the press ownership – whether private, state or societal. Thus, throughout history, Slovenian journalists operated in societal and technological conditions that defined their roles as producers of specific images and appeals rather than as the independent progressive forces of political and cultural enlightenment. In this perspective, it appears obvious that the scholarly view of technological determinism is unsatisfactory, because technology does not follow a predetermined course of development, but is context-related. Therefore, as indicated in Chapter 1 and more profoundly elaborated in Chapter 4, this dissertation adopts a technological-constructivist approach to the journalism-technology relationship, suggesting that innovation is a contradictory and uncertain process that is not about rational-technical problem-solving, but is rather a product of a particular social system (e.g. Deuze 2007; Domingo 2008; Örnebring 2010). Such an approach appears to be useful for analysing the relationship between journalism and the web, enabling the author to move beyond universalistic, simplified and deterministic conclusions when investigating the changing faces of trends in online journalism and their manifestations in a particular context. On the basis of synchronic assessment, one can argue that there is a certain degree of similarity between Slovenian contemporary journalism and the larger trajectories of journalism-technology articulations across locales, particularly in the case of online journalism (e.g. Paterson and Domingo 2008; Boczkowski 2009; Deuze 2009a; Örnebring 2010; Meikele and Redden 2011; Domingo and Paterson 2011), from greater workload and more pressures for (online) journalists, the normalisation of multitasking and multiskilling in (online) news making, more contingent identity processes among print and online journalists, to increasingly flexible and risk-laden work relations for (online) journalists.

The two-level discussion on the history of Slovenian journalism indicates that tensions between continuity and change have accompanied transformations in the societal roles of journalists, the meanings of news and negotiations of newswork throughout journalism's development. The nature of these tensions has varied throughout history not only on the empirical level, where certain sets of principles and practices have been instilled as traditional

by repetition while implying a connection with the past, but also on the conceptual level, where different concepts of history, change and progress have significantly reshaped the terrains on which reconceptualisations of journalism occurred.

Thus, on the one hand, the diachronic and synchronic intersections indicate that traditions within Slovenian journalism have been constantly reconstructed, reinstituted and re-established. They have emerged with larger societal discontinuities that have radically broken with the past and paved the way to a renewed beginning. For instance, socialist journalism in Slovenia broke with the past, which was wedded to idealistic conceptions of the world and cooperation among people, and paved the way to a new conceptual beginning for Slovenian journalism, by establishing and institutionalising historical materialism as a common denominator in conceptualisations of journalism, news and newswork. On the other hand, historical assessment of Slovenian journalism shows that concepts of history, change and progress, which have been tied to prevailing conceptions of reality, developed distinctly in different historical periods and in turn provided differing definitions of the conceptual grounds for shaping the prevailing societal roles of journalists, shaping the established meanings of news and naturalising certain negotiations of newswork. For example, with the fall of the socialist system, the prevailing dialectical conception of reality, in which historical change occurs through a process of internal and external conflicts and the transformation of one form to another, has been substituted in Slovenian contemporary journalism by a pragmatic understanding of reality, in which the method of verification refers to what is to come, what does not exist, but can be perceived as being brought into being.

From this perspective, this dissertation adopts a constructivist approach to tensions between continuity and change, and approaches the respective transformative dynamics as embedded in a social web of interpretation and reinterpretation. Such an approach appears to be useful for studying contemporary journalism, where tensions between continuity and change appear to be more intense than before (e.g. Zelizer 2009a, Dahlgren 2009b; Lee-Wright *et al.* 2012), because it emphasises that, at every stage of change, there are alternative paths available and the ones that succeed are understood only if scholars analyse why and how they prevailed over the ones that were left behind (e.g. Paterson and Domingo 2008; Boczkowski 2009; Deuze 2009a; Örnebring 2010; Meikele and Redden 2011; Domingo and Paterson 2011). Indeed, a synchronic assessment of Slovenian contemporary journalism indicates that changes are tied to recently invented traditions embedded in liberal concepts of democracy and citizenship, a pragmatic understanding of reality and capitalist automatisation between power, property and work. In this sense, constructivist inquiry into tensions between

continuity and change are crucial to a better understanding of the heterogeneity of journalists' societal roles, controversies surrounding and responses to the meaning of news, which is hard to grasp, and increasingly flexible newswork.

In Slovenia (e.g. Oblak Črnič 2007; Poler Kovačič and Erjavec 2008; Vobič 2009a, 2010, 2011; Poler Kovačič *et al*. 2010) and elsewhere (e.g. Paterson and Domingo 2008; Boczkowski 2009; Deuze 2009a; Mitchelstein and Boczkowski 2009; Örnebring 2010; Meikele and Redden 2011; Domingo and Paterson 2011), the rise of the internet, most notably the web, has reopened debates on how to wrestle with tradition in journalism inquiry, what the causes are that need to be reflected upon, and what means old journalism paradigms should be rejected and new ones should be embraced. Thus, the recontextualisation of technology occurring in online journalism requires scholars to explore some fundamental issues that seem to be at the intersection of continuity and change – who journalists are in the contemporary media environment, what meanings of news are constructed online, how online news making corresponds to the external world, and how online newswork gets negotiated in different organisational settings.

The discussion on the dynamics between continuity and change in the context of globalisation and recontextualisation of technology is useful for understanding how the tradition of journalism has been reinvented throughout history. Additionally, this discussion might be used to elaborate transformations of online journalism and to find out whether "new" traditions are being invented, or we are witnessing only the "old" ones being adapted. From this perspective, according to the research focuses presented in Chapter 1, this dissertation has to analytically renegotiate its analytical position by switching between the elements of structure and subjectivity, when examining online journalism trends across geographically dispersed locales in Chapter 4 and examining the particular manifestations of these trends within the boundaries of the Slovenian print media in Chapter 6. Furthermore, since historical assessment of Slovenian journalism appears to be at the intersections between the local and the global, technology and journalism, and continuity and change, theoretical reconsiderations of these dynamics are necessary to building a solid methodological framework for the study in Chapter 5, particularly because the dissertation attempts to adopt a multidisciplinary approach towards manifestations of global trends in online journalism in the Slovenian print media.

4. GLOBAL PERSPECTIVES: TRENDS IN ONLINE JOURNALISM

Defining online journalism and its changing faces is an immensely difficult task, due to the conceptual complexity of notions of journalism, news and newswork, which appear even more difficult to grasp within contemporary processes between the local and the global and because of recent rearticulations between technology and journalism. However, media and journalism scholars (e.g. Boczkowski 2004a; Salwen *et al.* 2005; Deuze 2007; Paterson and Domingo 2008; Mitchelstein and Boczkowski 2009; Tunney and Monaghan 2010; Meikele and Redden 2011; Domingo and Paterson 2011) more or less agree that it is a global phenomenon shaped by articulations between journalism tradition and particular technological changes in politically, economically and culturally specific local contexts that appear to be profoundly reshaping journalism across the world. The technological basis of online journalism today is the internet, which connects millions of computers together worldwide, forming a network in which any computer can communicate with others as long as they are all connected to "the network of networks" (Carlson 2003, 48–49), but the outcomes of the relationship between the internet and journalism are not uniform, but rather multiform in transactions between the local, national, transnational and global.

The "operating" definition of online journalism adopted by many early researchers (e.g. Bardoel 1996; Deuze 1999, 2003; Welch 2000), as journalism produced more or less exclusively for the internet, and primarily for its graphic interface the web, appears insufficient and not particularly helpful to researchers.It reduces online journalism to its technological foundation and neglects a variety of political, economic and cultural relations which shape multiple competing and overlapping manifestations of this complex social phenomenon. In later works, media and journalism scholars (e.g. Boczkowski 2004a; Paterson and Domingo 2008; Zelizer 2009b; Dahlgren 2009b; Fenton 2010a; Tunney and Monaghan 2010; Meikele and Redden 2011; Domingo and Paterson 2011) have placed more stress on the societal realities of news making and its research, and suggested that one should bear in mind that the specifics of journalism for the web which appear are consequences of certain economic and technological developments, as they are attached to certain cultural and political formations. Nevertheless, the large amount of literature that has focused on online journalism has failed to form a consensus, let alone lay out an integrated theory of journalism that would enable researchers to link macro or structural, medium or organisational, and micro or individual levels of journalism in their studies.

As suggested by the review of studies dealing with the question of what online journalism stands for (e.g. Bardoel 1996; Dahlgren 1996; Sparks 1996; Deuze 1999, 2003, 2007; Welch 2000; Pavlik 1999, 2001, 2008; Kopper *et al.* 2000; Deuze and Dimoudi 2002; Boczkowski 2004a; Salwen *et al. 2*005; Allan 2006; Domingo 2006, 2008a; Lowery and Latta 2008; Mitchelstein and Boczkowski 2009; Preston 2009; Quinn 2009; Paterson and Domingo 2008; Rosenberry and St. John III 2010; Fenton 2010a; Meikele and Redden 2011; Domingo and Paterson 2011), scholarly understanding of the notion arises primarily out of the approach to the dynamics of the journalism-internet relationship, which frames how historically developed traditions of journalism and the political, economic and cultural realities of news and newswork are being incorporated within it, something that becomes increasingly complicated in a time of globalisation. This dissertation attempts to develop in that direction as it moves away from technologically-deterministic and functional-systemic approaches toward a complementary perspective on the forces of structure and agency, a constructivist approach to the role of technology in journalism, and a reciprocal understanding of articulations between the global and the local. This enables the author to produce a more inclusive design for the theoretical elaboration needed to examine the complex connections between journalism and the web, which are particular and non-essential, as ideas and objectives can be forged, broken and constructed again in particular circumstances, since they vary in their tenacity within a variety of articulations between continuity and change.

However, according to Domingo (2008a, 15), the scholarly agenda in the field of online journalism has been globally dominated by studies produced in the United States, "partly because of the leading and referential role of the country in the development of the internet". As a result, argues Domingo (*ibid.*), studies in Europe and Asia have usually followed similar theoretical groundings and methodological frameworks as they evolved in literature coming from the United States. Further, by taking into account Josephi's (2005, 575) ascertainment that media and journalism studies only reluctantly acknowledge conceptions of journalism, participation and power other than the Anglo-American, the outlook appears to be dim indeed, particularly from the global perspective. However, literature review suggests that the prevailing ways of researching online journalism have been transforming significantly from the 1990s and have emerged from being rather uniform and universalistic to being more exclusive and context-oriented.Specifically, three waves of research in online journalism can be identified, which reflect particular approaches to the role of technology in journalism and specific paradigms of globalisation: technological-

reductionist normative studies, technological-reductionist empirical studies, and technological-constructivist studies.

Much of the research in the 1990s concentrated on building up ideal-typical models of online news deriving from utopian and dystopian visions of online journalism almost solely based on the technological features of the internet (e.g. Bardoel 1996; McNair 1998; Deuze 1999; Pavlik 1999; Welch 2000). According to Domingo (2008a, 16), these authors of the first wave tend to overstate the revolutionary nature of the internet, most notably the web, persuaded by the technological determinism that is inherent to capitalist societies since the industrial revolution. In this light, Deuze (2003, 206), departing from his initial technological-deterministic stance, suggests that these prevailing utopian and dystopian discourses of the internet's unique characteristics define online journalism as something different to the rest of journalism in a global perspective – as a "fourth kind" of journalism, next to print, radio and television journalism. These normative and prospective debates on online journalism, which at times use, as Dahlgren (1996, 60) notes, rather deterministic "ready-to-wear" attitudes toward the journalism-technology relationship, carry with them two specific globalisation paradigms. On the one hand, utopian visions emphasise not least the use of the internet for the revitalisation of journalism, for reconnecting news and the public, and for enhancing democracy and participation, and carry the media-technological paradigm of globalisation by producing a rather progressive understanding of technology and neglecting the process of internalisation of technology in news making and traditional aspects of journalism in specific societal contexts. On the other hand, dystopian visions debate the possibility of the disappearance of journalism as practiced by traditional media organizations, underscore the use of the internet by various political and economic power-holders to maintain their positions, and focus on the political-economic paradigm of globalisation by stressing that journalism is starting to navigate between its vertical orientation, aligned with its local and national traditions, and a horizontal perspective mimicking the broader political-economic solutions of global capitalism. In this regard, the first wave of research into online journalism concentrated on prospective analysis and provided utopian/dystopian and normative statements about what online journalism should be – on the one hand, they are useful for delineating paths of change for journalism, but, on the other hand, they are unrealistic in describing the ideal models as necessary outcomes of online journalism (Domingo 2008a, 16).

During the second wave, many studies of online journalism tested rather technological-reductionist ideal-typical prospects of online journalism and, mostly on the basis of news website analysis and surveys, denounced that journalism was not living up to

the potential of the internet (e.g. Massey and Levy 1999; Deuze 2001; Deuze and Dimoudi 2002; Engebretsen 2003; Gordon 2003, 2004; Deuze *et al.* 2004; Oblak 2005). These authors adopt a technological-reductionist discourse by stating that there is a "gap" between normative ideals and the reality of journalism, or that there is a "lack" of ideal hypertextual, interactive and multimedia features in online news. For instance, Deuze *et al.* (2004) reveal the divide between how surveyed online journalists perceive the potentials of the internet and how they use its features when gathering, assembling and providing news. Further, many scholars claim that news websites do not offer any specifics particular to online communication in their timely assessments of social reality. According to Domingo (2008a, 16) many researchers understood this result as an underdevelopment of online journalism and assumed that the ideal model would eventually be achieved. Already in the 1990s, there were critics of the reductionist approach to the journalism-internet relationship who were calling for a more sober approach (e.g. Dahlgren 1996; Cottle and Ashton 1999), and in the 2000s these critical voices became louder, rejecting technological reductionism and determinism in favour of more nuanced explanations and placing technology in its political, economic and cultural contexts (e.g. Boczkowski 2004a; Deuze 2007; Paterson and Domingo 2008; Tunney and Monaghan 2010). These authors stress the need for reorientation in online journalism research by suggesting, as Domingo (2008a, 16) acknowledges, that the striking phenomenon of journalists embracing the ideal model but not being able to make it work could not be explained by the theoretical grounding inspired by technological determinism and accompanying globalisation paradigms, or the methodological framework of content analysis or quantitative surveys.

The third wave of research into online journalism can be labelled as technological-constructivist, since researchers within it opt for theories that question the initial technological-deterministic research and that understand the journalism-internet relationship as a mutual shaping, and adopt qualitative methods to investigate and explain the reality of online journalism, news and newswork (e.g. Boczkowski 2004a; Domingo 2006; Deuze 2007; Paterson and Domingo 2008; Tunney and Monaghan 2010; Fenton 2010a; Domingo and Paterson 2011; Meikele and Redden 2011). According to Domingo (2008a, 16–17), this wave is a shift from the others in at least three ways: first, the object of study changes from effects to the process of innovation, with a constructivist perspective on technology rather than deterministic; second, the ideal-typical models are seen more as an external factor than as a predetermined destination of online journalism; and third, researchers opt to investigate specific cases to get closer to news making in online departments in order to be able to

describe the context and dynamics of the development of online journalism in specific historical and societal circumstances. Thus, in the study of how journalism has transformed online, Deuze (2007: 153) states: "Technology is not an independent factor influencing journalistic work from outside, but must be seen in terms of implementation, and how it extends and amplifies previous ways of doing things." By taking into account the global nature of the internet and the global outlook of online journalism, these technological-constructivist studies carry the paradigm of globalisation, which moves away from determined technological progress, and suggests that global political, economic and cultural flows are multidirectional and that the development of online journalism is being reconstructed and reorganised between the global and the local. According to Domingo (2006, 2008a, 2008b) and Boczkowski (2004a, 2004b), historicising and localising online journalism and understanding the journalism-internet relationship as an open process unlock the assumption that the ideal-typical models are necessary goals and help explain the processes through which journalists in different settings define their work and the societal meaning of its outcomes – that is, by highlighting the diversity or explaining the homogeneity.

Despite the fact that the third path in online journalism research is still far from becoming central (Domingo 2008a), the emerging consensus among media and journalism scholars worldwide appears to be to reject deterministic explanations and instead propose that technological innovations are mediated and shaped by the initial conditions and contextual characteristics of journalism (Scott 2005), and that online journalism inquiries should be multidisciplinary in scope in order to draw upon and contribute to various theoretical sources (Boczkowski 2011). Thus, this dissertation attempts to supplement the third wave of investigations by designing a multidisciplinary, theoretically integrative and historically informed study of online journalism, on the one hand, and multi-methodologically examining trends in Slovenian online journalism as caught in the transactions between the local and the global levels, on the other.

This chapter reviews a vast array of literature on online journalism that is based on rather different theoretical positions, and identifies trends in the theoretical reconsiderations and empirical findings of media and journalism scholars that have articulated between the local, national, transnational and global. In this regard, it focuses on online newswork in terms of its historical development across a larger part of the world, newsroom organisation and structure, the logic of online news and the roles of online journalists, and places it in the perspective of online journalism research conducted in Slovenia. However, one can regard the trends identified as global only to a degree, since most of the literature deals with selected

phenomena in North America, Europe and partly in Asia and South America, leaving some parts of the world underexplored or researched only from some perspectives. Nevertheless, the syntheses in the next four parts rest on the work of scholars from various countries with different theoretical approaches and with a diverse focus of inquiry.

The first part identifies broader trends in the historical evolution of online newswork on the basis of an overview of the studies with a primarily critical-economic perspective, and assesses them through the prisms of sociological studies of editorial workflow, the processes of gathering, assembling and providing news, and work relations. The second part overviews contemporary transformations in traditions of newsroom organization and structure, and discusses their implications for newswork by analysing scholarly works that predominantly adopt a social-organisational approach to online newswork. The third part assesses the emerging logic of online news in regards to relations among online journalists, their sources and the audience, by reviewing literature from all three waves of online journalism research – the reductionist normative approach, technological-reductionist empirical studies and the technological-constructivist stance, often borrowing from sociology and cultural studies. The fourth part of the chapter synthesises discussions on the roles of online journalists within the journalism of traditional media organisations and online communication in the broader sense, by borrowing from research based close to political science, on the one hand, and cultural analysis, on the other. Each part has a discussion section that elaborates the research on respective issues conducted in Slovenia, identifies a research gap and sets the research question.

4.1 Online Newswork: Historical Development

As online systems have gradually expanded from the 1980s onwards and have been institutionalised as an alternative for the making, providing and receiving of news over the next decades, scholarship on online journalism has also increased and consolidated worldwide (e.g. Kopper *et al.* 2000; Carlson 2003; Deuze 2003; Boczkowski 2004a; Garrison 2005; Scott 2005; Greer and Mensing 2006; Pavlik 2008; Mitchelstein and Boczkowski 2009). Yet, there has been a lack of comprehensive assessments of what research has learned about online newswork through the perspective of the last three decades. Therefore, this part of the chapter attempts to overcome a lack of comprehensive historical inquiry into online newswork by basing an overview on insights into online journalism from different time-laps in order to recapture how the evolution of online newswork took place, most notably in Europe and

North America, and what were the decisive factors steering the course of online journalism at traditional print media organisations.

According to those media and journalism scholars who historically explore online journalism (e.g. Kopper *et al.* 2000; Kawamoto 2003b; Boczkowski 2004a; Scott 2005; Pavlik 2008), the importance to traditional media organizations of competitive dynamics arising out of online systems has been related to particular reactive, defensive and pragmatic traits. In this sense, print media organisations have developed online news operations as a reaction to prior moves by new competitors rather than by proactively seeking new horizons. According to these authors, who in these particular studies primarily took a critical-economic approach, traditional print media organisations have defended their existing territory rather than conquered new turf while exploring, settling and consolidating online.Print media organisations have enacted particular policies of innovation that have led them to react to social and technical developments rather than more proactively contributing to these developments, focus on protecting the print franchise in the media market rather than on prioritising non-print publishing, and emphasise smaller, rather than less certain, long-term benefits. Or, as Pavlik (2008, 3) asserts: "Like cautious penguins, media executives most commonly prefer to let others test the waters first rather than risk diving in and becoming a quick meal for a killer whale." Moreover, according to Boczkowski (2004a), Carlson (2003), Scott (2005) and Pavlik (2008), the actions of the press have been pragmatically centred on making a short-term profit rather than more idealistically pursuing opportunities that could only be realised in the longer term. In this context, by partly combining the political economy perspective with the social organisation of newswork and cultural analysis, online newswork evolved in the three decades of its existence in a way that can be characterised as reactive rather than proactive, as defensive rather than progressive, and as pragmatic rather than idealistic.

The discussion on the historical evolution of online newswork from the 1980s onwards, which has been at the intersections between the local and the global, and between technology and journalism, has a dual purpose: first, to reconsider this area of inquiry during these years of growth in research output; second, to reflect on what has happened in these three decades in order to develop ways of approaching online newswork and to chart possible paths of future inquiry. On the basis of literature review (e.g. Lasica 1997, 1998; Deuze 1999; 2003, 2007, 2008; Kawamoto 2003b; Boczkowski 2004a, 2004b, 2009; Scott 2005; Klinenberg 2005; Deuze and Marjoribanks 2009; Paterson and Domingo 2008; Dahlgren 2009a, 2009b; Mitchelstein and Boczkowski 2009; Tunney and Monaghan 2010), four

aspects of the dynamics between continuity and change in online newswork have attracted most of the attention in scholarly research: modifications in editorial workflow, alterations in the dynamics of gathering, assembling and providing online news, changes in the relationship between print and online departments at print media organisations, and the shifting of the work relations in which online journalists operate. Therefore, these aspects of changes form the primary focus in this part of the text. Three periods in the historical evolution of online newswork can be identified by taking into consideration the four aspects of changes in the press: the first one was the period during which online systems were explored, including audiotex, videotex, fax and computer bulletin boards, and settling on the web [mid-1980s–mid-1990s]; the second period was a time of hedging between online performance and the emergence of specific newswork within traditional print media organisations [mid-1990s–early 2000s]; and the third period can be described as the time of the convergence of newswork in traditional print media organisations, bringing diversity into the editorial workflow, the dynamics of gathering, assembling and providing online news, the relationship between print and online and the nature of work relations [early 2000s–].

4.1.1 Exploring and Settling: Online Newswork from the Mid-1980s to the Mid-1990s

As media and journalism research indicates (e.g. Pryor 2002; Carlson 2003; Boczkowski 2004a; Scott 2005; Li 2006), the mid-1980s and early 1990s were exploratory years for North American and European print media organisations' efforts to appropriate non-print delivery platforms, which in turn had consequences for how news was made and how newswork was conducted. If Boczkowski's (2004a) words are used, from the "exploring" of various technologies, such as videotex, audiotex and fax, in the mid-1980s, to "settling on the web" in the mid-1990s, print media organisations pursued short-term market feasibility and considered what new technologies might bring to printed newspapers – not only in terms of business but also in regards to editorial workflow, the dynamics of news making, occupational changes and institutional mindset (cf. Kopper *et al.* 2000; Carlson 2003; Boczkowski 2004a; Scott 2005; Li 2006).

The tasks for the first online newsworkers at traditional print media organisations were thought to be mostly of a "technical nature", "files were to be imported, converted, sorted and arranged", acknowledge Colson and Heinderyckx (2008, 143).Specifically, in the early years of traditional media organizations' online engagement, most online content was simply taken from print and transformed into an online presentation in a more or less suitable way (Kopper

et al. 2000, 507). According to Pavlik (2008, 105), two ways of adapting news for online distribution emerged. On the one hand, it might entail as little as formatting news for an online platform; for instance, for text document online distribution, new online newsworkers created a fixed-form portable version parallel to the analogue version of the document. On the other hand, news was repurposed but adapted to display features unique to the online environment; for instance, online newsworkers inserted photos when repurposing news for videotex in the late 1980s or incorporating hyperlinks when adapting content for the web in the mid-1990s.

These processes, which were relatively simple and inexpensive (Pavlik 2008, 106), were known as "shovelling" and "windowing" previously published news in the print edition (Kawamoto 2003a, 6), which did not fully tap into the interactive potential that online platforms offered – from videotex onwards, which is regarded as "the forerunner of all of today's online systems" (Carlson 2003, 35). Hence, within "new media divisions" (Kawamoto 2003a, 6), two significant trends emerged in the 1980s and early 1990s: very limited original content and low appropriation of user-authored material (Boczkowski 2004a, 33–34). Thus, preparing and editing the already published print news was mainly "a technical occupation", executed either by technical personnel with some rudimentary journalistic capabilities or journalists with a special interest and some experience in online technologies (Kopper *et al.* 2000, 507). Lasica (1998) also notes that online newswork was mainly conducted entirely separatly from the print editorial workflow, and indicates that traditional media organisations tended to put their teams of online news "shovellers" into "small back rooms": "Walk into the newsroom of almost any newspaper and here's what you won't see: online journalists. That's because online operations have been ghettoized – shunted off into a far-flung no-man's-land." (*ibid.*) Furthermore, these units of online newsworkers operated in more or less flexible work relations, since, for the most part, they were not exclusively dedicated to this work, but were in many cases employed or hired primarily for other tasks within media organisations and were asked to do this work additionally. In this regard, Colson and Heinderyckx (2008, 143) write that staffers had to be mostly redeployed to take on the tasks associated with the media organisation's online engagement.

Hence, the 1980s was a decade of "enthusiasm" (Pavlik 2008, 35) and "exploration" for traditional print media organisations wishing to extend beyond ink on paper, which in the 1990s was coupled with reactive and defensive pragmatism in online engagement (Boczkowski 2004a, 32).The lack of commercial success was the decisive factor which prevented the continued evolution and expansion of many videotex, audiotex and fax

initiatives (Pavlik 2008, 35), and the delivery of content and applications to personal computers connected to the internet via the web achieved a dominant status in the mid-1990s, and then the newspaper industry reacted (Boczkowski 2004a, 42). In the early 1990s, the websites of traditional print media organisations were merely places to introduce the newspaper or just claim its web presence (Li 2006, 2).

However, with the extensive rise of the web, and with the print media industry settling their online activities onto it, many things changed in terms of editorial workflow, the dynamics of gathering, assembling and providing online news, the relationship between print and online, and online newswork relations in the latter half of 1990s, when print media organisations in North America, Europe and Asia extended their franchise beyond ink on paper via the web (Kopper *et al.* 2000; Kawamoto 2003b; Boczkowski 2004a; Li 2006; Pavlik 2008). In this context, for instance, Colson and Heinderyckx (2008, 143) stress, as the interfaces grew in complexity and the expectations of the audience grew in sophistication, the skills required to maintain an online presence outgrew the technical nature of online news making and overcame the completely separate editorial workflow of online departments. However, writes Boczkowski (2004a, 19), traditional media organisations' settling on the web was a development-oriented activity illuminating how social and technological options continue to unfold after the emergence of a dominant alternative, which did not by itself mean the shaping of a new branch of journalists, establishing themselves separate to radio, print or television journalists – neither in terms of editorial work flow, news making routines, institutional status nor work relations.

4.1.2 Hedging: Online Newswork from the Mid-1990s to the Early 2000s

Although the online news of traditional media organisations has moved from the periphery of public life to the centre (e.g. Singer 2005; Robinson 2006; Preston 2009), a common and salient feature across the whole range of practices and principles in the period from the mid-1990s to the early 2000s was the uncertainty the news industry faced about most of the elements constituting their online presence, from what to make to how to do it, and from who should do it to how to evaluate their performance (e.g. Kopper *et al.* 2000; Boczkowski 2004a; Scott 2005; Deuze 2007; Pavlik 2008; Mitchelstein and Boczkowski 2009). For instance, Scott (2005, 97) writes that between 1995 and 2000 was the time of "the dot-com boom", when "almost everyone in the news business went online, and almost no one made any money". As a response to uncertainty in a volatile operating environment, according to

Boczkowski (2004a, 67–69) "hedging" was adopted by the news industry worldwide as a form of taking compensatory measures to spread risks in a contingent technological and economic context. Consequently, multi-directional strategies are evident in online editorial workflow, the processes of gathering, assembling and providing news, the relationship between print and online departments, and work relations.

Many media and journalism scholars (Lasica 1997, 1998; Kopper *et al.* 2000; Deuze *et al.* 2004; Scott 2005; Deuze 2007; Pavlik 2008; Mitchelstein and Boczkowski 2009) indicate that, in the latter half of the 1990s, most online departments at traditional media organisations were located elsewhere in the building, city or even country. On this issue, Deuze *et al. (*2004) acknowledge that, as online departments were mostly organised separately from their partner institutions, these units emerged as quite distinct in terms of principles and practices. An emerging debate over whether to converge online journalists into the main print newsroom or to continue nurturing a separate workspace for them brought two context-related organisational and structural consequences: in the latter half of the 1990s, European print media organisations were inclined to see their online activities and departments as separate from the print editorial workflow, with little or no communication between the online editors and other departments of the media organisation (Deuze and Dimoudi 2002, 97), whereas in North America there were signs of centralising newsroom organization and the sharing of common operations for print editions and news websites (Kopper *et al.* 2000, 508). These differences were not surprising if observed through the traditions of centralised newsrooms in North America and the decentralised organisation and structure of newswork in Central Europe (cf. Esser 1998; Wilke 2003; Deuze 2007).

Online departments were mostly populated by newcomers, less experienced journalists and contingent employees (e.g. Marjoribanks 2003; Deuze *et al.* 2004; Deuze 2007). Their accounts of their work contain indications of the "deterioration of the working conditions of journalists" (Deuze 2007, 147), especially within online departments: lower wages, less job security and more contingent work relations, that is, variable hours, job rotation and flexible timetables. There are, however, signs that editors within these institutionally isolated but relatively autonomous groups of people were becoming employed regularly and full-time (cf. Deuze and Dimoudi 2002). Multi-directional strategies are not evident only in work relations within online departments, but also in terms of how newsworkers within them gather, assemble and provide news. Generally, as media and journalism scholars mostly agree (e.g. Kopper *et al.* 2000; Deuze and Dimoudi 2002; Boczkowski 2004a; Deuze 2007; Pavlik 2008), in the second half of the 1990s, online

journalists at traditional media organisations were surfing the web, (re)writing news and handling their e-mail correspondence almost exclusively, which made their work largely medium-driven and meant that they were regarded by some as "technologists" (Robinson 2006).

However, more profound analysis of the empirical research shows the variety in news making which emerged within online departments at traditional print media organisations: adapting, recombining and recreating. First, adapting, also called "re-editing" (Kopper *et al.* 2000), "shoveling" (Kawamoto 2003a), "reproducing" (Pogash 1996), "repurposing" (Boczkowski 2004a) or "revisioning" (Erdal 2007) refers to taking news made primarily for the print edition and deploying it almost unchanged onto the news website, which was, according to Boczkowski (2004a, 55), the dominant newswork process on the North American, European and Asian websites of traditional print media from the mid-1990s to the early 2000s. Second, recombining, also named "recycling" (Kopper *et al.* 2000) or "aggregating" (Deuze 2003), in the literature refers to news making processes that took news originally and primarily intended for a printed newspaper and increasing its utility on the web by adding new and timely information from other online media or news agencies. Third, recreating, also known as "original news designed for the web" (Pavlik 2008), stands for a process of news making primarily for the web, regardless of the level of activity or passivity of newsworkers when gathering information from news sources and assembling it in the newsroom or in the field, which was predominant in the 1990s (cf. Kopper *et al.* 2000; Boczkowski 2004a; Scott 2005).

In any case, at the time of hedging, from the mid-1990s to the early 2000s, there were also changes in online journalism that appear strategically mono-directional – the principle of immediacy as one of the central principles, and speeding up online news making (e.g. Lasica 1997; Deuze 1999; Kopper *et al.* 2000; Scott 2005).As Scott (2005) writes, editors implemented an almost 24-hour news cycle, publishing breaking news instantly, scooping print and broadcast sources and their "slow" news making process – often at the expense of accuracy and quality (cf. Lasica 1998) and with a lack of hypertextual, interactive and multimedia material (cf. Domingo 2006). As a response to this particular environment, the intensification of online news making and the mediation of monitoring of other news websites and offline media indicated the emergence of the still prevailing "risk-averse editorial decision-making" and the "expansion of mimicry" in online news making (Boczkowski 2009, 61).

Hence, in the late 1990s, a parallel news flow was emerging alongside the print newsroom – with its own news making routines, editorial policy and identity. In this regard, Colson and Heinderyckx (2008, 144) acknowledge online newswork is going through a transition, as "staff assigned to the management of the online presence was unquestionably dealing with a number of tasks and responsibilities of a near-journalistic nature". Therefore, some authors argue a "new trade" (Colson and Heinderyckx 2008), a "new breed" (Deuze and Dimoudi 2002) or a "new type" (Deuze 2003) was emerging in traditional media organisations, that of online journalists. However, the emerging global trend of convergence processes in traditional media organisations (cf. Boczkowski 2004a; Klinenberg 2005; Scott 2005; Deuze 2007; Quinn 2009; Mitchelstein and Boczkowski 2009) and "we-are-all-journalists-now" debates (cf. Friend and Singer 2007; Dahlgren 2009b; Couldry 2010; Nip 2010; Robinson 2010; Hudson and Temple 2010) challenge the lasting nature of these conclusions.

4.1.3 Flexibilising: Online Newswork from the Early 2000s Onwards

Processes of flexibilising have been a long-term feature of management-led strategies in large traditional media organizations, but there are indications that they have intensified in recent years due to the gradual advancement of technologies used in the gathering, assembling and provision of news, challenges to traditional relations between journalists, sources and the audience, and the continuing unease in (inter)national print media markets (e.g. Boczkowski 2004a; Klinenberg 2005; Salwen *et al.* 2005; Scott 2005; Deuze 2007; Dahlgren 2009a, 2009b; Quinn 2009; Mitchelstein and Boczkowski 2009). "Essentially, what is happening in the world of online journalism today is a shakeout," writes Scott (2005, 100), who suggests that, from the early 2000s onwards, the trend of flexibilisation has spurred convergence processes in traditional media organisations in North America, Europe and Asia, that is, bringing together technologies, processes, staffers, content and workspaces from previously separate print and online departments. Media and journalism scholars stress that the managers of traditional media organisations tend to propagate that converging news making brings "better" journalism in terms of making more quality news for multiple platforms faster and cheaper through collaboration across departments, whereas empirical research emphasises various and more contingent context-related outcomes (e.g. Boczkowski 2004a; Quinn 2004; Klinenberg 2005; Scott 2005; Deuze 2007; Pavlik 2008; Paterson and Domingo 2008; Preston 2009; Reinardy 2011).A cross-section of works on processes of convergence in traditional

print media organisations suggests important changes in online newswork: from greater workload and more pressures for online journalists (cf. Scott 2005; Preston 2009; Reinardy 2011), the normalisation of multitasking and multiskilling in news making (Boczkowski 2004a; Klinenberg 2005; Pavlik 2008), more contingent identity processes among print and online journalists (cf. Paterson and Domingo 2008; Sarrica *et al. 2*010), to increasingly flexible and risk-laden work relations (Deuze 2007; Deuze and Majroribanks 2009).

From the 2000s onwards, economic visions of online journalism have been accompanied by social-organisational investigations into the process of newsroom convergence and different models and outcomes in terms of spatial arrangement, division of work and editorial control in reorganised and restructured newsrooms (e.g. Boczkowski 2004a; Deuze 2004, 2007; Klinenberg 2005; Scott 2005; Avilés and Carvajal 2008; Paterson and Domingo 2008; Quinn 2009; Avilés *et al.* 2009). These processes challenge the traditional newsroom organisation and division of work among print and online journalists (cf. Deuze 2007), but research suggests that context-related variety remains in terms of editorial workflow, news making processes, identity and work relations. "Online first" has become a symbol for a paradigmatic shift from single to multiple platform news making, even if, as the research reveals, it is not fully implemented (Domingo 2006). As Aviles *et al.* (2009) show, there are some indications of cross-department editorial workflow, but online departments still remain organisationally separate and their online journalists only rarely operate across departments. Further, Deuze (2008, 204) even suggests that traditional media organisations facilitate "collaboration without community", where journalists from different departments collaborate via common content management systems (CMS), which are central news making tools with word processing, layout and publishing functionality, but hardly ever meet in person. Such converging makes it possible to outsource online and other departments offshore, hire a cheaper journalistic workforce and reduce the costs of news making (cf. WAN 2006).

Despite the fact that online journalists are required more and more to gather, assemble and provide news for different media outlets and platforms, recombining and recreating remain dominant news making processes in order to be able to correspond to the assumed demands of the market (cf. Scott 2005; Deuze 2007; Cawley 2008; García 2008; Domingo 2008a; Quandt 2008; Mitchelstein and Boczkowski 2009). In addition, online news making is "minced" into very small, nearly microscopic work processes, where the speed of work is a result of the disappearing deadline (Quandt 2008) and where "burnout" among newsworkers is not an uncommon phenomenon (Reinardy 2011). In order to cope with demands for

immediacy and the requirement to continuously make news, online journalists hardly ever provide original content, but rather "monitor" other media and "mimic" their news (Boczkowski 2009) or rely on press agencies and provide "secondhand journalism" (Quandt 2008). Constant time constraints make it hard for online journalists at traditional print media organisations to leave their desks and newsrooms, which is leading some authors to suggest that they resemble "mouse keepers" (Preston 2009). In addition, in such a flexible work environment, they have difficulties in contextualising news with hyperlinks more meaningfully (cf. Engebretsen 2003; Domingo 2006; Pavlik 2008), to make more use of interactive features (cf. Chung 2007; Paulussen and Ugille 2008; Fortunati *et al. 2*010), and provide diverse multimedia content (cf. Avilés and Carvajal 2008; Quinn 2008; Thurman and Lupton 2008).

At the same time, as a consequence of the flexibilizing in the 2000s, the newswork of online journalists is contested by their colleagues in print departments and sometimes even by themselves, based on the argument that, to some extent, their workspaces, at the same time, still appear anarchic, separate and lacking in oversight (Deuze 2008a, 206). Such a lack of editorial and managerial intervention in the rush for immediacy in news making indicates a lower status, which is often expressed in online journalists being regarded as not the "true" journalists – by print journalists, as well as by online staffers themselves (e.g. Deuze and Paulussen 2002; Boczkowski 2004a; Deuze 2007, 2008b; Colson and Heinderyckx 2008; Domingo 2008b; García 2008; Quandt 2008; Deuze and Marjoribanks 2009; Singer and Ashman 2009). Additionally, research suggests (cf. Cawley 2008; Deuze and Marjoribanks 2009; Deuze 2009a) that online journalists tend to be ranked quite low in terms of work relations.Online journalists tend to work in relatively flexible, risk-laden and open work relations, they rarely enjoy permanent salaried employment, and there is often awareness among them that they are the first to be laid off if the print media organisation they work for falls into financial troubles. In this context, Deuze (2009c, 316) suggests that we can write about "the people formerly known as employees", suggesting that the global trend in the news industry appears to be towards "atypical work", which means all kinds of freelance, casualised, informal and otherwise contingent work arrangements that effectively individualise each and every worker's rights or claims regarding any of the services offered, particularly among online journalists.

It appears that "journalism is changing fast" (Deuze and Marjoribanks 2009, 555), yet, at the same time, increasing isomorphism and inter-institutional newswork coherence are surfacing (cf. Boczkowski 2004a, 2009; Deuze 2007, 2008, 2009c; Paterson and Domingo

2008; Mitchelstein and Boczkowski 2009; Reinardy 2011). These works, combining the critical-economic perspective with the social organisation of newswork and cultural analysis, indicate that multiskilling and multitasking are being normalised, news making is speeding up and reliance on news agencies is stagnating; identity troubles among online journalists have deepened in relation to their print counterparts; and work relations within online departments are even riskier. However, the period of flexibilising from the early 2000s onwards has not brought uniform flexibility of newswork, but resulted instead in a substantial intensification of online news making and greater contingencies in the work relations of online journalists. Bringing together technologies, spaces, staffers and processes have not brought common rational outcomes, but rather different context-driven and hard-to-pinpoint consequences for online newswork, which still appears to be evolving further in order to be prepared to adapt politically, economically, culturally and technologically and react pragmatically to what the future brings.

4.1.4 Online Newswork Evolution: From Global to Local

A historical overview shows that the evolution of online newswork in traditional print media organisations has been at the intersections between continuity and change in the last three decades. By bringing together the critical-economic perspective, sociological insights and cultural analyses of newswork, the above overview highlights how consequential the online newswork evolution has been for editorial workflow, news making processes, cooperation among departments and work relations in the press. The exploration of different online systems in the 1980s and early 1990s, the settling on the web in the mid-1990s, the hedging strategies in the late 1990s and early 2000s, and the flexibilising of online newswork in the last decade have been shaped by articulations between newswork and technology embedded in the contingent political, economic and cultural environment, developed in the processes of globalisation. In this regard, online newswork evolution from the 1980s onwards appears to be reactive rather than proactive, defensive rather than progressive, and pragmatic rather than idealistic, leading Boczkowski (2004a, 19) to suggest that this tendency in the news industry has contributed to the conservative online path that traditional print media organisations have followed.

Specifically, traditional media organisations have reproduced features of the print artefact in the online environment and often failed to take further steps to develop original news suitable for the online environment and to involve a more and more active audience (e.g.

Kopper *et al.* 2000; Deuze 2003, Klinenberg 2005; Salwen 2005; Brannon 2008; Pavlik 2008; García 2008; Quandt 2008; Mitchelstein and Boczkowski 2009, Avilés *et al. 2*009; Paulussen 2011). These scholars more or less agree that online departments and their staffers are primarily separated from the rest, as the online workflow is faster and the nature of online newswork appears increasingly industrialised, which has mired online journalists in the rush of repurposing, recombining and recreating, where volume and speed were easier to provide than quality. Furthermore, online journalists at traditional print media organisations have been ranked quite low in terms of work relations over the past 30 years or so: from staffers who mostly performed online newswork on a contractual basis as an addition to tasks in other departments of the organisation, to relations that are often temporary and always contingent, non-committal, generally without contractual or otherwise stipulated responsibilities for either employee or employer beyond the news project or item (e.g. Scott 2005; International Federation of Journalists 2006; Deuze 2007, 2009c; Deuze and Marjoribanks 2009; Deuze and Fortunati 2011). However, the synthetized historical evolution of online newswork appears to be common to traditional print media organisations in Europe, North America and Asia, but is actually far from being a uniform and progressive development. Specifically, online newswork is constantly evolving and needs continuous attention from researchers from different societal contexts, reconsidering changes within it in regard to journalists' distinct roles in society, the shifting meanings of news and the differing development of newswork as a result of the distinct tension between continuity and change within articulations between the local, national, transnational and global.

Slovenian media and journalism studies have not provided insights into the historical evolution of newswork in Slovenian print media organisations. There are several works that deal with the rise of the internet, most notably the web (e.g. Škerlep 1998; Vehovar 1998, 2007; Oblak 2003; Petrič 2003; Oblak Črnič 2008), and present a cluster of ideas and numerous insights into technological innovations, political-economic contexts as well as the social and cultural conditions of contemporary media environment. However, insights into how online journalism developed in Slovenian traditional media organisations are rare (cf. Oblak and Petrič 2005; Oblak Črnič 2007; Poler Kovačič et al. 2010; Vobič 2010, 2011) and, a synthesised comprehensive picture of its evolution cannot beproduced, let alone an overview of how editorial flow, news making processes, relations between print and online departments and staffers and work relations among online journalists evolved. The dissertation attempts to fill this research gap by conducting an original inquiry into the evolution of online newswork in Slovenian print media organisations in order to obtain a

sense of the changing dynamics in a necessary correspondence between the structural location of newswork and its subjective aspect, and to provide a systematic periodisation of online newswork development in Slovenia.

Since the overview of the historical evolution of newswork presented in this part of the chapter combines insights from various countries and continents and identifies commonalities in newswork development across locales and traditions, it seems appropriate to relate these trends, which can be labelled as global, to particular findings in Slovenia. Thus, **the first research question** of the dissertation is set as follows: *How have global trends in the evolution of online newswork manifested themselves in Slovenian print media?* Due to the fact that, in Slovenian contemporary journalism, there are many indications presented in Chapter 3 that transformations in journalists' roles in society, the meanings of news and negotiations of newswork are similar to those in other late modern societies, one can reasonably expect that the dynamics of diachronic transformations in Slovenia at least partly correspond to these trends. However, the dissertation is especially interested in examining local-specific deviations from these trends that derive from particular tensions between the local and the global and technology and journalism in the last two decades. Therefore, the respective inquiry into modifications in editorial workflow, alterations in the dynamics of gathering, assembling and providing online news, changes in the relationship between print and online departments, and the shifting of the work relations of online journalists, partly combines the historical inquiry (cf. Zelizer 2008; Hardt 2008; Schudson 2005) with the critical-economic perspective (cf. Schudson 1989/1997, 2005; Boyd-Barnett 1996; McChesney 2000; Fuchs 2009) and the socialorganisation of newswork (cf. Tuchman 2002; Altmeppen 2008; Domingo 2008a; Boczkowski 2011). This dissertation thus conceptualises and examines newswork as an individual and collective action in editorial processes defined in the dynamics between the structural predispositions of the capitalist logic of cooperation among people and the organisational constraints enforced by media owners, management and newsroom decision-makers. If the respective objective is realised, the dissertation would fill the existing research gap by providing a systematic and comprehensive oversight of the evolution of online newswork and by examining the dynamics of how specific individual and collective actions in the editorial processes of online departments that are largely defined and enforced by the ownership have developed over time in Slovenian print media. In addition, these insights would be helpful in contextualising the results of empirical investigations into the transforming of newsroom traditions, online news making and its emerging logic, and online journalists' perceptions and their roles in society through the prism of newswork.

4.2 Contemporary Newsrooms: Traditions and Transformations

Within media and journalism inquiries deriving from traditional organisational sociology, a newsroom can be defined as a formal social entity that employs journalists and other workers within its particular structure and organisation in order to make news (e.g. Turow 1984; Shoemaker and Reese 1991; Esser 1998). According to researchers from the early 1970s until the mid-1980s with a newsroom-centric approach to studying journalism (e.g. Buckalew 1970; Warner 1970; Epstein 1974; Tuchman 1978; Bantz *et al. 1*980; Fishman 1980; Schlesinger 1987), as well as more recent social-organisational newswork studies (e.g. McManus 1994; Esser 1998; Cottle and Ashton 1999; Boczkowski 2004a; Klinenberg 2005; Dupagne and Garrison 2006; Quinn 2009; Paterson and Domingo 2008; Domingo and Paterson 2011; Paulussen 2011), newsrooms are generally understood to be goal-directed, composed of different interconnected parts and structured according to power relations: staffers perform specialised practices in standardised roles, responsibility is divided, authority is structured and seniority is rewarded. These authors more or less agree that the effects of technological, historical and societal factors on media organisations forge newsroom traditions in the realm of structural relations, organising processes and logistical possibilities. At the same time, newsrooms appear as constantly evolving spaces predominately shaped by the relationship between newswork and technology embedded in specific contexts, where conflicts between journalistic principles and business goals and where tensions between continuity and change continuously transform and repurpose the established newsroom principles of newswork organisation and structure. Nonetheless, newsrooms are, according to Paterson (2008, 3), actual spaces for decision-making in the development of news, where the routines, values and outcomes of newswork are tested and (re)created.

Recent research taking the social-organizational approach in media and journalism studies signals that, since the mid-1990s, profound organisational and structural transformations have occurred in newsrooms around the world, calling into question traditional assessments of spaces, staffs and processes as a result of the gradual adoption of technological innovations and growing uncertainties in media markets worldwide (e.g. Pavlik 1999; Stone and Bierhoff 2002; Boczkowski 2004a; Singer 2004; Boczkowski and Ferris 2005; Deuze 2007; Klinenberg 2005; Avilés and Carvajal 2008; Verweij 2009; Bechmann 2011; Paulussen 2011). These studies indicate that articulations between continuity and change as different outcomes in terms of newsroom organisation and structure do not vary

just from country to country, but also from media organisation to media organisation. Media and journalism scholars agree that recent transformations in workspaces and editorial processes are the result of an array of societal factors, and, despite the fact that changes in spatial arrangement, division of work and editorial control generally appear as common, they differ considerably inspecifics.

On the basis of literature review, this part of the chapter identifies different traditions in the organising and structuring of newsrooms in Anglo-American and Central European journalism (e.g. Esser 1998; Nerone and Barnhurst 2003; Wilke 2003; Deuze 2007), and investigates distinct transformations in these traditions and their manifold consequences for the spatial arrangement of journalists' workplaces, the structure of authority and decision-making, and editorial control and division of work (e.g. Platon and Deuze 2003; Boczkowski 2004a; Singer 2004; Boczkowski and Ferris 2005; Deuze, 2007; Klinenberg, 2005; Avilés and Carvajal, 2008; Pavlik 2008; Verweij 2009; Avilés *et al. 2*009; Paulussen 2011). The first section of this part assesses the specifics of centralised and decentralised newsrooms as organisational and structural models that have traditionally defined space, power and processes in Anglo-American and Central European newsrooms. In the second part, studies which strongly indicate that boundaries between these traditions are getting blurred worldwide are synthesised, and two rather different processes are explored: newsroom convergence and newsroom divergence. On the one hand, different convergent newsroom models have appeared as a result of the enforced dynamics of increasing cooperation, collaboration and combination of technologies, staff and spaces between formerly distinct editorial teams in print, television and online; on the other hand, the development of the internet and the web have prompted the despatialisation or even the disappearance of the newsroom as a journalists' workspace, along with the emergence of the virtual newsroom, which calls into question the power structure and newswork organisation of traditional newsrooms.

4.2.1 Traditions: Centralised and Decentralised Newsrooms

Newsrooms have traditionally evolved as workspaces with top-down management, linear hierarchies and clear division of work, in order to standardise news making, homogenise outputs, retain control at all times and steer a new course, if the context changes (e.g. Warner 1970; Epstein 1974; Tuchman 1978; Bantz *et al.* 1980; Fishman 1980). This observation is grounded in historical evidence which shows that journalism traditionally ranges from the

waning sovereignty of journalists as intellectual workers to an increasing dependence as newsworkers, and includes the increasing standardisation of news sources and the processes of gathering and assembling news in transforming the technological environment, and under the dominant definition of journalism as customer service (cf. Hardt 1990, 2005). In this sense, some authors identify the industrial nature of newswork organisation and structure, leading them to name traditional media organisations as "news factories" (Bantz *et al.* 1980) and call modern newsrooms "news manufactures" (Tuchman 1978). There are, however, fundamental differences between countries and newsroom traditions, deriving from different evolutionary paths in journalism history – although, writes Esser (1998, 375), "from just looking at the final product, one would hardly assume it".

Modern newsrooms have been distinctly organised and structured in different countries in terms of spatial arrangement, division of work and editorial control, stress several media and journalism scholars (e.g. Donsbach and Paterson 1992; Esser 1998; Nerone and Barnhurst 2003; Wilke 2003; Meier 2007; Deuze 2007). These studies provide comparative general insights into how modern newsrooms are traditionally organised and structured in different countries, and take into consideration the historical specifics of journalism in distinct societal contexts. At least two newsroom models appear in Anglo-American and European print media organisations: whereas in the United States, Great Britain and in the Commonwealth countries, they favour centralised newsrooms with a high division of work in news making (Esser 1998; Nerone and Barnhurst 2003; Deuze 2007), in continental Europe, most notably in Central European countries (Donsbach and Paterson 1992; Esser 1998; Wilke 2003), print media organisations tend to decentralise newswork by maintaining many branch offices that make complete news sections, or even outlets.

Anglo-American print media organisations traditionally go for centralised newsrooms with a high division of work; thus, even rather small newspapers employ different people for different areas of newswork, the most notable one being the historically specific division between reporters and commentators. According to Esser (1998, 378), the high division of work led to a variety of job titles which differ even among Anglo-American countries – for instance, the British sub-editor corresponds to the American copy reader. Further, there is a high degree of editorial control in central and open-plan newsrooms since editors, journalists and other newsworkers ensure swift communication among people in the newsroom past the hierarchal structure, and deliver great effectiveness in news making under time pressure. In these types of organisational and structural settings, online departments, since the 1990s, have

been typically located within a common workspace with unique staff and independent decision-making in gathering, assembling and also providing news (Deuze 2007, 158).

Central European print media organisations traditionally tend to have decentralised newsrooms which have one central workspace, often called "the desk", and many small offices that make complete sections of the newspaper, its supplements and in some cases news websites with almost separate editorial decision-making. According to Esser (1998, 375) the reason for this is the prevailing "holistic" understanding of journalism and newswork, within which, for instance, editors of newspapers sections, supplements or news websites perform as "multifunctional all-rounders", often named "redakteurs", who are used to having control over a whole range of tasks – gathering and assembling information, reporting, commenting and analysing, editing and also layout. In this sense, the division between news and commentary is nurtured in layout, but not reflected in a standardised, systematic and formalised organisational structure and division between groups of employees, such as that between reporters and commentators in the Anglo-American journalism tradition. Further, since branch offices and their teams perform in separate offices, which are even scattered around different floors, and newswork is regarded as an integral whole, the workspace is decentralised in terms of power, and there is a lower degree of editorial control in traditional Central European newsrooms than in the workspaces used by Anglo-American journalists (cf. Esser 1998; Wilke 2003; Meier 2007). As a result, members of the newsroom primarily communicate strictly up the hierarchal structure and, thus, when there is time pressure, the news team does not cope with ease. In this sense, online news departments are organised either inside the central workspace or in a separate office with its own staff and news making, separate from other parts of the traditional media organisation (Deuze 2007, 158).

As noted earlier, the traditions of organising and structuring the workspaces in which journalists work have been grounded in identified similarities and differences among spatial arrangement, the division of work and editorial control in news making (cf. Esser 1998; Wilke 2003; Meier 2007; Ryfe 2006, 2009; Olsson 2009). For instance, Ryfe (2006) argues that there is a tendency among media and journalism researchers to generalise aspects of power, space and work when explaining newsroom arrangements, and routines have resulted in "remarkably uniform" descriptions, where classical studies of newsroom organisation and structure have shown news to be "extraordinarily homogenous" across traditional media organizations and their outlets (e.g. Warner 1970; Epstein 1974; Tuchman 1978; Bantz *et al.* 1980; Fishman 1980). Therefore, the identified newsroom traditions, which are grounded in the prevailing conception of cooperation among people in the interests of producing

knowledge in specific parts of the world, should not be regarded as monoliths, but rather as historically shaped according to tensions between continuity and change, and maintained expressions of the structuring and organising of newswork that are different according to locales and also media organisations.Thus, centralised and decentralised newsrooms come in different shapes and sizes defined by distinctions in the relationship between newswork and technology, on the one side, and the conflict between journalistic norms and market norms, on the other (e.g. Esser 1998; Wilke 2003; Meier 2007; Ryfe 2006, 2009; Olsson 2009).

4.2.2 Transformations: Divergent and Convergent Newsrooms

In the last decade or so, the borders between the newsroom traditions of Anglo-American countries and those of Central Europe have been blurring, as journalists and editors see powerful signs of transformations in traditional principles of space arrangement, work division and editorial control (e.g. Klinenberg 2005; Quinn 2004; Singer 2004; Deuze 2007; Avilés and Carvajal 2008; Avilés *et al.* 2009). These changes are shaped by the digitalisation of news making and providing all over the world, and the uncertain financial situation in media markets worldwide, characterised by audience fragmentation and falls in paid circulation and advertising revenues. In order to fulfil often opposing goals – improving the quality of journalism and making news as cheaply as possible – two conceptually rather different processes have occurred within the articulations between continuity and change, which cater for distinct newsroom restructuring and reorganising.

First, there is newsroom divergence, which results in a newsroom without walls – the despatialised newsroom, often called the "virtual newsroom" (Wilke 2003; Pavlik 2008) or "the ultimate newsroom" (Spence 2007), which brings alternative solutions in terms of editorial control and the division of work (e.g. Beckerman 2003; Platon and Deuze 2003; Hyde 2002; Dahlgren 2009b). Second, there is newsroom convergence, which is described as the increasing cooperation, collaboration and combination of technologies, staff and spaces between formerly distinct editorial teams in print, television and online media, which results in a variety of overlapping outcomes, conceptualised specifically and named differently – for instance, the "combined newsroom" (Pavlik 1999), the "multimedia newsroom" (Deuze 2004, 2007), the "integrated newsroom" (Giner 2001; Avilés and Carvajal 2008), the "new newsroom" (Klinenberg 2005), or the "convergent newsroom" (Friend and Singer 2007; Avilés *et al.* 2009).

Nevertheless, notes Klinenberg (2005, 53), in some cases, the aforementioned transformations of traditions result in completely redesigned newsrooms "so that journalists can move freely between print, television, radio and online outlets and meet the demands of the new media environment". However, processes of newsroom divergence and convergence introduce perils and pitfalls into newswork organisation and structure, shifting the relations between space, power and work in traditional newsrooms worldwide – whether in centralised, decentralised or newly established workspaces for journalists.

On the one hand, by utilising contemporary technologies, a media organisation can explore the possibilities of what can be called the divergent newsroom or the virtual newsroom.Wilke (2003) and Pavlik (2008) argue that, in the late 1990s, the development of the internet and other decentralised networks made electronically based forms of editorial organisation and structure possible. As a result of the despatialisation of newswork organisation and structure, the divergent newsroom does not require common rooms, because it consists of computers and their connections to servers and other computers. "Since editors can use any computer with an internet connection to perform their job, their work is no longer tied to any physical locus," writes Wilke (2003, 474), while Pavlik (2008, 5) acknowledges further changes to news making by suggesting that editors and journalists need not meet daily in a physical setting. Instead, journalists can stay "where they should: in the field, gathering news, observing news events, interviewing sources, and otherwise keeping their fingers on the pulse of the community or beat to which they are assigned" (*ibid.*).

If Wilke (2003) and Pavlik (2008) suggest that newsroom convergence and its outcome, the despatialised virtual newsroom, represent a potentially significant cost-saving improvement in the gathering, assembling and making of news some other authors imply that these processes of reorganising and restructuring might bring conceptually quite different kind of newsrooms and media organisations, such as *Indymedia.org*, *Alternet.org* and *Fair.org* (e.g. Platon and Deuze 2003; Pickard 2006; Dahlgren 2009b). They explicitly challenge the conceptual grounding of traditional media organisations and their journalism – what conception of the world they reproduce and how they are organised and structured (*ibid.*). On the level of ideas, these groups operate within a networked structure and organisation, within an absence of a formal hierarchy, through consensual decision-making, and through participatory and open-publishing news making (e.g. Beckerman 2003; Hyde 2002; Dahlgren 2009b). However, on the level of realisation, these non-press news providers sooner or later experience rather similar issues and problems to those of journalists at traditional media organisations and their newsrooms, caused by a re=emerging organisational hierarchy, the

division of work and the power of authority in decision-making (e.g. Platon and Deuze 2003; Pickard 2006; Lowrey *et al.* 2011). The gap between the ideals and the realities of newsroom divergence can be attributed, suggest Lowrey *et al.* (2011), to the search for greater legitimacy, credibility, reduced uncertainty and safe niches, which might reduce the virtual newsroom to a journalists' workspace without a common physical location, and not a combination of transformative processes exerting an effect on traditional newsroom organisation and structure.

On the other hand, media and journalism scholars more or less agree (e.g. Deuze 2004, 2007; Klinenberg 2005; Avilés and Carvajal 2008; Paterson and Domingo 2008; Singer 2008; Quinn 2009; Avilés *et al.* 2009; Domingo and Paterson 2011; Paulussen 2011) that newsroom convergence is a complex term, because it includes many different organisational activities and workplace structures.Specifically, it is used to describe a change from single-platform journalism – gathering and assembling news for a newspaper, for instance – to cross-platform journalism, involving more than one medium. In these terms, newsroom convergence is conceptually related to the emergence of convergent newsrooms, changes in routines and the organisational and structural rearrangement of news making, the redevelopment of news formats across all media and the impact of these phenomena on newswork. However, there are differences among media and journalism researchers regarding newsroom convergence, and two branches of approaches can be identified within newswork sociology: linear and non-linear approaches to newsroom convergence .

The first branch regards convergence as a continuum from "no convergence" to "full convergence" (e.g. Giner 2001; Aquino *et al. 2*002; Stone and Bierhoff 2002; Dailey *et al.* 2005; Singer 2008). These approaches identify "degrees", "levels" or "steps" that individually comprise a series of tasks and processes leading to changes in the "convergence continuum" and assume that sooner or later all traditional media organisations reach the end-point of a completely integrated newsroom, where the integration of the different parts of news making is achieved. According to Stone and Bierhoff (2002), media organisations would eventually become "information engines" and create more synergy in five areas - efficiency, profitability, usership, improved journalism and user satisfaction - than they would produce with each medium publishing on its own. A critique of this linear understanding of convergence in journalism has been voiced in recent years (e.g. Deuze 2007; Duhe *et al*. 2005; Meier 2007; Avilés and Carvajal 2008; Avilés *et al.* 2009; Benchmann 2011), stressing that the "convergence continuum" tends, as Deuze (2004, 140) writes, to ignore the fact that "convergence does not have to be a linear process, that it may fail, or that it leaves some parts

of the organization untouched" and "rests uneasy with its assumption of inevitability and with its presumed consensus among stake-holders and media practitioners involved on what convergence means to them or their work or involvement in the company".

The branch of non-linear approaches regards newsroom convergence as establishing different levels of development and making convergence an open process with many possible outcomes for different actors (chairmen, editors, journalists and other workers in newsrooms) and their work. A cross-section of theoretical reconsiderations and empirical research into this branch of approaches (e.g. Boczkowski 2004a; Deuze 2004, 2007; Klinenberg 2005; Avilés and Carvajal 2008; Paterson and Domingo 2008; Quinn 2009; Avilés *et al.* 2009; Domingo and Paterson 2011) reveals that newsroom convergence challenges traditional aspects of newswork in order to increase the productivity, efficiency and profitability of news making at traditional media organisations: first, by advocating multi-skilling and multi-tasking, that is, gathering, assembling and disseminating news via several platforms within tight deadlines; second, speeding up news making, tightening deadlines, increasing the monitoring of and mimicking other media in what is almost an around-the-clock news cycle; third, challenging the distinct routines of newspaper, radio, television and online workspaces; and fourth, developing atypical work relations by providing primarily flexible, non-committed and risk-laden job opportunities. Through this prism, Meier (2007), Avilés and Carvajal (2008), and Avilés *et al.* (2009) suggest that there are three prevailing models of newsroom convergence according to workspace arrangement, division of work and editorial control: the cross-media model, the integrated model and the coordinated model.

The integrated model aims to create a homogeneous newsroom structure and organisation transcending traditional boundaries and to fully integrate the newsroom, so that newsworkers gather and select information and make news intended for distribution across all media platforms. The architecture and infrastructure for multi-platform news making are combined in a common newsroom and controlled via a common content management system (CMS), centralising the news system and workflow and bringing a high degree of editorial control to the news making. Besides this characterisation via external features, convergence is also a strategic goal, primarily focused concentrated on changing mindsets. Gathering and assembling news for and providing content on different platforms is often still subordinated to single-platform news making. Integration also transforms the established division of work, meaning that training for all journalists is provided in order to ready them for gathering, assembling and making news for the integrated departments and platforms. At the same time,

convergence of all platforms under the same ownership becomes the primary management goal.

The cross-media model is linked to a resource and organisational strategy, where multimedia production based on synergies is the desired ideal, aimed at strengthening the media organisation as a heterogeneous news provider in its entirety, regardless of media platforms. In this model, journalists work in separate departments and make news for different platforms, but are interconnected through multimedia coordinators and newswork routines. Cross-media collaboration refers to a process whereby more than one media platform is simultaneously engaged in providing content. Often, cross-media news making involves various kinds of cooperation: it ranges from information-sharing between journalists and departments on different platforms, through journalists making news for more than one platform, to various forms of reassembling news initially made for one platform in order to repurpose it for the other. Such a multiplatform concept brings complexity to editorial work and difficulties in managing newswork, whereas editors-in-chief strive for more control and cater for a common CMS, spatial integration and authority decentralisation. In the cross-media model, management drives cooperation and communication in news making among the various media, as well as cross-promotion. Journalists remain platform experts, while multiskilling is the exception to the rule and is not actively fostered by management. Convergence is not considered a strategic need but a tool. In some cases, news items are initially made for one platform and later on repurposed for the other, which is organised routinely –thus, editor-in-chief and multimedia editor coordinate daily news making, whereas journalists themselves only occasionally cross borders.

In the coordinated model, convergence is implemented systematically neither in news gathering nor in news assembling or news making. Journalism sections remain separate – newsroom organisation and structure do not strive towards integration, but are centralised or decentralised. Borders and differences between print, broadcast and online departments in the same media company do not seem surmountable, and convergence is not regarded as a means to achieve "better" journalism. Spatial arrangement, editorial control and division of work are arranged according to the traditions of newsroom organisation and structure in specific societal and institutional settings. Cooperation in news making only takes place – if at all – as a bottom-up process, and more or less by chance, depending on individual journalists. Neither editors nor the board promote organised cross-media strategies or the convergent gathering, assembling and distributing of news. Sometimes there is a coordination of single topics, not

necessarily converged news making, but only cross-promotion, or, for instance, some journalists attend the editorial meetings of the other platforms.

The above synthesis of literature dealing with transformations in traditional ways of organising and structuring newsrooms has acknowledged the potential effects of the processes of divergence and convergence on the spatial arrangements of workspaces, editorial control in the newsroom and the division of work among staffers, which in turn shapes how news is gathered, assembled and provided via multiple platforms. However, none of these models exists in its "pure form", as stressed by researchers (e.g. Deuze 2004; Klinenberg 2005; Singer 2008; Avilés *et al. 2*009), and no media organisation has actually realised any of the identified models in full, but they have introduced variety into journalism debates on the dynamics between structure and agency. Most divergence and convergence experiences can be attributed to one or other model as an idea, strategy or even philosophy, as in the case of despatialised newsrooms within *Indymedia.org*, for instance. Nevertheless, according to contemporary media and journalism authors (e.g. Boczkowski 2004; Deuze 2004, 2007; Singer 2004, 2008; Avilés and Carvajal 2008; Avilés *et al.* 2009), future research on newsroom organisation and structure should avoid regarding these processes as the "effect" of technological trends or in accordance with a functional-systemic approach to social organisation. Therefore, newsroom convergence should not be discussed as a technology-driven process, but rather as an outcome of articulations between technology and journalism, nor as a result of the primacy of structure over agency, but rather as a context-related outcome of the dichotomical understanding of the relationship between agency and structure. In this regard, Avilés and Carvajal (2008) stress, each and every project to reorganise and restructure newsroom has particular outcomes.

4.2.3 Contemporary Newsrooms: From Global to Local

When synthesising literature focused on newsroom organisation and structure, a conflict appears between journalism as a practice with the purpose of linking people to public life, and journalism, as an institution that needs to continuously adapt to manifold societal forces, particularly economic, in order to perform. This conflict appears as the central issue, whether framing newsroom traditions or discussing their transformations in the contemporary media environment. This conflict shapes how workspaces are spatially arranged, how editorial control is developed and how work is divided among staffers at newsrooms disseminating news via single or multiple platforms. In turn, media and journalism researchers, presumably

in the United States and Europe, identify different traditional models of newsroom organisation and structure and also divergent and convergent models that appear to question the traditional arrangements of space, power and work in media organisations, shaped by articulations between the local, national, transnational and global.

However, some authors (e.g. Ryfe 2006, 2009; Olsson 2009) suggest that newsroom-centred research from the 1970s to the early 1980s (e.g. Buckalew 1970; Warner 1970; Epstein 1974; Tuchman 1978; Bantz *et al.* 1980; Fishman 1980; Schlesinger 1987), and also some more recent examples where the reorganising and restructuring of newsrooms has been sociologically explored (e.g. Giner 2001; Aquino *et al.* 2002; Stone and Bierhoff 2002; Dailey *et al.* 2005), have focused predominantly on common principles and practices in the newsrooms, overshadowing the importance of individual journalists' perceptions and actions and how they are negotiated in specific societal and institutional circumstances. Hence, critics stress that the latter needs to be acknowledged when investigating spatial arrangements, editorial control and the division of work in specific newsrooms, where staffers continuously re-establish their routines of gathering and assembling news in specific circumstances. In this manner, this dissertation departs from the functional-systemic approach to newsroom organisation and structure, and sees structure and agency as complementary forces.

In Slovenian media and journalism studies there are rare examples of newsroom-centric research. Only recently, two studies (e.g. Borko 2008; Vobič 2009b) have focused on the social organisation of newsroom, adopting distinct approaches to the converging dynamics of newsroom transformations. However, these inquiries only partly explored the traditional basis of Slovenian newsroom organisation and structure, as they focused mainly on critical-economic and sociological perspectives on newsroom convergence. Furthermore, these studies concluded that further research is needed, since the processes of news convergence were only just starting to develop as the research was being conducted, and so the perils and pitfalls of convergent newsrooms could, at that point, only be sketched out at general terms. However, as the author showed in Chapter 3, in the works of Slovenian journalism history (e.g. Vatovec 1967, 1969; Amon 1996, 2004, 2008; Amon and Erjavec 2011) there are some insights into what constituted newsroom tradition in Slovenia and inquiries into how journalists' workspaces turned into modern newsrooms and have started to be understood as goal-directed, composed of different interconnected parts and structured according to power relations. Yet, no comprehensive inquiry into the traditions and transtions of newsroom organisation and structure at Slovenian print media organisations has been conducted, leaving

societal processes between the local and the global, articulations between technology and journalism, and tensions between continuity and change, underexplored.

