

TWITTER AND THE JOURNALISTIC FIELD: HOW THE GROWTH OF A NEW(S)
MEDIUM IS TRANSFORMING JOURNALISM

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The undersigned, appointed by the dean of the Graduate School,
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TWITTER AND THE JOURNALISTIC FIELD: HOW THE GROWTH OF A NEW(S)
MEDIUM IS TRANSFORMING JOURNALISM

Presented by Stephen R. Barnard

A candidate for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

And hereby certify that, in their opinion, it is worthy of acceptance.

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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to all who have made it possible. First, this includes the countless journalists, Twitter users, and new media practitioners whose actions are transforming the journalistic field, and who inspired me to study the underlying social processes. This dissertation is also dedicated to my many family members who have, each in their own way, inspired me to seek greater meaning in this world, and who have provided me with endless love and support as I keep trying.

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ABSTRACT

This study advances journalistic field theory through a critical analysis of changes in the structure and practices of the journalistic field brought about through the social media platform Twitter, and the implications of this development. I present a case study of Twitter, its technological characteristics, and use as a form of social media to assess the growth of new media platforms and the increasing role of citizen journalism in the field. By combining qualitative methods of digital ethnography and ethnographic content analysis, I analyze Twitter usage by journalistic actors and contextualize these actions through a Bourdieuan field analysis. I argue that the rise of Twitter has played a significant role in shifting the boundaries of the journalistic field and the course of journalism as a profession. I further argue that journalistic social, cultural, and symbolic capital and doxa are undergoing significant change as the field's structure and practices are adapting to the web 2.0 era. These changes have led to the rise of a hybrid "web 2.0 habitus" that integrates values and practices from the journalistic field with those of nonprofessionals.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Bourdieu's Journalistic field theory has become a principal lens through which sociologists, journalists, and other scholars make sense of the macro- and mezzo-level interactions occurring with(in) the journalistic field and other fields of power and cultural production (Benson and Neveu 2005). Yet, despite all the strengths that Bourdieuan field theory has brought to the study of journalism, journalistic field theory has been remiss to address the various ways in which the field is undergoing vast changes as web 2.0 "affordances"—i.e. "the type of action[s] or...characteristic[s] of actions that a technology enables through its design"—are increasingly "leveraged," or put into action (Earl and Kimport 2011:10). While such developments have given rise to significant transformations in the journalistic field, they have yet to be adequately addressed in academic literatures.

As field theory has shown, the dynamics of the journalistic field do not transpire within a vacuum of journalistic elites. Rather, the journalistic field is situated amongst the broader network of fields, such as those of power, politics, economics, and other cultural fields, which all have the potential to influence each other in various ways (Benson and Neveu, 2005). Of specific importance is how actors within fields gain or lose power and dominance through changes in the fields economic, social, cultural and symbolic capital. Bourdieuan field theory has been successful in outlining the macro- and mezzo-level relations amongst the fields of power, politics, and economics; however, it has been less successful in accounting for changes in the journalistic field brought about first and foremost by the field of cultural production including technological

changes within it. One such shift, which began as a largely cultural phenomenon but is now having a vast impact throughout much of the journalistic field, is the growth of the Twitter medium (Hermida, 2010a). Citizen- and professional-journalists alike are using Twitter—and other web 2.0 tools—as a site for interaction within and across fields, which, I argue, has had the effect of “opening up the field of journalistic possibilities” (Barnard 2011) while also blurring the line between *what* counts as journalism, and *who* counts as a journalist.

While Twitter’s beginnings were as humble as any, it has grown into a medium of relevance within many fields, starting with culture and quickly gaining traction in journalism, politics, and education. Along with the recent newspaper crisis, the growth of online content—produced by citizen and professional journalists alike—and the global economic recession, it appears that the relevance of Twitter for the journalistic field is only growing. As Krause makes clear,

Technological change has played an important yet also limited role in the history of journalism. Innovation has become an integral aspect of maintaining field autonomy vis-a-vis outside forces, by limiting concentration and creating venues and audiences for new forms of journalistic practices – a role first played by radio, then TV and now the internet. In each case, the new entrant was not initially a journalistic medium but became partially incorporated into the field. This incorporation at the same time limited the role the new medium could play. Under what conditions are new technologies and media incorporated into fields? Under what conditions might they have a more transformative impact? (2011:100-1).

The trajectory outlined by Krause lends itself well to the analysis of the growing role of Twitter in the journalistic field. At present, despite its growing prominence very little research has addressed the variety of ways in which the rise of Twitter is impacting the journalistic field.

As Gil de Zúñiga et al. point out, “academic research has yet to fully unpack the notion of blogging as a journalistic practice” (2011:587). I take this even further, to argue that not only has academic literature failed to “fully unpack” the implications of blogging for journalistic practice, but it has also yet to address the full gamut of implications arising from the entire set of leveraged web 2.0 affordances. Indeed, not only have the changes brought about in the web 2.0 era greatly impacted journalistic practices, but they have also had a marked influence on the structure of the journalistic field itself and power relations within it. Such changes occurring in the journalistic field have yet to be adequately addressed in the literature. In order to help fill this gap, this study analyzes the role of Twitter in this process of transformation. Given the increasingly normative role that Twitter is taking on in journalism (Lasorsa et al., 2011) it is an exemplary case through which to investigate the structural and practical transformation occurring in the field, especially in relation to the growing impact of citizen journalists within this field.

Considering the strengths and limitations of previous research, this study proposes the following research question: What role(s) has Twitter played in the journalistic field and its recent transformations? Despite its straightforwardness, this question is particularly large and complex. Thus, I pose a number of sub-questions aimed to further focus the research and address more manageable pieces of the puzzle. First, how is Twitter implicated in the broader restructuring of the journalistic field? Second, how is Twitter implicated in the changing norms and practices of the journalistic field? Lastly, to what extent do the changes in the journalistic field reflect an “opening up” of the field

to increasingly include interactions with other fields and actors including citizen journalists?

In order to adequately address the transformations occurring at the intersection of the journalistic field and other fields of cultural production, it is necessary to employ Bourdieuan field theory in new and innovative ways. As Krause (2011) demonstrates, some of field theory's many benefits arise from its ability to broaden the unit of analysis in the study of news media and to "compare field properties across historical periods" (p. 90). While Benson explains that "field theory highlights processes of change," and "how the media field itself is transformed" (1999:463) most research on the US journalistic field has not adequately accomplished these goals.

Specifically, I argue that the structural transformation of the journalistic field—arising from the new relations of Twitter and the participatory web—is both a cause and consequence of the various changes in the field's treatment of nonprofessionals and through these changes we see shifts in power relations through access to new forms of social, cultural, and symbolic capital within fields. Not only is this capital available to professional journalists, but also increasingly to citizen journalists as they leverage new media and enter the field with growing ease. While much of the participatory web has contributed to this shift, Twitter contributes primarily and uniquely to it, largely because it's speedy, accessible, and interactive format as well as the increasingly normative status it has across the field.

As norms and practices change, and journalists' interactions with non-professionals span beyond the borders of the journalistic field, this results in noteworthy changes to the field's structure. The field was once made up of journalists, editors, and

increasingly profit-driven corporations who dominated the journalistic field through economic, social, cultural, and symbolic capital. While this more traditional field occasionally published letters to the editor by a small group of engaged citizens, the journalistic field—both on Twitter and beyond—now increasingly includes contributions by non-professionals (Reich 2011). I argue that this shift has opened up the boundaries of the journalistic field, making room for entry by actors situated primarily in other fields of cultural production. Such a transformation is not only structural, but has also influenced the kinds of practices employed by journalistic actors as non-traditional reporting increasingly gains traction in the field.

As the journalistic field becomes increasingly normalized to Twitter and the participatory web, the values and dispositions of a growing portion of the journalistic field become an increasingly hybrid integration of traditional and new media forms. Along with this shift comes the growing significance of these media in the field's relations of power and capital. New routes to various forms of journalistic capital, which are now abundant on Twitter and the participatory web, allow greater numbers of the field's less traditional actors to gain greater power and influence. This power is not only at play in the journalistic field, but can also bear upon action other fields like politics, culture, and technology. Altogether, this constitutes a notable sea-change in the relations of power throughout much of the field, as I will show throughout this dissertation.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Addressing the central problematic stated above requires consideration of multiple bodies of literature derived from a number of scholarly disciplines. Separate bodies of literature on technology, Twitter, and the journalistic field constitute the primary literatures that inform this study, each of which helps build important context for this research project to stand upon. To begin this review of literature, an in-depth discussion of Bourdieu's theory is presented to provide background for readers unfamiliar with it.

An Introduction to Bourdieuan Fields

Bourdieu defines a field as “a field of forces within which the agents occupy positions that statistically determine the positions they take with respect to the field, these position-takings being aimed either at conserving or transforming the structure of relations of forces that is constitutive of the field” (Bourdieu 2005:30). While the repetition of “field” appears somewhat tautological, the concept remains an important and revealing unit of analysis for the study of separate but interconnected spheres of action. Another explanation provided by Thompson (1991:14) defines a field as “a structured space of positions in which the positions and their interrelations are determined by the distribution of different kinds of resources or ‘capital’” (quoted in Hesmondhalgh 2006:212). Thus, fields are highly relational spaces consisting of positioned agents whose interactions are textured importantly by the structure of their relations as well as the various kinds of capital agents wield in interaction. Bourdieu is particularly interested in ongoing competition for various forms of capital that takes place throughout and across fields, because these relations manifest as forms of power and domination.

The field concept has been applied in the analysis of many fields, particularly because of the explanatory ability it affords. As Randal Johnson explains, “A field is a dynamic concept in that a change in agents’ positions necessarily entails a change in the field’s structure” (Johnson, in Bourdieu 1993:6). Furthermore, as Neveu makes clear, “Field theory and its concepts offer a toolkit whose proper use is to reveal the changing structures of interdependencies, institutional mediations, and the concrete realization of dispositions” (2005:208). In addition to affording macro-level structural analyses of field (inter)action, Bourdieu’s theoretical model also permits an analysis of micro-level practices and relations. Thus, “A field approach...invites us to think about media and cultural production as a *modus operandi* and not only as an end product (*opus operatum*)” (Neveu 2005:203). By broadening the unit of analysis, field theory’s expansive scope facilitates an examination of both the structures and practices that make up the journalistic field.

As will become increasingly clear, field theory has seen great success in analyses of journalism. Benson employs “the notion of ‘field,’ as the interorganizational, professional, social, and indeed cultural space within which journalists situate or orient their action and interaction” (2004:311). As he explains, Bourdieuan field theory helps orient the research frame towards important and

previously underemphasized variables...for their potential shaping effects on the news: interorganizational dynamics of professional as well as economic competition, morphological aspects such as the number of agents competing for positions relative to those available, and the *historical trajectory of the field’s formation* (2004:312) [emphasis added].

Likewise, many of these dynamics will be examined throughout this study. Not only will this analysis focus on the journalistic field, but it will also address journalism's relations with many other relevant fields.

According to Bourdieu, there are many different but overlapping fields, each with their own varying, but relatively autonomous, logic and structure. Some of the fields most prominent in Bourdieuan analysis include the political, economic, educational, intellectual, and various cultural fields (see Figure 1). The field of power—a composite of the economic and political fields (Hesmondhalgh 2006:212)—is, according to Bourdieu, “not a field like the others.” Rather, “it is the space of the relations of force between the different kinds of capital or, more precisely, between the agents who possess a sufficient amount of one of the different kinds of capital to be in a position to dominate the corresponding field, whose struggles intensify whenever the relative value of the different kinds of capital is questioned” (Bourdieu 1998b:34). Bourdieu employs the field of power in two distinct ways: at times as a proxy for class, and, more importantly, as a meta-field that “operates as an organizing principle of differentiation and struggle throughout *all* fields” (Swartz 1997:136). The “fields of cultural production” on the other hand, are more numerous and less ubiquitous. Some examples include the literary, artistic, scientific, religious, and journalistic fields (see Figure 2).¹

¹ For a more detailed overview of Bourdieuan fields, see Hesmondhalgh 2006:212.



Figure 1: Fields



Figure 2: Fields of Cultural Production

Relations across fields are also of great importance—to Bourdieu’s sociology as well as to this study in particular—because action is rarely contained within any one field. Indeed, as will be discussed later Bourdieu’s (1998a) interest in the journalistic field has much to do with its influence on other fields of cultural production. A central dynamic of field relations is the extent to which action in a particular field is autonomous from or heteronomous with other fields. Sticking to his spatial metaphor, Bourdieu explains this dynamic as influence from a field’s autonomous or heteronomous “pole” (1993:46). Paying such attention to relative autonomy is important because it provides important insight into the terms upon which action is taken as well as the likelihood such action will bear upon the relations of other fields. As Swartz explains,

By calling attention to the internal structuring mechanisms as groups of specialists develop, transmit, and control their own particular status culture, the idea of relative autonomy usefully stresses how particular organizational and professional interests can emerge and come into conflict with outside demands (1997:292).

Thus, gaining an understanding of the extent to which action is determined according to relations within or outside a given field can reveal much about the action’s meaning as well as the terms upon which action within a field is taken. While taking account of the macro-level structures allows for a consideration of a field’s interaction with(in) other fields, considering micro-level (inter)actions and practices also permits the researcher to account for agentic and historically specific dynamics that are particular to the field of study: the journalistic field.

Drawing from Bourdieu (1993; 2005), Schultz (2007) does an impressive job of locating the journalistic field as well as outlining some key assumptions at the heart of a Bourdieuan analysis of the journalistic field, and thus I quote her at length:

The journalistic field is part of the field of *cultural production* together with the arts and sciences, a field that is occupied with producing cultural, ‘symbolic goods’.... Furthermore, the journalistic field is part of the field of *power*, not least because the constant cultural production of social discourse not only implies production of categories for ‘vision’ of the social world, but at the same time, categories also of ‘division’, or more simply put: to give a name, is to place within a hierarchical, symbolic space (p. 192).

This realization is of particular importance for the blurring distinction between professional and citizen journalism that is central dynamic in the transformation of the field, and which I also discuss in greater length elsewhere (Barnard, 2011). More broadly, such a tracing of Bourdieu’s logic is meaningful in providing the theoretical grounding necessary to apply and extend the notion of field theory within the practice of journalism. Bourdieu has himself added further clarification on the workings of professional practices across multiple fields:

Those who deal professionally in making things explicit and producing discourses—sociologists, historians, politicians, journalists, etc.—have two things in common. On the one hand, they strive to set out explicitly practical principles of vision and division. On the other hand, they struggle, each in their own universe, to impose these principles of vision and division, and to have them recognized as legitimate categories of construction of the social world (2005:37).

This distinction, which is so central to the delineation of the journalistic field, assists in policing the borders of who is and is not a journalist. Although the dynamics arising from the blurriness of such distinctions have not yet been adequately addressed in research on the journalistic field, one of the goals of this study is to remedy this shortcoming by addressing how other fields of cultural production are increasingly infiltrating and influencing the operations of the journalistic field.

Benson and Neveu's (2005) edited volume is abound with meaningful applications and extensions of Bourdieu's field theory to the context of journalism. *Bourdieu and the Journalistic Field* is an invaluable contribution to the understanding and application of a Bourdieuan framework to the practice of journalism. One of its many positive attributes is the numerous practical applications of field theory to the study of journalism. For example, Benson and Hallin (2007) draw upon both content and field analyses and seek to integrate them in comparative fashion to assess the "influence of media structure on journalistic discourse" (p. 27). While such a mixing of methodologies is far from seamless, the attention paid to both content and context—i.e. field—is an admirable and welcome integration. Further, despite the fact that no research agenda could possibly explain everything, such innovative integration of theoretical and methodological approaches makes significant strides in broadening the scope of research on the journalistic field, allowing for a fuller explanation of such complex phenomena.

In another exemplary case of journalistic field theory, Schultz (2007) draws upon her ethnographic work on editorial conferences in a Danish television newsroom and applies Bourdieuan theoretical concepts to newsroom practices. Schultz develops the concept of a journalistic "gut feeling" as an innovative estimation of Bourdieu's comparing the habitus to "having a feel for the game" (See Schultz 2007:193; Bourdieu 1998b). Schultz builds on Bourdieu and argues that because "the game can be played from different positions" within the journalistic field,

It is thus possible to imagine that there will be more specific forms of journalistic habitus within journalistic fields, such as "editorial habitus", a "reporter habitus" or an "intern habitus", but also forms of journalistic habitus differentiated according to journalistic genres such as a "foreign correspondent habitus", an "investigative reporter habitus", forms of

habitus according to media “magazine habitus”, “newspaper habitus”, “television habitus”, etc. (Schultz 2007:194).

In addition to theorizing a professional news habitus, Schultz further draws upon Bourdieu’s discussion of doxa and applies it directly to her ethnography of editorial conferences to uncover the “journalistic doxa” and “orthodox news values.” Defining journalistic doxa as “a set of professional beliefs which tend to appear as evident, natural and self-explaining norms of journalistic practice” (2007:194), Schultz makes important headway in the journey to explain the journalistic field by applying Bourdieuan sociology. Schultz’s theoretical and methodological successes provide one of many welcome exemplars upon which this research is built.

Adding to the discussion on autonomy and the journalistic field, Hallin (2005) draws upon and advances Mazzoleni’s concept of “media logic” while further situating such logic at the intersection of multiple fields. Accordingly, Hallin points out that “media logic” is increasingly becoming a “hybrid logic...[which] can be said to be rooted in two developments that overlapped historically, and were intertwined in important ways, but are also distinct: one is the growth of commercial cultural industries; the other is the growth of journalistic professionalism” (Hallin 2005:234).² Such a combination of cultural and journalistic logics is increasingly relevant to the journalistic field on Twitter. Nonetheless, scholars of the journalistic field have yet to adequately examine the hybridization of media logic, including the extent and consequences of this trend.

² See also Dahlgren (1996); Deuze (2007).

Defining key terms

It is important to operationalize the key terms employed in this analysis, particularly by reviewing the most relevant structural and practical components of Bourdieu's field theory and to place them within the context of the journalistic field. I employ the term *structure* as a blanket term for the field's composition. In other words, *who* is in the field and on *what* terms action in the field is taken (see Figure 3). This orients our attention to the structured relations and position-takings throughout the field. I use the term *practical attributes* to represent the sum of field-specific practice(s) as well as the various other characteristics at play within fields, such as habitus, capital, and doxa (see Figure 4). I use variants of the term *practice* in numerous contexts throughout the manuscript. The plural *practices* largely refers to the everyday routines and technical processes through which journalistic actors work. In other words, what journalists *do*. As Swartz explains, "Practices occur when habitus encounters those competitive arenas called fields, and action reflects the structure of that encounter" (1997:141). Most often, I use the singular *practice*—similar to the plural form—to refer to (journalistic) acts.

Structure

<i>Who is in the field</i>	<i>Intra-field Relations</i>	<i>Inter-field Relations</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Actors</i> • <i>Organizations & Institutions of Journalism</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Professional Associations</i> • <i>News Institutions</i> • <i>Sub-Fields</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Political</i> • <i>Economic</i> • <i>Technological</i> • <i>Cultural</i>

Figure 3: Structure

Practical Attributes

Practices	Habitus	Capital	Doxa
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Routines • Methods • Interactions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Field background • Dispositions • Motives 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Money (Econ) • Social currency (Social) • Reputation & Prestige (Symbolic) • Class-based esteem (Cultural) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Norms • Values <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Debated (Hetero) • Agreed upon (Ortho) • Taken-for-granted (Doxa)

Figure 4: Practical Attributes

As Bourdieu theorizes, practice is a product of the interaction between capital and habitus in addition to field. He offers (Bourdieu 1984:101; Swartz 1997:141) this equation:

$$[(\text{habitus}) (\text{capital})] + \text{field} = \text{practice}$$

Although the full extent of this relationship still remains unclear (Swartz 1997), the formulation is useful in articulating the basic terms upon which practice occurs. On occasion, practice is also used as a verb, the act of which occurs in the manner just described. Throughout these variations is an overarching theme: practice is a dialectical process in which structuring structures are continuously (re)produced.

A few other terms—some mentioned above—are also used throughout the manuscript and should be defined here. As Bourdieu conceives it, the *habitus* is a system of “durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures” (1990:53). In other words, the habitus is akin to having a “feel for the game” (Bourdieu 1990:66), or what Song (2010:264) calls “the expectations, conceptions, and ideals of the community” which, of course, requires the existence of a specific field with specific stakes (Bourdieu 1998:81). As Schultz explains, a distinctly journalistic habitus

implies understanding the journalistic game, and being able to master the rules of the same game. But the game can be played from different positions, and different dispositions point to different forms of mastering the game. In this way we can assume that there will be different positions in the field and that journalistic autonomy will depend on this (2007:193-4).

Differing positions amongst all fields, but especially the field of power—and in the context of this research, the journalistic field—structure the habitus in different ways and

thus leave actors with varying dispositions. Although the habitus of each actor varies from another, as do their positions and position-takings, patterns often exist given the structured nature of such positions and dispositions. One obvious example is the actors' belief in the worthiness of the game—what Bourdieu calls *illusio*—is supported *ipso facto* by their very action in the field (Swartz 1997:125; Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992:115). Furthermore, Schultz's discussion of the journalistic habitus and its many forms specific to subfields, like the “investigative reporter habitus,” “editorial habitus,” “television habitus,” etc. also illustrates the shared nature of field-specific dispositions (2007:194). It is an extension of this discussion in which I will theorize a new, “web 2.0 habitus” emerging throughout much of the journalistic field.

Capital is another key Bourdieuan concept and can be roughly understood as the stakes of the game—in a word: power. Locating the concept of capital directly within field relations, Benson and Neveu make clear that “fields are arenas of struggle in which individuals and organizations compete, unconsciously and consciously, to valorize those forms of capital which they possess” (2005:4). According to Bourdieu,

the structure of the field, i.e. the space of positions, is nothing other than the structure of the distribution of the capital of specific properties which governs success in the field and the winning of the external or specific profits...which are at stake in the field (1993:30).

Bourdieu differentiates between multiple types of capital including economic (monetary), cultural (class-based knowledge, tastes, and resources), social (the potential—realized or not—for opportunity based upon relations amongst actors), and symbolic (honor and prestige) capital (Bourdieu 1993; Swartz 1997). As Benson and Neveu explain,

The specific form of economic and cultural capital varies within each field...Inside the journalistic field, *economic capital* is expressed via

circulation, or advertising revenues, or audience ratings, whereas the ‘specific’ *cultural capital* of the field takes the form of intelligent commentary, in-depth reporting, and the like—the kind of journalistic practices rewarded each year by the US Pulitzer Prizes (2005:4) [emphasis added].

Furthermore, *symbolic capital* within the journalistic field can derive from the recognition given to actors for laudatory practice based on varying measures. As a general rule, the more capital one possesses, the more power they may wield.

Bourdieu defines *doxa* as “the universe of tacit presuppositions that we accept as the natives of a certain society” (2005:37). In other words, a field’s taken-for-granted values that go largely undiscussed and undisputed (Bourdieu 1977). In comparison to *doxa*, Bourdieu offers the concepts of *heterodoxy* and *orthodoxy* to signify those values which are up for discussion and debate.³ As seen above, Schultz defines a distinctly *journalistic doxa* as “a set of professional beliefs which tend to appear as evident, natural and self-explaining norms of journalistic practice” (2007:194). Altogether, these key concepts make up much of Bourdieu’s theoretical model. Thus, as actors are socialized into a field they start acquiring field-specific capital, forming a situated habitus, and eventually become accustomed to the various *doxa* of that field. As Bourdieu’s formulation makes clear, the product of these interacting variables is practice.

One additional, important concept that will be used throughout the manuscript—but is not directly related to field theory—is the term *web 2.0*. I use this term to signify the new, distinctive era of the web marked by a level of interactivity and openness to user-generated content (Song 2010:252). Although it is clear that many early online

³ *Orthodox* values are those which fit the status quo of the field, while *heterodox* values are those which depart from accepted norms.

communities share similar traits, the key difference is not the existence of these affordances, but the extent to which they are manifested in the landscape of the web and the habitus' of those acting within it. As Song (2010) makes clear, an important part of the web 2.0 turn is the normative, cultural shifts that are occurring along with technological advancements. Indeed, she argues that the key shift in the web 2.0 push has been the emergence of a “participatory habitus” (Song 2010:266). As the reader will see, these concepts will be further applied and clarified throughout the remainder of the manuscript.

Bourdieu and the Study of the Journalistic Field

As Benson (1999) notes, the concept of the “media field” arose out of efforts by Bourdieu and his French colleagues to locate the field of journalistic (inter)action and to elucidate its relationship with other fields. Since that time, the frame has shifted to a focus on the “journalistic field,” which has risen as a dominant lens through which journalism is to be studied and understood from a sociological perspective. Rather than focusing on content, on the individual practices of journalists, or on particular organizations, field theory focuses on situating those practices within larger frameworks of power and thus can be helpful in explaining how—and on what terms—media content comes to be what it is. In short, it picks up the discussion where others—particularly newsroom ethnographers—leave it. As Schultz explains,

Where previous newsroom studies had an explanatory weakness in their focus on particular organizations and their internal dynamics, field theory has its strength in taking into consideration the relations between the newsroom and the journalistic field and between the journalistic field and the field of power (2007:192).

Furthermore, Benson makes clear that field analysis

provides an analytical framework that bridges macro-societal and micro-organizational approaches, situating the journalistic field in relation to the larger field of power and explaining how external forces are translated into the semi-autonomous logic of the journalistic field” (Benson 1999:479).

While Bourdieu’s theoretical model has had a profound impact on how many scholars make sense of journalism, his own work on the journalistic field is not his best. As Bourdieu’s only effort to focus primarily on journalism, *On Television* (1998a) is more polemical than it is practical. As Hesmondhalgh explains about this work, “Bourdieu provides a compelling polemic about the threat posed by journalism and by television journalism in particular, to the autonomy of cultural producers in a large number of neighboring fields” (2006:218). Thus, Bourdieu’s concern is with the degradation of autonomy, which in this case involves the growing impact of the journalistic field on other fields. This focus has its merit, given the growing power of mainstream media (MSM) outlets to influence action in other fields, but it is only part of the story. What Bourdieu did not adequately address, however, was the reverse dynamic: the power of socially mediated cultural fields to have such a profound impact on the practices and productions of journalism.

Despite all the strengths, one tendency in the literature on the journalistic field is particularly problematic: it often fails to sufficiently account for *change*. Although the realities of the journalistic field are increasingly a product of more than the interactions of MSM institutions with political and economic fields, such complexities are frequently overlooked. Yet, this need not be the case. While journalistic field theorists have been

mostly blind to studying issues of change, scholars of other fields have not had such difficulties.⁴ Indeed much of Paul DiMaggio's new institutionalism is well attuned to understanding how various other fields undergo change (DiMaggio 1991; DiMaggio et al. 2001). Given the vast changes occurring in the journalistic field, as technological affordances offer new possibilities for journalistic (inter)action and the journalistic field is increasingly influenced by other fields of cultural production, research on the journalistic field cannot afford to discount these changes any longer.