Therefore, this dissertation attempts to overcome the deficit of scholarly attention, as its aim is to provide a more complex image of newsroom continuity and change in Slovenia through the prism of online journalism. The objective is to critically examine the changes brought by newsroom convergence processes in recent years in order to better understand the dynamics of online journalists' workspace arrangements, structure of authority and editorial control in online departments, and the division of work among online staffers.Hence the **second research question**, as follows: *How do recent reorganisations and restructurings in newsrooms shape the gathering, assembling and provision of news by the websites of Slovenian print media organisations?* Due to the fact that there are many indications, presented in Chapter 3, that, in Slovenian contemporary journalism, transformations in journalists' societal roles, the meanings of new, and negotiations of newswork are similar to those in other late modern societies, one can expect that gathering, assembling and providing news for websites in Slovenia at least to a degree, resembles the findings in some other countries – particularly those in Central Europe that have nurtured traditions of newsroom organisation and structure that are similar to the traditions of print media organizations in Slovenia, and have taken a similar path towards newsroom reorganising and restructuring (e.g. Meier 2007; Avilés and Carvajal 2008; Avilés *et al. 2*009). However, this dissertation is especially interested in examining local-specific deviations from these trends that have derived from particular tensions between continuity and change in the last two decades. Therefore, the relevant online journalism inquiry through the prism of online journalists' workspace arrangements, the structure of authority and editorial control in online departments, and the division of work among online staffers, adopts a social-organisational approach to online newswork, in order to explore the emerging transformations of traditional newsroom organisation and structure, to investigate the constraints imposed by traditional media organisations despite the individual intentions of online journalists, and to emphasise the inevitability of social construction in the processes of gathering, assembling and providing news for websites (cf. Tuchman 2002; Altmeppen 2008; Domingo 2008a; Boczkowski 2011). From this perspective, this dissertation does not take the functional-systemic approach, but introduces the reciprocal understanding between structure and agency (cf. Tuchman 2002).The author sees the capacity of individual online journalists to perform on their own and sees patterned newsroom arrangements that constrain choices and opportunities as complementary forces. If the related objective is realised, the dissertation would fill the

existing gap in newsroom-centric research, because it would examine transformations in newsroom organisation and structure in regards to online journalism by reconsidering societal processes between the local and the global in order to study the dynamics between continuity and change.

4.3 Online News Making and its Logic: Prospects and Realities

In media and journalism studies (e.g. Dahlgren 1996, 2009a, 2009b; Singer 1998, 2004, 2008; Deuze 1999, 2004, 2007; 2009; Pavlik 2001, 2008; Kawamoto 2003a; Boczkowski 2004a, 2004b, 2009; Domingo 2008a), there is no broad consensus regarding the nature of the implications of the internet and the web as technological frameworks for news making, or vice versa. This can be at least partly attributed to different epistemological approaches to the relationship between journalism and technology. Nevertheless, it appears that media and journalism scholars agree that the traditional tasks of journalists, for instance, determining what people who engage in news read, listen and watch about the world (Deuze 2009a, 93), and linking people to political life through news (Dahlgren 2009a, 150), are being changed in the online environment, since every node can be maker, sender and receiver of multimedia news. However, there seem to be differences in the approaches to these changes: on the one hand, some studies suggest that contemporary technologies challenge established principles and practices in the news making of traditional media organisations (e.g. Bardoel 1996; Singer 1998; Kawamoto 2003b; Nip 2006; Bruns 2009); and others, on the other hand, turn this argument around, suggesting that it is necessary to explore how established principles and practices shape the adoption of contemporary technologies in newsrooms and in turn affect relations between journalists and the subjects they encounter while making news (e.g. Boczkowski 2004a, 2004b; Deuze 2009a; Domingo 2008a, 2008b; Paterson and Domingo 2008; Domingo and Paterson 2011; Singer *et al.* 2011a). In any case, when considering the significant changes that have emerged in newswork over the last two decades, "which have been supercharged by rapidly changing technologies" (Deuze 2009a, 82), it is crucial to acknowledge that "the internet does not simply move in and redefine the way everything works" (Dahlgren 2009b, 173–174). For that matter, online news is largely assimilated via the already existing principles and practices of news making that frame relations between journalists, their sources and the audience, and shape the adoption of the technological possibilities for newswork in specific institutional and societal settings.

In the context of the dynamics between continuity and change in news making, some contemporary authors (e.g. Dahlgren 1996; Deuze 1999, 2004; Deuze and Dimoudi 2002; Domingo 2006; Lowery and Latta 2008; Preston 2009) refer to the concept of "media logic", which was introduced by Altheide and Snow (1979; 1991) more than three decades ago, when investigating what implications the internet and the web as technological frameworks bring to the gathering, assembling and provision of news. Media logic refers to the particular institutionally structured features of a medium, the ensemble of technological and organisational attributes which impact on what gets represented in the medium and how it gets done. In other words, "media logic points to specific forms and processes which organise the work done in a particular medium." (Dahlgren 1996, 63) Furthermore, according to Altheide and Snow (1991, 241), media logic is best understood as an interaction among various participants, rather than as a one-way process in which media dictate the definition of reality and its assessment. Dahlgren (1996, 63) writes that media logic – when attributed only to news making it is also called "news logic" (Altheide and Snow 1991, 273) – also indicates the competence and frames of perception of the public, "which in turn reinforces how production within the medium takes place". Media logic embraces the rationale, emphasis and orientation promoted by the processes and outcomes of news making, and tends to be evocative, encapsulated, highly thematic, familiar to people and easy to use (Preston 2009, 122–123). In this sense, Domingo (2006, 62) asserts that "each medium has its logic", and suggests that technological features are not the only defining factor in news logic, which is strongly shaped by processes and relations within news making.

Media and journalism scholars, who borrow the concept of media logic in exploring relationships in online news making (e.g. Dahlgren 1996; Deuze 1999, 2004; Deuze and Dimoudi 2002; Domingo 2006), identify particular interrelated aspects of communication in the online environment, that is, hypertextuality, interactivity and multimediality, which, as Dahlgren (1996, 65) suggests, "constitute historically new elements of media logic" and "major pillars" of what is variously described as "multimedia logic" (Deuze 2004), "cyberspace media logic" (Dahlgren 1996) or "online media logic" (Deuze and Dimoudi 2002). These authors are fairly cautions about not faling for the utopian or dystopian visions of early online journalism researchers. For instance, Dahlgren (1996, 65) stresses that hypertextuality, interactivity and multimediality are undeniably elements of the new logic, "but exactly how they will develop, how they will be put to use in journalism, and their consequences are by no means self-evident". Nevertheless, research shows that online journalists strongly believe that the future of online news making lies in interactivity,

hypertextuality and multimediality (Deuze *et al.* 2004, 22), yet investigations of how they perceive these elements and how are they incorporated into their newswork have not provided uniform conclusions.Specifically, several studies have failed to provide evidence of the normalisation of this logic, but have highlighted the rather high degree of experimentation in approaches to online news, with no clear certainty about what will work or fail (e.g. Huesca and Dervin 1999; Deuze 2004; Singer 2005; Domingo 2006; Chung 2007; Thurman and Lupton 2008; Lowery and Latta 2008).

By critically reviewing literature from all three waves of online journalism research, that is, technological-reductionist normative studies, technological-reductionist empirical studies and technological-constructivist studies, this part theoretically reconsiders the relationship between the web and online news. The three sections synthesise the ideas of hypertextuality, interactivity and multimediality and elaborate their materialisation in online news making in different contexts. Yet, a cross-section of media and journalism research (e.g. Huesca and Dervin 1999; Deuze 1999, 2001, 2004; Chung 2007; García Avilés and Carvajal 2008; Thurman and Lupton 2008; Domingo 2006, 2008b) indicates common dynamics between structure and change across locales and traditions, because it seems that the characteristics of online communication have been adopted by each online newsroom and fitted into their principles and practices in order to retain control over news making. From this perspective, empirical evidence shows that common dynamics between continuity and change result in distinct adoptions of contemporary technologies in newsrooms and online departments, on the one hand, and context-bound relations between journalists and subjects they encounter in news making – that is, the sources of information, the audience they engage with, and among journalists themselves and other workers in the newsroom.

4.3.1 Hypertextuality and Online News Making

Hypertextuality is a quality of online communication according to which text is organized as a network, open, not linear, and without a centre, as opposed to the assumed hierarchical and linear textuality of printed paper (e.g. Bolter 1991; Landow 1992, 1997; Bernstein 1998). Among scholars who theorise and research online journalism, hypertextuality in general refers to the degree of interconnectivity and interlayering of individual parts of the text in an extended non-linear chain of integrated content, and represents a novelty in the sense of news making and news engagement (e.g. Dahlgren 1996; Fredin 1997; Huesca and Dervin 1999; Deuze 2001; Engebretsen 2003; Kawamoto 2003b; Oblak 2005; Domingo 2006; Pavlik

2008). Within the concept of hypertext, an important distinction is made between the internal and external dimensions of hypertextuality (e.g. Deuze 2001; Oblak 2005; Domingo 2006). The first dimension, interconnectedness through links, can refer internally to other texts within a single text's domain, whereas the second, external dimension points to texts located elsewhere in cyberspace. "These are two quite different types of hypertextuality, as one opens up new content, the other in fact leads to a spiraling down of content" (Deuze 2001, 5). In this regard, Massey and Levy (1999) refer to hypertextuality as "medium interactivity", which is interactive communication between users, that is, journalists, sources and the audience, and technology that is based on the nature of the technology itself and what the technology allows people to do. However, media and journalism scholars (e.g. Dahlgren 1996; Fredin 1997; Huesca and Dervin 1999; Deuze 2001; Engebretsen 2003; Kawamoto 2003b; Oblak 2005; Domingo 2006; Pavlik 2008) more or less agree that the non-linear nature of hypertext, its fragmented and multidimensional shape, can, as an idea, extend beyond technology and the news story and can bring new dynamics into the relationships of news making – among journalists, their sources and the audience.

Thus, on the one hand, some authors stress (e.g. McAdams and Berger 2001; Wilson *et al.* 2003; Domingo 2006; Bird 2009) that hypertext connectivity indicates that journalists are becoming less of an authority and more of a guide. Instead of the audience following only the account, Huesca and Dervin (1999) note, the use of hypertexts in online news making embraces notions of contradiction, fragmentation, juxtaposition and pluralism, rather than pursuing the single truth that is at the centre of the traditional journalistic enterprise. Or, as Dahlgren (1996, 64) suggests, making news and reading it are no longer closed processes, but open-ended ones.

> *One need no longer simply follow a text from its beginning to its end, but can now use key words within it as jumping off points to look at other texts or sources, including audio and still/moving images. One can return to the original text in the process, or alternatively leave it behind as one goes on, hypertextually, to others. (ibid.)*

In this sense, a hypertext story is a web of links that allows readers either to read the various parts of the story in sequence from beginning to end or to jump to topics by selecting highlighted words, phrases or graphical boxes embedded within the document (Friend and Singer 2007, 8). In other words, with a good hypertext, members of the audience can foreground their own perspectives by first clicking on links in the parts of the story they

consider to be more important, and then reading the remaining parts in any order (McAdams and Berger 2001). Furthermore, by building "associational linkages" (Dahlgren 1996, 64), journalists enable the audience "to see the content in a broader context, such as historical precedent or related background material" (Pavlik 2008, 106), potentially organise a "bottomless pit of resources for the reader" (Deuze 1999, 382) and aim for "completeness and context" in their news making (Kawamoto 1998, 186). On this issue, Wilson *et al.* (2003) stress that different online newspapers prioritise significant stories with varying emphasis, allowing members of the audience a degree of liberty to select from a more or less inclusive range of items and to take a more active part in the news.

On the other hand, media and journalism scholars (Heinonen 1999; Blood 2003; Domingo 2006; Pavlik 2008) suggest that hypertextuality provides openness to the processes of news making and news reading, since it also enables the interconnecting and interlaying of information from various primary or secondary sources, whether that information be provided by individuals, groups or institutions, inside or outside the respective news websites and through time and space. Further, Heinonen (1999, 49) and Blood (2003, 61) assert that providing hyperlinks leading to sources is an exercise in transparency, as the audience can check the information provided for themselves if they want more details than those provided by the journalists or, if they want to determine for themselves whether the writer has accurately represented or even understood the referenced piece. At the same time, Dahlgren (1996, 67) suggests that in-depth news is within reach – without even leaving the newsroom, "investigative journalism becomes economically viable for many more media organizations, since so much of the legwork can actually be done on the keyboard." (*ibid.*) In this regard, Heinonen (1999) points out that hypertextuality might bring changes to power relations between journalists and their sources, since not only the information provided by the former, but also that provided by the latter, are becoming more transparent.

> *[W]ith the Internet, journalists do not necessarily have to rely on the interpretations of spokespersons or other institutional sources, at least not without the possibility to check the original documents themselves, or to verify or dispute information from alternative sources. /.../ Naturally, the precondition is that sources use the internet for enhancing access to original information. (Heinonen 1999, 47)*

According to Domingo (2006), the reorientation of power within the journalist-source relationship brought about by hypertextuality improves the contextualisation and transparency

of news, and the visibility of sources and their own arguments, and gives the audience the opportunity to obtain more of the details about the story and consequently to operate as a group of "gatewatchers" (Bruns 2009), supervising journalists in their news making.

In any case, because a hypertext structure is multilinear – a collection of linked components – the standards of fairness and balance, and the implications of bias and influence, will be manifest in the links themselves, writes Fredin (1997), suggesting that the ideas of hypertextuality and "contextualized journalism" (Pavlik 2001) tip the power relations among journalists and the audience more in favour of the latter and bring their sources of information out into the open, broadening the sphere of accountability in journalism. Rethinking the role of the journalist in this way suggests the dismantling of the edifice of expertise, objectivity and truth, and the construction of systems of flexibility, responsiveness and sense (Huesca and Dervin 1999). However, empirical studies from different countries (e.g. Deuze 2001; Engebretsen 2003; Oblak 2005; Domingo 2006; Pavlik 2008) do not provide many accounts of interconnected news making and interlayered reading of the news based on the idea of hypertextuality. Deuze (2001), for instance, summarised that most of the websites he analysed do not offer anything "extra" in terms of hypertextuality, particularly its external dimension. Nevertheless, the Project for Excellence in Journalism (2009) states that most news reports now have links attached to stories so readers can more easily share that content, and many have gone further, creating their own Twitter or Facebook accounts to put more content into the hands of the audience and allow them to pass it along.

However, many media and journalism authors suggest that hypertextuality has not become a part of the daily routines of online journalists, but only an occasional rule of conduct (e.g. Engebretsen 2003; Domingo 2006; Pavlik 2008). The reasons for this are presented as manifold and lie in the conflict between continuity and change. For instance, Pavlik (2008) stresses that many media organisations fail to provide hyperlinks in original or repurposed online content out of fear that members of the audience will never return to the initial news website once they have clicked on a link. Domingo (2006, 511) further asserts that the struggle to provide news faster than the competition "killed the hypertext utopia", since online journalists usually do not have enough time to develop stories into complex hypertext structures with multiple paths and comprehensive coverage. Similarly, Engebretsen (2003) says cost-cutting is the reason for hypertextuality not becoming part of the daily routines of online journalists – "down-to-earth costs have to be considered in the newsrooms".

In any case, hypertextuality as an ideal reorients power in the relationships between journalists, their sources of information and the audience, but its incorporation into news

making is not uniform and homogenous, as literature review shows (e.g. Engebretsen 2003; Domingo 2006; Pavlik 2008). This implies that further research needs to pay attention to the question of how hypertextuality shapes relations between online journalists in the Slovenian print media and other subjects engaged in online news, particularly members of the audience and sources of information. This question is relevant, according to Matheson (2004, 455), since hypertextuality in news depends fundamentally upon the notion of the journalist as an authoritative news provider, making judgments on behalf of the public. Therefore, investigations into news making in a broader political, economic and cultural context are essential in order to consider, research and assess hypertextuality as a component of online news logic.

4.3.2 Interactivity and Online News Making

The literature in communication, media and journalism studies contains numerous definitional models of interactivity with distinct focuses when theorising notions, such as the definition of interactivity as responsiveness (Rafaeli 1988), four-dimensional interactivity with a focus on control (Bordewijk and van Kaam 1986), the features-based model, with a focus on people and technology (Heeter 1989), and the four-part model of "cyber-interactivity" with two dimensions – the direction of communication and the level of receiver control over this process (McMillan 2002). This variety of approaches to defining interactivity led Kiousis (2002, 370–371) to write that "little consensus has been reached concerning interactivity, but as a quality of media it can be seen in the form, content and structure of technology and their relation to the user". In theoretical reconsiderations of online journalism and empirical research into online news making, the notion of interactivity is considered to be what Massey and Levy (1999) call "human interactivity" and what Deuze (1999) names a "purely audience-related feature". Interactivity is thus connected with concepts such as speedy responsiveness, the ease of adding, repurposing or making content, and the facilitation of mediated person-to-person communication (e.g. Newhagen *et al.* 1995; Dahlgren 1996; Deuze 1999; Massey and Levy 1999; Schultz 1999; Boczkowski 2004b; Chung 2007; Domingo 2006; Fortunati *et al.* 2010).

A cross-section of literature in media and journalism studies (e.g. Dahlgren 2009a, 2009b; Allan and Thorsen 2009; Papacharissi 2009; Rosenberry and St. John III 2010; Singer *et al.* 2011a) reveals that the changing relations between journalists, sources and the audience is a pivotal issue in debates on interactivity in journalism: one group of debates deals more or

less with journalism at traditional media organisations in terms of interactive transformations within news making, whereas the other group looks beyond traditional journalist-source-audience relationships in search of indications of larger transformations within journalism as a wider social phenomenon.

On the one hand, with the arrival of the internet, particularly the web, and consequently the rise of interactivity, traditional media organisations are much more likely to gather feedback from the audience, getting members of the audience involved in interaction with journalists, and bringing non-press actors closer to the processes of news making within traditional media organisations (e.g. Deuze 1999; Kawamoto 2003a; Boczkowski 2004b; Oblak 2005; Domingo 2006; Pavlik 2008; Pujik 2008; Fortunati *et al.* 2010; Nip 2010). A wide array of services has been developed to enable members of the audience to communicate with the organisation, ranging from chats, text messaging, online polls, phone-insand the publication of journalists' e-mail addresses, to other forms of what Nip (2006) calls "interactive journalism" (cf. Oblak 2005; Nip 2006; Singer 2006; Deuze 2007; Paulussen and Ugille 2008; Pujik 2008). In this sense, argues Pavlik (2008, 77), interactivity as an ideal promises to help increase understanding between journalists, the audience and their sources, bringing the potential for improved accuracy and transparency in news making. Thus, "one-to-many communication" is no longer the sole prerogative of traditional journalism (Domingo 2006, 78). Or, as Dahlgren (1996, 70) puts it, "information sharing going on in cyberspace tends to increasingly bypass the classical role of journalism. The hierarchical, top-down mass communication model of journalism is being challenged in this new media environment." In this context, some argue (e.g. Rosen 2006; Project for Excellence in Journalism 2006; Bruns 2009; Gitlin 2009) that these changes might result in power moving away from the journalism of traditional media and in downsizing the relevance of traditional journalism in people's lives. However, others (e.g. Eli 2007; Chung 2007; Pavlik 2008; Nip 2010) stress the potential of interactivity to reconnect journalism and the public, who are variously involved in the news.

In any case, interactivity as an ideal does indeed challenge the traditional role of journalists as gatekeepers and agenda-setters, and brings profound changes to journalism's relationship with the public – bringing more intense, cooperative and transparent relations with the audience and sources. But empirical research suggests different conclusions. On the onehand, studies from different countries stress that journalism at traditional media organisations seems to hesitate to provide a truly bi- or multi-directional flux between journalists and the audience (e.g. Oblak 2005; Domingo 2006; Chung 2007; Paulussen and

Ugille 2008; Fortunati *et al.* 2010; Nip 2006; Singer *et al.* 2011a). As these authors suggest, the failure to use different forms of interactive features in news making and the sluggish development of "participatory journalism" (Singer *et al.* 2011a), where journalists from traditional media cooperate with members of the audience in news making, are often due to newsroom organisation and structure, established newswork routines and ideological beliefs, rather than an unwillingness among journalists to open up the news making to audience contributions. On the otherhand, some studies indicate that relations between journalists and their sources, especially routine ones, have not improved with the advent of interactive features, but have been reduced, leading Davis (2010) and Fenton (2010b) to suggest the emergence of a "thinner level of interactivity" and the "virtualisation" of news making, "Whereas the instinct of a journalist trained prior to the internet is to talk to someone, it is felt that the instinct of the new breed of journalists is to send an e-mail." (Fenton 2010b, 164) Nevertheless, literature review suggests that interactivity in its many forms is adopted by journalists at traditional media organisations only when this suits their established routines and when it helps journalists to retain control over news making, their relations with the audience and their information sources.

Meanwhile, the second group of debates relates interactivity to the many faces of "participatory journalism" (Singer *et al.* 2011a), which presupposes the disappearance of traditional relations between journalists, their sources and the audience, and the engagement of people as citizens in helping public deliberation – leading some scholars to suggest the emergence of "grassroots journalism" (Gillmor 2004), the "second phase of public journalism" (Nip 2006) and "public journalism 2.0" (Rosenberry and St. John III 2010). What these concepts have in common is the idea that people inside and outside the newsroom are engaged in communicating not only to, but also with, one another: "In doing so, they all are participating in the ongoing processes of creating news website and building multifaceted community." (Singer *et al.* 2011b, 2) From this perspective, there is an array of citizen-engaging models of journalism which are causing normative unrest in traditional news relations, as they presuppose strengthened participation for citizens in news making. Furthermore, Bowman and Willis (2003) emphasise: "Journalism's hegemony as gatekeeper of the news is threatened by not just new technology and competitors but, potentially, the audience it serves." Further, a three-year-long study within the Project for Excellence in Journalism concluded that changes in the relationship between journalists and their audience do not mean the end of journalism, as some have signalled (Project for Excellence in Journalism 2006).

> *But we do see a seismic transformation in what and how people learn about the world around them. Power is moving away from journalists as gatekeepers over what the public knows. Citizens are assuming a more active role as assemblers, editors and even creators of their own news. Audiences are moving from old media such as television or newsprint to new media online. Journalists need to redefine their role and identify which of their core values they want to fight to preserve – something they have only begun to consider. (ibid.)*

In this context, the changes in the journalist-audience relationship have led Gillmor (2004) to refer to "the former audience" and Rosen (2006) to name the emerging entity as "the people formerly known as the audience". Despite many indications that relations between journalists at traditional media organisations and the public need profound normative reconsiderations (cf. Gillmor 2004; Rosen 2006; Allan and Thorsen 2009; Papacharissi 2009; Rosenberry and St. John III 2010), the idea of interactivity itself and technological possibilities alone are not enough to revolutionise journalism and news making. In other words, interactivity does indeed offer many possibilities for public deliberation and the complete restructuring of the traditional journalist-source-audience triad, but there does not seem to be much evidence of it happening (Nip 2006), and the control in news making is still pretty much in the hands of journalists at traditional media organisations (Domingo 2006; Domingo *et al.* 2008; Nip 2010). In this sense, Deuze (2009c) suggests that future research on the possibilities of interactivity in people's engagement with journalism should consider the wider larger political, economic and cultural circumstances in which knowledgeis produced.Specifically, the debate on interactivity in online news making "has often concentrated on an abstract examination of the ideal possibilities of the internet as a new meta-medium, rather than on the exploration of what has really happened", argue Fortunati *et al.* (2005, 419). This suggests that more emphasis in studies on interactivity has been placed on the idea of interactivity, rather than on how journalists understand interactivity and its possibilities, what implications interactivity has for news making in traditional media organisations and elsewhere in the online environment, and how interactivity shapes and is being shaped by news making – particularly by the relationships between journalists, their sources and the audience.

4.3.3 Multimediality and Online News Making

In media and journalism studies, there is no agreement regarding what implications multimediality brings to online news making (e.g. Dahlgren 1996; Pavlik 2000; Gordon 2003; Deuze 2004; Quinn 2004; Thurman and Lupton 2008; García 2008; Wallace 2009). It appears that two concepts of multimedia in online news making have emerged, both closely tied to the notion of newsroom convergence, which is discussed above in more detail. First, there is the presentation of news on a website using more semiological formats, such as text, images, photographs, audio, video, graphics and animation. Second, there is the integrated presentation of news through different media, such as newspapers, magazines, radio, television and/or news websites. Both concepts have broad implications for news making.Within the debate on the restructuring and reorganising of newsrooms (e.g. Deuze 2004; Klinenberg 2005; García 2008; Pavlik 2008; Avilés and Carvajal 2008; Quinn 2009), the question of how to gather information for multiple platforms and how to combine it to make multimedia news becomes central. As newsroom convergence as a set of processes is considered in the previous section of this chapter, this section concentrate primarily on aspects of online multimedia news and deals with integrated cross-media production when it has implications for the former. In this context, Gordon (2003, 71) stresses that media organisations will have to figure out how to produce examples of online multimedia news regularly and at reasonable cost, as the audience for such content grows. Mostly in this context, a review of media and journalism literature dealing with the phenomenon of multimediality reveals two branches of debates: one deals with the implications of gathering and assembling online multimedia news in newsroom relations and the division of work (e.g. Boczkowski 2004b; Deuze 2004, 2007; Gordon 2003; Thurman and Lupton 2008; Quinn 2004, 2008, 2009; Wallace 2009); and the other considers how online multimedia news is being formatted and provided (e.g. Dahlgren 1996; Pavlik 2000; Gordon 2003; Deuze 2004, 2007; Quinn 2008; Thurman and Lupton 2008).

Thus, on the one hand, a cross-section of recent works (e.g. Boczkowski 2004b; Deuze 2004, 2007; Gordon 2003; Thurman and Lupton 2008; Quinn 2004, 2008, 2009; Wallace 2009) reveals that media organizations which implement a particular newsroom model decide whether they will use individual multi-skilled newsworkers or multimedia teams of newsworkers. However, in practice, both approaches seem suitable for all relevant newsroom models. The first approach presupposes having a number of “backpack journalists” or “one-man-bands” who create multimedia news stories individually. These newsworkers

"are sent out on assignments alone, being solely responsible for shooting video, recording audio, writing text and putting it all together in a coherent news package" (Deuze 2007, 161). Although this practice is not new, new technologies and requirements for more flexible work have propelled this kind of individualised reporting into the mainstream. According to Deuze (2004, 146), "a fully converged reporter" can be expected to make decisions on what kinds of platforms to utilise when practising the craft and has to be able to oversee multimedia packages rather than repurposing single stories for different platforms. According to Wallace (2009), such is the case with "videojournalism", an example of multiskilling and multitasking enabled by new technologies, where a "solo newsgatherer" acts as both journalist and camera operator. Despite the fact that there is a lack of consensus over the need for journalists to be multiskilled and multitasked (Thurman and Lupton 2008, 451), in newsrooms around the world, there is only a minority of such individual newsworkers (Quinn 2008, 17). The second approach is based on establishing a multimedia team, which strives for cooperation among journalists and other workers within online departments and across other sections. According to Gordon (2003, 71), forming a team is more likely to happen than nurturing individual multiskilled and multitasked newsworkers. "A multimedia producer, using content gathered by reporters, photographers, videographers, and graphic artists, will produce packages for the new digital media." (*ibid.*) The team is more important than "the lone wolf reporter," because it produces better online multimedia news, acknowledges Quinn (2004, 114). Also Deuze (2004, 146) emphasises that research suggests there is a need for multimedia operations to organise people into teams to manage these working groups and to arrange these working units in cross-departmentalised ways. However, Colson and Heinderyckx (2008, 153) state that difficulties in common online multimedia news making and the consequential barriers between online and print journalists may be rooted in a lack of communication by managers and editors about multimedia strategy, a deficit in training among print journalists, and the resulting lack of commitment for the new configuration and the expectations associated with it.

On the other hand, in recent years, an array of multimedia news formats has emerged, but there is no strong agreement among scholars and experts on how to meld semiologically different sets of information into one multimedia package suitable for online (e.g. Dahlgren 1996; Pavlik 2000; Gordon 2003; Deuze 2004, 2007; Quinn 2008; Thurman and Lupton 2008). Therefore, the ensemble of technological and organisational attributes which impact on what gets represented in multimedia form and how it gets done is not uniform. In the 1990s, print media organisations began to experiment with new ways of assembling and formatting

online multimedia news. However, at that time, "innovative storytelling did not attract much of the audience" (Gordon 2003, 70). In recent years, stress Thurman and Lupton (2008, 439), news reading has been declining, which has resulted in editors being keen to embrace new technologies in news making. In contemporary journalism, the evidence shows that multimedia coverage of a story has become more common (Dupagne and Garrison, 2006: 248), leading Deuze (2003: 212) to identify two paradigms of multimedia on news websites, which have rather different implications for news making: the convergent and the divergent paradigm.

According to the first paradigm, multimedia is the combination of information offered in different semiological forms, produced in different news departments at one or more media organisations. Oliver (2008, 21) stresses that, for this sort of multimedia production, a multimedia-capable content management system (CMS) is crucial: "It must be able to manage input and output for a large number of media outlets with flexible, on-the-fly, content construction and delivery." (*ibid.*) In the second paradigm, all parts of the site are developed from a multimedia standpoint, offering the end-user several ways into and through the news website's content or guiding him to an outer online stream of information, whether through posts on social media websites, e-mail updates or mobile delivery methods.

Yet, contemporary research does not provide common guidelines regarding how to embrace multimedia within news making – this limitation applies to both the convergent and divergent paradigms. It seems that there are as many ways of formatting multimedia news as there are news websites. Moreover, it appears that decisions regarding multimedia storytelling are left to individual workers (Avilés and Carvajal 2008; Quinn 2008; Thurman and Lupton 2008). For instance, in his recommendations on preparing a transition to multimedia, Quinn (2008, 17) suggests: "All journalists must understand the strengths, weaknesses and capabilities of all platforms available for telling stories." However, he does not explicate those "strengths, weaknesses, and capabilities". Deuze (1999, 379–380) uses similarly loose vocabulary when suggesting: "Writing online journalism is not so much writing a text." He further writes that journalists should "think ahead" about all possible formats in a story and "play around" with them in order for them to be "functionally and successfully used for the benefit of the user." But MacGregor (2003, 16) stresses that multimedia news is "disjointed, unequal in quality" and that "multimedia has yet to produce a captivating form in which journalists can successfully work their lives of entrapment". He concludes the debate by introducing "tri-media", the combination of text, audio and video. He suggests that the text element has become the fastest form of communication in both offline and online media.

Video is, according to him, slower than text and not as immediate as domestic television, losing its "liveness". Together, this may explain the irregular take-up of tri-media storytelling (*ibid.*). Video, audio and animation handling in news making, writes Northrup (2000), thus presents a foreign landscape for a medium whose news making systems and job descriptions are designed for a world that is flat and more familiar with text and photos.

Thus, previous studies have suggested that multimediality is a conceptually complex notion, which gives rise to numerous implications for the gathering, assembling, and provision of online multimedia news. This reshapes cooperation among journalists and other workers in newsrooms, and changes methods of formatting news online by trying to combine different semiological forms, and in turn the audience's involvement, divergently or convergently. This, stresses Deuze (2003, 213) reflects the "dual nature of multimedia development":

> *[O]n the one hand, one has to consider sheer technological advancements and new storytelling possibilities, on the other hand, our understanding of the impact of such technologies on the culture of (online) journalism must be critically articulated. In other words, introducing multimedia in a news media organization perhaps has less to do with developing all kinds of (new) resources and skills, but more about understanding and developing a different journalistic news culture. (ibid.)*

Through this prism and as discussed above, online multimedia news making, in any case, requires significant organisational and structural arrangements in newswork and news making (Quinn 2004), and a considerable amount of teamwork, which challenges the established, rather individualistic work of journalists and the prevailing mindset in newsrooms (Deuze 2004). Multimediality as a quality of communication in the online environment is mutually reshaped by relations in newsrooms and by established ways of gathering, assembling and providing online multimedia news that are defined between structure and agency. In this sense, future research into multimediality in all its complexity needs to examine how multimediality is understood in newsrooms, how staffers in the newsroom cooperate in order to provide multimedia news to the people, and what the perils and pitfalls of online multimedia news making are in contemporary newsrooms.

4.3.4 Online News Making and its Logic: From Global to Local

Journalists providing news online make decisions on how to connect the story to other stories and other sources of information within news websites or elsewhere on the web through hyperlinks (hypertextuality), how to make it possible for people to respond, interact or even participate in news making (interactivity), and how to combine different semiological elements and cooperate with other staffers in the newsroom to best tell a certain story (multimediality). This technology has influenced the nature of journalism practice with characteristics such as immediacy, increased communication with and among readers, personalised journalism and a multi-sensory experience (Chung 2007, 46).Thus, online journalism has been functionally differentiated from print, radio and television journalism by using its technological component as the determining factor in terms of definition, on the one hand, and the undetermining factor in terms of news making, on the other. In this sense, Singer (2006) stresses, rather than "normalizing" the medium to fit an old and relatively static definition of their traditional roles, journalists have an opportunity to create a "new normal" out of the tensions between continuity and change that could reshape news making as a shared rather than exclusive endeavour, and as multisensory rather than mono-sensory inquiry.

However, despite some authors indicating that there are signs of a new media logic emerging on the internet, most notably the web (e.g. Dahlgren 1996; Deuze 1999, 2004; Oblak 2005; Lowrey and Latta 2008), there are a few pieces of fairly recent empirical evidence from North America, Europe and Asia (e.g. Paterson and Domingo 2008; Preston 2009; Tunney and Monaghan 2010; Fenton 2010a) which suggest that interactivity, hypertextuality and multimediality have not been uniformly normalised in journalism and patterned into news making. In this context, there is a high degree of experimentation in approaches to online news, with no clear certainty about what will work or fail and with no straightforward answer to the question of how hypertextuality, interactivity and multimediality are appropriated in relations among journalists, their sources and the audience. These studies do not suggest that online news and relations within it can be characterised as evocative, encapsulated, highly thematic, familiar to people and easy to use. On the contrary, adjectives such as unsteady, unpredictable and unfamiliar seem more appropriate. Moreover, as research shows (e.g. Boczkowski 2004a, 2004b; Domingo 2006, 2008a; Chung 2007; Fortunati *et al.* 2010), the goals of productivity, efficiency and profitability have further eroded traditional journalistic principles and practices in contemporary technological settings, and the issues of how hypertextuality, interactivity and multimediality are to be shaped in

news making and developed in relations among subjects involved in news making in order to provide a "better" link for people to engage in public life have been undermined. Therefore, it can be confidently argued, as Dahlgren (2009b) writes, that "better" technology does not always automatically lead to "better" journalism.

Similar findings are cited in theoretical reconsiderations and empirical research on hypertextuality, interactivity and multimediality in Slovenian online news making, suggesting that traditional media organisations do not encourage interactive and participatory principles and practices (e.g. Oblak 2005; Oblak and Petrič 2005; Poler Kovačič and Erjavec 2008; Vobič 2010), do not strive for more diverse online multimedia news formatting (e.g. Vobič 2011), and do not opt for more interconnected and interlayered online news and hypertextualised relations within it (e.g. Oblak 2005; Vobič 2008). These works are mostly oriented toward the outcomes of news making and do not research online news through the prism of the relations between journalists, their sources and the audience, but only suggest complexity among online news making as such. However, hypertextuality, interactivity and multimediality "have not been simply technological change to the people involved, but a fundamental cultural transformation", writes Boczkowski (2004a, 187), suggesting that the process of implementation is not exclusively technology-driven, but primarily a result of tensions between continuity and change and a societally particular outcome of articulations between the global and the local. These transformations, which have not resulted in a new media logic (just yet), have manifested themselves not only in terms of material infrastructure, but also in news making, particularly where relations between the subjects involved in it are concerned. The latter perspective has been neglected in studies on realisations of hypertextuality, interactivity and multimediality in online journalism.

This dissertation attempts to fill the gap.It aims to provide a more complex examination of how elements in the emerging online media logic are being manifested in online news making in the particular context of Slovenian print media. The objective is to critically explore the dynamics between structure and agency by focusing on relations among online journalists, their sources of information and the audience and their role in manifestations of the ideas of hypertextuality, interactivity and multimediality.Hence the **third research question**, as follows**:** *How do the elements of the emerging online media logic (hypertextuality, interactivity and multimediality) shape relations between online journalists in Slovenian print media and other subjects in online news making?* Due to the fact that, as highlighted in Chapter 3, there are many indications in Slovenian contemporary journalism that transformations in journalists' societal roles, the meanings of news and negotiations of

newswork are similar to those in other late modern societies, one can expect that the dynamics in relations among online journalists, their information sources and the audience, on the one hand, and the realisation of the ideas of hypertextuality, interactivity and multimediality, on the other, are at least to some extent similar to the findings of similar studies in other countries (e.g. Boczkowski 2004a, 2004b; Domingo 2006, 2008a; Chung 2007; Fortunati *et al.* 2010). However, this dissertation is especially interested in examining local-specific deviations from these trends, deriving from particular tensions between continuity and change and reflecting the dynamics between the local and the global, and technology and journalism. Therefore, the relevant online journalism inquiry into the emerging online media logic in Slovenian print media adopts a social-organisational approach to news making (cf. Tuchman 2002; Altmeppen 2008; Domingo 2008a; Boczkowski 2011) and extrapolates it to the cultural analysis of the symbolic determinants of relations among online journalists, their information sources and the audience, in order to explore what appears to be an emerging logic of online news making (cf. Schudson 2005; Carey 2007; Hartley 2008). The cultural perspective in this dissertation reworks the connotation of the term culture with the domain of ideas as well as the terrain of social practices, and as such it enables the author to take into account symbolic determinants of technology in the relations between ideas and symbols.Thus, by combining the social-organisational approach and cultural analysis, the dissertation conceptualises and explores news making as a process of gathering, assembling and providing information negotiated between constraints imposed by media organisations and journalists' sense-making of the relations between ideas and symbols defining their intentions. If the respective objective is realised, the dissertation would fill the existing gap in online media logic research, because it would move beyond technologically deterministic empirical investigations of ideal-typical models of hypertextuality, interactivity and multimediality, towards a technological-constructivist approach to media logic in regards to relations between online journalists, information sources and the audience, by reconsidering the tensions between continuity and change.

4.4 Online Journalists and their Roles

In contemporary media and journalism studies, there are many theoretical and empirical investigations that have sought an answer to the questions of what is the role of journalists (e.g. Hardt 1996; Splichal 2000; Hallin and Mancini, 2004; Poler Kovačič 2005; Friend and Singer 2007; Gitlin 2009; Dahlgren 2009; Christians *et al. 2*009; Hanitzsch *et al. 2*011; Lee-

Wright *et al.* 2012) and how do journalists perceive themselves as actors in society (e.g. Donsbach and Klett 1993; Splichal and Sparks 1994; Splichal 2000; Poler Kovačič 2004b; Zelizer 2004; Deuze 2005; Hallin 2009). These authors more or less agree that it is impossible to give an exhaustive definition of journalism, and stress that there are not one but many competing and overlapping roles of journalists, which differ according to the contexts in which they operate. At the same time, there are indications of international ideological commonalities, which are, however, articulated distinctively in the context of national traditions of journalism and democracy (e.g. Donsbach and Klett 1993; Splichal 2000; Hallin and Mancini 2004; Deuze 2005).

The roles of journalists in society are the result of continuous articulations between prevailing normative models of media and democracy, on the one hand, and journalists' reproduction of political, economic, cultural and technological realities under the historical conditions of newswork, on the other (cf. Zelizer 2004; Splichal 2005a; Hardt 2005; Deuze 2009a; Dahlgren 2009a). Borrowing from political science and sociology, media and journalism scholars (e.g. Christians *et al.* 2009; Dahlgren 2009a; Schudson 2009a) claim that what journalists' roles are and what they should be reflect the established relations between media and power, and indicate the prevailing ways of linking people to public life. Furthermore, in the online environment, claim media and journalism scholars (e.g. Friend and Singer 2007; Deuze 2009a; McNair 2009; Hallin 2009; Dahlgren 2009a; Gitlin 2009; Singer and Ashman 2009), it has become even more difficult to answer the question of who is and who is not a journalist. These authors stress that borders between journalism and non-journalism are blurred in an information environment that is dominated by unpredictability and instability rather than control and order, and in a society that is defined by the concepts of heterogeneity, fragmentation and individualisation, which reduce the role of traditional journalists as news providers and agenda-setters. The relevance of defining online journalists and their roles in journalism as a whole can be summarized by quoting Dahlgren's (1996, 60) observation from more than 15 years ago.

> *Journalism is carried out in specific institutional circumstances, within concrete organizational settings and under particular technological conditions. The advent of cyberspace will inevitably impact on the factors which shape how journalism gets done – and may well even color how we define what journalism is. (ibid.)*

On the basis of review of the literature which deals with defining journalism in the online environment and identifying the roles of online journalists, two branches of debates emerge. The first branch (e.g. Splichal 2005a; Friend and Singer 2007; Gitlin 2009; Dahlgren 2009b; Singer and Ashman 2009; Robinson 2010; Singer *et al.* 2011) deals with defining journalists and their roles in relation to the audience, shaped by the societal adaptation of hypertextuality and interactivity. Specifically, journalists at traditional media organisations are not the only news providers around – there is an array of new actors who question the central position of journalists within people's ensemble of information and try to eliminate the middleman. Additionally, these authors imply that non-press news providers are diminishing the role of journalism as practiced by the press, as the latter's gradual loss of authority is damaging its ability to maintain the fabric of society and nurture the boundaries of journalism. The second branch (e.g. Singer 2003; Boczkowski 2004a; Deuze 2007, 2008a, 2009; Paterson and Domingo 2008; Domingo and Paterson 2011; Deuze and Fortunati 2011) concentrates on defining journalists and their roles within the journalism of traditional media organisations.Specifically, the decline in newspaper readership and television news viewing has resulted in traditional media organizations being keen to embrace convergent technological innovations, which have resulted in porous borders between the principles and practices of news making in print, broadcast and online. However, these studies do not indicate that adaptations of journalism to the contemporary media environment bring homogeneity and the negotiation of new principles and practices within news making, but imply that contemporary reorganisations of newswork and restructuring of news making translate into a number of additional problems within journalism to do with who counts as a "true" journalist and who does not.

It appears that caught at the cross-section of these two branches of debates is the difficulty of exhaustively defining journalism and its roles, where a range of many kinds of dynamics are at work, shaped by tensions between continuity and change.Journalism as a social phenomenon emerges as a consequence of certain social (including technological and economic) developments, and it is attached to certain social (including technological and economic) developments (Heinonen 1999, 11). This part of the chapter thus aims to dissect and synthesise the discussions on the difficulties of distinguishing between journalism and non-journalism by indicating the possibilities and limitations of the online environment for non-press actors to provide news when pursuing specific goals, on the one hand, and by identifying the reasons for labelling certain kinds of news making as not journalistic and certain news providers as not "true" journalists within the community itself, on the other.

4.4.1 Who is a Journalist?

Over the past decade, media and journalism scholars have stressed (e.g. Platon and Deuze 2003; Singer 2003; Gillmor 2004; Zelizer 2004; Splichal 2005a; Friend and Singer 2007; Dahlgren 2009b; Couldry 2010; Nip 2010; Robinson 2010) that it has become difficult to distinguish journalism from, for instance, advocacy, political communication, public relations, advertising, participatory civic engagement, personal commentary and popular culture. These studies suggest that the boundaries between journalism and non-journalism have become even more problematic on the internet, most notably on its graphic interface, the web, dominated by a constant flow of information produced, reproduced and distributed by millions of different actors with specific interests and goals. As technologies of news relay broaden the field of who might be considered a journalist and what might be considered journalism, it appears that media and journalism scholars agree that, on the one hand, journalists tend to retain control over news making (e.g. Domingo 2008b; Hermida and Thurman 2008; Dahlgren 2009a; Nip 2010), and, on the other hand, that the evolving consensus over the principles and practices belonging to the world of journalism is being transformed (e.g. Singer 2003; Zelizer 2004; Nip 2006; Dahlgren 2009b). In this context, Friend and Singer (2007, xv) acknowledge that the answer to the question of who is a journalist rests less on what journalists do – which is basically gathering, assembling and providing information, which plenty of people are doing online as well– but on how and why they do it.

In the online environment, journalists from traditional media organisations are not the only news providers around. There is an array of new non-press actors who are downsizing the central role of traditional journalism in people's ensemble of information: for example, aggregating news portals, such as *Google News*, *Yahoo News*, and *MSN News*, that mostly generate content from news websites and news agencies online (cf. Allan 2006; Tunney and Monaghan 2010; Robinson 2010); specialised providers catering to target "communities" for particular information, ads and lifestyle content (cf. Dahlgren 2009b; Rosenberry and St. John III 2010); alternative online media, such as *Indymedia.org*, *Alternet.org*, and *Zmag.org*, which follow the ideas of open-source journalism and challenge prevailing conceptions of the world (cf. Platon and Deuze, 2003; Pickard 2006; Bruns 2009; Nip 2010); and individual citizens or collective citizenry, who are empowered by easy-to-use online publishing tools (cf. Gillmor 2004; Nip 2006; Deuze 2007; Couldry 2010). In this context, once clear borders between journalists and the audience have become blurred as "disintermediation", writes Deuze (2007,

156), calling into question the role of the journalist as the traditional intermediary between public institutions – notably business and government – and the people. Many media and journalism scholars (e.g. Platon and Deuze 2003; Bowman and Willis 2003; Pickard 2006; Bruns 2009; Rosenberry and St. John III 2010; Nip 2010; Singer *et al.* 2011a) have noted the reorientation of power in journalism's relationship with the audience. These studies, , imply that the audience's involvement in journalism has gained not only in recognition by traditional media organisations, but also in importance in news making – consequently shifting the role of journalists in society. In this context, some new catchphrases have been coined, such as "produser" (Bruns 2009) and "user-turned-producer" (Deuze 2009b), indicating that contemporary audiences "have more technological capacities at their disposal to avoid being traditional 'sitting ducks' of mass media communication" (Dahlgren 2009a, 149) and that the modes of audience involvement in news have expanded (Nip 2010, 135).

On the one hand, an important body of scholarly work on how technologies in the new media environment provide opportunities for audience engagement reopens the debate on public journalism as the path towards the revitalisation of contemporary journalism (e.g. Bowman and Willis 2003; Gillmor 2004; Nip 2006; Allan and Thorsen 2009; Bruns 2009; Rosenberry and St. John III 2010; Singer *et al.* 2011). An array of competing and overlapping concepts have emerged, such as "citizen journalism", "participatory journalism" and "interactive journalism", which vary according to the extent and form of participation of ordinary people in news making. Since many other phrases have emerged, such as "networked journalism" (Bardoel and Deuze 2001), "pro-am journalism" (Rosen 2006) and "grassroots journalism" (Gillmor 2004), more confusion, rather than theoretical clarification, has been introduced into the debate on communitarian approaches to journalism. What these studies have in common is a vision of journalists, not necessarily working for traditional media organisations, who operate as catalysts between individuals and the community in order to identify problems and try to find solutions to these problems through deliberation (cf. Nip 2006). According to empirical research, there are indications that the various ways of audience engagement in news making have done away with some traditional ideals in journalism, such as truthfulness, the principle of objectivity and disinterest in the shaping of political life, and have replaced them with alternatives, such as deliberation, multiperspectivity and participation in politics (e.g. Platon and Deuze 2003; Gillmor 2004; Rosen 2006; Bruns 2009; Singer *et al.* 2011).

On the other hand, research has also found out that, even with audience engagement in news making, journalists tend to retain control over that news making and at the same time

enhance the traditional principles and practices of news making (e.g. Singer 2005; Nip 2006, 2010; Hermida and Thurman 2008; Domingo *et al.* 2008; Deuze 2009b). In this light, Deuze *et al.* (2007, 335) suggest that communitarian ideals do not sit well with notions that journalists should keep their distance, "notions that tend to exclude, rather than include". Furthermore, Domingo *et al.* (2008) stress that traditional media organisations in Europe and the United States are interpreting this as an opportunity for readers to debate current events, whereas the principles and practices of news making remain unchanged. Traditional media organisations are not necessarily engaging non-press news providers on an equal footing, because the journalists involved are "universally convinced that the breakdown between users and producers of news provides society with better information" (Deuze 2009c, 261). In this manner, journalists self-legitimise their various established roles with more or less universal similarities in journalism, which can be defined as a common occupational ideology (e.g. Zelizer 2004; Deuze 2005; Dahlgren 2009a; Schudson 2009a; McNair 2009; Singer and Ashman 2009). In what appears to be a struggle for legitimacy among press and non-press news providers, a clear commercial motive is often at work: the pursuit of additional sources of revenue, the potential to sell targeted advertising across online and offline media, and the winning back of an otherwise non-reading newspaper audience (cf. Deuze *et al.* 2007; Deuze 2009b; Dahlgren 2009a).

In any case, in considering the challenges provided by an array of non-press news providers, the core principles of journalism, such as autonomy, accountability and authenticity, need to be both strengthened and reinterpreted in the online environment, where old assumptions about journalistic roles and values can no longer be accepted uncritically nor old approaches to them continue indefinitely (cf. Singer 2005; Singer and Ashman 2009; Dahlgren 2009a). However, as Dahlgren (2009a, 158) ascertains, for instance, despite indications of a "multi-epistemic order", where it becomes generally understood and accepted that any storytelling is situated, where all perspectives on society are contingent, and where respective world views are enforced by news providers that do not connect to each other, there is still a need for a "workable criteria for distinguishing better stories from less good ones, accurate accounts from distortions, truths from falsehoods" (*ibid.*). It appears that attempts to incorporate communitarian ideas into journalism move the issue on a degree (e.g. Platon and Deuze 2003; Bowman and Willis 2003; Gillmor 2004; Nip 2006; Allan and Thorsen 2009; Bruns 2009; Rosenberry and St. John III 2010), yet their realisation seems more like exceptions rather than indications of profound changes in defining who is and who is not a journalist and what is her or his role.Specifically, journalists from traditional media

are thinking about how and why they make news, and they enter their relationships with non-press news providers predominately in terms of an existing political, economic and cultural framework defined by occupational ideology – with varying degrees of accommodation and resistance (e.g. Singer 2005; Nip 2006, 2010; Hermida and Thurman 2008; Domingo *et al. 2*008; Deuze 2009b). This is not surprising, since "they face challenges in an open, global, and networked media environment that they did not confront when the product they alone produced was one they alone controlled", as Singer and Ashman (2009, 241) point out. At the same time, in her ethnographic examination Robinson (2010) demonstrated significant internal conflict not only among journalists, but among members of the audience as well: the "traditionalists" – those who want to maintain a hierarchal relationship between journalists and audiences – clashed with the "convergers" – those who felt users should be given more freedoms in news making. However, these challenges surface not only in relations between journalists and non-press news providers in the digital environment, but also play a part in the negotiation of identity, place and status for particular newsworkers within the journalistic community itself – putting the question of who is a journalist in an unprecedented framework shaped by simultaneous articulations between the local and the global, technology and journalism, and continuity and change.

4.4.2 Who is a "True" Journalist?

Despite claims that the occupational ideology of journalism is consolidated across a large part of the world (e.g. Deuze 2005; Dahlgren 2009a; Preston 2009; Singer and Ashman 2009), there are strong indications of diversity, conflict and contradictory goals among journalists and understandings of their roles (e.g. Zelizer 2004; Paterson and Domingo 2008; Rosenberry and St. John III 2010; Allan and Thorsen 2009). According to Deuze (2008a, 199) the definition of journalism and journalists in the news industry is contested in the online environment: a source of frustration for many, a platform for feverish techno-fetishist utopians and dystopians, a stepping stone towards newsroom reorganisations and restructurings, a vehicle for the making of unfounded claims by academic theorists and industry pundits alike, and not least a sphere of continuous appropriations of journalists' identity, place and status and difficulties for those who study them.

In this context, previous studies of online journalism and the relationships between journalists and the internet, most notably the web, generally suggest a combination of excitement and apprehension among newsworkers working online, and confusion in terms of

theory and operationalisation in respect of who can be called an online journalist (e.g. Bardoel 1996; Singer 1997; Heinonen 1999; Deuze and Yeshua 2001; Deuze and Dimoudi 2002; Quandt *et al.* 2006; Deuze and Fortunati 2011). More recent research from the Project for Excellence in Journalism shows that online journalists are also concerned about the future of journalism and democracy in the age of the internet. According to a 2009 report, more than half of American online journalists interviewed believe that journalism is "headed in the wrong direction" and at the same time a solid majority of them stress that the internet is "changing the values of journalism", rather than "transferring those values online" (Project for Excellence in Journalism 2009).

> *The reaction is a complex one, a mixture of optimism and fear, possibility, and some regret. Many expressed in written statements the tension of both positive and negative implications in the emerging world of online journalism. Online journalism is already evolving beyond the limits of traditional newsrooms and yet the medium is still in its infancy (ibid.).*

This is only one example of how the prevailing normative conception of journalism and its continuous empirical negotiation "serves to continuously refine and reproduce a consensus about who counts as a 'real' journalist and what news providers can be considered to be examples of 'real' journalism" (Deuze 2007, 162). These evaluations subtly shift over time, yet always serve to maintain the dominant sense of what is (and should be) journalism (cf. Singer 2003; Deuze 2005; Singer and Ashman 2009). Research among online journalists from different political, economic and cultural backgrounds shows that they often do not see themselves as "true" journalists; they deprecate their own newswork and understand their place within traditional media organisations as marginal (e.g. Deuze and Paulussen 2002; Boczkowski 2004a; Deuze 2007, 2008a; Colson and Heinderyckx 2008; Domingo 2008b; García 2008; Quandt 2008; Deuze and Marjoribanks 2009; Singer and Ashman 2009). According to these media and journalism scholars, the main reasons for the gap between journalists' ideal visions and actual journalism derive from temporary, flexible and risk-laden labour relations, on the one hand, and the industrial nature of newswork, on the other.

Furthermore, online journalism is "a laboratory of experiments in workforce flexibility and labor exploitation" (Deuze 2008a, 199) in traditional media organisations, but online journalism can also be "the stomping ground for exciting, creative and innovative forms of news" (*ibid.*), where the principles and practices of different types of media meet – whether

converging or diverging (cf. Singer 2009). The study of online journalism is, according to Deuze (2008a, 200), first and foremost an observation of how it is a rather distinctive form of journalism – in the eyes of online staffers as well as their print and broadcast counterparts – that is embedded in broader occupational ideology.

In this light, Deuze (2008a) ascertains that, as online newsrooms have been traditionally organised separately from their print counterparts and have tended to be populated by newcomers and less experienced journalists, these departments have grown their own "mini cultures", with online journalists often nurturing specific values, practices and ideals in their news making. Contemporary global trends towards homegenisation in the reorganising and restructuring of newsrooms have indeed partly manifested themselves in the erosion of particular practices and identities of print, broadcast and online journalists and departments (e.g. Pavlik 2001; Deuze and Dimoudi 2002; Quandt *et al.* 2006; Deuze 2007; García and Carvajal 2008). At the same time, they have brought many problems in journalists' negotiations of roles, values and practices (e.g. Bierhoff *et al.* 2000; Singer 2004; Garrison 2005; Deuze 2008b). On the one hand, less than a handful of studies compared online journalists' perceptions of their roles with those of journalists from other media, and the analysis has not yielded significant differences (cf. Deuze and Dimoudi 2002; Qaundt *et al.* 2006). According to these studies, it seems that the focus is on a combination of the "traditional disseminator/interpreter role" and a desire to provide a platform for discussion and pluralistic analysis of the issues (*ibid.*). On the other hand, however, by analysing newswork in print and online newsrooms and conducting interviews with journalists, many authors identify contingencies in their identity, place and status – especially among online staffers (e.g. Deuze and Paulussen 2002; Deuze 2007, 2008a; Quandt 2008; García 2008; Colson and Heinderyckx 2008; Project for Excellence in Journalism 2009).

Specifically, these studies highlight the lower status of online journalists at traditional media organisations, with online staffers populating what Deuze (2008a, 206) calls "a perpetual in-between status" – working for a prestigious news brand, yet not acknowledged as fully-fledged members of the journalistic community. "In a way, online journalists undergo the typical migrant experience: not part of their 'home country' anymore, but also never fully accepted by their 'host country' either. Just as their news is liquid, they have to come to terms with distinctly liquid, as in unfinished identity." (*ibid.*) On the basis of literature review (Deuze and Paulussen 2002; Deuze 2007, 2008b; Quandt 2008; García 2008; Colson and Heinderyckx 2008; Project for Excellence in Journalism 2009), it appears that deprecation might be the common denominator in debates on how online journalists perceive themselves

and the roles theyfill. For instance, in Germany online journalists name themselves "secondhand journalists" (Quandt 2008, 89); Argentine online journalists see themselves as "half-stupid" and the "kid brothers" of print journalists (García 2008, 73); in the Netherlands and Belgium online journalists consider their work to be "desktop" journalism (Deuze and Paulussen 2002, 241); and British and Spanish online journalists identify their status as computer-bound "mouse monkeys" (Deuze 2007, 142).

It appears that media and journalism scholars more or less agree that online journalists at traditional media organisations emerge as "a special breed of journalists" (Colson and Heinderyckx 2008, 144) in relation to "true" print and broadcast journalists following the traditional principles and practices of news making. Furthermore, literature on online journalism (Singer 2008; Domingo and Paterson 2008; Deuze and Marjoribanks 2009; Dahlgren 2009a; Deuze 2009b) suggests that, by encouraging business values of productivity, efficiency and profitability in the news making and work relations of online journalists, traditional media organisations have pushed some of the core values of traditional journalism, such as authenticity, accountability and autonomy, to the margins, leading to online journalists performing as "below-the-line labor" (Deuze 2008a) and the "self-deprecation of online journalists" (García 2008). In this context, Deuze and Fortunati (2011, 175) write that the news industry is turning newsrooms into "shell" or "zombie" environments, where "a dying culture of paid producers" is emerging.

In this manner, Singer (2003, 157) speculates that, if online journalism is to be incorporated into the journalistic community, there will need to be either considerable accommodation in the self-perception of what a journalist does or considerable change in the way that online journalism is carried out. The industrial nature of newswork and work relations within particular areas of traditional media organisations have only added to confusion, in terms of theory and operationalization, over who can be regarded as a journalist and which newsworkers do not fall within this increasingly hard-to-define category in the online environment. However, this does not in any way diminish the importance of dealing with the question of what journalism is in the online environment.

4.4.3 Online Journalists and their Roles: From Global to Local

Two stories about who journalists are in the online environment and what roles they play emerge from the discussions that bridge studies borrowing from political science, sociology and cultural studies.Both are open-ended and both point out the occupational ideology of

journalism as a prime mover in processes of exclusion and inclusion of certain kinds of news making. On the one hand, journalism at traditional media organisations tries to hold on to the pedigree of central makers of news in society and prime signifiers of what is journalism and what is not, despite indications that non-press news providers have gained legitimacy and power, questioned the hegemony of journalists from traditional media organisations as gatekeepers and agenda-setters, and implied the need to reinterpret the principles and practices of journalism in the online environment (e.g. Platon and Deuze 2003; Singer 2003; Gillmor 2004; Zelizer 2004; Splichal 2005a; Friend and Singer 2007; Dahlgren 2009b; Couldry 2010; Nip 2010; Robinson 2010). On the other hand, the journalism of traditional media organisations has started reproducing the division between "us", the "true" journalists, and "them", those newsworkers who are (self-)perceived not to be "true" (e.g. Deuze and Paulussen 2002; Boczkowski 2004a; Deuze 2007, 2008b; Colson and Heinderyckx 2008; Domingo 2008; García 2008; Quandt 2008; Deuze and Marjoribanks 2009; Singer and Ashman 2009). The latter predominantly work in the online departments of traditional media organisations, where they perform as a struggling group of low-status newsworkers who experience difficulties in working in accordance with the occupational ideology of journalism, since they are required to continuously make news and do it effectively and profitably at the same time. The identified branches of debates need to be considered in future research into journalists' self-perceptions andaffiliations, research which will need to take note, as Deuze (2008a) writes, of "old and new processes of inclusion and exclusion", that is, within the tensions between continuity and change.

In Slovenia, not much research has focused on the discussion of who are journalists in the digital environment, but those studies that have been conducted reflect the two branches of debates synthesised above. On the one hand, in recent years Slovenian media and journalism scholars have also discussed communitarian ideals as a normative basis for the possible revitalisation of journalism's diminished role in public life, but they agree that the journalism of traditional media has not started to consider doing so (e.g. Oblak 2005; Vobič 2007, 2010; Poler Kovačič and Erjavec 2008; Oblak Črnič 2010). Furthermore, research into "community media" (Pajnik 2010), "communitarian journalism" (Vobič 2010), and "citizen journalism" (Poler Kovačič and Erjavec 2008) reveals that, despite the technological possibilities, the nature of the non-press actors' involvement in news making resembles the political, economic and cultural power relations of the mass media world. In other words, there are indications that the journalism of Slovenia's traditional media organisations is overcoming its initial ambivalence towards non-press news providers and is willing to embrace them in news

making – not as equal counterparts though, but rather as additional ones (e.g. Vobič 2007, 2010).

On the other hand, research into Slovenian journalism also explores difficulties in negotiating online journalists' identity, place and status within the contemporary journalistic community (e.g. Oblak and Petrič 2005; Oblak Črnič 2007; Vobič 2009b; Poler Kovačič *et al.* 2010). Despite doing this superficially, when primarily investigating other issues, these studies indicate that online journalists have a lower status than their print colleagues within traditional media organisations and in the wider journalistic community, and provide evidence pointing to self-deprecation among Slovenian online journalists. The analysis of Poler Kovačič *et al.* (2010) reveals that those journalists who work for the news websites of the traditional media organisations evaluate their own work negatively, often describing it as "copy-and-paste" news making. Further, on the basis of a survey among print and online journalists, Oblak Črnič (2007) implies that, within the Slovenian journalistic community, journalists are polarised into "defenders" and "critics" of online journalism, whereas online journalists are predominantly seen not as "true" journalists, but as "assemblers of stories", since they primarily make news by repurposing information that has already published. In addition, news websites are regarded as "extensions" of print editions, since rather small groups of online staffers make news by repurposing, recombining and recreating in-house print news, the content of news agencies and other media (Oblak and Petrič 2005, 182), and, for this reason, online departments are often perceived as a group of "copying clerks" (Vobič 2009b).

The identified branches of debates on journalists and their roles in the digital environment emerging out of contingent relations with non-press news providers, on the one side, and among journalists themselves, on the other, suggest that pinpointing the societal significance of journalism is almost impossible, since the principles and practices of what used to be identified as components of journalism are contested, and the rank, status and role of those news providers who used to be considered as journalists has been shaken. As assessed above, research in Slovenia has tackled issues to do with the roles of online journalists in relation to non-press news providers and members of the journalistic community, mostly indirectly. The theoretical variety of these empirical studies prevents the reviewer from constructing a comprehensive picture of these issues. Furthermore, these inquiries have rather neglected the historical development of the normative grounding of Slovenian journalism and its empirical expressions.

Therefore, this dissertation tries to supplement the existing analyses.It aims to provide a more comprehensive study of how Slovenian online journalists understand their position and significance in public life, and how they negotiate their roles in relation to non-press news providers and print counterparts within the journalistic community. The objective is to critically explore the dynamics between structure and agency by examining the normative predispositions of Slovenian journalists' conduct and empirical materialisations of online journalists' societal roles, and assessing their self-perceptions in relation to news providers inside and outside the journalistic community.Hence, **the fourth research question**, as follows: *How do online journalists from Slovenian print media organisations perceive their roles as journalists in the society?* Due to the fact that, in Slovenian contemporary journalism, there are many indications, as presented in Chapter 3, that the transformations in journalists' societal roles, the meanings of news and negotiations of newswork are similar to those in other late modern societies, one can expect that, in terms of the roles they play as journalists in society, the self-perceptions of online journalists from Slovenian print media are at least to some extent similar to the findings of comparable studies in other countries – either in relation to non-press news providers (e.g. Gillmor 2004; Zelizer 2004; Splichal 2005a; Friend and Singer 2007; Dahlgren 2009b; Nip 2010; Robinson 2010) or to print journalists (e.g. Deuze and Paulussen 2002; Deuze 2007; Colson and Heinderyckx 2008; García 2008; Quandt 2008). However, this dissertation is especially interested in examining local-specific deviations from these trends, which derive from particular tensions between continuity and change. Therefore, the related online journalism inquiry into the roles of online journalists from the Slovenian print media attempts to systematicallypursue, on the one hand, the political science approach and examine how online journalists should normatively operate under optimum circumstances (Schudson 2005, 190) and, on the other hand, seeks to adopt the cultural analysis perspective and "link the untidy and textured *materiel* of journalism – its symbols, rituals, conventions, and stories – with the larger world in which journalism takes place" (Zelizer 2008, 260). In this context, the dissertation frames the societal roles of journalists as sets of rights, obligations and expected behaviour patterns as a result of continuous articulations between normative models of media and the political order, on the one hand, and journalists' sense-making of the relations between ideas and symbols that constitute the changing dynamics of the journalistic community. Such an approach enables the author to investigate the roles of online journalists in the online environment by assessing the normative predispositions of journalism in the specific society and the cultural complexities of online journalists' self-perceptions – in relation to the non-press news providers and other journalists within the

"interpretative community" (Zelizer 2004). If this objective is realised, the dissertation will fill the existing gap in research into online journalists' societal roles, because it will provide a systematic and comprehensive example of insights into the services online journalists provide to thepublic, the dynamics between the normative and the empirical in online journalists' societal roles, and online journalists' understandings of their role in relation to non-press news providers and print journalists, by reconsidering the tensions between continuity and change.

5. METHODOLOGY

As a novice to journalism research or as an experienced researcher, one can use a great variety of specific methods, which start from different premises and pursue different objectives. Literature review of online journalism research from the mid-1990s to the early 2000s (cf. Kopper *et al.* 2000; Boczkowski 2002; Domingo 2003) suggests that studies have mostly concentrated on content analysis and the attitudes of online news providers through surveys, rather than than on the processes in the newsroom, where the culture of news making, the structure of authority and decision-making, work relations and perceptions of journalists are constructed. Over the last five years, however, a growing number of researchers (e.g. Boczkowski 2004a, 2004b, 2011; Domingo 2006; Paterson and Domingo 2008; Quinn 2009; Domingo and Paterson 2011) are becoming aware of the complex dynamics between structure and agency in newsrooms (Altmeppen 2008, 52–53) and, at the same time, a clear distance between the ideals shared by online journalists and their actual practices (Paterson 2008, 2). In order to comprehensively analyse structural developments in online newswork, the social organisation of the newsroom and articulations between technology and news making in practices and perceptions of online journalists within print media organisations, as prime focuses of the dissertation's main goal, the study narrows its perspective to the production stage of the "media lifecycle" (Boczkowski 2011, 165) and deliberately moves away from the textual and reception aspects of online journalism. By focusing on the production aspect, the author concentrates on the main research goal in order to explore articulations of technology in the structure, organisation and processes of online journalism, as well as principles, practices and perceptions among online journalists, which is not possible when analysing texts or investigating reception (cf. Paterson 2008). Additionally, by taking the production approach, this dissertation tries to critically assess the prevailing top-down approach in traditional media and journalism history that has privileged property and ownership at the expense of understanding newswork, as well as the social construction of technology often neglected in text-based and audience studies (cf. Hardt and Brennen 1995). Despite different theoretical positions that range from emphasising the critical-economic approach, political science and sociology to cultural analysis, the author adopts a multi-method ethnographic approach to investigate context-related dynamics between continuity and change, reflecting articulations between structure, agency and perceptions.