Like other fields, the journalistic field is subject to change based largely upon its inter- and intra-field relations. Although no social relation is static, the continuity of social reality can lead even the most conscious observer to perceive ongoing transformations as relatively constant relations. Despite this common distortion, understanding the circumstances under which fields transform, and to what effects, is of great importance to field theory.

Transformations of the journalistic field matter, Bourdieu argues, precisely because of the central position of the journalistic field in the larger field of power, as part of an ensemble of centrally located fields....Because fields are so closely intertwined and because journalism in particular is such a crucial mediator among all fields (Benson and Neveu 2005:6).

That is, Bourdieu's interest in the journalistic field hinges largely upon its influence on other fields. Therefore, transformations of the journalistic field may serve as both cause and consequence of other field relations.

⁴ Thanks to Tim Dowd for bringing this to my attention and providing examples.

Fields undergo change based upon various internal and external dynamics. Shifts in the definition, value, and possession of differing forms of capital can lead to profound changes in a field's makeup. For example,

[T]he value of certain *capitals* (skills, experience, credentials) may increase as the structure of the field changes. Changes in the structure of a field are affected by the 'objective' conditions of the field (its relationship to other fields, or its context), but also partly by the actions of the people in the field (Kunelius and Ruusunoksa 2008:665).

Furthermore, new actors can have a profound impact on a field's structural and practical attributes. Indeed, as Bourdieu's field theory attests, "the history of the field arises from the struggle between the established figures and the young challengers" (1993:60). As will become increasingly clear, the recent case of Twitter and the journalistic field serves an ideal-typical example of these processes. Journalistic actors' increased adaptation of Twitter- and other web-inspired values are a major factor in both the structural and agentic shifts within the field. Despite the increasing apparentness of this objective reality, much of the scholarship in this area has inadequately accounted for this growing trend.

While field theory is inherently attuned to the constant process of social construction—i.e. "structured" and "structuring" structures—the journalistic field is often talked about in a way that highlights its continuity and downplays its ongoing transformations (cf. Benson 2005; Russell 2007; Krause 2011; Kunelius and Ruusunoksa 2008). This unfortunate tendency may be partially attributed to the limitations of research that focus on particular historical contexts or on interactions between the same fields examined by other scholars of the journalistic field. There are, however, welcome

and notable exceptions to this unfortunate trend, as Krause's (2011) investigation of the US journalistic field's transformation throughout the 20th century clearly illustrates.

By taking an historical approach to the study of the journalistic field, Krause details how journalism in the U.S. has undergone numerous transformations, which arise most directly from interaction with political, economic, and technological dynamics. Indeed, as Russell (2007:287) points out, the four main, external factors that most significantly bear upon the journalistic field are "economic, cultural, political, and technological." Furthermore, Russell's (2007) work has also called attention to the ways in which the space of the journalistic field is being invaded by agents previously seen as mere consumers of the field's products. It is accounts such as these which inspire this work and lay the groundwork necessary for a critical examination of the journalistic field's interaction with other fields.

Journalism, New Media, and Technological Innovations

As Krause (2011) illustrates above, technological innovations play a fundamental role in the journalistic field. Whether it is through a shift in structural relations with other organizations or fields, or through a shift in micro-level journalistic practices themselves, the role of technology in journalism is steadily increasing. Moreover, not only have innovations in new media technology gained importance in daily journalistic practices, but they have played a significant role in the radical changes occurring in the journalistic field as well (Pavlik 1998, 2001; Allan 2006; Deuze 2007; Boczkowski and Ferris 2005; Boczkowski 2010a; Lee-Wright 2010). Nonetheless, research employing journalistic field theory has yet to adequately account for the role of technological (and other)

changes and their impact on the field. Thus, it is this topic—technological shifts in the journalistic field—that will be the focus of this section. It is my hope that lessons learned from other bodies of literature on journalism and new media technologies can be applied to the study of the journalistic field.

There is no shortage of scholarship regarding the various implications of technology for society and vice versa. At the most general level, researchers have adopted broad definitions “technology” and “society,” opting for more grand, macro-level analyses of the technology-society relationship. This body of literature can be divided into two types. On the one hand, scholars have written at length about the increasing role of technologies in everyday life (Smith, 2010; Hampton, Sessions, Her, and Rainie, 2009; Boase, Horrigan, Wellman, and Rainie, 2006; Wellman and Haythrowaite, 2002). On the other hand, many scholars have also written extensively about the inverse relationship, often called the “social shaping of technology” (MacKenzie and Wajcman, 1999). This body of literature on the technology-society relationship serves as a basic foundation for more narrowly focused inquiries of a similar kind.

Under the broad umbrella of technology sits another growing body of research on “new media” technologies (Pavlik 1998). Once again, research on the role of new media can be divided into two basic categories. On the one hand, some scholars have taken a more generalist approach, focusing primarily on broader societal implications of and interactions with new media technologies, as illustrated by the overall approach of the journal *New Media & Society*. On the other hand, many scholars have studied the role of new media technologies in various contexts, such as the fields of journalism (Pavlik,

2001), education (Bates, 2005; Gordon, 2000) and culture (Jenkins, 2006). While new media technologies have played significant roles in each of these fields, their implications for the journalistic field have been quite profound and are particularly relevant to this research.

According to Peters (2009) “new media” can be defined in two distinct ways: “first...as emerging communication and information technologies undergoing a historical process of contestation, negotiation, and institutionalization.” Second and more simply, “new media are media we do not yet know how to talk about” (p. 18). Both definitions are useful and illustrative of the current state of new media technologies as they relate to the field of journalism. As new media emerge and are implemented within the journalistic field, they often encounter a process of transformation that not only affects the new media technologies themselves, but also their users and, by extension, the broader fields within which they are being utilized. This is particularly true of the journalistic field, given its strong historical reliance on technologies for its body of practices, from newsgathering to production, distribution, professional interaction and beyond (Pavlik, 2001). Perhaps it is precisely *because* new media are “undergoing a historical process of contestation, negotiation, and institutionalization” that “we do not yet know how to talk about” them (Peters, 2009). Despite the congruence of these two definitions, the former is superior in its ability to adequately and accurately communicate the milieu within which new media technologies are situated, and thus will be the operating definition of new media for the remainder of this research.

Innovations in new media technologies have had a profound impact on both the structure and practices of the journalistic field. Accordingly, many scholars have

increasingly examined this relationship in their research. Deuze (2007) focuses his analysis at the level of “media work” and, among other media professions, uncovers the contemporary reality—shaped largely by technology—of the journalistic profession. He argues that “[a]t different times in the history of the [journalism] profession, technology was (and still is) heralded as the bringer of all new threats and possibilities” (Deuze 2007:153). Fenton’s (2010) edited volume *New Media, Old News* contains numerous informative chapters on the role of new media technologies in the UK journalistic field. Furthermore, Hemmingway (2008) offers pointed insights into the technological apparatus of journalists working for BBC regional television news, while Preston (2009:69) found that “[journalist] interviewees from all countries [included in the study] indicated a strong belief that digital technologies were bringing about significant shifts in newsmaking practices and routines.”

Despite the important place of new media technologies in the journalistic field, care must be taken not to overemphasize, or even fetishize, the role of technology as an agent of change. Accordingly, many scholars have adopted a view of technology as “neutral,” with interactive outcomes dependent more upon the *use* of technology by social actors (Preston, 2009:17; Earl and Kimport:2011). As Earl and Kimport make clear:

Technologies don’t change societies or social processes through their mere existence but rather impact social processes through their mundane or innovative *uses*, and the ways in which the affordances of the technology are leveraged by those mundane or innovative uses (2011:14) [emphasis original].

Furthermore, that such actions take place within the context of structured *fields* is a basic acknowledgment of many scholars using field theory as a means of studying fields such

as journalism (Benson and Neveu, 2005). While it is surely true that the use of technology is a central, if not primary, factor in determining technological outcomes, McLuhan and other “medium theorists” are also correct when they maintain that media themselves have inherent components which significantly influence the messages they produce. Thus, the approach taken throughout this study will seek a praxis between both truisms, loosely adopting Earl and Kimport’s (2011) notion of “technological affordances” and relying on empirical evidence to analyze the various implications Twitter usage has had in and for the journalistic field.

Altogether these literatures offer a solid base upon which an orienting understanding of the role technologies play in shaping journalism can be built. While they do not sufficiently explain the various implications of Twitter for the journalistic field, they do offer much of the groundwork and tools necessary to do so. It is toward this specific relationship—between Twitter and journalism—that I now turn.

Twitter and journalism

Although conventional wisdom of the public, personal, and potentially profitable uses for mediums such as Twitter is increasingly abundant (Amhad, 2010; Hermida, 2010a, 2010b; Arceneaux and Weiss, 2010; Marwick and Boyd, 2010; Golbeck et al., 2010; Jansen et al., 2009), academic knowledge regarding the significance of Twitter within the journalistic field is surely lacking (Hermida, 2010a). Indeed, while a number of websites, blogs, and aggregators help shed light on Twitter’s growing importance for journalism (for example, www.twitterjournalism.com, www.muckrack.com, www.sulia.com) a recent article published by Lasorsa et al. (2011) is one of few published academic works

dedicated to this specific relationship. Therefore, the task of this research will be to fill the gap by addressing Twitter's role within the journalistic field.

Lasorsa et al. (2011) offer the first compelling investigation of the growing role that Twitter plays in the journalistic field. As they make clear,

the platform and culture of Twitter presents...the possibility for changes to journalistic norms—i.e., for journalists to be more open with opinions, more liberal in sharing their gatekeeping role, and more thorough in being transparent about the news process (Lasorsa et al. 2011:6).

Additionally, as Hermida (2009:4) explains, microblogs like Twitter “are creating new forms of journalism, representing one of the ways in which the Internet is influencing journalism practices and, furthermore, changing how journalism itself is defined” (quoted in Lasorsa et al. 2011:4-5). While Lasorsa et al. (2011) offer a welcome exploration of the plethora of implications Twitter holds for the journalistic field, it is only the beginning of the conversation.

Although their work is not focused on journalistic field, Lindgren and Lundström (2011) also provide important insights in the implications of Twitter for Bourdieuan fields. By studying the “linguistic field” of Twitter discourse surrounding Wikileaks, they find that “even though it is global and loosely-knit, the linguistic space of Twitter discourse is a space where such processes of meaning-production and organization take place” (p. 17). Furthermore, Zappavinga (2011) contributes a linguistic analysis of Twitter discourse, arguing that users can employ hashtags to “increase the ‘loudness’ of their discourse...and the probability that a user’s production of texts over time will be actively ‘followed’ by others,” thus creating the possibility for “ambient affiliation” (p. 13). These trends translate well to the practical functioning of discursive exchanges

carried out in the journalistic field on Twitter and provide an illustration of how the expansion and connectivity of the field can result from the leveraging of Twitter affordances.

Of the remaining body of literature relating Twitter to journalism Ahmad (2010) and Hermida (2010a) offer the most compelling and revealing accounts, although neither frames their analysis in light of the body of literature on the journalistic field. Ahmad (2010) studied Twitter's role within the institutional setting of the popular British newspaper, arguing that it is "just one of a number of 'tools' employed by journalists at *The Guardian*" (149). Concerned with MSM coverage of Twitter and its social relevance across the globe, Ahmad's primary focus was to question the importance of Twitter journalistic practices at *The Guardian*. Finding that Twitter's function at *The Guardian* was as much a "research tool" as a "marketing tool," Ahmad acknowledges Twitter's ability to aid journalists in gathering and distributing news. Yet, in addition to discussing Twitter's role as a tool for journalism, Ahmad also criticizes MSM journalism for potentially being a tool (of advertising) for Twitter, given the array of news stories about the social relevance of the medium (see also Arceneaux and Weiss, 2010). Despite the ability of MSM outlets to help raise awareness about this budding new medium, the key focus of this discussion remains on Twitter's actual and potential implications for journalism.

Hermida (2010a) informs us that as a tool of journalistic practice, one of Twitter's most significant applications is as an *awareness system*. Awareness systems are "computer-mediated communication systems" (Hermida, 2010a:301) that are "intended to help people construct and maintain awareness of each others' activities, context or

status, even when the participants are not co-located” (Markopoulos et al., 2009, quoted in Hermida, 2010a). As an awareness system, Twitter not only fulfills civic functions, but it also has a growing role in filtering the awareness of journalists, by providing them “with more complex ways of understanding and reporting on the subtleties of public communication” (Hermida:301). Indeed, Hermida contends that “the institutionally structured features of micro-blogging are creating new forms of journalism, representing one of the ways in which the Internet is influencing journalism practices and, furthermore, challenging how journalism itself is defined” (300).

Calling this new(s) practice “ambient journalism” and defining it as “an awareness system that offers diverse means to collect, communicate, share and display news and information, serving diverse purposes,” Hermida (2010a:301) suggests that the significance of Twitter reaches beyond the (professional) journalistic field and into the realm of citizenship. While Hermida’s discussion of Twitter as an awareness system focuses on the medium’s role in informing journalists of the happenings of the world, such an awareness system can be used—by journalists and citizens alike—for many purposes beyond professional newsgathering. Information sharing and debate regarding journalistic practices are two such functions. It is toward these practices that this research turns in order to help advance our understanding of the broader landscape that constitutes the relationship between Twitter and the journalistic field. Despite this introductory knowledge about Twitter’s role in journalism, many limitations remain in the literature thus far. First, most research on Twitter and journalism has focused primarily on specific news organizations—for example, Ahmad’s (2010) analysis of Twitter usage at *The Guardian*. Second, research on Twitter and journalism has tended

to highlight the new medium's use as a tool for news gathering, as exemplified by Hermida (2010a). While this is indeed an important function of Twitter for journalism, such a focus appears to have come at the cost of research on the various other relevancies that Twitter carries throughout the journalistic field. Overall, with the welcome exception of Lasorsa et al. (2011), research on Twitter and journalism has tended to focus on individual practices and particular organizations rather than on the larger journalistic field as seen through Twitter. Thus, this research investigates the role of Twitter in the transforming structure and practices of the journalistic field.

METHOD(OLOGY)

This research aims to step outside of the standard questions and methodologies of field theory and instead to employ a mixture of qualitative methodologies to address new lines of inquiry. This study's focus on an emerging region of the journalistic field as seen on Twitter requires pushing the methodologies of field theory further and applying even more reflexive and digital methods capable of holding up to the demands of research in a largely digital, web-based field. Instead of focusing inquiry at the organizational level this research analyzes the texts, interactions, and discursive exchanges that occur throughout the journalistic field on Twitter. By drawing data from journalistic actors' use of Twitter as well as three years of participant-observation in the journalistic field on Twitter, I analyze what the case of this growing medium can reveal about the newly emerging articulations of the field.

While the scope of this project is indeed the broad landscape that is the journalistic field, its unit of analysis remains primarily focused on interactions that occur on and around Twitter. The aim is not to ignore the institutional realities that exist within and outside the journalistic field. Indeed, field theory is most valuable precisely *because* it acknowledges these structured realities. Nonetheless, it is the aim of this research to make these acknowledgements and then to move largely beyond them. Thus, this research focuses on adding to the collective understanding and explanation of the broader journalistic field through an investigation of just how, why, and to what effects Twitter-based journalistic practices occur. The qualitative methods utilized for this study comprise a combination of digital ethnography and content analysis chosen to provide rich data and thoughtful analysis of the journalistic field as seen through Twitter. I call this mixture of methods Digital Ethnographic Content Analysis (DECA).

Digital Ethnography and Ethnographic Content Analysis

This study seeks to analyze and explain Twitter's transformative implications for the journalistic field by combining the research methods of Ethnographic Content Analysis and Digital Ethnography. Altheide (1996) develops his method of "ethnographic content analysis" (ECA) as a qualitative alternative to the primarily quantitative character of more traditional content analysis methods. Altheide explains that ECA is "how a researcher interacts with documentary materials so that specific statements can be placed in the proper context for analysis" (1996:2) and defines it simply as "the reflexive analysis of documents" (1996:14). While Altheide's (1996) ECA is a notable and largely successful methodological approach to qualitative content analysis, it is questionable

whether or not it has ever fully warranted the label of “ethnographic” given that this portion of the method is largely undeveloped and taken for granted in the literature.

As Hammersley and Atkinson explain,

In its most characteristic form [ethnography] involves the ethnographer participating, overtly or covertly, in people’s daily lives for an extended period of time, watching what happens, listening to what is said, asking questions—in fact, collecting whatever data are available to throw light on the issues that are the focus of the research. Equally, though, . . . there is a sense in which all social researchers are participant observers; and, as a result, the boundaries around ethnography are necessarily unclear (1995:1-2).

In this sense, Altheide’s ECA can indeed be considered just as ethnographically oriented as any other qualitative approach. Nonetheless, Altheide’s (1996) method does not go far enough to do justice to the digital ethnographic foundation upon which this research project has been built. Just as much of social research can at one level be understood as ethnographic, Markham (2009) makes clear that “Everything that can be considered as data is at some level ‘text’” (p. 149). While the “ethnographic” and “textual” labels are indeed flexible, this study seeks to employ them in clear and direct ways to explain journalistic practices as they occur on Twitter.

As part of textual analysis, this study draws upon and pushes further Altheide’s content analysis methods to analyze texts from within the journalistic field on Twitter. Given the text-based nature of a majority of computer-mediated communication (CMC) in general, and Twitter in particular, textual analysis methods are an obvious choice. Qualitative content analysis provides an ideal method for a critical and detailed examination of the texts generated by journalistic actors’ use of Twitter. Additionally, content analysis is also readily applicable to other forms of text-based data—such as blog

posts, online news stories, transcripts, etc.—that are also likely prove useful in revealing the role of Twitter in the journalistic field. Overall, such qualitative content analysis methods combine well with the digital ethnographic work that has played such a crucial role throughout the research process.

As part digital ethnography, this study draws upon participant-observation methods to study digital, CMC interactions. Given the proliferation of the internet and new media technologies, the method of digital ethnography has arisen in recent years as a means of studying online interactions (Jensen, 2009; Coleman, 2010). While traditional, face-to-face (F2F) ethnographies typically consider their fields of study to be place-based, digital ethnographies often focus attention on the CMC occurring throughout a specific portion of digital space. Although the traditional approach to ethnography makes sense for many research projects, it is less applicable to the study of CMC and is less equipped to adequately account for many of the particularities of online interactions. Indeed, as Murthy (2008) points out, traditional definitions of ethnography—particularly those that center the ethnographic field in distinctly *physical* space—“miss...that ‘everyday life’ for much of the world is becoming increasingly technologically motivated” (p. 849; see also Jurgenson 2011a; Hine 2000). The case of Twitter and the journalistic field lends itself well to this growing reality that CMC is increasingly becoming a part of everyday life.

Digital ethnography, as a grounded research process (Strauss and Corbin 1998), lends itself particularly well to the study of Bourdieuan fields. For example, Hine discusses her interest in studying the field of “the biological discipline of systematics, or taxonomy, and specifically the ways in which it has in recent years come to see the

internet as a suitable place to conduct its activities” (2009:13). Like systematics, the journalistic field has in recent years similarly situated itself with advances in digital technology and the internet. As Hine further explains, “Systematics has been a highly reflexive discipline, prone to examinations of its status and practices, and this online group provided a new and immediate venue for this kind of reflection” (2009:15). Likewise, journalists have increasingly turned to internet mediums in general, and Twitter in particular, for many reasons, including the reflexive discussion of their field and its practices. Thus, Hine (2009) directly exemplifies some of the many benefits to be gained from a digital ethnographic study of a field.

Despite the numerous benefits of a digital ethnographic approach, the method is not without its criticisms. According to Hine (2000), ethnographies conducted online—often, and somewhat pejoratively referred to as “virtual ethnography”—are “almost but not quite like the real thing” (p. 10). Hine’s (2000) contention is that typical ethnographic conceptions of “space” and “field” regard social interaction as residing, first and foremost, in the F2F world. Yet, such a position blindly assumes that F2F interaction takes primacy over CMC in all social and research contexts. This assumption is clearly problematic for studies of “online communities,” where the primary means of interaction take place in digital space. Given the increasing extent that *real* interactions occur online it is no longer sufficient to make *a priori* claims about where the field is located without adequately considering contemporary realities and the particular focus(es) of research other than her own (Jurgenson, 2011a). Thus, while Hine’s position may be valid in research about what Kozinets refers to as “communities online”—that is, communities that exist primarily in the F2F world, but also have online interactions—the primacy she

attests to F2F interaction does not hold up for the study of “online communities” (2010; 63-4).⁵

Since early 2009 I have been doing participant-observation work on Twitter. This has entailed observing and engaging with various regions of the journalistic field on Twitter. Perhaps most importantly, this involved interacting with other members and experiencing first-hand the variety of uses the medium offers. This digital ethnographic experience has been invaluable in familiarizing the researcher with the journalistic field on Twitter and bringing into focus many of the journalistic practices occurring therein. Much of the research time has been spent archiving and openly coding data. As the analysis continued, the axial and selective coding processes (Strauss and Corbin, 1998) and the development of a coding “protocol” allowed the researcher to more pointedly “ask questions of” the documents (Altheide, 1996:26). What is most important to DECA is the weaving together of the knowledge gained from participant observation and content analysis methods. This mixture of methods provides both thick description and systematic analysis of the data collected on the role of Twitter in the journalistic field.

Data and Sampling

Data for this research project consists of the knowledge gained from digital ethnographic experience within the journalistic field on Twitter as well as the variety of texts produced through journalistic actors’ use of Twitter. Although the unit of analysis partially consists of individual micro-blog posts on Twitter—also called “tweets”—by actors in

⁵ For a similar and expanded discussion Hine’s criticism of online ethnographies as well as some of the numerous limitations to her perspective, see Kozinets (2010; 62).

the journalistic field, data also exists in longer form given that links are commonly embedded within tweets, extending the interaction to the broader landscape of the internet. The popularity of linking from a tweet to another internet site speaks well to the “convergence” of media that is ongoing in the age of new media (Jenkins, 2006; Jensen, 2009). Accordingly, text-based data may also include longer-form content such as blog posts, online articles, and other web-based content.

This study draws its sample from a number of online sources representing actions with(in) the journalistic field on Twitter. Tweets and other online texts make up the majority of text-based data to be included in the sample. Given the limitations imposed by the Twitter medium through its increasingly strict Application Programming Interface (API) rules, which no longer allow post-hoc archiving or exporting of tweets, careful measures were taken to creatively construct a sample that adequately represents the journalistic field on Twitter.⁶ Participant-observation revealed a number of hashtags (i.e. keywords) commonly used by journalistic actors, and snowballing from this initial list led to a larger number of search terms yielding interactions of the journalistic field on Twitter.⁷ In addition to the tweets included in this study’s sample, numerous longer form online articles and blog posts regarding—and typically found through—the journalistic field on Twitter were also included. Since Twitter’s API rules had little effect on the sampling of these texts, online articles and blog posts were regularly archived throughout the duration of this researcher’s participant-observation on Twitter, spanning three years

⁶ Although these new rules are an unfortunate limitation, they are a reality with which Twitter researchers must now deal.

⁷ This method of sampling was selected after a number of other attempts yielded irrelevant and unwieldy samples.

(2009-2012). Theoretical and purposive sampling techniques were employed to identify the texts most relevant to the study, and thus to select which of these texts were included in the final sample.

Data was collected in two distinct ways. First, Zotero was used to create an archive of internet-based texts that illustrate the growing relationship between Twitter and the journalistic field. This yielded over seventy texts coded as directly relevant to the stated research questions. These examples are used primarily to further exemplify the patterns found in the analysis of Twitter discourse. Second, the Archivist software program was used to collect data by downloading and exporting search results of Twitter posts containing #hashtags or @handles commonly used in journalistic field interactions on Twitter. Given the vast array of journalistic interactions on Twitter, careful attention was paid to ensure the selection of only the most focused and relevant discourses that adequately represent the diversity of the journalistic field on Twitter. Accordingly, the Archivist results from Twitter searches for “journalism,” “journchat,” and “wjchat”—an abbreviation of “web journalist chat”—over a month’s time (the 2nd week of July to the 2nd week of August, 2011) were included in the sample. These discourses yielded 17,607, 4,106 and 5,332 tweets respectively. Because of the sampling limitations imposed by Twitter’s API rules, Archivist searches only have access to recent tweets—typically as old as 3-4 days—but in some cases can reach as far back as 3-4 weeks. Therefore, samples were collected on a tri-weekly basis once appropriate search terms were identified. From the initial samples I then created a sub-set of each sample

consisting of all tweets that mentioned the word “Twitter.”⁸ This resulted in a total sample of 1,044 tweets to be analyzed (see Figure 5).



Figure 5: Twitter Sample

Data analysis

The online software program “DiscoverText” provided an ideal place to upload, store, and analyze data. Once properly formatted, datasets were uploaded to DiscoverText and the grounded coding process began. An important portion of the grounded coding procedure is reliant upon the contextual knowledge gained from the researcher’s nearly three years of digital ethnographic experience in the journalistic field on Twitter. Moreover, insight gained from digital ethnographic experiences and subsequently

⁸ This was done largely for logistical reasons, but it also allowed for a greater and more focused investigation of how journalistic actors view Twitter’s role in their field.

collected web-based data are indispensable in the analytical process, particularly because they provide in-practice illustrations of the place of Twitter in the structure and practices of the journalistic field. Rather than coding Zotero data for practical uses of the medium, like the coding procedure for Archivist-based Twitter data, Zotero-based documents were coded for broader themes illustrating Twitter's role in the journalistic field. Archivist-based Twitter data was also used to analyze the background of each user (professional journalist, public relations professional, citizen journalist, etc.), identified by their Twitter profile, in order to provide a clear view of who is acting with/in the journalistic field. Altogether, these methods of analysis generate valuable results applicable to the stated research questions.

Each of the various methodologies discussed above were selected for this study for a single, uniting purpose: to assist in the answering of the stated research questions as richly and directly as possible. Each has its own role to play. First and foremost, participant-observation methods are indispensable, particularly because of their ability to render visible the everyday world of Twitter. No approach could substitute for the knowledge gained by actually participating in and observing the micro-mediated interactions on Twitter. But, no matter how hard one works to diversify their experiences, difficulty arises when working toward generalizability to the broader population. This is why careful measures taken to construct a diverse awareness system that seeks to represent more than my own individual experience is so important. Additionally, content analysis offers another means through which this research can explain (inter)action within the journalistic field on Twitter. Taken together, this mixture

of methodologies presents a clear path toward answering the stated questions of this research project.

As Song argues, “particular discursive features that reflect the field of community websites can point to critical aspects of the specific habitus that is cultivated in these online communities” (2010:260). Similarly, I argue that the patterns observed through my digital ethnographic observations and content analysis provide a telling account of how many journalistic actors are constructing a habitus more in line with web 2.0 values.

CHAPTER OVERVIEW

It is clear that the rise of Twitter is an important factor in the changes occurring in and around the journalistic field. The unique mix of Twitter’s form, ubiquity, and multiple types of journalistic content, along with other important political, economic and technological changes which impact the relations among the journalistic field, help explain how the leveraging of Twitter’s journalistic affordances have allowed it to change the structure and practices of the field. Different types of changes in the journalistic field, however, have occurred throughout its history in the United States.