The approach many contemporary online journalism researchers (e.g. Boczkowski 2004a, 2004b, 2011; Domingo 2006; Paterson and Domingo 2008; Quinn 2009; Domingo and

Paterson 2011) adopt is often labelled as "institutional ethnography" (Smith 2002), which means studying the phenomenon on three different levels: first, investigating the relationship between individual journalists and the newsroom, ranging range from news making routines, decision-making and work relations to job satisfaction; second, the relationship between the newsroom and social actors outside the media organisation, such as other media organisations, information sources and people who engage in news; and third, the relationship between newsroom and society, where some of society's influences on journalism and *vice versa* are analysed (Altmeppen 2008, 53). By focusing not so much on descriptions of daily processes as on the case patterns of newsroom dynamics and relations and their institutionalisation in relation to individual journalists, these studies try to "reveal the constraints, contingencies and complexities 'at work' and, in so doing, provide means for a more adequate theoretization of operations of the news media and the production of the discourses 'at play' within news media representations" (Cottle 2007, 2). This methodological shift from concentrating mostly on text to focusing primarily on processes is also an epistemological one in studies of online journalism – from prevailing functionalist understandings of online news making to a more critical approach to this social phenomenon (Domingo 2008a). Despite evident transitions in research trends in studying online journalism, news and newswork, decisions on which method to use and how to apply it should not rest on recent trends in empirical research, but rather on the theoretical positions of the researcher, her or his epistemological assumptions and the research aims of the study.Thus, the main objective of this chapter is to provide this sort of methodological decision-making framework and to present a research design for the study that will enable the author to empirically investigate broader trends in online journalism in Slovenian print media by reconsidering the tensions between continuity and change. Furthermore, the methodology adopted should correspond to the multidisciplinary nature of the dissertation and the theoretical basis of the study – departing from a technological-deterministic and functional-systemic understanding of online journalism development and moving toward a technological-constructivist and reciprocal understanding between structure and agency.

Thus, according to the research questions elaborated in Chapter 4, the author pursues a multi-method ethnographic case study that corresponds to the multidisciplinary nature of the dissertation, combining its theoretical perspective with sociology, political economy, political science, cultural studies and history. By using and combining methods of observation, qualitative document analysis and in-depth interviews, the researcher investigates global trends in online journalism in two Slovenian print media organisations, *Delo* and *Dnevnik*.

Ethnographic insights into these phenomena might be gained with these methods, but only to the extent, as Schudson (1989/1997, 2005) argues, that they "emerge from broad historical forces" and "any research focused on news institutions themselves is likely to fall short". For this reason, the dissertation tries to analyse collected qualitative data from a critical-economic, social-organisational and cultural perspective by using the theoretical toolkit developed by historicising and localising the perspective on Slovenian journalism development.

From this perspective, designing the ethnographic case study in this chapter is a response to the theoretically diverse stance relating to the relevant research questions, and enables the author to pursue a multidisciplinary investigation of the dynamics between structure and agency in the online journalism of Slovenian print media. Therefore, by using the set of ethnographic methods, the case study investigation aims to provide theoretically and historically informed insights on: (i) online newswork in terms of editorial workflow, processes of gathering, assembling and providing news, and work relations; (ii) particularities in newsroom organisation and structure and their implications for newswork; (iii) patterns in the emerging logic of online news in relation to the dynamics among online journalists, their sources and the audience; and (iv) online journalists' perceptions of their status in the journalism of traditional media organisations and their roles in public life. The following three parts of this chapter present the study's methodological framework: first, ethnography as a methodological strategy is assessed, second, the arguments for taking the case study approach and choosing the particular case subjects are revealed, and third, the qualitative methods used in this ethnographic case study are reconsidered and applied to the research needs.

5.1 Adopting Ethnography as a Strategy

It is only ethnography, stresses Paterson (2008, 2), which derived from anthropological and sociological traditions, that can come close to providing adequate insights into newsroom organisation and structure, news making routines and the mindset and roles of journalists. However, if methods are supposed to be adequate to what is being studied, approaches to defining and assessing the quality of ethnographic research still have to be discussed in specific ways that are appropriate to scientific research.In other words, despite the fact that there is a "strong tradition" (Domingo 2003) of ethnographic investigations into journalism, only a few studies have reported in depth on data collection and analysis.That applies to the first wave of the 1960s and the 1970s, as well as to the second wave of newsroom ethnographic studies conducted in recent years (Puijk 2008, 30). At the same time, Schultz

(2007) stresses that, due to the secondary treatment of data collection methods in discussions, applications of ethnography, when dealing with the issue of micro versus macro levels of investigation, appear superficial. "Ethnographic methods have a great advantage in achieving phenomenological understanding of being a journalist, but at the same time, the methods are less sensitive as to the structural forces on macro level which also guide everyday journalism." (Schultz 2007, 4) However, these "newsroom-centric studies" (Wahl-Jorgensen 2010, 22–23), which have many epistemological, theoretical and methodological differences, often attempt to relate in-depth findings on the micro level to structural dynamics on the macro level by contextualising the research with a profound historical analysis of the phenomena in question and fine localised particularities identified in previous research. Such investigations bring additional variety to ethnographic studies, to the extent that sometimes they have only little in common, apart from a shared claim to the term "ethnography" (*ibid.*). In this sense, Paterson (2008, 4) suggests that finding a clear and consistent definition for "ethnography" in the literature of communication studies is a challenge. Such a vague approach may be interpreted "as showing flexibility towards the subject under study but it also holds the danger of a methodological arbitrariness" (Flick 2006, 230). Therefore, the dissertation takes on "the biggest task for the near future" (Quandt 2008, 139), as it attempts to further develop ethnography as a systematic methodological strategy and legitimise it for the conduct of a multidisciplinary, theoretically integrating and historically informed study in order to comprehensively examine structural developments in online newswork, the socio-organisational settings of online departments, the emerging logic of online news making and the societal roles of online journalists.

From this perspective, the dissertation adopts the key attributes of this "flexible" and "multifaceted" methodological strategy, as identified by Singer (2008, 158), and takes them into account when designing the empirical investigation of online journalism trends in Slovenian print media. Ethnography has in recent years been commonly used as a strategy in online journalism research (cf. Domingo 2003, 2006; Paterson 2008; Puijk 2008; Singer 2008) in order to study a particular group or a phenomenon, based upon extensive fieldwork in more selected locales focusing on few case subjects, and combining different methods. By trying not to appear as a work based on unjustified and unreasoned methodological decisions, this dissertation identifies and discusses three hallmarks of ethnography as a strategy that appears to be a good fit for the research goals of the study.

First, in scholarly studies which adopted ethnography as a strategy, "the researcher goes to the data rather than the other way around" (Singer 2008). Ethnographic studies

provide "thick descriptions" (Paterson 2008, 10) of the processes, dynamics and relations among members of a particular group in specific social settings. As shown before in online journalism research (cf. Domingo 2003, 2006; Paterson 2008; Puijk 2008; Singer 2008), ethnography enables the scholar to examine the complex dynamics between formal and actual arrangements in newsrooms and among staffers, and to give an opportunity to study journalists' sense-making and perceptions, tying it to specific contexts. From this perspective, adopting ethnography as a strategy in this dissertation enables the author to gather data that would be valuable for assessing the research questions – to capture what processes, dynamics and relations happen in formally structured and organised newswork settings, how online journalists understand their actions and the actions of others, and how they comprehend the contexts which shape the prevailing principles and practices in the newsroom.

Second, the ethnographic approach is particularly useful for investigating "groups facing restructuration and a loss of traditions that may erode earlier certainties" (Singer 2008, 158). In this sense, ethnography appears valuable for the study of the complex dynamics between structure and agency in online journalism, where the capacities of individuals to perform on their own meet patterned arrangements that constrain choices and opportunities. Since many recent works in media and journalism studies indicate that journalism has been going through profound changes on the micro, medium and macro levels since the rise of the internet, most notably the web (e.g. Paterson and Domingo 2008; Zelizer 2009a; Meikele and Redden 2011; Domingo and Paterson 2011; Lee-Wright *et al.* 2012), ethnography would be an appropriate strategy to gather, assess and analyse data in order to comprehensively examine structural developments in online newswork, the socio-organisational settings of online departments, the emerging logic of online news making and the societal roles of online journalists, which are central concerns of the dissertation.

Third, ethnography as a strategy enables the researcher not only to study the dynamics of the situated construction of certain phenomena, but also to understand the process dimension of history and locality by restoring visibility to often invisible choices, practices and modes of representation (Boczkowski 2004c). Thus, when ethnography meets history in organisational settings, the study can go beyond the obvious aspects of the structure, and grapple with the complexities, details and paradoxes of the agency. Therefore, choosing ethnography as a methodological strategy in the dissertation seems reasonable, as the author is attempting to study the historical development of online newswork as a set of discontinuities and new beginnings, and not as evolution based on "homogenization imposed from the outside" (Yin 2003, 11). In this sense, ethnography enables the researcher to grasp the

historical details of the phenomenon within the technological and social milieu in which it exists, as done before in online journalism research (e.g. Boczkowski 2004a, Domingo 2008; Puijk 2008).

Finally, an ethnographic approach which looks at the details of the processes, dynamics, and relations among the members of a particular group gives the researcher an opportunity to examine local-specific deviations frombroader, obvious trends that derive from particular tensions between the (micro-)local and the global, and between technology and social phenomena (e.g. Yin 2003; Flick 2006; Riain 2009).Ethnography typically involves in-depth investigation of a smaller number of cases, rather then trying to represent general trends. Various examples of newsroom ethnographies look at one (e.g. Dupagne and Garrison 2006; Colson and Heinderyckx 2008), two (García 2008), three (Boczkowski 2004a, 2004b), or four (e.g. Singer 2004; Domingo 2006) media organisations. Therefore, this dissertation is also adopting a case study approach as it attempts to profoundly investigate the particularities of manifestations of broader trends of online journalism at two Slovenian print media organisations. This rather narrow scope makes it possible for the author to take the role of "critical ethnographer" (Yin 2003, 11–12), to develop "multiple standpoint epistemologies" (*ibid.*), and to conduct theoretically informed, empirically extended and self-reflexive generalisations.

The methodological framework of the multi-method ethnographic case study captures these four hallmarks in order to enable the author to provide a precise, integrative description and reconstruction of particular case subjects (Flick 2006, 141), (dis)connect the case to/from larger societal processes (Riain 2009, 288), and establish a reliable theoretical and empirical link between the phenomena and the context (Yin 2003, 13). From this perspective, the next part of the chapter case assesses the study approach – the weaknesses and strengths of focusing research on one or a few cases are discussed as the case subjects of the dissertation are presented.

5.2 Conducting Case Study Research

In media and journalism studies, ethnographic research has long been synonymous with case studies (cf. Domingo 2003; Cottle 2007; Puijk 2008; Paterson 2008; Quandt 2008; Wahl-Jorgensen 2010), "typically conceived of as grounded in the local and situated in specific, well-defined and self-contained social contexts" (Riain 2009, 291). Case study research usually refers to an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its

real-life context, especially when the boundaries between the phenomenon and context are not clearly evident (Yin 2003; Flick 2006; Riain 2009), and has been previously used to explore how online journalists do their work, why they do it in that way, and how they understand it (e.g. Boczkowski 2004a, 2004b; Klinenberg 2005; Domingo 2006; Paterson and Domingo 2008; Quinn 2009; Domingo and Paterson 2011). Despite the fact that case study research is bound to understand a specific case rather than seeking generalisations beyond the case (Stake 2000; Yin 2003; Marby 2008), an increasing range of ways can be seen by which researchers are extending their cases – personally, theoretically and empirically, as they try to gain flexibility in their research in order to critically assess and even generalise the results (Riain 2009). This part of the text discusses, first, why the case study as a research approach is suitable to studying global trends in online journalism in local surroundings, second, what might be the weaknesses of such an approach, and third, why particular print media organisations have been taken as case subjects in this dissertation's ethnographic investigation.

The aim of the case study in this dissertation is the precise description and reconstruction of the case (Flick 2006, 141), revealing the relationship between the case and broader societal structures and processes (Riain 2009, 288), and to establish a reliable theoretical and empirical link between the phenomenon and the context (Yin 2003, 13). In order to ethnographically investigate local-specific deviations frombroader, obvious trends that derive from particular tensions between the local and the global, and between technology and social phenomena, the dissertation constantly extends the case study research – in terms of continuous personal correspondence to the field, in terms of the critical proving, disproving and reconstructing of theoretical groundings, and in terms of experimenting with the case's empirical boundaries through time, space and culture (Riain 2009).On the one hand, without empirical extension, theoretical extension is often limited to the locating of the case within a unitary structure and requires assumptions about the degree to which local assumptions are shaped by larger structures; on the other hand, without theoretical extension, empirical extension often amounts to aimless wandering through strings of linked social interactions with little rationale for why particular empirical extensions over time and space are being followed.Thus, the theoretical and empirical claims of the case study investigations should be assessed not only in terms of evidence in support of them, but also in terms of the credibility and transparency of a reflexive researcher reconsidering the advantages and disadvantages of the research design and process (cf. Paterson 2008; Quandt 2008), the role of the researcher before, during and after the investigation (cf. Domingo 2003; Wahl-Jorgensen 2010), and

other theoretical, empirical and personal aspects of decisions throughout the whole investigation and their implications for the analysis (cf. Cottle 2007).

The dissertation chooses two case subjects, the Slovenian print media organisations *Delo* and *Dnevnik*. These two print media organisations appear suitable for comparison in reconsidering processes between continuity and change, because they share some key features. First, they have a comparable historical development, from "societally-owned" print media organisations from the 1950s to the 1990s to private media enterprises from the 1990s onwards (Bašić Hrvatin and Petković 2007; Milosavljević and Vobič 2009; Vobič 2009b). Second, *Delo* and *Dnevnik* are competitors with similar shares in the daily print and online media markets (Bašić Hrvatin and Kučić 2004; Bašić Hrvatin and Petković 2007; Milosavljević and Vobič 2009). Third, from several perspectives, the two print media organisations have similar online news projects (cf. Oblak and Petrič 2005; Vobič 2009b, 2010; Poler Kovačič *et al.* 2010). *Delo* and *Dnevnik* are two of the biggest Slovenian print media organisations in terms of the daily readership of their print editions (Slovenska oglaševalska zbornica 2011a), the number of unique visitors to their news websites (Slovenska oglaševalska zbornica 2011b), and the size of their staff and volume of their daily news output (Vobič 2011).

Delo was established in 1955 following the merger of the state-owned companies *Slovenski poročevalec* and *Tovariš* (cf. Amon 2000). On 1 May 1959, the first edition of the *Delo* daily was put together by the joint newsroom of the *Slovenski poročevalec* and *Ljudska pravica* newspapers, both of which were established in the spirit of Marxist-Leninist understanding within the press during the Second World War (*ibid.*). *Delo* –in Slovene "delo" means "work" and "labour" – proliferated in the decades of socialist self-management in Yugoslavia, nurturing the idea of journalists as socio-political workers and newswork as socio-political work, as assessed in Chapter 3. In 1980, the *Delo* broadsheet had a circulation of 100,000 copies, which was the second biggest circulation in Yugoslavia – right after the Serbian *Politika* (*Delo* 2009). From the start, news making at *Delo* was based on a holistic understanding of newswork and decentralised newsroom organisation, reflecting the tradition of the Central European press (cf. Vobič 2009b). After profound political, economic and cultural changes two decades ago, the *Delo* print media organisation transformed from a state-owned company into a private enterprise with approximately 300 employees, which was "one of the most important milestones" of the company (*Delo* 2009). It continued to publish the *Delo* daily, which began increasingly to routinise the processes of gathering and assembling news as a result of the processes of privatisation and commercialisation in the media sphere

(Poler Kovačič and Erjavec 2004). Despite moving into a new building on Dunajska Street in 1986 (*Delo* 2009) and cultural shifts in the newsroom, *Delo*'s decentralised organisation of newswork has not changed profoundly – the transformations were adopted on a small scale in the 1990s when *Delo* started publishing a daily tabloid, *Slovenske novice*, and a weekly, *Nedelo*, and in the 2000s, when the online department was established (cf. Milosavljević and Vobič 2009).[1] While, during the mid-2000s, the online department was "growing into a ghetto inside the print media organisation", says a former editor-in-chief of the *Delo* print daily, in 2008 *Delo* started to build an integrated newsroom for approximately 230 journalists, editors and other newsworkers to establish a common "information engine" for its print and online outlets (cf. Vobič 2009b).

Dnevnik was established as a state-owned company in 1951 by the OF. On 2 June of that year, the first edition of *Ljubljanski Dnevnik* was published, and its editor-in-chief Ivan Šinkovec wrote: "No matter how difficult and bitter, no matter how grave the weaknesses and faults, we must never go past the truth. For the truth is our strongest weapon." (*Dnevnik* 1951, n. 1) Grounding its conception of the world and cooperation among people in accordance with the ideas of self-managed journalism, *Ljubljanski Dnevnik* went beyond its initial focus on Ljubljana and, in the years after 1962, when it was renamed *Dnevnik*, became "one of the central general-interest dailies" in Slovenia (*Dnevnik* 2011). In the same year, the organisation published the first edition of its Nedeljski *Dnevnik* weekly, whose paid circulation and readership grew steadily – from some 42,000 copies sold in 1962 (Bukovec 2011b) to today's daily readership of 355,000 (Slovenska oglaševalska zbornica 2011a). In 1990, *Dnevnik* was renamed *Neodvisni Dnevnik*, which in Slovene means "independent daily", and then again into *Dnevnik* after the disintegration of Yugoslavia in 1991. Through the decades during which it operated on Kopitarjeva Street in the centre of Ljubljana, *Dnevnik* had a decentralised newsroom with a rather low division of work, keeping one central space as "the desk" and maintaining many branch offices which produced complete sections of the daily *Dnevnik* and other print periodicals (cf. Bukovec 2011a, 2011b, 2011c).[2] The news

[1] According to a survey, National Readership Study ("Nacionalna raziskava branosti") (Slovenska oglaševalska zbornica 2011a), the Delo daily has 130,000 readerseach day; the Sunday edition of Delo, named *Nedelo*, has a readership of 157,000; and the tabloid daily *Slovenske novice* has the biggest readership among all Slovenian dailies, at 318,000. According to the Measurement of Website Visiting survey ("Merjenje obiskanosti spletnih strani") (Slovenska oglaševalska zbornica 2011b), in March 2011, the online newspaper *Delo.si* had a reach of more than 249,000 unique visitors.

[2] According to the Slovenska oglaševalska zbornica survey (2011a), *Dnevnik* has 118,000 readers a day; the weekly *Nedeljski dnevnik* is the country's most read printed news periodical, with a readership of 355,000; and the tabloid weekly *Hopla* reaches 52,000 readers on average. According to the Slovenska oglaševalska zbornica survey (2011b), in March 2011 the online newspaper Dnevnik.si had a reach of more than 256,000 unique users.

website was established in 1998, but only in 2006 was an online department set up in one of the separate offices, and with only loose ties to the editorial flow of the print edition (cf. Vobič 2011). In 2010, *Dnevnik* embarked on the processes of newsroom integration, which are to bring together the processes and content of print and online department, although not in terms of space (*ibid.*).

Previous research into online journalism at *Delo* and *Dnevnik* has provided sketches of the parallel development of what are rather similar online news projects (cf. Oblak and Petrič 2005; Oblak 2005, 2007; Vobič 2007, 2009b, 2010, 2011; Poler Kovačič *et al.* 2010).Specifically, the transition to the web began in the second half of the 1990s when the ”we-have-to-be-online” mentality prevailed, and fewer than a handful of people initially employed by the print media organisation to do other tasks prepared news for online delivery; in the early 2000s, *Delo* and *Dnevnik* established online departments with up to 10 people which operated as a separate unit within the organisation; in the late 2000s, both these traditional media organisations started their integration processes, but, despite some initial structural changes, both online departments operate distinctly from other parts – in terms of news making, cross-department cooperation and work relations.

From this perspective, since the goal of this dissertation is to investigate global trends in online journalism in the local context of Slovenian print media, the ethnographic case study undertakes a multi-method comparative analysis in order to deal with the contingent and changing dynamics between structure and agency in the online departments and among online journalists at *Delo* and *Dnevnik*.Specifically, according to Riain (2009, 299), this empirical extension of ethnographic case study research presents a “seemingly excellent way to meet the challenges posed by globalisation to place-based studies”, particularly because connections between the diverging processes of late modernity encounter converging global trends which are anything but steady, predictable and uniform in journalism, news and newswork.

5.3 Combining Research Methods

Multi-method investigation has frequently been used in recent newsroom ethnographic studies (e.g. Boczkowski 2004a, 2004b; Klinenberg 2005; Domingo 2006; Avilés and Carvajal 2008; Paterson and Domingo 2008; Quinn 2009; Domingo and Paterson 2011). These authors have combined research methods, such as observations, document analyses and interviewing, to investigate processes, dynamics and relations among journalists in particular newsroom

settings. Combining research methods, which is known as triangulation, allows a researcher "to address a broader range of historical, attitudinal and behavioral issues" and to develop "converging lines of inquiry" (Yin 2003, 98). According to Singer (2008, 165), triangulation is "a process using multiple perceptions to clarify meaning and identify different ways of seeing a phenomenon". By combining several methods and giving them equal importance, it is assumed that if the findings obtained with different methods correspond and reach similar conclusions, then the validity of these findings and conclusions has been established (cf. Yin 2003; Flick 2006; Silverman 2006; Hammersley and Atkinson 2007). More specifically, "data-source triangulation involves the comparison of the data relating to the same phenomenon but deriving from different phases of the fieldwork, different points of the temporal cycles occurring in the setting, or the accounts of different participants (including the ethnographer) located in the setting" (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007, 183). This dissertation therefore adopts triangulation not as a strategy for "validating" procedures, decisions and findings, but more as an alternative strategy, which increases scope, precision, depth and consistency in methodological proceedings (cf. Denzin and Lincoln 2000; Flick 2006; Hammersly and Atkinson 2007; Silverman 2006). From this perspective, the research process in this dissertation is characterised by a movement away from theorising, multi-method data collection, analysis based on triangulation, and back to theorising for the purpose of addressing the research questions.

In the following three sections, the methods used in the ethnographic investigation – observation in the newsroom, analysis of documents relating to issues framed in the research questions, and semi-structured in-depth interviews with online staffers – are assessed in more detail in accordance with the respective research focus. By doing so, the author reconsiders the strong and weak points of the respective methods, discloses the dynamics of triangulation and explicates his epistemological position in order to legitimise the presentation of empirical results in Chapter 6.

5.3.1 Observation in the Newsroom

Media and journalism scholars reviewing ethnographic research (e.g. Domingo 2003; Cottle 2007; Quandt 2008; Paterson 2008; Puijk 2008; Wahl-Jorgensen 2010) more or less agree that newsroom observations appear to be standard in ethnographic research into journalism. In this type of research, an ethnographer goes "into" media organisations and tries to observe the work of journalists in an everyday newsroom setting. Observation in the newsroom is the act

of noting a phenomenon framed by particular research interests and recording the processes for specific scientific purposes. In this sense, the dissertation adopts newsroom observation as the most suitable method when trying to explore the organisation and structure of journalists' workspaces, investigate routines of gathering, assembling and providing news, as well as the conditions in which journalists work, and identify discrepancies between formal patterned newswork arrangements that constrain the choices, opportunities and performance of individual online journalists. Namely, observation allows for "direct witnessing" (Domingo 2003) or an "unfiltered view" (Quandt 2008) into "a place of employment, an environment of work, and a site of a struggle over conditions of labor and ideas of freedom" (Hardt and Brennen 1995, viii). While in the field, the author departed from the functionalist-systemic approach of early newsroom observations (e.g. Breed 1955) and adopted the rather constructivist approach of later studies (e.g. Tuchman 2002), in order to expose the gaps between official promises, formal structures and institutionalised relations, on the one hand, and empirical realities, ideals and performances, on the other. However, review of the literature which debates the method of observation (e.g. Yin 2003; Flick 2006; Silverman 2006; Hammersley and Atkinson 2007) indicates that, besides the researcher's position, there are also external dimensions that differentiate how respective observational studies are conducted and affect what findings are provided: first, access to the field; second, relationship with the observed; and third, the research focus and research conduct in the field. This section discusses these three dimensions through the prism of the ethnographic case study in this dissertation.

First, before conducting an observation in the field, one has to go through the negotiation process, or what García (2004) calls the "diplomacy of access", which is actually the deciding factor for doing any sort of fieldwork – that is, gaining permission to do this kind of research. From this perspective, the author constructed the request to access the online departments of two Slovenian print media organizations with a research proposal. Despite the fact that *Delo* and *Dnevnik* are traditionally organised and structured print media organisations with an emphasised "security culture" (Paterson 2008, 8), it was not easy to identify the "gatekeepers" (Puijk 2008, 32), particularly when one plans to observe routines in their online departments, which are in many regards separate units (cf. Vobič 2009b, 2010, 2011). The author talked to his contacts at *Delo* and *Dnevnik*, both of them online editors, whom he knew from previous research (*ibid.*). In face-to-face communication on 13 and 14 September 2010, both editors suggested writing a formal request to access the newsroom for research purposes. By adopting García's (2004) suggestion to present your request as "make-

up", which "does not hide features, it just accentuates the best ones", the author stated in the formal request (cf. Appendix A) that he is a doctoral student "investigating online news and newswork", and requested access to observe processes at the online departments of *Delo* and *Dnevnik* for a month. The author offered to work as an online journalist for free during the time of the observation and expressed willingness to "share the results of the study" with both print media organisations (*ibid.*). About a week later, both online editors sent an e-mail saying that they had informed the print editors-in-chief, who are at the top of the formal structure of authority at *Delo* and *Dnevnik*, and that they had granted the request for a month-long observation. Offering assurances that he would enter the newsroom as an observer (i.e. ethnographic researcher) and as a participant (i.e. online journalist) made it possible for the author to adopt an "active membership role" (Yin 2003, 56). As part of this process the author published 18 repurposed online news items and 9 shovelled ones from the printed addition in 20 days of observation at *Delo* (cf. Appendix B). In 23 days of observation at *Dnevnik*, he published 14 repurposed online news items, 15 shovelled ones from the *Slovenian Press Agency* (*STA*) and one original multimedia news piece (cf. *ibid*.).

Second, according to those scholars who review observation (e.g. Lindlof 1995; Yin 2003; Neuman 2006; Flick 2006), the researcher's success very much depends on the relationship with the people observed. While observing at *Delo* [27 September–27 October 2010] and *Dnevnik* [4 November–22 December 2010], the author adopted two master roles and switched between them (Lindlof 1995; Hansen *et al.* 1998; Neuman 2006; Flick 2006): first, that of participant-as-observer, who has an intimate vantage point on routines, but may also be constrained by having to carry out some work and thus be less flexible about the various research interests; second, the role of observer-as-participant, who remains an outsider in a group throughout the field research and thus may miss out on some of the insider'sperspective, but on the other hand have more autonomy in accomplishing field research goals. Through the combination of these two roles and the fact that the researcher knew most of the online journalists beforehand – as interviewees from previous research (cf. Vobič 2009b, 2010, 2011) or as students from the faculty where the author works as a teaching assistant - the observed treated the researcher more as an insider than an outsider from the beginning, and this evolved into an "honorary insider status" (Hansen *et al.* 1998). However, in both online departments three stages of normalisation of the relationship between the researcher and online journalists could be identified during 194 hours of observing. At first, online journalists were mostly reserved and appeared rather uncomfortable, as they sensed author's presence as a "disturbance" (Domingo 2003).Specifically, some of them

started to describe the author as a "spy" (*Delo* Online Journalist A), a "mole" (*Dnevnik* Online Journalist A), and a "bookmaker" (*Delo* Journalist A). Later on, more trust could be detected in the relationship, as some of them often came to the author to ask him for his opinion, to share confidences with him and even to criticize editors and their decisions during cigarette and coffee breas, even explicitly naming the researcher a "confident" and a conversation with him a "confession" (*Delo* Online Journalist B). In the last stage of the relationship at *Delo* and *Dnevnik*, it appeared that "while the fieldworker is taking a study of others, others are taking study of the fieldworker" (Van Maanen 1982, 110), and the online journalists started asking about the goals of the research, about insights from other online departments and the conclusions of the observations. At the same time, online journalists started openly criticising editors and the print department, and questioning the established processes of gathering, assembling and providing news.

Third, scholars from media and journalism studies (i.e. Domingo 2003; Cottle 2007; Quandt 2008; Paterson 2008; Puijk 2008; Wahl-Jorgensen 2010) suggest that focusing the research in the field and defining the conduct of gathering, assessing and analysing data are crucial to observational situation, because "there is too much to see, hear and understand" (Domingo 2003). Therefore, in the field the author conducted his observation in three stages, with different observational tactics (e.g. Spradley 1980; Lindlof 1995; Flick 2006; Neuman 2006; Hammersley and Atkinson 2007). First, in the first three days the author descriptively observed processes at the online departments of *Delo* and *Dnevnik* in order to provide orientation and non-specific descriptions and grasp the complexity of the field. Second, over the next three weeks or so he conducted focused observation, narrowing the perspective down to those processes and problems which are most essential to the research questions. Third, in the last stage, the author observed online journalists selectively for approximately a week and focused on finding evidence of the patterns of the processes and problems identified in the second stage. During these stages, the author adopted a three-step process of data gathering, assembling and analysing. The first step of the process was to set down, in a mainly descriptive way, what was experienced in the newsroom, based on full field notes containing memos and notes jotted in the newswork environment, photographs from the newsroom and short interviews with online journalists and editors. At work in the newsroom and away from the desk during coffee and cigarette breaks, he mostly initiated and steered short conversations with the observed by primarily using "descriptive questions" to explore the setting, and learn about the members, and "contrast questions" to focus on differences and similarities between elements in the categories (Neuman 2006, 409–410). The second step

was slightly detached from the field and done each day after the observation, when the researcher compared what was observed that day to what had been previously observed, and arranged them within an observational scheme organised according to the research questions (cf. Appendix C). The third stage was done in the last week of the observation, when the author started to conceptually analyse collected and compared data from the field within the theoretical framework of the study and the researcher's epistemological grounding. In 43 days of active observation at *Delo* and *Dnevnik*, the author accumulated more than 130 pages of assessed field notes, organised in the observational scheme. Such "semi-standardized observation" (Quandt 2008, 140) invited the author to extend the observation personally, theoretically and empirically, bringing flexibility to the processes of gathering, comparing and analysing data, and enabling the author to assess how his own philosophical bias underpins the theory-laden nature of how he made sense of what he had observed.

5.3.2 Document Analysis

Review of recent ethnographic newsroom studies (e.g. Boczkowski 2004a, 2004b; Klinenberg 2005; Avilés and Carvajal 2008; Paterson and Domingo 2008; Quinn 2009; Domingo and Paterson 2011) shows that document access, collection and analysis are considered a constitutive part of ethnographic research, but authors do not give much attention to explaining the method and giving details on how different types of documents are collected, assembled and analysed. In ethnographic research, documents are understood as "standardized artefacts", as Flick (2006, 246) writes, but researchers have to refrain from considering them to be stable, static and predefined. "In fact, the status of things as 'documents' depends precisely on the ways such objects are integrated into fields of action, and documents can only be defined in terms of such fields." (*ibid.*) In this sense, gaining physical access to observe is one step, while getting access to documents and archives in the media organisation is another problem. Furthermore, according to Puijk (2008) and Deuze (2008a), document analysis in newsroom ethnography has changed significantly with the introduction of computers, intranets, the internet and other digital tools that have reshaped the internal communicative spaces of media organisations and processes of coordination of workers, developing and retrieving archival material, as well as building and using different sorts of databases. In this section, the method of document analysis and its application to the respective ethnographic case study is reconsidered by dealing with the questions of what the

problems in conducting the method are, how the method fits into the research process and what its limitations are.

As every organization has its own way of organizing the information flow and archives, *Delo* and *Dnevnik* are similar cases – they arrange regular and ad hoc meetings, forms are completed and central coordinating departments are supplied with input, while generated data are again distributed to appropriate members (Puijk 2008, 34–35). The author requested access to the CMS, the intranet and e-mail exchange system in order to get closer to the dynamics of internal communication – "a central element of organizations" (Puijk 2009, 34). Since access was granted to all systems and the author was given a desk with a computer at both organisations, the researcher was not only able to explore the differences between these systems but also had greater control on what was going on at any one time, because he had access to unpublished news items, to the internal information flow of both organisations, and to print and online news archives. In both online departments, staffers also used *Facebook*, *Twitter*, *MSN* and personal e-mails to nurture information flow amongst them – obviously, access to those systems was mostly closed to the researcher, unlike in the case of institutional channels.

On the one hand, at *Delo* the researcher received a username and password for CMS, which allowed him to observe the processes of other journalists making online news , check various timely statistical data from *Delo*.si, and, in addition, assemble and publish his own news item. Furthermore, he was given the email address and access to the contents of the common e-mail account internet@delo.si, from where, for instance, invitations to meetings were sent and all information relating to work schedules was disseminated. In addition, the *Intranet Delo Springboard* ("Znotrajmrežna *Delo* odskočna deska") was also accessible to the author during observation, and he could look for research-related documents, such as newsletters, full annual reports, strategy overviews, administrative documents and internal evaluations, and search the archive of the print daily *Delo* for news items somehow related to *Delo*.si.

Meanwhile, at *Dnevnik* the author was given access to CMS and an e-mail address, igor.vobic@dnevnik.si, subscribed to newsletters and entered the information flow via the shared addresses posta@dnevnik.si and online@dnevnik.si. The former one is a shared address for the whole print media organisation; the latter is a shared address for the *Dnevnik* online department. However, *Dnevnik* does not have an intranet – access to work protocols, project strategies and administrative documents had to be arranged through personal channels, most often with the help of the online executive editor. Via *Dnevnik*'s CMS, the researcher

obtained access to timely statistical data from *Dnevnik*.si, was granted an inside look into the processes of members of the online department assembling news items, and was given a digital working environment to make online news by himself. In addition, he was able to the print and online news archive through the CMS.

During the observation, the author tried to get hold of three kinds of documents: current working protocols, strategic memos from past projects and print and online news items from the respective online departments and news websites. As encountered by other authors for a variety of reasons (e.g. Domingo 2003, 2004, 2006; Castello and Domingo 2004; Puijk 2008), these efforts were only partly successful. First, if *Dnevnik* has written material defining its work and the author was able to examine it, *Delo* does not have such a document, as most of the rules were continually negotiated by online journalists and editors. Second, the researcher obtained documents describing the strategy of newsroom integration processes at *Delo* – in person and on the intranet. However, at *Dnevnik* no such documents were available, as they were regarded by the online executive editor to be "sensitive" and "secret", and so she did not grant access . Third, at both organisations the author was able to obtain news items from *Delo*.si and *Dnevnik*.si from their respective archives in order to assemble and analyse the representations on them.

The author approached the collected documents as "the means of constructing a specific version of a processes" (Flick 2006, 252) and a "reflection of communication" (Yin 2003, 87) within the respective organisations. This significantly shaped the analysis of the documents gathered: current working protocols, strategic memos from past projects and print and online news items from the respective online departments and news websites. By taking into account who produced these documents, for what purpose they were produced and what the organizational context of their production was, analysis of these materials gave a specific and at the same time limited approach to experiences and processes (Flick 2006, 251). As scholars debating qualitative methodology in social sciences (e.g. Yin 2003; Wolf 2003; Flick 2006) stress, the major problem in analysing documents appeared to be the conceptualisations of relations between explicit content, implicit meaning and the context of functions, and the usage of the documents. Therefore, the author regarded document or archival material gathered in the field through various channels as evidence that reflects communication among certain parties attempting to achieve certain objectives. Or, as Yin (2003, 87–88) stresses, "by constantly trying to identify these objectives, you are less likely to be misled by documentary evidence and more likely to be correctly critical in interpreting the contents of such evidence." (Yin 2003, 87–88)

5.3.3 Interviews with Online Staffers

Qualitative in-depth interviews have often been used as a component of newsroom studies over the last decade or so. Furthermore, interviews with journalists, editors and other newsworkers are frequently used by online journalism researchers, who conduct them to get insights into the evolution of online newswork (Boczkowski 2004a, 2004b), gather evidence of patterns of the linkage between structure and agency in newsrooms (Paterson and Domingo 2008; Domingo and Paterson 2011), analyse the narratives of online staffers on the journalism-technology relationship (e.g. Klinenberg 2005; Domingo 2006; Avilés and Carvajal 2008), or investigate the self-perceptions of online journalists (e.g. Colson and Heinderyckx 2008; Domingo 2008; García 2008; Quandt 2008; Deuze and Marjoribanks 2009; Singer and Ashman 2009). In contemporary social sciences (e.g. Holstein and Gubrium 1995; Lindlof 1995; Arksey and Knight 1999; Legard *et al.* 2003; Flick 2006; Silverman 2006), qualitative interviews are not seen as neutral conduits, but rather as social encounters where knowledge is constructed. Due to the prevailing constructivist perspective adopted to examining social phenomena, this dissertation adopts "active interviewing" (Holstein and Gubrium 1995, 16) as an approach to understanding this qualitative method, and a type of "semi-structured" interview (Arksey and Knight 1999, 8–9). In this section, the method of qualitative interview and its application to the respective ethnographic case study is reviewed, first, by, elaborating the constructivist approach to interviewing taken by the author, second, by presenting the profits and perils of this type of the semi-structured interview for the dissertation, and, third, by revealing how the method fits into the research design and what its limitations are.

First, the dissertation adopts a constructivist approach to "active interviewing" (Holstein and Gubrium 1995, 16), which is a form of interpretative practice involving the respondent and interviewer as they articulate ongoing interpretative structures, resources and orientations. This approach to interviewing draws attention to the fact that "experience is never raw, but is embedded in a social web of interpretation and reinterpretation" (Kitzinger 2004, 128). Conversational relationships constructed during interviews are, as Deuze (2005) stresses, different and sometimes inconsistent ways in which journalists give meaning to their work, thereby constantly negotiating their self-understanding within tensions between structure and agency. Hence, this dissertation applies a combination of what Legard *et al.* (2003, 140) call "dialectical interviewing", which is focused on contradictions in the social

and material world and on the potential for action and for change, and "heuristic interviewing", which emphasises the personal approach of the interviewer and sees the process of interviewing as a collaboration between researcher and participant, sharing reflection and enquiry.

Second, since the empirical inquiry of the dissertation is informed by theory and in relation to specific context, the dissertation departs from a"focused" (Flick 2006, 150) or "structured" interview (Arksey and Knight 1999, 8), in which the interviewer strictly follows the interview guide, and the reliability of the method conducted depends upon her or his training, supervision and rules of working, and adopts a "semi-structured" (Arksey and Knight 1999, 8–9) or "semi-standardized" (Flick 2006, 151) type of interview . The author developed and used an interview guide, which was a mix of open and closed questions, and used theoretical knowledge, empirical insights and common sense to improvise and steer the course of the interview conversation (Arksey and Knight 1999, 8). Hence, conducted interviews combined structure and flexibility, conversations were mutually supplementary and interactive in nature, the researcher used a range of probes and other techniques to achieve depth of answer in terms of penetration, exploration and explanation, and the interview situations were conducted face-to-face and were generative in the sense that new knowledge was created.

Third, the constructivist approach of active interviewing was incorporated into semi-structured conversations with interviewees in the two groups. The author conducted 29 semi-structured in-depth interviews with online staffers from *Delo* and *Dnevnik* between 19 January and 16 February 2010. The first group included former editors and journalists who worked for the online departments of *Delo* and *Dnevnik* from the late 1990s until the mid-2000s. The second group consisted of online editors, journalists and other newsworkers at the respective print media organisations. In the first group there were 10 interviewees: *Delo* and *Dnevnik* individual online newsworkers in the late 1990s, print editors-in-chief and online executive editors at both print media organisations in the mid-2000s, a *Delo* online redakteur from the mid-2000s, *Dnevnik* and *Delo* online journalists from late the 2000s, and the *Delo* director of informatics, who performed different tasks to do with the development of *Delo*.si over the last 15 years. In the second group, there were 19 interviewees, selected according to the formal structure of authority in the newsroom and their role in the decision-making process in the respective online departments: from *Delo*, there was the print editor-in-chief, the online executive editor, the newsroom integration manager, the online redakteur, a multimedia newsworker and five online journalists; from *Dnevnik* there was the online

executive editor, the newsroom integration manager, an assistant to the online executive editor, a multimedia newsworker and five online journalists, of whom four also work as redakteurs. The current print editor-in-chief of *Dnevnik* turned down the request for an interview, and wrote in an e-mail: "It is true – I am editor-in-chief of print and online, but I think that she [online executive editor] has much more to say about all these issues."

Each semi-structured interview was characterided by three central criteria (Flick 2006, 161): "problem centeing" (the researcher's orientation to the relevant problem), "object orientation" (developing or modifying interviews with respect to an object of research), and "process orientation" (understanding of the object of research). These criteria were used to shape the interview guide, which was not applied rigidly, but instead adopted as a flexible tool for theoretically informed and contextually grounded conversation. The interview guide (cf. Appendix D) served as a "framework for the main body of a semi-structured interview" and was "based on the key questions that the study is addressing" (Arksey and Knight 1999, 97). The guide for the interviews was built on three levels: on the first level there were the central problems of the study, based on the four research questions; then, on the second level there were topics and components of problems, which were identified on the basis of literature review, insights from newsroom observation and outcomes of documentation analysis; on the third level there were questions that were used to seek to encourage conversation and seek further elaboration, clarification, specific examples and so on.

When a person was selected to be interviewed, the author had to seek permission for the interview and ask them to enter into a "contract" by agreeing to take part in the conversation (Arksey and Knight 1999, 147). The terms of the interview contract were usually that the interviewee had agreed to be interviewed for a predetermined length of time, at a particular venue, on a particular topic and under clear conditions of confidentially (*ibid.*). During interviews and afterwards, the contract had to be obliged by both sides. In these regards, interviews in this study were one hour and forty minutes long on average, and were held outside of the newsroom in a fairly quiet public space, most often a cafeteria. Interviews were voice-recorded and later transcribed in full (cf. Arksey and Knight 1999, 144). Each interview was long, at about an hour and half – the conversations together lasted more than 46 hours and resulted in more than 700 pages of transcribed text. However, the interviewees' names remained confidential, which is not unusual in social sciences (cf. Flick 2006, 49–50). This was done mainly to minimise the possible personal consequences for an individual, especially online journalists, given position in the newsroom power structure. Thus, in the text they only appear as practitioners of certain functions in the particular newsroom, with an extra

period where they performed those roles in one of the organisations (e.g. *Delo* Online Executive Editor [2007–2010]) or a capital letter to distinguish between those who have a common job (e.g. *Dnevnik* Online Journalist A).

The interview conversations appeared as "an evolving drama" (Hermanns 2004, 212), where the interviewer's task was to facilitate this drama to occur. The conversations were steered by rather flexible application of the interview guide and the active involvement of the author in the interviews, as he combined three types of questions. First, "open" questions (Flick 2006, 156) or "content-mapping" questions (Legard *et al.* 2003, 148) were used in order to get the conversation on the topic started, and they were answered on the basis of the knowledge the interviewee had at hand (e.g. How would you characterise relations between online and print journalists at your print media organisation?). Then, the author asked "theory-driven questions" (Flick 2006, 156) based on literature review and the study's theoretical presuppositions (e.g. Has the newsroom integration process improved cooperation among print and online departments or has it had a minor role in shaping these relations?). The third type of questions – "confrontational" questions (Flick 2006, 157) or "content mining" questions (Legard *et al.* 2003, 150) – respond to the relations the interviewee presented up to that point in order to critically reexamine these notions in the light of competing alternatives (e.g. Cooperation between print and online department depends on the particular interests of individual journalists. The system of cooperation does not exist. What are the main reasons for the lack of cooperation?)

After the data was collected and assembled, it was analysed – trying to address the interview data, as Silverman (2006, 146) suggests, in a more complex way than settling on presenting the research as a descriptive study based upon a certain social problem. Therefore, the author did not approach the interview responses gathered simply as true or false reports on reality, but analysed the conversations as displays of perspectives and forms that draw upon available resources in a specific context (Silverman 2006, 144). The way the data was analysed had largely been determined, first, by the research design, which strives for triangulation of insights gathered via observation, document analysis and interviews, and second, in the sole case of the interviewing by the interview guide grounded on research questions, theory and data gathered by the other two methods (cf. Arksey and Knight 1999; Legard *et al.* 2003; Yin 2003; Silverman 2006; Flick 2006). The analysis of collected interview data involved searching, comparing and interrogating the transcripts to establish analytical categories that address the research questions, that are mindful of the research literature and which allowed the greatest amount of the data to be coded without either forcing

them into categories or having categories that are so sprawling as to be virtually meaningless (Arksey and Knight 1999, 162). Having organised the data in this way, the next step was to retrieve them, in other words, “to search for all the information about a particular topic or theme that was indexed under the same code” (Arksey and Knight 1999, 167). During the interpretation of the interview data collected and assembled, anomalies, paradoxes and discomforting evidence appeared as irritants, since they slowed down the process of analysis, but kept the author away from the tidy findings presented. Analysis stopped when the author found out nothing fresh as he read the interview data alone or triangulated it with observational insights and the results of the data analysis for the purposes of addressing particular research questions.

6. RESULTS: ONLINE JOURNALISM AT SLOVENIAN PRINT MEDIA

This chapter presents the results of the multi-method ethnographic research into manifestations of global trends in online journalism at two Slovenian print media organisations by reviewing the tensions between continuity and change. From this perspective, the chapter analyses structural developments in online newswork at *Delo* and *Dnevnik*, the socio-organisational settings in the online departments of these two print media organisations, the emerging logic of online news making at *Delo.si* and *Dnevnik.si*, and the societal roles of their online journalists. In four parts, this theoretically integrating and historically informed study tackles these issues of online journalism, which are increasingly difficult to map, let alone analyse, due to the complexities of the dynamics between continuity and change in contemporary Slovenian journalism. Therefore, the analysis embraces "a dialogic multisciplinarity" (Fenton 2010, 5) and combines a critical-economic perspective on media (cf. Schudson 1989/1997; McChesney 2000; Fuchs 2009), historical inquiry (cf. Zelizer 2008; Hardt 2008; Schudson 2005), a social-organisational perspective on journalism (cf. Altmeppen 2008; Domingo 2008a; Boczkowski 2011), a political approach to normative roles of media and journalism in public life (cf. Splichal 2000; Christians *et al.* 2009; Haniztsch *et al*. 2011), and a cultural approach to communication (cf. Schudson 2005; Carey 2007; Hartley 2008). Such a manifold, integrating perspective helps to contextualise trends in online journalism, which have been identified and discussed in Chapter 3, and analyse gathered data in order to explore changes in online newswork, the organisation and structure of online journalists' workspaces, the articulations between technology and online news making, and self-perceptions of online journalists in the specific Slovenian context.

Furthermore, as indicated in Chapter 5, the author adopts a constructivist understanding of applied research methods and a critical approach to analysis of the collected ethnographic data. Thus, the author aims to explore the dynamics between structure and agency by exposing the gaps between official promises, formal structures and institutionalised relations, on the one hand, and empirical realities, ideals and performances, on the other. In this sense, the central analytical process adopted is triangulation, which "not only helps guard against seeing what is not there, a potential bias of any single-method approach, but also facilitates seeing what is there by enabling the researcher to go back and forth between distinct but complementary data sets" (Singer 2008, 166). Triangulation of collected data is adopted less as a strategy for validating procedures, decisions and findings and more as an

alternative strategy, which increases scope, precision, depth and consistency in methodological proceedings (cf. Denzin and Lincoln 2000; Flick 2006; Silverman 2006).

In this manner, a historically and theoretically informed ethnographic case study is presented in four parts, where the dynamics between continuity and change arereviewed. First, in *Periodization of Online Newswork Development*, the author examines issues surrounding manifestations of global trends in online newswork development in the respective Slovenian print media organizations, both diachronically and synchronically. Second, *Newsrooms and Online Departments* explores how recent reorganisations and restructurings of newsrooms shape the gathering, assembling and provision of news for the websites of Slovenian print media organisations. Third, *Online News Making and its Logic* investigates articulations between the elements of emerging online media logic (hypertextuality, interactivity and multimediality) and Slovenian online journalists' relations with other subjects in online news making (newsroom colleagues, sources of information and the audience). Fourth, in *Online Journalists and their Roles*, the author researches the self-perceptions of online journalists through the prism of their roles in society. Each part includes an introductory section where its theoretical framework, methodological basis and objectives are presented, assesses gathered data on the basis of theoretical reconsiderations of the prevailing trends in online journalism (cf. Chapter 3), supplies a historical overview of the development of Slovenian journalism (cf. Chapter 2) and triangulation of ethnographic methods (cf. Chapter 5), and provides a discussion as a basis for the conclusion in Chapter 7.

6.1 Periodization of Online Newswork Development

Traditional print media organisations have acted reactively, defensively and pragmatically to the rise of the internet, most notably its interface the World Wide Web, which has significantly reshaped the evolution of newswork in Europe, North America and Asia (e.g. Kopper *et al.* 2000; Kawamoto 2003a; Boczkowski 2004a; Scott 2005; Pavlik 2008; Mitchelstein and Boczkowski 2009). By building on the critical-economic perspective and borrowing from sociology and cultural studies, these authors suggest that traditional media organisations adopted specific innovation strategies that have led them to react to social and technical developments rather than proactively contributing to them, to focus on protecting print rather than investing in online news projects, and to emphasise smaller short-term successes rather than less certain long-term benefits. These dynamics have evolved into taking compensatory measures to spread risks and led to online newswork adopting an intensifying

flexible character in terms of the processes of news making, cooperation across departments and the employment status of online journalists. Namely, in two decades of research, media and journalism scholars have developed a diachronic inquiry into online newswork and found flexible work relations and specific transformations of editorial workflow still shaped by highly routinised processes of gathering, assembling and providing news and the shifting relationship between print and online departments within traditional media organisations (e.g. Kopper *et al.* 2000; Kawamoto 2003b; Boczkowski 2004a; Scott 2005; Deuze 2007; Pavlik 2008; Paterson and Domingo 2008; Mitchelstein and Boczkowski 2009; Tunney and Monaghan 2010; Meikele and Redden 2011; Domingo and Paterson). Since online newswork has evolved within the structure of tension between continuity and change, articulated in the particular link between the global and the local, this part of the chapter attempts to study these non-essential, varying and context-related connections by addressing the first research question: *How have global trends in the evolution of online newswork manifested themselves in Slovenian print media?*

Slovenian media and journalism studies do not provide a comprehensive picture of the historical evolution of online newswork in Slovenian print media organisations, since valuable examples where online journalism in Slovenian print media has been historicised are rare and rather narrow in their diachronic scope, as they pursue their research goals (e.g. Oblak and Petrič 2005; Oblak Črnič 2007; Poler Kovačič *et al.* 2010; Vobič 2009b, 2010). Therefore, putting these insights together leaves some gaps unfilled, and requires that further attention be paid to online journalism research in Slovenia. Thus, the purpose of this part of the chapter is twofold. On the one hand, the author attempts to build a periodisation of the evolution of online newswork in Slovenian print media by focusing on diachronic dynamics in the complexities of editorial workflow, processes of news making, the relationship between print and online departments, and the work relations of online journalists at *Delo* and *Dnevnik*. On the other hand, this part aims to provide a conceptual grounding and contextual framework for a critical investigation of online newswork issues when studying transforming newsroom traditions, online news making and its emerging logic, and online journalists' perceptions and their roles in society, in the following three parts of Chapter 6. In order to comprehensively explore online newswork development in the respective print media organisations, the author analyses gathered data by combining a critical-economic perspective on media, which focuses on how economic factors influence social process and emphasises structural factors and newswork (cf. Schudson 1989/1997; McChesney 2000; Fuchs 2009); historical inquiry, which locates problems in context, weaving prevailing currents of thought

and empirical realities across time into a narrative that renders journalism's past understandable (cf. Zelizer 2008; Hardt 2008; Schudson 2005), and a social-organisational perspective on journalism, which presents news making as constrained by organisational, technological and occupational forces (cf. Altmeppen 2008; Domingo 2008a; Boczkowski 2011). The dissertation thus conceptualises and examines newswork as individual and collective action in editorial processes defined in the dynamics between the structural predispositions of the capitalist logic of cooperation among people and organisational constraints enforced by media owners, management and newsroom decision-makers.

In order to provide a consistent inquiry into the historical development of online newswork in Slovenian print media organisations from the latter half of the 1990s until the present day, the author moves from theorising to data analysis, from interpretation on the basis of a historical assessment of Slovenian press and conceptual reconsiderations developed in a review of online newswork evolution worldwide, and back to theorizing. To realise this analytical process and to develop results, the author combines concepts from existing inquiries into related issues with insights from primary empirical investigation. The latter are based on triangulation of data collected through document and archive analysis at *Delo* and *Dnevnik*, semi-structured interviews with former and current editors and journalists from the online departments of the organizations under study, and observational investigation at their online departments.

The next three sections mark the discontinuities in the evolution of online newswork at *Delo* and *Dnevnik* and provide insights into identified periods of historical development in online newswork from the late 1990s to the early 2010s, in respect of the identified patterns of change in editorial workflow, news making processes, the relationship between print and online departments and work relations among those making news for the websites *Delo*.si and *Dnevnik*.si. The first one is the period of the exploring of and settling on the web [from the late 1990s to the early 2000s], when online news is made by "lone wolves" (*Dnevnik* Online Executive Editor [2007–2010]), who had been primarily hired for other tasks in the organisation, but have been redeployed to take on the task of online news making and as such "almost ignored" (*Delo* Online Executive Editor [2010–] and *Delo* Newsroom Integration Manager [2011–]). The second period is a time of hedging of online performance and the emergence of specific online departments at *Delo* and *Dnevnik* [from the mid-2000s to the late 2000s], which were established as "ghettos", says *Delo*'s print editor-in-chief [2003–2006, 2008–2010], and evolved into "pedants" of the print edition (*Delo* Print Editor-in-Chief [2010-]). The third period can be named the time of the flexibilising of online newswork

[from the late 2000s to the early 2010s], characterised by newsroom convergence processes strategically bringing together spaces, technologies, staffers and processes of previously separated print and online departments in order to build a "common information engine", Conceptual Draft and Organizational Design of IR Operation ("Osnutek koncepta in organizacijske zasnove delovanja IR") (Delo 2008a) and nurture a culture of integration "as something that is unavoidable" in a contingent political, economic, cultural and technological environment (*Dnevnik* Print Editor-in-Chief [2002–2009] and *Dnevnik* Newsroom Integration Manager [2009–]). Then, in the last section of the chapter, the results are additionally reconsidered in the context of the tensions between continuity and change that accompany global trends in online newswork development and contemporary Slovenian journalism in order to develop conceptual grounds for analyses in the following parts of the dissertation.

6.1.1 Exploring and Settling: Online Newswork from the Mid-1990s to the Early 2000s

Unlike investigations in various North American and Western European print media industries (e.g. Pryor 2002; Carlson 2003; Boczkowski 2004a; Scott 2005; Li 2006), research into *Delo* and *Dnevnik* indicates that the Slovenian newspaper industry had not tried to appropriate non-print delivery systems before the mid-1990s.According to document analysis and interviews with primary decision-makers in this historical inquiry, videotex, audiotex and fax were never considered as supplements to the printed newspaper in Slovenia. Not until the rise of the web as a graphical interface of the internet and its development into a communication environment in the mid-1990s (cf. Oblak Črnič 2008), when the "we-have-to-be-online mentality" prevailed among Slovenian traditional media organisations (Oblak and Petrič 2005, 12–13), did print media organizations look beyond ink on paper when the influences of economic factors on social processes within and outside media organisations are analyzed.

Only a decade and a half ago, *Delo* and *Dnevnik* started, in Boczkowski's (2004a) terms, "exploring" the web, and soon began to "settle" their additional news delivery online, as they began reconsidering what the internet interface might bring to printed newspapers in political and economic terms. At that time, when news websites were regarded as "promotional sites for the print edition" (*Dnevnik* Newsroom Integration Manager [2009–] and *Dnevnik* Print Editor-in-Chief [2002–2009]), traditional media organisations shunned online departments in many regards – for instance, in terms of editorial flow, news making processes, cross-department cooperation and work relations. This section sociologically

assesses the particular development of these notions as constructed in the specific political and economic circumstances in which both news websites, with an increasing share of unique online users, were formed. For instance, *Delo*.si had approximately 11,000 unique users per month in 2000, whereas *Dnevnik*.si had almost 32,000 (Vehovar 2001); in 2001, both news websites had 44,000 unique visitors, with a reach of about 32 % among internet users (Vehovar and Pfajpfar 2003).

Despite the fact that the online engagement of *Delo* and *Dnevnik* in the second half of the 1990s was predominantly shaped by a combination of reactive and defensive pragmatism on the structural level, and the enthusiasm of some individuals in their newsrooms, their online paths were somehow distinctive in terms of the development of editorial workflow and news making processes. On the one hand, the *Delo* news website was "stable" and "hardly ever movable", says the first *Delo* journalist who made news for online delivery. She was primarily employed as a political journalist and later a redakteur on the central desk, but at the same time she made news for online readers as a result of her "enthusiasm" (*DeloFax* Editor [1997–2008]) and institutional belief that *Delo* needs to go online like "all the others" (*Delo* Print Editor-in-Chief [2010-]). However, according to *Delo* online staffers and available documents, *Delo.si* did not provide original online news from 1997, when the website was launched, but only from 2004, when its first online department was established. At that time, *Delo*'s online news project was "way behind competition" (Oblak and Petrič 2005, 123), because it was not taken seriously as a practice and as a business, says a *DeloFax* editor [1997–2008]. Nevertheless, from the tensions between structural factors and newswork, diversity in adapting online distribution emerged at *Delo*.

The first way of adapting was what Kawamoto (2003a) calls the "shoveling" of selected print news onto the website, which was being "done in cooperation by two persons" redeployed to take on these tasks, says a former *Delo* online redakteur [2004–2007, 2010], who stresses that "everything looked very awkward on the website" in the 1990s and the early 2000s (cf. Figure 6.1.1.1).

> *I set up the first Delo.si in May 1997 and it was a simple website without any interactive features. /.../ There was a* Delo *logo, some selected news items from the first few pages of the newspaper, and advertising rates for print. I taught the computer to do most of the work. No online journalists back then. /.../ It was completely technical work – done by one of the technical editors who selected the print content and I assembled it.* (*Delo* Director of Informatics [2011–])

Figure 6.1.1.1 News Website Delo.si from 2000

In 1997 the current director of informatics [2011–] at *Delo* was employed as a technical editor. He describes the period from the mid-1990s until the early 2000s as a "technical period" in the development of *Delo.si*, because online newswork appeared more as manual work bound to the computer than a cognitive practice. Furthermore, a former *Delo* online executive editor [2004–2009] acknowledges that *Delo* had "no clear online strategy till 2004", when she was hired to reorganise news making and redesign the website.

> *It is debatable whether* Delo.si *was even a website in the proper sense before my time, as it was primitive in terms of design and content. There was no online department. Nobody worked on the web seriously and there was no proper plan of what to do online. /.../ What they were doing back then did not have a lot to do with the internetat all.* (*Delo* Online Executive Editor [2004–2009])

The second way of adapting news for online delivery was the creation of *Delo*Fax, a fixed-form portable version of the daily newspaper. "We got this strange option out of the stinginess of the board and of the editor-in-chief. *DeloFax* was a shrunken version of the *Delodaily*, some sort of a clipping on up to eight pages," says the first *Delo* online news provider, who

served as a *DeloFax* editor for eleven years. *DeloFax* was available on the website to download and was also sent via e-mail to about 2,000 subscribers in Slovenia and abroad (Delo 2007). This "daily bouquet of *Delo*" (*ibid.*) was prepared on the basis of the contents of the print edition and assembled by its technical editor. When she finished her daily tasks as a political print journalist, she selected commentary and analysis from the newspaper, repurposed selected print news items and forwarded them to the technical editor for assembling.

> *Delo printed its daily newspaper between 6 PM and 7 PM, so the central desk received all the items by half past five. I was in the central desk when the pieces were coming in and I read almost the whole paper. In two to three hours, I positioned the selected content on the first page, second page and so on. Then, I sent it to the technical editor, who worked on it, and at about 10 pm, the PDF went on the website.* (*DeloFax* Editor [1997–2008])

On the other hand, at *Dnevnik*, the editorial flow and news making processes were established differently, during the period of exploring and settling, despite a similar economic structure framing the agency of online journalism. The first *Dnevnik* online executive editor [1996–2005] does not characterise institutional or personal enthusiasm as the primary mover in *Dnevnik*'s online news project: "The goal was to bring the print edition closer to the readers online. I used the logic of the computer and the internet that I had gained in the 1970s when I worked on *IBM* computers. /…/ The online job needed to be done. There was no point in making a big fuss out of it." According to interviewees, between 1996 and 2005 the editor performed as a "lone wolf" (*Dnevnik* Online Executive Editor [2007–2010]) and was primarily employed at the archive department. In the late 1990s, he got an additional staffer to work for the online edition, and, in the early 2000s, two additional newsworkers were redeployed from the archive, which resulted in changes to editorial workflow and news making processes. Due to its dynamic and varied development, despite the defensive and pragmatic strategy of the print media organization, *Dnevnik*.si (cf. Figure 6.1.1.2) was regarded during the first decade of its operation as "a pioneer online news project in Slovenia" (*Dnevnik* Online Executive Editor [2007–2010]), "a promising news website" (Bizjak 2000) and "unchallenged for quite some time" (Ćosić 2002, 10).

In the first period of its historical development, *Dnevnik* nurtured three different ways of making news for its website. The first way was what Kopper *et al.* (2000) name

"reediting", which refers to the newswork process of taking news made primarily for print edition and deploying it online only slightly changed – in this case by adding internal hyperlinks to related *Dnevnik* content.

> *I arrived at my office at 4 am. I made myself a cup of coffee and started to skim through the texts from the* Dnevnik *daily which were in the electronic database. I ticked those which I thought were important, clicked the import button and the computer did the rest. I developed an algorithm so the computer cut off the latter two thirds of the article and added 'more in the print edition'. Then, I equipped each and every article with links to related content in the archive – but this was done manually.* (*Dnevnik* Online Executive Editor [1996–2005])

Figure 6.1.1.2 News Website *Dnevnik.si* from 1996

The second way of preparing *Dnevnik*'s online news was "revisioning" (Erdal 2007), which refers to selecting a particular news item and developing it into a "dossier" (*Dnevnik* Online Executive Editor [2007–2010]) by adding internal hyperlinks from the *Dnevnik* archive and

external hyperlinks to relevant news items and photos from other news websites – among them *Delo*.si: "If *Delo* had something interesting, I put a link on *Dnevnik*.si. If they got an additional click I did not care. All I cared about was that our readers got everything, the whole thing in one place. /…/ This was not voluntary, it was extraordinary. The dossiers were my favourite." (*Dnevnik* Online Executive Editor [1996–2005])

The third way in which *Dnevnik* made its online news was adopted in the early 2000s, when the first online executive editor stopped working as an early morning individual newsworker and managed a team of two and later three staffers, who started to rely on agency news in their news making, most notably *STA*. "When I finished with my dossiers at about half past seven in the morning, they began to check *STA*, and each hour they put something interesting on the website. I say interesting, not important. Everybody else got the important ones and we did not want them." (*ibid.*) Another interviewee describes this process as "filling the website with *STA* news", and states that "adding *STA* news onto the website was done with random selection, a random agenda and random tempo" (*Dnevnik* Online Executive Editor [2007–2010]). However, the then acting *Dnevnik* online executive editor [1996–2005] stresses that speed and continuous updating were not values in online journalism at that time.

> *I started my work in the morning and I finished it in the morning as well. Back then it was not important who is first, because I did not want to compete with anybody. Moreover, there was no one to compete with. What was important was that the readers got content that they definitely did not get anywhere else. This was our starting point.* (*Dnevnik* Online Executive Editor [1996–2005])

The structural location of online journalism in both cases shaped online newswork as a "technical occupation", as Kopper *et al.* (2000, 507) write. From this perspective, despite relying on news made by in-house print colleagues or other media journalists, *Delo.si* and *Dnevnik.si* embodied the Slovenian tradition of holistic newswork, which nurtures what Esser (1998) identifies as "multifunctional all-rounders". At *Dnevnik* the job of online news making was carried out by staff with technological know-how and some journalistic capabilities, whereas at *Delo* – more precisely *DeloFax* – online newswork was executed by "journalists with special interest and some experience in online technologies" (Kopper *et al.* 2000, 507). According to interviewees, this appropriation of the online editorial flow and online news making processes suited the power-holders in both print media organizations – media owners, members of the board and print editors-in-chief, who were "stingy", "old-fashioned"

(*DeloFax* Editor [1997–2008]), "clueless" (*Dnevnik* Online Executive Editor [1996–2005]), and "not in favour of any serious investments" (*Dnevnik* Online Executive Editor [2007–2010]). Such structural arrangements significantly shaped the work relations of online news makers at both print media organizations and defined the relationship between print and online news providers at *Delo* and *Dnevnik*.

Analysis of the interviews shows that the work relations of online newsworkers reflected their institutional status within their respective print media organisations or their relationship with their print counterparts in the first period of online newswork development. As indicated above, all the staffers who carried out online newswork at *Delo* and *Dnevnik* in the period of exploring and settling online were hired or employed to do other tasks – for instance, the *DeloFax* editor was a political journalist and redakteur on the central desk, while the first online executive editor at *Dnevnik* was managing the archive. "I had a separate temporary contract for online work and it was a similar case was with my assistantat the time. Technical editors who finalized the PDF of *DeloFax* each evening worked almost for free," stresses the *DeloFax* editor, suggesting that the work relations of online staffers were increasingly individualised, flexible and open. "In 1999, something interesting happened. *Delo* hired some German consultants and they said that *Delo* should employ 40 online journalists at once and 70 additional ones the following year. Due to the lack of a clear business model and the presence of too many risks this was not realizedat the time." (*Delo* Director of Informatics [2011–]) Namely, according to several interviewees, before the mid-2000s, traditionally organised Slovenian media organisations had not employed journalists or editors to make only online news, which was regarded as a secondary set of tasks. Furthermore, a former *Dnevnik* online executive editor [2007–2010] confirms similar work relations at his print media organization, and acknowledges that online departments were regarded as a "warehouse for personnel" in the latter half of the 1990s and in the first half of the 2000s: "In 2005 the first editor of *Dnevnik*.si was replaced by a woman who was not really interested in the internet job. She was sent there as some sort of an outlaw so she would not make too much noise elsewhere." (*Dnevnik* Online Executive Editor [2007–2010])

Online departments in North America and Western Europe were regarded at the time as teams of online news "shovelers" working in "small back rooms", and their operations were considered to be "shunted off into a far-flung no-man's-land" (Lasica 1998). Meanwhile, *Delo.si* and *Dnevnik.si* could not in any way be regarded as news departments with their own organisation and structure. Online news making at the print media organisations was almost completely dependent on the print edition, and online newswork

was almost entirely grounded in the work done by print journalists (cf. *Delo* Director of Informatics [2011–]; *Dnevnik* Print Editor-in-Chief [2002–2009] and *Dnevnik* Newsroom Integration Manager [2009–]). Furthermore, online news making was not performed in a particular workspace but executed on the central desk or in the offices of the archive, where online staffers performed their duties for the print edition. In this sense, in the latter half of the 1990s and in the first half of the 2000s, the online news websites of *Delo* and *Dnevnik* truly emerged as "supplements of the print edition" (Oblak and Petrič 2005), as a result of economic forces influencing strategy and agency. From this perspective, online newswork organisation and routines appeared as a "double play" (*Delo*Fax Editor [1997–2008]), "pedant" (*Delo* Print Editor-in-Chief [2010–]), or "print's extension" (*Dnevnik* Online Executive Editor [1996–2005]) – in terms of processes, cross-department cooperation and employment.

6.1.2 Hedging: Online Newswork from the Mid-2000s to the Late 2000s

Only in the mid-2000s did Slovenian print media organisations start to feel uncertainty about their online presence –how to make online news, who should do the job, how should their performance be evaluated (e.g. Oblak 2005; Oblak and Petrič 2005; Vobič 2009b; Vobič 2011). According to an analysis of strategic documents and interviews with primary decision-makers, *Delo* and *Dnevnik* also faced the same issues which print media in North America and Western Europe had dealt with about a decade earlier. Empirical insights from historical inquiry into the development of online newswork suggest that, similar to the news industry worldwide (cf. Boczkowski 2004a), Slovenian print media organisations also adopted "hedging" in their online strategies as they started taking measures to spread economic risks in a contingent social and technological environment. Furthermore, from the mid-2000s to the late 2000s, there were continuous changes in the management and supervisory boards at *Delo* and *Dnevnik*, as well as in the positions of editor-in-chief of their daily print outlets (e.g. *Dnevnik* Online Executive Editor [2007–2010]; *Delo* Online Executive Editor [2004–2009]; *Dnevnik* Print Editor-in-Chief [2002–2009] and *Dnevnik* Newsroom Integration Manager [2009–]), reflecting strong tensions between political and economic forces in the Slovenian media environment (e.g. Bašić Hrvatin *et al.* 2001; Bašić Hrvatin and Petković 2007; Milosavljević and Vobič 2009). These dynamics substantially shaped the institutional environment at *Delo* and *Dnevnik*, which propelled multi-directional short-term strategies in the development of online editorial flow, the processes of gathering, assembling and

providing news, cooperation among print and online departments, and work relations among online journalists.