In chapter two I trace the history of the American journalistic field from the days of the early republic to the start of the new millennium. By addressing this history one epoch at a time, I am able to outline the relations and transformations most influential to the budding field of journalism. This history is an integral component of the manuscript because it provides important context about the realities of the journalistic field as well as its various field relations and transformations over time that are required in order to

adequately assess Twitter's role in the current structural and practical transformations of the field.

In chapter three I address the structural implications for the journalistic field brought about by the rise of Twitter. After offering an orientation to the contemporary journalistic field, a brief cartography of its overall structure, and a discussion of recent relations with other fields, I then turn to the historical moment(s) when Twitter emerged as a key factor in the journalistic field. Drawing on historical accounts of the journalistic field and textual data collected through digital ethnography, I assess the role of Twitter as a profound technological innovation with multitudinous implications for the profession of journalism. Furthermore, by analyzing textual data from thought leaders' use of, and discursive exchanges about, the place of Twitter in the field, I assess the significant implications that the new(s) medium has for the structure of the journalistic field. I then take up the question of what has made Twitter such a journalistically transformative space and offer a number of congruent explanations. The chapter concludes with a brief summary as well as a discussion of the oncoming implications as the structure of the field continues to shift.

In chapter four I shift focus to an exploration of the changes occurring at the level of journalistic practice in light of the Twitter's rise in the field. I begin by reviewing the role of key technologies in the history of journalistic practice, as discussed in chapter two. Next, I return the conversation to the case of Twitter to demonstrate the ongoing practical shifts and to assess the role of the medium in these changes. By reviewing some of the technological affordances of Twitter that are most relevant to journalism and assessing how these emerging affordances fit with the toolbox of journalistic practices

which has evolved over centuries, I am able to provide an explanation of Twitter's significance to journalistic practice. I then move to an empirical analysis of Twitter usage by journalistic actors in order to gain an understanding of the practical implications arising from Twitter's normalized status in the field. I conclude the chapter by addressing how the practical changes amount to a transformation of journalistic capital, doxa, and habitus' brought about by the leveraged web 2.0 affordances like those seen on Twitter.

I conclude by answering the research questions posed in chapter one and discuss some of the implications and limitations of this research as well as those posed by the transformations it studies. This includes a discussion of the "opening up" of the field to citizen-journalist actors and an assessment of the various implications arising from this emerging dynamic. I contend that scholarship must remain focused on exploring the various implications arising from the leveraged affordances of new media technologies. Lastly, I discuss the theoretical and methodological implications of this work. I assert that this research has helped to advance field theory's remarkable explanatory power to better account for micro-level and path-dependent phenomena.

CHAPTER 2: TRANSFORMATIONS OF THE AMERICAN JOURNALISTIC FIELD IN HISTORICAL CONTEXT

INTRODUCTION

What does the historical trajectory of the American journalistic field look like, and in what ways has the field experienced shifts over time? Despite the proliferation of excellent scholarship on the journalistic field, this question remains unanswered. Thus, the goal of this chapter will be to trace the history of the American journalistic field from the days of the early republic up until the beginning of the twenty-first century. The focus will not be to provide an exhaustive historiography of the field—there are many such accounts already—but rather to review the history with broad strokes and to highlight key components of each journalistic epoch through a Bourdieuan lens. There has been significant continuity between journalistic periods, however, each epoch is made distinct by various changes in structure and practices. By highlighting these distinctions I am able to trace key shifts in the field's structure and practices over time, thus bringing this important history up to date as American journalism enters a new era.

In addition to tracing the history of the field's structural and practical realities, another primary objective will be to construct a narrative of journalism's inter- and intra-field relations and transformations. Accomplishing these tasks requires drawing from an assortment of secondary historical accounts and interpreting them with the language of field theory. Consequently, the analytical strength and application of Bourdieu's sociology will become increasingly clear as this chapter—and indeed, this manuscript as a whole—unfolds. Before embarking on this historical journey, however, it is important

to first address the processes through which the formation and professionalization of the journalistic field took place in the United States as well as the significance of its relations with other fields.

Field Formation and Professionalization

The journey toward the formation and professionalization of the journalistic field was long, taking place over the course of numerous epochs. What started as citizens engaging politically by publishing information and distributing it as far as the technology and demand of the time would afford slowly grew into a professional field with its own distinct set of practices. While such professionally structured relations were not yet prominent in the days of the Early Republic, where the publishing news was still first and foremost a political act, the Gilded Age and the oncoming boom of the newspaper business provided an ideal-typical context for a distinctly journalistic field to take shape.

As Chalaby explains,

[T]he profession of the journalist and the journalistic discourse are the products of the emergence, during the second half of the 19th century, of a specialized and increasingly autonomous field of discursive production, the journalistic field. The formation of the journalistic field had a tremendous impact on the discourse produced by the press. The relations of production which began to prevail within this emerging field originated new discursive practices and strategies, new discursive norms and new discursive phenomena. Only when these new discursive practices emerged did the press begin to produce a discourse that is distinct from other discursive forms and peculiar to the journalistic field (1998:1).

As the formation of the journalistic field continued, so did increased growth and specialization within news organizations. By the Progressive Era, the parameters of the journalistic field had developed and an emphasis was increasingly put on the further

professionalization of the field. According to Schudson and Tiftt, professionalization is “the differentiation of journalists as a distinct occupational group with distinctive norms and traditions and, depending on the time and place, some degree of autonomy from political parties and publishers” (2005:18). Indeed, although many journalistic practices can be dated back much further, the decades-long progression toward an autonomous, professionalized institution with formal organizations, norms, values, and the like is said to have begun in the 1860’s and 1870’s (Krause 2011).

If the Gilded Age was the time when the journalistic field was formed, the Progressive Era was the time in which the field went through the most obvious stages of professionalization (McChesney 2008:29; Schudson 1978). According to Krause,

The period between 1890 and 1914 brought a rapid expansion of the newspaper industry and a consolidation of journalism as a distinct area of practice. In this time, we see a rise in professional journalistic education, associations and awards, which mark the consolidation of a field with a set of stakes and status internal to it (2011:93).

Furthermore, Schudson and Tiftt make clear that “Although journalism at the turn of the twentieth century could not be called a professional field, professionalizing tendencies were at work.” (2005:24). Journalism began pursuing “all the laurels of Professionalism” during the first decades of the 20th century, when journalism schools were being formed at universities across the country (Schudson 1978:153). As Weinberg (2008) explains, Walter Williams, the founder of the country’s first journalism school at the University of Missouri, opened the school primarily as a reaction to the political-economic shifts impacting the practice of journalism at the time (see, for example, pgs. 13-4; see also Krause 2011:94). At the same time, other journalism schools were also opening at other universities around the country and beyond. Other developments

congruent with the formation and professionalization of the journalistic field during the Progressive Era were the development of a code of ethics, special prizes, formalized training, national conferences, and various professional associations (Krause 2011; Mott 1962). These efforts helped to transform American journalism from a craft—learned primarily through apprenticeship—into a profession with formalized training. The years of the Progressive Era were an important part of the process because it was then that the formation of “journalistic rules” “came into being as journalism evolved into a profession” (Kumar 2009:140). Overall, the differentiation of journalists as professionals was a key component in the formation of the journalistic field as it is known today.

The later decades of the 19th century were also the time during which a distinctly journalistic field would take shape. As Benson and Neveu explain, “Fields are arenas of struggle in which individuals and organizations compete, unconsciously and consciously, to valorize those forms of capital which they possess” (2005:4). By the start of the Progressive Era, journalism could unquestionably fit the bill. Krause makes clear that the practice of “active news-gathering....became common in the 1860s and 1870s, with the emergence of a relatively autonomous field of practice with its own stakes, relatively independent from political advantage or literary merit” (2011:100). Furthermore, given Bourdieu’s conception of the journalistic field as inherently professional (Filho and Praca 2009) the Progressive Era was an important time in which American journalism further distinguished itself as a field all its own. Journalists were increasingly gaining autonomy from other fields and uniting around an (albeit shifting) set of norms and values. During this time journalists also started forming professional associations and further developing core journalistic practices. Workplace organization also continued its evolution, as the

growth of the news business, implementation of new technologies, and further professionalization led to an increasingly specialized field with numerous subfields in various stages of development. Although the journalistic field's structure—and indeed, its practices—would remain in motion for much of the next century, its basic foundation was set during the fifty year span of the 1860s to the 1910s.

Inter-field Relations

Scholars employing field theory and various other lenses have painstakingly acknowledged how economic pressures bear upon the practices and profession of journalism. Since the birth of news organizations, the tension between the news and business desks has persisted. Despite this fact, the field of professional journalism is known to have been founded largely in the name of political and economic interests. Indeed, the influence of political and economic factors runs so deep that journalists are seen as having been granted their autonomy by the owners and operators of early journalistic institutions (McChesney 2008). The fact that history is not often comparably written with the reverse arc—i.e. journalists granting rights to owners in selling their labor—is telling in and of itself of the power and influence wielded by political and economic forces within the journalistic field.

Beyond the primacy of political and economic influences throughout American journalism's history, technological and cultural factors have also played a significant role in the field's structural relations. Not only have new communication technologies afforded greater capabilities with each innovation, but cultural developments have provided important contexts for journalistic practices to occur. These relations have had

profound and variable impacts on the structural and practical attributes of the journalistic field. Furthermore, technological and cultural developments have spanned beyond the professional journalistic field and into the public domain, providing citizens with the tools and dispositions to more effectively consume and produce news content. Detailing the history of these attributes, relations, and transformations in the context of the journalistic field will be the focus of this chapter.

THE EARLY REPUBLIC (1789-1833)

In the days of the early republic, the practice of publishing was steadily growing. Although papers began shedding their direct political affiliations, there was no separating publishing from politics. “Publications,” it was said, “were supposed to take sides in political conflicts and work to convince people to support their positions or their candidates” (Humphrey 1996:156). Although it took significant economic capital to enter the publishing business and even more to attain a sizeable circulation, the practice was still largely an act of citizenship. Editors, printers, correspondents, and other specialized roles emerged in the publishing field as the practice evolved along with American society. As Humphrey explains, “Between 1783 and 1833, the American press grew and developed from the small operations of the colonial period to the large-scale productions of the penny press” (1996:155). By the end of the epoch, great changes had occurred which gave root to the budding journalistic field to follow.

In many ways, the press was an integral component of the political field. Papers were a source for voicing political opinions, increasingly national and local news, and

served as a space for debate over the issues of the time (Humphrey 1996). Publishers often had strong political ties and carried those influences through in the stories they printed. Nonetheless, despite the obvious political relevance of the press, the direct ties between publishing and politics were weakening. As Humphrey explains, “Although revived during the years of Andrew Jackson’s presidency, the partisan press that had dominated during the 1790s and early 1800s had passed its zenith and slowly faded from the journalistic scene” (1996:141). Instead, the trend was toward an increasingly specialized field.

The cultural fields also bore important influence on American journalism during this time, as “the growth of reading also encouraged the expansion of the press” (Humphrey 1996:135). Literacy rates rose so drastically—from around half of white New England men during the early 1700s to “over 90 percent in New England” by 1800—that the demand for news publications was at an all time high. Furthermore, “the gap between male and female literacy had almost disappeared,” meaning that as the cultural transformation occurred, such budding reliance on the press also spelled important changes for publishers (Humphrey 1996:135).

As the 1700s came to a close and the American public’s taste for news grew, the practice of publishing was increasingly an economic undertaking (Herman and Chomsky 2002:4). Advertising had not yet made its way to the forefront of the publishing business and papers still made the majority of their earnings from subscriptions. As Humphrey makes clear, “During the eighteenth century, the average subscription list of a profitable paper was 500. By the 1820s, most successful papers issued in runs of 1,500-2,000 and circulated through the mails far beyond the town or city of publication” (1996:135). But

newspapers' reliance on a political and subscription-based business model would soon give way to a boom in advertising revenue. "It was becoming increasingly clear by [the start of the 1830s]," Humphreys explains, "that a publication would survive not through patronage, but rather through the support of loyal readers and advertisers" (Humphrey 1996:149). Over time, this shift toward an advertising-supported business model would have a profound effect on journalistic content as well as the collective identity of a paper's subscribers. The subscription-fueled papers of the Early Republic were often integrally tied to the causes of political associations. As Tarrow explains, not only were these papers typically "conscious of a common identity" shared by their readers, but they also played a significant part in creating this collective identity (1998:50). For the publishing field to become more reliant on advertising meant the increasing stake of economic capital in the field, and by extension, a notably different focus and journalistic habitus as well.

Starting in the late eighteenth century, the newspaper industry expanded along with the American public's drive westward. "By the time the penny papers first appeared in New York in 1833," Humphrey explains, "newspapers were published throughout the United States and its adjacent territories, providing a means of communication for almost everyone throughout the young Republic" (1996:133). Important advancements were made to printing press technologies and mail carrier services grew in speed and span (Humphrey 1996). Overall, the business of publishing was steadily growing with the help of a budding readership, government subsidies on mail delivery, and increasing advances in printing technology.

Although journalism at the end of the 1700s was showing early signs of a shift toward a professional space, many important changes were still to come. Overall, Humphrey explains that changes in “mechanics, office structure, and news emphasis” led to other important changes in the publishing field of this time (1996:140). The job of reporting was taken on by relatively few people, so journalistic practices were integrated in a way that all tasks could be accomplished with little to no support staff. Not only were printers “artisans who worked with their hands running the presses” but American publishers also “took on nearly every other role in producing newspapers, including editor, writer, business manager, and—because they put their own capital at risk—publisher” (Starr 2004:59). But this would not last long, as the growing specialization started separating the practices of the printer from those of the newly-formed editor position, who “became the recognized controller of content in a newspaper” (Humphrey 1996:156). Additional advancements were also made toward an increasingly specialized field, as the start of the 19th century also brought about “the appearance of the first recognizable correspondents” (1996:140). While much of this specialization allowed papers to grow and the field to expand its repertoire of roles and practices, these developments also helped reinforce the growing class divide ushered in by the Industrial Revolution (Humphrey 1996:139).

Along with the vast transformations occurring throughout the American landscape came significant changes to journalistic capital, habitus, and doxa. Political advocacy—and often polemics—could be said to constitute a doxic value of American publishing in the days of the early republic. Because it was assumed that the press would have explicitly political and ideological leanings, it is not surprising that the capital at stake

was also largely of a political orientation. Furthermore, economic capital was also an integral component of the publishing field, as maintaining a profitable paper was a difficult task for most. The journalistic habitus during the early republic was largely a political one. As the American government began to take shape, engaged citizens fueled the process by publishing the country's early papers (Gillmor 2006; Tarrow 1996). Overall, the space for early American journalism was slowly but surely taking shape. As Humphrey aptly surmises, "The changes that characterized much of the penny press after 1833 were basically in place by 1825 and ready for some enterprising person to put them all together" (Humphrey 1996:149).

THE RISE OF THE PENNY PRESS (1833-1865)

Starting in 1833 with the birth of the "penny press," American journalism experienced a profound transformation. As Huntzicker explains, "From the appearance of the New York Sun on September 3, 1833, through the end of the Civil War, American newspapers underwent a major, multifaceted transformation" (1999:163). "What the penny papers brought to American journalism," Schudson and Tift add, "was a broadened, robust sense of what counts as news and an assertive dedication to making profits (through news) more than promoting policies or politicians" (2005:21). Schudson further states that "the penny press invented the modern concept of 'news'" because it ushered in new standards for reporting on domestic and local news that spoke to a growing and increasingly diverse public (1978:22). These developments were as much influenced by

social, political, and technological factors as they were by economic ones (Schudson 1978:30; Huntzicker 1999).

Because it lacked professionalization, institutionalization, saturation, and autonomy from political and economic influences, journalism could not yet be said to constitute a field its own. Nonetheless, the body of journalistic actors was steadily picking up steam and the repertoire of journalistic practices was steadily evolving. In a much more direct way than today, the practice of journalism during this time-period was robustly tethered to economic and political interests. As such, the capital at stake in this space was also heavily slanted in economic and political directions. Journalistic norms were also undergoing important transformations as the space for journalistic practice was increasingly growing apart from the political and economic fields.

Even before the days of the penny press, the journalistic field depended significantly on economic interests. In the 1830's, a revolution swept across American journalism. "That revolution led to the triumph of 'news' over the editorial and 'facts' over opinion, a change which was shaped by the expansion of democracy and the market, and which would lead, in time, to the journalist's uneasy allegiance to objectivity," explained Schudson (1978:14). Along with these changes came a significant price reduction—as the "penny press" moniker suggests—to one-sixth the common going price for journals of the time, and a subsequent spike in circulation rates (Schudson 1978:17). According to Schudson and Tift, "[t]he penny papers' business-minded assertiveness made them the earliest organizations to adopt new technologies" such as the steam-driven press and the telegraph. "Technology was available," they further explain, "but it took

the peculiar disposition of the competitive, news-hungry, circulation-building penny papers to make quick use of it” (Schudson and Tift 2005:21).

Along with technological transformations came increased specialization and an early step toward the differentiation of separate subfields. At the larger papers, “Printing technology separated the newsroom from the shop” and “[n]ewsrooms themselves became specialized and separated from the business offices” (Huntzicker 1999:167). The rise of the telegraph also facilitated important changes to the structure and practices of American journalism. Because of the speed at which the telegraph allowed news workers to relay information, American journalism took a big step toward active news gathering instead of passively re-reporting news already published in other papers. Not only did this change the way that news workers practiced their craft, but it also transformed relations amongst papers. Competition now seemed a more logical step, since publishers no longer relied primarily on other papers as the sources of non-local news. However, in addition to the vast implications that the rise of the telegraph had on journalistic practices, the telegraph “also increased the technological costs of newspapers” (Huntzicker 1999:167). “Like other corporations,” Huntzicker explains, “newspapers became capital-intensive because of the increasing reliance on technology” (1999:167). Thus, the leveraging of new technologies in the penny press era had a profound and expansive impact on journalism in America.

The repertoire of journalistic practices continued to grow throughout the formative time during which the penny papers began to arise and thrive. As Huntzicker explains, penny papers “began the trends of modern journalism, but such practices as interviewing, inverted-pyramid writing, and objective reporting developed over the

century, not suddenly in the 1830's" (1999:173). Although such an evolution in practices must be attributed to an array of factors interacting over an extended period of time, there is little doubt that the days of the penny press played an important role in shaping the future direction of American journalism. Given journalism's proliferation, its grounding in the political field, and the bolstering influence of the economical field—manifested most obviously through the growing trend of papers being run as for-profit businesses—the time was ripe for other important changes to take place amidst the emerging field of journalism.

Journalistic norms and practices were starting to emerge during the era of the penny papers. As Krause stated quite explicitly, "For the first time paid reporters were employed to actively gather news" (2011:93). However, because a professional and relatively autonomous field had yet to take shape, journalism did not yet have a distinct set of practical attributes. Rather, journalism's capital, habitus, and doxa at this time were a hybrid set drawn from the complex interaction of political and economic influences. Thus, journalistic actors' positions and dispositions were similarly tied to the political and economic fields, although the ongoing construction of the journalistic field would slowly but surely chip away at journalism's heteronomous relationships with other fields.

Overall, the epoch of the penny papers made a profound impact on the emerging field of journalism. As Huntzicker puts it, "The press' focus, content, and reach reflected changes in technology, in social status, and in occupational roles for journalists" (1999:163). Krause further explains that "The revolution of the penny press from the 1830s onward marked the establishment of the basic conditions for 'modern' journalistic

production” (2011:93). Journalistic practices were evolving as the new actors increasingly took up the craft. The structure of the field was also beginning to take shape as news institutions grew in size and number and competition amongst them helped make the space of American journalism increasingly distinct. Many of these trends would carry into the next notable epoch of American journalism.

THE GILDED AGE (1865-1890s)

During the Gilded Age economic and political interests collided in the journalistic field. What began as an era rife with political partisanship ended as one most focused on profit. As Smythe explains,

If the Gilded Age signified that people sold votes, worked fraudulent schemes, and adjusted personal standards so as to make money, then the press of the Gilded Age reflected this social change, for the newspaper had evolved from one primarily interested in and devoted to promoting politics, to one primarily interested in attracting as many readers as possible so as to attract as many advertising dollars as possible (2003:213).

This growing emphasis on economic profit led many of the field’s leading institutions to alter their practices as well. According to McChesney,

Following the logic of accumulation, the commercial press system became less competitive and ever more clearly the domain of wealthy individuals, who usually had the political views associated with their class. Commercialism also fostered corruption, as newspapers turned to sensationalism and outright lying to generate sales (2008:27).

Despite this change, however, journalism’s increasing deference to economic interests was still accompanied by staunchly political motives (Kaplan 2002). “Parties and corporate interests,” Kaplan argues, “formed a united front in the pursuit of a common

goal—private enrichment without any obligation to the public good. . . .As a source of power, the number of voters was replaced by the quantity of dollars” (2002:97). Political partisanship and economic interest came together within journalistic space, as “papers married their fortunes to parties in order to maximize both their power and profits” (Kaplan 2002:97).

Although the reign of political corruption wore on, public resistance to this set of relations was also on the rise. For example, Kaplan explains that “Outside the mainstream political and journalistic institutions, wave after wave of insurgents rose up,” forming their own political associations and accompanying presses. However, it wasn’t until the press “officially broke from its allegiance, indeed its subservience, to parties would these social groups gain greater access to the wider reading public” (Kaplan 2002:98). The decline of partisan allegiance was subsequently replaced by economic influence over the press. “[N]ewspapers as a whole, and cheap journals in particular, shifted from a class to a mass audience, almost saturating the population with sheets” (Kaplan 2002:114). This transformation of journalistic values—a combination of market shifts and party separations—helped facilitate a circulation boom for many papers. As a result, market constraints and profit-making incentives “weighed ever more heavily on the conduct of journalism” (Kaplan 2002:129).

As the Gilded Age progressed and the publishing business grew, the press’s allegiance to party politics weakened. “One of the more profound changes,” Smythe notes, “was a shift from a partisan press to an independent-political or even an ‘Independent press’” (2003:204). Smythe details the transformation from the norm of explicitly “partisan” papers with direct ties to political parties to less heteronomous

“independent-political” papers that were “concerned with advancing the party’s agenda...but the editor or publisher marked out a somewhat independent stance from party dictates” (2003:205). Furthermore, the trend toward journalistic autonomy continued as the norm of “independent” papers that “avoided any party affiliation” grew stronger amidst the growing sentiment that partisan news lacked credibility (Smythe 2003:204-5). By 1879,

there was a higher percentage of independent newspapers than partisan and independent-political newspapers....At the end of the century, in the twenty-five largest cities, independent newspapers had the largest circulation. Almost 80 percent of the newspapers with circulations of 129,000 or higher were independent. Only 21 percent were ‘partisan’, but they probably were independent-political. Those newspapers with circulations from 12,000 to 129,000 were split 50-50. Only in those newspapers below 12,000 circulation was there a nearly two-to-one ratio of ‘partisan’ to independent (Smythe 2003:205-6).

This trend would continue throughout the close of the century, as political newspapers “became increasingly independent, though politics still formed an important element of their news and editorial concerns” (Smythe 2003:204).

The Gilded Age also saw important technological innovations that influenced journalistic practices. One such innovation which sped up the printing process was the Linotype machine, which “allowed the compositor to sit at a keyboard to operate a machine that set, justified, and cast an entire line of type at one time by pouring hot lead into a line of single-letter brass molds” (Huntzicker 1999:166). Such advancements in printing technology afforded more efficient production practices and subsequently provide support for other improvements to the structure and practices of news organizations. Other technological advancements like the telegraph and railroads facilitated the spread of “both news and newspapers” beyond major urban centers in the

East and Midwest and into the growing body of cities and rural towns across the US (Smythe 2003:203).

The proliferation of high-speed technologies like the telegraph and railroad served to shrink the time and space separation the West from the East. As Smythe explains, “Reporters who covered the suburbs, or traveled throughout the states, used the telegraph to send news to the office” (2003:203). Not only would these technologies allow reporters to submit news from greater distances at greater speeds, but it would also facilitate growths in readership, as the railroad allowed publishers to distribute daily news to wider audiences (Smythe 2003). Additionally, these technological advancements also gave rise to a new form of publication: the evening newspaper, which made up “two-thirds of all dailies” by 1890 (Smythe 2003:203). One important affordance of the evening paper model was that it allowed Western newspapers, for instance, to carry “news of events from the day, especially if the news occurred in the East” (Smythe 2003:203).

The expansion of the railroad also increased small-town publications’ access to “patent newspapers,” where they then “added local news, opinion, and advertising” (Smythe 2003:204). As Smythe further explains, “Many editors, who could not otherwise afford to spend the time to gather news and advertising and write thoughtful editorials, in addition to their job printing or other careers, found it possible to produce a four-page newspaper with only two pages of ‘original’ matter” (2003:204). Furthermore, other burgeoning technologies like electricity, the typewriter, telephone, and chemical wood pulp also helped to transform the field (Smythe 2003:208). In addition to increasing the speed and lower the cost at which news was produced and printed, these

technologies also impacted journalistic practices in important ways. New roles and methods for gathering, writing, and transmitting news were developed to leverage the affordances of new tools.

The increasing normalization of the telegraph, telephone, and typewriter “affected the work of newspaper reporters by changing the amount of time it took to gather the news and, in turn, produce a news story” (Salcetti 1995:50). Deadlines became shorter as new technologies afforded newswriters the ability to produce stories at greater speed. Although most of the journalistically inclined technological advancements “continued for decades and, in some cases, still define the production of newspapers,” Salcetti makes clear that “their influence was significant in two other areas—the role and work duties of newspaper reporters and increasing capitalization-commercialization of the newspaper industry” (1995:51). Overall, technological advancements had a huge impact on the budding journalistic field during the Gilded Age.

One noteworthy and distinctly journalistic practice that emerged during the Gilded Age was the interview. According to Starr, “In the 1860s, interviewing began to take shape both as a set of practices and as a distinct journalistic genre, and it soon became firmly institutionalized in America” (2004:148). This was an important development, not only because it proved to be a vast improvement to the journalistic repertoire, but also because it was another important step toward differentiating the practice of journalism as a profession all its own. As Schudson and Tiftt further explain, “Interviewing, all but unknown in 1865, was widely practiced by 1900 and was the mainstay of American journalism by World War I, when it was still rare in Europe”

(2005:24). Expectedly, the emergence of this practice had profound effects on the routines of journalists as well as the product they offered their audience.

Another important development in Gilded Age reporting was the emergence of a “New Journalism” form where partisanship was declining, distinctly journalistic practices like beat reporting and coverage of local news and scandals were on the rise (Smythe 2003:206). Furthermore, this New Journalism was also importantly tied to modern business practices. The profit motive was growing and reporters began to submit increasingly sensational—and often inaccurate—stories in order to sell papers, and by extension, advertisements. Such sensational reporting, which came to be known as “yellow journalism,” may have initially succeeded in selling papers, but this trend would further lead to a decline in the credibility—both for the yellow journalists themselves as well as their employing papers (Smythe 2003).

As the number and circulation of American papers grew, so too did the number of people employed in the publishing field. According to Smythe, “The number of reporters increased dramatically as a result of the increase in the number and size of newspapers” (2003:208). Nonetheless, despite the growth in newspapers and journalists, American journalism was not yet regarded as a distinct profession. Poor working conditions, low pay, and a lack of job security for newswriters facilitated the all-too-common replacement of older workers with younger ones—often straight out of high school (Smythe 2003; Solomon 1995). By the end of the 19th century, however, college educated journalists—often with middle- to upper-class backgrounds— had become the norm (Solomon 1995:129; Schudson 1978).

The profound changes occurring throughout the US in general, and in the publishing field in particular, gave rise to new and significant developments in the field's practical attributes. As is demonstrated by the broader shifts occurring in Gilded Age publishing, the capital at stake in the field was less political and increasingly economic. Cultural capital also became a central commodity at stake in the field, given the increasingly intellectual undertaking that producing journalism entailed. Nonetheless, the ongoing evolution of reporting practices and increasing differentiation of journalistic structures also suggests that the field's complex combination of capital was also increasingly unique to journalism.

The journalistic habitus of the Gilded Age consisted of a hybrid combination of political, economic, and cultural dispositions. Despite the decline in papers' political partisanship, politics still played a notable role in the actions of journalists. Moreover, although pay for news work was still quite low, the ongoing proliferation of the publishing business helped to assure that the journalistic habitus was increasingly economic. Most importantly, perhaps, were cultural and intellectual interests, as the practices of reporting and editing were largely intellectual undertakings (Solomon 1995:130).

Given that American journalism was undergoing an important developmental period, the field's norms and values were still being constructed. Nonetheless, the field's emergent doxa underwent significant changes during the Gilded Age, as the spike in yellow journalism and the shift away from political affiliation left journalistic actors with a confusing mix of emerging values. Furthermore, the growth of news as a business and the advent of advertising as the primary source of profit were accompanied by alterations

in the taken-for-granted values of many journalistic practitioners. The slow and steady proliferation of advertising as the driving source of revenue for the press had profound implications, as the budding field's increasing heteronomy to economic capital—i.e. advertising dollars—pushed newspapers to become more popularized as advertisers increasingly demanded a mass medium to market their products (Innis 1949; Smythe 2003). Nonetheless, by the start of the 20th century, the stage was set for the proliferation of early investigative journalism and the further ascent of public service as a core value in the field.

Overall, journalistic practices underwent profound changes during this time period and the field made significant advancements in specialization and differentiation. As Starr summarizes, “American journalism became more of an independent and innovative source of information just as it became more of a means of advertising and publicity” (2004:148). Altogether, the rise of the interview, the shift away from political partisanship, the growth of the newspaper business, along with many other changes, proved to be important steps in journalism's journey toward field formation and professionalization. By the end of the Gilded Age the journalistic field had mostly taken shape. It had much of the necessary components of a field, like a set of distinct practices and a growing sense of autonomy (Krause 2011). But it lacked a (relative) cohesiveness and professionalization that would soon come.

THE PROGRESSIVE ERA (1890s-1920)

Much of the trends in the Progressive Era were an obvious continuation of the previous epoch. Economic, political, and technological relations continued in the same general directions and the journalistic field continued to stake out space as a field of its own. But despite the continuation of previous developments, new and important changes were also occurring. As Schudson and Tiftt explain,

Partisanship ran deep in nineteenth-century American journalism and well into the twentieth century. At the same time, the independent spirit of reform, and the economic excesses and political corruption of the Gilded Age, produced an activist brand of journalism known as muckraking (2005:23).

Journalism's influence in the field of power grew significantly, as the rise of investigative journalism left a growing audience increasingly displeased with the status quo.

Furthermore, a more politically free and engaged citizenry was also emerging, as the Progressive Era ushered in a resurgence of political causes like freedom of speech and women's suffrage (Starr 2004). Overall, journalistic autonomy during this period was at a peak (Krause 2011), as was the field's power in other fields. The booming practice of investigative reporting combined with a continued growth in circulation and a cultural shift in reaction to the corruption of the Gilded Age meant that journalistic exposés frequently stimulated public outrage and social change.

Given the growth of the publishing business, it is not surprising that the Progressive Era was marked by an even greater increase in the influence of the economic field on the journalistic field as the growing reliance on advertising revenue led the push toward consolidation in the newspaper industry. After peaking at 2,609 in 1909, "the

number of newspapers rapidly dwindled, falling to 2,441 dailies in 1919 and 2,080 by 1932” (Kaplan 2002:1127). According to McChesney,

Everywhere, concentration was on the rise, and almost nowhere were new dailies being launched successfully to enter existing markets. For journalism to remain partisan in this context, for it to advocate the interests of the owners and the advertisers who subsidized it, would cast severe doubt on the credibility of journalism (2008:28).

Thus, instead of maintaining its partisan allegiance, much of the journalistic field shifted to a more critical outlook, aiming to “comfort the afflicted and afflict the comfortable,” as Peter Finley Dunne described (Serrin and Serrin 2002: xx). This powerful ethic, which served as the modus operandi of muckrakers throughout the country, was accompanied by the journalistic field’s growing acceptance of the guise of “objectivity.”

“Inaugurated in the early years of the twentieth century,” says Kaplan, “this contemporary ethic of objectivity led Progressive Era publishers to break from parties, disavow their past political entanglements, and cancel all old political debts and commitments” (2002:184). Economic and political corruption drew fire from a growing number of investigative journalists, driven by their pursuit of justice and hidden truths. Despite this obvious “agenda,” journalists continued to use the “disguise of objectivity” as a means of upholding the value of their reporting (Serrin and Serrin 2002: xx). As Schudson explains, “By the mid-[nineteen]thirties, the term ‘objectivity’, unknown in journalism before World War I, appears to have been common parlance” (1978:156). This shift toward objectivity became an integral component of the journalistic field’s transformation toward a professional model.

Not surprisingly, the professionalization and commercialization of the journalistic field were congruent developments (Schudson 2003:69). McChesney explains how the

professional model was formed “not to the opposition of most media owners, but to the contrary, with their active sponsorship.” Furthermore, to the extent that media owners granted journalists a measure of autonomy, they did so “because it gave their product more credibility and worked to enhance their commercial prospects” (2008:38). Seeing it in this light makes clear just how imposing economic influences have historically been on the very core of the journalistic field. In addition to the various constraints on the journalistic practices and product imposed by the business desk—from funding constraints to content restrictions—the increasing reliance on advertising income became another significant and potentially constraining factor. Yet despite the growing reliance on advertising revenue, journalists remained largely autonomous so long as their stories sold copies.

Technological innovations also had a profound influence over the makeup and practices of the journalistic field during the Progressive Era. The business of the press was booming as printing grew more efficient and congruent technologies like the telegraph and telephone all afforded notable improvements for journalism. Mail delivery systems further improved and, aided by government subsidies, newspaper and magazine circulation expanded its reach. Matched by developments in the political and cultural fields, these developments created a potent mix that would help the journalistic field to gain considerable power.

The symbolic power of the journalistic field rose drastically during the Progressive Era due in no small part to the proliferation of investigative journalism. In response to the rampant corruption of the Gilded Age, journalists at the start of the 20th century began to apply their craft in more direct and hard-hitting ways. In addition to

spelling out profound implications for inter- and intra-field relations, such a trajectory facilitated a marked shift in the journalistic habitus. The rise of the “muckraker”—the earliest and most abrasive kind of investigative journalist—resonated strongly with the zeitgeist of the time. Furthermore, the ongoing transformation toward a professional field also had a measurable effect on the journalistic habitus of the time. As Salcetti explains, “professionalism had become part of the occupational milieu for reporters in job perception, training, and attitude toward the credibility of one’s work” (1995:71).

Despite the oncoming professional push, working conditions were still poor.

Nonetheless, there remained “an energy about the doing of newswork, driven perhaps by the new machines available to do the news and the fact that many facets of American life were new and changing” (Salcetti 1995:55). Thus, the journalistic habitus was invigorated by the profound technological, political, economic, and other transformations occurring at the time.

Journalistic doxa during the Progressive Era was a complex mix of accuracy and advocacy, while objectivity became an increasingly (ortho)doxic news value. As Winfield explains, “The journalistic standards of 1908, such as accuracy and fairness, continued, but the ideal of objectivity became more prominent” (2008:325). These changes were the product of a complex mix of factors, especially including the ongoing formation and professionalization of the field, the growth of the news as a business and reaction against the recent sensational history of many papers. Furthermore, journalism’s increasing autonomy from the political field mixed with a strong and growing public sentiment against vast injustices and toward social reform provided important context for the development of these journalistic values. Overall, these developments had profound

structural and practical impacts on the field. The combination of political, economic, technological, cultural, and distinctly journalistic shifts proved a notable switch point for the future of the journalistic field.

THE INTERWAR YEARS (1919-1938)

After the Progressive Era, the journalistic field went through a time of decreased autonomy and power. During the Interwar Years the rise of public relations (PR), consolidation in the newspaper industry, and the radio boom proved a powerful combination of political, economic, and technological influences that shaped the field of journalism in important ways. Furthermore, the hybridity of the journalistic field's practical attributes meant that other intellectual and cultural fields began affecting the production of news in important ways. Given these budding and increasingly influential relationships with other fields, the autonomy of the journalistic field was at a low throughout much of this time (Krause 2011).

The complex combination of economic, political, and journalistic transformation led to what Schudson refers to as the "decline of 'facts' in journalism" and the birth of PR (1978:135). Starting in the early 1920's, the journalistic field would be increasingly influenced by the growing subfield of public relations (Schudson 1978:137).

Unsurprisingly, the rise of public relations was integrally tied to political and economic interests. The ubiquity of war propaganda during the First World War led many to recognize the potential influence of public relations tactics. This, combined with the difficulties of the time provided obvious rationale for politically motivated entities to

create news on the own terms. After the war, economic interests increasingly turned to PR in order to facilitate greater profit-making through the careful control and distribution of information (Schudson 1978). The rise of PR affected the journalistic field in important ways, as it complicated journalistic values and reputations regarding accuracy and objectivity and called into question the field's boundaries. As Krause explains, "A new group of communication professionals arrived on the scene, from whom journalists sought to distance themselves" (2011:95). Competition for control over the journalistic field was at a peak, as the growing influence of PR specialists, radio broadcasters, and owners all threatened to significantly alter the field's constitution.

Economic issues were at the heart of the drastic changes that the journalistic field would undergo during this period. According to Krause, "A merger wave between 1918 and 1929 led to a decline in local competition in the newspaper industry. The number of chains increased from 10 in 1900 to more than 40 by 1930. By 1940, 87 percent of cities had only one local daily newspaper" (2011:95). The formation of radio news "networks" was at its core an economic decision. As Starr explains, networks

gave advertisers of brand-name consumer products efficient access to a large national audience, and out of their advertising revenue they provided stations with a stream of dependable income to run the programs that advertisers sponsored. They also gave their affiliates a competitive advantage by supplying popular and high-quality programs at low or zero cost (2004:353).

Local affiliates—united under umbrella companies like NBC and CBS—forfeited some autonomy to news networks in exchange for access to their parent's programming (Starr 2004:354).

The first decades of the 20th century also brought about significant economic and population expansion, which affected the journalistic field in numerous ways. Most directly, this shift allowed many newspapers to grow significantly in size and circulation. Furthermore, the shift also brought about the emergence of many important journalistic genres and subfields. As Kobre explains, “Many more papers than during the previous era were able to develop specialized news, columns and photos appealing to expanding group interests—such as sports and financial features, books, theatres, movies, art, music, radio and television reports” (1959:25). This specialization would only grow as the news business continued to expand.

Despite the profound influence of economic interests on the journalistic field of the time, the direction that the booming radio medium would go was also driven significantly by political decisions. Indeed, as Starr explains,

The [Federal Radio Commission] FRC’s reallocation of frequencies, the consolidation of networks, and the conversion of radio to advertising all came about in the same years and were closely interrelated. Economic forces shaped by political decisions helped to drive the transformation. (2004:352-3) [emphasis added]

While the passing of the 1927 Radio Act “laid the basis for a licensing system and some content regulation,” the 1934 Communications Act created the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) and afforded it regulatory power over the broadcasting industry. These political decisions effectively structured the broadcasting subfields by establishing a precedent of “private operation of public airwaves” (Krause 2011:96). Although there were important caveats, such as the public interest provisions and ownership concentration limits, this historical switch point significantly shaped the future of the journalistic field. Given the immense symbolic power of media and the shifting relations

amongst the political, economic, journalistic and other fields, the application and enforcement of these rules have also varied significantly over time. Nonetheless, as will be demonstrated in the sections to come, the remainder of the 20th century is marked by a trend of greater concentration and growing influence of broadcast media.

Another, more striking development was the extent to which broadcast technologies grew and were increasingly leveraged by the journalistic field. As is made clear by the above discussion of radio networks, radio technology slowly graduated from the American fringe of government and military communications—the norm throughout much of the Progressive Era—to the core of American journalism (Starr 2004). Although “radio did not initially involve much original reporting” and early commercial broadcasts focused mostly on entertainment, radio would quickly become a powerful subfield bordering and competing with the newspaper industry (Krause 2011:95). According to Krause,

The impact of the new medium was mediated by the journalistic field; its incorporation was accompanied by many conflicts that were shaped by field-dynamics. Radio began to discover its unique potential for news coverage with live, long-distance broadcasts of big events such as the 1920 and 1924 presidential elections. Newspaper-owned stations used headlines as advertisements for their own newspapers. Others read newspaper or wire service news as filler without acknowledging the source (2011:95).

This competition led print journalists to unite against radio, spawning the first of many medium-specific contests between journalistic subfields (Krause 2011).

Starr explains that the “share of American households with [radio] receivers went from 23.6 percent in 1927 to 45.8 percent in 1930 and 65.2 percent in 1934—in absolute terms, from 6.8 to 20.4 million homes” (2004:354). Radio’s boom in popularity brought

about great concern amongst the newspaper community and a united effort against the new subfield. Like many new media, radio was “first thought a mere toy, but was soon recognized as a potent instrument of mass communication” (Beasley 2002:296). The “Press-Radio War,” began as an attempt to protect the press’ monopoly on news and news wire services ended up backfiring. By 1941 radio had solidified its place within the journalistic field, as many stations “started their own wire service” and “nearly all radio stations provided regular news programming” (Krause 2011:96; Beasley 2002). By the end of the Interwar Years, radio was booming, newsreels were growing increasingly common, and the newspaper industry continued to grow, although it failed to keep up with population growth (Beasley 2002:297). Thus, as radio saturated the American media market, the field of journalism was evolving along with its new technological repertoire.

The complex relations amongst the radio and print subfields illustrate some of the practical transformations that also occurred during the Interwar Years. As noted above, the journalistic field’s increased leveraging of radio technologies—facilitated by political and economic decisions—gave rise to important practical developments, such as the live broadcast. Furthermore, newsreels—“ten-minute productions that showed news events before feature films in theaters”—grew increasingly popular throughout this time period and, like radio, enjoyed even greater success during World War II (Beasley 2002:297). Unlike radio, newsreels suffered from significant questions over credibility. Nonetheless, “millions watched them as quasi-journalistic sources of news” (Beasley 2002:297). Although popular, newsreels would have little impact on the journalistic field and would eventually die out, giving way to the growing prominence of the television medium.

Many other practical attributes also underwent important transformations in the Interwar Years. As is evidenced by the character of the “Press-Radio War” (Krause 2011:95), original reporting was at the core of the press’ doxa and capital, although it took some time for the radio subfield to concur (Starr 2004). Another profound shift, one much of the field and its readership was increasingly ready for, but was spurred largely by the depression, was the emergence of the “interpretative trend” (Kobre 1959:30). This new brand of journalism was largely a response to a growing demand for journalists to explain more than just the bare facts—the who, what, when, where, and how—which meant unpacking stories to explain the all-important why. As Kobre explains, “In an age of reform and severe economic disturbance, the reading public saw that news represented human problems which had causes and which might be reduced or prevented” (Kobre 1959:30). The extent to which this departure from outright objectivity was taken up throughout much of the journalistic field suggests a significant change in the journalistic doxa of the time. Furthermore, this shift also brought about a notable change to the journalistic habitus. According to Kobre, “The trend toward interpretation pointed up a need for reporters with backgrounds in the social and physical science, sociology, criminology, and psychology.” Given the increasingly complexity of the world—and thus its news, of which journalists are tasked to produce—“the sciences dealing with [these complexities] had something to contribute to the understanding of current events and could be used by newsmen” (Kobre 1959:31) [sic]. Not only does this development suggest an important transformation of the journalistic habitus, but also of the field’s structure and practices.

The increasing hybridity of the journalistic habitus during this time is seen most clearly through the basis upon which journalistic practice takes place as well as the field-specific influences that bear upon such practice. The interpretative trend also extended to other media-specific subfields, as radio news analysts adopted similar practices by drawing on their experience in journalism as well as from other fields like art and literature (Kobre 1959:312). Furthermore, sociologists and other intellectually and academically adorned actors started entering the field as columnists for major publications (Kobre 1959). These changes meant not only that the field's capital was also changing, as practice and distinction was possible through new means, but also that the structure of the journalistic field was opening up to increasing influence from outside forces.

THE GOLDEN AGE (1950s-1970)

The "Golden Age" of professional journalism in the US is said to have lasted "from the 1950s into the 1970s" (McChesney 2008:37). Marked by the relative autonomy afforded by the budding professional model and the fair, public interest focus required by the Fairness Doctrine, the journalism of this time period generally held factual accuracy in high regard. Although journalistic high points like Watergate serve to demonstrate the realizable potential of professional (investigative) journalism in the name of public interest, political and economic factors still weighed heavily upon the field's operations. For example, as McChesney explains,

Even at the height of the golden age there was an underground press predicated upon the problems in contemporary journalism, and hard-edged criticism of the flaws of existing journalism abounded. In every community there was a virtual Sicilian code of silence for the local commercial media, for example, regarding the treatment of the area's wealthiest and most powerful individuals and corporations. Media owners wanted their friends and business pals to get nothing but kid-glove treatment in their media and so it was, except for the most egregious and boneheaded maneuver. Likewise, newspapers, even prestigious ones like the Los Angeles Times, used their power to aid the economic projects of the newspaper's owners. And pressure to shape editorial coverage to serve the needs of major advertisers was a recurring problem (2008:37-8).

Thus, despite the strong professional model which pervaded much of the journalistic field throughout this time period, autonomy from economic and political interests was still scarce.⁹ Indeed, even in the so-called Golden Age where investigative reporting boomed once again, the core of the journalistic field largely upheld the political and economic status quo of the time (Aucoin 2005; McChesney 2008). This heteronomy would only increase and become more effectual in the decades that followed.

The resurgence of investigative journalism in the early 1960s can be explained largely by significant cultural and political shifts. Not only were the professional and audience cultures of the time ripe for hard-hitting exposés, but this “development was also supported by the state, as evidenced by a 1964 Supreme Court decision that protected journalists from libel suits by public figures” (Krause 2011:97; Armao 2000). More broadly, the dominant political culture was significantly predisposed toward reform during this time. This context “opened up opportunities for journalists to take risks and

⁹ McChesney attributes this paradox in part to the relatively liberal orientation of the political field during this time as compared to the years that followed or preceded. Hence, hard-hitting investigative journalism was produced in small batches—especially when it did not conflict with the interests of the “official sources” or other “elite concerns” (2008:37).

cover stories that would be much more difficult as the entire political class became enthralled with the market” (McChesney 2008:37). Furthermore, as Aucoin explains,

A direct connection between the reemergence of investigative journalism in the United States and the discontent of the 1960s came through the founding of numerous underground and alternative newspapers, radio stations, and other alternative media by various social and cultural movements. (2005:57)

In other words, the zeitgeist of the 1960s led many engaged citizens to organize and adopt journalistic practices in order to further their messages. Moreover, this tendency was also largely a reaction to the mainstream media’s (MSM) overall disinclination toward the production of investigative journalism (Aucoin 2005:58).

The role of alternative, citizen-fueled media played a key role in the journalistic field during the later part of the Golden Age. Not only did engaged citizens start to organize and produce journalistic content, but they also served to inspire and facilitate the work of professional journalists. According to Aucoin, the alternative press also “provided an outlet for professional journalists [like Seymour Hersh] who could not get controversial stories into the mainstream media, further supporting the resurgence of investigative journalism” (2005:58). Quite obviously, practices like this served to open up the journalistic field to influence from outside actors as well as to blur the lines between who is and is not a journalistic actor. This was a time in which political and economic pressures were bearing increasingly upon the practices of the journalistic field. Nonetheless, journalistic autonomy remained at a peak throughout much of the Golden Age (Krause 2011).

Technology was also a major factor in the changes of the journalistic field during the Golden Age. Most obviously, the maturation of broadcast technologies would

redefine how much of America's news was mediated. By the early 1960s, TV had eclipsed radio and newspapers as the primary source for American (and British) citizens to get their news (Allan 2010:68). Thus, the ascent of television as a significant journalistic medium during the Golden Age was an important development with notable impact on the field. In addition to the obvious technological component to the rise of the TV subfield, economic and political decisions also weighed in heavily. As Krause explains, "when networks, staff and advertising money moved into TV, the decline in radio network provision did not lead to the end of radio as many contemporaries feared. Rather, radio re-invented itself as a local medium" (2011:97). This development further encroached on the territory of the newspaper subfield, which had controlled the local niche for over a century.

Within the TV subfield, the format for news broadcasts was standardized and largely doxic. However, the means through which the news could achieve "impartiality" and "fairness" was an issue of great debate (Allan 2010:66). Furthermore, the TV news habitus in the early days of the medium was a hybrid mix drawn from action in other journalistic subfields. Most TV editors and reporters had backgrounds in radio, wire, or newspaper outlets, while producers were likely drawn from image-based positions like in the newsreel or magazine industries (Allan 2010:66). As Allan explains, "In essence, the television news represented a blending of the qualities of radio speech with the visual attributes of the newsreel" (2010:66). By comparison, hard-hitting investigative reports were far less likely to appear on Television, although some of Edward R. Murrow's broadcasts were an obvious exception. TV's inclination toward less critical reporting derives from a number of factors. As Allan states succinctly, "News of celebrities,

speeches by public figures, carnivals and fashion shows made for ‘good television’, and such coverage was less likely to conflict with sales of advertising time” (2010:67). As the TV news industry increasingly realized in the coming decades, such soft content could also be produced at much cheaper costs than original, critical reporting. Overall, journalism’s medium-specific subfields experienced important transformations in the decades of the Golden Age. As TV expanded and radio explored new markets, the newspaper industry underwent even greater concentration.

Although I have already begun to illustrate how diverse the dispositions of the journalistic field were in the Golden Age, the time period would not have received its name were it not for a distinct characteristic which pervaded much of the field. Indeed, not only was the core of American journalism more autonomous (given the growing frequency and strength of exposés) and open (given the quantity of alternative and activist reports), but it was also more critical and effectual than it had been in nearly fifty years. Such a shift occurred with the support of much of the professional field. As Aucoin explains,

By the mid- to late 1950s there was a general understanding in the press that the press-government relationship and journalistic conventions needed adjustment. Journalists began to move toward more in-depth coverage to better explore and explain the meaning of events. (2005:51).

This summation illustrates the profundity of the shift in journalistic doxa and habitus and also serves as a continuation of the “interpretative trend” discussed above (Kobre 1959). Thus, thanks to the changing dynamics of the journalistic field as well as the profound cultural and political shifts occurring at the time, the investigative reporter habitus (Schultz 2007) was once again becoming normalized within the field. Indeed,

Like the early-twentieth-century muckrakers who had come before them, journalists in the 1960s saw in-depth reporting as a responsibility to society in the face of great injustice and social upheaval. It was a defining moment for the news industry in the postwar era. (Aucoin 2005:52)

This shift in the journalistic habitus would serve as an important step in the reformation of journalistic doxa, capital, and illusio.

The zeitgeist of the 1960s and the growing visibility and efficacy of exposés provided a welcome and powerful reaffirmation of the journalistic illusio. In other words, the liberal homology amongst so many fields in addition to the investigative reporter habitus of the time created a context more facilitative of investigative journalism than had been seen in the US since the Progressive Era. Indeed, as Garrett explains, journalism at this time “was not a perfect world—too white, too male, seen through a haze of cigarette smoke and Scotch but it was an honest one rooted in mid-20th Century American working class values” (2005). The working class values and relatively high autonomy which existed throughout much of the journalistic field during the Golden Age, while a product of many factors, can also be partially attributable to the distinctly journalistic habitus common at the time. As Glasser and Gunther explain,

Journalists like to think of themselves as loners and skeptics whose detachment and disinterestedness—even their irreverence—enable them to practice their craft without the entanglements that they and others might view as real or potential conflicts of interest. (2005:389)

This ethic of autonomy paradoxically coincided well with the journalistic tendency toward professional association, which also boomed during this period (Krause 2011:96). Altogether, these realities also illustrate how the journalistic field’s taken-for-granted norms (doxa) and stakes (capital) of the epoch also embodied the field’s ethos as it transitioned into a new era of journalistic production.

THE AGE OF COMMERCIALIZATION (1980s-2000s)

The decades after the journalistic field's "Golden Age" were marked most obviously by even greater trends toward commercialization, concentration, and declining autonomy.

By the 1980's, the professional and relatively autonomous model that had previously encompassed the journalistic field was now giving way to increasing deference to economic interests. "Relaxation of media ownership regulations along with general market pressures led to wave after wave of media deal making" and the rise of media conglomerates whose interests were increasingly economic rather than journalistic.

Furthermore,

[T]he idea that [these firms] should provide some degree of autonomy to their news divisions became increasingly nonsensical, except for their PR pronouncements. After all, the workers in the other properties of their media empires were not granted such autonomy; they were expected to deliver directly and immediately to the firm's bottom-line success. (McChesney 2008:39)

Given this restoration of the economic base as a primary factor determining journalistic action, it is not surprising to see the journalistic field's professional protections and overall autonomy significantly diminished.

McChesney dubbed this trend "the commercial attack on the professional autonomy of journalism" (2008:40). Instead of offering diverse and objective perspectives in the making of news, as idealized by the "journalist's creed" and the "separation of church and state," much of the journalistic field has felt increasing pulls from the heteronomous pole, thanks in large part to influence from the political and economic fields (Benson 2001). Under the field's doxic guise of "objectivity," professional journalism "smuggles in values conducive to the commercial aims of the

owners and advertisers as well as the political aims of the owning class” (McChesney 2008:34). The metaphorical ‘wall’ erected to isolate the product of the news profession from the profit-driven interests of the business managers—commonly called the “separation of church and state”—has been imperative to the proper functioning of professional journalism for much of the past century (McChesney 2008:29). More recently, a veritable ‘assault’ on the wall protecting journalist’s professional autonomy, carried out in the name of economic interests, has given rise to a new kind of norm within the journalistic field (Hanitzsch 2011:480). Economic influences on professional journalism are arguably stronger today than ever before.