If the idea in the late 1990s and the early 2000s was that the news website was used primarily for the promotion of the printed daily, then in the mid-2000s this mentality changed: "In the first few years, we thought that people would see on the website what was in the printed daily and then they would go and buy a copy of it. Later we followed the idea of the open web and that everything should be free" (*Dnevnik* Print Editor-in-Chief [2002–2009] and *Dnevnik* Newsroom Integration Manager [2009–]). This shift in mentality boosted the number of visits, but did not raise the revenue (*ibid*.) that would reshape the influences of economic forces on policies, processes and relations in online newswork. For instance, in 2006 *Delo*.si had about 161,000 unique monthly visitors and a reach of about 13 % of internet users, while *Dnevnik*.si had approximately 69,000 different online readers per month and a reach of 6 % (Slovenska oglaševalska zbornica 2006); in 2009 *Delo*.si was visited by 249,000 unique users each month and had a reach of about 23 %, while *Dnevnik*.si had 229,000 unique visitors per month with a reach of approximately 21% (Slovenska oglaševalska zbornica 2009).

According to interviewees and analysed documents, the evolution of newswork at that time was structurally defined by the marginalised institutional position of online journalism, suggesting that online departments at both print media organisations were developed as "ghettos" (Delo 2008a), "guerrilla projects" (*Delo* Online Executive Editor [2004–2009]), and "at a safe distance" from print departments (*Dnevnik* Online Executive Editor [2007–2010]). From this perspective, as a former *Delo* online executive editor puts it metaphorically:

> *The dilemma of media organisations was similar to the dilemma of those girls who want to make love, but want to remain virgins. They want to make online news but not really – nothing else should change. That was the dilemma: 'Let's hide these people who make online news, because we are a little ashamed of them, but it would be great to have some positive results.'* (*Delo* Online Executive Editor [2004–2009])

However, on the basis of the interviews and documents analysed this historical inquiry suggests that significant structural change occurred from the critical-economic perspective, since both print media organisations under study established online departments, resulting in social-organisational transformations in newswork.Thus , in 2004, when the first news was gathered, assembled and provided by the newly established *Delo* online department, the

editorial flow of the *Delo.si* department was redeveloped. According to interviewees, speed became the central characteristic of online editorial flow at *Delo*.si, and meant there was a rush to publish timely news, which significantly shaped online news making processes (cf. Figure 6.1.2.1). "All online staffers fell into this vicious circle. The point of online journalism was speed, therefore we wanted the news to be published in as timely a way as possible. As a result we were dependent on news agencies and other websites. Only occasionally did we use the telephone to call the sources. We were in the newsroom and we hardly ever left the place." (*Delo* Online Redakteur [2004–2007, 2010])

Figure 6.1.2.1 News Website *Delo.si* from 2004

There were three daily shifts at *Delo*: from 7 am till 12 am, from 12 am till 5pm, and from 5 pm till 10pm. During the first two shifts, the online executive editor looked after content cooperation between print and online ,as she attended morning and afternoon cross-departmental meetings, whereas two online redakteurs edited the website and divided work among staffers. Five online journalists constantly "recreated" (Pavlik 2008) the news website, and only in the evening was the number of online journalistsreduced. Throughout the day, they were required to continuously publish or follow up news and were forced to appropriate routines of gathering and assembling news to meet the editorial demands for timely online news making.

> *It was not possible to do it differently. We had to rely on news from agencies and other media. We did not have original online news making, because we had five students. What could you do with them? However, it did not really matter if it was their first journalism job or tenth. They had to refresh the website continuously, because people visit the site if you refresh it. If you do not do it they stop reading it. We tried to send our online staffers into the field, but we did not gain anything from it. We were slow and mainly superficial if compared to specialist print or broadcast. /.../ Plus, it was more expensive. (Delo Online Executive Editor [2004–2009])*

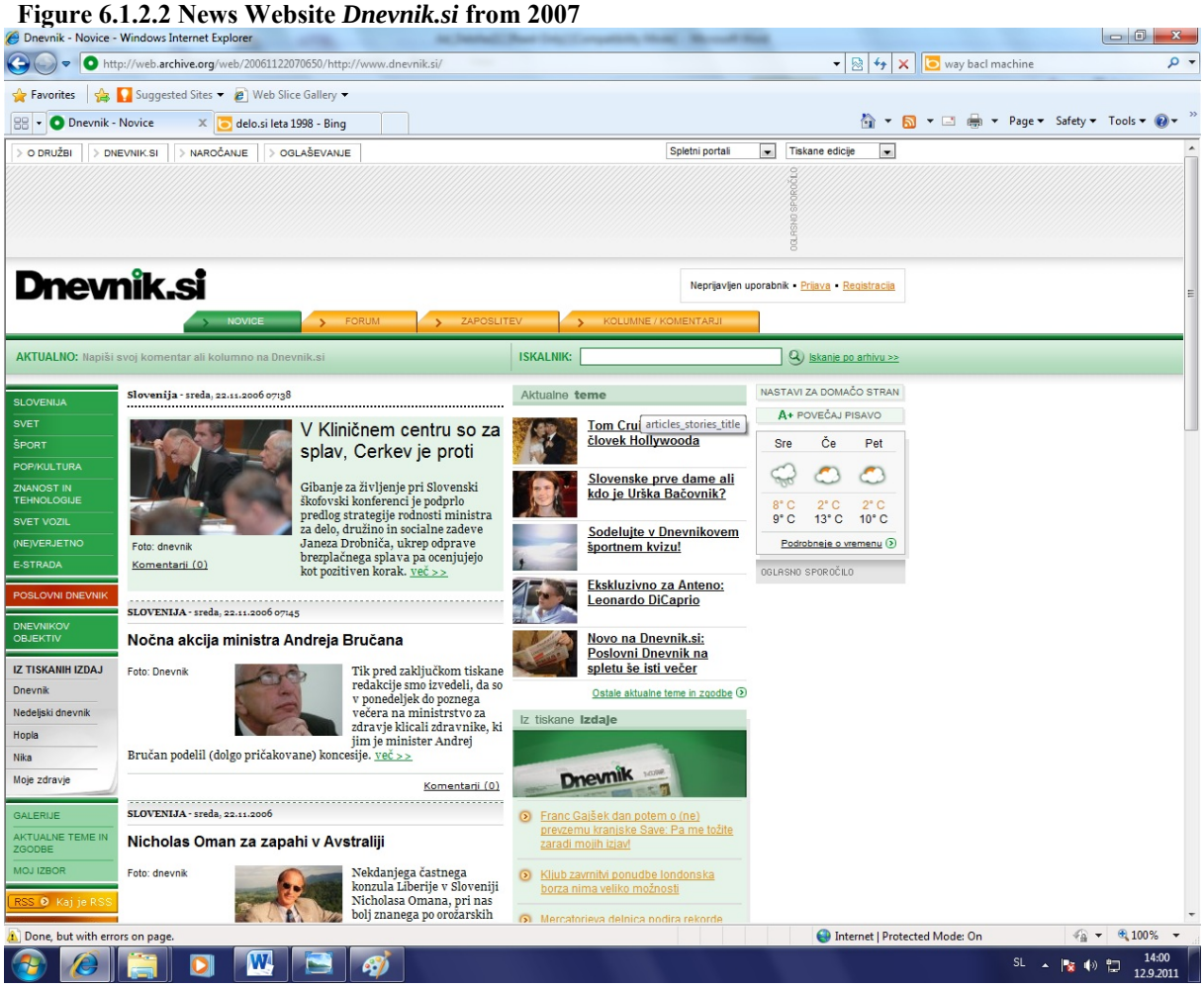
A similar structural change in online newswork to *Delo*'s also occurred at *Dnevnik* in 2007, when they established a new online department. Consequently, not only did editorial flow but also online news making change considerably compared to the early 2000s – first and foremost in terms of the speed of production. "There was a lot of improvisation when we started. /…/ The team was small – with a maximum of five people, and so there were automatically more agency news items on our website. I had to compete with other websites. It is a fact – the internet is speed. We were rushing all the time." (*Dnevnik* Online Executive Editor [2007–2009]) At that time, *Dnevnik* online staffers worked in two shifts – the "morning" shift from 7 am till 3 pm with an editor and four online journalists, and an "afternoon" shift from 3 pm till 8 pm, when you "were often left alone till the evening" (*Dnevnik* Online Journalist [2007–2008]) to gather, assemble and provide news for the website (cf. Figure 6.1.2.2).

> *When you came to work, there was a to-do list in your e-mail sent by the online executive editor. You had to publish the news selected by the editor. Usually there were ten* STA *items and five items from foreign news websites. Then, you copy-and-pasted* STA *and translated those items. /.../ When you finished with that, you started to search for news on the web –* Google News *and* Yahoo News *were helpful, and* STA*, of course. /.../ The frequency of online news making was more important than the quality of the news. /.../ We were generators of news in order to boost the number of visits and help the marketing office.* (*Dnevnik* Online Journalist [2007–2008])

Business decisions in the media industry about focusing on speed in online journalism had a significant influence on relations and processes in political life. At *Delo* and *Dnevnik*, agency

news “monitoring” and “mimicking” (Boczkowski 2009) was adopted as a rule of conduct. Moreover, at *Dnevnik*, online staffers sometimes “copy-and-pasted *STA* items that referred to the *Dnevnik* newspaper instead of contacting the *Dnevnik* print journalist who had initially written the piece” (*Dnevnik* Online Journalist [2007–2008]). However, at both print media organizations, in-house print content was still the most important source of news – at *Dnevnik* they started to “shovel” (Kawamoto 2003a) the print edition onto the web each evening for the next morning (*Dnevnik* Online Journalist [2007–2008]), while at *Delo*, rules for deploying the content of the print edition online were “not clear at all”, states the current director of informatics at *Delo*: “First print content was not available online, then we opened it up for free, then we closed it a bit. They did not know exactly what to do. /…/ The biggest problem was that members of the board and the editor constantly changed and were preoccupied with other organisational problems. The internet was not their priority.” (Director of Informatics [2011–])From this perspective, one of the interviewees was highly critical of the online department “being allowed” to put the print edition online at the end of the day rather than after it went to print: “The function of online department was still primarily promotional. In this case the quality of online news was not important, and so production was simplified. If the online project was a serious project, then they would hire journalists for certain sections and not for certain platforms.” (*Dnevnik* Online Journalist [2007–2008])

Figure 6.1.2.2 News Website *Dnevnik.si* from 2007



At the respective print media organizations, the relationship between print and online could be labelled asone of conflict.Interviewees stress that the institutional mindset concerning online journalism was characterised by a "refusal to cooperate" (*Delo* Director of Informatics [2011–]), "fear among print editors and journalists" (*Delo* Online Redakteur [2004–2007, 2010]), "rejection of online staffers as journalists" (*Dnevnik* Online Journalist [2007–2008]), and "print journalists hiding their texts so that they would not be published online first" (*Delo* Online Executive Editor [2004–2009]). According to analysis of interviews and documents, there were three common interrelated social-organisational factors shaping this troubled relationship at *Delo* and *Dnevnik*, deriving from unprecedented political and economic tensions in the media industry. These factors were a lack of long-term strategy for the online department, the spatial separation of workspaces for the online and print departments, and the guarded attitude of print journalists to online journalism.

According to interviewees, *Delo* and *Dnevnik* developed online departments, settled online news making processes and adopted a strategy of taking compensatory measures to

spread the risks of the online news projects. Analysis of data implies similar development at both print media organizations. “In the latter half of the 2000s, the experimenting finally ended. Experiments are expensive and strategic mistakes can be made, of course,” says a former *Delo* online executive editor [2004–2009]. Interviewees talking about that period of online newswork evolution more or less agree that there was a lack of long-term institutional strategy regarding online departments, which were “left on their own” (*Delo* Online Redakteur [2004–2007, 2010]), “in their own mini world” (Delo 2008a) and “all alone” (*Dnevnik* Online Journalist [2007–2008]). Interviewees indicate that the boards of both media organisations did not see business opportunities online:

> *Revenue was the biggest problem. The board did not believe in my vision and they did not support it with a strong financial injection, because they did not believe we could make money out of it. You cannot do online journalism only partly, but we were forced to do it. Online departments were more like a toy for* Dnevnik *at that time.* (*Dnevnik* Online Executive Editor [2007–2010])

Moreover, interviewees from *Delo* and *Dnevnik* also stated that “fear of market cannibalisation” was strong among members of both boards and print departments, who were afraid that the news website’s proliferation might have a negative impact on the business performance of the printed newspaper. “There was lots of talk about cannibalisation. It was a clear conflict. As a result, some print journalists were hiding their stories and did not want them to be published online before they were printed. Then we had to make timely news in the way that we did – by relying on agencies and other media.” (*Delo* Online Executive Editor [2004–2009]) This prevailing mindset substantially shaped online newswork on the structural level, particularly in terms of the spatial organisation of workspaces and cooperation among journalists from different platforms.

In the mid-2000s and late 2000s, the online departments at *Delo* and *Dnevnik* were organised separately from their print colleagues, interviewees state. *Dnevnik.si* was on the fifth floor, whereas the central desk was situated on the third floor; *Delo.si* functioned in a separate office on the first and second floors, whereas the central desk was on the fourth floor. Despite the fact that this was in line with the tradition of decentralised newsroom organisation in Central Europe (cf. Esser 1998; Wilke 2003; Vobič 2009b), there is apparently a consensus among interviewees that this spatial arrangement of workspaces indicated a marginalised institutional status for online departments. Nevertheless, analysis of interviews shows that

online executive editors at *Dnevnik* and *Delo* attended cross-departmental editorial meetings, but interviewees indicate that they had little power to influence decision-making and to contribute to firmer cooperation among print and online departments, since they were positioned in the same place in the structure of authority as print section editors – that is, lower in the hierarchy than the print editor-in-chief and her or his assistant.

"We were physically separated. This was really unfortunate. /…/ We were working behind closed doors, sharing a workspace with those who processed photos for the newspaper. How could we cooperate with them? /…/ There were a lot of reservations about cooperation between print and online," says a former *Delo* online redakteur [2004–2007, 2010], who acknowledged that "people were afraid that the news website was going to destroy the newspaper". However, there was a plan to incorporate the online department into the central desk, but the opposition of the print department was too strong – "there was no way that this would have happened" (*Delo* Online Executive Editor [2004–2009]). At that time, there was a similar arrangement at *Dnevnik*, where the online department was physically close to the public relations office and advertising department. "From the first day on, I nagged the board that we need to be part of the newsroom. But they simply refused – they were not aware of the possible advantages. It was hard to change things not only on a material level, but also a symbolic one. We were at a safe distance from them" (*Dnevnik* Online Executive Editor [2007–2010]). However, a former *Dnevnik* online journalist [2007–2008] notes that there was "ad hoc cooperation" despite the separation. "There was no system of cooperation, but if we wanted to work with them, most of the print journalists I worked with were very polite and helpful. For instance, big events, such as Slovenia entering Schengen, were developed in cooperation between print and online. Nevertheless, some were more willing to do that than others."

The work relations of *Delo* and *Dnevnik* online newsworkers continued to reflect the structural position of online journalism in the media environment and online departments' institutional status within their respective print media organisations during the second period of online newswork development. Both online departments were populated with less experienced younger journalists with part-time employment status. At *Delo* and *Dnevnik*, online executive editors also performed managerial functions – taking care of the online department's budget, negotiating with the board over employment and preparing an online business strategy. In 2004, *Delo*'s online executive editor, "who came from the online department of *Pro plus* and brought some know-how and a couple of students from outside" (*Delo* Director of Informatics [2011–]) soon encountered problems in "establishing these kids

as members" at *Delo* (Former *Delo* Online Executive Editor [2004–2009]). "It was bad to be part-time online journalists at that time – they were forced to do what was really a lot of work, and at the same time they did not have any security. /…/ They expected a lot, they expected regular employment, but never got it. Only redakteurs and the executive editor were regularly employed at *Delo*.si – that's three people." (Former *Delo* Online Redakteur [2004–2007, 2010]) Work relations at the *Dnevnik* online department were almost identical: "There was no regular employment. I was the only one. If you looked at the revenue – it is quite clear why it was like that." (*Dnevnik* Online Executive Editor [2007–2010])

> *If you look through the prism of business, then it is clear and normal, even logical. They needed manual workers who would generate online visits. There was no art, science, culture. It was a mechanism – they needed people to pack sausages. There is no sense of talking about a career in online journalism or even regular employment. I had no security whatsoever. /.../ I graduated in journalism when I was 26 and I was fed up with part-time employment. That was the reason I left Dnevnik.si.* (*Dnevnik* Online Journalist [2007–2008])

On the basis of online journalism's structural position within the political and economic system, some interviewees indicate that there was "no well-considered employment strategy" in online journalism – not only at *Delo* and *Dnevnik* but in the Slovenian media in general (*Dnevnik* Print Editor-in-Chief [2002–2009] and *Dnevnik* Newsroom Integration Manager [2009–]). A former *Dnevnik* print editor-in-chief suggests that economic forces had a decisive influence on processes in the newsrooms and in political life.

> *Slovenian media outlets have not done anything to restructure themselves from the early 1990s onwards, while the whole Slovenian economy has already done that. /.../ The recent economic and financial crisis is forcing the media to change many things – but to think to employ people at the online department now is just illusory. /.../ There has always been interest among editors in employing people, but there has not been any money for that.* (*Dnevnik* Print Editor-in-Chief [2002–2009] and *Dnevnik* Newsroom Integration Manager [2009–])

Thus, it can be argued that, from the mid-2000s onwards, the technical nature of online newswork transformed from what it was in the early and the late 1990s, within

organisationally separate departments with a distinct editorial flow, specific news making routines, diminished institutional status in relation to their print counterparts, and contingent work relations. This implies that there appeared to be a significant structural change, where economic forces, at least to a degree, transformed its dynamics, which resulted in the departure from the strategy of pragmatic exploration of the web to the conservative spreading of risks in online newswork development. Similar descriptive syntheses are also provided by some interviewees: "At *Delo*, a conservative mentality prevailed at that time, resulting in feelings of threat and resistance against new media. This sentiment derived from the mistakes made by all the previous boards, which regarded the internet as a marginal project." (*Delo* Online Executive Editor [2004–2009]) A similar stance is taken by her *Dnevnik* counterpart, who suggests that the online project, despite organisational and structural changes, "was never taken very seriously", and that any progress made was used primarily as "something to show off at Tuesday night meetings of members of the media power elite" (*Dnevnik* Online Executive Editor [2007–2010]).

Thus, in both cases, the online departments of *Delo* and *Dnevnik* departments, during the second period of online newswork development, were organised in spatially separated work spaces, populated by newcomers and less experienced journalists with contingent employment status who performed highly routinised processes of gathering and assembling information which only rarely provided original online news items. It can be argued that, at the respective print media organisations, online newswork was predominately shaped in this "retrofitting" fashion (Brannon 2008), due to the adopted strategy of hedging with the goal of downsizing business risks in the contingent political and technological media environment. Nevertheless, in the time of hedging, the online news projects at *Delo* and *Dnevnik* moved from individual online news makers and evolved into two departments with their own organisation, routines and relations, but their members remained underrated news making actors at the respective organisations, with an unenviable employment status in comparison to their in-house print colleagues.

6.1.3 Flexibilising: Online Newswork from the Late 2000s to the Early 2010s

Flexibilising has been a feature of management-led strategies in the Slovenian print media throughout the 2000s (e.g. Erjavec and Poler Kovačič 2004; Milosavljević and Vobič 2009; Vobič 2011), but on the basis of this historical inquiry, one can argue that it has been intensified as a process in recent years, when economic forces significantly influence political

and social processes. According to interviewees and documents on project strategies, flexibilising has become characteristic of the evolution of online newswork at *Delo* and *Dnevnik*. These strategies have been shaped in accordance with the emerging trends throughout media industries worldwide following the global financial and economic crisis which began in 2008, when contingent articulations between technology and journalism met with unease in (inter)national print media markets and encouraged traditional media organisations to take measures with their organisation and structure (e.g. Tunney and Monaghan 2010; Reinardy 2011; Mekle and Redden 2011; Singer *et al.* 2011a; Lee-Wright *et al.* 2012).Specifically, this historical inquiry indicates that both print media organisations consolidated the trend of flexibilising news making, in-house cooperation and work relations as a response to falling circulations at their print dailies and shrinking income from advertising.

On the one hand, at *Delo*, "intensified flexibility in order to respond to the needs of the time and market" is among the central strategic goals of the current print editor-in-chief (Delo 2010). On the other hand, at *Dnevnik*, they are "in a phase of complete reconceptualisation" of the *Dnevnik.si* project, with a plan to make "everything more connected and flexible" (*Dnevnik* Online Executive Editor [2010–2011]). However, despite evident steps towards bringing together the technologies, processes and workspaces of the previously separate print and online departments (Vobič 2009b, 2010, 2011), interviews and documents indicate that online newswork has onlychanged to a degree in comparison with the previous period of development. As assessed below, in the period of flexibilising, tensions between structure and agency resulted in only slight transformations in editorial flow, news making processes, cross-department cooperation and work relations at the *Delo* and *Dnevnik* online departments, which have been constructed in specific political and economic circumstances, in which both *Delo.si* and *Dnevnik.si* are visited by more unique users, but have a smaller share of them than in the mid-2000s. For instance, in 2010 *Dnevnik*.si had about 207,000 unique visitors per month, with a reach of 18% among online users, and *Delo*.si had 198,000 unique users and a reach of about 17% (Slovenska oglaševalska zbornica 2010); in August 2011 *Dnevnik*.si had 208,000 unique users and a reach of 17% and *Delo*.si was visited by 204,000 different online users, and consequently its reach was slightly smaller.

Thus, according to the results of the observation, editorial flow is still limited to the department and has not spread across print and online, and news making processes have remained primarily computer-bound, which leads some interviewees to acknowledge that structural changes toward flexibilising have hardly been reflected in online journalism

agency. “Nothing, I am saying nothing, has changed in recent years. /…/ The board and the editors have always included integration in their annual programmes, but there have been no effects whatsoever.” (*Delo* Director of Informatics [2011–]) Nevertheless, interviewees more or less agree that it appears that the cooperation among journalists across departments has at least slightly improved, which indicates a change in relationship between print and online at *Delo* and *Dnevnik*, but, at the same time, rather paradoxically, they imply that online journalists have been making news in more flexible and contingent work relations than their print colleagues. Some also argue that the process of flexibilising is not over yet. “The process of change has hardly even started, and it is hard to say at this point what exactly integration brings” (*Dnevnik* Print Editor-in-Chief [2002–2009] and *Dnevnik* Newsroom Integration Manager [2007–2011]).

On the one hand, the time of vigorous flexibilising at *Delo* started in 2008, when the board and the print editor-in-chief presented the concept of the “integrated newsroom”, which was built in 2009 and brought almost 300 workers into a common space of 2,400 square metres, for the purpose of building a cross-department “information engine” (*Delo* Print Editor-in-Chief [2003–2006, 2008–2009]). In their plans, they put “spatial proximity” (Bechmann 2011) as the first step in the process.

> Delo *is a typical newspaper that needs this sort of renovation:* Delo *departments are editorially and spatially completely separate, which makes communication difficult; there is almost no cooperation between them and other parts of the media house; the online department works in its own little world; coordination among photographers, proofreaders, technical editors and others is also not in good shape. Last but not least, this mess is made explicit, when, at a press conference, you can see four* Delo *news teams*. (*Delo* 2008a)

According to recent strategic documents, the plan at *Delo* was to change the spatial arrangement of the newsroom first then change the mindset, and only later editorial flow and news making processes (*Delo* 2010). Despite the fact that all *Delo* journalists moved to the new integrated newsroom in the second floor, decision-makers interviewed stress that the convergence process is far from being finished, and expect further changes in dynamics in terms of the capacity of individual online journalists to perform on their own and the patterned newsroom arrangements that constrain choices and opportunities. “The online department still does not make its own news. The goal of integration is to have content

providers and the packaging department within the online department, which will cooperate with print. Content providers would make original news, content packagers would do what online journalists do now." (*Delo* Online Executive Editor [2010–] and *Delo* Newsroom Integration Manager [2011–]) According to *Delo*'s online executive editor, her staffers "want to actively gain information, want to go out into the field, and want to improve and learn a lot", but are not able to do that. "They have the desire but cannot perform differently because of the system we established. It promotes newsroom-bound work." (*Delo* Online Executive Editor [2009–2010])

Since the late 2000s there have been two daily shifts at *Delo*: from 7 am till 3pm, and from 3 pm till 10pm. The online executive editor takes the lead in organising cooperation between print and online (*Delo* Online Executive Editor [2009–2010]). The online redakteur on duty edits the website and divides work among four staffers throughout the morning shift (*Delo* Online Redakteur [2004–2007, 2010]). In the afternoon the work of the redakteur is left to the three online journalists – they edit the website (cf. Figure 6.1.3.1), recreate news for *Delo.si* and initiate cross-department cooperation (*ibid.*). Interviewed *Delo* online journalists describe their work as unchallenging and highly routinised: "I get the news items, reassemble them and publish them online. I sit in the newsroom and write about events that I did not experience," acknowledges *Delo* Journalist C. When characterising online newswork, *Delo* online journalist A uses the metaphor of the "assembly line" to imply that the work they do resembles the monotony of manual work. In this context, some said that they feel "alienated" from the story they are writing (*Delo* Journalist A), because the predominant process is "retrofitting" (Brannon 2008). *Delo*'s newsroom integration manager agrees with them: "Yes, it is like that. I tell all the newcomers that online journalism is like slave work."

Figure 6.1.3.1 News Website *Delo.si* from 2010

On the other hand, similar ideas on the need to change editorial flow and online news making are also shared by *Dnevnik* decision-makers. However, at *Dnevnik* they view the convergence process as a gradual transformation – for instance, *Dnevnik*'s newsroom integration manager [2009–] suggests that changing the mindset should be established prior to spatial proximity.

> *This is really a process which is happening in our heads. Now we should not think about speed or about the possible harm online news is doing to us, but we should think about what to provide that is not already there. There should be something more and we should do something more. /.../ First we need to reorganise the whole company. If the board says 'yes', we can have an integrated newsroom in half a year.* (*Dnevnik* Newsroom Integration Manager [2009–] and *Dnevnik* Print Editor-in-Chief [2002–2009])

However, despite possible major changes in editorial flow and news making processes that might come with the spatial rearrangement of the newsroom, at *Dnevnik* they stress that there will always be staffers repurposing print content for the news website, and those recreating agency news in as timely a manner as possible for online delivery. According to the results of the observation, in the current *Dnevnik* online department, online staffers barely provide

original news on the basis of active information-seeking, but predominantly shovel the content of in-house print colleagues onto the website, reassemble or only copy-and-paste press agency news, and translate news from the foreign media. Interviews indicate that this sort of newswork organisation is constrained by economic forces defining business goals and in turn shaping news making.

> *I would like to give all our online journalists special assignments in the field, but I cannot. We have shifts and they have to work as much as possible. They are encouraged to work on the stories they are interested in and some investigate them by themselves. We have to find a balance. However, we must have assembly line production. It is difficult to provide something more if there are 13 staffers in the department. We cannot afford to send people to Egypt, for instance, to report from there live.* (*Dnevnik* Online Executive Editor [2010–])

Observation results indicate that *Dnevnik* online staffers work in two shifts. During the "morning" shift, from 8 am till 2 pm, the executive editor, her assistant, the morning online redakteur and three staffers organise online production. During the "afternoon" shift [3 pm – 8 pm], the online redakteur divides work while journalists gather, assemble and provide news for the website (cf. Figure 6.1.3.2). The department shovelled almost the whole *Dnevnik* print edition from 8 pm till 10pm – one staffer alone "works on the print" (*Dnevnik* Online Journalist A). On the top of the decision-making pyramid is the print editor-in-chief, followed by the online executive editor, along with the section editors of the *Dnevnik* daily. Like *Delo*'s online journalists, their *Dnevnik* colleagues also do not find the established processes of gathering and assembling news challenging, but repetitive and monotonous – for instance, one *Dnevnik* online journalist described the online department as a "factory" (*Dnevnik* Online Journalist C). All the online journalists interviewed stress that they are required to do their job as fast as possible, which eventually makes them neglect some central premises of journalism – for instance, verifying information. "This would take a lot of time. Too much time would be needed to do that. Most of the information is already verified by the media that published it," says *Dnevnik* online journalist D. Similarly, ascertains *Dnevnik* online journalist A, "I do not even doubt the reliability of news published on *CNN* or the *BBC* or some other media. I just translate it." A telling detail of the industrial nature of online newswork is that some *Delo* and *Dnevnik* online journalists use tools like *Google Translate* to work faster: "It is just a tool – I

do not copy-and-paste it from the translating tool, I go through and correct the mistakes." (*Dnevnik* Online Journalist B)

Figure 6.1.3.2 News Website *Dnevnik.si* from 2009

Some online journalists interviewed imply that the reasons for the rationalisation of online newswork and the demands for highly routinised editorial processes derive from the fact that *Delo* and *Dnevnik* do not know how to make a profit online and are afraid of investing more resources in technological innovations, more experienced journalistic staff and original online news making. However, there seems to be a consensus among the interviewed that the institutional status of online departments in relation to print departments has slightly improved in the course of newsroom integration projects.

> *Four or five years ago it was blasphemous to use the word integration. If you mentioned it in the presence of journalists they wanted to hang you. They wanted to think about it as something we could avoid. They understood integration as a change,*

> *after which they would have to work more for the same or even lower payment. Today they look at you with doubt, if you do not say anything about integration. Everybody now knows that it is the right path of change.* (*Dnevnik* Newsroom Integration Manager [2009–] and *Dnevnik* Print Editor-in-Chief [2002–2009])

Similar transformation in the mindset is also evident at *Delo*, where journalists initially "doubted" in convergence processes and stressed they were "afraid that an integrated newsroom might result in rationalisation, that is, a shrinking of the editorial team" (Delo 2008b), but this has not been reflected in the common organisation of print and online newswork. "If people do not want to cooperate, they do not want to cooperate. Editors still have their own gardens and journalists are still protecting their beds. Purely physical unification does not mean much." (*Delo* Print Editor-in-Chief [2010–]) At the same time, *Delo*'s newsroom integration manager [2011–]) says that newsroom convergence processes are "essential for surviving", and that "the goal of integration is mind resetting – not brainstorming or brainwashing. We have to start thinking that we are making *Delo* regardless of the platform" (*ibid.*). In order to make these changes, *Delo* hired consultants to sketch out the future path of newsroom convergence processes. "However, members of the board and editors often went abroad on conferences and symposiums. /…/ This year we got the first serious external consultants in this regard – a couple from *WAN–IFRA*, a husband and a wife." (*Delo* Director of Informatics [2011–])

Nevertheless, online journalists interviewed more or less agree that many things have improved in terms of collaboration and the combination of technologies, spaces and processes. With the integrated newsroom, online journalists are "closer to the action". (*Delo* Online Journalist B) "At least print journalists started to be aware that we are there. We know each other now. They know what we do and the other way around. There is a small but important improvement." (*Delo* Journalist C) Last year, *Dnevnik*'s online department moved from the fifth to the third floor into a separate office just by the central desk of the newspaper. "On the fifth floor we were completely cut off. Now it is much better – they see us. We cooperate more, but not enough. We are still not treated as equal." (*Dnevnik* Online Journalist B) Observation results confirm that both groups of online journalists occasionally make news for the printed publications, online news is regularly reassembled for newspapers and their supplements and *vice versa*, and online and print journalists collaborate in covering a story for both platforms. However, according to interviewees, cross-department cooperation has primarily been the result of collaboration grounded in the occasional common interests of

individuals, and has not brought a larger social-organisational change in either of the newsrooms – not yet, at least.

At the same time, *Delo* and *Dnevnik* online journalists are ranked quite low in terms of work relations, similar to their counterparts from various countries (e.g. Cawley 2008; Deuze and Marjoribanks 2009; Deuze 2009a). Namely, only online executive editors, *Dnevnik*'s assistant online executive editor and *Delo*'s online redakteur have regular employment status, while other staffers in the online departments of the respective print media organisations are "atypical workers" (IFJ 2006), as they work in relatively flexible, risk-laden and open work relations. "Online journalists are regarded as less valuable than print journalists. It appears that the board thinks that they can be substituted with ease. /…/ I have always seen a lot of potential in our online staffers, but that is obviously not enough" (*Delo* Online Executive Editor [2009–2010]) Her counterpart at *Dnevnik* takes a similar view and stresses that "we often place too much weight on regular employment. Some people enjoy part-time and open work relations" (*Dnevnik* Online Executive Editor [2010–]). Both online executive editors provide similar generalisations when asked what the reasons are for the lack of regular employment among online staffers – for instance, "not only online journalists but all young people have employment problems" (*Delo* Online Executive Editor 2008–2010), and "we simply do not have a tendency to regularly employ at the moment – not only online staffers, but also any other" (*Dnevnik* Online Executive Editor 2010). A former *Dnevnik* print editor-in-chief [2002–2009] stresses that revenue is the biggest problem for planning new employment, especially at a time of falling circulation and advertising revenue. "This calls for a complete reorganisation of print media organisations – their print as well as their onlineoperations. /…/ We thought that the website would be open and free in the mid-2000s, now we think we should charge for it, but we do not know the solution. Nobody knows the solutions. Many have already tried it, but they got their hands burnt." (*Dnevnik* Print Editor-in-Chief [2002–2009] and *Dnevnik* Newsroom Integration Manager [2009–])

Delo and *Dnevnik* online journalists stress that they do not feel secure in the established work relations and many admit that they have personal financial problems. On the one hand, at *Dnevnik* all online journalists do their work without any sort of contract defining workers' rights and duties. "I do not have a contract. I am aware that this is a violation of the legislation, but what can I do? I need money to live," acknowledges *Dnevnik* online journalist D. *Dnevnik*'s online executive editor is aware of this breach of workers' rights. "I agree people ought to have a contract of some sort. /…/ As an editor I am not against people having contracts, on the contrary, I would like that. This was, however, a decision that came directly

from the top" (*Dnevnik* Online Executive Editor [2010–]). On the other hand, at *Delo* online journalists confirmed that their employment status is defined in part-time contracts, or they work as students, but they complain about flexible news making processes. "We are not paid enough, we are not motivated enough. Why would I work differently, why would I spend my free time to be a better journalist? I just finish my daily shift of copy-and-pasting and reassembling of already published news and go home." (*Delo* Online Journalist A). At the same time, *Delo* online staffers do not have the right to either paid or sick leave (*Delo* Online Executive Editor [2010–] and *Delo* Newsroom Integration Manager [2011–]).

Historical inquiry suggests that flexibilising has indeed been normalized as a process that significantly shapes news making, in-house cooperation and work relations in the online departments of the two Slovenian print media organizations. As a response to structural factors in the capitalist media environment, *Delo* and *Dnevnik* started to integrate spaces, technologies and processes in their newsroom in order to reorganise and restructure newswork. Despite the fact that the respective organizations are trying to strategically nurture processes of convergence, their online departments still appear to be separated from the print part of the organization, and they perform as a "pendant", that is, as "something we need to have", despite the fact that "we still do not really believe in it" (*Delo* Print Editor-in-Chief [2010–]). In this sense, the situation has hardly changed organisationally and structurally if compared to the period of hedging, but there are indications of shifts in online newswork at *Delo* and *Dnevnik* – particularly in terms of editorial flow and cross-departmental cooperation. In this sense, online newswork is being shaped by defensive and reactive responses to the changing political, economic and technological context, which, in the absence of clear strategic vision in the Slovenian media industry, appears to be flexibilising news making, in-house cooperation and employment at the online departments of *Delo* and *Dnevnik*.

6.2 Newsrooms and Online Departments

Contemporary media and journalism scholars (e.g. Shoemaker and Reese 1991; Esser 1998; Boczkowski 2004a; Klinenberg 2005; Deuze 2007; Quinn 2009; Avilés *et al. 2*009) refer to newsrooms as organised and structured social entities populated by editors, journalists and other workers in order to gather, assemble and provide news on a timely basis. In this sense, newsrooms are organised in order to pursue certain goals, reflecting a conflict between business and journalism principles and practices, and structured according to power relations

responding to tensions between continuity and change that are shaped in particular circumstances. Despite the fact that newsrooms are evolving workspaces that are being continually reshaped in terms of history, technology and newswork, some authors argue (e.g. Esser 1998; Wilke 2003; Deuze 2007; Pavlik 2008) that, over the years, newsroom traditions have emerged that reproduce particular spatial arrangements, divisions of work and editorial control. These traditions have become increasingly hard to identify over the last decade or so right across the world (e.g. Boczkowski 2004a, 2004b; Klinenberg 2005; Dupagne and Garrison 2006; Deuze 2007; Paterson and Domingo 2008; Avilés and Carvajal 2008 Quinn 2009; Verweij 2009; Avilés *et al.* 2009; Domingo 2011), as processes of convergence result in various outcomes for media organisations in terms of newsroom organisation and structure and different results for their online departments as often socially specific newswork entities.Global trends towards bringing together workspaces, technologies, departments, staffers, processes and content are strategically oriented towards changing traditional arrangements of space, work division and editorial control worldwide, in order to prepare media organisations to respond to technological innovations and cross-media news making, fragmentation of audience and corresponding uncertainties on media markets, the individualisation of news experience and the diminishing role of journalism in public life. Nevertheless, despite various transformations in terms of organisation, structure and routines, the central focuses of newsroom-centric studies remain the same as in the pioneer social-organisational studies of newswork – tracing the impact of the superordinate level of organisation with its roles, its strucutres and the policy and governance of the organisation's leadership, and investigating the causes for the outcome of newswork (Altmeppen 2008, 52–53). Since newsrooms have been increasingly reorganised and restructured amid the tension between continuity and change and rearticulated between the global and the local, this part of the chapter attempts to study varying and context-related connections between structural arrangements of newswork and individual online journalists' routines, by addressing the second research question: *How do recent reorganisations and restructurings in newsrooms shape the gathering, assembling and provision of news for the websites of Slovenian print media organizations?*

Slovenian media and journalism studies provide neither in-depth insights into traditions of newsroom organisation and structure in print media or systematic analysis of newsroom transformations in the contemporary media environment. Yet, there are some studies in Slovenian journalism history that superficially discuss the emergence of modern newsrooms and the tradition of journalists' workspaces (e.g. Vatovec 1967, 1969; Amon

1996, 2004, 2008; Vreg 2002), and recent newsroom-centred has research explored processes of newsroom convergence in Slovenian print media (e.g. Borko 2008; Vobič 2009b, 2009c). These works provide glimpses of the specifics of Slovenian newsroom organisation and structure that highlight the need to explore issues of workspace arrangement, division of work and editorial control, which are always articulated in relation to specific historical and social contexts. As an attempt to provide a more complex image of newsroom continuity and change in Slovenia, this part of the chapter particularly explores traditions and transitions in the organisation and structure of the newsrooms at *Delo* and *Dnevnik*, and investigates the dynamics of change in online journalists' routines within the transformed spatial arrangement, editorial control and division of work. As such, it has a threefold purpose. First, this part tries to sketch out the tradition of newsroom organisation and structure in Slovenian print media with a focus on *Delo* and *Dnevnik* and critically examine changes brought about by newsroom convergence processes in recent years. Second, the author upgrades the previous part of the chapter, where the periodisation of online newswork is assessed by relating traditions and transitions in workspace arrangement, division of work and editorial control in the exploring and settling, hedging and flexibilising stages. Third, this part also aims to further develop the contextual framework for investigating matters of online newswork when studying online news making and its emerging logic, and investigating online journalists' perceptions of their own societal roles in the following two parts of Chapter 6. In order to provide a consistent and comprehensive inquiry into the articulations of newsrooms between continuity and change and their results for the gathering, assembling and provision of news, the author adopts a social-organisational approach to online newswork in order to explore the emerging transformations of traditional newsroom organisation and structure, to investigate the constraints imposed by traditional media organisations despite the individual intentions of online journalists, and to emphasise the inevitability of social construction of the processes of gathering, assembling and providing news for websites (e.g. Schudson 2005; Altmeppen 2008; Domingo 2008a; Boczkowski 2011). However, the dissertation does not take the functional-systemic approach of some early studies (cf. Tuchman 2002), attempting instead to reveal the structures of how online news is made and to determine the manner and degree of structural impact on newswork by bringing in the reciprocal understanding between structure and agency (cf. Altmeppen 2008).

In order to provide a consistent inquiry into structural and organisational changes at the newsrooms of *Delo* and *Dnevnik*, the author moves from theorising to data analysis, from interpretation on the basis of historical assessment of the Slovenian press and conceptual

reconsiderations developed in the review of newsroom traditions and transitions in relation to online departments, and back to theorising. To realise this analytical process and to develop results, the author combines concepts from existing inquiries into related issues with insights from primary empirical investigation. The latter are based on triangulation of data collected with document and archive analysis at *Delo* and *Dnevnik*, semi-structured interviews with former and contemporary editors and journalists of the online departments at the organisations under study, and observational investigation of their online departments.

The two sections look into the tradition of newsroom organisation and structure at *Delo* and *Dnevnik*, its change, resulting in processes of newsroom convergence in recent years, and rearticulations of gathering, assembling and providing news for their news websites in these dynamics. Both parts particularly focus on the online departments at *Delo* and *Dnevnik* and their processes in relation to the print operations of both organisations through the prisms of workspace arrangement, division of work and editorial control. Thus, the first section deals with the organisation and structure of *Delo* and *Dnevnik*'s newsrooms from the late 1990s to the late 2000s, when journalists' workspaces were organised according to the tradition of the decentralised newsroom prevailing in Central Europe (cf. Esser 1998; Wilke 2003; Deuze 2007; Vobič 2009b) and when online departments were established in separate offices, growing like "little gardens" within the organisations (Delo 2008a) and "at a safe distance" from other parts of the newsroom (*Dnevnik* Online Executive Editor [2007–2010]). The second section provides insights into the time of change during the period of flexibilising in the late 2000s and the early 2010s, when processes of newsroom convergence brought the *Delo* online department spatially "closer to all the action" (*Delo* Online Executive Editor [2010–], and *Delo* Newsroom Integration Manager [2011–]) and culturally "slightly more integrated with print" (*Dnevnik* Assistant Online Executive Editor [2010–]). As a whole, this part of the chapter tries to capture the changing dynamics of workspace arrangement, division of work and editorial control at *Delo* and *Dnevnik* from the period of exploring and settling on the web, the period of strategic hedging, to the manifold flexibilising of online newswork in recent years in order to trace the impact of the superordinate level of organization, with its roles and its structures and the policy and governance of the media organization's decision-makers, and investigate the causes for the outcome of newswork at the online departments of *Delo.si* and *Dnevnik.si*. Then, in the last section of the chapter, the results are additionally discussed in the context of global trends in the reorganising and restructuring of newsrooms, and assessed within the historical and social specifics of the Slovenian press in order to

develop conceptual grounds and to frame the context of Slovenian online journalism to address the two remaining research questions.

6.2.1 Decentralised Newsrooms: Separating Online Departments from Print

Regardless of the established tradition of newsroom organisation and structure, traditional media organisations have evidently evolved into news workspaces with a top-down decision-making culture, a formalised linear structure of authority and a clear division of work in order to interconnect news making processes, spur cooperation, rationalise production and retain control at all times (e.g. Warner 1970; Epstein 1974; Tuchman 1978; Bantz *et al. 1*980; Fishman 1980). *Delo* and *Dnevnik* also developed these types of newswork environments, grounded in the Central European tradition of newsroom decentralisation as discussed in Chapter 3 and Chapter 4 (e.g. Esser 1998; Wilke 2003; Deuze 2007; Vobič 2009b). In decentralised newsrooms, journalists' workspaces are arranged in one central office, often called "the desk", which operates as the newsroom's central nervous system, while numerous small offices, with their own organisation and structure, are scattered across the building, with newsworkers making sections of the printed newspaper, its supplements, and, over the last decade or so, news websites as well. This type of newsroom organisation and structure reflects the particular historical position of newswork, ranging from the declining sovereignty of journalists as intellectual workers to the increasing structural dependence of journalists as newsworkers, and naturalises the specific standardisation of gathering, assembling and providing news regardless of the platform. Thus, this section focuses on the dynamics of workspace arrangement, division of work and editorial control at *Delo* and *Dnevnik* from the second half of 1990s until the late 2000s, with a particular emphasis on the position of their online departments and the routines of their staffers within the decentralised newsroom's organisation and structure.

During the period of exploring and settling on the web (mid-1990s–early 2000s), *Delo* and *Dnevnik* did not establish online departments with clear formal positions within the organisation and structure of the decentralised newsroom. At a time when the newsrooms of *Delo* and *Dnevnik* pursued reactive and protective innovation strategies and displayed a decentralised spatial arrangement, online news making was performed by "lone wolves" (*Dnevnik* Online Executive Editor [2007–2010]), "enthusiasts" (*Delo*Fax Editor [1997–2008]) and "technicians" (*Delo* Director of Informatics [2011–]).Thus, these newsworkers were only partly included in the strategies and structures of both organisations, since their roles had

only superficially been defined.They were primarily hired to do another job and were only redeployed to make online news when "the web hype happened" (*Dnevnik* Print Editor-in-Chief [2002–2009] and *Dnevnik* Newsroom Integration Manager [2009–]). Therefore, interviewees stress that these individuals prepared online news in the same place that they performed their primary tasks – in the case of *Delo*, on the "central desk" (*Delo*Fax Editor [1997–2008]), or in the office of the archive department, in the instance of *Dnevnik* (*Dnevnik* Online Executive Editor [1996–2005]).

> *I deliberately got alienated from Delo; its print edition, I mean. /.../ It was great to be a journalist on the web, because you did not need to go into the field as before. I called people, wrote a little and learned a little at the same time. You got a lot of stuff via e-mail – from interviews to the latest news. You did not need to go around and talk with all the lying politicians.* (Former *DeloFax* Editor [1997–2008])

Moreover, on the basis of analysis of in-depth interviews with decision-makers at that time, one could hardly argue that online newswork was structurally incorporated into the organization of the *Delo* and *Dnevnik* newsrooms.The division of work was minimal, as the gathering, assembling and provision of online news was most of the time routinely done by one staffer, indicating the preservation of the traditional "holistic understanding" of newswork (Esser 1998, 375).

> *I did not attend any of the editorial meetings. Why would I be at a meeting where people decide what is going to be printed tomorrow? I did not have anything to do with the print edition. I did my own stuff. I edited the website in the morning. Then I realised what was in the newspaper, and only then did I decide what was going to be published on the website.* (Former *Dnevnik* Online Executive Editor [1996–2005])

Due to the fact that the online news project was not focused on reaching specific aims in the long run, and online journalists were not included in the established and accepted order and structure, it is not surprising, as interviewees say, that editorial control was weak and indirect at *Delo* and *Dnevnik*, during the period of exploring and settling on the web.Neither organisation coordinated its online activities and resources in a way that would ensure the accomplishment of long-term journalistic or business goals. In this regard, the *Delo* and *Dnevnik* print editors-in-chief, who were also responsible for the online edition, concentrated

solely on the newspaper, as it was presupposed that the shovelling of print content online was primarily a newswork routine that did not need any coordination, says a former *Dnevnik* online executive editor [1996–2005]: "I did it my way. How I changed the print edition into a news website, how I added things, how the website should be improved so that it would support the newspaper, was my problem only." In this sense, the formal structure of authority in the newsroom was not reflected in the decision-making routines of online news making – at least until the mid-2000s.

In the period of hedging [mid-2000s–late 2000s], things changed, at least to a degree. With the establishment of the online departments at *Delo* and *Dnevnik*, a decentralised newsroom organisation and structure began to play a significant role in the positioning of online news socially within both organisations and the performing of online newswork in relation to the print department. With the absence of a long-term strategy to further develop online news projects or appropriate activities and resources in order to achieve journalistic and business goals, compensatory measures to spread the risks were taken at both *Delo* and *Dnevnik*. This led to the spatial, structural and financial marginalisation of the online departments at both organisations.

On the one hand, the *Delo* online department was spatially separated from the workspaces of the print journalists and situated in a small office on the first floor, where it grew "into a ghetto inside the newspaper" and operated in its "own little world" (Delo 2008a).

> *The most powerful people at Delo decided to separate us. They would have put us in the cellar if there had been enough room. This type of spatial arrangement was pretty symbolic. When I came to Delo, they asked me where I wanted the online department to be settled. I said that we should be on the central desk, so that we could make a breakthrough more easily, because we knew of the resistance of other journalists. I wanted us to be at the heart of the newsroom, where things happen all the time. /.../ Unfortunately, overnight things changed and we got that office on the first floor. I never really found out what happened.* (*Delo* Online Executive Editor [2004–2009])

This acknowledgement indicates that the online department played a marginal role in *Delo*'s efforts towards achieving specific long-term goals. However, the then acting *Delo* print editor-in-chief rejects the suggestion that the *Delo.si* project was not strategically coordinated, and stresses that the architecture of the *Delo* building and the decentralised newsroom

organization had important consequences not only for the editorial flow and news making of the online department, but also for the dynamics of the print part of *Delo*.

> *The spatial arrangement is a problem, but some people like it. We cannot avoid that. I have been at Delo for 20 years –over the years some departments within the organisation have become even more closed. There were times when floors were open, but now there are offices on different floors, gardens and so on. The result is that we are organised more and more narrowly and conservatively. Everyone tries to take the boat on a cruise of their choosing. If 25 people want to take the vessel in 25 different directions, the boat does not go anywhere.* (*Delo* Print Editor-in-Chief [2003–2006, 2008–2009])

The then online executive editor acknowledges that the "conservative mentality" prevalent among *Delo* decision-makers and print journalists also played a major role in the repositioning of the online department within the organisation. "We were the new kids in town. Nobody really liked novelty in their workspace. A conservative mentality prevailed at *Delo,* and so the marginalisation of the online department did not really surprise me. /…/ Such a reaction was logical." (Former *Delo* Online Executive Editor [2004–2009]) The spatial separation in the decentralised newsroom "was really unfortunate", says a former *Delo* online redakteur [2004–2007, 2010], whohighlights – similarly to other interviewees – not only a spatial but also a structural separation between the online department and the organisation's other departments in the second half of the 2000s. "We did not receive a lot of information and did not have a lot of contact with other parts of *Delo*. It would have been much easier to work together if we had been in the same place." (*ibid.*) The current newsroom integration director, who worked at the time as a print journalist, confirms the organisational consequences of the initial spatial incorporation of the online department into the newsroom: "They were on a different floor and we did not even know where they actually were. They were on the first floor, in some room, and none of them ever visited us, the print journalists. We did not know they existed." (*Delo* Online Executive Editor [2010–] and *Delo* Newsroom Integration Manager [2011–])

On the other hand, in the latter half of the 2000s, a similar spatial arrangement was adopted at *Dnevnik*, where the newsroom also had one central workspace with core decision-making responsibilities and many other branch offices which made complete sections of the printed daily and outlets for different platforms – among others *Dnevnik*.si. "We were in the

fifth floor, pretty far away from the heart of the newspaper, the central desk on the third floor. /…/ I was lobbying all the time that the online department should move closer to the action, but without success," says a former *Dnevnik* online executive editor [2007–2010], who stresses that at *Dnevnik*, too, "fear of the new" was too persistent for changes to happen to the spatial arrangement and structural organisation of the newsroom: "*Dnevnik* has always had this old mentality. It's a company that is fifty years old. It was and is like a dinosaur that moves really slowly." (*ibid.*)

According to interviews, *Dnevnik.si*, in the second half of the 2000s, was not part of the strategy of the print media organisation, which was oriented toward accomplishing certain goals in the long term, since management did not see the project as an opportunity "to make a profit" (*Dnevnik* Online Journalist [2007–2008]; *Dnevnik* Online Executive Editor [2007–2010]). On this issue, interviewees say that putting the *Dnevnik* online department in "an office that was too small" for the group of newsworkers was telling, not only on the level of the organisation of print and online news making, but also on the strategic level, as it reflected "the distance", as a former *Dnevnik* online executive editor [2007–2010] acknowledges, between the top and the bottom as well as print and online.

> *We were physically dislocated from the central desk and I often did not know what was going on there and vice versa. I wanted to know everything, and so I circled around the place like the place, but physically you could do it, particularly on a busy day. Communication was weak. Yet, I was a member of the editorial board and I was attending the meetings, but this was simply not enough.* (*Dnevnik* Online Executive Editor [2007–2010])

Interviewees indicate that decision-makers at *Dnevnik* appeared unsuccessful in bringing together print and online in order to strengthen the gathering, assembling and provision of news across all platforms. For instance, a former *Dnevnik* online executive editor [2007–2010] says that the structural arrangement of the organisation was the problem, as the "print editor-in-chief was really not interested" in the online department or the news website. "The online department was completely pushed into the back room. Nobody cared about the news website when everything was in its place. It appears to have been some kind of burden; it was regarded as something additional, but not welcomed." (*Dnevnik* Online Journalist [2007–2008]) According to online staffers who worked at *Dnevnik* in the late 2000s, the architecture of the *Dnevnik* building and the adoption of a decentralised newsroom organization slowed

down the editorial flow of print as well as online, cooperation across departments and news making for all the platforms: "Journalists in all departments were in their own offices, their own cells, and these cells were almost locked from the outside. There was not enough information reaching various parts of the organisation for us to perform properly." (*Dnevnik* Online Executive Editor [2007–2010])

As is usual in decentralised newsrooms (e.g. Esser 1998; Wilke 2003; Deuze 2007; Vobič 2009b), *Dnevnik* and *Delo* nurtured a rather low level of division of labor, particularly among those who were positioned fairly low within the formalised structure of authority, indicate interviewees. At that time, both *Delo* and *Dnevnik* adopted a "mono-pyramidal hierarchical structure" (cf. Vobič 2009b), at the top of which was the print editor-in-chief. Interviewees more or less agree that, despite the formal power arrangement, print editors-in-chief at the respective organizations were rarely involved in decision-making regarding the gathering, assembling and provision of online news, and they characterise it as a "minor role" (*Delo* Online Redakteur [2004–2007, 2010], "no role whatsoever" (*Dnevnik* Online Executive Editor [2007–2010]), and "not really a meaningful function" (*Dnevnik* Online Journalist [2007–2008]).

> *Everything was in my hands. The print editor-in-chief was never really interested in the web. He knew that the thing existed and that's all. /.../ I informed the editor what was going on, I gave him previews, new designs and other solutions. I must say I spoiled him at that time, because everything worked perfectly – the number of visits was exploding and financially we were also OK.* (*Dnevnik* Online Executive Editor [2007–2010])

A former *Dnevnik* online journalist [2006–2007] stresses that the print editor-in-chief occasionally got involved when "he wanted an event to be covered more precisely" or "when something went wrong". Interventions in the case of the former were made at morning editorial meetings, which were attended by the online executive editor, and in the case of the latter the print editor-in-chief would phone the online department: "Other people phoned him and then he phoned us and asked what was going on." (*ibid.*) At *Delo*, says a former *Delo* online redakteur [2004–2007, 2010], the role of the print editor-in-chief transformed during the period of hedging: "At that time, the print editor-in-chief started to have a strategic role. But it depended on the personality of the editor-in-chief – some were more into the internet than others."

Next in the hierarchal structure was the online executive editor – the position that was invented at *Delo* with the establishment of the online department in 2004; at *Dnevnik* the role of online executive editor went through a transformation from the time of exploring and settling on the web, when he performed as what Esser (1998, 375) calls a "multifunctional all-rounder". In the latter half of the 2000s, online executive editors at both organisations worked as integrators, linking the processes of the online department with the print edition –primarily attending editorial meetings, where he or she possessed the same amount of power as the section editors of the print edition. This in a way reflects the marginalised structural position of the online department in relation to the print part of the organization, stresses the then acting *Dnevnik* print editor-in-chief [2002–2009]: "At the editorial meetings, the online executive editor was one of the twelve editors. If there was a vote, he had one vote. Marginalisation in this sense was an arithmetic fact." Nevertheless, interviewees from both online departments indicate that the role of an online executive editor was dual. On the one hand, she or he coordinated online content with the print department. "In a way, I coordinated both departments so that they made online news. This was really difficult, especially when I wanted to persuade print journalists to send their texts for online. At the same time, I had to bother my staffers to make news out of agency content and to create their own news as well." (*Delo* Online Executive Editor [2004–2009]) A former *Dnevnik* online journalist [2007–2008] characterised the online executive editor as an "agenda-setter", as "he was the one that decided what we are going to cover. He attended the editorial meetings, and occasionally there were some decisions taken there that he had to follow" (*ibid.*). On the other hand, the online executive editor also managed the budget of the department, which was defined by management and, at least in principle, by the long-term strategy of the online news project – in terms of business and also journalism. "In this sense, I worked as a manager as well. We were in constant contact with the marketing department. I took care of the whole budget of the department. /…/ Later I just focused on progress, and all the stuff connected to daily news making was left to the online redakteurs." (*Delo* Online Executive Editor [2004–2009]) A former *Dnevnik* online journalist [2007–2008] confirmed that the then acting online executive editor performed a hybrid role, as he took care of the content side as well as the business side of the department: "He took care of the finances, development and was in close contact with the advertising and marketing departments." (*ibid.*)

The distinction between the formal structure and agency in regards to online redakteurs and online journalists' roles is more slippery, where their division of work in gathering, assembling and providing news is concerned. If this distinction is fairly clear at

Delo, at *Dnevnik* it is more porous, since at the latter the role of redakteur was not exclusive, because all online redakteurs worked as online journalists when they were not on duty, whereas, at the former, the formalised structure of authority was clearer. In this sense, *Delo* online redakteurs, who were also called "daily online editors" (*Delo* Online Executive Editor [2004–2009]; *Delo* Online Redakteur [2004–2007, 2010]), received "guidelines" from the online executive editor after each editorial meeting on "how to lead the team" and "gave tasks to the staffers" (*Delo* Online Redakteur [2004–2007, 2010]). At *Dnevnik*, the online redakteur comes closer to the holistic understanding of newswork, since he or she had control over a whole range of tasks – from editing, dividing duties and layout to news making. In the evenings and at the weekends, "everybody did everything" (*Delo* Online Redakteur [2004–2007, 2010]) due to the shortage of people available – online journalists on duty were responsible for all the decision-making regarding the gathering, assembling and provision of online news. In this sense, they took on the roles of print editor-in-chief, online executive editor and online redakteur. "During the weekends, we got promoted in terms of gaining power in decision-making as to what to publish and what not. In the evening online journalists were completely alone and took all the decisions – we had all the responsibilities." (*Dnevnik* Online Journalist [2007–2008])

Otherwise, most of the time online journalists were responsible for "repurposing" (Pavlik 2008) news already published by press agencies, other media or their in-house print colleagues. However, what Brannon (2008, 100) names "retrofitting" was due to the constant rush for timely news as produced by online journalists across all the sections: "They made news in line with their preferences –some were better at international news, others were more interested in sports and so on. It could not be fixed because of the shortage of people. We optimised our work that way." (*Delo* Online Redakteur [2004–2007, 2010]) At *Dnevnik* a former online journalist [2007–2008] complains that often "it was not clear at all what should be done and how it should be done"; at *Delo* a former online journalist [2004–2009] suggests they should "stimulate" the journalists "to specialise for a specific section we were interested in. We cover all the themes and this does not bode well for the quality of the news."

Insights into the spatial arrangement and division of work indicate that marginalised structural arrangements at the *Delo* and *Dnevnik* online departments and the disorganised coordination of activities and resources shaped chaotic dynamics between structure and agency in individual online journalists' routines. From this perspective, according to the interview data gathered, both decentralised newsrooms also had a rather low degree of editorial control. Usually, members of particular departments communicate strictly up the

hierarchal structure and, thus, when there is time pressure staffers do not easily cope (e.g. Esser 1998; Deuze 2007; Vobič 2009b). However, in the instance of the *Delo* and *Dnevnik* online departments, this decision-making process was not in operation. Moreover, it appears that hierarchies are often "flattened" (Quandt 2008, 82), as the organisation of both online departments seems rather chaotic and out of place.For example, in order to gather, assemble and provide news as fast as possible and to continuously fill "the bottomless news hole" (Domingo 2008a), all online staffers work without deadlines, which in traditional media organisations usually provide an everyday application of the formal hierarchy in the newsroom.

From this perspective, a former *Delo* online executive editor [2004–2009] stresses that simultaneity of strong editorial control and speed of news making is not possible: "You could not have both. For instance, online journalism did not go well with proofreading. We went for speed. I had to rely on online staffers' knowledge and decisions. For this reason, we did not proofread one single news item. This is not something I am proud of but we were often the fastest. I got really angry if the competition was faster." (*ibid.*) Similar acknowledgements are made by *Dnevnik* staffers interviewed, who, like their *Delo* counterparts, stress that the fact that their newsroom had two CMSs – one for print and one for online – which additionally weakened editorial control of online newswork and made cross-department cooperation even more difficult in the decentralised newsrooms.

> *I did not even feel the online department was a part of Delo. They started attending editorial meetings and even some e-mails started circulating inviting us to cooperate and to contribute to online production. They were completely separate – they did not have anything to do with print. There was no commonness whatsoever.* (*Delo* Online Executive Editor [2010–] and *Delo* Newsroom Integration Manager [2011–])

This social-organisational study suggests that the *Delo* and *Dnevnik* online departments "lacked central oversight" and appeared "anarchic", as in many other countries (Deuze 2008a, 206). For instance, a former *Dnevnik* online journalist [2007–2008] says that editorial control focused only on the speed of online news making and not on the quality of staffers' outputs: "It was really like packing sausages. /…/ What we took from from the print edition and put online was complete mechanisation. We did not really need journalists to do this job. We could use anybody – we would just have to teach him or her how to do the clicking and that would have been all." (*ibid.*) In addition, the *Delo* online department also felt alienated from

decision-making further up the hierarchal ladder –but this varied over time. “At first we were completely left to ourselves. Nobody cared what we were doing. We could have been a tabloid website and nobody would have bothered a lot. /…/ Later on, atv editorial meetings the news website became more and more important. They started suggesting what we should put where on the site.” (*Delo* Online Redakteur [2004–2007, 2010]) According to interviewees, this sort of disorganisation did not bring the sort of autonomy that would stimulate creative processes of newswork, but instead reflected spatial, financial and structural marginalisation, resulting in the industrial nature of the gathering, assembling and provision of news. The weakening of everyday editorial control during the period of hedging structurally indicates what Domingo (2008c, 124) understands as “being in a constantly temporary situation”. In this sense, such circumstances helped journalists to adapt to innovation, whether technological or organisational, but at the same time promoted a passive attitude, “where they would rather wait for a better future than actively reflect on present limitations and how to overcome them” (*ibid.*).

This (dis)organisation of online departments and online newswork indicates the absence of three features that usually reflect print media organizations and their development (Altmeppen 2008, 54). First, print media organisations are oriented toward achieving specific aims in the long run. On the basis of this social-organisational inquiry, what characterized *Delo* and *Dnevnik* was not strategic orientation, but rather managerial and editorial disinterest in online news projects. Second, print media organisations usually have an established and accepted order and structure. In the period of hedging, *Delo* and *Dnevnik* hardly resembled such processes in their online departments, which were spatially separated groups of online staffers lacking oversight. Third, print media organisations coordinate their activities and available resources in order to achieve long-term business and journalism aims. In the case of *Delo* and *Dnevnik* in the mid-2000s, it appears that they had no long-term business or journalism aims online, but simply coordinated to meet the minimum of online news making activity based on retrofitting on a daily basis, which reflects a chaotic editorial flow, informal decision-making and the absence of cross-department cooperation. From this perspective, the spatial arrangement of newsrooms, with one central desk and an accompanying range of separate offices appeared rather to reduce any chance of a change in the course of development if the structural situation changed. “We have always had editors scattered all across the skyscraper, and communication and cooperation was sometimes difficult – especially if the lifts stopped working,” stresses a former *Delo* print editor-in-chief [2003–2006, 2008–2009].

Processes in the respective decentralised newsrooms paved the way to the reality of the messy, rather open and relatively unmanaged workspaces manned by online journalists in the second half of the 2000s, when structurally distinct organisation newswork and speed of publishing became the central criteria of news making. Interviewees and documents suggest there was little to no integration, cooperation or even contact between print and online at *Delo* and *Dnevnik* at that time, and it appeared that basic spatial, organisational and structural arrangements did not "optimise the resources", and the process was also "slowed down by personal (non)relations" (Delo 2008a). As the situation changed in the late 2000s, contingent articulations between technology and journalism met with uncertainty on the (inter)national print media markets (e.g. Delo 2008a, 2010; *Dnevnik* Print Editor-in-Chief [2002–2009] and Newsroom Integration Manager [2009–]) and this encouraged *Delo* and *Dnevnik* to steer a path toward flexibilising productivity, strengthening cross-department efficiency and boosting profitability – that is, the course toward newsroom convergence.

6.2.2 Newsroom Convergence: Integrating Online Departments with Print

In the last three years the tradition of the decentralised newsroom organisation and structure has started to fade at *Delo* and *Dnevnik*. The two organisations have started to transform established principles of decentralised spatial arrangement, low division of work and editorial control by trying to refine the combination of technologies, encourage collaboration among staff and integrate workspaces between distinct print and online departments. Yet, the triangulation of data from newsroom observations, in-depth interviews with staffers and analyses of strategic documents indicates that these attempts to structurally transform newsroom organisation have not been common and have not resulted in a clear-cut change at the *Delo* and *Dnevnik* online departments. As the study indicates, the two organisations adopted different approaches to newsroom convergence, nurtured distinct understandings of these processes and obtained various outcomes from converging. On the one hand, at *Delo* decision-makers adopted a linear approach to newsroom convergence, and understood it as a "continuum" (Deuze 2004, 140) that starts with spatial proximity and ends with a "common information engine" (*Delo* Print Editor-in-Chief [2003–2006, 2008–2009]). Processes of convergence have resulted in what resembles the "cross-media model" (Meier 2007; Avilés and Carvajal 2008; Avilés *et al. 2*009). On the other hand, at *Dnevnik* newsroom convergence has been approached as a non-linear process (Deuze 2004, 2007; Avilés and Carvajal 2008), and understood as an open but managed dynamism with various possible outcomes that do

"not necessarily start with a common workspace" (*Dnevnik* Print Editor-in-Chief [2002–2009] and Newsroom Integration Manager [2009–]). The *Dnevnik* newsroom and the online department within it operate as a "coordinated model" (Meier 2007; Avilés and Carvajal 2008; Avilés *et al. 2*009). In this respect, this section provides insights into the processes of newsroom convergence at *Delo* and *Dnevnik*, debates the consequences for the integration of online departments with the print parts of the respective print media organisations, illuminates the dynamics of transformation of space arrangement, division of work, and editorial control in their online departments, and reveals shifts in the structure and agency of gathering, assembling and providing online news.

In 2009 *Delo* started making news for its daily newspaper, its supplements and its online news website in a common workspace of about 2,400 square metres (cf. Appendix E). According to a former *Delo* print editor-in-chief [2003–2006; 2008–2009], the spatial rearrangement of the newsroom and a new CMS cost around three million euros. Bringing together departments that were previous separate "has not been easy to handle" – it would have been easier, says the former editor and then acting newsroom integration manager, if *Delo* had a centralised newsroom and not a decentralised one.

> *In the United States, for instance, they are already in a common workspace, and the culture is different in such a way that such changes are less unexpected than in continental Europe. It is much more difficult to introduce these changes at our media house. At the same time, we do not want just to copy the patterns –analysis shows that our problems are practically completely the same as in many other countries all over the world.* (*Delo* Print Editor-in-Chief [2003–2006, 2008–2009])

Strategic documents (Delo 2008a; Delo 2010) and other interviewees (*Delo* Online Executive Editor [2009–2010]; *Delo* Online Redakteur [2009–]) also indicate that a linear understanding of newsroom convergence prevails at *Delo*, where "small steps toward a big goal" (*Delo* Online Journalist C) comprise a series of processes eventually leading to the end-point of the "common information engine" in the integrated newsroom (*Delo* Print Editor-in-Chief [2003–2006, 2008–2009]). In thisregard, the first step taken in this process was towards spatial proximity of departments and staffers, which was considered the first level of convergence, which would eventually organically evolve into an organisational change toward "better efficiency of existing journalistic potentials" (Delo 2010). As Deuze (2004, 140) writes, the linear approach to newsroom convergence rests on "its presumed consensus" among editors

and journalists and "with the assumption of inevitability", which both appear incorrect at *Delo*.

The converging structural changes adoptedin the *Delo* newsroom have not yielded positive opinions towards the newsroom convergence project – on the strategic level and in terms of its manifestation. On the one hand, editors and journalists involved (Delo 2008b) have had reservations toward the project of an integrated newsroom, saying that management and editors have not presented enough information and convincing arguments for such a structural rearrangement and organisational transformation. "It seems tempting from above, but up close it is not so pretty. The board probably wants to rationalise news production and initially fire some of the staff," stressed the president of the staff committee of *Delo* journalists. According to document analysis (Delo 2008a; Delo 2010), these fears are not unfounded, as the strategy behind newsroom convergence is to synergise efficiency, profitability, utility, quality and quantity in news making. "People are afraid to work more and they are afraid of making mistakes when working for other outlets, for instance the online department." (*Delo* Online Redakteur [2009–]) Interviewees also more or less agree that newsroom convergence processes are orchestrated from the top and that spatial proximity came as a "shock" (*Delo* Online Executive Editor [2009–2010]) in several respects.

> *You have to programme people to follow the ideas of cooperation and integration. It is a process. There are also other things aside from just moving desks into a common newsroom. First, the integrated newsroom was a shock for many at* Delo*. Before, they all had their own peace, their own work corner, and now they have to make news in a huge common space. Second, another shock was the proximity of the online department and the initial demands for print journalists to cooperate with online staffers. These two things were big mistakes. We are people and we need to feel good about each other and we need to feel comfortable in the space we work in.* (*ibid.*)

On the other hand, interviewees negatively assess the adaptation of newsroom convergence at *Delo,* suggesting that the integration project is "not going well" (*Delo* Online Redakteur [2009–]), "it started wrongly" (*Delo* Online Executive Editor [2004–2009]) and it was "a fairy tale" (*Delo* Online Journalist C). These critiques regard the prioritising of spatial proximity as a mistake and take issue with management's linear approach to newsroom convergence, anticipating the organic reorganisation of newsroom processes, dynamics and relations. For instance, *Delo* online journalist E is skeptical of the project: "Integration is possible, but at

Delo everything happened too quickly. It should be a gradual process focused foremost on changing the mindset. Nobody likes big changes and bringing us together at once was maybe a mistake." In thisregard, all the interviewees suggest that newsroom convergence is a gradual process which is more about culture and mindset than space and technology. For example, a *Delo* online redakteur [2009–] stresses that "there are no concrete results" and that "money is going down the drain", whereas a former online executive editor [2004–2009] says "workspaces are now spatially united, but there is no other stronger bond among them".

> *They have not integrated anything /.../ You cannot integrate a newsroom by tearing down walls, especially in the modern world, where you can cooperate over the phone or other technologies – you do not need to sit together to communicate. Journalists were against it and they remain against it.* (*Delo* Online Executive Editor [2004–2009])

In addition, during the observation, the acting *Delo* online executive editor [2009–2010] stressed that newsroom convergence was a process that concerns "the whole media organisation" and that it should be centrally managed.

> *Newsroom convergence should mean providing content for all the platforms, such as print, web, tablets and mobiles. We all talk about an integrated newsroom. You could have an integrated newsroom, but if the whole media organisation – its editorial part as well as its business part – does not go through this process, common workspaces just do not matter. Somebody needs to lead this process strictly.* (*ibid*.)

Interviewees' attitudes and opinions towards *Delo*'s newsroom convergence project signal first, a lack of strategic orientation toward specific goals – whether journalistic or business; second, an absence of attempts to reestablish order and structure in the common newsroom; and third, a deficit in the coordination of activities and resources toward clear aims. From this perspective, observation of the *Delo* newsroom indicates that the online department still operates quite distinctly to the print part of the media organisation. Online staffers gather, assemble and provide news mostly by "retrofitting" (Brannon 2008), whereas original online news making is put almost completely on hold. It also appears that spatial proximity and other strategic attempts and goals have had minor consequences for editorial flow, cross-department collaboration and editorial control. In this context, the contemporary *Delo* newsroom best

resembles what is known as a "cross-media model" of journalists' workspace organisation and structure (Meier 2007; Avilés and Carvajal 2008; Avilés *et al.* 2009).

Specifically, according to an analysis of *Delo*'s strategic documents (e.g. Delo 2010), the cross-media model derives from a resource and organisational strategy of flexibilising newswork, where "synergies" are considered to be ideal, aimed at reconstructing the media organisation as a heterogeneous news provider across many platforms. Observation results indicate that *Delo* journalists work in separate departments despite their spatial proximity, and make news for different platforms, but are interconnected through cross-media "coordinators" and established processes of collaboration among staffers from different departments, as Avilés *et al.* (2009) stress in their study of the cross-media model in three European countries. In *Delo*'s case, the coordinators are the print editor-in-chief, the online executive editor and sometimes online redakteurs, whose formal decision-making responsibilities are divided according to the structure of authority in the newsroom, which remained the same as in the times of the decentralised newsroom. On the basis of observation at *Delo*, staffers performing these three roles attend morning and afternoon editorial meetings, where decisions are made about what is going to be published in the next morning's newspaper and how the online department is going to follow. However, despite these meetings and "ad hoc in-transition meetings" (*Delo* Print Editor-in-Chief [2009–]), cross-department collaboration is not something that is stimulated in the *Delo* newswork environment, as analysis of interviews and observation shows.

"It appears that we are completely irrelevant," says the *Delo* online executive editor [2009–2010]. At the same time, she explains that the print editor-in-chief "almost never" visits the online department, despite the fact that her office is physically directly above online staffers' desks (cf. Appendix E). Interviewees stress that the print editor-in-chief has "no role whatsoever" in making online news (*Delo* Online Redakteur [2009–]), that "she does not care" for online news (*Delo* Online Journalist E), and "she does not know who her journalists are" (*Delo* Online Journalist B). For example, *Delo* online journalist A acknowledges: "She does not give a rat's ass. She does not know us, she does not say hello. This is terrible. She has her office really close to us and often passes by, but does not say anything. /…/ We probably do not even exist for her." Similar observations are also made by other members of the *Delo* online department, some even saying that the acting print editor-in-chief "does not get the idea of integration" (*Delo* Online Journalist E).

> *For instance, when Julian Assange from* WikiLeaks *was released from prison on bail, we published that immediately on the website. Then, the print editor-in-chief came and demanded that we do the story. But the story was already online; it was published on* Delo.si *an hour earlier . /.../ This was a terrible mistake, indicating that the online department is not important in her view, despite publicly stressing the opposite.* (*Delo* Online Journalist B)

"I take the blame. I confess. This is true," responds the print editor-in-chief [2009–], when asked for her view on the critique that she does not do enough to spur cross-department collaboration and news making. "As is the case for others, I also need to change my mindset. /…/ On a daily basis we work together, but otherwise it is illusory to accept a more close relationship. For the link I have an online executive editor." (*ibid.*)

Despite the planned restructuring and reorganising of the *Delo* newsroom, the role of online executive editor also hardly changed in the period during which newswork was flexibilised – she performs more as a manager taking care of the budget of the department, marketing of the website and obtaining technical support than an editor managing the news making processes and their outcomes. For instance, *Delo* online journalist A describes her "a boss responsible for money", whereas an online redakteur [2009–] emphasises her attempts "to change the mindset so that the online department would no longer be alien". However, interviewees more or less agree that often she "is not there to make decisions regarding content" (*Delo* Online Journalist A).

> *The online executive editor is almost never there for the content. She is preoccupied with marketing stuff, taking care of the timetable and the fact that nobody wants to work the weekend. She cares about the clicks and that is all, she is checking the statistics all the time and rearranging the positions of the news items.* (*Delo* Online Journalist E)

The online executive editor [2009–2010] stresses that taking care of "the revenue of the department" was the first priority. Coordinating the activities of the online department and the available resources among online staff in order to ensure "speed" in online news making and the "occasional exclusiveness" of online news were next on the priority list. Yet, the results of the observation at *Delo* indicate a low level of hierarchal and horizontal structure, where more workload was placed on the shoulders of online redakteurs and online journalists. From this

perspective, the staffers, particularly online journalists, had to cope with "the ideology of everybody has to do everything" (Altmeppen 2008, 61), as they had more responsibility for certain tasks that are unrelated to their formal role within the structure of authority in the newsroom.

Despite the fact that newsroom convergence has hardly been strategically led at *Delo* and has resulted in minor organisational changes in the processes, dynamics and relations within the online department, the observation indicates shifts in cross-department cooperation – at least in the increasing variety of ways of cooperation, if not in emerging cross-departmental news making routines. For instance, one way of cooperating evident during observation has been information-sharing among print and online journalists via the online department's mobile phone. "We have a mobile phone, which is meant for journalists in the field to call and recap what is going on. /…/ However, cooperation is based on personal connections or, how should I put it. /…/ Print journalists are not required to cooperate – why would they work with us." (*Delo* Online Journalist C) In addition, during observation there have been instances of print journalists making news for the website or vice versa, and examples of news initially made for one platform being repurposed for the other. "Common space resulted in print staffers' thinking about what to put online and how to make news for online. We did not have these dynamics before. We communicate more." (*Delo* Online Redakteur [2009–]) However, the results of the observation show and interviewees say that "there has not been a big breakthrough" (*ibid*.) in terms of cross-departmental cooperation, suggesting that what has occurred are mostly collaborative acts between enthusiastic and interested individuals rather than structural signs of organisational change. In this regard, interviewees indicate that there is "no system" of cooperation, but rather collaboration occurring "on an individual basis" (*ibid.*). For example, *Delo* online journalist E attributes such fragmented cross-departmental collaboration to "forced integration", where spatial proximity, formal structure and actual newsroom dynamics are not interrelated: "You can sense it because print journalists get annoyed pretty quickly if you ask them to share information or to write a piece for the web." (*Delo* online journalist E)

In order to strengthen structural arrangements in the newsroom – in terms of stability and consistency of organisation, on the one hand, and in terms of technical resources for the journalists, on the other – decision-makers at *Delo* are striving for a common CMS (*Delo* Print Editor-in-Chief [2009–2010]; *Delo* Online Executive Editor [2009–2010] and for authority to be decentralized to make decision-making more flexible and responsive (Delo 2010). On the one hand, online and print staffers use different and separate CMSs (*Delo* Print

Editor-in-Chief [2003–2006, 2008–2009], Delo 2008a; *Delo* Director of Informatics [2011–]). "If I disregard some minor changes, we have had the same CMS for many years now. /…/ We are able to see print articles in the current CMS, but our CMS is a different one from theirs; they are not interconnected. /…/ We do not have access to their system," says *Delo* online journalist D. The current *Delo* director of informatics stresses that in 2009 everything was ready for a common CMS, but the management and print editor-in-chief did not back this structural rearrangement. "We made a template and it was possible to make a derivative of a print story, but it did not work out. Print journalists could have written a shorter piece for the website and sent it to the online department. The online redakteur would just have ticked 'I accept' and that's that. The problem was not technical." (*Delo* Director of Informatics [2011–]) In this sense, the newsroom integration manager [2011–] stresses that "the story of a common CMS hurts a lot" and that current CMSs are "not compatible" amongst one another: "We need to connect the print CMS with the online CMS, but the interface costs one million euros." (*Delo* Online Executive Editor [2010–] and *Delo* Newsroom Integration Manager [2011–]) Observation reveals that different CMSs from different outlets make it difficult not only to promote cross-department collaboration, but also to make news for different platforms in as effective and timely a way as possible: "It works terribly now. One of my goals is to demonstrate usage of the online department's CMS and reveal all its flaws. It constrains our work and we are nothing more than a packaging department. /…/ It is repetitive, routinised and tiring – it is like 19th-century manual production." (*Delo* Online Executive Editor [2010–] and *Delo* Newsroom Integration Manager [2011–]) According to some interviewees, such technological divergence within *Delo* is a result of a lack of coordination between management and the editorial part of the media organisation, and an absence of negotiated organisational strategy.

> *A common CMS has been a plan from the beginning of the integration process, but it has never happened. Well, in five years we had six boards, and the print editors-in-chief also shifted. /.../ Every new leadership brought new ideas, new priorities and some processes just stopped. /.../ This is the biggest problem at* Delo. (*Delo* Online Executive Editor [2009–2010])

In the second case, it can be argued that decentralization of authority remained a characteristic of *Delo*'s newsroom organization after the spatial rearrangement of journalists' workspaces, since the formal power structure was intact. Weak editorial control accompanying

decentralised authority seems one of the salient features of gathering, assembling and providing news for *Delo*.si – externally, that is, in relation to the print editor-in-chief, and internally, that is, in terms of decision-making within the department. The former is evident during editorial meetings, indicate interviewees, implying that the online department is "mistreated". "If there were no one at the editorial meeting in the morning, nobody would care. We would not be missed at all. /…/ We are still pretty much separate – we try to push them to cooperate, but we are still not on an equal basis." (*Delo* Online Journalist A) In addition, the *Delo* online executive editor also stresses that the fact that the editorial meeting is at 10 am does not make sense in terms of the editorial flow of the online department. "I was lobbying for early morning editorial meetings, but it has not happened. Then we could organise our work in the online department, with the contents in the newspaper the next day." (*Delo* Online Executive Editor [2009–2010]) On the other hand, observation also shows that the formal structure of authority in the newsroom is not reflected in the actual hierarchal and horizontal structure, since most of the workload is placed on the shoulders of online journalists. Not only that, the print editor-in-chief is often absent from decision-making, and this also goes for the online executive editor and online redakteurs.

> *When a decision about something delicate has to be taken, then they call me. When it is not so delicate, they make the decision collectively, and I do not see anything wrong with that. I trust some journalists a lot and I know they will make the right decision. But, formally, I think decision-making should follow the hierarchy –at the top is the print editor-in-chief, followed by the others. And in this system it just does not work like that.* (*Delo* Online Executive Editor [2009–2010])

The observation results show that in the morning and early afternoon online journalists are responsible for constantly publishing timely news for different sections, that is, national news, international news, economy and finance, culture and sport. The online redakteur steers a course during the daily shift from 8 am till 4pm, but in the late afternoon and in the evening there is "practically no editorial control" (*Delo* Online Redakteur [2009–])Specifically, from 4 pm till 10 pm "everybody does everything" (*ibid.*), he says, implying that the three online journalists on duty cover all the sections and they also make collective decisions. "There is not a lot of control over what you do. You are alone. You have to control everything and try to be enthusiastic and do as much as possible. /…/ I hardly ever get feedback from the superiors. Feedback from my colleagues is more frequent, however." (*Delo* Online Journalist

C) In this context, interviewed online journalists stress they are "their own bosses" and that decision-making is not individual, but rather a collective process. "Our communication is great. /…/ We work on a friendly basis. /…/ At the same time, it is dreadful that there is no editor, actually. There should be one person behind the computer all the time that checks if everything is ok. /…/ The editor would have to be there if we need him or her." (*Delo* Online Journalist B) Moreover, *Delo* online journalist C says that "it is pleasant to be alone and not have someone with more power behind your back all the time", but "when you need someone with more experience to help you make the decision – it is not pleasant." Observation results indicate that this is particularly the case at weekends – on Saturday and Sunday mornings there is only one newsworker in the online department, responsible for gathering, assembling and providing news for all the sections. *Delo* online journalist D characterises weekend online news making as the work of a "superman", and online journalist C says that "it gets completely crazy", indicating the high tempo and large amount of newswork, "It's just too much. You primarily think of the leading stories and you just leave out many others. You have to get your priorities straight." (*Delo* Online Journalist C)

If *Delo* based their newsroom convergence processes on spatial proximity by building an integrated workspace in order to establish a cross-media model, the social-organisational study indicates that the story of *Dnevnik*'s integration would be a different one. Despite the fact that at *Dnevnik* they were also considering building a "common newsroom" (*Dnevnik* Online Executive Editor [2007–2010]), the project has not been realised yet: "Already then, in 2007, there was a plan to build a common newsroom with an open desk system, but there was a lot of skepticism among print editors and journalists, and the economic crisis did not help either." (*ibid.*) This fact significantly shaped newsroom convergence processes at the respective organization, with cross-department cooperation being advocated first and then spatial proximity being thought of afterwards. From this perspective, it is hard to identify the model of the *Dnevnik* convergent newsroom – according to spatial arrangement, structure of authority and division of work, it appears that *Dnevnik* comes close to what is known as the "coordinated model" of newsroom convergence (cf. Meier 2007; Avilés and Carvajal 2008; Avilés *et al. 2*009).

According to the results of the observation and analysis of the interviews, it seems that what prevails at *Dnevnik* is a non-linear approach to newsroom convergence (cf. Deuze 2004), since it is understood as a rather open process, which is based more on strategic coordination of change than on the determinism of spatial rearrangement and technological resources. For instance, *Dnevnik* online executive editor [2010–2011] stresses: "Anybody who wants to

integrate *Dnevnik* should be familiar with all parts of the organisation – from print, online, supplements and various projects to marketing. Only then can we start talking about technological and spatial commonness." Nevertheless, interviewees more or less agree that there is much talk about "integration", but "nobody implements it" (*Dnevnik* Online Journalist C), indicating that newsroom convergence is not encouraged strategically, since there are no indications of reestablished order and structure, let alone coordination of activities and resources to achieve the specific aims of converging processes. In this sense, on the basis of the study it appears that newsroom convergence has been adopted primarily as an idea and not as a strategic goal. In this fashion, the online executive editor [2010–2011] acknowledges that the basic requirements have not been met: "Integration should start with resystematisation of work relations, continue with integration of all the information systems into a common CMS, and only then spatial proximity. Then we should also do the other integrative phases."

First, by "resystematisation of work relations", the online executive editor implies that *Dnevnik* should formally address cross-departmental coordination by adapting the employment contracts of print and online newsworkers to the convergent future. Furthermore, the *Dnevnik* newsroom integration manager [2009–] says that "personnel policies" have not responded to the changes in newswork.

> *With the development of online media, naturally, younger colleagues started to show most interest and we also started looking for such staffers. The same goes for the editorial positions in the online department. Please name me one online department in Slovenia that is run by an experienced journalist with authority in this occupation. There are no such people.* (*ibid.*)

Second, despite plans to incorporate "only one CMS", "where all the items are managed regardless of the platform and you only choose what is going where" (*Dnevnik* Online Executive Editor [2010–2011]), *Dnevnik* has distinct CMSs for managing the content of the print newspaper and the news website: "Now, we have an application that is simplifying the process of putting print articles onto the web, but otherwise the current CMS is five years old. We have a separate CMS for video. /…/ Our systems are out of date, which makes our work difficult." (*ibid.*)

Third, analyses of the interviews with decision-makers indicate that bringing together print and online appears surmountable for *Dnevnik*, not only in terms of contractual newswork duties and rights, and in terms of technological resources for managing content across

departments, but also in terms of the spatial rearrangement of the newsroom – particularly, the moving of the online department from the fifth to the third floor, right "next door" to the central desk (cf. Appendix F).

> *This is definitely not a step toward a long-term solution, since the move was done* ad hoc. *The online department needed more space, and we moved them to the third floor because there is more space. /.../ They are still not in the same space as the central desk – the walls are still there. /.../ Even if we tear all the walls down, there would not be enough space for the integrated newsroom – it would be only one-quarter of the space we need. We plan to build* Dnevnik's *integrated newsroom on the third floor, on the far right side of the building. There is a big unused hall belonging to our owner, but we still need to reach agreement on the utility of that space.* (*Dnevnik* Print Editor-in-Chief [2002–2009] and *Dnevnik* Newsroom Integration Manager [2009–])

In this context, a former *Dnevnik* online executive editor [2007–2010] says that "decision-makers have been afraid of radical changes" toward newsroom convergence, stressing its necessity in contemporary media organisations. "Having an open desk system in the common workspace has some disadvantages, but it is clear that journalism should go in that direction. /…/ Due to the recession and opposition from print colleagues, this never happened." (*ibid.*) Unlike at *Delo*, where a rather skeptical mindset toward the project has prevailed, *Dnevnik* staffers are less reserved about the idea, despite differences in perspectives. On the one hand, the assistant online executive editor [2010–], for instance, emphasises "the awareness that integration would bring certain advantages and that there is no other choice". On the other hand, "fear of cannibalisation" (*Dnevnik* Print Editor-in-Chief [2002–2009] and *Dnevnik* Newsroom Integration Manager [2009–]) is still quite strong, "Print journalists are afraid that sitting together might result in *Dnevnik* putting all the news on the website first, and then nobody would buy the newspaper." (*Dnevnik* Online Journalist C) Nevertheless, interviewed online staffers emphasise that spatial closeness to the desk, where the central processes of forming the newspaper occur on a daily basis, partly improved cross-department cooperation, and they understand it as an important symbolic gesture on the part of the media organisation.

> *It is easier to cooperate now. There is only a corridor between us. You can go to the central desk and ask the print editor whatever you like. Upstairs we were cut off. The current spatial arrangement suits us better. Moreover, we have more space and we*

> *can breathe easier. /.../ Now we can manage things together with print colleagues – it is much easier to do that. We already know the faces and names of people. Cooperation is crucial. And, of course, they have started to consider us as members of the newsroom.* (*Dnevnik* Online Journalist A)

However, members of the online department imply that, in general, structural patterns of the decentralised newsroom remain strong in terms of division of work and editorial control. For instance, the *Dnevnik* online executive editor [2010–2011] stresses that the absence of strategy in overcoming decentralised organisation encumbers "obtaining additional content, additional value and greater efficiency through the whole media organisation" (*Dnevnik* Online Executive Editor [2010–2011]). Additionally, the assistant online executive editor [2010–] says: "Systematic cooperation is confined to editorial meetings in the morning, where editors decide how to cover certain events online. Otherwise, it depends on the interests of those involved." Observation in the newsroom confirms that cross-departmental cooperation does not appear coordinated, as usage of the available resources in this way depends on the interests and enthusiasm of individual print and online journalists. In general, interviewees more or less agree that cross-departmental cooperation in news making has improved recently, at least slightly, yet they do not see these changes as the result of the planned reestablishment of order and structure in the newsroom, but instead as occasional acts by individuals. At the same time, there are individuals who see these dynamics almost in opposition to one another; some saying that there is "no cooperation" (*Dnevnik* Online Journalist C) and others that it is "getting better and better" (*Dnevnik* Online Executive Editor [2010–2011]).

> *It sometimes happens that print journalists in the field send an SMS or make a call to the newsroom giving us vital information to make a news item. It occasionally happens, for instance once a week, that some print journalist, mainly from the financial news department, writes a piece for the web when they come to the newsroom. They have their sources and information – it is not difficult for them. Sometimes it happens that local correspondents contact us and help us publish an up-to-date news item online*. (*Dnevnik* Online Journalist A)

The occasionality of cooperation among online and print staffers highlights a point made by the assistant online executive editor [2010–], who says that the processes of newsroom

convergence "brought less than expected". In similar vein, *Dnevnik* online journalist C indicates that cross-department cooperation appears as a bottom-up process, occurring more or less by chance and dependent on individual journalists, rather than as a strategically oriented goal. Moreover, she states that if such cooperation improved, "it improved because of us and not because of our editor or editor-in-chief or somebody else. We online journalists alone have improved cooperation, because we have nagged and called our print colleagues to give us information to publish." (*Dnevnik* Online Journalist C)

Despite the fact that the idea of newsroom convergence is being articulated among *Dnevnik* staffers, and despite occasional acts of integration performed by journalists from spatially separate departments, the social-organisational study suggests that processes, dynamics and relations in the newsroom still more or less resemble the decentralised newswork environment. Namely, the results of the observation suggest that division of work is rather low in the online department, as online journalists perform their work holistically, and that editorial control is quite weak, as the department operates as a separate unit with a low level of hierarchal and horizontal structure.Thus, it can be argued that *Dnevnik*'s newsroom transformation project does not have the bear the hallmarks of a strategically led project that would reestablish order and structure and consequently reshape the agency of online journalism. In this sense, control over the processes of gathering, assembling and providing news is dispersed among newsworkers across the formal structure of authority, suggesting that not much has changed in this regard during the period of flexibilising.

The most salient examples of holistic newsworkers are *Dnevnik*'s online redakteurs, who make the agenda of news making during their daily shift, divide duties among online journalists, also known as "journalists-translators" (*Dnevnik* Online Executive Editor [2007–2010]), follow the content of news agencies in order to be up-to-date, and monitor other media and mimic their content. "My work as a redakteur also includes all the processes done by online journalists on duty. Namely, when I work as a redakteur I also translate news from other media. /…/ I send others what they need to do; put something from *STA* onto the web or translate certain foreign articles." (*Dnevnik* Online Journalist C) Otherwise, the morning or afternoon online redakteur "leads the journalists on duty, so that there is some order and so that people know what news to prepare" (*Dnevnik* Online Executive Editor [2010–2011]). In this respect, according to newsroom observation, online journalists perform three processes in making online news: the individual "copy-and-pasting" (Domingo 2008b) of print content in the evening and its repurposing for the web by adding photos and hyperlinks, the "translating" (*Dnevnik* Online Journalist C) of selected stories from the foreign media, and "cleaning up

STA" (*Dnevnik* Online Journalist A), that is, following what is published by the biggest Slovenian news agency, swiftly copying the items and pasting them onto *Dnevnik.si*.

Online redakteurs and online journalists are "subordinate" (*Dnevnik* Online Executive Editor [2010–2011]) to the assistant online executive editor, who "connects the morning and afternoon shift, so that they know what to do, and he has an overview of what is going on throughout the day. He is feeding me with information on what is happening" (*ibid.*). Furthermore, he checks the leading stories in the newspaper and then places them on the website, according to the expected interests of the readers. "After a while I rearrange their positions so that the website has a certain dynamic. /…/ Visits are important but the primary criteria is what is on the website and where it is." (*Dnevnik* Online Executive Editor Assistant [2010–]) Additionally, the observation results show, "once in a while" (*ibid.*) he puts a *Dnevnik* online news item onto the *Twitter* and *Facebook* profiles as a teaser to the users of these social networking sites.

The head of the online department is the online executive editor, who, according to the results of the observation, is involved in the processes of gathering, assembling and providing news only in the morning, when she returns from the meeting of department editors and the print editor-in-chief, and then later "she comes and she goes", as *Dnevnik* online journalist D describes her work. "It is some sort of combination of editorial and managerial work. If I do not know what to do with some information, I call her, because she is our editor and primarily responsible for the content." (*ibid.*) However, most of the online staffers have problems describing the work of the online executive editor clearly – from saying they "do not know exactly what she is doing" (*Dnevnik* Online Journalist B), stressing that she is "attending meetings throughout the day" (*Dnevnik* Online Executive Editor Assistant [2010–]), to characterising her work as "the work of some sort of secretary" (*Dnevnik* Online Journalist C). Observation confirms that the basis for defining her work is uncertain, as she appears to be involved in managing the website redesign, taking care of technological innovation with the IT department and helping out the marketing department with some online projects.

> *I am torn between editorial and managerial work. /.../ Everything is happening faster these days, they are really connected to technology and so on. /.../ Therefore I do not check every published item. I trust my co-workers, my assistant and redakteurs – I am in contact with them all the time. /.../ These things should be done by two people, not just one. As a result I have to improvise a little.* (*Dnevnik* Online Executive Editor [2010–2011])

On the top of the authority structure at *Dnevnik* is the print editor-in-chief, who does not seem to have an important role in the decision-making of the online department.According to interviewees, online journalists "have practically no contact" with him (*Dnevnik* Online Journalist C); moreover, during observation the author did not even seen the print editor-in-chief in the online department or at the central desk, let alone observe him playing any role in the online department's activities. "We met one of the former print editors-in-chief during the cigarette break, and that was that. /…/ We have practically no contact with the current editor-in-chief. /…/ It appears that online is something redundant. The newspaper is regarded as a priority, despite the fact that the web is the future." (*ibid.*) However, the online executive editor [2010–2011] refuses to accept this conclusion, and says that "he is here to correlate different parts" of *Dnevnik*, "He helps us connecting departments among themselves he is the supreme head who has to make the toughest decisions and highlight the biggest problems and mistakes." (*ibid.*) Similarly, *Dnevnik*'s assistant online executive editor [2010–]says that "the print editor-in-chief has a more managerial role" and he "takes care of more strategic stuff. He has his own vision, which he transmits to the subeditors" (*ibid.*).

From this perspective, social-organisational inquiry shows that converging dynamics at the *Dnevnik* newsroom have resulted in flattened hierarchies, but not in the sense of coordinated activities and resources in order to pursue the specific goals of the online project, but rather due to the fact that *Dnevnik.si* operates as an organisationally neglected unit within the institution – with no clear strategy, structural position or organisational arrangement. The fact that the print editor-in-chief is rather absent from the decision-making of online staffers and that power is dispersed among newsworkers indicates a low level of editorial control. In this context, the assistant online executive editor [2010–] stresses that "the problem with the *Dnevnik* online department is that it is editorially malnourished", which implies disinterest from the print editor-in-chief. "The only thing that he is involved in is when he tells the online executive editor what to do and then she tells us what to do," says *Dnevnik* online journalist E. However, observation results indicate that decisions on what to publish and how to make news are predominantly not top-down, but are taken by the collective reasoning of online journalists on duty, the redakteur and the online executive editor's assistant: "I think it is great when we sit together and have a team discussion. Bringing together different points of view is really good. I used to think that journalism demands a rather individualistic approach, but now I see that it is not like that." (*Dnevnik* Online Journalist C) The online executive editor is hardly ever present in the department when tough decisions need to be made. Online

journalist E emphasises that this appears to be particularly the case with the sports section: "All the time she has meetings. She is hardly ever in her office. /…/ I do not know if she checks what I do on the sports page. We are not really close. Sometimes it is just 'hello' when I come to work and 'bye' when I leave. She and her assistant communicate a lot, though." (*Dnevnik* Online Journalist E) Furthermore, the assistant online executive editor [2010–] stresses that there is "no" editorial control, and defends the online executive editor by saying that she "cannot be present 24 hours a day".

> *The online department is really a dynamic place. /.../ Journalists often divide work among themselves and they publish something despite the fact that the editor is not there – particularly in the afternoon, when the editor goes home. There is no other way than to make decisions on our own. An informal hierarchy is established – somebody with more experience, more knowledge maybe, makes more decisions. Others then listen to him or her. (ibid.)*

However, the *Dnevnik* online executive editor [2010–2011] insists, "when there is a difficult decision to make, then they call me. And I say – do it like this. /…/ Otherwise, I think that there is a healthy decision-making environment where it is clear what you are allowed to do on your own and what you are not." Some online journalists do not agree, and do not approve of making a decision "past" the online executive editor, "The main reason is that we have all been here for a long time now, and she has just arrived. /…/ If there is a dilemma, I do not call her but her assistant." (*Dnevnik* Online Journalist A)

This social-organisational comparison of the processes of newsroom convergence at *Delo* and *Dnevnik* implies what other media and journalism scholars acknowledge (e.g. Boczkowski 2004a; Deuze 2004, 2007; Klinenberg 2005; Avilés and Carvajal 2008; Paterson and Domingo 2008; Quinn 2009; Avilés *et al.* 2009): that transforming the newsroom as a public space does not result in uniformity across all parts of particular organisations, but instead reflects the complexities in trying to transform the division of work, editorial control and structure of authority that existed before the project of newsroom convergence was considered.The study shows that there are patterns of newsroom convergence processes in both organisations that question the structural arrangements and organisational dynamics of the traditionally decentralised newsroom in Slovenia.. Despite the "spatial proximity" (Bechmann 2011) at *Delo* and "physical closeness" at the "heart of *Dnevnik*" (*Dnevnik* Online Journalist B), organisational changes in online newswork have been minor, show the results

of observation and in-depth interviews. Namely, gathering, assembling and providing online news still pretty much resembles that of a "news factory" (Bantz *et al.* 1980), where the quality of delivered news is subordinated to the concepts of quantity and speed, as online journalists still work in messy, rather open and relatively unmanaged workspaces, and as cross-departmental collaboration almost solely depends on the good will of individuals rather than on systemic encouragement from above .

In this respect, the spatial rearrangements of both newsrooms have not resulted in profound changes in the division of work and editorial control in the newsroom.The study indicates that online journalists are left responsible for all the processes of online news making, because there is a rather low level of hierarchal and horizontal structure, despite different formal provisions. As a result, decision-making at the online departments of *Delo* and *Dnevnik* is often performed among online journalists as a collective newswork entity, since print editors-in-chief and online executive editors are preoccupied with their "managerial role" (*Dnevnik* Assistant of Online Executive Editor [2010–]), on the one hand, and with "responsibility for the money" (*Delo* Online Journalist A), on the other. It appears that different approaches to newsroom convergence, whether linear or non-linear, and different understandings of the phenomenon, whether as a continuum or as a context-related open process, have not played a significant role in shaping gathering, assembling and providing online news at the respective organisations. Yet, what appears clear when it comes to the stories of the online departments' within the *Delo* and *Dnevnik* newsrooms is that both institutions have not started to perform as traditional print media organisations in this regard – there is managerial and editorial disinterest in the online news projects, there is no established or accepted order and structure within online departments and in relations with them, and there is no coordination of activities and resources when it comes to online news making, particularly due to the absence of a development strategy.

6.3 Online News Making and its Practice

There is no broad consensus among media and journalism scholars about the implications of the web for news making, or vice versa (e.g. Dahlgren 1996, 2009a, 2009b; Singer 1998, 2004, 2008; Deuze 1999, 2004, 2007; 2008a; 2009; Pavlik 2001, 2008; Kawamoto 2003b; Boczkowski 2004a, 2004b, 2009; Domingo 2008a). Nevertheless, despite theoretically quite diverse standpoints, there is apparently a firm agreement that it is necessary to explore the changes that are occurring in the principles and practices of news making and its logic. How

to approach these issues is again a different matter – some, in the manner of technological determinism, suggest that researchers should investigate how technology shapes news making (e.g. Bardoel 1996; Singer 1998; Kawamoto 2003b; Nip 2006; Bruns 2009), others, in the manner of the constructivist approach to technology, stress that studies should explore how established principles and practices of news making shape the manifestations of technology (e.g. Boczkowski 2004a, 2004b; Deuze 2009a; Domingo 2008a, 2008b; Paterson and Domingo 2008; Domingo and Paterson 2011). In any case, there have been significant changes in news making over the last two decades, which have been "supercharged" by the internet and the web (Deuze 2009a, 82), but at the same time these studies suggest that transformations were not dependent solely on technology, but also on the established meaning of news and existing relations in news making among journalists, their sources and the audience within a particular societal constellation (e.g. Zelizer 2009b). From this perspective, some authors (e.g. Dahlgren 1996; Deuze 1999, 2004; Deuze and Dimoudi 2002; Domingo 2006), when theoretically reconsidering or empirically investigating online news making in contemporary technological settings, borrow the concept of "media logic" (Altheide and Snow 1979), which refers to the ensemble of technological and organisational attributes which shape what gets published and how. However, it appears that the "major pillars" (Deuze 2004) of the web, that is, hypertextuality, interactivity and multimediality, are manifested in news making distinctively and there are no strong indications that the logic of online news making is being normalised around the world. Since there is evidence that the logic of online news making is emerging as a result of the already existing principles and practices which frame particular relations between journalists, their sources and the audience in specific institutional and societal circumstances, this part of the chapter attempts to study the varying and context-related connections between the technological grounding of newswork and various actors that reinforce news making for online delivery by addressing the third research question: *How do the elements of the emerging online media logic (hypertextuality, interactivity and multimediality) shape relations between online journalists at Slovenian print media organisations and others involved in online news making?*

Slovenian media and journalism studies provide some investigations that explore the logic of online news making, but do so by analysing texts and not newsroom processes, dynamics and relations (e.g. Oblak 2005; Oblak and Petrič 2005; Poler Kovačič and Erjavec 2008; Vobič 2010; 2011). Despite providing some valuable insights by revealing that Slovenia's traditional media organisations do not encourage interactive and participatory principles and practices (e.g. Oblak 2005; Oblak and Petrič 2005; Poler Kovačič and Erjavec

2008; Vobič 2010), do not strive for more diverse online multimedia news formatting (e.g. Vobič 2011), and do not go for more interconnected and interlayered online news and hypertextualised relations within it (e.g. Oblak 2005), they leave some questions unexplored, for instance how hypertextuality, interactivity and multimediality are manifested in the news making of online staffers and what role established relations among journalists, their sources, and the audience play in the shaping of online news making logic. As an attempt to at least supplement these findings, the author tries to provide a complex exploratory account into the social organisation of online news making and technology, on the one hand, and the cultural appropriation of the emerging online media logic in the service of established goals, strategies and relationships in the newsrooms of *Delo* and *Dnevnik*, on the other. In this sense, the purpose of this part of the chapter is fourfold. First, the author tries to analyse manifestations of the ideas of hypertextuality, interactivity and multimediality in online news making at *Delo* and *Dnevnik*, since there is no clarity about what will work or fail in the existing organisational structure (e.g. Deuze 2004; Huesca and Dervin 1999; Singer 2005; Domingo 2006; Chung 2007; Thurman and Lupton 2008; Lowery and Latta 2008). Second, this part assesses the processes of creating the "new normal" (Singer 2006) by analysing online staffers' sense-making in regards to the relations among journalists, their sources and the audience. Third, in the context of the emerging online news making logic, the study reconsiders the meaning of news as a "transitional form" (Hartley 2008) constructed upon the technical impossibility of achieving its full democratic potential online (e.g. Singer 2008; Rosenberry and St John III 2010; Singer *et al.* 2011a; Lee-Wright *et al.* 2012). And finally, this part also aims to further develop a theoretical grounding and contextual framework for investigating matters of online newswork when exploring online journalists' perceptions of their own societal roles in the last part of Chapter 6.

In order to provide a comprehensive inquiry into articulations between technology and online journalism at *Delo* and *Dnevnik*, and to also assess tensions between continuity and change from the perspective of relations among journalists, their sources and the audience, the author adopts the social-organisational approach to news making, and extrapolates it into a cultural analysis in order to explore what appears to be an emerging logic in online news making. The cultural perspective, where the term culture refers to the domain of ideas as well as to social practices, enables the author to look beyond the structure of the newsroom and the organisation of newswork, and to investigate sets of unwritten rules, tacit norms and shared values by taking into account the symbolic determinants of technology in the relations between ideas and symbols (e.g. Schudson 2005; Hartley 2008; Zelizer 2008). In this sense,

news making is approached as a "complex and multidimensional lattice of meanings" for all those involved in journalism (Zelizer 2008, 260). By combining the social-organisational approach and cultural analysis, the dissertation conceptualises and explores news making as a process of gathering, assembling and providing information negotiated between the constraints imposed by media organisations and journalists' sense-making of the relations between the ideas and symbols defining their intentions.Thus, the dissertation does not adopt the functional-systemic approach to online news making (cf. Tuchman 2002) or the technological-determinist perspective on the journalism-technology relationship (cf. Domingo 2008a), but adopts a reciprocial understanding of the dynamics between structure and agency (cf. Altmeppen 2008) and a technological-constructivist approach to technology, suggesting that innovation is a contradictory and uncertain process that is not about rational-technical problem solving, but the product of a particular social system (e.g. Deuze 2007; Domingo 2008; Örnebring 2010).

In order to conduct a consistent study of the social organisation of online news making and technology, on the one hand, and the cultural appropriation of the emerging online media logic in the service of established goals, strategies and relationships in the newsrooms of *Delo* and *Dnevnik*, on the other, the author moves from theorising to data analysis, from interpretation on the basis of historical assessment of the Slovenian press and conceptual reconsiderations developed in reviewing literature on hypertextuality, interactivity and multimediality in online news making, and back to theorising. To realise this analytical process and to develop results, the author combines concepts from the existing inquiries into related issues with insights from primary empirical investigation. The latter are based on a combination of data collected via two ethnographic methods: first, semi-structured interviews with former and contemporary online staffers from the print media organisations under study, and, second, observation of the online departments of *Delo* and *Dnevnik*.

The following three sections look into the articulations between hypertextuality, interactivity and multimediality and online news making at *Delo* and *Dnevnik*. In accordance with the scope of the study defined above, each part particularly focuses on how these dynamics between technology and journalism appear in online journalists' understandings of hypertextuality, interactivity and multimediality, are normalised in online news making at the respective organisations, reshape relations among online journalists, their sources and the audience, and introduce the prevailing meaning of news. As a whole, this part of the chapter tries to capture the processes of online news making and relations among journalists, their sources and the audience by exploring the social-organisational settings of online news

making, and to investigate the cultural appropriation of technology accelerating the current constituent trends in online journalism. In this sense, the following three issues are addressed – how news items are connected to other stories and other sources of information within the website or elsewhere on the web through hyperlinks (hypertextuality), how people are engaged in online news in order to respond, interact or even participate in news making (interactivity), and how online journalists combine different semiological elements and cooperate among themselves and with other staffers in the newsroom to best tell their story (multimediality). Then, in the last section of the chapter, the results are additionally reconsidered in the context of global trends in online news making, and assessed within the historical and social specifics of the Slovenian press, in order to develop conceptual grounds and to frame the tensions between continuity and change in Slovenian online journalism to address the remaining research question.

6.3.1 Hypertextuality: Non-Contextualised News Making

In media and journalism studies (e.g. Heinonen 1999; Blood 2003; Domingo 2006; Pavlik 2008), hypertextuality as an idea refers to contextualisation in online news making and openness in news reading on the web, as it enables the interconnecting and interlaying of information from various primary or secondary sources, information provided by individuals, groups or institutions online, and on the respective news websites or elsewhere on the web. If it appeared that hypertextuality was nurtured in online news making in the latter half of the 1990s, at least at *Dnevnik*, where the then acting online executive editor [1996–2005] prepared "dossiers" based on hyperlinks within *Dnevnik*.si and those of other websites, among them also *Delo*.si, it seems that over the last five years such practices have faded considerably, as ethnographic data gathered by in-depth interviewing and newsroom observation indicate. Observation of the *Delo* and *Dnevnik* online departments clearly shows that "contextualized journalism" via hypertextuality (Pavlik 2001) is confined to occasional acts by individuals and limited by the technological predispositions of the CMSs, and in-depth interviews provide a more complex picture. Among online staffers interviewed, one could identify a range of different approaches to the phenomenon – from conservative skeptics who see "linking texts" as a possible "threat to the competitiveness" of the news website (*Delo* Online Redakteur [2004–2007, 2010]), to technological enthusiasts who understand hypertextuality as "the essence of the web" (*Delo* Online Redakteur [2010–]; *Dnevnik* Online Journalist [2007–2008]). From this perspective, by combining the social-organisational

approach and a cultural perspective, this section discusses prevailing understandings of hypertextuality among online editors, redakteurs and journalists at *Delo* and *Dnevnik*, identifies the primary reasons behind manifestations of hypertextuality in online news making, debates the implications of the latter for relations among journalists, their sources and the audience, and reconsiders the meaning of online news through these prisms.

In-depth interviews with *Delo* and *Dnevnik* online journalists, used here to investigate the givens behind journalism's own sense of self to examine what is important to journalists themselves and to explore the cultural symbol system (Zelizer 2008, 260), show that interviewees predominantly do not use the word hypertextuality, and those who use it elaborate hypertextuality differently. From this perspective, some use expressions such as "links" (*Dnevnik* Online Journalist B), "linking" (*Delo* Online Journalist E) and "hyperlinks" (*Delo* Online Journalist C) to describe the making of news that is "openly organized" (*Delo* Online Journalist B) and to refer to text as "layered across media" (*Dnevnik* Online Journalist [2007–2008]). However, a clear distinction can be drawn between interviewees in terms of the complexity of their reasoning when discussing the notions of hypertextuality and hypertext. On the one hand, some interviewees do not know what hypertextuality generally stands for. Therefore, their discussions are confined to rather common-sense descriptions of their routines and the technical possibilities of the CMS they use. These online journalists appear more skeptical towards the development of hypertextuality as a cultural practice within online news making – some even describing the idea of adopting more common and thoughtful usage of hyperlinks as "stupid" (*Delo* Online Journalist A), or saying that "it would not make sense" (*Delo* Online Journalist D). On the other hand, some online journalists interviewed provide more thorough considerations. These interviewees appear as technological enthusiasts who connect the idea of hypertextuality in online news making with notions of participation, transparency and common knowledge. They characterise hypertext as "a springboard" for online readers (*Delo* Online Journalist B) and define hypertextuality as being part of "the nature of the web" (*Dnevnik* Online Journalist [2007–2008]).

> *Links are the essence of the web. Those media organisations that are against the systematic linking of knowledge are working against the nature of the web. I think that it would be possible to reach a consensus among media and build a mechanism of hyperlinking so that stories could continue across media. This would mean a completely different media ecosystem – we would get more active readers who would operate as seekers of information. (ibid.)*

Interviewees therefore confirm a lack of unity among journalists – in terms of news making and technology and what is important, appropriate and preferred, which is presumed in the cultural analysis of journalism (Schudson 2005; Hartley 2008; Zelizer 2008). Furthermore, social-organisational study on the basis of observations at the online departments of *Delo* and *Dnevnik* indicates that hypertextuality in news making has been only partly coordinated so as to appropriate structure and bring consistency and stability to newswork organisation.Nurturing its "internal" dimension (e.g. Massey and Levy 1999; Deuze 2001; Domingo 2006), that is, its interconnectedness through links within a single domain, for instance *Delo*.si and *Dnevnik*.si, has become automatised by the established CMSs of both departments – *Delo* and *Dnevnik* cannot publish news items without providing links to "related articles". "The main reason for internal linking to related articles is that readers would see what happened before or in connection with the story. /…/ This helps us to make readers stay longer on our website," stresses *Dnevnik*'s assistant online executive editor [2010–], suggesting that readers are trying to make sense of the available technological resources. Yet, observation results show that putting internal hyperlinks into the text is rare among *Delo* and *Dnevnik* staffers. Interviewed online journalists say they do it routinely only in one specificinstance: "When we put the print edition onto the web, we put links to all the financial news. We have a rule that we put links to all the companies that are mentioned –not to their websites but to their stock exchange index, which is available within *Dnevnik*.si." (*Dnevnik* Online Journalist D) Some interviewees, however, emphasise a lack of clear general guidelines on the use of internal hyperlinks. For instance: "We do not have any rules regarding links to related articles. We just need to have them. Everybody makes different decisions about what articles to link and offer them as related. I have noticed that we do not have similar criteria." (*Dnevnik* Online Journalist E) Furthermore, the "external" dimension of hypertextuality (e.g. Massey and Levy 1999; Deuze 2001; Domingo 2006) is confined to occasional acts by individuals. Some interviewees stress that they never put external hyperlinks in their items, but there are online journalists who do it occasionally – they have linked their stories to government documents, scientific articles, videos from sites such as *YouTube* and related news items from other websites. In this regard, the social-organisational approach needs to be extrapolated into cultural inquiry, enabling the author to elaborate on collective, often tacit knowledge in online news making and to explore journalists' sense-making and self-reflexivity in regards to articulations of hypertextuality in the online journalism of *Delo* and *Dnevnik*.

In thisrespect, by taking the cultural approach to analysing interview data and carrying out a cross-section of in-depth interviews conducted with online editors, redakteurs and journalists, one can identify four reasons to explain why hyperlinking, particularly external, is not encouraged in online news making, or why it makes "no sense" (*Delo* Online Journalist D) among online staffers. First, interviewees say that they are unable to nurture hypertextuality in news making more thoroughly because they are required to continuously publish timely news and have problems finding additional time while they gather, assemble and provide news without deadlines. "It takes a lot of time. To find reliable sources and then transform words into links. Too much time, I would say. Plus, you have to make sense of the links – we should not put them in the text just for the sake of linking," stresses *Delo* online journalist B. A similar point is made by *Dnevnik* online journalist E: "Searching for news on the web takes a lot of time, as does linking it. I really do not feel like a journalist, so it does not bother me. In this sense, I see myself more as a sort of internet worker. If I had to go into the field to talk to the sources, I would probably have more problems." In thisregard, some staffers interviewed mention "pragmatism" as a response to the required productivity and efficiency in online news making, which, as Domingo (2006, 551) writes, "killed the hypertext utopia". "The reason is really banal. It takes a lot of time to seek out the sites to link to the content. The links do not return enough. When you have a lot of work, you need to make pragmatic decisions in favour of those actions that bring clicks and more readers. Links are not one of those things." (*Delo* Online Executive Editor [2004–2009]) Her *Dnevnik* colleague expressed a similar view: "There was a lack of linking in my time, of course. Each item should then be checked again and linked to other content on the web, but this would take a lot of time. This would mean a certain percentage of time would go on linking and not publishing." (*Dnevnik* Online Executive Editor [2007–2010])

Second, a substantial number of online staffers interviewed expressed reservations about hyperlinking their output to content that is external to the websites in question, as they are afraid that some members of the audience would eventually stop returning to the news website and start visiting the linked websites. This argumentation is especially common among members of the *Delo* online department. "I think the idea is stupid. /…/ It means that you would practically tell people to go somewhere else for information. /…/ Otherwise, I think that linking to documents or some NGO's site is a good idea. I would never link to our competition in Slovenia – that would threaten *Delo*.si." (*Delo* Online Redakteur [2004–2007, 2010]) Similar admissions are made by online executive editors at both online departments. For instance, a *Delo* online executive editor [2009–2010] stresses: "*Delo*.si should offer basic

information. /…/ With external linking you would drive your source away from the site." Some *Dnevnik* online staffers, however, see things differently. For instance, *Dnevnik* online journalist C stresses that when external hyperlinks are incorporated into the text, it is important that they open the website "in another window", because in that case "readers stay on our site longer, because they forget they are on it". Furthermore, *Dnevnik* online journalist D says that she does not have "the same fear" as some *Delo* colleagues: "I think that if you offer links to interesting content, people would go there, but they would also come back."

Third, results from the observations show that *Delo* and *Dnevnik* online journalists predominantly make news by "recreating" already published agency news or news from other media (Pavlik 2008), but do not provide hyperlinks to original texts, because some of them, mostly *Dnevnik* staffers, are afraid of members of the audience taking the "gatewatching" role (Bruns 2009). This can also be detected in the answers from the online journalists interviewed.

> *We mention the source in the text or by the text. This is quite a lot if we are writing that we took a certain piece of information from the Daily Telegraph, for instance. We are pretty transparent. However, I do not put links to the original texts. From the business point of view, this would not be in Dnevnik's interest. /.../ Readers might find out that we made a mistake translating the original article.* (*Dnevnik* Online Journalist B)

Several other journalists hinted that they are not in favour of such transparency of news, where visibility of sources is provided, and are afraid of the audience's ability to supervise the journalists: "This would bring additional criticism. That would not be good – reading in the comment sections that we incorrectly translated something." (*Dnevnik* Online Executive Editor Assistant [2010–]) Furthermore, *Delo* online journalist A stresses: "We would look like news aggregators, such as *Google News* and *Yahoo News*. What would be our role then? This would expose us, really."

Fourth, analysis of conducted interviews shows that, according to online journalists, another reason why hypertextuality has only manifested itself to a degree in their online news making is the presumed disinterest and passivity of members of the audience. *Dnevnik* online journalist C, for instance, stresses: "I think that readers in general are not interested in checking our work. The people who would do that already read foreign media." A similar opinion is expressed by *Delo* online journalist C: "More links in the text would confuse

people and make them even more passive." Furthermore, some interviewees stress that interconnected news making and interlayered news reading through hyperlinking would be "good for our readers" since they "could learn more on the subject in question" (*Dnevnik* Online Journalist C), but they emphasise that "people would really rarely bother with additional information" (*ibid.*) and that "readers do not have the concentration to read such stories" (*Dnevnik* Online Executive Editor [2010–2011])

These four primary reasons for hypertextuality not going beyond occasional acts by individuals and the automatised hyperlinking of related news items indicate patterns of relations among online journalists, on the one side, and information sources and the audience, on the other. The overview of the prevailing understandings of hypertextuality among online editors, redakteurs and journalists, and the assessment of the primary reasons for hypertextuality not going beyond occasional acts by individuals and the automatised hyperlinking of related news items, indicate how relations among *Delo* and *Dnevnik* online journalists, their information sources and the audience are shaped. Since hypertextuality is not defined as one of the aims of the respective organisations, where the constitutional conditions for making hypertextualised news are not met and where rather arbitrary appropriations of technology are emblematic of the rather disorganised online departments of *Delo.si* and *Dnevnik.si*, the study further adopts a cultural analysis of relations among online journalists, information sources and the audience in order to move to the tacit terrain of online news making.

In this context, on the basis of newsroom observations and interviews with online staffers, relations among *Delo* and *Dnevnik* online journalists and members of the audience appear to resemble the dynamics of the mass media world. Since hypertextuality has not entered the agreed set of routines, but relies instead on occasional acts by individuals, these relations appear disconnected, as interviewees say that hypertextual contextualisation is of marginal importance in their news making. Thus, by neglecting the possibility of interconnected online news making and interlayered online news reading, journalists are not making it easier for the audience "to see the content in a broader context" (Pavlik 2008, 106), to reach into a "bottomless pit of resources" (Deuze 1999, 382), and to find "completeness and context" in online news (Kawamoto 1998, 186).

Yet, on the basis of interview analysis it appears that the two groups of online staffers – conservative skeptics and technological enthusiasts – are also identified where relations with the audience in terms of hypertextuality are concerned. The former equate "readers" and "clicks", as they stress business logics in their answers. For instance, a *Delo* online redakteur

[2009–], who sees her role as a hybrid between a manager and an editor, stresses the economic component of "associational linkages" (Dahlgren 1996, 64): "If linking means additional clicks and if it means that readers would stay longer on our website, why not offer them to the readers?" (*Delo* Online Redakteur [2009–]) The latter identify the societal dimension of hypertextuality and "contextualized journalism" (Pavlik 2001), as concepts of contradiction, juxtaposition and pluralism can be identified in their reconsiderations on hypertextuality in relation to the audience. For instance, *Dnevnik* online journalist C expresses her reasons for occasionally putting external hyperlinks into her news items: "I put external links for people who do not want to read only truncated information, but wish to learn more. I cannot go into detail, but a scholarly article can. /…/ We cannot write extensively on a certain subject, because it would not make sense. Therefore, I put a link so that people who want to read the whole study can do so." (*Dnevnik* Online Journalist B)

Relations among online journalists and sources of information are, according to the interviewees, "alienated" (*Delo* Online Journalist E), as their sources are usually not people, but predominantly news agencies and the news websites of traditional media organisations. Yet, the results of observation at *Delo* and *Dnevnik* indicate that online journalists routinely use the hypertextual framework of the web, which allows them to monitor news on the web swiftly, to recreate news items by promptly mimicking the content, and to cope with the established requirements of publishing online news continuously. For instance, *Dnevnik* online journalist B says that reliance on hypertextual links to other media is necessary to counter the news making rush. *Dnevnik* online journalist C agrees with this view: "It is faster this way. It is easier to take the news from somebody else or to translate an item than to go to the field and do your own story. /…/ I think that this way we inform people more efficiently." (*Dnevnik* Online Journalist C) In this sense, *Delo* online journalist B stresses that the originality of news making is subordinate to speed and that the hypertextual framework of news making is helpful.

> *"Our sources are news agencies, especially Slovenian ones, and other news websites. If they have an exclusive story, we need to have it too right away. /.../ Why would we go to Maribor, for instance, to talk to the sources? It would take three hours and in the meantime everybody would already have the information and news published. They would use agency news or news from other media. If you cover international news it is even more obvious that you should use agencies or other media as sources.* (*Dnevnik* Online Journalist B)

Some interviewees do not take such relations among online journalists and information sources for granted, but are instead highly critical of them. “I would love to have people for my sources and that I would talk with them and then write my story. But it does not work like that. We are actually only technically taking care of the content of *Delo*.si. Otherwise, I try to use the phone and call out of the newsroom as often as possible.” (*Delo* Online Journalist A) One other online journalist also mentions that she occasionally calls her sources (*Delo* Online Journalist D), but stresses that such conduct is exceptional, as they rely on the hypertextual backbone of the web to gather information – mostly from media institutions rather than from people.When gathering news, *Delo* and *Dnevnik* online journalists make use of the extended non-linear hypertextual chain of integrated content to “follow the competition all the time” (*Delo* Online Journalist A) and to get the news to their computers as soon as it happens online. In this regard, according to observations and interviews, the need for speed in online news making at *Delo* and *Dnevnik* makes journalists neglect some of the traditional postulates of journalism, for example, verifying the source and the information provided: “We do not verify the source if the source is a reliable press agency, for instance *STA*. They have to tell us the answers to all the basic questions – who, what, where and when. /…/ There is, thus, some sort of automatism in this regard, but there is also some sort of common sense.” (*Dnevnik* Online Executive Editor [2010–2011])

Additionally, the study shows that such news making diminishes the role of people as information sources at the online departments of *Delo* and *Dnevnik*, and shapes the online news of *Delo*.si and *Dnevnik*.si as “secondhand” (Quandt 2008), where truthiness is based on the trustworthiness and credibility of news agencies and other media. In this context, for instance, *Delo* online journalist B stresses that online staffers predominantly do not operate “responsibly”: “I think it is terrible. Somebody else makes all the decisions for you – gathers information and selects what is important. Somebody else is a gatekeeper – it’s not me really. The quality of our news cannot reach the level of the news from the field.” A substantial number of online journalists interviewed characterised such news making as senseless, as some say they “are not in touch with what is happening out there” (*Dnevnik* Online Journalist B). For instance, *Delo* online journalist E says: “At first I liked this alienated relationship with the sources – I felt like a robot. I joked by putting the link to *STA* in my news items, and that would do it. Why do I have to copy-and-paste this content, I constantly asked myself. Now, I am thinking – whatever.” Her *Dnevnik* colleague offers a similar assessment: “We do not have contact with sources of information. /…/ I think that the problem is that what we do is

not a proper example of journalism – it is more like translating. It bothers me because this is not real journalism." (*Dnevnik* Online Journalist D)

The study shows that, at *Delo* and *Dnevnik*, they more or less agree that online departments provide "only what is really important" (*Dnevnik* Online Executive Editor [2010–2011]) and "offer basic information" (*Delo* Online Executive Editor [2009–2010]), legitimising the scant manifestation of hypertextuality in the news making rush. The social-organisational analysis of online news making at *Delo* and *Dnevnik* indicates that hypertextuality has not been fully coordinated, and structure has not been appropriated to bring consistency and stability to routines. Additionally, cultural analysis provides insights about the sense-making practices of *Delo* and *Dnevnik* online journalists, indicating that there is not much unity regarding the idea of hypertextuality as a social uptake. In this sense, hypertextuality is confined to the technically automatised hyperlinking of related items and occasional acts by online journalists from among the group of technological enthusiasts. Interviewees mention four primary reasons for not uptaking hypertextuality in their routines. On the one hand, the first two reasons – constant time constraints and fear of competition - suggest that news making is a set of "actions constrained by power" (Hartley 2008, 45), where implementation of the idea of hypertextuality would be too far-fetched for unwritten and tacit principles and practices in the rather disorganised *Delo* and *Dnevnik* online departments. As a result, the neglected hypertextual potential of online journalism brings non-contextualized news making, in the interests of timeliness and supposed business success. On the other hand, the second two reasons – fear of "gatewatching" (Bruns 2009) and audience disinterest and passivity, present online journalists as a "we" journalistic community in the mass media world, where the distinction between journalists, on the one side, and information sources and the audience, on the other, is unbridgeable. In this sense, *Delo* and *Dnevnik* online journalists try to retain authority in news delivery and preserve people "as reactive rather than proactive" (Anderson 2007, 47).

6.3.2 Interactivity: Pseudo-Interactive and Pseudo-Participatory Online News Making

A review of recent works in media and journalism studies (e.g. Dahlgren 2009a, 2009b; Allan and Thorsen 2009; Papacharissi 2009; Rosenberry and St. John III 2010) shows that relations among journalists, their sources of information and their audiences are the central issue in discussing the multifaceted idea of interactivity in online journalism. On the one hand, one cluster of debates deals more or less with the journalism of traditional media organisations in

terms of interactive transformations within news making, such as becoming more open to gathering feedback from the audience, getting them involved in interactions with journalists, and bringing other non-press actors closer to the action (e.g. Deuze 1999; Kawamoto 2003a; Boczkowski 2004b; Oblak 2005; Domingo 2006; Pavlik 2008; Pujik 2008; Fortunati *et al.* 2010; Nip 2010). On the other hand, other authors look beyond traditional journalists-sources-audience relations and assess the participatory engagement of people as citizens in helping public deliberation through the interactive potentials of the web (e.g. Gillmor 2004; Rosen 2006; Allan and Thorsen 2009; Papacharissi 2009; Rosenberry and St. John III 2010; Singer *et al.* 2011a). If it seemed that interactivity was nurtured in online news making at *Delo* and *Dnevnik* in the latter half of the 1990s, when the then acting *Dnevnik* online executive editor [1996–2005] moderated a forum "where there were no problems with hate speech", and when *Delo*Fax Editor [1997–2008] had "close and even nice personal relations with readers via e-mail", and in the mid-2000s, when *Delo*.si introduced blogs (Oblak and Petrič 2005; Vobič 2007) and *Dnevnik*.si its own "collective blog" (*Dnevnik* Online Journalist [2007–2008]), it appears that, over the last five years, such practices have transformed considerably as, for instance, the *Dnevnik* forum was closed down and *Delo* online staffers do not offer their e-mail address on the website. Observations at *Delo* and *Dnevnik* online departments clearly reveal that "interactive journalism" (Nip 2006) is confined almost exclusively to enabling user comments under news items, preparing online polls and call-ins, and the concept of "participatory journalism" (Singer *et al.* 2011a) has been downsized to the occasional publishing of user-generated content and misused for the commercial purposes of publishing "hybrid public relations news" (Erjavec 2005). However, by intertwining different approaches to the phenomenon among online journalists and the empirical realities of the speedy and timely gathering, assembling and provision of online news for *Delo*.si and *Dnevnik*.si, in-depth interviews with online editors, redakteurs and journalists help the author provide more comprehensive insights into interactivity and relations among journalistic subjects, which should become stronger and closer, according to interviewed online journalists, as they are now more or less "alienated" (*Delo* Online Journalist E) or "do not even exist" (*Dnevnik* Online Executive Editor Assistant [2010–]).By combining a social-organizsational approach and a cultural perspective, this section discusses prevailing understandings of interactivity among the online editors, redakteurs and journalists of *Delo* and *Dnevnik*, identifies the primary reasons for manifestations of interactivity in online news making, debates the implications of the latter for relations among journalists, their sources and the audience, and reconsiders the meaning of online news through these prisms.

In-depth interviews with *Delo* and *Dnevnik* online journalists, used here to investigate the givens behind journalism's own sense of self, examine what is important to journalists themselves and explore the cultural symbol system (Zelizer 2008, 260), indicate that most interviewees have problems defining the notion, whereas those who dismantle the idea conceptually are somehow skeptical of its manifestation within the unwritten, tacit principles and practices of news making. On the one side, there appears to be a group of "nescient staffers" who do not link the notion with scholarly debates on interactivity, but more with common-sense understandings of hypertextuality and multimediality. For instance, reviews of the idea ranged from "providing text-based items, multimedia, infographics and so on" (*Dnevnik* Online Executive Editor Assistant [2010–]), "equipping the text with video, photos, links and so on" (*Delo* Online Journalist D), "assembling the most important information in one place" (*Delo* Online Journalist A), to "more different forms of information" (*Dnevnik* Online Journalist E). On the other side, there is a considerably smaller group of "knowledgeable staffers" who provided more elaborate syntheses of the idea of interactivity, but name the interactive efforts of *Delo.si* and *Dnevnik.si* as either "bullshit" (*Dnevnik* Online Journalist [2007–2008]) or as a "fairy tale" (Online Journalist C). For example, *Delo* online journalist B says: "If you think about the origin of the word, it stands for communication between at least two persons regardless of their relationship. It means sending messages back and forth." Reciprocal component of the notion can be identified in the words of *Dnevnik* online journalist A,: "Interactivity is cooperation. It refers to interactions among people – in our case mostly among journalists and the readers. It refers to readers giving us a suggestion about what to do, or information. Then we respond." Indications that online staffers hardly use the word, and that their reconsiderations of the notion of interactivity are rarely profound, imply what observations at *Delo* and *Dnevnik* reveal – the idea of interactivity has entered news making in their online departments only to a degree, and has hardly differentiated the relations with the audience among online journalists, on the one hand, and their print colleagues, on the other.

Interviews confirm a lack of unity among journalists – in terms of news making and technology and what is important, appropriate and preferred, which is presumed in the cultural analysis of journalism (Schudson 2005; Hartley 2008; Zelizer 2008). Furthermore, social-organisational study on the basis of observations at the online departments of *Delo* and *Dnevnik* indicates that interactivity has been only partly coordinated in news making, as structure has not been appropriated to bring consistency and stability in the social uptake of the idea.Despite providing the technological opportunities for interactivity to evolve into a

practice of online news making at *Delo* and *Dnevnik*, the results of cultural analysis of the observation results provide little evidence of "interactive journalism" (Nip 2006; 2010), let alone "participatory journalism" (Nip 2010; Singer *et al.* 2011a).

On the one hand, according to Nip (2006), "interpersonal interactivity" is "potentially possible" if the capabilities of communicating with online journalists and members of the audience are provided, but "takes place" only when journalists answer enquiring e-mails, chat with others, and when they respond to comments posted by non-journalists. Results of this ethnographic study reveal that the potential for interactive journalism exists at *Delo* and *Dnevnik*, but has not become a part of the tacit norms and rules of the respective online departments. In this regard, observation results show that there are services used by both online departments to enable the members of the audience to communicate with the online department and staffers after the initial news has been published: e-mail exchange, online polling and comment sections under news items.

Both online departments provide common e-mail addresses, that is, internet@delo.si and online@dnevnik.si, whereas the addresses of individual online staffers are not available on the websites. "I had an idea that we could provide our e-mail addresses in our news items and respond to comments, but our online executive editor replied: 'You can do it if you want to.' It appeared that this was not something she was interested in. Then, nothing happened." (*Delo* Online Journalist B) Furthermore, interviewees say that they almost never respond to e-mails sent to the department, "because they do not ask, but just say what it is and how it should be" (*Delo* Online Journalist D). A similar point is made by *Dnevnik* online journalist B: "We get e-mails if we write something incorrectly, where they ask us what we are doing. Then we correct those articles and that is all."

Delo.si and *Dnevnik*.si also have daily online polls in which they ask multiple choice questions, which are constructed by *Dnevnik*'s assistant online executive editor during his daily shift and collectively by *Delo* online staffers late eachafternoon. Staffers from both online departments stress that the daily poll as an interactive service is used "because people like to respond to questions asked" (*Dnevnik* Online Journalist C), "to actively engage readers in the medium" (*Delo* Online Journalist C) and "to gather opinions from the public on recent events" (*Delo* Online Journalist E). The results of *Delo*.si polls are published in the printed newspaper, whereas the *Dnevnik* daily does not publish them regularly. Moreover, the results from the polls are rarely used in further online news making, and so some interviewees characterise them as "senseless" (*Delo* Online Redakteur [2009–]), "They did not think it through well enough. Sometimes it is nice to have a poll, but it is hard to provide a concrete

question each day. /…/ Then the results are published in the press, but only once did it happen that the results were used in an article." (*Delo* Online Journalist D)

Furthermore, additional opportunities for interactive journalism are provided in the comment sections under each news item, but online staffers are rarely "interactive commentators" (*Dnevnik* Online Executive Editor [2010–2011]), even if they are directly addressed. "I never get involved in the comments section. /…/ I occasionally read the comments, but I hardly ever do it – especially when there are 100 comments or more. I do not feel like doing it." (*Delo* Online Journalist E) Moreover, the *Delo* and *Dnevnik* online departments do not have clear guidelines on how to moderate these debates – at *Dnevnik*, the assistant online executive editor goes through the website "once an hour" (*Dnevnik* Online Executive Editor Assistant [2010–]), while at *Delo* moderating is done ad hoc by all the online journalists on duty. For example, *Dnevnik*'s online executive editor [2010–2011] says that moderating duties are often taken by all the department members: "We are actually all moderating comments – I do it, my assistant does it and redakteurs do it. Journalists practically do not have time to respond to comments because they need to make news, produce follow-ups and photo galleries. I need to attend meetings, Boris needs to seek information – we do not have time. There are not enough of us."

On the other hand, analysis of data gathered during observation indicates that the *Delo* and *Dnevnik* online departments have the potential to also nurture "participatory journalism" (Singer *et al.* 2011a), which captures the idea of collaborative and collective – not simply parallel – (inter)actions, but there is hardly any evidence of people inside or outside the two newsrooms engaging in communicating not only to, but also with, one another. Those sorts of interactions are possible via several services for participating in news making and building a multifaceted community, which are also incorporated in the processes of *Delo* and *Dnevnik* online staffers – that is, social networking sites and participatory publishing sections.

Both departments have set up profiles on *Facebook* and *Twitter*, since "everybody is on them" (*Delo* Online Journalist E) and since it is "fashionable" (*Dnevnik* Online Journalist B). "It used to be that if you are not on the internet you do not exist; now it is like that – if you are not on *Facebook* you do not exist. /…/ We use our profile to encourage readers to read a news item and visit our website, to highlight important news and to stimulate clicking on our website," stresses *Dnevnik* online journalist D. Other *Dnevnik* online staffers and their *Delo* colleagues say the same. "I think it is cool that we have *Twitter* and *Facebook*. It is a platform we use to disperse our news and it helps us widen. Maybe you reach people that do not visit our site – to get them interested in what we do. /…/ You have to do it during your daily shift."