As is made clear at the outset of this chapter, although the professional model of journalism was largely supported by the owners of news organizations, it was done so largely because it served their interests of greater legitimacy, which often translated to larger profits (McChesney 2008). However, “by the 1980s the ‘deal’ made less and less sense for media owners,” whose primary focus increasingly became economic capital—a shift facilitated largely by the growing incorporation of journalistic organizations (McChesney 2008:39). As Champagne explains, “newspapers themselves are economic enterprises and are thus directly subject to economic laws which often come into conflict with the imperatives of intellectual production” (2005:52). While the increasing profitability was an obvious benefit for media executives and shareholders, it also came with great costs—namely, a loss of journalistic autonomy by way of increasing heteronomy with the economic field. As we will soon see, this shift also redefined the function of capital within the journalistic field. Moreover, the increasing economic strain also had a profound impact on journalistic practices. According to Upshaw,

By the 1980s, newswriters with traditional rules and routines were losing ground. Facing competitive strains and the impatience of new owners, stations and networks soon reduced investigative reporting, eliminated much 'process' coverage, and generally made news less challenging and more entertaining. (2002:73)

Although strained, American journalism's enduring values and traditions provide some historical continuity despite the increasing heteronomy felt from the economic field.

Indeed, as Benson explains, "It is in part because of enduring, taken-for-granted rules of the game within such fields that intensifying external commercial or political pressures do not automatically transform distinctive national journalistic practices" (2004:311).

While historical inertia carried much of the journalistic field's structural and practical attributes through from its now long history, many historical switch points occurring near the end of the 1980s would significantly alter the state of the field. First of all, 1987 brought about the FCC's elimination of and congressional legislation to renew the Fairness Doctrine—subsequently vetoed by Reagan—which sought to make law of the already-implemented provision requiring broadcasters to provide public interest programming of diverse orientations. This turn of events paved the way for even greater economic heteronomy, as the broadcasting subfields were no longer required to stick to the professional norms which had pervaded much of the field for so long. Second, although not directly affected by the Fairness Doctrine the newspaper industry also saw significant shifts during this time. Although the trend toward greater concentration and the growth of newspaper chains had been ongoing for some time, the tide shifted against the profession at the end of the decade, when the number of workers employed in the subfield began to decline significantly (Hall 2009). Overall, the overwhelming pull of economic profits throughout the 1980s and early 1990s pushed the

field toward professional crisis. But it was the complex combination of political, economic, and technological events of the next decade that would set the crisis in full motion.

Since the Clinton-era shift brought about largely by the 1996 Telecommunications Act, the structure and autonomy of the (professional) journalistic field has continued its transformation toward increasing deference to economic interests. As Krause explains, “The 1996 Telecommunications Act set off an intense merger wave in the radio industry. In 2003, more than 9000 out of 10,000 existing radio stations had changed ownership at least once since 1996” (2011:98). The overarching trend throughout mediums has been a consolidation of media ownership, a decline in locally owned and operated news, and a decrease in the autonomy of professional journalistic actors (McChesney 2000, 2008; Bagdikian 2004; Klinenberg 2007). The majority of large journalism organizations are owned by a small group of media conglomerates, which is having increasingly profound effects on the products and processes of the journalistic field (Bagdikian 2004). Despite this recent and ever-growing trend, the structure of the journalistic field over the past century has been so tied to the economic field that such influence is increasingly difficult to circumvent. This has manifested most directly in organizations’ increasing focus on profits, leaving journalists with fewer colleagues, and ever-increasing expectations to “do more with less” (McChesney and Nichols 2010:23). And fewer reporters, explains McChesney, “means it is easier for public relations executives to get their client’s messages into the news unadulterated by journalism” (McChesney 2008:41).

Altogether, this narrative illustrates the increasing heteronomy experienced by the journalistic field from the economic field. According to Krause, “Journalists are

defending their positions against PR workers and corporate pressures, and are suffering from the increasing technical demands of the new technological environment in multi-media corporations” (2011:99). Thus, not only has the structure of the journalistic field undergone significant strain in recent years, but new technologies have played an important role in the structure and practices of the field. Furthermore, the continued concentration of ownership throughout the journalistic field has left some powerful implications. At the time of his publication in 2007, Klinenberg reported that

more than 80 percent of American newspapers [were] owned and operated by publicly traded corporations, many of which are merely subsidiaries of larger conglomerates whose executives are unwilling to compromise income for the good of cities they rarely visit or towns they’ve never seen. (2007:32)

The trend is not much different in most other media markets. For example, the television and radio industries have also been plagued by similar trends in media consolidation (McChesney 2000; Klinenberg 2007).

In addition to the growing heteronomy with the economic field, the turn of the century brought about a technological revolution that would shake the foundation of the journalistic field to its core. This switch point was the birth and proliferation of the web. The rise of the web and the panoply of concordant technologies held profound implications for the structural and practical attributes throughout much of the journalistic field. Not only did the broadcast mediums of radio and TV mediums now have to adapt and compete in a new media ecology, but so too did the newspaper industry. In addition to further increasing the speed of the news cycle and giving birth to new ways of collecting and packaging news, the web provided a new platform for distributing media content. This new medium posed the greatest threat to the newspaper subfield, whose

text- and still image-based content could easily be published online with only minor formatting changes. But as newspapers began entering the online news market in the late 1990's, their subfield's crisis was just beginning. Over the next decade, newspapers across the country would experience a retrenchment so deep that many institutions would not survive it. For example, from 1970 to 1998 the number of daily newspapers in the US declined by fifteen percent while average circulation declined similarly. At the same time, weekly newspapers were on the rise, and chain ownership of papers was becoming more common. By 1998, "the fifteen largest newspaper chains generated slightly more than half of the daily circulation of newspapers in the United States (Hamilton 2005:359). This trend would only continue as the web's journalistic relevance continued to grow into the new millennium. Indeed, according to a recent Federal Communications Commission (FCC) report, between 2007 and 2010 at least 180 US newspapers either closed completely or went to an online-only format. Furthermore, the number of newspaper employees who lost their jobs during this period was also astounding—over 13,000, or nearly 25 percent (Waldman 2011:40-41).

Other, less revolutionary technological developments also had important impacts on the journalistic field during this epoch. One such advancement was the rise of Computer Assisted Reporting (CAR). Not only did CAR allow journalists greater analytical capabilities, but the techniques also opened doors to new types of investigative reporting, and at lower costs (Dahlgren 1996:67). Within the TV subfield, news networks entered a technological arms race. As Huntzicker explains,

They [networks] got into technological races with their competitors over who had the best weather equipment, helicopter reports, and satellite access. These efforts yielded high production values and little substance.

Reports often aired live just to show off equipment and to give a sense of timeliness to stories that would have been stronger with careful editing before broadcast. (2002:293)

Any cursory glance at today's cable-TV news programs will net a similar and perhaps even more blatant spectacle. As McChesney summarizes,

The rise of commercial news media enabled by new technologies—in particular round-the-clock TV news channels and the Internet—have increased the need for ongoing attention-getting stories, with less emphasis on their significance of the story by traditional standards. (2008:39) [sic]

While this Age of Commercialization has surely given rise to many of these professionally ominous trends, the same technological breakthroughs that have put some strain on the journalistic field have also revolutionized it. Despite the various practical implications of secondary technologies leveraged by on-air journalists in communicating information, it was the rise of the internet that would define this epoch's technological transformation. Indeed, the profundity of this technological innovation led Dahlgren to exclaim that “the future of journalism is digital” (1996:60).

The proliferation and adoption of digital technologies did more to the field than provide journalists with new tools for collecting and packaging news. As Dahlgren makes clear, the web began to lower barriers of access to the journalistic field even before the 21st century had begun.

The hierarchical, top-down mass communication model of journalism is being challenged in this new media environment. These elite citizens are more and more circumventing the packaging of journalism as stories and retrieve—and produce—information for themselves, thus ‘eliminating the middleman’. Who is and who is not a journalist in this context may not always be so clear in the years ahead, as a variety of information functions arise to sort, sift and funnel data electronically. The boundaries between journalism and non-journalism in cyberspace may become even more problematic than it has become in the mass media. (1996:70)

Given the transformation that has occurred in more recent years—as will be demonstrated in the remainder of this work—Dahlgren’s forecast was a keen one. But although the practices of the web slowly began to enter the journalistic field, the process was a slow one that would take decades. In the meantime, the structural and practical attributes of the field largely remained a hybrid mix of professional (journalistic) and economic values.

Although the historical inertia of the journalistic habitus has surely carried through from previous epochs, the Age of Commercialization significantly altered the positions and dispositions of journalistic actors. By and large, the journalistic habitus has undergone a notable transformation, which became increasingly visible in the Age of Commercialization. As Pulitzer Prize winning journalist Laurie Garrett surmises,

When I started out in journalism the newsrooms were still full of old guys with blue collar backgrounds who got genuinely indignant when the Governor lied or somebody turned off the heat on a poor person's apartment in mid-January. They cussed and yelled their ways through the day, took an occasional sly snort from a bottle in the bottom drawer of their desk and bit into news stories like packs of wild dogs, never letting go until they'd found and told the truth. If they hadn't been reporters most of those guys would have been cops or firefighters. It was just that way. Now the blue collar has been fully replaced by white ones in America's newsrooms, everybody has college degrees. (2005)

As the profession became more business-oriented, the color of journalists’ collars slowly faded over the years, as did the public-interest values of many journalists and editors.

This is manifested most visibly in the less critical, pro-establishment content that has become commonplace for many MSM institutions, explained largely by professional journalism’s increasing heteronomy with the economic field (McChesney 2008).

Nonetheless, countless exceptions to this trend persist, as scores of journalists have

continued to go against the tide to provide revealing reports on issues of public importance.

In the onslaught of the economic field, journalistic capital and doxa have also experienced considerable change. Having significantly reduced the value of many types of non-economic (symbolic) capital within the field, the emphasis of editors and business managers during the Age of Commercialization has increasingly been economic capital. Furthermore, as illustrated through the tech wars of TV news networks, in the increasingly profit-oriented field symbolic capital grew less tied to the worth of the story than the economic capital invested to convey it. Again, many exceptions still remain, as reporters and editors situated further from the heteronomous (economic) pole of the field continue to value and produce journalism that serves the public good. These practical shifts have extended to the realm of doxa, where this economic heteronomy is increasingly taken-for-granted. Overall, the commercialization during this epoch served to erode much of the autonomy that the journalistic field had amassed through its previous, professional projects. But as Dahlgren (1996) observed, and the remainder of this work will illustrate, the growth of the journalistic affordances on the web and the extent to which they are leveraged by citizens and professionals alike has facilitated a transformation of the journalistic field that may significantly alter the future of the field.

FROM PAST TO PRESENT

It is now obvious that the journalistic field has experienced many important shifts over the past two centuries. Whereas its structure was once sparsely populated by agents

mostly acting with political motivations, many journalistic and technological breakthroughs shaped the field into a business sector profoundly responsible for the proper functioning (or not) of American democracy. Accordingly, this chapter has demonstrated how the fate of the journalistic field has been integrally tied to its relations with other key fields. Indeed, its structure, practices, and other practical attributes are far from autonomous, although the field has enjoyed varying measures of autonomy across the epochs.

The political field has historically served as a powerful, structuring force of the journalistic field. From American journalism's early days of explicitly political papers to the political structuring of the media environment, the political field has effectively and significantly structured the journalistic field for over two centuries. As McChesney and Pickard explain,

the government has always played a central role in the formation and support of the news media system. . . . most of our corporate media powerhouses were built upon government-granted monopoly licenses to airwaves or cable and telephone franchises (2011:xi).

While this political history is one significant facet of the journalistic field, the influence of the economic field has been steadily growing over the course of many epochs. What was once largely a practice of political publishing has slowly become a field where major corporations—often conglomerates—compete for an ever-greater share of economic capital. As Champagne points out, “If journalistic activity in democratic regimes seems to be little subject to political power, today it is, to the contrary, incontestably dominated by the economic field” (2005:52). This unfortunate reality illustrates the basic heteronomy that exists between most fields, since the actions occurring in one field are

never truly isolated from other interacting fields. Nonetheless, as is true of most field theorists, Champagne's focus on professional, MSM journalistic institutions inherently ignores the countless non-professionals and online upstarts engaging in "journalistic activity." Indeed, as was true of the journalistic field of a century ago (Kaplan 2002), new journalistic actors continue to permeate the field. This influx of new actors is one of three main dynamics which the remaining chapters will investigate.

As this chapter also demonstrated, another major factor in the history of the journalistic field is its relation to technology. Journalism is a field integrally bound to the technological field, as so many of its practices are reliant upon available technologies. Thus, when new technologies emerged—like the printing press, telegraph, telephone, for example—not only did journalistic production become cheaper and more efficient, but reporting practices also changed significantly. Furthermore, revolutionary broadcast technologies like the radio, television, and internet not only transformed the practices of many journalists, but also the structure of the field itself, as new media brought about a shift in intra-field relations. Altogether, the technologies most central to the journalistic field contributed increasingly to the practical attributes found in the field.

Thus, journalistic capital, habitus, and doxa also experienced notable changes in their own right. While these practical attributes took time to develop as the field was itself emerging, they started out with strong roots in the political and intellectual fields. Although these origins have hardly disappeared from view, the professionalization of journalism allowed the field a greater measure of autonomy. This in turn bestowed much of the field with attributes more fitting of the journalism profession. While temporal shifts in political and economic relations did affect the practical attributes of the

journalistic field, it was technological breakthroughs that most notably influenced the capital, habitus, and doxa most typical of the journalistic field.

Accordingly, the focus now turns to the contemporary relations of the journalistic field. As this chapter has shown how impactful economic, political, and technological factors have been on the journalistic field, I now offer a more detailed analysis of journalism's structure, practices, and practical attributes. Furthermore, given the historical significance of technology as well as the growing significance of Twitter and the participatory web, the following chapters will further examine these dynamics.

CHAPTER 3: TWITTER AND THE STRUCTURAL TRANSFORMATION OF THE JOURNALISTIC FIELD

[T]he structure of the newsroom and news industry is undergoing a fundamental transformation...[N]ew media are bringing about a realignment of the relationships between and among news organizations, journalists, and their many publics, including audiences, sources, competitors, advertisers, and governments (Pavlik 2001: xiii).

Despite the relatively little attention paid by Bourdieu to the subject, many other scholars have analyzed the journalistic field (see Benson and Neveu 2005). Most analyses of the journalistic field focus on macro-level, structural relations of journalism with(in) the fields of politics and economics. Given that political and economic relations remain central factors in the journalistic field, this chapter will take into consideration their implications for the case at hand. Moreover, the growing importance of technological and other cultural factors within the journalistic fields necessitates that close attention is paid to these relations and their impact on the field's structure.

By drawing on historical, digital-ethnographic, and other web-based data, this chapter will construct a focused narrative of how the journalistic field has undergone structural transformation in interaction with the fields of technology, culture, politics, and economics as well as address Twitter's role in these dynamics. The primary question of this chapter is: How has Twitter contributed to the structural transformation of the journalistic field in recent years? In answering this question, this chapter will also closely consider the technological traits of Twitter and the participatory web in order to explain how they afford such structurally transformative outcomes for journalism.

The shape of this chapter is much like an hourglass. It begins broadly by reviewing the field's structure and some of the many (f)actors which constitute and alter it. This includes addressing the dynamics of autonomy, boundary maintenance, and transformation as they relate to fields generally and the journalistic field specifically. The focus then narrows a bit to consider recent historical evidence of journalism's relations with other fields. Particular attention is paid to the interaction and convergence of journalism with the technological, political, and economic fields. Thereafter, the chapter focuses in on the role of Twitter in this relationship and takes up the question of why the medium holds such profound structural implications for the journalistic field. This entails a discussion of Twitter's normative and definitive effects on the field, as well as the importance of the medium's ubiquity, interactivity, convergence, and popularity in explaining the ongoing shifts. From there, the focus narrows even further to consider empirical evidence of Twitter's role in journalism's structural shifts. This includes a detailed discussion of the Twitter- and other web-based data analyzed for this research and what it says about the medium's role in journalism's structural transformation. At the end, the focus broadens once again to offer conclusions and consider the implications arising from the chapter's findings.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE JOURNALISTIC FIELD

As was made clear in chapter one, a field's structure is in essence its composition—who is operating in the field and the relations occurring within and across the field. This not only includes considering the aggregate of individual actors taking up numerous positions

in the field, but also the countless organizations and institutions which belong to the journalistic community. Furthermore, journalism has many subfields, often differentiated by medium and focus. Thus, the structure of the journalistic field is a complex array of positions, associations, and institutions. Figure 6 provides a broad map of the journalistic field and some of its most prominent subfields. As the figure illustrates, Twitter makes up a portion of each subfield, the conditions of which will be discussed throughout this chapter.

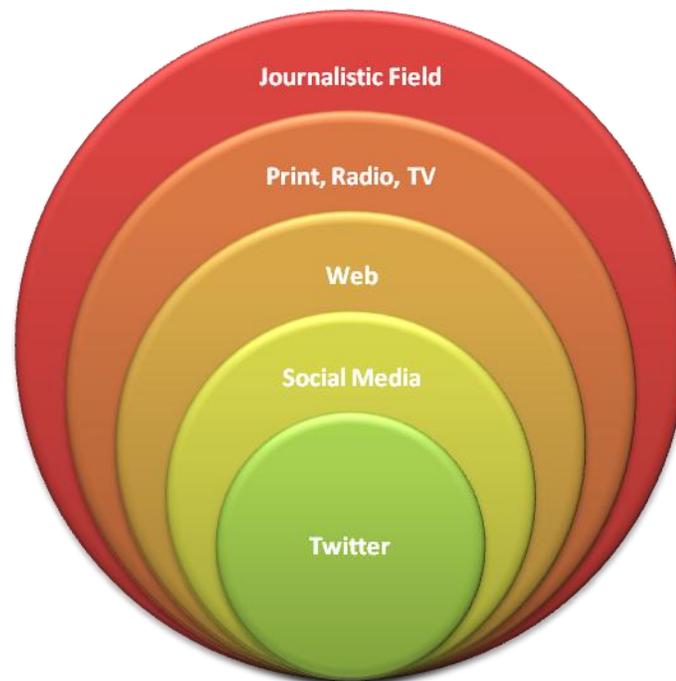


Figure 6: Media in the Journalistic Field

A key part of the journalistic field's structure is the dynamic opposition between what Bourdieu calls the subfields of "restricted" and "large-scale" production. According to Bourdieu,

the structure of the field of cultural production is based on two fundamental and quite different oppositions: first the opposition between

the sub-field of restricted production and the sub-field of large-scale production...; and secondly, the opposition, within the sub-field of restricted production, between...the established figures and the newcomers (1993:53).

As Bourdieu details, this dynamic tension, abound in the field of cultural production, is also found similarly throughout the relations of the journalistic field. Journalism's subfield of large-scale production is comprised—in ideal-typical form—of most mainstream media (MSM) institutions as well as a majority of professional journalists who work for MSM institutions and who produce journalism in mass quantities. In short, those actors and institutions who experience significant heteronomy with the field of power. In contrast, journalism's subfield of restricted production is a much smaller portion of the field which is relatively autonomous and “anti-economic” in nature (Bourdieu 1993:54). This subfield consists primarily of activist and amateur journalists with associations of varying sizes. In the past these would have mostly been small-scale print, and some broadcast productions. More recently, the web has facilitated an influx of action in this subfield, with more instances and combinations of professional, amateur, and pro-am journalism that increasingly blur the lines between these subfields.

Indeed, although the distinction between the subfield of mass production and that of small-scale production still remains relevant, the rise of new media affords greater potential for small-scale production to reach a larger public. As Hesmondhalgh explains, “there is now a huge amount of cultural production taking place on the boundaries between subfields of mass and restricted production; or, perhaps better still, that restricted production has become introduced into the field of mass production (2006:222). This new influx suggests important changes in the structural relations of the journalistic field.

I would argue that the latter dynamic outlined by Bourdieu above—between established and new figures in the subfield of restricted production—is less relevant in the current context of the journalistic field. This is largely because the blurring lines between the two subfields of production have made it so this tension between new and established figures is taking place on a larger scale that is no longer confined only to the subfield of restricted production. As will be demonstrated in the remainder of this section, issues of autonomy, boundary maintenance, inter- and intra-field relations, and transformations all combine to shape the structure of the journalistic field.

Autonomy

Based on Bourdieu's conception of field dynamics, autonomy is a central component of a field's structure and a primary variable in any analysis of field relations. As has already been demonstrated in previous chapters, the relationship of the journalistic field to other fields has had a notable affect on journalistic autonomy. The power and relevance of various other fields is a determining factor in the degree of heteronomy experienced by the journalistic field. As Krause summarizes,

Under favorable economic and political conditions, during two periods of high autonomy, 1890 to 1914 and 1945 to 1970, reporting practices, including local and investigative reporting, flourished. In two other periods, 1915 to 1945 and 1970 to 2000, the field's autonomy was challenged and local and investigative reporting declined (2011:91).

As a subfield of restricted, small-scale production that encroaches on the journalistic field, blogging is increasingly important for journalism. Many bloggers increasingly create products that look a lot like journalism, and the micro-blogging platform Twitter provides another, shorter but infinitely more interactive outlet for such practice.

One of the key strengths of most blogs is the relatively autonomous terms upon which journalistic (or other cultural and political) production takes place. This strength is especially visible in comparison to most (large-scale) professional journalism, whose practice takes place amongst a vast array of more direct ties to the fields of economics, politics, and power. As Singer explains,

both bloggers and journalists believe in the importance of truth and in their own autonomy in pursuing it. But they define and exercise that autonomy differently, based on fundamentally different philosophies and with significant implications for notions of autonomy (2006:86).

The core values of the blogging community differ significantly from those of journalism—“transparency is privileged over objectivity, connection over detachment” (Vos, Craft and Ashley 2011:2). These are two key elements in how the blogging and traditional journalism communities define autonomy differently. Nonetheless, as will become clear in the next section, dividing lines—like the one between blogs and journalism—is steadily growing blurrier. For example, the popular blog the Huffington Post was recently awarded the first Pulitzer Prize ever awarded to a blog.¹⁰ Huffington Post is also the most popular U.S. blog with a focus on original reporting, and was bought out in 2011 by AOL for \$315 million (O’Dell 2012).

As has been illustrated throughout much of the previous chapters, the journalistic field is integrally tied to other fields, including power, economics, politics, technology, and various cultural fields. The variable heteronomy between fields bears importantly on the shape of a field’s structure as well as the practices it produces. Although the majority of professional journalists rely on values of objectivity as the primary barrier designed as

¹⁰ Although, the award-winning reporter—David Wood—is a veteran military journalist.

an attempt to control for the inevitable heteronomy felt by their integral personal and institutional ties to other fields, most bloggers find themselves in a very different position. With relatively few direct ties to the political and economic fields, little to no institutional oversight to facilitate or enforce such ties, and a distinctly different habitus and *illusio*, the blogging subfield typically experiences much greater autonomy.

While most professional journalists enjoy relative autonomy in their everyday practices, there are many external constraints which bear upon them. The political and economic interests of their employers often bear importantly upon the work they do, whether in the form of story assignments, framing, funding, work load, etc. Furthermore, it also bears acknowledging that the appearance of autonomy from the political field should not be confused for actual autonomy. The journalistic value of objectivity, which has attained doxic status throughout much of the journalistic field, provides a powerful smokescreen that has been most successful at masking the latent political ideologies of journalistic acts and accounts. Jay Rosen's pointed criticism of the "view from nowhere" and "he said, she said" journalism make clear just how distorting and politically effective so-called objective reporting can be (2003; 2011). Although most MSM journalistic institutions in the US are no longer owned and operated with explicitly political goals, Fox News provides an ideal-typical illustration of how political ideology can combine with economic motive to produce powerful, if largely distorting, media content.

Given these constraining factors, journalistic autonomy remains a key factor in the field and the ability of its actors to practice the kind of reporting for which the field was founded and on which American democracy largely depends. In order to ensure relative autonomy—especially from the political and economic fields—American

journalists spent decades erecting “walls” between the news and business offices and drawing “lines” between facts and opinion. Nonetheless, “the strongest of walls and the boldest of lines bring journalists no closer to the levels of control where forces beyond the newsroom and even beyond journalism define the limits of journalistic autonomy” (Glasser and Gunther 2005:390).¹¹

Beyond the more or less explicit forms of censorship mentioned above, many journalists simply become socialized to the realities of the heteronomous field in which they reside. The result is often a less overt, more implicit disposition toward stories that are less likely to challenge the status quo or the interests of powerful individuals and institutions (Alterman 2003). Despite this tendency, countless instances of good, hard-hitting reporting persist. While much of this work is increasingly produced by new media organizations like Pro Publica, who have consciously constructed new and less penetrable buffers from such heteronomy, many MSM organizations still have journalists successfully doing this too. These cases are clearly the result of the wall separating “church and state” remaining intact and functioning properly (McChesney 2008). As chapter two makes clear, these inter-field relations have undergone various changes throughout recent history. As such, the journalistic field’s autonomic and heteronomic relations have also varied significantly. Recent developments in the blogging subfield provide new challenges to these relations, as the values, practices, and boundaries increasingly overlap with those of the traditional journalistic field.

¹¹ This is where the growing number of new actors entering the journalistic field—both through traditional (professional) and non-traditional (citizen) paths—become increasingly relevant.

Boundary Maintenance

Much of what is at stake in fields has to do with the power to define who and what constitutes membership and action within said field. Thus, the subfield of large-scale production—including educational and MSM institutions—tends to seek a monopoly over the right to define acceptable journalistic act(or)s. While occupying a dominant position within the field often means possessing various forms of capital required to successfully control this definition, countless challenges to this authority are increasingly emerging. The ‘bloggers vs. journalists’ dynamic is a prime example of this contentious relationship. The emergence of the blogosphere has afforded citizens to wield much greater influence with(in) the journalistic field than ever before. As Schudson and Tift put it, “Historically, the press had mobilized citizens; now, it was citizens who mobilized the press” (2005:41). One important way bloggers engage journalists is by becoming the “self-appointed role as watchdogs of the watchdogs” (Singer 2006:89; Vos et al. 2011).

Another, similar (albeit dying) dualism is that between producers and consumers. The narrowing divide between these two important factions of the journalistic field has been outlined extensively by Singer et al. (2011). While the audience of the past did not possess the tools necessary to take part in the conversation—i.e. printing or broadcast technologies—web 2.0 tools have allowed for “audience atomization” to be “overcome” (Rosen 2009). By this Rosen means that the proliferation of interactive communication technologies have allowed “the people formerly known as the audience” to interact with other users, as well as more traditional producers, in new and profoundly transformative ways (2006). This has given rise to a new and even more active kind of audience—often called “prosumers,” but sometimes also called “producers,” or just “users”—who are a

hybrid mix from each part of the dualism. Now, the centuries-old distinction between production and consumption is increasingly blurry and there are many users who now produce in addition to consuming media content—a practice generally referred to as “prosumption” (Harrison and Barthel 2009).