(*Delo* Online Journalist C) However, posts on Facebook and Twitter are mostly used to provide a timely selection of *Delo*.si and *Dnevnik*.si, or what some call "instant news" (*Dnevnik* Online Journalist C), in an attempt to "widen the community of *Delo* readers". (*Delo* Online Redakteur [2009–]) Some interviewees have problems making sense of these practices: "The main reason we have *Facebook* is that we have it like everybody else. We are there – on *Facebook* and *Twitter*. The other question is what we post there and why. Everybody is asking themselves why we have so few." (*Delo* Online Journalist B) Many of the online journalists interviewed understand *Facebook* and *Twitter* profiles as resources to stimulate clicks and visits on news websites respectively. For example, *Dnevnik* online journalist B stresses: "I do not use *Twitter* and I do not know how it works, the editor's assistant does that. *Facebook* is great, and when we check traffic from *Facebook* onto *Dnevnik.si*, we see huge numbers." From this perspective, *Delo* online journalist D says, "if the number of clicks is growing, it is growing because of *Twitter* and *Facebook*. /…/ There we publish the best of *Delo.si*." (*Delo* Online Journalist D)

A participatory publishing section is provided by *Dnevnik*, but the *Delo* online department supplies no feature such as an interactive service. *Dnevnik*'s Your News ("Vaše novice") is part of the news website, where non-press actors publish their own stories after they have been editorially reviewed and confirmed by the online department. "We never really succeeded with Your News. At first we wrote news to show people how it should be done and to generate the meaning of this section. /…/ We wrote about minor, everyday stuff – problems with rubbish and parking and so on. /…/ Somehow, it has not worked out." (*Dnevnik* Online Journalist [2007–2008]) Results from observation confirm this, and also show that the department's open telephone number does not particularly spur participatory journalism: "We have a department' phone number for these purposes, but it does not ring often. What we primarily get are older people trying to unsubscribe to the print edition. It only slows down the processes in the department." (*Dnevnik* Online Journalist B) Not only do people "rarely" (*Dnevnik* Online Executive Editor [2010–2011]) participate in online news making, the Your News section emerges more as a commercial service than as a means of capturing the ideas of collaborative and collective: "In the section Your News … I am not sure if I am obliged to talk about this. It is probably not in the business interest of *Dnevnik*. But I'll say it anyway. What is often published thereare advertisements. /…/ The editors instructs us to publish certain items or even forwards us the content to publish in the section." (*Dnevnik* Online Journalist B) The commercial use of the participatory news section is confirmed by a former *Dnevnik* online executive editor [2007–2010]): "Now it has become a

PR channel. /…/ It has never been paid news – that's the joke. /…/ Media often publish PR news pro bono and then go to the company and say: 'Look, we can cooperate.' Everybody does it. You can succeed more easily marketing wise." During observation, the acting online executive editor also downsized the section's capability to link people to public life, and explained its commercialnature.

> *We gave our users and our business partners the space to publish. /.../ User content is rare. PR items, commercial or promotional materials from organisations or individuals. We check them to make sure they are still reasonable. /.../ They can be part of the business arrangement or part of advertising. /.../ From the marketing department we get a request to publish certain content from a certain company within 'Your News'. Sometimes, even our marketing department publishes these stories.* (*Dnevnik* Online Executive Editor [2010–2011])

In thisregard, by taking the cultural approach to analysing interview data and carrying out a cross-section of in-depth interviews conducted with online editors, redakteurs and journalists, one can identify five reasons to explain why interactivity is not encouraged in online news making at *Delo* and *Dnevnik*, and why their online staffers are somehow reluctant to realise the ideas of interactive and participatory journalism more comprehensively. First, "the lack of time and staff" (*Dnevnik* Online Executive Editor [2010–2011]), due to the requirement for the continuous gathering, assembling and providing of news, appears to be one of the reasons slowing down the idea of interactivity in the online departments of the respective organisations. *Delo* online journalist B says that "they are too busy with the constant publishing of news", and are therefore not able to build on the ideas of the collective and collaborative. A *Dnevnik* online journalist [2007–2008] elaborates in similar fashion: "Nobody even thinks of changing practices, because we do not have time. If you work as a journalist you are required to make online news. If you bother with the readers, you make less news items."

Second, interviewed *Delo* and *Dnevnik* online journalists more or less agree that the lack of institutional guidelines on how to interact with members of the audience or how to get them to participate in online news making does not make their job any easier. "There is no clear strategy about what to do with the web in our media house – that is the biggest problem. Redesigning the website is not enough – we need to make a bigger breakthrough." (*Delo* Online Journalist B) At the same time, a *Dnevnik* online journalist [2007–2008] also stresses

the institutional disinterest at the organisation: "Nobody from the media cares for this content. Nobody even reads it or even checks it." In thisregard, online journalists understand in principle that interactive and participatory journalism runs parallel to their online news making, so that members of the audience "express their opinion" (*Delo* Online Journalist E) or "contribute with their intellectual work" (*Dnevnik* Online Journalist [2007–2008]).

Third, most of the interviewees from *Delo* and *Dnevnik* stress that they hardly get involved in interactions with members of the audience for their news websites due to "the low level of communication" (*Dnevnik* Online Executive Editor [2010–2011]) and "disastrous comments" (*Delo* Online Journalist E). Predominantly they agree that the anonymity of the users involved is the problem. "The policies of commenting need to become stricter. /…/ We will start radically limiting users' access – the goal is to get rid of all the anonymous commentators. People will need to register with their name and surname." (*Delo* Online Executive Editor [2010–] and *Delo* Newsroom Integration Manager [2011–]) This perspective is seen as an argument by online staffers at both media organisations when explaining the paradox of interactivity – why they engage in interactions with news readers on *Facebook* and *Twitter* more than on their respective news website. For instance, *Dnevnik* online journalist D stresses: "If you compare the comments on *Dnevnik'*s *Facebook* profile and the comments on *Dnevnik.si*, you will see that they are generally different. It appears that comments on *Facebook* are written after the original text was thoroughly read, while on *Dnevnik*.si it seems that they do not even read the text and just start criticising."

Fourth, paradoxically, interviewed online staffers also emphasise that members of the audience are not inclined to interact with online departments or their members, let alone participate in online news making or, as some say, "citizen journalism" (e.g. *Delo* Online Redakteur [2009–]; *Delo* Online Redakteur [2004–2007, 2010]; *Delo* Online Executive Editor [2009–2010]). In his generalised observation a *Delo* online redakteur [2009–] stresses that the "mentality" of members of the audience appears to be preventing participatory ideas in journalism from being realized. "Citizen journalism does not work in Slovenia. /…/ The mentality of people is the problem. You sense this when you try to do a vox populi on the street – a lot of people would run away. /…/ I think it is hard to expect that people will have close relations with a certain medium and send in news and so on." (*Delo* Online Redakteur [2009–]) In this sense, a *Dnevnik* online journalist [2007–2008] implies that there is not enough political need among people to interact with journalists or participate in online news making: "Maybe participation via interactive features would have been interesting in previous

times, when the media space was narrower. Now, it seems that nobody actually needs it – people use it for catharsis, the media even have problems using it for commercialreasons."

Fifth, an analytical synthesis of the interviewee's questions indicates that online staffers from both organizations see the technological framework of their news making, most notably the CMSs, as an obstacle to realising interactive and participatory journalism. The most critical account in this matter is provided by a *Delo* online executive editor [2010–2011]: "We had plans to engage people more, in terms of citizen journalism, but it was not feasible in our CMS to do it as we wished. Therefore, none of the ideas has been used. /…/ The reason for this is money. /…/ Those who make decisions often say that the web is the priority, but it seems to stop being the priority when you need to open the wallet." Redakteurs and executive editors interviewed particularly stress that flexibility of the CMS and the news website is a necessary precondition to spur interactions among people on up-to-date issues, and particularly participation in news making.

The overview of prevailing understandings of interactivity among online editors, redakteurs and journalists, and the assessment of the primary reasons for interactivity not going beyond occasional acts by individuals, indicates how relations among *Delo* and *Dnevnik* online journalists, their information sources and the audience are shaped. As indicated above, when discussing interactivity, they do not distinguish between members of the audience and sources of information when they refer to "users", "readers" and "people" in the context of interactive possibilities and their realisations in online news making. However, suggesting that this indicates a blending of information sources and the audience in one entity that might be called the "people formerly known as the audience" (Rosen 2006) would be an oversimplification. Since interactivity is not defined as one of the aims of the respective organisations, where the constitutional conditions for making interactivity and participatory news are not met and where rather arbitrary appropriations of technology are emblematic of the rather disorganized online departments at *Delo.si* and *Dnevnik.si*, the study further adopts a cultural analysis of relations among online journalists, information sources and the audience in order to move to the tacit terrain of online news making.

On the basis of data gathered by observing and interviewing, one can argue that the study confirms the conclusions of investigations from different countries that the online journalism of traditional media organisations does not seem to strive for a truly multi-directional flow among journalists and non-journalists (e.g. Domingo 2006; Nip 2006; Chung 2007; Paulussen and Ugille 2008; Fortunati *et al.* 2010).Interviewees say these relations are "alienated" (*Delo* Online Journalist E), "at the minimal level" (*Delo* Online Journalist B) and

"problematic" (*Dnevnik* Online Journalist B), suggesting that interactivity has not refined the processes among journalists and the audience, as there are problems of engaging in communication not only to, let alone with one another. Despite some individual acts of interactivity, such as "correcting a mistake and thanking the reader for noting it" (*Delo* Online Journalist B) or "responding to readers' comments" (*Dnevnik* Online Executive Editor Assistant [2010–]), there is not a great deal of evidence of the emerging patterns of interactive and participatory practices in online news making at *Delo* and *Dnevnik* , but rather indications of the strengthening of the "thinner level of interactivity" (Davis 2010; Fenton 2010b), where relations among journalists, information sources and audiences are successfully captured by the prefix "pseudo-".

On the one hand, interviews with online staffers indicate that relations among *Delo* and *Dnevnik* online journalists and their information sources do not reflect close relationships built up through direct contact over many years, but are becoming increasingly "virtual", where pseudo forms of expertise, abstraction and presentation can be identified, together with "thin rather than thick communicative ties" (Davies 2010, 137)Observation confirms that the computer-bound processes of gathering, assembling and providing online news prevail due to the continuous rush to publish timely news – thus, not only do *Delo* and *Dnevnik* online journalists not actively seek information outside newsrooms, in addition, they "almost never use e-mail exchange to get information" (*Delo* Online Journalist A) or "rarely phone for information" (*Dnevnik* Online Journalist C). Not only do *Delo* and *Dnevnik* not meet information sources in person, they hardly ever use interactive capabilities to contact people and encounter them to gather information, because, as they say, work in an environment where the productivity and efficiency of news making are of primary importance forces them to rationalise their news making by "retrofitting" (Brannon 2008). In this regard, as observations and interviews indicate, *Delo* and *Dnevnik* provide neither institutional guidelines on how to use the potential of interactivity to gather information nor CMSs that would provide a wider spectrum of possibilities to engage with sources interactively, making it hard for online journalists to build thicker relations with information providers.

On the other hand, interviews with online staffers and observations at *Delo* and *Dnevnik* show that relations among online journalists and the audience can barely be labelled as interactive, let alone participatory.Not only do constant time pressure, the lack of institutional guidelines and technical constraints with both CMSs make it hard for *Delo* and *Dnevnik*'s online journalists to uptake interactivity in online news making, they also emphasise that the problem is not to be solved by print media organisations alone.

Interviewees stress that people are not interested in engaging in news interactively, and they provide little input of a participatory nature, suggesting that the audience does not possess "the right mentality" (*Delo* Online Redakteur [2009–]) and that they have adopted a rather reluctant stance towards becoming engaged "as content co-producers" (Boczkowski 2002, 278). In this sense it appears that the journalism-audience relationship at *Delo.si* and *Dnevnik.si* does not differ considerably from the printed *Delo* and *Dnevnik* – in terms of interactions among these two groups or collaborative participation in news making. In thisregard, interactivity is manifested when communication among journalists and non-journalists via e-mail, online polls and comment sections boosts visits and clicks, which, according to both online executive editors, and some online journalists as well, indicates the value of the published news items and determines future news making decisions. For example, *Dnevnik* Online Journalist F stresses: "Statistics tells me what people like to read and how to rearrange the title page of our website. Otherwise, content on the first page should change all the time. These rules are, however, pretty loose." At the same time, a *Delo* online executive editor [2009–2010] acknowledges: "On the basis of statistics we get to know what should be left on the title page of the site and what to remove." Furthermore, on the basis of the study one can also argue that the idea of participatory journalism is misused, above all in the case of *Dnevnik.si.* Their Your News section emerges predominantly as a channel to publish hybrids of news, public relations items and advertising (Erjavec 2005), where the concept of the collective is pursued not in the political sense of news making, but rather in the economic one. For instance, a *Dnevnik* online executive editor [2010–2011] uses phrases such as "PR items" and "commercial or promotional materials from organisations or individuals", which implies that what appears to be a struggle for legitimacy among journalists and non-journalists actually derives from a clear commercial motive – that is, trying to engage people online as consumers and not citizens. Thus, it appears that when investigating the interactive and participatory potentials of *Delo.si* and *Dnevnik.si*, similar conclusions can be drawn as in the work of Poler Kovačič and Erjavec (2008), who identified the patterns of "pseudo-citizen journalism" in the journalism-audience relationship. This study thus suggests the existence of pseudo-interactive and pseudo-participatory online news making, where the ideas of interactive and participatory journalism are misused to deceive the audience in the interests of profit, and the technological potentials of the web are subordinated to the market-driven nature of news making.

The study shows that people at *Delo* and *Dnevnik* more or less agree that online departments provide "only what is really important" (*Dnevnik* Online Executive Editor

[2010–2011]) and "offer basic information" (*Delo* Online Executive Editor [2009–2010]) legitimising the clear absence of interactive and participatory journalism, owing to the need to publish fast andin abundance. Social-organisational analysis of online news making at *Delo* and *Dnevnik* indicates that interactivity has not been fully coordinated and structure had not been appropriated to bring consistency and stability to routines. Additionally, cultural analysis provides insights into the sense-making practices of *Delo* and *Dnevnik* online journalists, indicating there is not much unity regarding the idea of interactivity as a social uptake. In this sense, interactivity is confined to acts of a commercial nature and occasional instances when onlinejournalists – mostly those within the group of knowledgable staffers – perform interactively in encounters with information sources or members of the audience. Interviewees mention five primary reasons for not uptaking interactivity in their routines. On the one hand, constant time constraints, a lack of institutional guidelines and the technical constraints of *Delo* and *Dnevnik* CMSs, suggest that news making is a set of "actions constrained by power" (Hartley 2008, 45), where the implementation of the idea of interactivity would be too far-fetched for unwritten and tacit principles and practices in rather disorganized *Delo* and *Dnevnik* online departments. As a result, the neglected interactive potential of online journalism results in pseudo-interactive and pseudo-participatory news making, driven by the need for timeliness and supposed business success. On the other hand, the lack of an interactive mentality among members of the audience and the absence of generated content with participatory potential, presents the public as "the others" and online journalists as a "we" community in the mass media world, where the distinction between journalists, on the one side, and information sources and the audience, on the other, is hardly bridgeable. In this sense, *Delo* and *Dnevnik* online journalists try to retain their authority in delivery and preserve the public "as reactive rather than proactive" (Anderson 2007, 47). On the basis of observations and interviews, interactivity in the news making of the *Delo* and *Dnevnik* online departments hardly contributes anything to an increase in emancipation and to stimulating interaction with one another, let alone laying the groundwork for participation in the dynamics of public life.

6.3.3 Multimediality: Disjointed Online News Making

A cross-section of scholarly debates and research in media and journalism studies suggests that there is no agreement regarding what implications multimediality has for online news making (e.g. Dahlgren 1996; Pavlik 1999; Gordon 2003; Deuze 2004; Quinn 2004; Thurman

and Lupton 2008; García 2008; Wallace 2009). This applies to both established concepts of multimediality: first, multimediality as news presentation on a website using more semiological formats, such as text, images, photographs, audio, video, graphics and animation, and second, multimediality as the integrated presentation of news through different media, such as newspapers, magazines, radio, television and/or news websites. If the discussion is focused on integrated news making only when it has implications for online multimedia news making, one can identify two branches of debate in this regard. The first group investigates the implications of gathering and assembling online multimedia news for relations in journalists' work environments, and identifies individual or collective organisational models of online multimedia news making (e.g. Boczkowski 2004b; Deuze 2004, 2007; Gordon 2003; Thurman and Lupton 2008; Quinn 2004, 2008, 2009; Wallace 2009). The second group of authors reconsiders ways of formatting and providing online multimedia news, and recognises the convergent and the divergent paradigm of news assembly and provision (e.g. Pavlik 1999; Gordon 2003; Deuze 2004, 2007; Quinn 2008; Thurman and Lupton 2008). When *Delo* and *Dnevnik* expanded their online multimedia news making from combining photos and still images to including video and animation, in the mid-2000s, the projects of *Dnevnik's Online Television* and Studio *Delo* resulted in more complex relations in the online department and diverse presentations of news, despite "the lack of vision" (Vobič 2011b). About five years later, online multimedia news making at the respective organisations appears "very modest" (*Delo* Online Multimedia Newsworker [2009–]), based on a "hand-to-mouth existence" (*Dnevnik* Online Multimedia Newsworker [2008–]), as decision-makers "do not know what to do with it" (*Delo* Print Editor-in-Chief [2010–]).Observations at *Delo* and *Dnevnik* online departments show that online multimedia news making has been reduced mainly to combining photos and text, whereas gathering additional information with camcorders, assembling it by video editing and providing "video journalism" (Wallace 2009) are of almost marginal importance. In thisregard, by combining the social-organisational approach and a cultural perspective, this section discusses prevailing understandings of multimediality among online editors, redakteurs and journalists at *Delo* and *Dnevnik*, identifies the primary reasons behind manifestations of multimediality in online news making, debates the implications of the latter for relations among newsroom staffers, their information sources and the audience, and reconsiders the meaning of online news through these prisms.

In-depth interviews with *Delo* and *Dnevnik* online staffers used here to investigate the givens behind journalism's own sense of self, to examine what is important to journalists

themselves and to explore the cultural symbol system (Zelizer 2008, 260), indicate that interviewees appear confident in their answers when explaining the idea of multimediality. Yet, interviewed online staffers understand multimediality rather narrowly, as they approach the notion quite differently.In their reconsiderations of the idea of "bringing more media together" (*Delo* Online Journalist D), interviewees speak only in the context of online multimedia news, but they neglect other dimensions of this complex notion – the reason for the narrow scope, at least partly, lies in the fact that in-depth interviewing was focused on processes at the online departments of *Delo* and *Dnevnik*. In this sense, interviewed online staffers frame the idea of multimediality differently, despite their rather similar definitions of the notion. Thus, the first group of interviewees conceptualise multimediality as text – for instance, for *Delo* online journalist A it means "not only the word spectrum, but also picture and video", and *Dnevnik* online journalist D understands it as "text, video and other things all together on one website". Meanwhile, the second group see multimediality as work – for example, for *Delo* online journalist B it ranges "from embedding videos, making photo galleries and audio statements to live broadcasts on the website", and *Dnevnik* online journalist A sees it as "including video and other stuff besides the text; it stands for making different forms of information accessible to the reader". Interviewees mostly do not go beyond these uniform descriptions. Yet, the third group of staffers, that is, only a handful of interviewees, thoroughly dismantle the notion and approach it as "an empty word" (*Delo* Online Journalist C), if not reconsidered in the particular context of news reading and news making, or explain its "high complexity" as inextricably blended with hypertextuality and interactivity (*Delo* Online Multimedia Newsworker [2009–]). Despite the narrowness and differences in definitions of multimediality, there are strong indications of applicable reconsiderations resembling distinct models of organisation in online multimedia news making at *Delo* and *Dnevnik*, and variations in relations among journalistic subjects inside and outside newsrooms.

Interviews confirm a lack of unity among journalists in terms of news making and technology and what is important, appropriate and preferred, which is presumed in cultural analysis of journalism (Schudson 2005; Hartley 2008; Zelizer 2008). Furthermore, social-organisational study on the basis of observations at the online departments indicates that *Delo* and *Dnevnik* strive to provide online multimedia news or, in other words, encourage the combination of text, photographs, audio, video and animation in online news making. The ethnographic study reveals that melding text and photos together has become an everyday routine in news making at the *Delo* and *Dnevnik* online departments, whereas they organise

the processes of video shooting, editing and incorporating differently. At least to a certain extent, these organisational and structural differences between *Delo* and *Dnevnik* reflect different context-related newsroom convergence models, whereas the results of cultural analysis and the observation results suggest that relations among journalistic subjects are shaped distinctively – particularly internally, among staffers in the newsroom.

At *Delo* and *Dnevnik*, each news item needs to combine text and at least one photo, otherwise CMSs prevent staffers from publishing the piece, according to the results of observations. Analysis of in-depth interviews suggests that the obligation to combine text with an image in online news making polarises online staffers. One group of interviewees perceives it as an informational add-on to the text. For instance, *Delo* online journalist E says: "I think that the fact that we need to have photos in our news items is cool. Without photos it would be boring. As a user I would probably not click on the item without a photo." A *Dnevnik* online executive editor [2010–2011] goes further by suggesting that "a photo tells a thousand words". Further, *Dnevnik* online journalist D stresses that "the only problem" in this regard is finding a "good" picture: "Otherwise, I think that photos bring additional attractiveness to a news item. It is the same story when you want to sell something on the internet – photos help." The other group of online staffers interviewed sees the obligation as an unnecessary obstacle in the news making rush. "I think it is not good that we have the concept that you cannot publish a news item without a photo. This does not sit well with the rules of speed and timeliness. It slows us down. Moreover, on some subjects, for instance national politics, you have the same pictures everyday – the same people with ties are in the repertoire all the time," stresses *Delo* online journalist C. In any case, as newsroom observations indicate, it is online journalists alone who make decisions about the selection of photos and their incorporation into news items.At *Delo*, the images are obtained by online journalists through cooperation with the photo department, photo services of news agencies, such as *STA* and *Reuters*, or from websites such as *Daylife.com*. "Our photo department is our primary source. Thus, first we need to see if our department provides a photo we can use, and only then do we search elsewhere. There would be problems if we chose other photos instead of those shot by *Delo* photographers," says *Delo* online journalist E. At *Dnevnik* there is a similar photo selection process, since in-house photographers are primary sources for online staffers: "We have to use photos from our reporters first, despite the fact that *STA* photographers take better photos than our colleagues. If we do not have them in the system, we look elsewhere – for instance the photo services of *STA*, *Reuters*, *AP* or *Daylife.com*." (*Dnevnik* Online Journalist B) These rules imply that both print media organisations

encourage what Deuze (2003, 212) calls the "convergent paradigm" of online multimedia news, that is, combining information in different semiological forms gathered by staffers from different departments. Observations show that the most salient example of the convergent paradigm at *Delo.si* and *Dnevnik.si* is the shovelling of print news items onto the web, when online journalists take texts produced by in-house print colleagues and images produced by in-house photographers as they compose a complete content and visual package.

Additionally, results from the observation show that cooperative relations between online departments and photographers at the respective organisations have become embedded in the organisation of online multimedia news making at *Delo* and *Dnevnik*. Despite differences in newsroom convergence models – *Delo* adopting the "cross-media model", whereas *Dnevnik* is closer to the "coordinated model" (cf. Meier 2007; Avilés and Carvajal 2008; Avilés *et al. 2*009) – routine collaboration between the online department and the photo department has recently "improved" (*Delo* Online Journalist C) and "got better" (*Delo* Online Journalist A), or they work together "without problems" (*Dnevnik* Online Executive Editor Assistant [2010–]). "We cooperate more and more. They are more and more involved in the online department's activities. I like that. It is possible to call one of the photographers and ask him to produce a session of photos from a basketball game, for instance," acknowledges *Delo* online journalist B, whereas a *Dnevnik* online executive editor [2010–2011] says that closer relations improved the quality of online news making – at least partly: "Arrangement of collaboration is on a daily basis, depending on what is going on. Then we know which of the photographers is going to the event. We also decide how many photos we need, what they should focus on and when to send the photos to the department." Furthermore, interviewees from both online departments emphasise that photographers have started to consider the specifics of online news making – foremost speed and quantity. For example, *Delo* online journalist C says: "In the interests of speed, they immediately upload at least one photo from the event so that we can use it. Moreover, we have an agreement that they take more photos just for the online department. Now they have more opportunity to express themselves – to make more, let me call them, more diverse photos." (*Delo* Online Journalist C)

However, in some cases neither photo department provides images from all the events *Delo*.si and *Dnevnik*.si are reporting on, and so online staffers look elsewhere for photos – such as the photo services to which *Delo* and *Dnevnik* have paid access, and also those agencies and websites whose photos they do not have the rights to use. Hence, online staffers often "steal photos" (*Delo* Online Journalist A) from agencies or "print-screen" them from news websites (*Dnevnik* Online Journalist B). "We do not have copyrights for all the photos

we have access to as members of *Delo*. We have rights to use them in print, but not online. We use them regardless of that and we do not name the source. For instance, we handle photos from *AP* and *AFP* that way. /…/ In these cases we do not name the source," explains *Delo* online journalist B. Yet, *Dnevnik* online journalist C resolves the same issue differently: "Well, sometimes I use the print-screen function to get the photo, but I do it rarely. /…/ It is always from foreign websites and we always name the source. If it was from Slovenian media there would be trouble for sure – they would call us and demand that we pay for the photo." These revelations are confirmed by the results of observations at *Delo* and *Dnevnik*, suggesting "chaotic conditions" (Brannon 2008, 110) at both online departments, where the power of authority is dispersed and where editorial control is low.

Thus, on the one hand, social-organisational analysis of data gathered during observations indicates structural coordination of activities and available resources in such a way as to ensure the productivity and efficiency of online departments when combining texts and photos. On the other hand, cultural analysis of the ethnographic study reveals that some tacit rules legitimising continuous breaches of copyright have been adopted by *Delo* and *Dnevnik* online staffers, which are formally not a part of the established and accepted order and structure of any print media organisation, but they emerged among the unwritten rules of these two online departments as a response to requirements to constantly provide timely and attractive news. In any case, the intensification of pressure in newsrooms to produce more items in less time has led news making to be shaped as a rushed desktop activity, with online journalists not only taking care of the textual aspect of published items, but also being responsible for composing a complete presentation package online. In this sense, interviews show that online staffers do not feel comfortable with such power in multimedia decision-making, and suggest that such multiskilling leads to what Fenton (2010) names "a reduction in levels of professionalism" and what Im (1997) calls "deskilling". In this sense, *Delo* online journalist B says that online news making appears to be "a desktop activity": "I have a feeling that I am doing something wrong when I am cropping photos. Photographers from *Delo* or elsewhere have the education and experience and then I go and crop their photos. There is something wrong with that picture."

Yet, since the idea of interactivity has only party become embedded in online news making at *Delo* and *Dnevnik*, observations show that the two online departments only rarely engage members of the audience as sources of information. Getting and taking photos from the audience are no exceptions. Interviewees more or less agree that such cooperation happens and makes sense in "extreme events" (*Dnevnik* Online Journalist D). "We call the people to

send us photos when we know that they have photos and when we have a shortage of them. /…/ People send us their photos occasionally – when there is heavy snow or when there is a natural disaster. For instance, the last such example was the flooding in Slovenia. We even gave out a prize for the best picture." (*Dnevnik* Online Journalist A) Despite the rarity of such audience engagement, the interviewees stress they need to "filter" photos received via e-mail (*Delo* Online Journalist D) and retain control over the process. At the same time, if the prevailing chaotic conditions in online departments are taken into consideration, *Delo* online journalist B rather paradoxically stresses that the structural and organisational settings do not stimulate closer relations between the online department and members of the audience as photo providers: "I think that photographs are a bit jealous. I think this argument is absurd, but it seems that it is powerful enough that we do not include amateurs as photo providers."

If melding text and photos in online news making at *Delo* and *Dnevnik* shapes relations among journalistic subjects similarly, despite differences in newsroom convergence models, bringing "tri-media" (MacGregor 2003) into the frame results in additional context-related complexities in online multimedia news making, and reveals distinctive idiosyncrasies in newsroom relations.*Delo* emphasizes the role of the collective and organises online multimedia news making in teams which resemble "television crews" (Vobič 2011b), whereas *Dnevnik* follows the idea of "backpack journalists" (Gordon 2003), where only staffers individually gather information, shoot videos with camcorders, assemble them by editing and incorporate the clip in online multimedia news items.

At *Delo* online multimedia news making that incorporates video started in 2007, when *Studio Delo* was set up as an organisationally separate unit from the online department in terms of space, staff and newswork. *Delo* built a studio and named a former sports reporter as editor, responsible for a multimedia news team. "The board wanted an online television production fast – in three months. I was popular. /…/ I hired a small group of young journalists and started teaching them television news and video editing from scratch," explains the former *Studio Delo* editor [2007–2009], who currently works as an online redakteur [2009–]. As observations in previous studies (Vobič 2011b) show, *Studio Delo* had a team of 19 staffers (anchors, journalists, cameramen and technicians) and was organised as a television news team, with a studio and anchors as well as crews of journalists and cameramen going out on assignments. "The concept of work division was completely the same as that of the television news team. This is based on the fact that we actually published a block of news items like in a daily television news programme." (*Delo* Online Journalist B) The "completely separate" (*Delo* Online Executive Editor [2009–2010]) online news making

of *Delo*.si and Studio *Delo* lasted for two years, when on only rare occasions was there exchange of information or other forms of cooperation. In 2009 "the painful story" (*Delo* Online Executive Editor [2004–2009]) ended when both departments melded into one. As a result of "*Studio Delo*'s takeover", explains a *Delo* online executive editor [2004–2009] "*Studio Delo* journalists became *Delo.si* journalists" and "only a few people from the previous *Delo.si* remained" – she also "had to go". At the same time, "videojournalism" (Wallace 2009) has been reduced to one news item per day bringing together text, photos and video, as the initial *Studio Delo* department has been regarded as "a wasteful project" (*Delo* Online Redakteur [2004–2007, 2010]). According to *Delo* online journalist B, the organisation no longer regards *Studio Delo* as a financially prosperous project: "The financial crisis also hit *Studio Delo*. It was regarded as a surplus without which we could easily manage. Everything has gone downhill since then."

Nevertheless, despite profound reorganisation of multimedia online news making in 2009, observation results show that *Delo* still nurtures "news teams" (*Delo* Online Journalist B) of journalists and cameramen who go out on assignments and assemble news items based on videos that resemble "television reports" (Vobič 2011b). "It is difficult to bring everything together. You need to have ideas for text, then you need to have ideas to combine it with video and then you need to think about the whole package. It is just too much." (*Delo* Online Journalist E) Recently, not only members of the online department, former *Studio Delo* journalists, but also some print journalists have take one of two *Delo*.si cameramen into the field, but, according to a *Delo* cameraman [2009–] interviewed, this has made his work more difficult. "They do not have the sense of acting as journalists who are followed by a cameraman. /…/ They perform like print journalists when in conversation – one of them was interrupting the source all the time. Consequently, it was impossible to edit the conversation at the end." When a team of print journalist and cameraman returns to the newsroom – the former writes up the text and the cameraman does the editing in accordance with the text.

Since there is only one news team per day, there are "between three and four multimedia features per week" (*Studio Delo* Executive Editor [2007–2009] and *Delo* Online Redakteur [2009–]). Thus, other online staffers need to rely on other sources if they wish to combine video with their text and at least one photo, particularly in the case of sport and international affairs. "We do not have a lot of video. When I write my text I try to embed videos from *YouTube* if possible and if it makes sense. Photos and especially video give you additional information – they show you what really happened. It was like that when we were reporting on the flooding in Australia." (*Delo* Online Journalist D) In addition, other

interviewees say that, after *Studio Delo* "fell apart" (*ibid.*), the primary source for videos became video-sharing sites, primarily *YouTube*, since *Delo* does not subscribe to video feeds from news agencies such as *Reuters* or *AP*.

In thisregard, a *Delo* online executive editor [2009–2010] doubts whether the *Delo* print media organisation should continue nurturing original online multimedia news making in the current economic circumstances: "I do not think that we need video at all. We do not have enough capacity to do it the way it should be done. /…/ We should put money into other projects. Video is not a priority. /…/ When we found out that it does not bring in what it should, we pushed video production to the sidelines. *Delo.si* is much more important." A former *Studio Delo* executive editor [2007–2009] criticises the change as being "without concept, vision and strategy", due to constant changes in the positions of members of the boards and print editor-in-chief. At the same time, the *Delo* online executive editor [2010–] admits that there is no strategy for further evolution of online multimedia news making at *Delo*.

> *It is not yet clear what to do with it. The cameraman is still here, and they are part of the budget, despite the fact that they are not 100 % used. The goal is to start making online multimedia stories, but not something that would resemble television news production as nurtured by* Studio Delo*. For online multimedia stories we need time and knowledge – we need people that have time and we need to find the money for that.* (*Delo* Online Executive Editor [2010–] and *Delo* Newsroom Integration Manager [2011–])

At *Dnevnik*, video news making took off in 2007, when *Dnevnik*'s *Online Television* started providing online multimedia news as part of *Dnevnik*.si, where online staffers also performed as individual multimedia newsworkers, or what Deuze (2004, 146) calls "fully converged reporters", who need to be able to oversee online multimedia packages rather than repurposing single stories for different platforms. "Multimedia journalists were an invention of media owners. /…/ This was the cheapest way," says a *Dnevnik* online executive editor [2007–2010], stressing that the decision to bring video into online multimedia news making was a business one: "Video online was hyped at that time. We needed to look like we were following innovations, but at the same time it had to cost zero euros. /…/ We saw video as an add-on. Of course, the picture was shaky, but what can I do? I did not have professionals to shoot and edit video."In the first two years there were three individual multimedia

newsworkers with two camcorders, who were not experienced journalists and were "learning video along the way" when they were not on duty in the online department (*Dnevnik* Online Journalist [2007–2008]). Therefore, they were dealing more with "technical issues" and less with content.

> *There was no quality check in terms of content. /.../ Often we just went to events, where we had to fight for the best spot and shoot the statement by the source. Then we rushed back to the newsroom and edited the clip as fast as possible. So, zero journalistic conduct – no questions, no reconsiderations, no larger context. /.../ We were doing video like amateurs and the audience did not care. People did not expect that we would do it like a television media house – the level of tolerance was higher.* (*Dnevnik* Online Journalist [2007–2008])

During observation, *Dnevnik* online department continued to nurture "solo newsgatherers" (Wallace 2009), who should act as both journalist and camera operator. Yet, in the last two years, *Dnevnik* reduced the size of online multimedia news making by shrinking the number of individual multimedia newsworkers on duty, as well as the volume of published items. During the daily shift there are two "lone wolf reporters" on duty, responsible for video making, stresses the *Dnevnik* video redakteur [2010–], a former newsworker at the public broadcaster *TV Slovenia*, who also sets the daily agenda with the help of the online executive editor, and a *Dnevnik.si* staffer, who is on duty in the online department, but also goes out into the field with a camcorder every few hours. "We are making guerrilla-type video clips. /…/ You cannot expect technical perfection from people who are holding a camera in their hands for the first time. /…/ The budget is small, and therefore we cannot educate our staffers to work better." (*Dnevnik* Video Redakteur [2010–]) According to a *Dnevnik* online executive editor [2010–2011], they would like to enrol all online staffers as individual multimedia newsworkers: "But we need to take into consideration that our staffers have not had any additional education regarding video or multimedia. /…/ There is still a lot to do with regards to video conventions. /…/ I have to admit that I do not know a lot about television news logic."

The results of the observation also suggest that an individual multimedia newsworker occasionally forms a pack with a *Dnevnik* print journalist and photographer and goes out on assignment. Such cross-department collaboration is not focused on making a common online multimedia news item, but, paradoxically, two pieces with rather separate news assembly –

one for the printed daily and the other for *Dnevnik*.si. “It also happens that one of us goes into the field with a print journalist who is doing reportage. The video that comes out is reportage on making reportage. /…/ You shoot your video and he is asking his own questions – and then you publish the clip with his questions, which makes it more interesting.” (*Dnevnik* Video Redakteur [2010–]) Since the goal of online multimedia news making at *Dnevnik* is to “combine text, photos and also video if possible” (*Dnevnik* Online Executive Editor [2010–2011]), online staffers do not rely only on original video production, but also on other sources. On the one hand, a *Reuters* feed offers edited video clips on up-to-date events and issues. The video redakteur and other staffers translate the voiceover in the selected *Reuters* video clip and upload it with subtitles on *Dnevnik.si* on a daily basis. On the other hand, online staffers also seek out video-sharing sites, mostly *YouTube*, for videos that relate to their content. “Yes, we do it. For instance, a video of an explosion is interesting. We do not have original video from there, especially if it happened in New York, for instance. Then, the other thing is *Reuters*. You take it from the feed, translate it, put the subtitles on it and then publish it.” (*Dnevnik* Online Journalist B)

Interviewees at *Dnevnik* see more advantages than disadvantages in making “videojournalism” (Wallace 2009), but they also more or less agree that there is no strategy for further development and a lack of multimedia education for online staffers. *Dnevnik’s* online executive editor [2010–2011] says that “there is still a lot to be done” in these respects, and explains that the evolution of online multimedia news making should go toward combining the ideas of the news team and the individual newsworker.

> *I would go for combination. I would leave those journalists who like to shoot video by themselves, edit it and then publish it to continue doing that. I would even encourage them, because they would probably still do good journalism. At the same time, I believe that division of work would relieve them of some things and they could concentrate on the content. So, combination would be the best solution. But at the moment we cannot afford it and the same goes for the future.* (*Dnevnik* Online Executive Editor [2010–2011])

The study at *Delo* and *Dnevnik* shows that online multimedia news making reflects what Deuze (2003, 213) calls the “dual nature of multimedia development” – that goes for the period of hedging [mid-2000s–late 2000s], when broad-minded but uncoordinated “online televisions” were established, as well as the period of flexibilising [late 2000s–early 2010s],

when multitasking and multiskilling were taken up, as the coordination of activities and resources had been neglected in the absence of a long-term strategy on the organisational level. Thus, on the one hand, there are sheer technological advancements in gathering, assembling and providing in different semiological forms and, on the other, there are various articulations of multimediality in relations among newsroom staffers, as well as in contacts between journalists, information sources and the audience. In other words, as Deuze (2003, 213) writes, "introducing multimedia in a news media organization perhaps has less to do with developing all kinds of (new) resources and skills, but more about understanding and developing a different journalistic news culture". In this regard, the social-organisational approach to studying online news making is extrapolated with cultural analysis of manifestations of multimediality in *Delo* and *Dnevnik* online departments.

Thus, on the one hand, social-organisational analysis of online news making at *Delo* and *Dnevnik* indicates that multimediality has been only partly coordinated, and structure has not been appropriated to bring consistency and stability to routines, particularly in terms of combining text, photos and videos.Thus, the ethnographic study shows that it is hard to identify the patterns of the emerging online multimedia logic at *Delo* and *Dnevnik*, since the observation results do not provide strong evidence for the existence of the particular institutionally structured features of online multimedia news making, the ensemble of technological and organisational attributes which impact on what gets presented on *Delo.si* and *Dnevnik.si*, and how it gets done.

On the other hand, cultural analysis of observation data provides insights into sense-making practices among *Delo* and *Dnevnik* online journalists, indicating that there is much unity when it comes to combining text and photos, where tacit rules across departments at both organisations enable online staffers to cope with the requirements for online news making that is constant and timely. In this context, despite the fact that online multimedia news making is structured within particular newsroom organisation models, there are not many indications of stability and order, but rather signs of online multimedia news that is "disjointed", "unequal in quality" and still "to produce a captivating form in which journalists can successfully work their lives of entrapment" (McGregor 2003, 16). Additionally, according to interviewed online staffers, after five years, the development of online multimedia news making at the respective organisations appears "very modest" (*Delo* Online Multimedia Newsworker [2009–]), and based on a "hand-to-mouth existence" (*Dnevnik* Online Multimedia Newsworker [2008–]). From a social-organisational perspective, given the lack of strategy and the disunity in the cultural context, it seems that the *Delo* print editor-in-

chief is correct in his observation that traditional media organisations "do not know what to do with" online multimedia news making. In this sense, it appears that online multimedia news brings little to make certain economic goals reachable, let alone to revitalise the political relevance of online journalism, since combinations of text, photos and video still present "a foreign landscape" (Northrup 2000) to *Delo* and *Dnevnik*, which adopt online news making and job descriptions that are "designed for a world that is flat" (*ibid.*) – that is, for journalism more familiar with only texts and photos.

6.4 Online Journalists and their Roles

Two branches of discussion on who is a journalist in the online environment and what role she or he plays emerge in contemporary media and journalism studies. On the one hand, one group of scholars suggest (e.g. Platon and Deuze 2003; Singer 2003; Gillmor 2004; Zelizer 2004; Splichal 2005a; Friend and Singer 2007; Dahlgren 2009b; Couldry 2010; Nip 2010; Robinson 2010) that the question of who is a journalist and who is not is becoming increasingly difficult in the online environment, where non-press news providers are gaining legitimacy and power in the public sphere. In this "normative-critical view" (Zelizer 2008, 259), research shows that journalists from traditional media organisations are trying to hold on to the status of central news deliverers and sense-makers in society, as they adapt to the contingencies of the online environment. The other group of media and journalism authors (e.g. Deuze and Paulussen 2002; Boczkowski 2004; Deuze 2007, 2008b; Colson and Heinderyckx 2008; Domingo 2008b; García 2008; Quandt 2008; Deuze and Marjoribanks 2009; Singer and Ashman 2009) argues that there are no clear-cut answers to the questions of who counts as a "true" journalist within the contemporary news making of traditional media organizations and who does not. Research indicates that those who make news in online departments are often not regarded as "true" journalists because they perform as a struggling group of low-status newsworkers, who have difficulties working in accordance with the occupational ideology of journalism, since they are required to continuously make news and do it effectively and profitably at the same time. Nevertheless, despite the fact that the changing dynamics between political, economic, cultural and technological factors are reshaping what is journalism (e.g. Zelizer 2009b; Tunney and Monaghan 2010; Lee-Wright *et al.* 2012), the discussion on the definition of journalism and journalists should conceptually not differ dramatically from normative-critical debates in previous decades (cf. Hardt 1996; Splichal 2000; Hallin and Mancini, 2004; Poler Kovačič 2005; Friend and Singer 2007; Gitlin

2009; Dahlgren 2009; Christians *et al.* 2009).The societal roles of journalists are sets of rights, obligations and expected behaviour patterns that derive from continuous articulations between normative models of media and political order, on the one hand, and journalists' sense-making of the relations between ideas and symbols that constitute the changing dynamics of the journalistic community, on the other. In this light, this part of the chapter sets out to normatively and critically elaborate on the complexities of self-understanding among online journalists at traditional print media in relation to non-press news providers online, and in regards to their in-house print journalists, by addressing the fourth research question of the dissertation: *How do online journalists at Slovenian print media organisations perceive their roles as journalists in society?*

In Slovenian media and journalism studies, there has not been much research concentrated on the role of journalists in the online environment. However, those studies that have been conducted resemble the two branches of debates outlined above. On the one hand, studies that theoretically reconsider communitarian ideas of journalism and empirically investigate them in the context of the journalism of traditional media organisations (e.g. Oblak 2005; Vobič 2007, 2010; Poler Kovačič and Erjavec 2008; Oblak Črnič 2010) reveal that journalists are embracing non-press actors in news making, but not on an equal footing, as they try to retain the status of authority in news delivery constructed in the mass media world. On the other hand, the question of the role of online journalists in relation to print and broadcast journalists has been explored superficially, only when dealing with other issues (e.g. Oblak Črnič 2007; Vobič 2009b; Poler Kovačič *et al.* 2010), yet they reveal contempt among print journalists toward online news making and highlight polarisation within the journalistic community between defenders and critics of online journalism. As an attempt to further elaborate on the issue of online journalists' roles, the author takes the political science approach to online journalism to debate normative predispositions of journalism and query how online journalists ought to operate under optimum conditions in Slovenia, on the one hand, and to make an analysis of cultural givens surrounding the distinction between the "we" community of online journalism at *Delo* and *Dnevnik* and the contemporary outsiders. In this sense, the purpose of this part of the chapter is threefold. First, it tries to provide a critical synthesis on how online journalists at *Delo* and *Dnevnik* perceive their roles as news providers in society in relation to press and non-press actors. Second, the author upgrades previous parts of the chapter by bringing in the historically developed normative underpinnings of journalists' roles in Slovenia and their empirical realities in contemporaneity. Third, the study discusses the social, political, cultural and economic

aspects of interviewed online journalists' sense-making and identifies the possible societal implications of their perceptions.

In order to provide a comprehensive inquiry into articulations between technology and online journalism at *Delo* and *Dnevnik*, and to also assess tensions between continuity and change from the perspective of online journalists' roles, the author adopts the political science perspective on online journalism, which draws on the interdependency between journalism and politics and queries how journalism should operate under optimum conditions (cf. Zelizer 2008; Christians *et al*. 2009), and extrapolates it to a cultural analysis of online journalists' self-perceptions in order to explore their sense-making practices and analyse their capacities for social action in their respective social-organisational framework (cf. Schudson 2005; Hartley 2008; Zelizer 2008). Taking the cultural perspective, where the understanding of culture is drawn from the domain of ideas and the terrain of social practices (cf. Williams 1965/1996), enables the author to look beyond normative predispositions of (online) journalism and the structural organisation of newsrooms, and investigate sets of unwritten rules, tacit norms and shared values that define online journalists' self-perceptions and shape the imagining of "us" and "them" inside and outside of specific newsrooms, journalistic communities and society at large (cf. Schudson 2005; Hartley 2008; Zelizer 2008).

In order to provide a consistent normative-critical study of online journalists' roles, on the one hand, and cultural appropriation of their self-perceptions at *Delo* and *Dnevnik*, on the other, the author moves from theorising to data analysis, from interpretation on the basis of historical assessment of the Slovenian press and conceptual reconsiderations developed in the review of literature on the definitional and identificational problems of online journalism, and then back to theorising. To realise this analytical process and to develop results, the author combines concepts from the existing inquiries into related issues with insights from primary empirical investigation. In this framework, in-depth interviews with online journalists from *Delo* and *Dnevnik* are used in order to investigate perceptions of their roles as journalists in society. To explain their answers and to explore the negotiation of normative principles of journalism in the institutional context of specific cases, observations in both online departments are employed.

Thus, the next three sections assess data gathered by in-depth interviewing and observations at *Delo* and *Dnevnik* in a normative-critical view and elaborate them in regards to the fourth research question. The first section thus reveals that online journalists from the respective organisations view themselves in accordance with the normative predispositions of Slovenian journalism, that is, foremost as impartial mediators of social reality, as they provide

timely and "objective" news, on the basis of which readers can make thoughtful decisions and actively participate in public life. Paradoxically, the second section shows that interviewees denigrate their conduct and perceive themselves as "not the true journalists" (*Dnevnik* Online Journalist A), since they rarely make "original" news, but primarily shovel in-house print content onto the web, reassemble press agency news and translate news from foreign media. On the basis of observations and interviews, the third section indicates that online journalists as members of online departments feel "underestimated" in relation to print departments, and "not regarded as equal" (*Delo* Journalist A), suggesting that institutional power has recently, at least to a degree, been reoriented because of the processes of newsroom convergence. Then, in the last section of the chapter, results are additionally discussed in the context of global trends in the reorganising and restructuring of newsrooms and assessed within the historical and social specifics of Slovenian journalism, which helps the author to elaborate on the social, political, economic and cultural implications of the empirical findings.

6.4.1 Online Journalists as Impartial Mediators of Reality

In contemporary media and journalism studies, fewer than a handful of studies compared online journalists' role perceptions with the prevailing understandings of journalism's place in public life, and the analyses did not yield significant differences (cf. Deuze and Dimoudi 2002; Qaundt *et al.* 2006). According to these studies, it seems that online journalists see their roles as a combination of the traditional mediator and interpreter role, and they have a desire to provide a platform for discussion and pluralistic analysis of issues in public life. At the same time, numerous studies (e.g. Domingo 2008b; Hermida and Thurman 2008; Dahlgren 2009a; Singer and Ashman 2009; Nip 2010) imply similar conclusions, as they suggest that journalism at traditional media organisations predominantly encounter rather shifted realities of the online environment in terms of the existing political, economic and cultural framework, and in accordance with what is often called the classical or high-modern paradigm of journalism. Interviewed online journalists from *Delo* and *Dnevnik* agree that they provide impartial, unbiased and timely renderings of reality, suggesting that they see themselves as impartial mediators of reality. At the same time, they say that they wish to act as "supervisors of the powerful" (*Dnevnik* Journalist C), but are prevented from doing so because of the requirement to constantly make and remake online news. By combining the political science approach and cultural analysis, this section more closely examines online journalists'

perceptions of their roles as journalists in society, by also focusing on how they relate to non-press news providers and in-house print journalists.

Delo and *Dnevnik* online journalists say that they provide "fast news" (*Delo* Online Journalist C), "credible information" (*Delo* Online Journalist B) and "news as concentrate" (*Dnevnik* Online Journalist C), which implies timeliness, truthiness and conciseness in their output, on the one hand, and portray themselves as timely impartial mediators of social reality. "We help them by providing fast and selected news. We narrow the frame of importance – especially on the first page. We are, in a way, a filter," says *Delo* online journalist C. A similar role is emphasised by *Dnevnik* Online Journalist D: "When something happens we need to publish it the next minute." At the same time, interviewed online journalists say that the role of online journalists does not differ from that of their in-house print colleagues. "I think the role of online journalists is the same as with other journalists – that is, informing the public," stresses *Dnevnik* online journalist C. But when it comes to actual news making, interviewees more or less agree that online journalists operate "superficially" (*Dnevnik* Online Journalist B) and "fast" (*Dnevnik* Online Journalist E), as print journalists generally provide "more analytical stories" (*Delo* Online Journalist D). Furthermore, many elaborate that online news is important because of the reach of *Delo*.si and *Dnevnik*.si, but still believe that print journalists still have the upper hand in terms of political relevance: "I think that broadcast or print journalists are taken more seriously thanwe are. Maybe trust in online journalism is not yet established amongthe public." (*Dnevnik* Online Journalist D)

Not all interviewed journalists are certain that they help people by providing such news, but they are generally sure that news on the websites of *Delo* and *Dnevnik* is an important factor in their decision-making, indicating that they understand their public roles in correspondence to the normative predispositions of classical or high-modern journalism (e.g. Erjavec, 2004; Poler Kovačič, 2005; Dahlgren, 2009; Hallin, 2009). For instance, acknowledges *Dnevnik* online journalist B, "I think that we help people by making it easier for them to decide at elections. /…/ People need us because they do not have connections to the powerful, they do not know the background like a good journalist does"., whereas *Delo* online journalist D stresses that people form their opinions on the basis of their content: "They receive facts and they make out of it what they want. /…/ With the news we provide, people can act not just like a flock of sheep, and they cannot be manipulated easily. They can make better decisions." Through their narratives, online staffers claim to provide accurate renderings of reality that exist external to journalism and its contributions in defining the

public agenda. As such they are aimed at "heterogeneous citizenry" (Dahlgren 2009a, 147), and citizens use news as a resource for participation in public life. In this sense, *Delo* online journalist C emphasises, "people form their opinions on the basis of our news, their world views, their views on politics. We are broadening their horizons." Further, a *Dnevnik* online executive editor [2010–2011] says that the role of online journalists in people's lives is "really important", as they "seek information that is important to people" and "help them decide from where to go out in the evening to political decisions".

In thisregard, the answers of interviewed online journalists do not highlight the challenges posed by "produsers" (Bruns 2009) or "users-turned-producers" (Deuze 2009b), which might downsize the central role of journalism provided by traditional media organisations, regardless of the platform. On the contrary, they predominantly see them as the "traditional 'sitting ducks' of mass media communication" (Dahlgren 2009a, 149), which are passive or at best reactive, rather than proactive. For instance, *Dnevnik* online journalist C stresses that there are possibilities for a "closer relationship with readers", but not much has been done in this regard: "As soon as you publish your item, people can write their comments underneath. /…/ I think we have a closer contact with the readers, but we do not feel we can help them in any way." (*Dnevnik* Online Journalist C) Thus, one can argue that *Delo* and *Dnevnik*'s online journalists fall within the category of "traditionalists" (2010), who maintain a hierarchal relationship between journalists and the "people formerly known as the audience" (Rosen 2006).

At the same time, analysis of interviews with online journalists reveals that they view the critical nature of classical journalism as an ideal. For the most part, interviewees indicate that holding public personalities and institutions accountable should be the primary role of journalists in society – regardless of the media platform. However, many say that established news making routines prevent them from performing as "watchdogs" (cf. Sparks 1995), or, as *Dnevnik* online journalist C puts it "supervisors of the powerful" (*Dnevnik* Journalist C). "If I had more time, I would investigate and solve some stuff. But I cannot do that. /…/ There is no money for that. /…/ We report only on events that are really important," says *Delo* online journalist C. Her *Dnevnik* colleague acknowledges: "Nobody would be against it if I performed as a watchdog, when I finish my daily shift in the online department. The question is – would I get paid?" (*Dnevnik* Online Journalist D) *Delo* online journalist A emphasises that they "should reveal stuff and control the powerful", but are unable to do so. "We can do stories in our free time, but I am sorry – I do not feel like it. I have to pay the bills at the end of the month. There is no motivation – that is the problem. Then, I ask myself – why would I

walk around and make an effort for 600 euros per month." (*ibid.*) Online journalists are editorially required to continuously provide news, and therefore they mostly adapt, recombine and recreate already published news items during their daily shift.

By combining the political science approach and cultural analysis, the section identifies dyamics between the normative and empirical, suggesting paradoxes in *Delo* and *Dnevnik* online journalists' sense-making – in relation to press and non-press news providers. Despite the fact that their news making is based mostly on "mediated monitoring" and "mimetic practices" (Boczkowski 2009, 64), which are, according to them, reducing te creativity, autonomy and originality of their work, they try to put their news making within the normative framework of Slovenian journalism – the classical or high-modern paradigm of journalism. In this sense, they imply their membership of the "we" journalistic community, yet, as the next section shows, they do not feel like "true" journalists (*Delo* Online Journalist C; *Dnevnik* Online Journalist C), indicating identification problems in their sense-making and that theydo not feel like fully-fledged members of the journalistic community.

6.4.2 Online Journalists as Not the "True" Journalists

By analysing online newswork, media and journalism scholars from different countries (cf. Deuze and Paulussen 2002; Deuze 2007; Quandt 2008; García 2008) identify self-deprecation among online staffers. Phrases such as "secondhand journalists" (Quandt 2008, 89), "kid brothers" of print journalists (García 2008, 73), and "desktop" journalists (Deuze and Paulussen 2002, 241) indicate that self-deprecation derives from the established computer-bound processes of online news making. Analysis of in-depth interviews among members of the *Delo* and *Dnevnik* online departments show that, for the most part,they do not see themselves as "true" journalists (*Delo* Online Journalist B), as they more or less agree that their news making lacks originality, is monotonous and only rarely provides intellectual challenges. The study of online journalists' answers also indicates that they have, as *Delo* online journalist C says, "internalised" (*Delo* Online Journalist C) assessments that online journalism is "less valuable" than print journalism, which negatively shapes their approach to online news making. In thisregard, by considering the political science as well as the cultural studies approach to online journalists' roles, this section identifies the reasons why *Delo* and *Dnevnik* online journalists do not see themselves as "true" journalists, and reconsiders the implications of their perceptions and established processes of news making for their status within the "prestigious brands" (Deuze 2008a, 206) of *Delo* and *Dnevnik*.

"What we do is not actually true journalism. It is more technical work, or – how should I say it – I get the information and recreate the story a little. Print journalists go out and do true journalisticwork," says *Delo* online journalist C. Similar admissions are made by many *Dnevnik* online staffers, for instance: "I think what we do is not really journalistic work. Well, it is, in the sense that we select what items to translate. So, it is actually translating. /…/ However, it is not easy dealing with many different subjects every day." (*Dnevnik* Online Journalist C) These are only two examples of many that suggest that online journalists at *Delo* and *Dnevnik* do not see themselves as the "true" journalists, despite the fact that, rather paradoxically, they see their role in people's lives in accordance with the normatively established classical or high-modern paradigm of journalism.Phrases such as "copy-and-pasters" (*Delo* Online Journalists A, B, D; *Dnevnik* Online Journalist A, B), "translators" (*Dnevnik* Online Journalist C), "journalists in quotation marks" (*Dnevnik* Online Journalist D), "news stampers" (*Delo* Online Journalist C), "robots" (*ibid.*) and "recyclers" (*Delo* Online Journalist E) indicate what online journalists explicitly stress – that they do not regard their work as "intellectually challenging" (*Dnevnik* Online Journalist A) or as "cognitive work" (*Delo* Online Journalist A). "Everything is always done in the same fashion and motion – it is like working for a factory. It gets boring. There is different information, of course, but essentially the work is the same each day," points out *Dnevnik* online journalist A, and implies that the work they do in online departments resembles the monotony of manual work. When characterising online newswork, *Delo* Journalist A and *Dnevnik* Journalist A use the metaphor of the "assembly line" and the "factory" to imply that the work they do resembles the monotony of manual work. In this context, some said that they feel "alienated" from the story they write (*Delo* Journalist A) and "distanced" from the people in the stories (*Dnevnik* Journalist C), since they are stuck in the "assembly line" (*Dnevnik* Online Journalist A). For instance, *Delo* online journalist B stresses: "when you start working as an online journalist, you notice really fast that you do not have a lot to do with the story itself. You are just recreating what is already there. /…/ I'd say we make secondary news." (*Delo* Online Journalist B) The monotony of online news making is also evoked in answers from the *Delo* newsroom integration manager [2011–], "In the online department we have negros who are throwing information onto the web with a shovel and have no other options. /…/ There is no playtime, no creativity and so on."

As assessed in the previous parts of Chapter 6 observations, the observational data confirms that online journalists at *Delo* and *Dnevnik* hardly provide "original" news on the basis of active information-seeking, but predominantly adapt the content of in-house print

colleagues for the web, recombine or simply copy-and-paste press agency news, and recreate or just translate news from foreign media. For instance, *Delo* online journalist A says that they have a hard time dealing with the requirement to constantly provide timely news: "We should be like print journalists and go into the field, but we are not. We have to do it as fast as possible. /…/ We are copy-and-pasters. We do not make any original news." In this sense, *Delo* online journalist B elaborates that they do "sloppy" and "unserious" journalism, "You often have to act fast, which consequently brings mistakes. /…/ The amount of news is sometimes so big that you just throw items onto the web." (*Delo* Online Journalist B) Further, when asked if they verify the information they use in their items, nobody replied with an affirmative answer. "We generally do not verify the information we publish. In theory I should do that, of course – that is, follow truth and transparency, but if I did that, I would not publish anything besides the stories I write myself." (*Dnevnik* Online Journalist A) A similar explanation is provided by *Dnevnik* online journalist D, who has hardly ever verified gathered news while making news for *Dnevnik*.si.

> *I verify information if there is something really weird. Otherwise, I mostly do not verify all the information I provide, because there is too much of it. That is the problem with this journalism, in quotation marks, because you rely on already published news. Today a reader called to say that there was a mistake in one of our items. It so happened that STA published something that did not happen and we just took it for granted.* (*Dnevnik* Online Journalist D)

Another telling detail revealing the industrial nature of online news making is that some *Delo* and *Dnevnik* online journalists use tools like *Google Translate* to work faster: "I also use *Google* to get the meaning of the word right, when I translate foreign news. /…/ Sometimes translations are difficult and I use such tools for help." (*Dnevnik* Online Journalist B) Newsroom observations reveal that not all online staffers use translating tools while recombining news from foreign news websites, but online dictionaries appear to be a necessity for online news making at *Delo* and *Dnevnik*.

In this sense, online journalists say that their news making differs considerably from the image of journalism they had before they became online staffers at *Delo* and *Dnevnik*. "I imagined that I would go out into the field. Now I sit in the newsroom and write about stuff I did not attend," acknowledges *Delo* online journalist C, who, like her colleague from *Dnevnik*, stresses that online journalism is foremost "a desk job" (*Dnevnik* Online Journalist

E). In particular, those journalists who worked as journalists in print or broadcast newsrooms believe the computer-bound and "copy-and-paste" (*Dnevnik* Online Journalist D; *Delo* Online Journalist A) nature of online news making is problematic. For instance: "this is not the journalism I pictured. I worked before as a journalist and I know that there is also something else. Here it is often just copy-and-paste. There is a constant rush. There is no time to get more engaged with the text. /…/ I do not picture doing this in five years from now." (*Dnevnik* Online Journalist D)

Furthermore, analysis of in-depth interviews indicates that *Delo* and *Dnevnik* online staffers agree with the status of "a special breed" (Colson and Heinderyckx 2008), and that some have "internalised" (*Delo* Online Journalist C) assessments that online news making and its outcomes are "less valuable" that those of in-house print colleagues. In this sense, some say that the printed newspaper has a "higher status" than the news website, and that they have a "more serious approach" (*Dnevnik* Online Journalist C, D) and make a "bigger effort" (*Dnevnik* Online Journalist C) when they make news for the print edition.

> *If they asked me to do a piece for the print edition of Dnevnik, I would take it more seriously. I would take it 100-per-cent seriously. Well, here at the online department I come to work and I do not feel any pressure. Everything is calm – I sit here calmly and I work calmly. /.../ When I write for Dnevnik.si I do a reasonably good item, but if I worked for the print edition it would have to be on a much higher level.* (*Dnevnik* Online Journalist C)

The study, based mostly on analysed interview data, thus suggests that encouraging values of productivity and efficiency and downsizing the values of authenticity and creativity has led to self-deprecation among *Delo* and *Dnevnik* online journalists, as they stress that they "are not taken seriously" (*Delo* Online Journalists D) within their respective organisations – by themselves and by others. The cultural analysis of online journalists' self-perceptions implies that journalism is a "restrictive practice" (2008, 43) designed to keep outsiders out of journalism and the "we" community. In this sense, it seems that interviewed online journalists undergo what Deuze (2008a, 206) calls "the typical migrant experience" – not feeling as if they are part of their "home country" anymore, but at the same time never fully accepted by their "host country" either.

6.4.3 Online Journalists as Institutionally Downgraded Newsworkers

Many media and journalism studies scholars (e.g. Deuze and Paulussen 2002; Deuze 2007, 2008a; Quandt 2008; García 2008; Colson and Heinderyckx 2008; Project for Excellence in Journalism 2009) indicate that online journalists have a lower status in traditional media organisations and have, in these terms, internalised what Deuze (2008a, 206) calls "unfinished identity". Namely, according to the authors, these identification troubles derive from the fact that they work for a prestigious media organisation, but are not acknowledged as fully-fledged members. Interviewed online journalists from *Delo* and *Dnevnik* say they feel unequal in relation to print staffers, as they feel they "look down" on them (*Dnevnik* Online Journalist B), that they are "forgotten" by the main decision-makers in the newsroom (*Delo* Online Journalist A), and they "do not feel socially secure at all", as they make news in flexible work relations (*Dnevnik* Online Journalist A). However, many interviewed online journalists appear torn between being content with their employment status "for the time being" (*Dnevnik* Online Journalist E), on the one hand, and being highly critical of their jobs, which are regarded by the president of the *Delo* board as a "career opportunity" (*Delo* Online Executive Editor [2010–] and *Delo* Newsroom Integration Manager [2011–]). According to in-depth interviews, online journalists feel they are institutionally downgraded, but at the same time they stress that many things improved when *Delo* and *Dnevnik* started the processes of newsroom convergence, as they are now "closer to the action" (*Delo* Online Journalist B) and print colleagues now "see" them (*Dnevnik* Online Journalist B). By adopting a cultural perspective on the institutional status of online journalists, this section reconsiders the perceived reasons why *Delo* and *Dnevnik* online journalists are seen as institutionally downgraded newsworkers and their sense-making in regards to their role as journalists in society.

It seems that, at least to a degree, self-deprecation among the journalists interviewed derives from their weak institutional status in terms of power relations, as assessed in greater depth in the first and second parts of Chapter 6.Interviewees acknowledge that, as an online department, they feel unequal in relation to print departments. A bBunch of students" (*Delo* Online Journalist C), "copying clerks" (*Dnevnik* Online Journalist C), "secondary journalists" (*Dnevnik* Online Journalist A), "pendants" (*Delo* Online Journalist C), "copy-and-paste journalists" and "translators" (*Delo* Online Journalist E) are just some of the phrases used by online journalists to describe what print journalists' perceptions of online departments are like. According to interviewees, there are three reasons for online departments' deprived

institutional status. First, the industrial nature of online newswork is not regarded as journalistic by print counterparts, say interviewed online journalists. For instance, "they look down on us. The first reason for this is definitely the way we report the news – we provide only secondary news, which is not regarded as proper journalistic output." (*Dnevnik* Journalist B) Thus, says *Delo* Online Journalist E, "many online staffers are offended, because print colleagues see us as copy-and-paste journalists and translators." Second, there is a prevailing conservative mindset within print departments towards technological innovation and new economic models, interviewed online journalists generally agree. For example, "some print journalists regard us as a bunch of students. It is constantly implied that 'old-school' print journalism is the real thing. Nothing will change till online journalists become older." (*Delo* Online Journalist C) *Delo* online journalist A makes a similar point: "I think that *Delo* is a typical case of an old mentality prevailing and that print is the most important. This will not change until we, the young ones, get to the decision-making positions." Third, interviewed online journalists imply that print journalists fear that stronger online departments could threaten their jobs and the existence of print newspapers. "Print readership is falling considerably and online readership is rising. They are afraid of a stronger online department. That is another reason for their resistance. /…/ Furthermore, the board does not believe in the online department. It is completely clear – we can only sit, laugh and wait. What else is there we can do?" (*Dnevnik* Online Journalist C)

In addition, interviews indicate that online journalists believe that online departments' shortage of institutional power lies in a lack of vision of how to develop journalism online, and in the absence of a consolidated economic model for the internet, which results in red numbers for the online department and modest financial investments in staff and technology. Interviewees say that the online department has "marginal importance" in the eyes of management at *Dnevnik* (*Dnevnik* Online Journalist B), and is "forgotten" by the print editor-in-chief at *Delo* (*Delo* Online Journalist A). "If the editor-in-chief passes by without even saying 'hello', then why would print journalists act differently – we are mistreated." (*Delo* Journalist A) They say that an indicator of the "irrelevant" role of onloine staffers in the newsroom (*Dnevnik* Online Journalist E) is the lack of feedback *Delo* and *Dnevnik* online journalists receive on their news making and its outputs: "I do not get any feedback – not from within *Delo*.si, let alone the print edition," says *Delo* online journalist B, whereas *Dnevnik* online journalist E stresses: "I do not receive much feedback –neither from the print department, nor from the online executive editor. /…/ After the first month, she praised my work saying that the people up top said I am doing okay. And that has been it." Those higher

up in the formal decision-making structure explain the narratives of the interviewed online journalists only by saying that their "core business is still the print edition" (*Dnevnik* Online Executive Editor [2010–2011]) and therefore "the best journalists in the house predominantly write for the print edition" (*Delo* Print Editor-in-Chief [2010–]).

The "perpetual in-between status" (Deuze 2008a, 206) of *Delo* and *Dnevnik* online journalists, who work almost shoulder to shoulder with their print colleagues, but are not regarded as equals, does not have implications for identification processes in online departments, but is interwoven with "the dying culture of paid producers" (Deuze and Fortunati 2011, 175).Online staffers also say that they feel institutionally downgraded in terms of employment status, because none of the online journalists at *Delo* and *Dnevnik* is employed on a permanent basis. Since they all have risk-laden, temporary and open employment status, many "atypical workers" (International Federation of Journalists 2006) admit that they do not feel secure as workers, and stress they have personal financial difficulties as "below-the-line labour" (Deuze 2008a). For instance, *Dnevnik* online journalist E characterises his employment status as "really weird", since he works without a formal contract defining his duties and rights.

> It could happen that the boss would pass by and say that they do not need me anymore. The end. /…/ *We had this after-new-year's party, and the president of the board made a speech saying that Dnevnik offers you security. I thought, 'Really funny, indeed'. I do not have the right to seek leave or any other paid leave. Let's say I get run over by a car and I cannot walk for three months. What happens? I do not get any money for the time being, and they will probably find somebody else to do my work.* (*Dnevnik* Online Journalist E)

Furthermore, at *Dnevnik*, none of the online journalists has a formal contract. Some interviewees see such work arrangements as "exploitation" (*Dnevnik* Online Journalist C) and generally agree that they should change. The *Dnevnik* online executive editor [2010–] says that "*Dnevnik* does not have any intention of employing people regularly – regardless of which department they work for" and admits that she is aware that online staffers are working without a contract.