As these boundaries—between journalists and bloggers, producers and consumers—continue to blur, some of those most dedicated to journalistic traditions have begun working even harder to guard the gates to the field. Throughout my digital-ethnographic experiences on Twitter, I encountered countless instances of journalistic actors situated solidly within the field of large-scale production pontificating about the virtues of traditional journalism and the vices of journalistic acts carried about non-professionals.¹² More broadly, many scholars have begun to document and analyze ongoing tension between journalism and blogging (Singer 2003; Lowrey 2006; Hirst and Treadwell 2011). Despite these ongoing struggles, “There is no other criterion for membership of a field than the objective fact of producing effects within it” (Bourdieu 1993:42). Thus, by creating such a stir, those at the border of the journalistic field have ipso facto entered the field already.

Many scholars and media professionals have pointed out the ongoing and remarkable shift toward a journalistic field more open to influence from non-professional actors (Deuze 2007; Kim and Hamilton 2006; Reese et al. 2007; Rosen 2005, 2006; Ross 2010; Lennett et al. 2011). The Open Society Foundations have produced a number of

¹² Ironically, these rants were usually published in blog form.

reports that detail the extent to which “old boundaries of the journalistic profession are...being challenged” (Lennett 2011:53). As Jurrat explains,

the audience is not only connected vertically to people in power, such as editors and politicians, but also horizontally to each other, enabling them to mobilize. The flow of information is no longer controlled from the top. Readers are becoming reporters, citizens and journalists share one identity....[I]n principle, anyone with access to the internet can influence the news agenda (2011:8).

Of course, the growing potential for citizens to act within the journalistic field does not mean that all or even most will actually do so. As will be discussed at greater length in chapter four, there are many forms of journalistic-, intellectual-, and politically-oriented capital and dispositions that serve as necessary conditions for entrance into the journalistic field.

Thus, the criticism of professional journalism as overly rigid, exclusionary, and increasingly committed to furthering many of its already doxic distinctions has been put forth by many media scholars. C.W. Anderson, in a blog post published by the Neiman Journalism Lab, summarizes the criticism this way: “Professions are monopolistic guilds designed to raise barriers to entry in order to maintain professional privilege at the expense of the public good” (2011). As Anderson explains, this is partially true, as is evidenced by how the vast majority of professional journalism institutions have reacted to the changing structure of the news environment over the past couple decades—appearing to adapt whilst clinging to old and increasingly inadequate strategies. What must not be forgotten, though, is that the field is changing with or without any one institution. While the future remains to be seen, it is increasingly clear (to me, at least) that the journalistic

field of today—and especially tomorrow—will continue to feel the pull of non-professional journalistic actors.

On the other hand, Anderson also points out that the undeniable strength of professional models is that they “create non-material cultures that insulate workers from the ravages of the free market” by creating “alternate hierarchies of worth.” At first glance, this point does not seem to resonate much, given the mounting extent to which MSM institutions are reliant on economic interests. However, considering the examples of exceptional institutions such as The Guardian, the New York Times, ProPublica, and Andy Carvin of NPR, it is clear that professional journalistic institutions are not incapable of withstanding pressures from the economic field. Furthermore, as will be demonstrated in chapter four, journalistic professionals on Twitter increasingly use the medium to gain social, cultural, and symbolic capital, generating the alternative routes to legitimacy discussed by Anderson (2011). Thus, as web-based (inter)actions grow in significance for the field and the fluidity at which actors can engage with(in) many fields beyond their professional home, field boundaries are starting to blur and change despite the ongoing maintenance of the most committed professionals.

Transformation

Fields interact and transform in light of various historical developments. Bourdieu explains that the process of transformation for the field of cultural production

led to the establishment of an autonomous sub-field which is opposed to the heteronomous sub-field as an anti-economic economy based on the refusal of commerce and ‘the commercial’ and, more precisely, on the renunciation of short-term economic profits...and on recognition solely of symbolic, long-term profits (1993:54).

This process is particularly revealing in the recent context of the journalistic field, as Twitter and the participatory web now serve as a similarly autonomous subfield. As Vos et al. explain, “the journalistic field is perhaps now more than ever subject to transformation because of the influx of new agents in the age of the internet” (2011:3). Their recent study analyzed journalistic criticism by bloggers in an attempt to assess what these criticisms reveal about the state of the journalistic field and the extent to which the rise of such citizen participation may pose a “disruption” (Vos et al. 2011:2). Although they acknowledge the transformative potential posed by the proliferation of web participation in the field, the authors contend that the journalistic field remains stable due to the fact that a majority of the bloggers’ journalistic criticisms implicitly or explicitly accepted much of the professional field’s doxa.

The conclusion of Vos et al. (2011) seems to conflict with much of the findings of this study—as will be detailed in the remaining chapters—because a significant portion of the field is starting to adopt more open values in line with the web 2.0 ethic. For example, the journalistic field is increasingly participatory, and is also more likely to recognize capital gained through Twitter- and other web-based (inter)actions than ever before, as I show in chapter four. Furthermore, the strict criteria for field transformation that Vos et al. employ in their analysis does not adequately account for the complexity of field dynamics. Despite their contention, field transformation can occur without explicit structural and practical criticism from the blogosphere.¹³ Nonetheless, much of the

¹³ This is not to suggest that the findings of Vos et al.(2011) are not revealing of *something* about the state of the field, just that their limited measure of bloggers’ journalistic criticism does not adequately account for the complexity of the issue.

Twitter data analyzed in this research does appear to resonate with the kinds of journalistic criticisms Vos et al. found in their study. Moreover, they argue that “Bloggers may yet be a disruptive force in the journalistic field, but little of their current effort is explicitly aimed at transforming the cultural capital of the field” (Vos et al. 2011:12). While this appears to be true, it is important to keep in mind that actors’ intent is not a necessary condition for the transformation of the field.

Fields undergo change based on a combination of three primary factors: the entrance of new actors, the position-takings (i.e. agency) of actors in the field, and the field’s internal and external structural relations. According to Russell (2007), Bourdieu’s field theory explains how “new agents” can be either “a force for transformation or conservation” (p. 289). What outcomes are realized is contingent upon numerous other factors regarding who the new actors are, what field(s) most influence their actions, and how they carry out these actions. For example,

New agents with ‘ruling class’ contacts and resources often have more motivation and capacity to bring about change, whereas less well-connected and less wealthy entrants will be less apt to take risks or to challenge the status quo. The numbers of entrants is a significant factor as well. When there is a large disparity in the number of jobs relative to the number of applicants, those who get the jobs are likely to conform. Conversely, when the number of positions increases, rule-bending innovation will increase (Russell 2007:289).

This account is demonstrably true of the old journalistic field dominated by MSM institutions and the professional journalists they employ. In recent years, however, the structure of the journalistic field has changed dramatically so that professionals and non-professionals alike are wielding greater, more innovative influence. This is largely attributable to the opening up of the journalistic field, as seen through Twitter and the

web, where influence from non-professional journalistic actors is steadily increasing. In short, the “number of positions” is vastly increasing—albeit many of them are unpaid or poorly paid—so that the growing cohort of new actors continue to innovate in ways the professional field has not yet come to terms with.

Examples of this increasing innovation are abound on Twitter, where non-professionals report and curate news, interact with journalistic professionals and citizens, and generally engage in practices which serve to further blur the boundaries between the journalistic and other fields. As Russell reminds us, though, such actions can effectively conserve the order of the journalistic field as much as they help transform it. For example, much of citizens’ journalistic practice has been subject to intense criticism—by media professionals as well as the broader public—on more and less legitimate terms. Because citizen journalism is far from a homogenous practice, the same is obviously true of its outcomes. Thus, while the many exemplary instances of citizen journalism on Twitter may serve to transform the structure of the journalistic field, drastic breaches of journalistic values by citizens—and in rare instances, professionals as well—may simply reinforce rather than transform the field’s institutionally-dominated structure.

There is much evidence to suggest that both of these effects are occurring simultaneously. However, while the transformative impacts appear to be most relevant and successful at this historical moment, the long-term implications remain to be seen. Despite these remarkable developments that are altering the structure of the journalistic field it would be a mistake to assume that these new forces constitute a replacement of the field’s institutionally-dominated structure. Indeed, the political, economic, and journalistically professional forces which have comprised the field for so long remain

present. Nonetheless, such powerful influences are tempered by the increasingly open and democratic nature of the journalistic field, thanks in large part to the actions and position-takings of those new to the field.

While it could be said that the structure of the US journalistic field remained fairly steady over the last few decades of the 20th century—with profound influence from the political and economic fields—a closer look suggests that the trend toward more political and economic influence on journalism is a revealing example of enduring transformation. Despite this challenge to journalistic autonomy from the political and economic fields, recent developments suggest new, important influence from other—technological and political—fields, as increasing access to information and communication technologies (ICTs) and their journalistic affordances bring about new forms of expression from actors situated in various fields. As Klinenberg explains, “new entrants, particularly from marginalized or excluded groups or classes, can alter the compositional structure of the journalistic field” (p. 2005:185). Bourdieu takes this line of thought even further, arguing that

The great upheavals arise from the eruption of newcomers who, by the sole effect of their number and their social quality, import innovation regarding products or techniques of production, and try or claim to impose on the field of production, which is itself its own market, a new mode of evaluation of products (1996:225).

Thus, as new actors infiltrate the journalistic field their actions help to (re)structure the relations within the field.¹⁴

¹⁴ However, this transformative potential from outside has its limits, since the enduring power structure that has constituted the field for so long still remains largely intact.

This trend is exemplified throughout the journalistic fields of many western countries. Compton and Benedetti explain how, in North America and Europe,

The journalistic field is undergoing enormous change. Amateur content is increasingly part of the mix of traditional news media files, from CNN's iReports.com to aggregation sites such as nowpublic.com. But citizen participation is not an unambiguous social good; it must be contextualized (2010:496).

Heeding Compton and Benedetti's insistence on contextualizing citizen's interaction with the journalistic field, Couldry focuses on "writer-gatherers" as a way to "capture those engaged in a regular practice of writing and/or information aggregation outside mainstream media institutions" (2010:139). Furthermore, Couldry maintains that the place of these writer-gatherers is not solidly amidst the journalistic field, nor do they inhabit their own field, because their space is "fragmented"—it lacks "a competitive space organized a common set of resources and practices, even if some writer-gatherers approach or overlap with the borders of the journalistic field" (p. 139). Indeed, the context in which people commit voluntary acts of journalism are increasingly of, but not altogether in, the fields of journalism and politics.

Another revealing example of this trend is provided by Peter Lee-Wright's analysis of the transformations taking place at the BBC. As he explains,

A culture that grew organically for the best part of a century is now undergoing a revolutionary transformation in response to changes in news consumption—facilitated by new technologies—and to accommodate the economic and political pressures bearing down on the BBC (Lee-Wright 2010:71).

This is a powerful illustration of how action within the journalistic field is increasingly contingent upon external forces. In other words, the journalistic field is undergoing a transformation toward less autonomy and more heteronomy, largely influenced by from

actors and factors not conventionally deemed as a part of the journalistic field. Although this trend is far from new, it is remarkable because of the vast implications it now holds for the structural realities of the journalistic field.

FIELD INTERACTION AND CONVERGENCE: JOURNALISM IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

Since the rise of the participatory web, the journalistic field has been undergoing a steady stream of changes that are altering its structure. While the relations of power, politics, and economics remain similarly heteronomous for MSM institutions, as documented by previous field theory scholarship (Benson and Neveu 2005), recent events have radically altered the composition of the journalistic field. One key variable is economics. As Josh Stearns (2012) explains in a recent PBS Media Shift post:

We're living through one of the most difficult periods in the history of the news business (albeit, one of the most exciting), where sharp budget reductions, shrinking ad revenues, dramatic shifts in audiences' media consumption habits, and a range of self-inflicted wounds (from media consolidation to unhealthy debt loads) have upended news organizations' longstanding business models and sparked an age of reinvention and experimentation.

Thus, the clear shift in economic relations amongst the journalistic field is bearing importantly upon its structural and practical realities. Nonetheless, considering also the recent proliferation of new media technologies and their particularly journalistic affordances, it is apparent that the journalistic field has been increasingly infiltrated by the encroachments of other fields. In other words, though the structural relations between

fields remain largely intact, the borders between them are increasingly blurring. This is particularly true in the case of the journalistic field.

As many scholars have noted, the role of technology in field contexts was not a subject that Bourdieu gave much ink to (Sterne 2003; Prior 2008). Nonetheless, it is increasingly clear that the creation of—and interaction with—technologies can be said to occur in a particular context and with vast implications for action in other fields. As Sterne states, “One could imagine a whole field that contained the totality of a society’s technological practices, where technological production and consumption would come together” (2003:383). While it could be quite useful to theorize a space within which technologically mediated (inter)action takes place, it is beyond the scope of this work to produce a precise layout of what such a technological field might look like. Yet, it is still possible to locate the creation of new(s) technologies within a particular field and to assess the impact of such actions on the journalistic field.

While the application of a Bourdieuan lens to this dynamic is less than common there is no shortage of scholarship on the influence of technological innovation on the structure of the journalistic field. As Pavlik explains, “Journalism has always been shaped by technology” (2000:229). From the birth of the printing press, telegraph, telephone, radio, and television to the internet and its many communication platforms, new(s) media technologies have always affected the journalistic field in important ways. In addition to the obvious implications for journalistic practices, actions of the technological field also hold profound implications for the journalistic field’s structure and culture. New innovations provide ongoing opportunities for new actors and

institutions to join the journalistic field as well as to create subfields and transform relations between actors and institutions throughout the field.

However, before more thoroughly addressing the relationship between the technological and journalistic fields it is important to clarify the orientation taken throughout this analysis. While starting to assess the impact of technologies like the telegraph and the telephone, Paul Starr (2004:155) explains that

The new technologies created divergent possibilities. They could expand social connections, increasing the possibilities of association, exchange, and diffusion of information, but they also created new means of controlling communication that the state or private monopolists might use for their own purposes. Since technologies themselves did not determine which possibilities would be realized, it is tricky to talk about their effects. The effects depended on the path of development they followed, and that path depended critically on political decisions.

Thus, as noted by Earl and Kimport (2011), it is best to talk about technological affordances and the extent to which they are leveraged by social action. This orients our focus toward the practical ways in which actors actually employ technology, as well as the various consequences that follow. Furthermore, not only does this once again illustrate the interconnectedness of field-based relations, but it also shifts the focus away from technologically deterministic frames and toward empirical questions about agents' leveraging of technological affordances.

Technologies, then, are inevitably created and leveraged by actors located in particular field contexts. While the creation of technologies may be said to take place primarily within the technological field, journalistic actors are increasingly playing important roles in the innovation and leveraging of technologies with powerful journalistic affordances. According to McChesney,

Media and technology are so closely wed that media sectors are defined by the differing technologies they employ. It is clear, too, that differing media technologies have distinct effects. The printing press, for example, was a force for radical social change (McChesney 2004:211).

As will become clear throughout this manuscript, Twitter has emerged as a profoundly important space that serves as a contemporary crossroads for the journalistic and technological fields. Not only is the medium often used for journalists to interact with each other about technological advancements relevant to their field, but also for journalistic actors to engage with actors from the technological field. Much of the Twitter data collected and analyzed for this project illustrates this trend.

Recent Journalistic Shifts through Interaction with the Technological, Economic, and Political Fields

By now it should be apparent that technologies are a central component of the journalistic field. This is true to the extent that transformations in technology play a direct role in transformations in the journalistic field. According to Krause, “Technological change has played an important yet also limited role in the history of journalism” (Krause 2011:100). By this, Krause means that journalistically relevant technological advancements take place across many fields, and are later “partially incorporated into the [journalistic] field” (p. 100). It is this ongoing process of incorporation that both facilitates and tempers the influence new media technologies have in the field.

In more recent years, the role of technology in journalism has had increasingly profound effects when combined with the influence from the political and economic fields. As Champagne (2005) makes clear, “New technologies lead journalists in the

national media to work under constant time pressure, and increasingly to make news ‘direct’ and ‘in real time’” (p. 53). These pressures have been widely documented, and serve to illustrate the complex combination of economic and technological factors that contribute to the reality seen in the journalistic field. Meanwhile, ties between the journalistic and technological fields continue to grow stronger as actors from both fields are increasingly aware of the extensive potential in coordinated efforts. This has taken on many forms, from informal interaction, focused collaboration, and even a new institute to “bridge the gap between journalism and technology and to encourage collaboration between the two disciplines” (Sniderman 2012).

In addition to their countless practical implications—the subject of chapter four—new technologies offer many important affordances that influence the structure of the journalistic field. For example, the increasing interactivity provided by new communication technologies serves to lower the barriers between the (professional) journalistic field and other fields of cultural production. As Pavlik explains,

[T]echnologies play an increasingly significant role in facilitating audience communication with journalists, sometimes providing an opportunity for members of the public to contribute their own reports to the flow of news and information, thereby expanding news coverage, but also raising the potential for misinformation (2003:76).

The way in which advancements in the technological field facilitate increased interactivity within the journalistic field is a notable development. Although the lowering of journalistic barriers to entry raises some obvious issues of information accuracy, this has always been a concern amongst professional journalism despite the field’s *doxa* and *illusio*, which carefully and effectively mask clear limitations to journalistic accounts.

Nonetheless, the increase in technological affordances and the journalistic leveraging of them offer an important illustration of the fluidity of the journalistic field's borders.

The practice of Computer Assisted Reporting (CAR) and the ongoing work of the National Institute for Computer Assisted Reporting (NICAR) provide prime examples of the overlap that exists between the journalistic and technological fields. The practice of CAR is a manifestation of how many investigative reporters are increasingly leveraging new technologies to analyze large data sets in hopes of revealing new and important information about social relations, while at the same time doing "more with less" (McChesney and Nichols 2010:23). NICAR has been offering conferences and other resources which facilitate the leveraging of technologies for investigative reporting. The ongoing adoption of CAR and other tech-savvy practices within the journalistic repertoire has given rise to a new hybrid role: journalist as coder. This increasingly important position at the border of the journalistic- and technological fields can be seen clearly in the work of countless journalism innovators who are constantly developing new, digital tools for the professionals and citizens to use in their engagement with journalism.

In addition to digitalization, engagement with the public has increasingly been another important emphasis throughout much of the journalistic field. Although rooted in the field's heterodoxy since its inception, the trend gained greater speed with the "public" or "civic" journalism movement of the 1990s (Rosen 1999). More recently, the proliferation of web 2.0 tools have facilitated a resurgence of the engagement ethic, as the public is increasingly networked, and can no longer be kept as separate from the journalistic field. The current emphasis on engagement has been largely enabled by the technological transformation of web 2.0 that has facilitated greater interactivity

throughout and across fields. Thus, in the recent context of Twitter and other web 2.0 tools, technological breakthroughs can act as a “switch point” in the shift toward democratizing the journalistic field.

The increasing role of the technological- with(in) the journalistic field has been quite noticeable, despite having been under-acknowledged in the literature on the journalistic field: Professional institutions are responding to, and thus (re)producing, these transformations by turning to new two-way mediums, increasing the interactivity with news content, adopting models of collaborative “pro-am journalism,” and in some cases, publishing content from citizen journalists just like they would for freelance journalists.¹⁵ While there are numerous accounts of the transformations of the journalistic field, the most recent and striking transformations facilitated by new technologies suggest “the dismantling of the structures of news media as we know them” (Fenton 2010:4). Fenton’s edited volume contains numerous cases of transformation in news context, many of which offer important implications for this study. For instance, Peter Lee-Wright (2010) details some of the many changes seen at the BBC brought on by recent technological innovation.

Constant advancements to the technological repertoire of journalistic actors can have a profound impact on the field’s structure, especially when combined with other dynamic transformations. Brought about by the rise of new media, “Journalism is undergoing a fundamental transformation, perhaps the most fundamental since the rise of the penny press of the mid-nineteenth century” (Pavlik 2001: xi). As Pavlik further

¹⁵ See Yahoo! News, The Huffington Post, and OhMyNews as a few prominent examples.

explains, “the reasons for the transformation of journalism are neither simple nor one-dimensional. Rather, a set of economic, regulatory, and cultural forces, driven by technological change, are converging to bring about a massive shift in the nature of journalism at the millennium” (2001: xi). A decade later, this trend is further along on its path. The constant evolution of new media technologies—particularly those of the web 2.0 era—facilitate ever-important changes in the state and structure of the journalistic field. Thus, the Open Society Foundations recent report on the U.S. concluded that “Successive wave of journalistic innovators have leveraged rising platforms—blogs, online videos, Twitter, tablets, and beyond—to position themselves as entrepreneurs and experts and to experiment with new revenue streams” (Lennett et al. 2011:53).

In an ideal-typical example of how web-based technologies are transforming the journalistic field, Fulton (1996) explains that “Journalism companies used to control the megaphone—and therefore had a monopoly on who got heard. New technologies...have destroyed that world forever” (quoted in Deuze 1999:385). This exemplifies a kind of opening up of the journalistic field to increasingly include actions from those not typically regarded as journalistic actors, reflecting a significant shift in the field’s borders and structure. As the relations within and between fields continue to evolve, it becomes increasingly clear that the structural realities that once ruled the field no longer dominate field relations. Technological innovation, along with other structural shifts, has given rise to a revision of the journalistic field’s structure that is no longer under the sole control of MSM institutions and their staffs of journalism professionals.

As Wiik explains, “As traditional institutions gradually lose their structural powers, old boundaries get blurred and definitions start to float” (2009:352).

Furthermore, Couldry (2010) makes clear that instances of citizen journalism illustrate “how ‘Web 2.0’ was changing media so that content was now driven by those outside media institutions” (p. 144). Not only do these instances illustrate an opening up of the journalistic field, but they also help to sketch out the emerging “web 2.0 habitus” that will be paid considerable attention in chapter four. Unsurprisingly, Twitter has emerged as a central space where the technological and journalistic fields collide.

Some additional instances illustrating the ongoing structural transformation of the journalistic field are outlined by Stanyer:

[T]he news markets of the pre-internet era are being reconfigured. The old geographical and technological divides are disappearing and the once dominant position of the main national news providers is coming to an end. The emergence of news aggregators, niche providers, and non-U.S. outlets means competition to be the first news destination is intensifying and internationalizing (Stanyer 2009:205).

The case of Twitter is a prime example of this trend. As a broad medium of communication—embedded in the even broader online web—Twitter is literally an ideal-typical embodiment of the changes Stanyer outlines, particularly because it can aggregate content to and from any provider with access to the Internet. Because users create their own “awareness system” (Hermida 2010a), the medium functions as a customized aggregation of information from any and all providers with a Twitter account.¹⁶ In the case of journalistic actors on Twitter, they create awareness systems that can include anyone from media elites, inside sources, and journalistic professionals, to celebrities, common citizens and face-to-face (F2F) friends. Such an aggregation of content from

¹⁶ Another important characteristic particular to Twitter is that its technological makeup structures the users’ interactive experience in a highly individualized way. Although this affordance has particularly striking implications for issues of citizenship, democracy, and media consumption, the focus of this discussion will remain on Twitter’s implications for the journalistic field.

across the spectrum of journalistic actors—particularly from those not employed as journalism professionals—illustrates the shift toward an opening up of the journalistic field to increase the influence of those other than traditionally elite institutions and their actors.

WHY TWITTER IS A JOURNALISTICALLY TRANSFORMATIVE SPACE

The case of the journalistic field as seen through Twitter provides a powerful illustration of the dynamic transformations through which the field's structure is currently undergoing. Such transformations in structure were made most apparent through my digital ethnographic experiences within the journalistic field on Twitter. As I will show in the remainder of this chapter, the rise of Twitter and the participatory web have facilitated remarkable changes to the economic, political, technological, journalistic, and power dynamics within the field of journalism. This is only possible because of Twitter's normalization in the field (Lasorsa et al. 2011), as well as its growing prominence as a space for journalistically relevant interactions.

As veteran technology reporter and journalism scholar Elliot King wrote in 2010: While the Web and blogging have already carved out roles within journalism, new technologies are emerging, including Wikis, handheld devices, and other communication technologies like Twitter, which may or may not play a role in journalism over time (p. 255).

King was correct to draw attention to the technologies that have already been established as relatively disruptive for the journalistic field, as well as to raise questions about which ones will remain relevant in the future. In the few years since King's writing, much of the journalistic field has adopted the Twitter medium and many of its affordances into its

everyday structure. And while the longevity of this shift remains to be seen, Twitter's role in the field is becoming increasingly accepted and obvious, albeit mutable.

As of March, 2011 there were 168 news organizations and over 3,000 journalists registered on the Muck Rack site (Galant 2011). These numbers rose drastically in the year that passed between my initial email inquiry and my follow-up. As of April, 2012 Muck Rack had "several hundred" affiliated news organizations and "about 10,000" registered journalists (Galant 2012). This measure alone provides a powerful illustration of Twitter's importance within the journalistic field.

Twitter's Normative and Definitive Effects

Twitter is having a transformative effect on the journalistic field in two distinct ways. First, as a part of the web 2.0 trend of lowering barriers to entry into the field, Twitter has further blurred the notion of who is a journalistic actor. I refer to this as the definitive effect. Given that an actors' field-location is determined largely by the effects of their actions, those users who have a journalistic influence, whether on reporters or "the people formerly known as the audience," are present in the field ipso facto (Bourdieu 1993; Rosen 2006). The abundance of interaction and engagement on Twitter—particularly in the context of the journalistic field—serves to further facilitate the medium's matriculation.

Second, and partially as a result of the first effect, Twitter has become a normative and ubiquitous space for discourse in and about the journalistic field. I refer to this as the normative effect. Although Twitter has proven to be a key medium for many of the field's new entrants—largely because of the abundance of capital at stake there—

many of its journalistic affordances and the great extent to which they have been leveraged by actors from various fields has convinced even many naysayers to slowly but steadily get on board. Over time, this trend has become an increasingly doxic norm for the field, where journalistic actors are expected to have a Twitter presence. While this subject will receive explicit attention in chapter four, it is also particularly relevant to the current discussion because the medium's place in journalistic practice contributes to, and eventually comes to constitute, the field's structure.

These two effects have given rise to a number of other transformative implications that significantly affect the structure of the field and its relations with other fields. While they surely exist within the broader context of culturally-, politically-, and technologically-driven web 2.0 dynamics, many of the new developments are particular to Twitter. Although blogs and other social networking sites have played important and well-documented roles in the changing field of journalism, Twitter has separated itself from the pack of web 2.0 media as a normative space of (inter)action for the journalistic field (Lasorsa et al. 2011).

The journalistic field as seen through Twitter serves as an ongoing illustration of the structural transformation that is the focus of this chapter. Whereas the journalistic field of the past was made up of MSM media institutions and employees, with a small portion of journalistically motivated citizens publishing on the fringes of the field, the leveraged affordances of Twitter and the web have drastically changed the journalistic field's constitution. While there are many tools which journalists have historically employed to accomplish these tasks, contemporary usage of Twitter throughout the journalistic field suggests that it is uniquely transformative.

Four Additional Factors Contributing to Twitter's Structural Implications

So, what is it about Twitter that affords such structurally transformative effects for the journalistic field? This is a complex and multifaceted question with numerous potentially fruitful answers. First, it is important to consider Twitter's ubiquity. Given technological advancements to mobile communication devices like smart phones, tablets, and laptops, web-based media like Twitter have become practically ubiquitous. Thus, Twitter users can consume and produce content from anywhere with a network connection. Twitter's ubiquity, however, takes on yet another meaning in the context of the journalistic field due to its increasingly normative status amongst actors situated across the field (Lasorsa et al. 2011; Filho and Praca 2009). While Twitter is growing in popularity in many demographics across the US, having a Twitter account is becoming somewhat of a litmus test for journalists given the aforementioned ubiquity of the medium across the field.

Second, Twitter is an important part of the journalistic field's structural transformation because of the level of interactivity it affords. As Carlson (2003) explains, interactivity is a "key element" in the transforming journalistic field. "The biggest weakness of the traditional mass media," he says, "is their lack of interactivity and two-way communication. It is very difficult for readers or viewers to interact with one another or with reporters and editors" (p. 54). The technological advancements taking place on the web, for instance, provide much greater opportunity for interaction within and across fields. As Deuze explains, interactivity like that facilitated by email and other computer-mediated communication (CMC) technologies have led journalists to acknowledge that "such direct contact actually results in more story ideas, faster correction of factual mistakes and sometimes access to story sources otherwise too time

costly to find” (1999:378). This trend has grown significantly over the last decade along with the advent of the web 2.0 model and its accompanying tools.

Twitter itself functions as a concentration point for interactive affordances, as millions of actors can act and interact across journalistic contexts. As NPR “senior strategist” and leading Twitter journalist Andy Carvin declared in a tweet, “My Twitter followers interact w/ each other.” Indeed, not only do Carvin’s Twitter followers interact with each other, but they also with him, and he with them. While Carvin’s experiences are far from representative—he is widely regarded as the leading Twitter journalist, after all—they are illustrative of the kind and extent of journalistic interactions Twitter affords. Given that so many others in the journalistic field are increasingly leveraging Twitter’s interactive affordances (Murthy 2011), it becomes clear just how engaging and transformative this medium may be. Consequently, the interactive limitations of traditional mass media noted by Carlson are on the decline as journalistic institutions increasingly adopt technologies that afford greater connections within and across journalistic boundaries.

This leads me to my third point: the rise of technological convergence. Technological convergence helps explain how content creation, distribution, and consumption practices are being combined and streamlined through digital technologies like (often mobile) computers and the web (Gordon 2003:61-2). Although such convergence may make the journalistic practices easier in the long run, the combination of political-economic strain and technological advancements have also led many journalism institutions to require more work from fewer workers (Klinenberg 2005b;

Champagne 2005). Thus, journalistic actors are increasingly expected to synergize multiple communication technologies in their everyday practices.

Beyond technological convergence, Twitter is even more facilitative of another type of convergence: field convergence. Field convergence can be said to occur when multiple fields or subfields overlap and interact. Although Twitter helps facilitate convergence for many fields, it is most importantly influential for the convergence of the journalistic field with the technological, political, and economic fields. Muck Rack provides a strong illustration of both types of convergence. In addition to Muck Rack's original focus as a journalistic aggregation and community service, they now also offer a separate service for "communication and social media specialists" to increase their access to journalists (Muck Rack 2012). This illustrates the important intersection of field boundaries that Twitter currently occupies. Furthermore, the fact that Muck Rack has now expanded beyond Twitter to multiple social media services illustrates the technological convergence aspect.

Last but certainly not least, Twitter's popularity throughout the field is a key variable in understanding its journalistic significance. As has become clear by now, Twitter has slowly but surely grown into its normative status within the journalistic field (Lasorsa et al. 2011). Countless journalistic actors use Twitter as a space for interacting with other professionals, connecting with potential sources, keeping up with breaking news, and engaging with members of the public. Indeed, Mathew Ingram sees Twitter's importance for journalism as so profound that he has suggested a special Pulitzer Prize be created for Twitter reporting (Ingram 2011). Altogether, these facts help to illustrate how

Twitter has become such a popular platform throughout the field that it has emerged as a central space for journalists to build capital.

While these traits are not exclusive to Twitter—indeed, many are applicable throughout much of the participatory web—the complex interplay between numerous variables helps give Twitter its significance in the journalistic field. The ubiquity of wifi and accessibility afforded by smartphones provide another important part of the base upon which Twitter’s journalistic influence can be built. However, given that networked devices hold countless affordances across as many platforms, there must be other variables that help explain Twitter’s unique significance. This is where Twitter’s short, convenient form and its normative status throughout the field come into play. Altogether these variables combine to help explain Twitter’s status as the de facto social network of the journalistic field. This is especially true for those increasingly influential journalistic actors focused on the directions in which their changing field is heading.

STRUCTURAL TRANSFORMATION ON TWITTER: (F)ACTORS IN ACTION

Twitter is at the center of journalism’s structural transformation particularly because of its normative status within the field. Not only do most news organizations share stories on Twitter, but a growing majority of professional journalists also maintain individual accounts. Furthermore, among all web 2.0 technologies, it has become the primary digital medium through which journalists act and interact around news issues. The number of professional journalistic actors on Twitter has reached a critical mass, to the effect of solidifying the medium’s place amongst the field. But journalists have not only flocked

to Twitter en masse, they have also used the medium to engage in countless acts of great significance to their field. Journalistic thought leaders increasingly use Twitter to (inter)act extensively regarding the future of the field. As one example, Guardian Newspapers Editor in Chief Alan Rusbridger recently tweeted a list of ten “ideas” about what “open journalism” looks like, attracting much attention and discussion throughout the field (Stearns 2012). Furthermore, there also exists a great amount of meta-discourse, where journalistic actors use Twitter to reflect upon and advance the significance of the medium for news organizations as well as the field at large. As I will show in the remainder of this chapter, this meta-discourse was abundant in the Twitter data collected and analyzed in this research. Additionally, journalistic actors are increasingly using the medium as a means of interaction and engagement with the public, who increasingly serve as new(s) sources. NPR journalist Andy Carvin and NYT journalist Nicholas Kristof are two of the most visible examples of this. The combined effects of interaction and engagement, along with the countless journalistic opportunities that the medium affords professional and non-professional actors alike, makes Twitter a key variable in the changing structure of the journalistic field.

Much of Twitter’s structural implications for the journalistic field pertain to the medium’s role in the position-takings of many journalists. As will be shown in chapter four, countless professional journalists have used Twitter as a means of debating the field’s core values and the extent to which they are becoming more open to influence from new media subfields. Beyond debates over journalistic values, much of the Twitter discourse analyzed for this study focused on various ways in which journalistic actors and organizations leverage the medium’s affordances.

A number of tweets using the #journalism hashtag focused on MSM institutional usage of Twitter. For example, numerous tweets shared comments on—and links to—the Boston Globe’s development of newsroom technology aimed at harnessing the power of Twitter on the web. The Globe has named this technology the “Information Radiator”—basically a small tower of screens that display the most recent tweet from a Globe journalist as well as their two separate news sites (Marstall 2011). One #journalism chat participant referred to this technology as a “social media newswire.” Another called it the “new #media reality.” The fact that established, MSM institutions like the Globe are so focused on developing and implementing technologies that allow it to better leverage the affordances of Twitter are illustrative of the medium’s growing importance in the field. Furthermore, another clear indication of Twitter’s growing importance within the journalistic field is the fact that Freedom of Information (FOI) requests in the UK can be made via Twitter. As one #journalism chat contributor tweeted: “FOI requests can be submitted on Twitter says Information Commissioner... It doesn't even have to be a DM [Direct Message]!”

Despite the body of evidence indicating Twitter’s journalistic significance, many key actors in MSM institutions remain resistant. As one contributor to the #journalism hashtag tweeted: “Only 3 Editors From The 10 Top Newspapers In The US Are On #Twitter.” The tweet was accompanied by a link to a web article further discussing the issue (Dugan 2011). Veteran journalist and editor Steve Buttry was so concerned about the trend of MSM editors ignoring the power of Twitter that he blogged—and tweeted using the #journalism hashtag—about “Why editors should be active on Twitter” (Buttry 2011a). This post was accompanied by another Twitter discussion—as well as a Storify

and blog post by Buttry—regarding the importance of editors (not) using the medium (Buttry 2011b).

Another indication of the increasing power of Twitter within the journalistic field is the extent to which the MSM monopoly over news is ceding to social media sites like Twitter. As one #journalism contributor put it: “Press barons lose information monopoly in #Twitter era.” Furthermore, many others echoed this trend, illustrating how posts on Twitter are scooping MSM outlets. Indeed, as another #journalism contributor tweeted: “I Saw It First...on #Twitter - Is the news lame now?” Yet another #journalism contributor linked to an online article and tweeted the article’s headline: “Why #Twitter inherently reports news before traditional media” (Whittaker 2011). News organizations being scooped by Twitter was a particularly pertinent issue throughout much of the time-period that data was collected for this study. Thus, the Associated Press and the BBC both altered their policies in 2011—largely to prevent their employees from publishing on Twitter before news hit their own sites. One #wjchat contributor tweeted a link to a Poynter blog on the subject and exclaimed: AP social media guidelines restrict reporters from breaking news on Twitter, Facebook etc.” (Myers 2011a). Similarly, as was representative of the views seen throughout my participant-observations on Twitter, a #journalism contributor referred to BBC’s social media policy as “Old rules for new game.”

Nonetheless, MSM institutions’ leveraging of the Twitter’s affordances is an important part of the story regarding the medium’s role in the structural transformation of the field. As is demonstrated throughout much of the Twitter discourse analyzed for this project, such a trend is growing. One discussion question tweeted by a #journchat

moderator both acknowledged the growing importance of social media for news institutions and probed others to share their knowledge or experience of the issue: “92% of TV stations are on Twitter/FB. What current trends do u see w/socialTV & news? What would u like to see in the future?” #Journchat participants responded with revealing accounts. Here are a few of the most notable:

The stations in our market have begun airing some of their FB/Twitter comments. They've pulled back from "blasting."

News stations using FB/Twitter for additional details on stories, teasers for the news and getting audience feedback.

NYT launches a Twitter feed for live coverage of breaking news.

The last of these three tweets was accompanied by a link to a Neiman Journalism Lab blog post about the New York Times' (NYT) new twitter account with the sole purpose of providing breaking news (Garber 2011). While a recent perusing of this Twitter account (@NYTLive) suggests it has since been abandoned, the paper of record for the U.S. still maintains numerous other institutional—as well as countless individual—Twitter accounts. Furthermore, as of April 2012 “several hundred” news organizations and “about 10,000” professional journalists were registered with Muck Rack, illustrating that Twitter’s adopting across MSM institutions is substantial (Galant 2012).

Despite the increasingly important role Twitter is playing in many newsrooms, many #journchat participants observed that hesitancy is also abundant due to the still-common discomfort in the new media ecology. As one influential chat participant put it: “I think fear of making an error is what keeps many news orgs from using Twitter to its full potential.” Such criticism approximates what Herrera and Requejo refer to as using a “2.0 tool...with a 1.0 mentality” (2012:84). As they explain:

Traditional media outlets seem to have mechanically transferred conceptions of their own roles in the mass media to Twitter, as if it was just another on-line newspaper or radio station. They do not see it as a tool for horizontal conversation, let alone a forum for exchanging information (Herrera and Requejo 2012:84).

These tendencies, as well as the social media policies of many MSM institutions discussed above, provide a pointed illustration of the dialectic “between tradition and change” that continues throughout much of the field (Mitchelstein and Boczkowski 2009).

Another important transformation appearing throughout portions of the Twitter discourse analyzed for this research was the process of convergence—of both fields and technologies. Field convergence was frequently illustrated through discussions about other fields and their relation with journalism. Not only did Twitter’s journalistic subfield address many issues of technological affordances and how they may be leveraged—an issue of great relevance to journalistic practices, as the reader will find in chapter four—but their tweets often addressed many of the technical aspects of these tools as well. For example, a notable portion of #wjchat and #journchat discourses focused explicitly on comparing and contrasting the affordances of various new media technologies as well as on discussing their relevance for journalism. Moreover, some journalistic actors on Twitter explicitly acknowledged the influence of the journalistic- on the technological field. As one example, a #wjchat participant tweeted: “News organizations have been driving forces for growth on Facebook, Twitter and Tumblr. Not having this = Bad.” This acknowledgement of the journalistic-technological field convergence illustrates the integral role played by journalism in the emergence of new technologies. As has been demonstrated throughout this research, the reverse relation is

equally important, as the technological field has played an integral role in both journalistic structures and practices.

While the technological field clearly provided the most notable point of convergence with the journalistic field throughout Twitter and other web discourse, other important points of convergence were also represented. One of these was the PR field. As was discussed in chapter two, PR has long been recognized as a field that intersects importantly with the journalistic field—often in ways that challenge journalistic autonomy. PR professionals had a visible presence throughout much of the #journalchat and #wjchat discussions, emphasizing their place amidst the journalistic field. A few #journalchat tweets even linked to a PR news site with guidelines for how PR professionals can engage (and hopefully influence) journalists through Twitter (Kennedy 2011). While the ties between the journalism and PR fields have endured a long and somewhat contentious history, Twitter has arisen as yet another space where this convergence is taking place.

Overall, despite the many factors that help maintain the field's stability, there is no doubt that the journalistic field is also changing on account of many (inter)actions from professionals and non-professionals alike. Indeed, the Twitter phenomenon is a significant factor in the field's shifting power relations. This is clearly the case within the journalistic field, where the means of production are increasingly in the hands of more and more people. As one articulate #wjchat participant put it: "The barrier of entry for reporting is lower than it's ever been. All you need is a laptop and Twitter." Thus, Twitter is at the center of the ongoing and dynamic process that I call the opening up of the journalistic field.

Toward an Opening Up of the Journalistic Field

A growing body of evidence suggests that the borders of the journalistic field are opening up with dizzying speed. Although this has been my one of my primary contentions, I am not alone in acknowledging this dynamic. Indeed, as Singer stated:

The Internet...is moving all our media away from previous distinctions between professional and popular communicators, and toward what at least theoretically is a populist form of communication. It allows people all over the world to exert a form of “bottom-up power” to create meaning that is explicitly resistant to the meaning created by news organizations; as the power to create knowledge becomes diffused, it creates an open invitation for an active, and argumentative, public (2007:82).

Wiik also argued that “the new instruments of communication have opened up publishing opportunities to virtually every citizen” (2009:352) [emphasis added]. Furthermore, Russell (2007) detailed some of the many implications brought about by journalism’s new, amateur entrants. Beyond the case of the journalistic field, Bourdieu himself even uses the “opening up” phrase to explain a similar transformation occurring throughout the field of cultural production. As he explains:

The existence of an expanding market, which allows the development of the press and the novel, also allows the number of producers to grow. The relative opening up of the field of cultural production due to the increased number of positions offering basic resources to producers without a private income had the effect of increasing the relative autonomy of the field and therefore its capacity to reinterpret external demands in terms of its own logic (Bourdieu 1993:54-5) [emphasis added].

With boundaries blurring and barriers to entry lowering, it is clear that the means of journalistic production are increasingly accessible to actors based in many fields.

Such a profound opening up of the journalistic field is supported by a recent United States Court of Appeals ruling.

[C]hanges in technology and society have made the lines between private citizen and journalist exceedingly difficult to draw. The proliferation of electronic devices with video-recording capability means that many of our images of current events come from bystanders with a ready cell phone or digital camera rather than a traditional film crew, and news stories are now just as likely to be broken by a blogger at her computer as a reporter at a major newspaper. Such developments make clear why the news-gathering protections of the First Amendment cannot turn on professional credentials or status (Glik v. Cunniffe et al. 2011:13).

The ruling defends citizens' First Amendment rights, even if citizens choose to exercise those rights by recording police making an arrest as Simon Glik did leading up to his 2007 arrest. More broadly, the ruling's glancing yet revealing admission speaks volumes to the changing structure of the journalistic field. Indeed, the boundaries surrounding what gets defined as journalism, and thus who deserves the journalist label, are increasingly blurry. Nonetheless, the expansion of the categories continues as journalists—both professional and citizen—increasingly apply the tools at their disposal to record and share information. Glik v. Cunniffe et al. provides a clear and pertinent example of this trend.

Despite such rulings that grant legal protections to non-professionals practicing journalism, there are many cases in which these protections are not granted. As Jurrat explains, "Whereas professional journalists often enjoy specific privileges, such as protection against libel charges and protection of journalistic material, citizen journalists generally do not qualify for these rights, particularly if they do not adhere to basic journalistic standards" (2011:15). A recent court ruling in the state of Oregon, for example, illustrates this exception by finding that a political blogger was not a journalist because she was not professionally employed as one, and thus is not afforded the same protections under the first amendment (Cartier 2011). Rebecca Rosen has suggested that

the Oregon blogger would—or at least should—have been afforded journalistic protections had her exposé been proven to be factually accurate (2011). She also makes clear that the legal protections afforded to professional journalists are further bolstered by their affiliate institution's economic and symbolic capital and their willingness to put it to use in a court of law.

These two contradictory cases illustrate some of the many complexities brought about by the opening up of the journalistic field. As access to the means of journalistic production becomes increasingly open, new and contentious issues arise and must be addressed. Struggles over definitions and legal protections are only one part of the puzzle. Changes to journalistic norms and practices may prove to be even more remarkable, as journalistic actors bring their hybrid habitus to bear upon the field. In light of such transformation, scholars like Jay Rosen have made repeated requests to move past the polemic and futile frame of 'bloggers vs. journalists', but to little avail (Rosen 2005). Despite resistance from many influential professionals, as well as their affiliate organizations, the transformation of the journalistic field persists.

My examination of this shift suggests that Twitter and the participatory web are at the center of journalism's opening up. Citizens increasingly use Twitter and other new media tools to commit acts of journalism of varying frequency and worth, thus entering and slowly transforming the structure of the field. But rather than this being an intentional move to create citizen journalism, the cultural and technological makeup of Twitter—as well as many other new media platforms—has done much to democratize the field. Therefore, the power relations of the journalistic field have also changed significantly, as actors from traditionally dominated positions now have greater access to

journalistic capital than ever before. This is the key dynamic at the center of the American journalistic field's structural transformation.

CONCLUSION

The primary task of this chapter has been to address this question: How has Twitter contributed to the structural transformation of the journalistic field? As I have shown, there have been important normative and definitive shifts in journalism regarding what is expected of journalists, and whose actions constitute relevant position-takings within the field. Furthermore, I have argued that Twitter's ubiquity, interactivity, convergence, and popularity all contribute significantly to its increasing journalistic importance and presented empirical evidence of how Twitter is having an impact on the structural relations of the journalistic field. I have also argued that given the growing similarities between much of the professional and citizen journalism communities, the rigidity of these distinctions is slowly weakening in a time when the means of journalistic production have been distributed throughout the participatory web.

Despite the many variables and countless alternatives, Twitter has become the social network for journalistic interaction. While F2F and other CMC associations still remain quite relevant in their own right, it is remarkable that conversations about media innovation primarily take place on Twitter. Furthermore, such interaction is increasingly significant because of its effect of facilitating a measure of convergence amongst journalistic subfields. While the medium-specific divisions throughout the field still remain intact, with television, newspaper, radio, and web reporters maintaining somewhat

separate associations, one increasingly important thing they share is their connections on Twitter. Again, this is not to deny or downplay the more classic forms of field coherence like professional F2F associations. These associations remain significant as spaces for journalistic (inter)action about the field and its ongoing transformation. Nonetheless, these occasional F2F associations are being increasingly supplemented by CMC associations like those on Twitter.

The rise of Twitter as a central medium of communication throughout the journalistic field may prove remarkably consequential. As Willson argues, using certain technologies can “psychically disconnect the individual to some extent from the embodied interactions surrounding him/her, to enable participation with others in a virtual space” (2006:53). Thus, the primacy of F2F associations can even be called into question as actors increasingly build strong digital connections. A quick glance at the Twitter-based interactions of some of journalism’s most technologically savvy and influential actors can help illustrate the rising significance of the medium. For example, my analysis of the #wjchat Twitter discourse makes clear that Twitter is the preferred social media platform of participating web journalists—particularly because of its immediacy and connectivity. Indeed, for journalistic actors situated throughout the field Twitter is often the most salient connection they share.

In other words, the leveraging of Twitter’s affordances can transform relations throughout the journalistic field through the formation of new communities. As Willson explains, “communication technologies have played an important role in the constitution of extended communities” (2006:54). As I have already shown, the field’s structure has been transformed dramatically, due in no small part to the role of Twitter in helping open

the field up to new influences. Where MSM elites, professional journalists, politicians, and corporate interests used to control the symbolic power of the journalistic field, recent changes facilitate increasing influence from new, revolutionary directions. Control over the operations of the journalistic field is now even less monopolized, its structure less defined by the forces which have possessed the over the last century. However, this shift has not necessarily made the field more autonomous, as these new influences have not traditionally been seen as belonging to the (professional) journalistic field. The increasing role of citizens in the operations of the journalistic field marks an essential change, the effects of which will be felt for some time (Russell 2007; Compton and Benedetti 2010). In the remainder of this study, I turn my attention away from broad structural shifts toward those micro- and mezzo-level shifts surrounding the field's practices, capital, habitus, and doxa.

CHAPTER 4: TWITTER AND THE TRANSFORMATION OF JOURNALISTIC PRACTICE(S)

For those who are not plugged in, the constant media allusions to cyberspace signal that there are major information developments taking place to which they are outsiders. Those who are not linked up may worry if they should be; outsiders are of course plugging or rather, logging—in continuously, and thus becoming insiders. Those who are linked up may feel overwhelmed by the information at hand or by the relentless marketing of upgraded hard- and software which can turn new equipment into antiques in a matter of months. Such anxiety may derive at least in part from a popular sense that cyberspace is not only about a new-fangled technology, but also about newer emerging social and power relations (Dahlgren 1996:59).

The most recent, interactive turn on the web—often called “web 2.0”—has had a profound impact on the practical realities of many fields. Most notably, social media sites like Twitter, Facebook, and Google Plus provide new spaces for online interaction and communities to thrive. Twitter itself is at the center of many remarkable transformations. As an increasingly normative and ubiquitous technological innovation with strong affordances for reporting as well as for professional (meta-) discourse amongst the journalistic, technological, political, intellectual, and other fields, the medium is positioned to influence many practices. For the journalistic field, this has meant a dramatic shift toward greater engagement with members of the profession as well as the public. Furthermore, along with this change have come important shifts in journalistic practices, capital (various stakes which manifest as forms of power), habitus (dispositions), and doxa (values).¹⁷ As journalistic actors—both professional and

¹⁷ See chapter one for more extensive definitions.

citizen—increasingly take to the participatory web, the field’s practical attributes become hybridized to fit the new media ecology within which they are embedded.

Before I turn to the subject of Twitter as a case study of these processes, let me first provide a brief overview of what is to follow. To begin, I provide a close look at the various ways in which the medium is influencing the ongoing changes to the field’s norms and practices. Not only does this task include taking account of the various ways the medium is used in journalistic practice, but also requires careful consideration of how Twitter and the participatory web influence what I refer to as the field’s practical attributes—the capital, habitus, and doxa typical of contemporary American reporting. In addition a discussion of exemplary cases found in academic and web-based literature, I also bring the results from my analysis of journalistic Twitter discourse to bear upon the questions at hand. Overall, the goal is to answer this chapter’s primary research question: how has Twitter contributed to the changing norms, practices, and other attributes of the journalistic field in recent years?

TWITTER’S PLACE IN JOURNALISTIC PRACTICE

As a streamlined, short-form communication platform embedded within the larger context of the web, Twitter affords numerous benefits for those wanting to read, write, or interact—either in real-time or on their own time. While the 140-character limit appears to constitute a distinct boundary around Twitter’s communicative potential, the user’s ability to interact, sequence, link, and tag allow for a much more diverse experience than one might expect. Furthermore, Twitter’s form allows users to create their own

personalized, interactive awareness system that can be accessed anywhere with an internet connection (Hermida 2010a). “As with any technology,” Katz explains, “the use to which it is put is influenced by the motives of the human user” (2006:126). This is demonstrably true on Twitter, where its affordances are leveraged in various ways based largely upon the actors’ field positions and dispositions.

As Twitter’s influence in the journalistic field grows, so too does the body of literature focused on addressing this phenomenon. Lasorsa et al. provide one of the most revealing accounts published to date:

In an emerging communication space like Twitter, which can be used for everything from breaking news to banality, journalists have far greater license to write about whatever strikes their fancy—including the mundane details of their day-to-day activities. Such life-sharing on Twitter is significant in part because it is so public (by default), and therefore far more accessible to the outside world, beyond friends and family connected to an individual journalist on a social networking site like Facebook. In this sense, Twitter offers a unique environment in which journalists are free to communicate virtually anything to anyone, beyond many of the natural constraints posed by organizational norms or social networking “friendship” barriers. Therefore, it is important to understand the content of journalists’ tweets: to what extent do they reflect traditional modes of being a journalist and doing journalism? (2011:6).

The authors’ answer to this question is that “j-tweeters appear both to be adopting features of Twitter in their microblogging and adapting these features to their existing norms and practices” (Lasorsa et al. 2011:12). Furthermore, my own research expands upon this line of inquiry and digs more deeply into the medium’s practical implications for the field.

How Journalists Leverage Twitter's Affordances

My data indicates that there are eight types of practices employed by journalistic actors on Twitter: information collection, news dissemination, sourcing, public engagement, brief note-taking, field meta-discourse, other professional (inter)actions, and personal (inter)actions. Thus, a large portion of mainstream media (MSM) journalists on Twitter use the medium first and foremost as a means of staying current on news as well as to share content. Additionally, many of the more dedicated Twitter journalists use the medium as a potential sourcing outlet as well as a means of building engagement with a public base they would be less likely to interact with otherwise. Many professional- and non-professional journalistic actors also leveraged Twitter as a means of journalistic criticism. Furthermore, countless other professional as well as personal (inter)actions take place on Twitter's journalistic field, illustrating the hybridity it facilitates.

The increasingly interactive culture of the journalistic field, which I have shown is increasingly tied to the technological and political fields, has not only normalized the use of new media like Twitter (Lasorsa et al. 2011), but has begun to incorporate its use into daily routines. For example, Jeff Sonderman (2011) provides this workflow which shows Twitter's central role in the news routine:

1. File a quick news story for the website, perhaps just a sentence or two to get started.
2. Tweet with a link to the story.
3. Send a breaking news email alert, if warranted, with the link.
4. Alert Web producers to the story's availability for the home page and other featured spots.
5. Update the story with more details and links to related information.
6. Listen for the first wave of feedback through story comments and social media.
7. Tweet again as updates are posted, and share to other social networks.

Although Sonderman’s workflow does not exemplify anywhere near the full potential of Twitter’s journalistic affordances—indeed, it more closely resembles a rudimentary use as simply another outlet for news dissemination—it does provide a vivid illustration of how the medium can fit into journalistic actors’ everyday practices. What Sonderman leaves out is the vast potential of Twitter to provide opportunities for sourcing, information, and interaction. As Andy Carvin candidly put it: “I don’t just have Twitter followers. You’re my editors, researchers & fact-checkers. You’re my newsroom” (Zamora 2012).