> *There are students in our department who we are not going to employ. They should first graduate. /.../ Then, there are people who like temporary employment, because*

> *they enjoy this way of life. /.../ I agree employment should be formalised with a document. I agree – this should be taken care of. /.../ Why is that so? The board has the answer. I would like to solve these problems, but these are orders coming from the very top of the company.* (*Dnevnik* Online Executive Editor [2010–2011])

At *Delo*, only the online executive editor and online redakteurs have regular employment, while other staffers work there as students or have a temporary contract for a year. Despite the fact that, formally, their status appears to be in accordance with legislation, this is not the case, since *Delo*'s online journalists do not have the right either to paid or sick leave, which troubles the online journalists interviewed.

> *I try to negotiate five days of paid leave for them. I do it by myself, they do not know that I am doing that. I think it is fair that those who work every day get some bonuses. /.../ They get paid for the work they do. /.../ Regarding sick leave, we have reached an agreement; if they are sick, they work from home. If they are sick to the extent that they cannot work from home, then others have to replace them and they do not get paid.* (*Delo* online executive editor [2010–] and *Delo* Newsroom Integration Manager [2011–])

Paradoxically, analysis of interviews shows that "internet workers" (*Dnevnik* Online Journalist E),despite such an employment status, are for the most part not dissatisfied with their work relations – at leastfor the time being. "I work here as a student. I get a fee. Since I have not done all the exams yet at the faculty, I am satisfied with my job and with my status at *Dnevnik*. But if I graduate and nothing changes, then I would not be satisfied," says *Dnevnik* online journalist B, whereas, for instance, *Delo* online journalist D says that, in principle, she is not satisfied with her employment status. "But, if you look at it another way, I have graduated, and now I have already been working at *Delo* for two years. Most of my peers have not finished their studies or are still finding their way. /…/ But otherwise, you do not know what is going to happen the next day." (*Delo* Online Journalist D) Thus, interviewees' answers imply that they agree with the rules of "atypical work", which means all kinds of freelance, casualised, informal and other contingent arrangements that effectively individualise newsworkers' rights or claims regarding any of the services offered (cf. Deuze and Marjoribanks 2009; Deuze 2008b, 2009; Deuze and Fortunati 2011).

Interviewees imply the institutional downgrading is caused by the fact that *Delo* and *Dnevnik* do not know how to make profit online, and they are afraid of investing more resources in technological innovations, more experienced journalistic staff and "original" online news making. However, there seems to be a consensus among the interviewed that the institutional status of online departments in relation to print departments has slightly improved in the course of newsroom integration projects. Despite the fact, say interviewees, that the goal of newsroom integration is far from realised, they agree that many things have improved. The *Delo* and *Dnevnik* online departments are not shunned any more, as they are "closer to the action" (*Delo* Online Journalist C) in the integrated newsroom at *Delo*, and they do not feel like "a bunch of lepers" (*Dnevnik* Online Journalist A) in the new office across the corridor from the central desk. However, as assessed in the previous parts of the chapter, processes of news making and the online department's position within the newsroom have changed only to a degree: "If the relationship improved, we, the online journalists improved it. It was not our editor or print editor-in-chief." (*Dnevnik* Online Journalist C) Now, they say print colleagues are at least "aware that we are there" (*Delo* Online Journalist C), and have started to "cooperate more". Observations at *Delo* and *Dnevnik* confirm that both groups of online journalists occasionally make news for the printed publications, online news is regularly reassembled for newspapers and their supplements and vice versa, and online and print journalists collaborate in covering a story for both platforms. Yet, according to data gathered by both ethnographic methods, cross-departmental cooperation has primarily been the result of collaboration grounded in the occasional common interests of individuals, and the embracing of online journalists as full members of the newsroom has been only partial, without any systemic dynamism. Thus, there are not many indications that the online journalists' status of institutionally grounded newsworkers is fading – not just yet, at least.

7. DISCUSSION

In his study of how global trends in online journalism are manifesting themselves in Slovenian print media organisations, the author shows that the changes occurring are not only triggered and determined by technological innovation, but also by the merging of the "old" and the "new" in structures, practices, relations and perceptions embedded in social dynamics between the global and the local. The integrative nature of the ethnographic case study yields analytical insights into the flexibilising of online newswork, the restructuring of newsrooms and the reorganising of online departments, novelties in online news making, and the problems of online journalists' self-perceptions at the two leading Slovenian print media organisations, *Delo* and *Dnevnik*. By embedding a contemporary focus within a historical perspective, the dissertation situates descriptively dense but contextualised case studies within the larger dynamics of the media environment. In this regard, the dissertation shows that journalism's role in society, the nature of news making and newswork negotiations have gone through considerable transformations since the arrival of the internet, most notably its graphical interface the World Wide Web, yet there is evidence of clear references to the past when tensions between structure and agency in the online journalism of Slovenian print media organisations are investigated. The contemporary dynamics of Slovenian online journalism, which are conceptually rooted in the recent past and projected into the imagined future, not only have manifold implications for journalism and social communication, but at the same time reflect broader processes and relations in late modern society.

This chapter recapitulates the main empirical findings and analytical insights introduced in the dissertation, debates the wider implications of the study for journalism, communication and society, and discusses the advantages and drawbacks of the dissertation's theoretical and methodological frameworks. The discussion is divided into four parts, where each part elaborates the findings concerned with the relevant research question. The findings in these parts are discussed in the context of contemporary media and journalism and explained in regards to the historical development of Slovenian journalism and through the larger contemporary societal prisms signalling the theoretical and methodological contributions of the dissertation, but at the same time exposing gaps in the research that could be overcome in future investigations. Each part also suggests steps for the further development of online journalism in Slovenia that might help traditional print media organisations, most notably *Delo* and *Dnevnik*, to cope with the manifold societal complexities of the contemporary media environment.

7.1 Fluid Flexibility of Online Newswork

When dealing with the **first research question**, of *how global trends in the evolution of online newswork are manifested in the Slovenian print media*, the study locates dynamics between the structural forces patterned in newswork arrangements and individual online journalists' performance in general, and stresses that they reflect wider social discontinuities in online newswork development (e.g. Boczkowski 2004a; Scott 2005; Pavlik 2008; Freedman 2010; Wright-Lee *et al.* 2012). Specifically, by combining a critical-economic perspective on media, a social-organisational approach to journalism and historical inquiry into online journalism, the study indicates reactive rather than proactive, defensive rather than progressive, and pragmatic rather than idealistic approaches towards the appropriation of journalistic as well as business goals beyond ink on paper. In this sense, the study reveals that online news projects have often been concerned with the short-term success of products that related to what decision-makers have seen as primary business, rather than with the uncertain possibilities of more experimental projects that might only pan out in the longterm. Online newswork as an individual or collective action of editorial work enforced by the ownership has been restored at *Delo* and *Dnevnik* to a more "tried-and-tested response" (Freedman 2010, 41) to uncertain conditions – that is, saving money through cutting costs and increasing productivity, efficiency and flexibility.

The study indicates that, throughout its development, online newswork at *Delo* and *Dnevnik* has been defined by what Splichal (2005a) calls the "industrialization of journalism", where the cognitive nature of work has been eroded and turned into a highly routinised and rationalised practice, the editorial flow of online departments has been predictable and rather tardy, and the work status of online journalists have been negotiated as that of pauperised relations. Additionally, in these terms and on the basis of the study, this part of the discussion reflects on the development of online newswork at the respective print media organisations in terms of what can be called fluid flexibility, indicating that newsworkers are continually subject to change at short notice, and at the same time this change cannot sustain a shearing force when at rest. At the same time, this part also sketches out suggestions for Slovenian print media organisations for the further development of online newswork, and by exposing the advantages and shortcomings of the study elaborates on future avenues of newswork development inquiry.

In this context, the study shows that the online projects at *Delo* and *Dnevnik* appear as a "necessary evil" (*Delo* Online Executive Editor [2004–2009]), where the dynamics between continuity and change have resulted in the shunning of individual online newsworkers [mid-1990s–early 2000s], the institutional ghettoising of online departments [mid-2000s–late 2000s], and the flexibilising of online newswork [late 2000s–early 2010s]. Thus, *Delo* and *Dnevnik* seem to be what Deuze (2008b) calls "zombie institutions" – alive, but dead at the same time. Instead of providing a consensual function in public life, such living-dead entities blind journalism to the rapidly changing communication environment inside the naturalised framework of "economic realities" and "business imperatives" (Freedman 2010, 50). In the Slovenian context, public life and the media within it are being shaped in the forge of the "capitalist enlightenment" (Splichal 1995) following the fall of socialism, where capitalist logics of journalism and technology, and the idealistic automatism between power, property and work resemble particular patterns of societal transition. However, in interviews and during observations, the oft-mentioned "fear of cannibalisation" within both organisations and the "self-insufficiency" of online departments are arguments that are paradoxically chosen to ignore the fact that the news industry has always been subject to multiple forms of financial, political and regulatory intervention and various forms of subsidies, highlighting the "imperfect nature of the market" (Freedman 2010, 50). In this context, the patterns of "pauperization of journalism" (Splichal 2005a) also identified in the study of *Delo* and *Dnevnik*, where online journalists work in individualised, flexible and risk-laden settings and unpredictable work environments, seem increasingly problematic – reflecting wider societal realities, but at the same time contributing new implications.

The study indicates that the historical development of online newswork at *Delo* and *Dnevnik* over the last decade and a half – from settling on the web, the hedging of online journalism to the flexibilising of online newsworkers – resembles the patterns of what Sennett (1998) calls the "new economy" or "flexible capitalism", characterised by a transition from "evils of blind routine" to "workforce flexibility". If online newswork at *Delo* and *Dnevnik* was first done routinely by individual journalists redeployed from other departments [mid-1990s–early 2000s], and later by dislocated and separate units of online staffers performing almost bureaucratic newswork [mid-2000s–late 2000s], over the last few years there has been an attempt to converge the online departments *Delo.si* and *Dnevnik.si* and other parts of both newsrooms, implying a multidirectional editorial workflow, a mutual relationship between print and online departments, flexible processes of news making and risky work relations [late 2000s–early 2010]. In this sense, the emphasis is on "flexibility", as "workers are asked to

behave nimbly, to be open to change on short notice, to take risks continually, to become ever less dependent on regulations and formal procedures" (Sennett 1998, 9). Thus, the ethnographic study at *Delo* and *Dnevnik* shows that, as a result of defensive pragmatism, the flexibilising of online newswork lacked strategic oversight, resulting in flexibility being applied only in principle, as it has been lent primary importance in annual editorial programmes (cf. Delo 2010), and consequently gaining what Bauman (2000, 1) names "fluid" quality. In this sense, *fluid flexibility* "cannot sustain a tangential, or shearing, force when at rest" and so undergoes "a continuous change in shape when subjected to such a stress" (*ibid.*).

The unsteady nature of flexibility significantly shapes online newswork at *Delo* and *Dnevnik*, where online staffers are "left on their own" (*Delo* Online Redakteur [2004–2007, 2010]) in a continuously changing newswork environment, where the decentralisation of power and space results in unclear and transforming relations between staffers and departments and also brings processes of news making that can be subjected to change at any time. In this respect, despite the proclaimed idea of integration, online departments have emerged as separate and rather disorganised units of staffers still nurturing highly routinised processes in order to meet the demands for speed and comply with a holistic understanding of news making. Furthermore, the editorial workflow remains rather linear and flat, where cross-departmental cooperation is in principle welcomed, but hardly ever coordinated, leaving cooperation between print and online to enthusiastic individuals. Fluid flexibility is also characteristic of online journalists' employment status, which informally resembles regular employment, but is formally negotiated as irregular and therefore open and risky. Since the *Delo* and *Dnevnik* online departments are mostly populated by newcomers and young journalists, a generation gap appears not only in terms of technological know-how (cf. Boczkowski 2004a) but also employment prospects (cf. Deuze and Marjoribanks 2009). In this context, fluid flexibility is a constitutive part of the socialisation process of online journalists at *Delo* and *Dnevnik*, where working for online departments appears to be structurally trapped within a continuous cycle of promotions and sanctions. Such a structural gap between generations is articulated by polarisation among interviewees – on the one hand, decision-makers understand online journalism as a "career opportunity" (*Delo* Online Executive Editor [2010–] and *Delo* Newsroom Integration Manager [2011–]), whereas, on the other hand, members of online departments see their work as something they "do not picture doing in five years from now" (*Dnevnik* Online Journalist D). In this regard, the periodisation of online newswork at Slovenian print media organisations clearly shows patterns of Sennett's (1998, 47) "flexible capitalism", where the "pursuit of flexibility has produced new structures

of power and control, rather than created the conditions which set us free", but because of its fluid quality, flexibility itself is subjected to change, leaving online journalists in disarray regarding editorial workflow, cross-departmental cooperation and employment status and making them resort to highly routinised news making processes that lack authenticity, creativity and autonomy, in order to cope with the required immediacy, which does not bring much vividness to online journalism as a business, let alone to the communicative dynamics of public life.

In this sense, the dual nature of news – being both a business product and public service – has not been adapted to late modern communication as defined by the heterogeneity, individualisation and fragmentation which decisively shape the dynamics between continuity and change at *Delo* and *Dnevnik*. Innovation has in these terms been grounded in market logics, resulting in tardy online editorial flow, mechanised online news making and a pauperised employment status for online staffers. As the dissertation indicates, throughout the history of Slovenian journalism, innovations in newswork have always been articulated within a specific conception of progress and within the relationship with specific political-economic power – whether its transformation of the full-time craft of an individual into the modern collective action of editorial work in the latter half of the 19th century and early 20th century, or its negotiation as publicly managed socio-political work during the period of socialist self-management. Thus, the development of newswork and its innovative evolution is not technologically determined, but defined and triggered in a specific social constellation where "better" ideas, processes and products have been created in accordance with established paradigms of cooperation among people and particular power interests. In this sense, the development of online newswork at Slovenian print media organisations is embedded in relations between property, power and progress, reflecting social relations and processes during the "capitalist enlightenment" (Splichal 1995). The historical position of newswork between its structural location and its individual aspect de-emphasises structural determinism, at least to a degree, and enforces organisational strategy in the development of this individual or collective action of editorial work – also as a progressive force.

Therefore, *Delo* and *Dnevnik* should strive to change the course of online newswork development in order to overcome the "zombie" (Deuze 2008b) nature of their online news projects, and should strategically realise that the threat to journalism is not the web or the proliferation of online departments, but the lack of investment in cross-departmental cooperation. Specifically, the long-term future of *Delo.si* and *Dnevnik.si* rests on informed creativity, autonomy and the responsibility of print and online staffers and decision-makers,

but also on strategic investments – in technology, resources and particularly journalists, redakteurs and editors, which has hardly been the case over the last decade or so. Without such strategic change, online journalism at *Delo* and *Dnevnik* will not be able to go beyond the traditional economic framework invented after the fall of socialism, and emerge either as an important facilitator of processes in public life or as a responsive actor in an uncertain print media market.

In this context, the ethnographic study of the development of online newswork among Slovenian print media indicates some benefits and also perils resulting from the analytical approaches and decisions taken.The study identifies the paradoxes of fluid flexibility in the development of online newswork at *Delo* and *Dnevnik*, which contribute to scholarly and expert thought on the subject, but at the same time this signals that the conceptualisation of newswork as an individual and collective action in editorial processes defined in the dynamics between the structural predispositions of the established logic of cooperation among people and organisational constraints enforced by media owners, management and newsroom decision-makers appears insufficient, at least to a degree, thus inviting further scholarly attention – in terms of theoretical reconsiderations of (online) newswork as a social phenomenon and the methodological reframing of (online) newswork as the object of study.

Thus, despite the fact that, by combining critical-economic and social-organisational approachez in the historical inquiry, the dissertation built a rather robust theoreticalfoundation, this very framework also appears somewhat limiting for theory-building – due to what Boczkowski (2011, 162) calls the "theoretically tributary or derivative stance", which has also been characteristic of recent research into online journalism (e.g. Paterson and Domingo 2008; Fenton 2010; Domingo and Paterson 2011; Meikele and Redden 2011; Singer *et al.* 2011). In this sense, future scholarship on online newswork development may strive for primary theoretical work, in other words, that it should start borrowing more extensively from theoretical sources of other areas, for instance, the contemporary sociology of work, and in return contribute back to these theoretical sources and to journalism studies. Such a theoretical expansion would open up new and exciting directions for online journalism researchers to take, developing a conceptual toolkit more responsive to the late modern contingencies of (news)work and revealing opportunities for new analytical approaches in journalism scholarship. Additionally, by combining three ethnographic methods in developing the periodisation of online newswork development, the dissertation enables the author to investigate beyond the present time and on one level of inquiry only, whether macro, micro or local. However, by focusing exclusively on "online" and dealing with "print", when it

mattered for the former in data collection, and later in assembling and analysing data, the empirical study sketches only part of the picture at the respective print media organisations. This might be overcome if editorial work, news making processes, the relationship between departments and the employment status of journalists are investigated over time and across existing platforms at the media organization under study. Furthermore, the respective case studies do not allow for generalisations across the news industry, and so it is hard to argue whether the findings are particular to online newswork development in Slovenia or across locales. Thus, context-oriented tests of some of the findings are very much needed in future explorations of (online) newswork development – particularly comparative analyses of Slovenian organisations with those active across borders.

7.2 Mimetic Originality in the Newsroom

When focusing on the **second research question**, of *how the recent reorganisations and restructurings of newsrooms have shaped the gathering, assembling and provision of news for the websites of Slovenian print media organisations*, the study at *Delo* and *Dnevnik* shows that traditions of spatial arrangement, division of work and editorial control are becoming increasingly blurred in contemporary print media organisations, as a result of the integration of spaces, technologies and staffers in order to counter growing uncertainties on the print media markets and gradual technological advancement in the gathering, assembling and provision of news. In this sense, by taking the social-organisational approach to the dynamics between structure and agency in the newsroom, the study confirms previous studies (e.g. Boczkowski 2004a, 2004b; Klinenberg 2005; Dupagne and Garrison 2006; Deuze 2007; Avilés and Carvajal 2008; Quinn 2009; Verweij 2009; Avilés *et al.* 2009; Domingo 2011) which indicate that the organising of journalism is an ongoing process embedded in a particular context, rather than a static framework of journalism arrangement. However, these changes are not uniform across media organisations, but are the results of context-related tensions between the global and the local, and between technology and journalism, which influence how organisational structures and conditions shape the processes, dynamics and relations of news making. Additionally, in these regards and on the basis of the findings, this part of the chapter argues that contested traditions and encouraged transitions in the newsrooms of the respective Slovenian print media organisations are mimetic in their originality, signalling that innovations brought about by pursuing global trends of newsroom convergence are imitating the division of work, editorial control and cross-departmental

relations of traditional decentralised newsrooms, primarily because of economic factors. At the same time, this part also provides suggestions on how strategically to organise and structure newsrooms at Slovenian print media organisations and, by exposing the benefits and perils of the study, it elaborates on possible new conceptual and analytical developments.

The study indicates how the fading tradition of decentralised newsroom structure and organisation in Slovenia is turning into two rather distinctive models of newsroom convergence, and how the global trend of bringing together formerly separate spaces, technologies and staff is manifested in integrating spatial arrangements, rather chaotic work divisions and loose editorial control in both online departments. These dynamics not only significantly restructure the organisation of online news making at *Delo* and *Dnevnik* towards departments with a low level of hierarchal and horizontal structure, but also indicate the marginal status of online departments within both print media organisations, due to the absence of strategic orientation towards achieving specific journalistic or business goals with the respective online projects. In this sense, the study shows, on the one hand, that the process of newsroom convergence is not uniform across organisations, let alone locales, and, on the other, that, despite differences in understandings and applications, the *Delo* and *Dnevnik* newsroom integration projects lack strategy and oversight, relying instead on what Boczkowski (2004a, 102) calls "mimetic originality".

According to the study, there is a lack of strategic orientation towards specific goals – whether journalistic or business, an absence of attempts to re-establish order and structure in the newsroom, and a deficit in the coordination of activities and resources towards clear aims for the *Delo* and *Dnevnik* newsroom convergence projects, indicating that "nothing, I am saying nothing, has changed in recent years" (*Delo* Director of Informatics [2011–]) in respect of online departments. Despite the spatial closeness at *Dnevnik* and the spatial proximity at *Delo*, both online departments remain somewhere between the Central European tradition of the decentralised newsroom (e.g. Esser 1998; Wilke 2003; Deuze 2007) and their institutional ghettoization of the mid-2000s, on the one hand, and the imagined positive outcomes of newsroom convergence written in the annual plans of editors and management in the late 2000s and early 2010s (e.g. Delo 2008a, 2010), on the other. In thisregard, the mimetic originality of *Delo* and *Dnevnik* newsroom convergence projects results in disorganised online departments with a rather low division of work and with weak editorial control, where the formal structure of authority does not correspond to actual newswork organisation, where "the ideology of everybody has to do everything" (Altmeppen 2008) prevails, and where the quality of online journalism is diminished due to the requirements for speedy news making.

However, the study shows that there is evidence of cross-departmental cooperation that is not triggered by "business imperatives" (Freedman 2010, 50), but rather by an awareness of journalism's fundamental role – "to link citizens to political life" (Dahlgren 2009a, 150). Yet, such instances are not strategically encouraged, but are left to individuals in the rather chaotic dynamics between structure and agency at the respective "zombie" (Deuze 2008b) organisations.

In this sense, the study reveals that the processes of newsroom convergence at the respective organisations reflect what Giddens (2002), at the level of society,sees as a "runaway world", where all the traditional building-blocks of societal processes appear in transition, as people try to catch up with structurally enforced change.Specifically, in order to respond to growing uncertainties in the print media markets and the loss of authority as news providers in digitalised news relay, *Delo* and *Dnevnik* have started following the worldwide trend of newsroom convergence in an attempt to cut the costs of cross-departmental news making and at the same time provide more responsive news for different platforms. From the global perspective, the trend of newsroom convergence, accelerating the dynamics between continuity and change, indicates a strengthening of the "risk consciousness" (Beck 2000), signaling an increase in levels of existential doubt within the news industry, as media organisations become more cognisant of the future. However, in both cases the study shows that processes of transition from the local tradition of the decentralised newsroom towards the global trend of integrating workspace, staff and technologies have, both at *Delo* and *Dnevnik*, lacked a plan of action designed to achieve either business or journalistic goals, aside from providing spatial closeness– particularly when online departments are considered. Despite indications of the principle of "constant modernization" (Bauman 2000b), the findings suggest that there is managerial and editorial disinterest in online news projects, there is no established or accepted order and structure within online departments and in relations with them, and there is no coordination of activities and resources when it comes to online news making, particularly due to the absence of a development strategy.

Nevertheless, in this context it seems that the tradition of decentralised newsrooms that has historically developed in the Slovenian press is being reshaped – not as an outcome of print media organizations' attempts to reinvent the newsroom tradition, but through re-routinisation via the individualisation with which institutional factors are losing their substance and relevance. Thus, findings from the newsrooms do not indicate deterioration of tradition, but rather what Giddens (2002) names "detraditionalization", where individuals – in the case of this dissertation online journalists – are themselves called upon to exercise

authority in the face of the disorder and contingency which is thereby generated. Specifically, the low division of work and weak editorial control, to a degree, resemble the tradition of decentralised newswork, but at the same time indicate Sennett's (1998a, 55) acknowledgment that traditional forms of control – pyramidal hierarchies – are being replaced by "shapeless domination" – in the case of *Delo.si* and *Dnevnik.si*, informal power relations shape the division of work, the nature of control and the nature of decision-making.Thus, due to the chaotic dynamics between structure and agency defined by work which has been minced into an array of processes, and editorial control shaped by the disappearance of deadlines, online departments do not seem able to cope with the requirements to provide immediate and at the same time relevant and creative accounts of events. In this sense, it appears that *Delo* and *Dnevnik* are not adequately responding to the *runaway media environment* of late modern society, as they lack not only strategy, but also goals – business and journalistic – to go beyond ink on paper.

In this context, it seems that the newsroom convergence processes at *Delo* and *Dnevnik* are resulting in the re-routinisation and re-customisation of news making and not the invention of new forms of gathering, assembling and providing news – namely, the particularities of responding to digitalised news relay and the dynamics of the media environment do not reflect a paradigmatic change in news making. The historical assessment of the organisational and structural development of journalists' workspaces in terms of space, processes and relations shows that, since the modernisation of news making processes, a holistic understanding of newswork, which has been looked at as an integral whole in relation to the ownership, and decentralised newsroom organization, which has dispersed power when dividing work and controlling editorial processes, have persisted in Slovenian print media ever since. Yet, social discontinuities over the last 150 years of the modern Slovenian press, when the notion of newswork as the social and economic relationship between journalists and employers, where the former sell their labour to the latter under generally agreed conditions, have responded to the prevailing conception of cooperation between people, and have resulted in changes in spatial arrangements, newsroom processes and relations between employers and employees, but these shifts, despite being substantional on the social, political and economic level, have always been incorporated into the persistent continuity of journalism. In this sense, print media organisations have hardly been progressive when it comes to conceptualising relations between power, property and work: some patterns of "self-managed" newswork in socialist Yugoslavia (e.g. Splichal 1981; Splichal and Vreg 1986; Vreg 1990) might be considered exceptions in terms of the structural position of journalism in public life.

Thus, in order to steer a course towards more significant change, let alone a new tradition of newsroom organisation and structure, print media organisations should strategically coordinate "anti-mimetic originality" (Quigley 1985, 49), where originality must take some kind of mimesis as its starting point, but that mimesis should not be a means of undermining its status as originality; it is simultaneously the basis upon which the originality rests and the basis for our access to it. In this sense, *Delo* and *Dnevnik* should consider the tradition of decentralised newsrooms and a holistic understanding of newswork when preparing a strategic response to the changing complexities of media markets and public life in general – with three features (cf. Altmeppen 2008, 54): strategic orientation towards specific journalistic and business goals, the establishment of order and structure in the newsroom, and the coordination of activities and resources that could ensure the achievement of the set goals.

The findings of the ethnographic case study indicate advantages but also drawbacks for the conceptual grounding, methodological framework and analytical perspective adopted to study tensions between tradition and change in the newsrooms.Adopting the social-organisational approach to the phenomenon appears somewhat limiting in terms of contesting the general understanding of the newsroom as a workspace with a top-down decision-making culture, a formalised linear structure of authority and clear division of work in order to interconnect news making processes, spur cooperation, rationalise production and retain control at all times. Despite providing some fruitful accounts into the mimetic originality of newsroom convergence processes at *Delo* and *Dnevnik* which challenge the dominant visions of the newsroom, there are potentially important avenues for new developments in future inquiries into newsroom transformations – for instance, in terms of shifting the analytical perspective and expanding the methodological framework of quantitative analysis.

In regards to the former, such a movement would concentrate not only on issues of structure and organisation in workspaces dealing exclusively with online journalism, but also other domains in the production of knowledge. Furthermore, Mitchelstein and Boczkowski (2009, 576) also stress that online journalism scholarship has been marked by a "relatively narrow focus", suggesting that the analytical focus could be expanded to comparable processes in other fields. In this sense, identifying common and distinct elements in transformation processes in journalism and other domains might enable social scientists to identify the particularities of certain fields and commonness across them. Combined with the aforementioned transition from tributary to primary in theoretical work, broadening the analytical gaze might turn newswork and newsroom studies into a critical terrain for

reexamining larger societal patterns in contemporary information work. Additionally, in terms of the methodology, critical ethnographic investigation enables the author to be reflexive and flexible when studying the mimetic originality of *Delo* and *Dnevnik* newsrooms, but it is evident – as other scholars also indicate (Singer 2008) – that undertaking quantitative analyses of data gathered through observation, interviews and document analysis might enable the researcher to attain an additional level of precision and to make some differences or commonalities more salient.

7.3 Journalistic Deskilling in Online News Making

When focusing on the **third research question**, of *how the elements of the emerging online media logic shape relations between online journalists at Slovenian print media organisations and other actors involved in online news making*, the study shows that there is not much evidence of a normalisation of the ideas of hypertextuality, interactivity and multimediality in journalists' sense-making and decision-making, and that the practice of online news making is defined by speed rather than by "key qualities of cyber-communication" (Dahlgren 1996, 64).By bringing together the social-organisational approach to online news making and the cultural analysis of its practice, the study at *Delo* and *Dnevnik* confirms the findings of previous studies (e.g. Huesca and Dervin 1999; Deuze 2004; Singer 2005; Domingo 2006; Chung 2007; Thurman and Lupton 2008; Lowery and Latta 2008), indicating the subordination of technological, organisational and cultural attributes to productivity and efficiency, which decisively shapes how online news gets made and how online journalists, their sources and the audience relate to each other. In this sense, the inquiry, combining findings reached by observation, in-depth interviewing and document analysis, reveals that difficulties prevail among online staffers in in conceptualising hypertextuality, interactivity and multimediality, the realisation of these ideas in news making is subordinated to speed and timeliness in online news delivery, and relations among journalists, information sources and the audience bring little to strengthen the social relevance of online news, confirming the notion of news as a commodity in market-driven journalism. In this context, the study reveals and this part of the discussion elaborates journalistic deskilling in online news making at *Delo* and *Dnevnik*, by signalling a downsizing of relations among journalists, information sources and the audience, diminishing potentials for contextualised, collaborative and creative news making, and a strengthening of mimicking and homogenisation in digitalised news relay. This part also provides suggestions on how to embed the technological potentials of the web in the

online news making of Slovenian print media organisations and, by surveying the advantages and disadvantages of the relevant research, rethinks the adopted theoretical and methodological framework of the respective investigation.

In this sense, "the new normal" (Singer 2006) naturalises highly routinised "robot-like" news making, lacking in originality and creativity (*Delo* Online Journalist E), encourages "detachment" among journalists, information sources and the audience (*Dnevnik* Online Journalist B; *Delo* Online Journalist E), and frames the prevailing "conservative mentality", which prevents the realisation of the hypertextual, interactive and multimedia potentials of online news (*Delo* Online Executive Editor [2004–2009]). In other words, the study at *Delo* and *Dnevnik* shows that these dynamics, stretched between continuity and change, have consequences on the organisational level, where online departments emerge as "laboratories of experiments in workforce flexibility and labor exploitation" (Deuze 2008a, 199); on the technological level, where CMSs constrain the proliferation of more contextualised, participatory and creative news making; and on the cultural level, where tensions between those whom Robinson (2010) describes as "traditionalists", who want to maintain a hierarchal relationship between journalists and audiences, and "convergers", who think the opposite, are tipping in favour of the former.

In this context, the reserved pragmatism of online newswork development at *Delo* and *Dnevnik*, with the paradoxes mentioned above, has confined the organisational, technological and cultural attributes of what Deuze and Dimoudi (2002) call the "online media logic" to meet the need for speed, which reflects a broader trend of what Boczkowski (2009) calls "mimicry in the journalism field". In regards to the relations among journalists, their sources and the audience, they do not result in more contextualised and transparent (hypertextuality), interactive and participatory (interactivity), as well as creative and credible (multimediality) online news making. In other words, there are no specific institutionally structured features of online news making, and no ensemble of technological and organisational attributes that would significantly influence what is represented on *Delo*.si and *Dnevnik*.si, and how it is done in terms of hypertextuality, interactivity and multimediality.

It appears that the trends of monitoring others, mimicking their outputs and retrofitting daily news accounts derive from tensions between continuity and change in the context of the journalism-technology-market relationship, where nobody actually chooses to experiment, but at the same time cannot afford not to practise. The consequential paradox of "more outlets covering fewer stories" (Project for Excellence in Journalism 2006) can have devastating implications for dynamics and diversity in the public sphere, as journalism hardly complies

with the "plural nature of social reality" (Dahlgren 2009a, 157). Yet, the study indicates rare instances of progressive assessments of the ideas of hypertextuality, interactivity and multimediality among a minority of *Delo* and *Dnevnik* online journalists, implying that there is a chance of developing contextualised, participatory and creative online news making, and a slight possibility of newly invented relations among journalists, information sources and the audience that would better correspond to the multifaceted late modern world.

The subordination of the ideas of hypertextuality, interactivity and multimediality to the need for speed in online news making at *Delo.si* and *Dnevnik.si*, the absence of contextualised, participatory and creative online journalism, and the disconnection between online journalists, their sources and the audience, can be explained by larger patterns of what Bauman (2007) coins "social deskilling". The results of the ethnographic study show that the news making that has normalised at *Delo* and *Dnevnik* marries speed and online journalism naturalizing "sausage packing" modes of news making (*Dnevnik* Online Journalist [2006–2008]) and "alienating" relations among journalistic subjects involved in gathering, assembling and providing news (*Dnevnik* Online Journalist B; *Delo* Online Journalist E). As *Delo* and *Dnevnik* online journalists face the requirements for productivity, efficiency and profitability, they adopt highly routinised adaptation, recombining and recreating of news made by in-house print colleagues or published by other media, indicating an erosion of the skills necessary to maintain relationships with information sources or the "people formerly known as the audience" (Rosen 2006). As with "labor deskilling" (Braverman 1974; Im 1997), the social deskilling of journalists involves a radical simplification of what journalists are expected to do to fulfil their role in denoting the existence of relationships.

In this sense, building on the work of Braverman (1974) and expanding the concept of labour deskilling, Bauman (2007) further develops social deskilling as neglect of the need to learn the skills of discussing and negotiating ways out of trouble with others, and the belief that such skills are not really necessary, since the solution to the problem can be obtained with less effort and at a lower price. The reliance on already published news items and a technical writing style not only points toward the erosion of relations among journalists, sources of information and the audience, but also diminishes the potentials for contextualised, collaborative and creative news making online, and indicate the transformation of news in the direction of homogeneity. The study of online news making at *Delo* and *Dnevnik* provides evidence of patterns which suggest the emergence of what Boczkowski (2007) calls "a densely interconnected web of homogeneity", which could have a significant impact on the nature of people's interconnection in society.What can be labelled as journalistic deskilling

can be identified at *Delo* and *Dnevnik*, and the consequent homogenisation of online news relay by traditional media organisations appears unsettling in the contemporary media environment, where "the multi-epistemic order" continues to gain prominence (Dahlgren 2009a, 159). What is troubling is that the modes of online news making which rest on journalistic deskilling do not provide adequate answers to the demands of fragmented public life and people's disparate engagement with "second modernity" (Beck 2000), where the ideas of collaborative and collective aremarginalised. On the contrary, it appears that traditional media organisations' monolithic versions of the world in "post-objectivist" communication (Dahlgren 2009, 159) somehow strengthen the phenomenon of social deskilling introduced by Bauman (2005), where, in the presumed pursuit of business success, consumption efficiency in communication trumps the complexities of mutual social relations, collaborative identity and political participation.

In this context, the study shows that there is an obvious common denominator defining the organisational, technological and cultural attributes of online news making at *Delo* and *Dnevnik*: that is, speed.Specific forms and processes which organize the work done at *Delo.si* and *Dnevnik.si*, and particular frames of perception which in turn reinforce how online news is made, are defined by the struggle for immediacy in the news cycle, without deadlines. Throughout the history of Slovenian journalism, articulations of technology in news making have been enabling, but not necessarily triggering the gradual speeding up of news making, greater productivity among newsworkers, and transformations in the nature of social communication as a whole.From early patterns of division between intellectual and manual work in the Slovenian journalism of the latter part of the 19th century, until the late modern flexibilisation of newswork, characterised by multiskilling and multitasking, technological innovation enabled the press not only to make more news for less money, but also to do it more quickly. Thus, the dissertation reaffirms that journalism history does not correspond to a linear evolutional model and is not the result of technologically determined progress, but reveals instead that the connections between journalism and technology are particular and non-essential, as ideas and objectives can be forged, broken and constructed again in particular circumstances, as they vary in their tenacity according to context.

In this sense, in order to use "better" technology to make "better" journalism, *Delo* and *Dnevnik* should re-examine online news making and its practice. On the organisational level, *Delo* and *Dnevnik* should strategically shift the structure of online news making in order to diminish the primacy of speed and encourage the routinisation of authentic, contextualised, creative and accessible online news; on the technological level, both organisations should go

beyond the narratives that computers and CMSs are "cold machines" (Deuze 2008a, 204) and involve online staffers in the processes of constructing, creating and flexibilising technology according to and beyond their needs, most notably in the case of CMSs; and on the cultural level *Delo.si* and *Dnevnik.si* decision-makers should refine what online journalism is by bringing in the ideas of hypertextuality, interactivity and multimediality in order to denaturalise the predisposition that online news quality is defined only in terms of timeliness.

In this context, by combining the social-organizational approach to online news making and cultural analysis of its practice, the multidisciplinary multi-method study at *Delo* and *Dnevnik* enables the author to deal with relations among journalistic subjects in online news making, and, on the basis of ethnographic findings, elaborate on the journalistic deskilling of online staffers. Yet, there appear to be other possible avenues to explore online news making that might help scholarship to produce a more precise picture of relations among journalists, information sources and the audience – in terms of theoretical development, analytical stance and methodological solutions. In this sense, the previously mentioned move from the prevailing tributary to primary in theoretical work might result in more profound thinking about the dynamics between work, social relations and technology in social sciences and beyond. For instance, journalism scholars could borrow from technology studies or computer science to rethink online news making and consequently contribute to analysing the gathering, assembling and provision of online news and relations among different journalistic subjects within it, or thinking about the social-construction perspective on technology. At the same time, social tensions between continuity and change embedded in online news making and the relations among different subjects within it appear to be a fruitful basis for examining journalism's troubling contingencies in the future, when journalism scholarship will have to continue rethinking its position and start striving for even more integrative approaches in journalism research – for instance, breaking down the long-standing boundaries between the processes of news making, the resulting news and people's engagement in it. An attempt to grasp what Boczkowski (2011, 165) calls "the media lifecycle" would require an investigative makeover – borrowing from different sources of theoretical thought and from qualitative and quantitative methodological tradition; yet, in return, this might pave the way for an intellectual renewal not only of journalism studies, but also the larger field of communication and media studies.

7.4 Corrosion of Journalistic Nature among Online Journalists

When dealing with the **fourth research question**, of *how online journalists at Slovenian print media organisations perceive their roles as journalists in society*, the study reveals paradoxes in interviewees' sense-making – they understand online news making in accordance with normative predispositions of classical or high-modern journalism, but at the same time they do not see themselves as "true" journalists. By combining the political science approach to the role of journalism in society and a cultural analysis of online journalists' self-perceptions, the study confirms salient factors in the troubling identification processes among online journalists, which have also been indicated in previous research – for instance, online news making which lacks originality is not regarded as "journalistic" among online journalists and their in-house print colleagues (e.g. Deuze and Paulussen 2002; Deuze 2007; Project for Excellence in Journalism 2009), and the flexible employment status of online journalists makes them feel like institutionally downgraded newsworkers (e.g. Boczkowski 2004a; Deuze 2008a; Vobič 2009a). In this respect, additionally, this part indicates that institutional contingencies prevent online journalists at Slovenian print media organisations from offering some of the services theywish to offer – according to them, they cannot perform as watchdogs because they are overwhelmed by "copy-and-pasting" (*Dnevnik* Online Journalist D; *Delo* Online Journalist A). From this perspective, *Delo* and *Dnevnik* online journalists populate what Deuze (2008a, 206) calls "a perpetual in-between status", that is, working for a prestigious news brand, yet not acknowledged as fully-fledged members of the journalistic community. In thisregard, *Delo* and *Dnevnik* online journalists have problems defining journalism and its public role, and find it difficult to position themselves as inside or outside of the "we" community.Thus, these dynamics between continuity and change, reflected in online journalists' self-perceptions, reaffirm "a strong culture of separation between insiders and outsiders" (Hartley 2008, 43), despite the fact that the lines between journalism and non-journalism are becoming increasingly blurred, on the one hand, and imply that the "journalism identity crisis" (Poler Kovačič 2004b) is deepening, since the gap between "actual journalism" and "its self-presentation" appears to be hard to bridge in the contemporary media environment. In this context, this part explains the study findings by elaborating on the corrosion of journalistic character among online journalists at *Delo* and *Dnevnik*, where the integrity of dimensions of "occupational ideology" (Deuze 2005) is degrading due, among other things, to contingent employment status, unsteady work environments and flexible duties. At the same time, this part also highlights possible ways of overcoming the

identification troubles of (online) journalists at Slovenian print media, and by, reviewing theoretical and methodological frameworks, it suggests some other investigative solutions that might sharpen the analyticalperspective.

Despite paradoxes in the self-perceptions of *Delo* and *Dnevnik* online journalists and difficulties in positioning themselves within media organisations and in society at large, interview analysis shows that they share all five ideal-typical values of what Deuze (2005) coins "occupational ideology", when relating themselves to non-press news providers and their in-house print colleagues – that is, public service, objectivity, autonomy, immediacy and ethics. In this sense, regardless of changes in the media environment shaping journalists' identification processes (e.g. Lee-Wright *et al.* 2012) and indications of a more porous "we" community of journalists (e.g. Deuze 2008a), the study of *Delo* and *Dnevnik* shows that new journalists, in terms of societal self-positioning, are not being invented within media organisations. Instead, some sort of adaptation is taking place – of "old" models in "new" contexts and purposes. However, according to the study, the dynamics of adaptation are more exclusivistic than inclusivistic, as online journalism has not been incorporated into the community, as previous research in Slovenia (e.g. Oblak Črnič 2007) and elsewhere (e.g. Singer 2003) shows. Additionally, in this sense research from the Netherlands (Deuze 2007) and Greece (Spyridou and Veglis 2008) suggests a generation gap within traditional print media organisations, where "younger" and educated newcomers pose a serious threat as far as jobs, tasks and status are concerned, resulting in the "older" generation being skeptical about online journalism, which is seen as unnecessary and a waste of money and time. The sense-making of *Delo* and *Dnevnik* online journalists also suggests a gap between progressive the "young" journalists mostly populating online departments and the conservative "old" journalists primarily working for print, with phrases such as "dinosaurs that move really slowly" (*Dnevnik* online executive editor [2007–2010]) and "old-school" (*Delo* Online Journalist C) being used to describe print departments.

In these respects, by reflecting the "eminently negotiable" (Vecchi 2004, 11) and "unfinished" (Deuze 2008a, 206) identity of *Delo* and *Dnevnik* online journalists, the study points towards what Bauman (2004) names "liquid identity" in his analyses of late modern society.Not only socio-political, cultural, religious and sexual identities, but also occupational identities are in the process of constant transformation, where identities' quality of ambivalence is rooted in a nostalgia for the past, together with a complete compliance with liquid modernity, resulting in the continual shifting of belonging (*ibid.*). In this sense, the study at *Delo* and *Dnevnik* suggests that newsroom convergence imposed identification

insecurity and uncertainty among online journalists in the runaway media environment, resembling what Deuze (2008a, 206) calls "typical migrant experience" – they do not feel like members of their "home country" anymore, but at the same time they are not fully accepted by their "host country".

Such troubles, at least to a degree, correspond to Sennett's (1998b) acknowledgement of a "corrosion of character" in late modern society, where the integrity of the moral dimensions of people's identities is degrading, due to, among other things, contingent work relations, unsteady work environments and flexible duties. From the perspective of the *corrosion of journalistic character*, claims of common "occupational ideology" (Deuze 2005), which supposedly forces journalism and journalists to continuously reinvent themselves, calls for further critical attention.The paradoxes of *Delo* and *Dnevnik* online journalists' self-perceptions indicate that it is indeed the ideal-typical values of the occupational ideology of journalists, such as public service, objectivity, autonomy, immediacy and ethics, which appear as crucial qualifiers in articulating the relationship between similar news making across locales and their roles as "copying clerks" (*Dnevnik* Online Journalist C), "secondary journalists" (*Dnevnik* Online Journalist A), "pendants" (*Delo* Online Journalist C), "copy-and-paste journalists" and "translators" (*Delo* Online Journalist E). Members of the online departments at *Delo* and *Dnevnik* are an example of how occupational ideology can be used as a tool not only to question or eventually even resist imposed journalistic deskilling in the newsroom, but also, as some other studies suggest (cf. Deuze 2009b), modify and counteract technology-driven innovation in news making – for instance towards hypertextual, interactive and multimedia journalism.

If these identification troubles are to be overcome, there will need to be either considerably larger accommodation in the self-perceptions of what makes a certain social actor a journalist, or considerable changes to the way online news making is carried out, in relations between online journalists and journalists working for print, and the employment status of online journalists within traditional print media organisations. However, historical assessment of Slovenian journalism indicates that journalists have constantly needed to readjust their sense of self as a group, as they have been repositioning themselves within changing public life in order to provide consistency and continuity in journalism.The societal roles of journalists and journalists' sense-making have always been the result of continuous articulations between prevailing normative models of media and political order, on the one hand, and journalists' reproduction of political, economic, cultural and technological realities under historical conditions of newswork, on the other. For instance, during times of profound

social changes in the Slovenian communication sphere – such as the proclamation of the "dictatorship of 6 January", the establishment of socialist self-management, or the fall of socialism – journalists needed to rethink not only what they should produce and what they produce, but also how news gets made and why – under what conditions, for what purposes, within which institutional mindset and occupational identity.

In thisregard, in order to start solving the problems of the paradoxes of *Delo* and *Dnevnik* online journalists' self-perceptions, the respective organisations need to encourage authenticity and creativity in online news making to overcome self-deprecation among online staffers, strategically position online departments within the structure of their newsrooms and define online journalists' roles in the organisation of cross-departmental cooperation, as attempts to overcome feelings of inferiority among their online journalists, and adopt a strategic employment strategy in online departments to try to eliminate the self-perception of its members as institutionally downgraded newsworkers. Since there is not much evidence of this changing, Singer's (2003, 157) speculation remains adequate – if online journalism at traditional print media organisations is to be incorporated into journalism as a public institution, cultural practice and business, there will need to be considerable accommodation in the self-perception of what a journalist does, or considerable change in the way journalism operates.

The ethnographic study of self-perceptions of online journalists at Slovenian print media indicates some benefits and also perils in the analytical approaches and decisions taken.The study identifies corrosion of journalistic character among *Delo* and *Dnevnik* online journalists, which contributes to the existing reconsiderations on roles of online journalists in society, but at the same time these very findings question the conceptualisation of journalists' public roles as sets of rights, obligations and expected behaviour patterns as a result of continuous articulations between normative models of media and democracy, and journalists' sense-making of the relations between ideas and symbols that constitute the changing dynamics of the journalistic community in a particular context. This calls for further theoretical reconsiderations of online journalists' roles, their self-perceptions and belonging – in terms of theoretical reconsiderations of these social phenomena and methodological reframing of them as the objects of study.

In terms of theoretical reasoning, future scholarly investigations might be built on the literature from self and identity studies – not only borrowing from their theoretical sources but also bringing back to them on the basis of empirical findings. In this sense, issues of journalists' self-perceptions will undoubtedly remain an important issue in the future, since

what is certain is that journalism will continue to change, whether more in accordance with the traditional mode or more toward the alternative mode, and that news will remain in a terrain of "institutional difficulty", "professional uncertainty" and "political contention" (Dahlgren 2009a, 159). Additionally, methodological recoating might also be fruitful in this regard – most notably by bringing in the methodological tradition of analysis in at least two ways (cf. Quandt 2008; Singer 2008; Mitchelstein and Boczkowski 2009; Boczkowski 2011). First, undertaking quantitative analyses of data gathered through ethnographic methods might enable researchers to attain an additional level of precision and to make some differences or commonalities more salient. Second, conducting complementary research using quantitative methods – for instance surveys among (online) journalists – might enable scholars to enhance the findings produced by qualitative investigation and gather data that could not be collected and assembled through ethnographic examination.

8. CONCLUSION

Over the last decade or so, there have been constant claims that, since the rise of the internet, most notably the web, journalism has been going through an "epochal transformation" (Project for Excellence in Journalism 2004), and that "everything we thought we once knew about journalism needs to be rethought" (Schudson 2011, 207). Indeed, the increasing flexibilising of online newswork (e.g. Splichal 2005a; Deuze 2007, 2008a, 2009b, Deuze and Marjoribanks 2009), the restructuring of newsrooms and the reorganising of online departments (e.g. Boczkowski 2005a; Meier 2007; Avilés and Carvajal 2008; Avilés *et al.* 2009), the negligible novelties of news making practices and principles (e.g. Papacharissi 2009; Paterson and Domingo 2008; Domingo and Paterson 2011), and the troubles of journalists' self-perceptions (e.g. Zelizer 2009; Singer *et al.* 2011; Lee-Wright *et al.* 2012), indicate that broader significant changes are occurring in journalism in late modern society, globally reshaping what we know about journalism, the visions we have about what it is supposed to do and the ways we understand what it does in practice.

These social dynamics are not news in journalism studies, since, throughout history, "journalism has always involved an elaborate set of accommodations surrounding change" (Zelizer 2009b, 2), for instance in terms of journalists' societal roles, the meanings of news and negotiations of newswork. The certainty of change ensures heterogeneity in journalism as a social phenomenon and complexity in journalism as an object of inquiry, and calls for continual theoretical and empirical examinations on the structural, organisational, newsroom and individual levels. In this sense, this dissertation is set to provide a fresh account of social tensions between continuity and change in contemporary journalism, by elaborating manifestations of global online journalism trends in print media organisations situated in a particular context. Yet, a large amount of literature dealing with online journalism (e.g. Kopper *et al.* 2000; Scott 2005; Deuze 2007; Domingo 2008a; Mitchelstein and Boczkowski 2009) has not formed a consensus, let alone laid out the integrative theory of journalism that would enable researchers to link the macro, medium, and micro levels of online journalism in their studies, which might be crucial when complicated issues of social dynamics between continuity and change in the time of globalisation meet the theoretical, methodological and empirical complexities of online journalism (cf. Erjavec and Zajc 2011, 26). Therefore, the main goal of the dissertation has been to design a multidisciplinary, theoretically integrative and historically informed study of online journalism in order to comprehensively examine the social dynamics between continuity and change in contemporary journalism, by studying

structural developments in online newswork, the social-organisational settings of online departments, the logic of online news making and the societal roles of online journalists.

In an attempt to accomplish its goal, the text reconsiders central notions of journalism research – journalism, news and newswork; tackles different levels of contemporary journalism's emergence – local, national, transnational and global; and elaborates the interconnected dimensions in which journalists operate, news is made and newswork is negotiated – past, present and future. These analytically difficult tasks require going beyond disciplinary boundaries in search of an integrative approach toward continuity and change in journalism. The dissertation thus combines historical inquiry, a critical-economic perspective, a social-organizational approach, cultural analysis and a political science approach throughout the study. The multidisciplinarity of the examination enables the author not only to overcome the deterministic stances of prevailing paradigms of globalisation in media and journalism studies (e.g. Ampuja 2004), but also to critically assess the "dominance" of studies from the United States and partly from Europe in online journalism research (e.g. Domingo 2008).Specifically, by arguing that globalisation is a dialectical process emerging from tensions between the particularistic and the common, where globalising and localising elements are mutually reshaped among different actors and rearticulated in transactions across locales, the author challenges dominant conceptualisations and manifestations of journalism, news and newswork through the prisms of their historical origin, conceptual difficulties of late modernity, and contested continuity in the globalised online world. In this context, in its theoretical reconsiderations of online journalism, the dissertation adopts a technological-constructivist approach to the journalism-technology relationship, suggesting that innovation is a contradictory and uncertain process that is not about rational-technical problem-solving, but the product of a particular social system.

In this sense, the study of manifestations of global trends in online journalism at Slovenian print media organisations is based not on the substitution of "dominant" elements and concepts of journalism, news and newswork, but rather on complexity, through reconsiderations of the historically developed, "old", socially specific ones in the "new" context. By historicising Slovenian journalists' societal roles, the prevailing meanings of news and established negotiations of newswork, the dissertation conceptually pins down broader trends in online journalism by moving from the local particularities that have evolved in Slovenian journalism history to global developments that bring new expectations that may be different from those to which journalism is traditionally ready to respond. On the one hand, diachronic historical inquiry reveals that Slovenian journalism has throughout its development

been subjected to change, where "new" traditions occurred as rapid societal transformations weakened or destroyed the "old" conceptual patterns of journalists' societal roles, meanings of news and negotiations of newswork. In this sense, over a period of 150 years, continuity has been constantly rearticulated in Slovenian journalism – from the rise of the modern political press in the latter half of the 19th century, through its fall, accompanied by the radical response in the news of political movements in the 1930s, propaganda journalism during the Second World War, self-managed journalism in Socialist Yugoslavia, to the rise of the classical paradigm in Slovenian journalism two decades ago. On the other hand, synchronic investigation into contemporary Slovenian journalism also reveals changes after the fall of socialism, but they do not reflect patterns of "new" traditions, as the dynamics are rather practical and not paradigmatic.Recent troubles in journalists' self-perceptions still relate to liberal concepts of democracy and citizenship, contemporary particularities of news making remain within the pragmatic understanding of reality, and flexibilising newswork continues to be in accordance with the capitalist automatisation between power, property and work. In this sense, the historical assessment reaffirms that Slovenian journalism's development does not correspond to a linear evolutionary model and to technological determinism, but is instead embedded in socially specific connections between structure and agency that are particular and non-essential, as ideas and objectives can be forged, broken and constructed again in particular circumstances defined by different interactions between the local, national, transnational and global levels.

Through this prism, the dissertation has to analytically negotiate its investigative position by switching between the elements of structure and subjectivity, which calls for a particular methodological design. By reviewing online journalism scholarship, the dissertation identifies a methodological shift in research – from studies concentrating almost solely on the text to those focusing primarily on processes (cf. Kopper *et al.* 2009; Cottle 2007; Domingo 2008a; Mitchelstein and Boczkowski 2009), and also an epistemological one – from once prevailing functionalist understandings of online news making, to more critical approaches (cf. Domingo 2008a; Puijk 2008; Deuze 2008a). Despite transitions in research trends in studying online journalism, news and newswork, the author's decisions on which method to use and how to apply it do not rest on recent trends in empirical research, but rather on the epistemological assumptions and the research aims pursued. Therefore, the dissertation develops ethnography as a methodological strategy and legitimises it for conducting a theoretically integrating and historically informed study in order to elaborate comprehensively on manifestations of broader trends in online journalism within the local newswork

environments of particular print media organisations, and by not primarily focusing on descriptions of processes, but more on the patterns of institutional dynamics, relations and perceptions in relation to individual journalists. As case studies the dissertation chooses *Delo* and *Dnevnik*, the two leading Slovenian print media organisations in terms of readership of their dailies (Slovenska oglaševalska zbornica 2011a), the number of unique visitors to their news websites (Slovenska oglaševalska zbornica 2011b), size of staff and the volume of their daily news output (Vobič 2011). To gather, assemble and analyse data for the purpose of tackling the main goal of the dissertation, the author takes the role of a self-reflexive and critical ethnographer when conducting newsroom observations, analysing strategic documents and carrying out interviews with online staffers in order to bring flexibility to the conduct of the research. In late 2010, the author spent 43 working days at the *Delo* and *Dnevnik* newsrooms and actively observed the processes and relations of *Delo.si* and *Dnevnik.si*. During that time he analysed dozens of internal documents reflecting the formal structure and organisation in relation to data gathered through observation. Afterwards, the author conducted 29 semi-structured in-depth interviews with current and former staffers, in line with the formal structure of authority in the online departments of both newsrooms.

The multi-method empirical investigation, embedded in a "dialogical multidisciplinarity" (Fenton 2010, 5) binding the critical-economic approach, the political science perspective, social-organisational inquiry and cultural analysis of journalism, and based on historical elaboration on the social specificity of journalism, news and newswork from the early modern Slovenian press through to the digitalised news relay of globalised communication, is used to examine manifestations of broader trends in online journalism in Slovenian print media organisations, and to elaborate on the findings. The trends are identified by intersecting a large volume of online journalism literature; despite particularities among locales, the dissertation identifies commonalities in online journalism's general course of development across locales – that is, the evolution of online newswork towards flexibilising, reorganising and restructuring online journalists' workspaces, technologically appropriating online news making, and self-deprecation among online journalists. These trends, which could be labeled as global, also represent four main areas of theoretical and empirical inquiry, where tensions between continuity and change appear to be most salient and which lie at the heart of the dissertation's primary research goal.

The first of the main areas of inquiry explores online newswork development in Slovenian print media organisations. Across different countries the news industry has performed rather reactively, defensively and pragmatically in response to the rise of the web,

which has significantly reshaped the evolution of newswork in Europe, North America and Asia (e.g. Kopper *et al.* 2000; Kawamoto 2003a; Boczkowski 2004a; Scott 2005; Pavlik 2008; Mitchelstein and Boczkowski 2009). In this predominantly critical-economic perspective, the traditional print media organisations have primarily reacted to structural developments rather than proactively contributed to them, focused on protecting print rather than investing in online news projects, and emphasised smaller successes in the short term rather than less certain long-term benefits. In this sense, since the 1980s the general course of online newswork development across locales appears to be taking compensatory measures to spread risks, and has led to the intensifying flexible nature of online newswork in terms of processes of news making, cooperation across departments and the employment status of online journalists. By focusing on the first research question, of how global trends in the evolution of online newswork have been manifested in Slovenian print media, the dissertation locates the dynamics between the structural forces patterned in newswork arrangements and individual online journalists' performance in general, and stress that they reflect wider discontinuities in online newswork development.By combining the critical-economic perspective on media and the social-organisational approach to journalism, the historical inquiry into online journalism reveals that online news projects have often been concerned with the short-term success of products that related to what decision-makers have seen as primary business, rather than with the uncertain possibilities of more experimental projects that might only pan out in the long term. Online newswork, emerging as an individual or collective action of editorial work enforced by the ownership, has been restored at *Delo* and *Dnevnik* to saving money through cutting costs and increasing productivity, efficiency and flexibility. The study indicates that the cognitive nature of work has been eroded and turned into a highly routinised and rationalised practice, the editorial flow of online departments has emerged as more predictable and rather tardy, and the work statuses of online journalists have been negotiated as pauperised relations, signalling a generational gap not only in terms of technologicalknow-how, but also structural employment status. The development of newswork and its innovative evolution is not technologically determined, but defined and triggered in a specific social constellation where "better" ideas, processes and products have been created in accordance with established paradigms of cooperation among people and particular power interests. In this context, online projects at *Delo* and *Dnevnik* appear as a "necessary evil" (*Delo* Online Executive Editor [2004–2009]), where the dynamics between continuity and change have resulted in the shunning of individual online newsworkers [mid-1990s–early 2000s], the institutional ghettoising of online departments [mid-2000s–late

2000s], and the flexibilising of online newswork [late 2000s–early 2010s]. Drawing on the works of Sennett (1998) and Bauman (2000) to explain these findings, the study indicates that online newswork development has been increasingly subjected to what could be labelled as fluid flexibility, suggesting that newsworkers are constantly subject to change at short notice and at the same time this change cannot sustain a shearing force when at rest. The periodisation of online newswork at *Delo* and *Dnevnik* reveals particular social patterns, where the very pursuit of flexibility has been certain to change, renewing structures of power and control, leaving online journalists in disarray regarding editorial workflow, cross-departmental cooperation and employment status, and introducing additional contingencies to online journalism's organisational and societal significance.

The second area of inquiry deals with newsroom traditions and transitions in Slovenian print media organisations. Traditions of newsroom structure and organisation have become increasingly hard to identify in the last decade or so, right across the world (e.g. Boczkowski 2004a, 2004b; Klinenberg 2005; Dupagne and Garrison 2006; Deuze 2007; Paterson and Domingo 2008; Avilés and Carvajal 2008; Quinn 2009; Verweij 2009; Avilés *et al. 2*009; Domingo 2011), as processes of convergence result in various outcomes for media organisations in terms of newsroom organisation and structure and different results for their online departments as often socially specific newswork entities.Trends towards bringing together workspaces, technologies, departments, staffers, processes and content are strategically oriented towards changing traditional arrangements of space, work division and editorial control worldwide, in order to prepare media organisations to respond to technological innovations and cross-media news making, the fragmentation of audiences and corresponding uncertainties on media markets, the individualisation of news experience and the diminishing role of journalism in public life. By focusing on the second research question, of how recent the reorganisations and restructurings of newsrooms shape the gathering, assembling and provision of news by the websites of Slovenian print media organisations, the study at *Delo* and *Dnevnik* shows that traditions of spatial arrangement, division of work and editorial control are becoming blurred as a result of newsroom convergence processes that are particularly oriented towards integrating spaces, technologies and staff in news making. In this sense, by taking the social-organisational approach to the dynamics between structure and agency in the newsroom, the study indicates how the fading tradition of the decentralised newsroom structure and organisation in Slovenia is turning into two rather distinctive models of newsroom convergence, and how the global trend of bringing together formerly separate spaces, technologies and staff is manifested in the integration of spatial arrangements, rather

chaotic work divisions and loose editorial control in both online departments. These dynamics not only reorganize *Delo.si* and *Dnevnik.si* towards becoming units with a low level of hierarchal and horizontal structure, but also indicate the marginal status of online departments within both organisations, due to the absence of a strategic orientation towards achieving specific journalistic or business goals with their respective online projects. Additionally, building on the works of Boczkowski (2004a, 2004b, 2009, 2011), the dissertation argues that contested traditions and encouraged transitions in the newsrooms of the respective organisations are mimetic in their originality, signalling that innovations brought about by following the global trend of newsroom convergence are imitating the division of work, editorial control and cross-departmental relations of traditional decentralised newsrooms, due to factors that are primarily economic. In this context it seems that the tradition of decentralised newsrooms that has historically developed in the Slovenian press is being reshaped – not as an outcome of print media organisations' attempts to reinvent the newsroom tradition, but through re-routinisation via individualisation, as a result of which institutional factors are losing their substance and relevance. Thus, findings from the newsrooms do not indicate deterioration of tradition, but rather what Giddens (2002) names "detraditionalization", where online journalists are themselves called upon to exercise authority in the face of the disorder and contingency which is thereby generated.

The third area of inquiry explores online news making at Slovenian print media organisations and relations among journalists, information sources and the audience within these processes. The review of the media and journalism literature (e.g. Dahlgren 1996, 2009a, 2009b; Singer 1998, 2004, 2008; Deuze 1999, 2004, 2007; 2008a; 2009; Pavlik 2001, 2008; Kawamoto 2003b; Boczkowski 2004a, 2004b, 2009; Domingo 2008a) shows that the "major pillars" (Deuze 2004) of the web, that is, hypertextuality, interactivity and multimediality, are manifested in news making distinctively, and there are no strong indications that the logic of online news making is being normalised around the world. By focusing on the third research question, of how the elements of the emerging online media logic shape relations between online journalists at Slovenian print media organisations and other subjects involved in online news making, the dissertation shows that there is not much evidence of a normalisation of the ideas of hypertextuality, interactivity and multimediality in journalists' decision-making and sense-making, and that the practice of online news making is defined by speed rather than by the "key qualities of cyber-communication" (Dahlgren 1996, 64).By bringing together the social-organizational approach to online news making and the cultural analysis of its practice, the study of *Delo* and *Dnevnik* indicates subordination of

technological, organisational and cultural attributes to productivity and efficiency, which decisively shapes how online news gets made and how online journalists, their sources and the audience relate to each other. Yet, throughout the history of Slovenian journalism, articulations of technology in news making have been enabling, but not necessarily triggering the gradual speeding-up of news making, and greater productivity among newsworkers, and transforming the nature of social communicationas a whole. The examination further shows that these dynamics, stretched between continuity and change, have consequences on the organisational level, where online departments appear as "laboratories of experiments in workforce flexibility and labor exploitation" (Deuze 2008a, 199); on the technological level, where CMSs constrain the proliferation of more contextualised, participatory and creative news making; and on the cultural level, where tensions between those whom Robinson (2010) describes as "traditionalists", who want to maintain a hierarchal relationship between journalists and audiences, and "convergers", who think the opposite, is tipping in favour of the former. In this sense, by building on the work of Braverman (1974), Im (1997) and Bauman (2007), the author argues that online news making at *Delo* and *Dnevnik* reflects journalistic deskilling, where relations among journalists, information sources and the audience are downsized, the potentials for contextualised, collaborative and creative news making are diminished, and the mimicking and homogenisation of digitalised news relay is strengthened. In this sense, the study of online news making at *Delo* and *Dnevnik* provides evidence of patterns which suggest the emergence of what Boczkowski (2007) calls "a densely interconnected web of homogeneity", which could have significant and also negative consequences for the nature of people's interconnectedness in society.

The fourth area of inquiry investigates the self-perceived roles of online journalists at Slovenian print media organisations. A cross-section of recent works in media and journalism studies suggests that the assessments of who is a journalist and who is not in the online environment appear to be becoming increasingly difficult as two branches of discussions emerge. On the one hand, one group of scholars suggest (e.g. Platon and Deuze 2003; Singer 2003; Gillmor 2004; Zelizer 2004; Splichal 2005a; Friend and Singer 2007; Dahlgren 2009b; Couldry 2010; Nip 2010; Robinson 2010) that the question of who is a journalist and who is not becomes increasingly difficult in the online environment, where non-press news providers are gaining legitimacy and power in the public sphere. On the other hand, the other group of media and journalism authors (e.g. Deuze and Paulussen 2002; Boczkowski 2004; Deuze 2007, 2008b; Colson and Heinderyckx 2008; Domingo 2008b; García 2008; Quandt 2008; Deuze and Marjoribanks 2009; Singer and Ashman 2009) says that answers to the questions

of who counts as a fully-fledged member of the journalistic community and who does not are not clear-cut. Thus, by concentrating on the fourth research question, of how online journalists at Slovenian print media organisations perceive their roles as journalists in society, the study reveals paradoxes in interviewees' sense-making – they understand online news making in accordance with normative predispositions of classical or high-modern journalism, but at the same time they do not see themselves as "true" journalists. By combining the political science approach to the role of journalism in society and cultural analysis of online journalists' self-perceptions, the study at *Delo* and *Dnevnik* connects troubling online journalists' identification processes with the fact that they practise online news making which is lacking in originality and which is not regarded as "journalistic" by online journalists and their in-house print colleagues, and operate with the flexible employment status of online journalists, which makes them feel like institutionally downgraded newsworkers, suggesting a generational gap between conservative "older" and progressive "younger" journalists, Thus, these dynamics between continuity and change, reflected in online journalists' self-perceptions, reaffirm "a strong culture of separation between insiders and outsiders" (Hartley 2008, 43), despite the fact that the lines between journalism and non-journalism are becoming increasingly blurred, and imply that the "journalism identity crisis" (Poler Kovačič 2004b) is deepening, since the gap between "actual journalism" and "its self-presentation" appears hardly bridgeable in the contemporary media environment. Through the historical prism, the dissertation shows that Slovenian journalists have constantly needed to readjust their sense of self as a group, as they have been repositioning themselves within the changing public life in order to provide consistency and continuity in journalism. Additionally, by explaining the dissertation's findings through the work of Sennett (1998), the author argues that there are patterns of corrosion of journalistic character among online journalists at *Delo* and *Dnevnik*, where the integrity of dimensions of "occupational ideology" (Deuze 2005) is degrading as a resultof, among other things, contingent employment status, unsteady work environments and flexible duties.The paradoxes of their self-perceptions indicate that it is indeed the ideal-typical values of the occupational ideology of journalists,such as public service, objectivity, autonomy, immediacy and ethics, that appear as crucial qualifiers in articulating their role in society and, at the same time, they regard themselves as "copying clerks" (*Dnevnik* Online Journalist C), "secondary journalists" (*Dnevnik* Online Journalist A), "pendants" (*Delo* Online Journalist C), "copy-and-paste journalists" and "translators" (*Delo* Online Journalist E), highlighting what Bauman (2005) would describe as "liquidity" in their identification processes, which might have broader implications for online news relay.

After surveying the four main areas of inquiry, it could be argued that the theoretical and empirical examinations in the dissertation *Global Trends of Online Journalism in Slovenian Print Media* indeed indicate that the social phenomenon of online journalism is in some respects at what Mitchelstein and Boczkowski (2009, 563) call a "liminal moment" – the one between continuity and change. In this sense, the dissertation confirms what previous media and journalism works (Mitchelstein and Boczkowski 2009; Zelizer 2009; Schudson 2011) show: that journalism as a social phenomenon is predominantly defined by the process of change, yet the primary referential points of these shifts remain rooted in the contested traditions of journalism in the globalised world. Thus, the findings of the dissertation show that "the ground journalists walk upon is shaking" (Schudson 2011, 205) and, in this respect, reveal that tensions between the global and the local in the online journalism of Slovenian print media challenge the continuity of journalism, which has been continuously reinvented throughout its history, and encourage changes in dynamics between journalism and technology corresponding to broader trends in the flexibilising of newswork, the integration of newsrooms, and the converging of journalistic identities and belongings. In this sense, it is clear that "the internet does not simply move in and redefine the way everything works" (Dahlgren 2009b, 173–174), but also that manifestations of online journalism in Slovenia are significantly shaped by the social specificity of journalism, news and newswork, and by the social dynamics between universal (globalising) and particular (domesticating) elements and processes. In this sense, the dissertation indicates that changes happening in contemporary journalism are not clear-cut revolutionary occurrences, but rather open-ended evolutionary responses to social tensions between journalism's centres and its margins, fights for legitimacy over new methods of news relay, resistance toward renewed processes of news making, and stubborn attempts to remain an authoritative voice in public life.

The dissertation reaffirms the findings of previous studies (cf. Erjavec and Poler Kovačič 2004; Splichal 2005a; Jontes 2010; Amon and Erjavec 2011) that the development of Slovenian journalism does not correspond to a linear evolutionary model and is not the result of technologically determined progress, but instead reveals that the connections between journalism and technology have been particular and non-essential, as ideas and objectives can be forged, broken and reconstructed in particular contexts. In this sense, the study of global trends of online journalism in Slovenian print media confirms that the societal roles of journalists, the meanings of news and negotiations of newswork in Slovenia are embedded in a social system that has been defined by wider changes since the fall of socialism (e.g. Splichal 1994; Poler 1996; Erjavec and Poler Kovačič 2004) and further articulated by

concepts predominant in the late-modern human condition (e.g. Splichl 2005; Vobič 2009a; Poler Kovačič and Erjavec 2008). In other words, the dissertation shows that Slovenian journalists' societal roles are tied to liberal concepts of participation, citizenship and democracy, but appear to be heterogeneous in multifaceted journalism's manifestations in late modernity; the meanings of news provided by Slovenian traditional media organisations are grounded in a pragmatic understanding of reality and monolithic framing of the world, yet they hardly seem to provide a common ground for people's reasoning and political participation in what is, to a greater extent, fragmented public life; and newswork at Slovenian print media organisations fits in with the capitalist automatisation between power, property and work, whereas this editorial set of actions and relations, enforced by the ownership, appears as a more and more individualisedendeavour. The identified fluid flexibility of online newswork, mimetic originality in the newsroom, journalistic deskilling in online news making and corrosion of journalistic character among online journalists are symptoms of the idea of "market-driven journalism", which has proliferated in Slovenian society over the last two decades or so (cf. Poler Kovačič 2005; Poler Kovačič and Erjavec 2008), and at the same time signifiers of social patterns resting on the concepts of heterogeneity of conduct, individualisation of relations, and fragmentation of the common (cf. Splichal 2005; Vobič 2009a; Jontes 2010), with the journalism of Slovenian traditional media organisations still appearing more as a private enterprise than a public endeaveour in late modernity – journalism's quality, accountability and accessibility rest more on the needs of commerce than on the requirements of the public, derive from unalterable versions of the world, and are grounded in the opportunistic power-based structure of communication processes.

In this context, Slovenian journalism, which is caught between prevailing normative models of media and political order, on the one hand, and journalists' reproduction of social and technological realities under historical conditions of newswork, on the other, appears to be lacking cohesive potential as a social institution, and losing its political relevance as a cultural practice, since its economic reality and business imperative rest on the vision of the perfect market. The latter is being increasingly questioned in contemporary media and journalism studies (cf. Tunney and Monaghan 2010; Davies 2010; Lee-Wright *et al.* 2012), as the news industry has been continuously subjected to multiple forms of financial, political and regulatory interventions during the recent global financial and economic crisis. Yet, the study at *Delo* and *Dnevnik* indicates that agnosticism toward the concepts of "economic realities" and "business imperatives" is hardly identifiable in the Slovenian news industry, where

innovation in journalism appears to be driven by profit and technology, since "better" ideas, processes and products are created in accordance with the automatism between property, power and work, and financial success is understood as the main signifier of progress in media. Therefore, relying on the mass media model of journalism, in terms of linking people to political life by being an authoritative voice in public life, and doing business by selling news and audiences as commodities, have resulted in defensive pragmatism in the development of online journalism – not only at *Delo* and *Dnevnik*, but also other traditional print media organisations in Slovenia (cf. Vobič 2010; 2011; Poler Kovačič *et al.* 2010) and elsewhere (cf. Boczkowski 2004; Scott 2005; Pavlik 2008). The transition to the web has lacked strategic oversight and vision, going beyond ink on paper has been understood as a necessary evil, and the digitalisation of news relay has been approached by cutting costs, resulting in increased productivity, efficiency and flexibility at the expense of authenticity, accountability and autonomy.

Thus, Slovenian journalism appears to be Janus-faced – it is adopting changes to envision a better future, but at the same time journalism is looking back and leaning not only on its traditions, but also on the industry's recent past.The dynamics between continuity and change lie at the intersections of findings when assessing the historical evolution of Slovenian journalism, and also when exploring manifestations of global trends in online journalism at Slovenian print media organisations – in terms of journalism as a social institution, cultural practice or a business. As social communication is becoming inherently transgressive, boundary-breaking and all-eroding (e.g. Deuze 2007; Dahlgren 2009b; Lee-Wright *et al.* 2012), the dissertation indicates that the journalism of traditional Slovenian media organisations does not provide proper answers, as it faces continuous structuralchallenges, organisational difficulties and identity uncertainties. Journalism is historically placed between its structural location and its individual aspect, de-emphasising structural determinism at least to a degree, where journalists' engagement of citizens in politics, the reasoning of social reality through news and the negotiating of newswork within traditional media organisations are concerned.

Yet, the troubles regarding journalism's position in the society do not seem to be anything out of the ordinary (cf. Altheide and Snow 1991; Hardt 1996; Splichal 2005a; Dahlgren 2009a; Gitlin 2009; Lee-Wright *et al.* 2012), and so they should enter Slovenian journalists' self-consciousness in order to adapt its efforts to link people to public life by critically questioning journalism's structural position, organisational dynamics and collective belonging. First, in the development journalism of traditional media organisations should

adopt the idea of the "imperfect market" (Freedman 2010, 50), which might at least in principle tip the balance in favour of news logic and not business logic, which has increasingly been turning journalism into a hardly recognisable communication practice aimed more at consumers than citizens.The long-term future of journalism rests on the informed creativity, autonomy and accountability of ownership, decision-makers and newsroom staffers, because otherwise journalism and journalists may lose their particular status not only in the public sphere, but also on the media market. Without such strategic change, Slovenian journalism will not be able to go beyond the traditional economic framework invented after the fall of socialism, and emerge either as an important facilitator of processes in public life or as a responsive actor in an uncertain media market. Second, in order to steer a course towards more significant change, let alone a new tradition of newsroom organisation and structure, print media organisations should strategically coordinate "anti-mimetic originality" (Quigley 1985, 49), where originality must take some kind of mimesis as its starting point, but that mimesis should not be a means of undermining its status as originality; it is simultaneously the basis upon which the originality stands and the basis for our access to it. In this sense, Slovenian journalism should consider the tradition of decentralised newsrooms and a holistic understanding of newswork when preparing a strategic response to the changing complexities of media markets and public life in general – regarding strategic orientation toward specific journalistic and business goals, the establishment of order and structure in the newsroom, and the coordination of activities and resources that can ensure the achievement of the set goals. Third, in order to start resolving the paradoxes of Slovenian journalists' identity, the news industry needs to encourage authenticity, creativity and participation in news making across all media, to strengthen the inclusiveness rather than exlusiveness of the "we" community (Hartley 2008, 43) and to overcome platform and generation gaps resulting in social downgrading, feelings of inferiority and self-deprecation among some journalists – predominantely among younger and less experienced newsworkers in the online departments of traditional media. Since there is not much evidence of this changing, Singer's (2003, 157) speculation is also adequate in the Slovenian context – if online journalism at traditional print media organisations is to be incorporated within journalism as a public institution, cultural practice and business, there will need to be considerable accommodation in the self-perception of what a journalist does or considerable change to the way journalism is carried out.

However, if the contemporary crises of journalism as a public institution, cultural practice and business continue to stimulate the dilution of journalism, this might result in a

deterioration of the workable criteria needed to distinguish not only journalists from other communicators and news from other manners of communication, but also to construct a common communicative ground. Thus, the troubles of public life might soon be even deeper than they appear now. In the context of a fluid society, it seems more appropriate to rethink journalism by intentionally grounding the dynamics between continuity and change in the logic of anti-mimetic originality, where journalism takes some kind of mimesis as its starting point, but that mimesis should not be a means of undermining its status as originality – it should be the basis on which journalism's transformation stands and the basis for people's access to it. In any case, it is certain that journalism will remain a terrain of continuous change and contested traditions, reflecting and shaping larger dynamics in the globalised society.

The dissertation indicates that journalism as an object of scientific inquiry is also caught within the social tensions between continuity and change, calling for adjustments in terms of theoretical thinking about journalism, methodologically framing journalism inquiries, and focusing scholarly interests on empirical research. In this sense, despite the fact that the dissertation attempts to provide a comprehensive account of online journalism at traditional print media organisations by intertwining theoretical and empirical examination on the macro, medium and micro levels of inquiry, not only its negligence toward non-institutionalised journalism, but also its sole focus on the production aspect of online journalism leaves a large area of the journalism-web relationship deprived of due care and attention. Problematising the boundaries between production and reception when thinking about online journalism as a phenomenon does not appear to be enough in this regard, so what seems to be lacking in the dissertation and what might be the future path of online journalism research is expanding online journalism as an object of scholarly investigation in a way that would capture the whole "media lifecycle" (Boczkowski 2011, 165) – production, text and reception. In turn, this calls for more robust theoretising, epistemological adaptability and compatibility, flexible methodological designs that would enable scholars to tackle the phenomenon of online journalism comprehensively when observing the interconnected stages, that is, processes and relations in the newsroom, analysing news and exploring the reception of news. In other words, the dissertation suggests that shifting from the tributary to the primary in theoretical work and borrowing from theoretical sources outside social sciences, complementarily conducting research by using qualitative and quantitative methods, and breaking down the long-standing boundaries between the processes of news making, the resulting news, and people's engagement in news in empirical research, could bring intellectual renewal to journalism scholarship, and might, at least to a degree, help journalism

studies to rethink not only what we know about journalism and how we gain new knowledge, but also how we agree on what we know and how we get to know it.

SLOVENIAN ABRIDGMENT

Globalni trendi spletnega novinarstva v slovenskih tiskanih medijih

Z vzponom interneta in predvsem svetovnega spleta je spletno novinarstvo postalo pomemben del političnega, ekonomskega in kulturnega življenja v številnih družbah po svetu. Raznoteri razvoj spletnega novinarstva je v začetku 21. stoletja vpet v spreminjajoče družbene in tehnološke okvire, ki se oblikujejo v globalnih dinamikah med nastajajočimi transformacijami in izpodbijanimi tradicijami. V tem smislu nekateri avtorji medijskih in novinarskih študij ugotavljajo, da so dinamike med kontinuitetami in spremembami v novinarstvu v zadnjih letih dosegle »zgodovinsko stičišče« (Dahlgren), da se nahajajo v »prelomnem trenutku« (Mitchelstein in Boczkowski) ali da nakazujejo njegov »konec« (Deuze). Kljub obsežni literaturi, ki se ukvarja z odnosom med novinarstvom in spletom, se zdi, da sodobne novinarske študije ne ponujajo teoretsko poglobljenih in zgodovinsko zasnovanih ugotovitev, s katerimi bi lahko izčrpali vprašanja tradicij in transformacij v sodobnem novinarstvu. Empirični dokazi fleksibiliziranja novičarskega dela, prestrukturiranja in reorganiziranja uredništev, novosti v praksah in principih ustvarjanja novic ter težave samorazumevanja novinarjev kljub temu nakazujejo občutne spremembe v novinarstvu poznomoderne družbe, ki globalno preoblikujejo védenje o novinarstvu, predstave o tem, kaj naj bi bilo novinarstvo, in kako ga razumemo v praksi.

Disertacija ugotavlja, da družbene dinamike spreminjanja novinarstva niso novost v novinarskih študijah, saj se je »novinarstvo v zgodovini vselej odzivalo na širše spremembe« (Zelizer), kar se kaže tako, da so se družbene vloge novinarjev, pomeni novic in obravnave novičarskega dela vselej prilagajali vsakokratnim napetostim med kontinuitetami in spremembami na strukturnih, organizacijskih, uredniških in individualnih ravneh. Toda pregled literature o spletnem novinarstvu ne razkriva konsenza med avtorji medijskih in novinarskih študij, kako zapolniti vrzeli v teoretskem premišljevanju in empiričnem proučevanju, da bi o spletnem novinarstvu lahko razmišljali celostno in ga analizirali tako na mikro, mezo kot makro ravneh. V času globalizacije bi bila tovrstna dopolnitev dobrodošla, saj bi olajšala soočanje s teoretskimi, metodološkimi in empiričnimi kompleksnostmi sodobnega medijskega okolja. Disertacija tako s študijo manifestacij globalnih trendov spletnega novinarstva v določenem družbenem kontekstu dopolnjuje te razprave ter ponuja nova teoretska premišljevanja in empirične ugotovitve o družbenih dinamikah med kontinuitetami in spremembami v novinarstvu. V tem okviru delo zapolnjuje vrzel celostnega teoretskega premisleka ter spletno novinarstvo v času globalizacije proučuje na mikro, mezo

in makro ravneh. Glavni cilj disertacije je tako udejaniti multidisciplinarno, teoretsko-integrativno in zgodovinsko zasnovano študijo spletnega novinarstva, da bi avtor z raziskovanjem (1) strukturnega razvoja spletnega novičarskega dela, (2) družbene organiziranosti spletnih oddelkov, (3) logike ustvarjanja spletnih novic in (4) samorazumevanja družbenih vlog spletnih novinarjev celovito proučil družbene dinamike med kontinuitetami in spremembami v sodobnem novinarstvu.

Da bi uresničil zastavljeni cilj, avtor ponuja ponoven premislek o osrednjih pojmih novinarskega raziskovanja – tj. o novinarstvu, novicah in novičarskem delu; se spopada z različnimi ravnmi novinarskega obstoja – tj. z lokalnimi, nacionalnimi, transnacionalnimi in globalnimi ravnmi; ter razglablja o povezanih dimenzijah, v katerih novinarji delajo, ustvarjajo novice, – tj. v preteklosti, sedanjosti in prihodnosti. Ti izzivi od avtorja zahtevajo, da v disertaciji prehaja meje med disciplinami z namenom vzpostavljanja celostnega pristopa v proučevanju dinamik med kontinuitetami in spremembami v novinarstvu. Disertacija zato združuje zgodovinski vpogled, kritično-ekonomski vidik, družbenoorganizacijsko študijo, kulturno analizo in politični pristop v raziskovanju novinarstva. Multidisciplinarni značaj teoretskega premišljevanja tako avtorju ne omogoča le, da prekorači deterministične predpostavke glavnih paradigem globalizacije v medijskih in novinarskih študijah, temveč, da v raziskovanju spletnega novinarstva tudi kritično oceni »prevlado« študij iz Združenih držav Amerike in deloma Evrope. Z razumevanjem globalizacije kot dialektičnega procesa, ki izhaja iz družbenih napetosti med partikularnim in skupnim, kjer se elementi globalizacije in lokalizacije med različnimi akterji sooblikujejo in se nenehno artikulirajo v čezlokalnih transakcijah, disertacija kritično prevprašuje prevladujoče konceptualizacije in manifestacije novinarstva, novic in novičarskega dela skozi prizme njihovih zgodovinskih izvorov, konceptualnih težav v pozni moderni in globalno izpodbijanih kontinuitet v digitaliziranem medijskem okolju. V teoretskih razmišljanjih o spletnem novinarstvu avtor tako prevzema tehnološkokonstruktivistični pristop k razmerju med novinarstvom in tehnologijo, ki inovacije razume kot nasprotujoče in negotove procese, vpete v določen družbeni sistem, ki ne prinašajo vnaprej predvidenih racionalnih in tehnološko determiniranih rešitev.

Raziskava globalnih trendov spletnega novinarstva v slovenskih tradicionalnih medijih in proučevanje transformacij novinarstva v tem okviru tako ne temeljita na menjavi dominantnih konceptov novinarstva, novic in novičarskega dela, temveč na teoretskem in empiričnem prepoznavanju družbenih kompleksnosti, ki se kaže s postavljanjem skozi zgodovino oblikovanih »starih« elementov v »nov« družbeni kontekst. S historizacijo družbenih vlog slovenskih novinarjev, prevladujočih pomenov novic in uveljavljenih

obravnav novičarskega dela avtor konceptualno prepoznava širše trende spletnega novinarstva, ki se na eni strani kažejo v zgodovinsko-lokalnih posebnostih slovenskega novinarstva, in v spremembah na globalni ravni, ki po drugi strani prinašajo nove družbene dinamike, s katerimi se novinarstvo še ni soočalo. Tako v diahroni zgodovinski analizi avtor ugotavlja, da se je slovensko novinarstvo v svojem razvoju nenehno spreminjalo – »stari« konceptualni vzorci družbenih vlog novinarjev, prevladujoči pomeni novic in uveljavljene obravnave novičarskega dela so se krhali ali uničevali z občutnimi družbenimi transformacijami, medtem ko so vznikale »nove« tradicije novinarstva. V 150 letih razvoja modernega novinarstva na Slovenskem so se kontinuitete neprestano reartikulirale – vse od začetkov modernega političnega tiska v drugi polovici 19. stoletja, njegovega padca in radikalnega odziva političnih gibanj in njihovih listov v tridesetih letih prejšnjega stoletja, propagandnega novinarstva med drugo svetovno vojno, samoupravnega novinarstva v socialistični Jugoslaviji do vzpona klasične paradigme v slovenskem novinarstvu pred dvema desetletjema. Delo s sinhronim prerezom hkrati razkriva transformacije v slovenskem novinarstvu po padcu socializma, ki so predvsem tehnične in ne paradigmatske, zato ne prinašajo »novih« novinarskih tradicij, temveč prilagajanje »starih« spreminjajočemu se tehnološkemu okviru. Samorazumevanje novinarjev je namreč kljub težavnim identifikacijskim procesom še vedno v okviru liberalnih konceptov demokracije in državljanstva, sodobno ustvarjanje novic je v skladu s pragmatičnim razumevanjem realnosti, fleksibiliziranje novičarskega dela pa ostaja vpeto v kapitalistični avtomatizem med močjo, lastnino in delom. Z zgodovinsko obravnavo tako disertacija potrjuje, da razvoj slovenskega novinarstva ni linearen in tehnološko pogojen, temveč vpet v družbeno-specifične povezave med strukturo in delovanjem, ki so samosvoje in nenujne, saj se lahko oblikujejo, razdirajo in ponovno konstruirajo v okoliščinah, določenih z različnimi družbenimi transakcijami med lokalnimi, nacionalnimi, transnacionalnimi in globalnimi ravnmi.

Z upoštevanjem družbenih dinamik med strukturo in subjektivnostjo avtor premišlja o svoji raziskovalni poziciji in na podlagi tega prilagaja metodološki okvir. S pregledom raziskav spletnega novinarstva tako disertacija prepoznava metodološki premik v raziskovanju – tj. od študij, ki se osredotočajo izključno na tekst, do tistih, ki se ukvarjajo s procesi produkcije, in tudi epistemološke spremembe v proučevanju – tj. od prevladujočih funkcionalističnih razumevanj spletnega ustvarjanja novic do bolj kritičnih pristopov. Četudi avtor razkriva tri valove znanstvenega proučevanja spletnega novinarstva, trendi empiričnega raziskovanja ne vplivajo na odločitev, katero metodo prevzeti, temveč jo oblikujejo glavni raziskovalni cilj disertacije in z njim povezane epistemološke predpostavke. Etnografijo se

tako v disertaciji prevzema kot metodološko strategijo in se jo prilagaja teoretsko-integrativni in zgodovinsko zasnovani študiji, namenjeni celoviti obravnavi manifestacij trendov spletnega novinarstva v določenih tiskanih medijih. Disertacija se tako primarno ne ukvarja z opisi procesov, temveč se osredotoča na vzorce institucionalnih dinamik, odnosov in percepcij v razmerju do posameznih novinarjev. Raziskovanje avtor zožuje na dva raziskovalna subjekta, *Delo* in *Dnevnik*, ki ju prepoznava kot vodilni časopisni hiši v Sloveniji glede na naklade njunih dnevnih časopisov, število različnih obiskovalcev njunih spletnih mest ter številčnost osebja in obseg dnevnega novinarskega ustvarjanja. V času opazovanja v obeh uredništvih, analiziranja strateških dokumentov in izvajanja intervjujev s člani spletnih oddelkov avtor prevzema vlogo kritičnega etnografa ter tako z metodološkim agnosticizmom in raziskovalno samorefleksijo doprinaša k fleksibilnosti proučevanja na terenu.

Disertacija sprejema opazovanje v uredništvu kot najustreznejšo metodo raziskovanja organizacije in strukture novinarskih delovnih okolij, proučevanja rutin zbiranja, upovedovanja in posredovanja novic ter prepoznavanja razkorakov med formaliziranimi oblikami novičarskega dela in individualnim delovanjem novinarjev. Opazovanje namreč omogoča »neposredno pričanje« (Domingo) in »neprečiščen vpogled« (Quandt) v delovno okolje, ki ga definirajo »nasprotja med delovnimi okoliščinami in idejami svobode« (Hardt in Brennen). V zadnjih mesecih leta 2010 je avtor preživel 43 delovnih dni v uredništvih *Dela* in *Dnevnika*, kjer je aktivno opazoval procese in odnose v spletnih oddelkih *Delo.si* in *Dnevnik.si*. Na terenu je avtor opustil funkcionalistično-sistemski pristop zgodnjih študij in prevzel konstruktivistični pristop sodobnejših raziskav z namenom, da bi lahko prepoznal vrzeli med uradnimi obljubami, uveljavljenimi strukturami in institucionaliziranimi odnosi na eni strani ter empirično realnostjo na drugi.

V tem času je avtor analiziral na ducate internih dokumentov ter zbrane podatke o formalni strukturi uredništva in organizacijo procesov v njem primerjal s tistimi, ki jih je zbral med opazovanjem. Avtor analizirane dokumente razume kot »sredstva konstruiranja specifičnih različic realnosti« (Flick) in kot »odseve komuniciranja« (Yin) znotraj posameznih medijskih hiš. Tovrstno razumevanje pomembno določa analizo zbranih dokumentov, predvsem delovnih protokolov, preteklih strateških listin ter tistih časopisnih in spletnih novic, ki zadevajo glavni cilj disertacije. Avtor pri prepoznavanju empiričnih vzorcev upošteva, zakaj so določene dokumente pripravili v posamezni medijski hiši in kakšen je bil organizacijski kontekst, v katerem so jih ustvarili. V analizi zato avtor sprejema na terenu zbrane dokumente kot dokaze, ki odslikavajo komuniciranje različnih akterjev v obeh časopisnih medijskih hišah z namenom doseganja določenih ciljev.

Po koncu opazovanja je avtor opravil 29 polstrukturiranih poglobljenih intervjujev z zdajšnjimi in nekdanjimi člani *Delo.si* in *Dnevnik.si*, ki jih je izbral glede na formalno odločevalsko strukturo v spletnih oddelkih obeh uredništev, s čimer je lahko z zbranimi interpretacijami intervjuvancev nadalje analiziral procese, odnose in percepcije v oddelkih *Delo.si* in *Dnevnik.si*. V prvi skupini intervjuvancev so bili uredniki in novinarji, ki so v spletnih oddelkih *Dela* in *Dnevnika* delali od poznih 90. let do sredine prejšnjega desetletja. V drugo skupino pa so bili vključeni spletni uredniki, novinarji in drugi delavci v obeh spletnih oddelkih, ki trenutno ustvarjajo za *Delo* in *Dnevnik*. Intervjuji so imeli tri temeljne značilnosti (Flick): »problemska osredišščenost«, tj. raziskovalčevo osredotočanje na ustrezne probleme – v našem primeru so to manifestacije trendov spletnega novinarstva; »usmerjenost k subjektu«, tj. (pre)oblikovanje intervjujev glede na subjekt raziskovanja – v našem primeru so to časopisne medijske organizacije in njihovi akterji; »usmerjenost k procesu raziskovanja«, tj. poznavanje problema raziskovanja in prilagajanje njemu. S pomočjo teh kriterijev je avtor sestavil okvirni seznam vprašanj, ki mu ni neomajno sledil, temveč ga je med intervjuji uporabljal kot fleksibilno orodje, s katerim je lahko vodil teoretsko zasnovane in kontekstualizirane pogovore.

Empirično raziskavo manifestacij trendov spletnega novinarstva v slovenskih tiskanih medijih zaznamujeta »dialoška multidisciplinarnost« (Fenton), ki združuje zgodovinski vpogled, kritično-ekonomski vidik, družbenoorganizacijsko študijo, kulturno analizo in politični pristop v raziskovanju novinarstva, in zgodovinsko osnovano razumevanje spreminjajočih se pojmov novinarstva, novic in novičarskega dela – od zgodnjega modernega tiska na Slovenskem do digitaliziranega globalnega komunikacijskega okolja. Avtor v tem okviru z zbiranjem, selekcioniranjem in analiziranjem etnografskih podatkov pridobiva védenje o štirih glavnih problemskih področjih, ki jih odpira glavni cilj disertacije. S pregledom literature namreč prepoznava glavne smeri razvoja spletnega novinarstva, ki se pojavljajo onkraj lokalnega, jih sintetizira kot globalne trende tega družbenega fenomena in se jih problemsko loteva v kontekstu slovenskih tiskanih medijev: (1) evolucija spletnega novičarskega dela v smeri fleksibilizacije, (2) reorganiziranje in prestrukturiranje delovnih okolij spletnih novinarjev, (3) tehnološko preoblikovanje ustvarjanja spletnih novic in (4) samozaničevanje spletnih novinarjev tradicionalnih medijskih hiš.

Prvo problemsko področje disertacije je razvoj spletnega novičarskega dela v slovenskih tiskanih medijih. Raziskave kažejo, da se je medijska industrija v številnih državah na vzpon spleta odzivala defenzivno in pragmatično, kar je pomembno določalo evolucijo novičarskega dela v Evropi, Severni Ameriki in Aziji. Skozi to pretežno kritično-ekonomsko

perspektivo avtor ugotavlja, da tradicionalne časopisne medijske hiše niso proaktivno sodelovale pri strukturnem razvoju, nanj so se predvsem odzivale, pri čemer so v spletnonovinarske projekte skromno investirale, saj so bile osredotočene predvsem na zaščito tiskanih izdaj časopisov. V tem kontekstu se zdi, da je razvoj spletnega novičarskega dela predvsem določen z izravnalnimi ukrepi in razprševanjem tveganja, ki krepijo fleksibiliziran značaj spletnega novičarskega dela v smislu procesov ustvarjanja novic, čezoddelčnega sodelovanja in zaposlitvenega statusa spletnih novinarjev.

S proučevanjem prvega raziskovalnega vprašanja, kako se globalni trendi razvoja dela spletnih novinarjev manifestirajo v slovenskih tiskanih medijih, avtor prepoznava družbene dinamike med strukturnimi silami novičarskega dela in individualnim delovanjem spletnih novinarjev ter ugotavlja, da odslikavajo širše diskontinuitete v razvoju spletnega novinarstva. S povezovanjem kritično-ekonomskega vidika medijev in družbenoorganizacijskega pristopa v historizaciji spletnega novinarstva disertacija odkriva, da so bili spletnonovinarski projekti v poslovnih vizijah odločevalcev pogosto usmerjeni v uspeh na kratki rok, in ne v bolj eksperimentalne projekte, ki bi lahko poslovne uspehe prinašali dolgoročno. Tako s periodizacijo razvoja avtor nakazuje, da *Delo* in *Dnevnik* spletno novičarsko delo uveljavljata kot individualno ali kolektivno dejavnost v uredništvu, ki jo lastniki ter poslovni in uredniški odločevalci s krčenjem stroškov in večanjem produktivnosti, učinkovitosti in fleksibilnosti usmerjajo v varčevanje in stalno negotovost. Avtor v študiji nadalje ugotavlja, da se kognitivni značaj novičarskega dela krha, saj prevladujejo močno rutinizirane in racionalizirane prakse, neaktivno uredniško delovanje ter pavperizirana delovna razmerja spletnih novinarjev. V tem kontekstu spletnonovinarska projekta *Dela* in *Dnevnika* delujeta kot »nujno zlo« (izvršna urednica Delo.si [2004–2009]), saj dinamike med kontinuitetami in spremembami nakazujejo marginalizacijo individualnih spletnih novičarskih delavcev [od sredine 1990. do zgodnjih 2000. let], institucionalno getoizacijo spletnih oddelkov [od sredine 2000. do poznih 2000. let] in fleksibilizacijo novičarskega dela [od poznih 2000. do zgodnjih 2010. let].

Te pojave avtor pojasnjuje s pomočjo del Sennetta in Baumana ter ugotavlja, da je razvoj spletnega novičarskega dela na *Delu* in *Dnevniku* zaznamovan s tekočo fleksibilnostjo, ki od spletnih novičarskih delavcev zahteva, da so se po eni strani pripravljeni nenehno odzivati na spremembe in se hkrati zavedati, da vpeljane spremembe ne prinašajo stabilnosti, ampak kratkotrajno veljavo. Periodizacija spletnega novičarskega dela na *Delu* in *Dnevniku* namreč nakazuje družbene vzorce, kjer je stremljenje k fleksibilizaciji zaznamovano s preoblikovanjem struktur moči in nadzora, kar pušča spletne novinarje v negotovosti, v smislu

delovnih procesov, čezoddelčnega sodelovanja in delovnih odnosov, ter posledičnim hromljenjem statusa spletnega novinarstva znotraj organizacije in njegovega pomena na družbeni ravni.

Drugo problemsko področje disertacije so spreminjajoče se tradicije uredništev slovenskih časopisnih medijskih organizacij. Sodobni avtorji medijskih in novinarskih študij zatrjujejo, da je v zadnjem desetletju vse težje prepoznavati tradicionalno strukturo in organizacijo uredništev v posameznih državah, saj procesi konvergence prinašajo družbeno specifične ureditve novinarskih delovnih prostorov, posebej v kontekstu prostorskega in procesnega vpenjanja spletnih oddelkov v uredništva. Trendi združevanja prostorov, tehnologij, oddelkov, zaposlenih, procesov in vsebin so namreč strateško usmerjeni v spreminjanje tradicije prostorskega urejanja, delitve dela in uredniškega nadzora po svetu z namenom, da bi bile medijske hiše bolj odzivne na tehnološke inovacije, ustvarjanje novic za različne medijske platforme, fragmentacijo občinstva in negotovosti na medijskih trgih ter individualizacijo novičarske izkušnje in zmanjševanje pomena novinarstva v družbenem življenju.

S proučevanjem drugega raziskovalnega vprašanja, kako prestrukturiranja novinarskih oddelkov in reorganiziranja uredništev oblikujejo zbiranje informacij, njihovo selekcijo in upovedovanje spletnih novinarjev v slovenskih tiskanih medijih, avtor ugotavlja, da se uveljavljene tradicije prostorske ureditve, delitve dela in uredniškega nadzora zamegljujejo kot rezultat procesov konvergence uredništev, ki so usmerjeni v integriranje prostorov, tehnologij in zaposlenih v ustvarjanju novic. Z družbenoorganizacijskim pristopom k dinamikam med strukturo in delovanjem disertacija analizira, kako izginjajoča tradicija organizacije uredništva prehaja v dva različna modela konvergence uredništev in kako se globalni trend združevanja prostorov, tehnologij in osebja manifestira v prostorskem integriranju spletnih oddelkov v uredništvi *Dela* in *Dnevnika*, kaotični delitvi dela med spletnimi novičarskimi delavci ter šibkem uredniškem nadzoru v ustvarjanju novic za *Delo.si* in *Dnevnik.si*. Avtor ugotavlja, da te dinamike ne reorganizirajo *Delo.si* in *Dnevnik.si* v oddelka s težko prepoznavno hierarhično in horizontalno strukturo, temveč nakazujejo marginalni status obeh spletnih oddelkov, kar je posledica izostanka strateškega vodenja spletnih projektov k določenim novinarskim in/ali poslovnim ciljem.

Poleg tega s pomočjo del Boczkowskega v uredništvih analiziranih časopisnih hiš avtor prepoznava pojav mimetične izvirnosti, kar pomeni, da inovacije, ki se nanašajo na globalni trend konvergence uredništev, predvsem zaradi sledenja poslovnim ciljem imitirajo delitev dela, uredniški nadzor in čezoddelčne odnose v tradicionalno decentraliziranih

uredništvih. Na podlagi tega ugotavlja, da je tradicija decentraliziranih uredništev, ki se je v slovenskem tisku oblikovala skozi zgodovino, v procesu preoblikovanja, toda ne v smeri izumljanja »nove« tradicije uredništev, temveč kot posledica spreminjanja rutin s spodbujanjem fleksibilizacije in individualizacije, s katerima institucionalni dejavniki izgubljajo substanco in pomen. Ugotovitve v uredništvih tako ne nakazujejo razkroja rutin, temveč kažejo na proces, ki ga Giddens imenuje »detradicionalizacija«, v katerem so spletni novinarji pozvani in pooblaščeni, da kontinuirano ustvarjajo novice v okviru obstoječega organizacijskega nereda in uveljavljene strukturne negotovosti.

Tretje problemsko področje disertacije je ustvarjanje spletnih novic v slovenskih tradicionalnih časopisnih hišah in odnosi med novinarji, viri informacij in občinstvom v teh procesih. Pregled literature v medijskih in komunikacijskih študijah kaže, da so »glavni stebri« (Deuze) spletnega komuniciranja, in sicer hipertekstovnost, interaktivnost in multimedijskost, različno postavljeni v ustvarjanje novic in da ni močnih dokazov, da se je v ustvarjanju spletnih novic normalizirala logika, ki bi veljala v različnih kontekstih. Tako se kaže, da se rešitve v ustvarjanju spletnih novic razlikujejo od ene organizacije do druge, pri čemer konsenza o tem, kako udejanjati kontekstualizirano, interaktivno in multimedijsko spletno novinarstvo, ni.

S proučevanjem tretjega raziskovalnega vprašanja, kako značilnosti spletnega komuniciranja vplivajo na odnose spletnih novinarjev z drugimi subjekti v procesu ustvarjanja spletnih novic v slovenskih tiskanih medijih, avtor ugotavlja, da ne moremo govoriti o normalizaciji idej hipertekstovnosti, interaktivnosti in multimedijskosti v odločanju novinarjev in osmišljanju svojega dela ter da je praksa ustvarjanja spletnih novic bolj določena s hitrostjo kot s »temeljnimi značilnostmi spletnega komuniciranja« (Dahlgren). Z združevanjem družbenoorganizacijskega pristopa k ustvarjanju spletnih novic in kulturne analize novinarske prakse avtor dokazuje, da je ustvarjanje spletnih novinarjev *Delo.si* in *Dnevnik.si* tehnološko, organizacijsko in kulturno podrejeno idejam produktivnosti in učinkovitosti, kar odločilno vpliva na nastajanje spletnih novic in medsebojne odnose med novinarji, viri informacij in člani občinstva. Tudi skozi zgodovinsko perspektivo disertacija kaže, da so artikulacije med tehnologijo in ustvarjanjem novic vselej omogočale, toda ne nujno sprožale postopno pospeševanje zbiranja, upovedovanje in posredovanje novic, večjo produktivnost novičarskih delavcev ter siceršnje preoblikovanje značaja družbenega komuniciranja. Disertacija z analizo ugotavlja, da te dinamike na *Delo* in *Dnevniku* prinašajo posledice na organizacijski ravni, kjer spletni oddelki delujejo kot prostori ekspirementiranja v fleksibilnosti delavcev in njihovem izkoriščanju; na tehnološki ravni, kjer postavljeni

sistemi za urejanje vsebin omejujejo razvoj bolj kontekstualiziranega, participativnega in kreativnega ustvarjanja novic; ter na kulturni ravni, kjer med spletnimi novinarji bolj prevladujejo tehnološki konzervativci, ki se zavzemajo za ohranitev hirarhičnosti v odnosu med novinarji in občinstvom, kot tehnološki entuziasti, ki bi tak odnos v svojem spletnem ustvarjanju odpravili.

Z deli Bravermana in Baumana disertacija pojasnjuje, da ugotovitve raziskave na *Delu* in *Dnevniku* odslikavajo novinarsko neveščinskost, s katero postajajo odnosi med novinarji, viri informacij in občinstvom drugotnega pomena, potenciali za kontekstualizirano, kolaborativno in kreativno ustvarjanje novic so omejeni, prevladujoča mimikrija v spletnem novinarstvu pa prinaša trend homogenizacije novic v digitaliziranem medijskem okolju. V tem kontekstu študija o ustvarjanju spletnih novic na *Delu* in *Dnevniku* ugotavlja obstoj družbenih vzorcev, ki nakazujejo, kar Boczkowski imenuje »gosto prepleten splet homogenosti«, kar bi lahko imelo pomembne – tudi negativne posledice – politično participacijo in njen značaj.

Četrto problemsko področje disertacije je samorazumevanje družbenih vlog spletnih novinarjev v slovenskih časopisnih hišah. Pregled sodobne literature medijskih in novinarskih študij kaže, da so odgovori na vprašanji, kdo je novinar in kdo ni, zahtevni in da se v tem kontekstu prepletata dve veji razprav. Prva skupina avtorjev ugotavlja, da je v sodobnem medijskem okolju vedno težje razlikovati med novinarji in nenovinarji, saj neinstucionalizirani posredovalci novic pridobivajo na legitimnosti in moči v javni sferi. Medtem druga veja avtorjev medijskih in novinarskih študij zatrjuje, da tudi znotraj novinarske skupnosti ni povsem jasno, koga štejejo za polnopravnega člana skupnosti in koga ne.

V tem kontekstu s proučevanjem četrtega raziskovalnega vprašanja, kako spletni novinarji slovenskih tiskanih medijev razumejo svojo vlogo v družbi, disertacija razkriva paradokse v odgovorih intervjuvancev – po eni strani ustvarjanje spletnih novic razumejo v skladu z normativnimi predispozicijami klasične oziroma visokomoderne paradigme novinarstva, po drugi strani pa sebe ne vidijo kot »pravih« novinarjev. Z združevanjem političnega pristopa k analiziranju vloge novinarstva v družbi in kulturne analize samorazumevanja spletnih novinarjev je avtor v študiji na *Delu* in *Dnevniku* lahko proučeval identifikacijske težave novinarjev v kontekstu ustvarjanja spletnih novic, ki mu primanjkuje izvirnost in ki ga spletni novinarji in njihovi časopisni kolegi ne razumejo kot »novinarskega«, ter fleksibilnih delovnih razmerij spletnih novinarjev, ki jih glede na odgovore intervjuvancev določajo kot institucionalno degradirane novičarske delavce. Avtor

ob tem ugotavlja, da slednje nakazuje tudi na generacijski razkorak med konservativnimi "starejšimi" novinarji in progresivnimi "mlajšimi" člani uredništva. Četudi so meje med novinarstvom in nenovinarstvom vedno bolj zabrisane, prepoznane dinamike med kontinuitetami in spremembami v samorazumevanju spletnih novinarjev *Dela* in *Dnevnika* potrjujejo »močno kulturo ločevanja med člani in nečlani« (Hartley) in nakazujejo, da »kriza identitete novinarstva« (Poler Kovačič) poglablja razlike med »dejanskim« novinarstvom in njegovim samorazumevanjem v sodobnem medijskem okolju.

Skozi zgodovinsko perspektivo disertacija ugotavlja, da so morali slovenski novinarji nenehno prilagajati razumevanje novinarske skupnosti in svoj položaj znotraj spreminjajoče se družbe, če so hoteli ohranjati status razlagalcev političnega, ekonomskega in kulturnega življenja. Spoznanja študije avtor pojasnjuje z deli Sennetta in Baumana ter prepoznava korozijo novinarskega značaja med spletnimi novinarji *Dela* in *Dnevnika*, ki se zaradi tveganih delovnih razmerij, spreminjajočih se delovnih okolij in fleksibilnih delovnih zahtev kaže v razkrajanju integritete različnih dimenzij poklicne ideologije. Paradoksi samorazumevanja spletnih novinarjev namreč nakazujejo, da intervjuvanci sebe nimajo za »prave« novinarje, toda hkrati so pomembni označevalci artikuliranja družbenih vlog spletnih novinarjev idealno-tipske vrednote poklicne ideologije, kot so javni servis, objektivnost, avtonomija, neposrednost in etika. Izrazi, kot so »prepisovalci« (*Dnevnikov* spletni novinar C), »sekundarni novinarji« (*Dnevnikov* spletni novinar A), »priveski« (*Delov* spletni novinar C), »kopiraj-in-prilepi novinarji« in »prevajalci« (*Delov* spletni novinar E), nakazujejo, kot bi zapisal Bauman, »tekočost« identifikacijskih procesov, ki imajo lahko širše posledice za spletno novinarstvo oziroma ustvarjanje novic za splet.

Na podlagi teoretskega premišljevanja in empiričnega proučevanja štirih glavnih raziskovalnih področij disertacija ugotavlja, da spletno novinarstvo kot družbeni fenomen deluje in se razvija med kontinuiteto in spremembo. Na ta način delo potrjuje ugotovitve nekaterih predhodnih študij, v katerih so avtorji ugotavljali, da novinarstvo kot družbeni fenomen sicer pomembno vpeljuje spremembe, toda referenčne točke teh premikov ostajajo zakoreninjene v tradicijah novinarstva, ki so v globaliziranem svetu vztrajno izpodbijane. Ugotovitve disertacije torej kažejo, da »se tla, po katerih stopajo novinarji, tresejo« (Schudson), saj spletno novinarstvo slovenskih tiskanih medijev na različnih ravneh med globalnim in lokalnim izpodbija kontinuiteto novinarstva, ki je bila skozi zgodovino nenehno reproducirana, in spodbuja spremembe v odnosu med novinarstvom in tehnologijo, ki odražajo širše trende fleksibilizacije novičarskega dela, integriranja uredništev ter združevanja novinarskih identitet in pripadnosti. V tem okviru avtor ugotavlja, da tehnologija ne

determinira sprememb, temveč manifestacije novinarstva na spletu pomembno sooblikuje družbena specifičnost novinarstva, novic in novičarskega dela ter nasprotja med partikularnim in skupnim, v katerih so univerzalistične in partikularistične družbene dinamike v vzajemnem odnosu. Avtor v disertaciji tako nakazuje, da pri transformacijah sodobnega novinarstva ne gre za ostre revolucionarne spremembe, temveč za odprte in postopne odzive na napetosti med uveljavljenim in marginalnim v novinarstvu, boj za legitimacijo novih oblik posredovanja novic, odpor proti obnovljenim procesom ustvarjanja novic in vztrajne poskuse ohranjanja avtoritete v družbenem življenju.

Disertacija potrjuje tudi ugotovitve predhodnih študij, da razvoj slovenskega novinarstva ni v skladu z linearnim evolucijskim modelom in ni determiniran s tehnologijo, ter nadalje ugotavlja, da so povezave med novinarstvom in tehnologijo družbenospecifične, saj so rekonstruirane v določenih kontekstih. V tem okviru študija globalnih trendov spletnega novinarstva v slovenskih tiskanih medijih razkriva, da so družbene vloge novinarjev, prevladujoči pomeni novic in obravnava novičarskega dela v slovenskih tiskanih medijih vpeti v družbeni sistem, ki ga odločilno določajo spremembe po padcu socializma in nadaljnje artikulacije v okviru konceptov poznomoderne družbe. Z drugimi besedami disertacija ugotavlja, da se družbene vloge slovenskih novinarjev razvijajo v okviru liberalnih konceptov participacije, državljanstva in demokracije. Poleg tega se prevladujoči pomeni novic, ki jih ponujajo slovenske tradicionalne medijske organizacije, izražajo v skladu s pragmatičnim razumevanjem realnosti, zato le s težavo predstavljajo skupni imenovalec družbenega osmišljanja in politične participacije v vedno bolj razdrobljeni javni sferi. Disertacija tudi kaže, da novičarsko delo v slovenskih časopisnih hišah ostaja vpeto v kapitalistični avtomatizem med močjo, lastnino in delom, toda zdi se, da postajajo uredniški procesi decentralizirani, novinarski položaj znotraj njih pa vedno bolj individualiziran. Prepoznane tekoča fleksibilnost novičarskega dela, mimetična izvirnost organizacije uredništva, novinarska neveščinskost v ustvarjanju spletnih novic in korozija novinarskega značaja med spletnimi novinarji delujejo kot simptomi ideje »tržno naravnanega novinarstva« (Poler Kovačič), ki je zasidrana v slovenski družbi v zadnjih dveh desetletjih, in nastopajo kot označevalci družbenih vzorcev, osnovanih na konceptih heterogenosti človekovega delovanja, individualizacije odnosov in fragmentacije skupnega. Pri tem novinarstvo slovenskih tradicionalnih medijskih organizacij deluje bolj kot zasebna poslovna dejavnost in manj kot v javno dobro usmerjena institucija – kakovost novinarstva, novinarska odgovornost in dostop do medijev namreč izhajajo bolj iz tržnih potreb kot javnega dobrega, temeljijo na monolitski

različici sveta in so osnovani na oportunistični strukturi komunikacijskih procesov, ki jih pomembno določajo obstoječa oblastna razmerja.

Ker slovensko novinarstvo svoje ekonomsko delovanje in poslovni imperativ snuje na viziji popolnega trga, avtor nadalje ugotavlja, da kot družbena institucija izgublja svoj kohezivni potencial in kot kulturna praksa svojo politično relevantnost. V sodobnih medijskih in novinarskih študijah, ki novinarstvo postavljajo med prevladujoče normativne modele medijev in političnega sistema na eni strani ter novinarsko reproduciranje družbene in tehnološke realnosti v zgodovinskih okoliščinah novičarskega dela na drugi, je vizija popolnega trga postavljena pod vprašaj, saj avtorji poudarjajo, da je medijska industrija ves čas podvržena številnim oblikam finančnih, političnih in regulacijskih intervencij, ki so posebej izrazite med trenutno globalno finančno in ekonomsko krizo. Kljub temu študija na *Delu* in *Dnenviku* skorajda ne prepoznava agnosticizma v razpravah o »ekonomskih dejstvih« in »poslovnih ciljih«, saj proučevani medijski hiši inovacije v novinarstvu uokvirjata s profitom in deterministčnim značajem tehnologije. Disertacija tako dokazuje, da *Delo* in *Dnevnik* »boljše« ideje, procese in produkte udejanjata zgolj znotraj naturaliziranega avtomatizma med lastnino, močjo in delom ter poslovni uspeh vidita kot glavni kazalnik napredka v medijih. Zanašanje na množičnomedijski model pri razumevanju novinarstva, ki je usmerjen v gradnjo neomajne avtoritete novinarstva v političnem življenju in prodajo novic in občinstva kot produktov, tako prinaša defenzivni pragmatizem v razvoju spletnega novinarstva – ne samo na *Delu* in *Dnevniku*, temveč tudi v drugih tradicionalnih medijskih organizacijah v Sloveniji in drugod. Avtor ugotavlja, da v tovrstni tranziciji novinarstva in medijev na splet manjkata strateška usmeritev in vizija, pri čemer se prehod s črnila na papirju v digitalizacijo vsebin razume kot nujno zlo, h kateremu se pristopa s spodbujanjem produktivnosti, učinkovitosti in fleksibilnosti – tudi za ceno izvirnosti, odgovornosti in avtonomije.

Nadalje avtor ugotavlja, da je slovensko novinarstvo kot družbeni fenomen videti kot obraz boga Janusa – po eni strani vpeljuje spremembe z vizijo boljše prihodnosti, po drugi strani pa je zazrto v preteklost, toda ne le v svoje tradicije, temveč tudi v nedavna obdobja razcveta tiska kot posla. Disertacija razkriva dinamike med kontinuitetami in spremembami ne le z analizo zgodovinske evolucije slovenskega novinarstva, ampak tudi s proučevanjem manifestacij globalnih trendov spletnega novinarstva v slovenskih tiskanih medijih, in sicer v smislu novinarstva kot družbene institucije, kulturne prakse ali posla. Medtem ko družbeno komuniciranje postaja vse bolj transgresivno in z zabrisanimi ločnicami, avtor na podlagi ugotovitev disertacije zatrjuje, da slovensko novinarstvo tradicionalnih medijskih organizacij

nima pravih odgovorov na nenehno spreminjajoč strukturni položaj, organizacijske težave in identifikacijske negotovosti. Novinarstvo je namreč zgodovinsko umeščeno med svojo strukturno pozicijo in delovanjem posameznikov, kar hromi strukturni determinizem v premišljevanju o novinarskem povezovanju državljanov s političnim življenjem, osmišljanju družbene realnosti z novicami in obravnavanju novičarskega dela v tradicionalnih medijskih organizacijah. Težave pri določanju mesta novinarstva v družbi in prepoznavanju njegovih notranjih dinamik niso novost, zato bi morale postati sestavni del samoosmišljanja slovenskih novinarjev in kritičnega premišljevanja o strukturnem položaju novinarstva, organizacijskih dinamikah v tradicionalnih medijskih organizacijah in kolektivnih identitetah in pripadnosti. Avtor hkrati opozarja, da če bo sodobna kriza novinarstva kot družbene institucije, kulturne prakse in poslovne dejavnosti še naprej spodbujala utekočinjanje novinarstva, utegnemo izgubiti uporabna merila razlikovanja ne le novinarjev od preostalih komunikatorjev in novic od preostalih oblik komuniciranja, temveč tudi kriterije oblikovanja skupne osnove komuniciranja in delovanja. V tem okviru disertacija predlaga, naj slovenske tradicionalne medijske organizacije spremenijo svoje prevladujoče razumevanje medijskega trga, procesov inovacij v medijskih hišah in vstopnih pogojev v novinarsko skupnost.

Prvič, avtor na podlagi spoznanj v disertaciji zatrjuje, da bi tradicionalne medijske organizacije s prevzemom ideje »nepopolnega trga« (Feedman) v razvoju novinarstva vsaj deloma dale prednost novinarski logiki pred poslovno, saj ta novinarstvo spreminja v težko prepoznavno komunikacijsko prakso, usmerjeno bolj k potrošnikom kot državljanom. Prihodnost novinarstva na dolgi rok namreč temelji na informirani kreativnosti ustvarjanja novic, avtonomiji uredništva in odgovornosti lastnikov, odločevalcev in novinarjev, sicer utegnejo novinarji kot sporočevalci in novinarstvo kot dejavnost ne le izgubiti status kredibilnosti v javni sferi, temveč tudi svoj trenutni položaj na medijskem trgu. Brez tovrstnih strateških sprememb slovensko novinarstvo ne bo uspelo preseči ekonomskega okvira, postavljenega po padcu socializma, ki ga zahteva pozno moderno okolje, in se uveljaviti niti kot progresivni akter v družbenem življenju niti kot odziven igralec na negotovem medijskem trgu.

Drugič, avtor v disertaciji predlaga, naj se slovenske tradicionalne medijske hiše bolj odzivajo na spreminjajoči se kontekst, v katerem delujejo, ter vpeljujejo inovacije tako, da upoštevajo tradicije organiziranja novičarskega dela in konvencije ustvarjanja novic. V svojih strateških načrtih bi morale medijske hiše razvoj uokviriti z »antimimetično izvirnostjo« (Quigley). Izvirnost v razvoju novinarstva in medijev bi tako za izhodišče imela posnemanje tradicij, pri čemer mimezis ne bi smel biti sredstvo spodkopavanja izvirnosti, ampak razlog,

na katerem temeljijo razvoj in inovacije, ki bi bile občutljive na kontekst. V tem kontekstu bi moralo slovensko novinarstvo v svojih strateških odzivih na spreminjajoče se kompleksnosti medijskih trgov in družbenega življenja nasploh upoštevati tradicijo decentraliziranih uredništev in holističnega razumevanja novičarskega dela. Tako bi lažje postavili strateške načrte in predvideli njihovo izvedbo, in sicer v smislu prepoznavanja določenih novinarskih in poslovnih ciljev, vzpostavljanja strukture in reda v uredništvih ter koordiniranja aktivnosti, ki bi privedla do uresničitve postavljenih ciljev.

Tretjič, avtor v delu predlaga, da bi tradicionalne medijske organizacije začele načrtno dodatno spodbujati izvirnost, kreativnost in participatorni značaj ustvarjanja novic čez različne medijske platforme, s čimer bi utegnile rešiti nekatere paradokse v identifikacijskih procesih slovenskih novinarjev. Na ta način bi lahko okrepili inkluzivnost sicer pretežno ekskluzivistične novinarske »mi-skupnosti« (Hartley) ter prekoračili generacijski razkorak v uredništvih, ki se odraža v družbeni degradaciji, občutku manjvrednosti in samozaničevanju nekaterih skupin novinarjev, predvsem med mlajšimi in manj izkušenimi novičarskimi delavci v spletnih oddelkih tradicionalnih medijskih hiš. Četudi ni veliko dokazov o tovrstnih spremembah, se zdi, da bi bilo za vključitev spletnega novinarstva tradicionalnih medijskih hiš kot inherentnega dela novinarstva kot družbene institucije, kulturne prakse in posla znotraj novinarske skupnosti treba občutno razširiti razumevanje, kdo je novinar in kdo ne ter kako novinar ustvarja novice.

Poleg tega disertacija ugotavlja, da je novinarstvo kot objekt znanstvenega proučevanja ujeto v napetosti med kontinuitetami in spremembami. Avtor zato nakaže, da bi bilo treba prilagoditi teoretska premišljevanja o novinarstvu, metodološko uokvirjanje novinarstva kot predmeta znanstvenega preučevanja in analitično usmerjanje v probleme empiričnega raziskovanja. Četudi disertacija poskuša predstaviti primer celovitega proučevanja spletnega novinarstva tradicionalnih časopisnih medijskih hiš s povezovanjem teoretskega premišljevanja in empiričnega raziskovanja na makro, mezo in mikro ravneh, pomemben del raziskovanja odnosa med novinarstvom in spletom ostaja brez ustrezne pozornosti, saj se osredotoča zgolj na produkcijski vidik novinarstva tradicionalnih medijev in zanemarja implikacije zbiranja, upovedovanja in posredovanja novic izven institucionalnih okvirov. Ko razmišljamo o spletnem novinarstvu in ga proučujemo kot družbeni fenomen, problematiziranje ločnic med produkcijo in recepcijo ni dovolj. Po eni strani je to ena od pomanjkljivosti disertacije, po drugi pa vodilo, kako se lotevati o spletnega novinarstva kot objekta znanstvenega proučevanja, in sicer tako, da bi zajeli celoten »medijski življenjski krog« (Boczkowski), torej produkcijsko, besedilno in recepcijsko raven. Za ta premik bi bilo

potrebno bolj robustno teoretiziranje, epistemološka prilagodljivost in kompatibilnost ter fleksibilno metodološko dizajniranje, kar bi raziskovalcu omogočilo, da se spoprime s spletnim novinarstvom celovito na vseh prepletenih ravneh – tj. prepoznavanje procesov ustvarjanja novic in razmerij v uredništvih, analiziranje novinarskih izdelkov ter preučevanje recepcije novinarskih tekstov.

Na podlagi prepoznanih primanjkljajev disertacije avtor predlaga, da se v prihodnje prekoračijo uveljavljeni teoretski pristopi. Avtorji naj se ukvarjajo s primarnim teoretskim delom, črpajo tudi iz teoretskih virov izven družbenih ved, v svojem raziskovanju naj poskušajo združevati kvalitativne in kvantitativne metode, v empiričnem proučevanju pa prestopijo močno uveljavljene ločnice med procesi ustvarjanja novic, novicami kot rezultati teh procesov in vključevanjem ljudi v ustvarjanje novice. Ti morebitni premiki lahko doprinesejo k intelektualni prenovi v premišljevanju o novinarstvu in njegovem raziskovanju in novinarskim študijam vsaj deloma pomagajo ponovno premisliti ne le o tem, kaj vemo o novinarstvu in kako pridobivamo novo vedenje o njem, temveč tudi, kako se oblikuje konsenz o tem, kaj vemo o novinarstvu in kako naj ga spoznavamo.

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APPENDIX A: Newsroom Access Requests

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ZADEVA: Prošnja za opazovanje z udeležbo v produkciji Delo.si

Ljubljana, 14. september 2010

Podpisani, Igor Vobič, mladi raziskovalec na *Centru za raziskovanje družbenega komuniciranja* na *Fakulteti za družbene vede*, v okviru svoje doktorske disertacije pripravlja raziskavo o delu slovenskih spletnih novinarjev, pri čemer bi posebno pozornost namenil tudi spletni novinarski produkciji *Delo, časopisno in založniško podjetje, d. d.*

Da bi dosegel zastavljene raziskovalne cilje, vas vljudno prosi, da bi mu kot omogočili opazovanje z udeležbo v produkcijskem procesu *Delo.si*. V okviru načrtovanega enomesečnega opazovanja z udeležbo bi podpisani lahko sodeloval kot začasni novinarski sodelavec *Delo.si*, hkrati pa je vse izsledke načrtovane raziskave pripravljen posredovati *Delo, časopisno in založniško podjetje, d.d.*

Od 2004 do 2006 je podpisani sodeloval kot novinar v zunanjepolitični redkaciji dnevnoinformativne oddaje 24ur na *POP TV*. Na *Fakulteti za družbene vede* od 2006 sodeluje kot asistent na *Katedri za novinarstvo* in od leta 2007 tudi kot mladi raziskovalec *Centra za raziskovanje družbenega komuniciranja* na isti instituciji, kjer je vpet v slovensko in mednarodno raziskovalno dejavnost pod vodstvom profesorja Slavka Splichala.

V upanju na pozitiven odgovor vas lepo pozdravljam,

Igor Vobič

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Saša Mrak
Dnevnik, družba medijskih vsebin, d. d.
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ZADEVA: Prošnja za opazovanje z udeležbo v produkciji Dnevnik Online

Ljubljana, 13. september 2010

Podpisani, Igor Vobič, mladi raziskovalec na *Centru za raziskovanje družbenega komuniciranja* na *Fakulteti za družbene vede*, v okviru svoje doktorske disertacije pripravlja raziskavo o delu slovenskih spletnih novinarjev, pri čemer bi posebno pozornost namenil tudi spletni novinarski produkciji *Dnevnika, družbe medijskih vsebin, d. d.*

Da bi dosegel zastavljene raziskovalne cilje, vas vljudno prosi, da bi mu kot omogočili opazovanje z udeležbo v produkcijskem procesu *Dnevnik Online*. V okviru načrtovanega enomesečnega opazovanja z udeležbo bi podpisani lahko sodeloval kot začasni novinarski sodelavec *Dnevnik Online*, hkrati pa je vse izsledke načrtovane raziskave pripravljen posredovati *Dnevniku, družbi medijskih vsebin, d.d.*

Od 2004 do 2006 je podpisani sodeloval kot novinar v zunanjepolitični redkaciji dnevnoinformativne oddaje 24ur na *POP TV*. Na *Fakulteti za družbene vede* od 2006 sodeluje kot asistent na *Katedri za novinarstvo* in od leta 2007 tudi kot mladi raziskovalec *Centra za raziskovanje družbenega komuniciranja* na isti instituciji, kjer je vpet v slovensko in mednarodno raziskovalno dejavnost pod vodstvom profesorja Slavka Splichala.

V upanju na pozitiven odgovor vas lepo pozdravljam,

Igor Vobič

APPENDIX B: Author's Online News Items Published

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APPENDIX C: Observational Scheme [Translated]

NOTES FOCUS	DIRECT OBSERVATION	REASONING	CONCEPTUAL ANALYSIS
SPACE: newswork organization, (in)formal decision-making structure			
TECHNOLOGY: hypertextuality, multimediality, interactivity			
PRACTICES: gathering, selecting, assessing, supplying, responding			
RELATIONS: journalists, editors, members of the audience, other			

APPENDIX D: Interview Guide [Translated]

The role of journalism in society

1. What is most important about the work of online journalists? Why?
2. How important is the work of online journalists as opposed to journalists in general?
3. How does your work compare to the idea of journalism you had before you became involved with Delo.si / Dnevnik.si?
4. Do you think that your work at Delo.si / Dnevnik.si is helping people in any way? Why do you think it helps them or does not help them?
5. What is the most important thing about your work?
6. How do you understand journalism?
7. Do people need journalism in their lives?

Job satisfaction

1. Do you see your work as an intellectual challenge, or are your tasks repetitive and boring?
2. Do you get any feedback on your performance?
3. How do you determine whether you are doing a "good" or a "bad" job?
4. Are you satisfied with your job?
5. Do you feel that you are overwhelmed by your work at Delo.si / Dnevnik.si?
6. Are you satisfied with your salary?
7. Does working as an online journalist at Delo.si / Dnevnik.si provide you employment security? Why?
8. Would you like to work as an online journalist at another print media organisation?

Stages of production

1. How would you describe your working day?
2. Does your work involve opportunities for independent thinking and action based on your own initiative? How?
3. What determines the rhythm of your work?
4. How do you usually gather information for your news items?
5. How important is print news production to news supply at Delo.si / Dnevnik.si?
6. It seems that you barely leave the newsroom while preparing your news items. How do you view that and why is this so?
7. It seems that a good part of your work involves translating, altering and even copy-and-pasting. How do you view that?
8. What influences you most in your decision-making – what information to include and what not?
9. Before you began working as an online journalist, did you have a period of employment when you learned how to make news for the web?
10. Do you get instructions on how to work? Are they clear?

Relations with other journalistic subjects involved in news making

1. With whom do you come into contact through your work? How close is your relationship with them?
2. Who are your sources of information? How do you obtain your information from those sources?
3. It appears that your primary sources of information are agencies and other media. How do you view this?

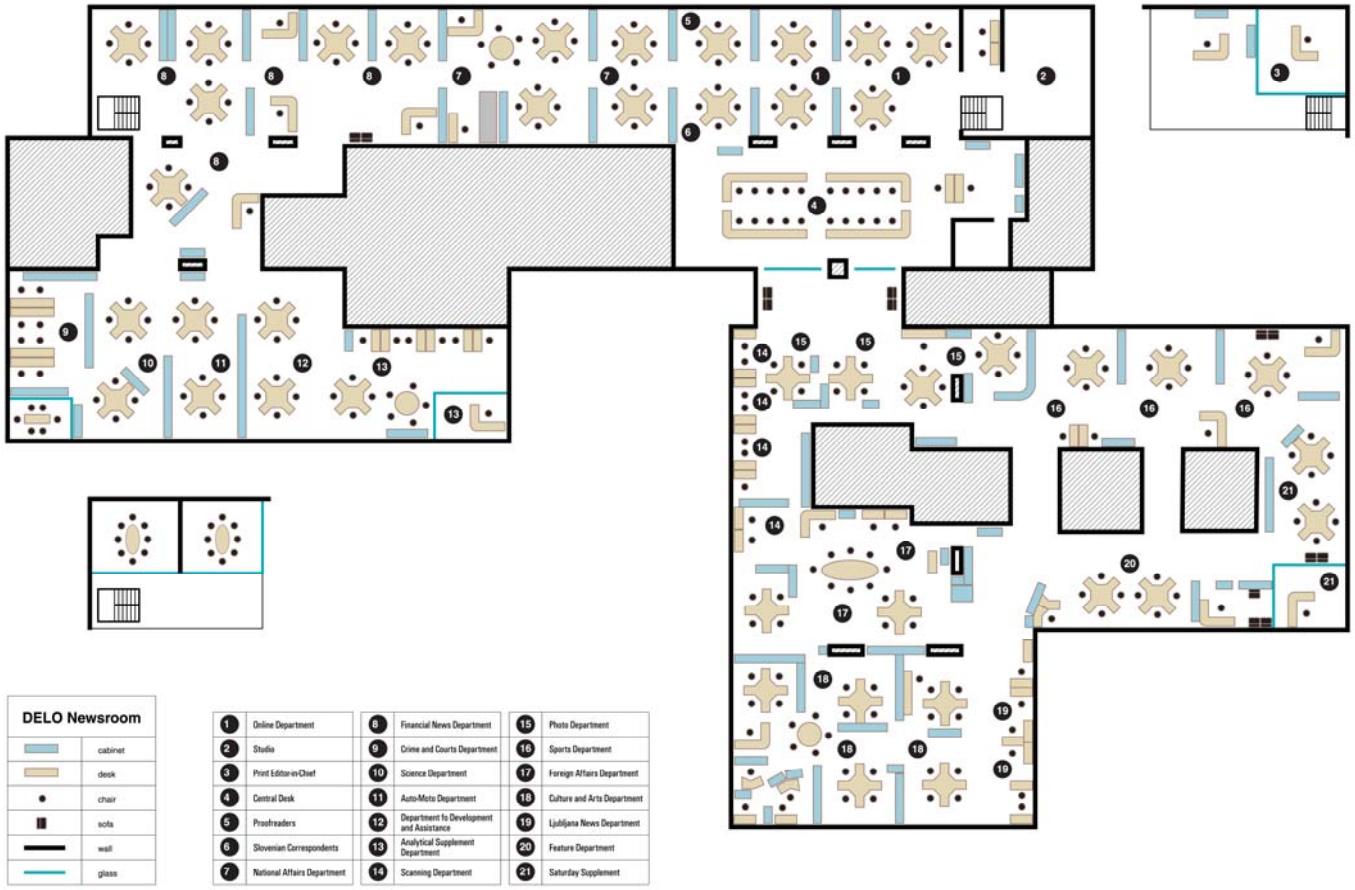
4. Who reads Delo.si / Dnevnik.si? What do you think of them?
5. What principally determines your relationship with the website's users?
6. How would you comment on the suggestion that the relationship between journalists and users isone of alienation?
7. It seems that the user is important only as someone who clicks on the page. What do you think of this observation?
8. How would you define your relationship with your colleagues at Delo.si / Dnevnik.si?
9. It seems that online journalists often face situations which require a rapid response that bypasses the formal hierarchy of the newsroom. What do you think of this observation?
10. How would you define your relationship with your superiors?
11. Do your superiors comment on your performance? Is their feedback useful?
12. The print editor-in-chief is formally your main supervisor. How would you define her/his attitude to Delo.si / Dnevnik.si?

Integration and space
1. What do you mean by the word integration? Do you use it?
2. What has the "integrated newsroom" brought to staffers at Delo.si? / What has the relocation of the Dnevnik.si online department from the fifth to the third floor brought to its staffers?
3. How would you define the relationship between Delo.si / Dnevnik.si department and other departments?
4. Cooperation between online and print journalists is reliant on the initiative of individual journalists. There is no mechanism in place for cooperation. What do you think of this observation?
5. It seems that Delo.si / Dnevnik.si is an almost completely separate production unit. What do you think of this observation?
6. Would it be good or bad if online and print departments cooperated more closely?

Technology and work
1. How do you understand the word interactivity? Do you use it?
2. How would you define your relationship with online users?
3. Do you track users' comments? Why?
4. Despite the potential offered by such comments, you do not actually get involved in interaction with them? Why is this so?
5. Delo.si conducts a survey among their users on a daily basis. What is the function of the survey?
6. Delo.si makes all of its news items accessible. Why is at least part of the website not closed? / Dnevnik.si had a collective blog. Why was that closed down?
7. The Delo.si / Dnevnik.si online department has a profile on Facebook and Twitter. What view do you take of this?
8. How do you understand the word hypertextuality? Do you use it?
9. Do you use "external" links in your news items? Why do you use them or not use them?
10. It would be better for journalism to include as many "internal" and "external" links as possible. How do you respond to this suggestion?
11. How do you understand the word multimediality? Do you use it?
12. Is it good or bad that Delo.si / Dnevnik.si has its own video production unit? Why ?
13. It seems that making video post for Delo.si is close to what the TV field team is doing? How would you comment on this observation? What are the advantages and disadvantages of this? / It seems that doing your own recording and editing and writing up your items as well makes it difficult for you to concentrate on the content aspect of your

work for Dnevnik.si. How would you comment on this observation? What are the advantages and disadvantages of this?
14. How do you link text, photo and video in your news items? Is this important for your work? Have you received any guidelines on this from from your superiors?
15. What are your main sources for photos and video?
16. Have you received any substantive guidance / advice / training on selection of photos / video? Have you had any previous experience of working with photos / video?
17. Which criteria do you use to select specific photos / videos? If you have doubts about selecting certain pictures / video, what are the key criteria which determine your decision? Do you discuss photos / videos with others before publication? Who do you consult and why?
18. Could you post an article without pictures / videos? Is the visualisation of news required?
19. Do you sometimes use symbolic images? How do you understand “symbolic images”?
20. Do you use photos / video captured by non-professionals / amateurs / readers? In which instances? Do you consult with colleagues or editors?
21. How often do you use a photo “print-screened” from the video?
22. Would you prefer to publish video or photo?

APPENDIX E: Delo Newsroom Layout



APPENDIX F: Dnevnik Newsroom Layout