In addition to their frequent occurrence throughout the participant-observations conducted for this study, much of the Twitter hashtag discourse I sampled and analyzed also exhibits these trends. Thus, not only did journalistic actors engage in these practices with great frequency, but their interactions through Twitter chats also demonstrated the field’s awareness of these practices and their growing importance in the new media ecology. Many journalistic actors indicated that they have introduced Twitter into their daily news practices. Furthermore, while the discussion of Twitter’s affordances and implications for journalism were present throughout all three hashtag discourses analyzed for this research, much of the #wjchat discourse centered on this topic.

Why Journalists Leverage Twitter’s Affordances

Journalistic practices are integrally tied to the technologies available to and leveraged by the practicing actors. Since the proliferation of digital media technologies, the work of journalists has changed significantly. As Klinenberg explains, “Digital technologies have changed journalistic production, but not according to the journalists’ preferences—the

goal is productivity, efficiency, and profitability” (2005c:229). Of course, there is a great body of evidence that supports Klinenberg’s conclusions. As new technologies afford journalists with greater ability to produce news products at the same time as many institutions’ budgets are getting tighter, many throughout the journalistic field are expected to do “more with less” (McChesney and Nichols 2010:23). Indeed, changes to the journalistic environment brought about by the increasing affordances of communication technologies also carry with them many unintended consequences. For instance, “New technologies lead journalists in the national media to work under constant time pressure, and increasingly to make news ‘direct’ and ‘in real time’” (Champagne 2005:53). Although this trend toward real-time news is of obvious benefit for citizenship and democracy, it also holds important implications for the way in which journalistic practices are undergoing transformation.

The recent proliferation of social media tools and the great extent to which they are being leveraged throughout the journalistic field provides an important departure from the aforementioned trend of decreasing funding and increasing expectations. Web 2.0 tools like Twitter are being leveraged by so many journalists as a means of engaging in many practices meaningful in the field. Many reporters have become so taken by Twitter that they increasingly rely on it for a greater and greater portion of their practices. To be sure, some of this push is coming from within professional journalists’ organizational structure, as is evidenced by BBC Global News Director Peter Horrocks famous proclamation to his staff: “Tweet or be sacked” (Miller 2011). While not necessarily as fit for headlines, many other MSM news outlets have similar expectations of their staff to keep up with social media. Nonetheless, the push is also coming from

outside news organizations. Thus, journalists are increasingly likely to experience pressure to tweet from multiple directions.

Field meta-discourse as an example

The journalistic meta-discourse facilitated by Twitter chats provides a revealing window onto the intersection of the field and the medium. Many #wjchat participants were explicitly aware of the many journalistic benefits afforded by Twitter. As one user put it: “@wjchat and Twitter are interesting and insightful ways to network and talk news and journalism.” Furthermore, numerous others emphasized the distinct affordances of interaction and engagement provided by the medium. As two #wjchat participants explained:

I think people do want to comment and talk to others, something that hashtags make possible on Twitter.

If you want to engage, in terms of conversation, Twitter makes everyone accessible.

Additionally, some discussed the pros and cons of Twitter’s infamous brevity. For example, one #wjchat participant tweeted: “Twitter benefit- I have found that 140 character limit has made me write tighter. Kind of like a nut graph.”

Overall, the Twitter chats sampled in this research revealed significant awareness of the medium’s journalistic affordances as well as the various ways in which the field is shifting in the context of the participatory web. Accordingly, the remainder of this chapter will include numerous examples which illustrate Twitter’s usage for many of the seven journalistic affordances named above. Furthermore, this chapter will also address Twitter’s implications for the changing attributes of journalistic practice as well as the

medium's role in discussing and accomplishing these changes. As has been demonstrated repeatedly throughout this research, recent developments on Twitter and the participatory web are having profound implications on the state of the journalistic field. On a practical level, these implications have largely taken the form of changes in practices—that is, in journalistic techniques. In addition to the distinct journalistic practices, there are also less visible characteristics which pertain to Bourdieu's notion of journalistic practice. These theoretical characteristics, which I refer to as practical attributes, include the various capital, dispositions, norms, and values common throughout much of the field. The focus of the following sections will be to examine Twitter's role and implications for each category.

Eight Journalistic Practices on Twitter

As I have shown, Twitter holds incalculable potential for journalistic practice. Not only do actors in the field use the medium in the process of journalistic production, but also in interaction with others. Altogether, I have found eight distinct practices that journalists engage in on Twitter: information collection, news dissemination, sourcing, brief note-taking, public engagement, field meta-discourse, other professional (inter)actions, and personal (inter)actions. By examining each of these practices in greater depth below, I am able to offer a more concrete account of Twitter's increasingly integral role in the practice of journalism.

Information collection

The efficient collection of information has long been of central importance for journalists as well as members of the public. As Pavlik explains, “tools for processing...information efficiently and effectively are vitally needed and traditionally have been very limited” (2001:184). Technological advancements have slowly but surely offered support for actors in many fields, especially journalism.

Intelligent agents are helping journalists not only with searching and filtering...but also with categorizing, prioritizing, selectively distributing, annotating, and collaboratively sharing information and documents. This collaborative journalism represents a paradigmatic shift in the traditions of modern journalism (Pavlik 2001:184).

More recently, there has been yet another, major step along this path. Web 2.0 technologies and communities have emerged, fueled by a mass of individuals that serve as a crowd sourced form of collective intelligence (Shirky 2008). As Shirky explains: “most of the barriers to group action have collapsed, and without those barriers, we are free to explore new ways of gather together and getting things done” (Shirky 2008:22, quoted in Compton and Benedetti 2010:490). The case of Twitter illustrates well the potential for collective intelligence with political, intellectual, and journalistic foci.

As a #wjchat contributor tweeted: “I think breaking news is where the importance of your having established presence/personality on Twitter shines most.” Indeed, Twitter has served many as a modern “awareness system” (Hermida 2010a) that functions similar to the type of robotic “intelligent agents” Pavlik describes. Twitter’s logic of selectively following the accounts of actors and topics allows users to customize the theme(s) of their feed—in other words, build their own awareness systems—based upon their fields of interest. This not only offers journalists a new and powerful means of

staying up-to-date on breaking news—something Twitter excels at—but also with important happenings in the journalistic and other fields that do not often qualify as newsworthy by MSM outlets. Quite obviously, in a field such as journalism, which is so focused on the news simply by virtue of definition, access to such information can be extremely valuable to actors and institutions.

News dissemination

One of the most leveraged and visible of Twitter’s journalistic affordances is the sharing of information. The medium’s 140-character limit provides just enough space for a tweet to contain a grabbing quote or headline and a link to a longer-form story. Furthermore, the social nature of the medium provides an ideal system for sharing information with a user’s “followers” as well as any member of the public who seeks out your feed. In addition to direct authorship, Twitter’s “retweet” function provides users with the ability to curate and share content written by others. Furthermore, given the mobility and ubiquity of smartphones throughout much of the public as well as Twitter’s nearly seamless convergence with other photo and video services, for example, it affords nearly all users the ability to disseminate (often breaking) news to an increasingly networked public with great efficiency. Thus, it is no surprise to find news dissemination as a key journalistic function of Twitter.

Despite the array of revolutionary journalistic affordances offered by the medium, a recent study by Pew’s Project for Excellence in Journalism found that MSM outlets use Twitter primarily to promote their own content (Holcomb, Gross and Mitchell 2011). These findings—that the most traditional of news organizations use “2.0 tool[s]...with a

1.0 mentality”—are far from shocking (Herrera and Requejo 2012:84). What is shocking is that the Pew report reaches such sweeping conclusions about the narrow importance of Twitter based on such a limited sample of MSM institutions social media usage. In contrast, my analysis paints a much different picture of the relationship between Twitter and the journalistic field, most likely because I do not focus on the institutional accounts of MSM outlets and a few of their most popular journalists. That is, finding institutional logic in these outlets and their biggest stars is far from surprising. This study is more interested in examining what is happening with Twitter and the journalistic field despite these MSM traditions.

Sourcing

Similar to the process of information collection, many journalistic actors are increasingly using Twitter as a means of connecting with potential sources. In addition to the ideal-typical examples provided by the likes of Andy Carvin, winner of the 2012 Shorty Award for best journalist using social media, the topic of using Twitter and other social media tools for sourcing was common amongst the hashtag discourse analyzed in this research. While extreme cases like Carvin illustrate how new media tools allow the most literate journalistic actors to find information and sources for important events across the world, the majority of journalists using Twitter simply integrate these practices into their diverse reporting repertoire. Indeed, many #wjchat participants responded to Carvin’s explanation of his Twitter sourcing practices with interest and intent to begin utilizing some of his methods.

Likewise, after explaining how much they learned about leveraging Twitter for sourcing purposes through a #wjchat, one participant tweeted: “Wish my sources were on twitter #smalltownblues.” Thereafter, a couple chat participants retweeted, adding “wish my rolodex was on twitter- it's huge!” and “haha agreed!” Another #wjchat participant explained: “My SM reporting on breaking means using twitter as the source for Qs and tips that I verify.” As I make clear in other portions of this analysis, the issue of information vetting and accuracy was a topic of great interest throughout much of the Twitter discourse I collected. While many offered practical solutions to this problem, others lauded the speed at which rumors are dispelled in networked communities. Others maintained that it was still the responsibility of each journalist to verify information prior to broader dissemination.

Public note-taking

In addition to the aforementioned journalistic uses of Twitter, another somewhat common one is using the medium as a short-form outlet for public note-taking. Similar to the increasingly journalistic practice of live-blogging events, many reporters are leveraging Twitter to similar ends. In addition to serving as a personal record of quotes and facts to be drawn upon for other the writing of longer-form stories, the publication of such brief messages allows others to access this information and draw upon it for their own citizenship and/or reporting. Live events such as political speeches and sporting events are ideal instances where live-tweeting practices can be—and frequently are—employed by journalistic actors.

Despite the significance of this practice, there was little explicit talk of it in the Twitter discourses collected for this project. Nonetheless, a few chat participants did discuss the practical and ethical issues surrounding live-tweeting of events. Furthermore, my broader participant-observations included numerous instances of journalistic actors leveraging Twitter for this specific purpose. Although it may pose potential conflicts for journalists affiliated with the AP, BBC, or other institutions with similarly restrictive social media policies, live-tweeting is an increasingly common journalistic practice among citizens as well as professionals.

Public engagement

As journalism scholar Joy Mayer and many others have detailed, public engagement is an increasingly important issue for the journalistic field (Still 2011). This is not only because competition in the field greater today than ever before, largely due to the opening up of the field on the web and excess of information sources available there, but also because the proliferation of new media tools and their leveraging by countless actors increasingly afford the kinds of engagement that both improve the news experience and keep users loyal. Furthermore, increased engagement may also mean increased profit for news institutions in the long run. As Pavlik (2001:219) explains, “This changing role of the journalist will help to maintain the business health of the institution of journalism by keeping audiences large and growing and building new revenue streams to support quality news reporting.”

One innovative #journchat participant explained how various forms of new media converge, facilitate engagement, and facilitate a greater understanding of a topic of

interest: “I have been following the CBO blog religiously for the "facts" and engaging with the sensible folks on Twitter.” Additionally, numerous other chat participants also spoke to Twitter’s engaging affordances. As one #wjchat contributor put it: “If you want to engage, in terms of conversation, Twitter makes everyone accessible.” Similarly another #wjchat participant offered this response to a discussion question about which new medium was preferred: “Definitely Twitter. I have more conversations with a wider range of people on different topics. Best engagement hands down.” Yet another #wjchat participant had this to say in comparing the engagement affordances of various new media technologies: “It says something about engagement that we chat on Twitter instead of G+, Facebook, Tumblr, etc.”

Beyond the lowering of barriers to entry to the journalistic field, thus facilitating greater public engagement with journalists, Twitter’s interactive affordance have also given rise to greater engagement within and across fields. As Andy Carvin tweeted during a #wjchat: “My Twitter followers interact w/ each other.” Thus, Twitter is helping to increase interaction and engagement both within and across fields. The question of whether or not these functions are new, or that they are simply taking on a new form, frequency, meaning, and visibility, remains unanswered for now.

Field meta-discourse

While many of the practices discussed above arise in the distinct production of journalistic content, there are also many practices that do not necessarily yield direct effects. One of the most notable of these practices is the production of and participation in field meta-discourse. That is, discourse about the journalistic field itself. This often

takes the form of journalistic criticism and other forms field-focused reflexivity that explores, explains, and calls into question the structural and practical realities of the field. For example, much of the Twitter discourse analyzed for this research dealt with journalistic norms, ethics, and practices. Discussions surrounding these topics often turned into debates over whether the journalistic orthodoxy should be preserved, or whether newer often heterodoxic norms and values might better suit the new media ecology. Although these discussions are rarely a part of labor required by journalistic actors' employers—save journalism scholars—the various forms of non-economic capital gained through the process often makes it a worthwhile endeavor.

Other professional (inter)actions

In addition to those named above, there are countless other professional interactions that commonly take place on Twitter. Many of these practices often serve social functions, such as sharing and making recommendations, chatting, asking for advice, etc. Overall, journalistic actors on Twitter frequently shared their thoughts about the practical affordances of Twitter. Twitter content analyzed from the #journalism hashtag yielded numerous instances of users offering and/or requesting practical advice on how to leverage the medium's affordances for journalistic purposes. For example, many tweets linked to stories on “unfollowing and making lists on Twitter” and “How not to get your Twitter account hacked.” Another #journalism hashtag contributor tweeted about his plan to teach others in his organization about Twitter and asked for input from others: “Talking to the copy desk today about how to use Twitter. Any advice for new people I

should include?” Yet another tweeted a link to a story on “Why is Twitter a great resource for #journalism and #journalists” (McQueen 2011).

While professional interactions on Twitter are often less formalized than many other mediated exchanges, due in large part to the medium’s conversation-like structure, these are distinguished from personal (inter)actions—discussed below—primarily by their relevance to the journalistic field. Beyond the various manifest functions served by these (inter)actions, they also serve many latent functions. Most importantly, Twitter is an important space in which various forms of capital—social, cultural and symbolic more so than economic—are exchanged. The topic of journalistic capital on Twitter will be discussed at greater length later in the chapter.

Personal inter(actions)

Countless scholars and journalists have noted the many benefits of allowing journalists to be more personal—and thus more relatable—in many public interactions, especially those occurring online. Thus, it is common for journalism professionals to leverage Twitter and other social media to occasionally show a human face. From brief details into a user’s personal life, to a friendly exchange between two or more users, and even the voicing personal opinions on any given subject, many journalistic actors on Twitter have leveraged the medium for purposes that aren’t strictly business-related. While some users have gone as far creating separate accounts for personal and professional tweeting, the majority of j-tweeters studied found some way to integrate their personal and professional selves. In general, journalism professionals on Twitter do regularly engage in personal inter(actions), but these tweets make up a minority of most feeds.

Implications of Journalistic Practices on Twitter

After reviewing many of the ways journalistic actors on Twitter leverage the medium for their everyday practices, we are left with the question of implications. That is, what are the consequences arising from the proliferation of these journalistic practices on Twitter? While the reader will find many answers to this question throughout this manuscript, as it has and will continue to come up sporadically in other sections and chapters, it seems appropriate to also give it some explicit attention here. Clearly, including Twitter in many actors' journalistic routine has marked a significant point in the evolution of journalistic practice. The increased speed and accessibility of information and actors has afforded many in the field greater opportunity to (inter)act within and outside the field with greater speed and efficiency. This is not to suggest that many “negative” consequences have not or will not also arise. Indeed, as has become apparent from much of the Twitter discourse quoted above, they have. Nonetheless, web 2.0 tools like Twitter not only offer journalistic actors with great potential to act productively in their (sub-)fields, but also to interact about issues important to the field, especially those that pertain directly to the topic of new media.

Journalist and Poynter web editor Mallery Tenore explains that her Twitter participation has made her a better writer, and she lists six examples explaining how and why this is true (Tenore 2011). While there was a significant amount of debate over this issue, significantly more chat contributors concurred that Twitter had a positive effect on their writing—and other journalistic practices more broadly—than dissented from this position. In addition to the potential writing benefits, the increased leveraging of Twitter's journalistic affordances has meant that actors in the field now have yet another,

powerful tool to utilize in their everyday work. What this means today—let alone what it will mean in the future—is a question in need of much greater research. Nevertheless, given that the face-to-face (F2F) realm is increasingly “augmented” by the digital realm (Jurgenson 2011a), the practices on Twitter can and will continue to have a significant impact on the field and the (inter)actions that take place within it.

Unsurprisingly, despite the medium’s openness, citizens on Twitter tended to practice in the journalistic field differently than most professionals. Analysis of the Twitter data collected for this study suggests that citizens are making a smaller contribution to journalistic meta-discourse on the medium. Despite this fact, citizen journalists’ Twitter usage was quite common throughout many of the participant-observations conducted for this research. Consequently, it is clear that citizen journalists on Twitter most often use the medium to engage in the following practices: information collection, news dissemination, engagement (with professionals and publics), brief note-taking, other political and journalistic (inter)actions, and personal (inter)actions. While many of these are quite similar to the practices of professionals in the field, a number are specific to the non-professional actors’ positions and dispositions within the journalistic and other fields.

Beyond the practical implications for many journalists’ repertoire, the expansion of Twitter usage among the journalistic field also has given rise to many significant interactive implications. As web 2.0 technologies afford greater interactive potential and continue to converge, field boundaries and opportunities will continue to open up. Furthermore, the growth of online communities through social media sites like Twitter have meant that actors in the journalistic field are finding more opportunities to enhance

capital without many of the barriers posed by F2F associations. As we will see in the remainder of this chapter, journalists' increased leveraging of Twitter bears importantly on much more than the most easily observable of field practices.

PRACTICAL ATTRIBUTES OF THE JOURNALISTIC FIELD ON TWITTER

In addition to Twitter's increasingly important role in journalistic practices, the new(s) medium is also implicated in many of the field's other sets of relations. As I made clear in chapter one, I refer broadly to the plethora of journalistic capital, habitus, and doxa as practical attributes. That is, those additional attributes implicated in Bourdieu's field theory that directly pertain to a field's practices, and indeed, its structure. Given journalism's widespread adoption of Twitter and the ethos of other web 2.0 technologies, many of the field's practical attributes are slowly being altered to better fit the new media ecology.

Capital

As previously mentioned, Bourdieu's notion of capital includes: social, cultural, economic, and symbolic capital. This capital is accumulated through various (inter)actions in the field. Since the rise of the web and the recent newspaper industry crisis, journalistic capital exists increasingly in an online—or at least augmented—world. The affordances of web 2.0 technologies like Twitter and other social media provide important spaces for journalistic actors to act and interact. Given the increasingly important role such technologies are playing in the journalistic- as well as many other

fields, the amount of social, cultural, symbolic, and even economic capital at stake on the participatory web continues to grow. As I will demonstrate, the specific case of the journalistic field on Twitter provides an ideal example of the profound practical implications possible when a field adapts to and leverages the affordances of a technology.

Twitter is now an important space in which various forms of capital are at stake (Greenslade 2011). In addition to being overwhelmingly supported by many of my participant-observations, the Twitter discourse collected and analyzed for this study substantiates this conclusion. One contributor to the #journalism hashtag tweeted that “Journalists Now Use Twitter To Gauge Their Success” and included a link to a Guardian story on the subject (Greenslade 2011). Furthermore, this capital has become so central to the field that Twitter- and other web-mediums have hosted debates about the norms and ethics of who has the right to the social and economic capital (i.e. follower base) amassed by journalists while employed at news organizations. Moreover, Twitter-based interactions also provide journalistic actors with a means of building significant forms of cultural and symbolic capital. One BBC online news article summarized the issue nicely:

The social media revolution is changing power structures in newsrooms, allowing young journalists who understand this new world - and a few older ones - to build reputations independent of their own organizations (Cellan-Jones 2012).

As will be discussed shortly, the Twitter discourse that surrounded this issue was largely a debate over orthodox versus heterodox values. Nonetheless, the passage also provides a useful illustration how journalistic capital (and structural relations) are shifting thanks largely to the rise of web 2.0 technologies. Furthermore, as will be demonstrated in the

sections that follow, the relations of journalistic capital are also integrally tied to the habitus and doxa at work in the field.

Social capital

One of the most visible and powerful forms of capital available on Twitter is social capital—the interpersonal connections that constitute an actor’s network. As is true of all forms of capital, the emphasis is not simply on the connections themselves, but rather the sum of potential power and opportunity facilitated by this set of relations (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992; Swartz 1997). In addition to the great extent to which journalistic actors can and do engage with their contemporaries on Twitter, such web 2.0 tools are also largely facilitative of building connections—i.e. social capital—that did not exist prior. As Kumar explains, “actors in the world of social media and blogs acquire social capital, similar to circulation in the old media, by building their following and friends” (2009:154). Given the increasingly important journalistic (inter)actions which take place on Twitter, the connections made therein are also growing in value.

Much of the Twitter data analyzed in this research embodies the ethic of leveraging the medium to build connections, and thus capital. As one #wjchat participant explained, they often look to connect with “Young, tech savvy journo that has similar interests. Usually find them on twitter then befriend them everywhere else.” Thus, as has been made clear throughout this research, Twitter not only facilitates greater interaction, but it is also plays an important role in the convergence that is abound in web 2.0 technologies. While connections made on Twitter may remain strongest there, the steady collapse of the computer-mediated communication (CMC) and F2F realms has meant that

social capital most often transfers to other contexts with minimal effort by the parties involved.

The journalistic capital available in online communities like Twitter is most often achieved through a combination of journalistic production and interaction. One #journchat participant's experience exemplifies this combination well: "I try to do Twitter chats...post local and international news. Interact with people who have similar interests." Not only does this quote illustrate Twitter's role in the building of social capital, but it also exemplifies how symbolic capital can be amassed through one's effective use of the medium. Indeed, many in the field saw Twitter as so pertinent to social capital that a conference panel was held on the subject. Unsurprisingly, the issue came up on Twitter where a #journalism contributor tweeted: "Twitter buffs talk tweets at Social Capital, an Ottawa social media conference." Despite not necessarily having conference panels dedicated to them, many other forms of journalistic capital are also abundant on Twitter.

Cultural capital

Bourdieu defines cultural capital as the sum of "knowledge, culture, and educational credentials" that an actor possesses (Swartz 1997:137). As a form of power—competing primarily with economic capital—cultural capital helps actors "maintain and enhance their positions in the social order" (Swartz 1997:137). In the case of the journalistic field, "cultural capital is usually tied to the production of original stories, uncovering scandal or dishonesty, or influencing the social and political agenda" (Phillips, Couldry, and Freedman 2010:55). Furthermore, we are reminded of Benson and Neveu's explanation

of journalism's "specific" cultural capital...tak[ing] the form of intelligent commentary, in-depth reporting, and the like—the kind of journalistic practices rewarded each year by the US Pulitzer Prizes (2005:4).

The increasingly important role of Twitter in the exchange of cultural capital in general—and in the journalistic field more specifically—is illustrated by the extent to which the medium is implicated in the kinds of practices outlined above. Given the medium's growing popularity throughout the cultural fields, not to mention its nearly sacred status amidst much of the cutting-edge portion of the technological and journalistic fields, it could be argued that Twitter serves as a powerful new plane across which action in numerous fields flows relatively freely. Moreover, the plethora of knowledge available on Twitter—let alone the greater educational opportunities to be found on the broader web if users follow a tweet's link—serves to further illustrate its relevance to cultural capital. Overall, the centrality of Twitter in a growing number of journalistic practices illustrates how the medium is implicated in the exchange of cultural capital.

Perhaps the most visible instances of cultural capital exchanged in the journalistic field on Twitter come in the form of commentary and field meta-discourse. The personal (inter)actions that journalistic actors occasionally engage in on Twitter help to facilitate the kinds of clever, intellectual commentary that were rarely visible to a wide audience prior to the rise of the participatory web. Furthermore, the growing level of public engagement facilitated by Twitter affords journalistic actors with the potential to significantly increase the impact of their reporting, and thus other forms of cultural

capital. Thus, it is no surprise to find that new forms of cultural capital are regularly exchanged on Twitter.

Economic capital

Economic capital—i.e. money—has become an increasingly important factor in the journalistic field over the last two centuries. Considering again Benson and Neveu’s explanation that economic capital within the journalistic field “is expressed via circulation, or advertising revenues, or audience ratings,” we are left to reflect on the various ways in which Twitter is implicated in such dynamics (2005:4). Of all the practical attributes, economic capital is probably the least applicable to the journalistic field on Twitter as of yet. This is largely because Twitter remains a free service. Nonetheless, it would be a mistake to view the new(s) medium as irrelevant to the profit of journalistic entities. Indeed, although economic capital is not yet exchanged directly through Twitter interactions, it is implicated in many increasingly important, if indirect, ways.

One central avenue to economic capital via Twitter is the driving of web traffic to sites that sell advertising. This topic was the subject of much of the #journalism and #journchat hashtag discourse collected and analyzed for this project. Much of this discussion was prompted by the #journchat moderator’s question—“Who should own journalists online identities?”—accompanied by a link to an online story about “How the BBC lost 60k Twitter followers to its competitor” (Bergman 2011). Furthermore, the debate over who owns the social capital of professionally affiliated journalistic actors on

Twitter suggests how much potential profit is contained in web-based networks beyond the realm of advertising.

Twitter can also help generate economic capital in other ways, one of which is by driving traffic to sites that have a paywall in place. Once a Twitter user navigates to a site with a paywall they must pay a fee before passing through the ‘wall’ to view to content. Additionally, countless other sites and services exist in relation to Twitter, many of which profit from the relationship. For example, the fact that MuckRack now charges for many of its premium services suggests that there is increasing economic value in journalism on Twitter. Overall, given the significant portion of tweets containing links—21% of #journalism tweets and nearly 7% of #journchat tweets, but less than 2% of #wjchat tweets—, the increasing ubiquity of advertising online, and the growing trend of paywalls, there is no doubt that Twitter’s driving of web traffic also drives monetary profits in addition to social, cultural, and symbolic profits.

Symbolic capital

Twitter has arguably made the largest impact in the area of symbolic capital. As Bourdieu theorized, action within a particular field entails competition for power and resources of value in the field. Beyond competing for other forms of capital, actors compile a set of valuable attributes that are “acknowledged by other actors and in relation to specific field rules” (Wiik 2009:353). In other words, symbolic capital entails the “labels, images, and titles that provide legitimacy, prestige, and respect to social actors” (Kumar 2009:153). Symbolic capital is thus gained through actors’ field-based (inter)actions that publicly elevate their status in the field due to other actors’ awareness

of this capital. It is transferred to the form of (symbolic) power when the sum of an actor's known capital influences their (inter)actions within the field—which it does regularly.

Recently, the field has seen a shift in the granting of symbolic capital as journalistic (inter)action increasingly takes place on the participatory web. Whereas MSM journalists have been most likely to “enrich their symbolic and cultural capital through reporting the most significant issues in the public domain that enhance their prestige and moral positions among audiences” (Kumar 2009:153; Champagne 2005), new opportunities for the exchange of this capital increasingly arise online. Indeed, I argue that Twitter and the web is steadily becoming a primary source of symbolic capital for much of the networked journalistic field. This is not only because much of the new thought leaders of the field (inter)act online—and especially on Twitter—but also because a growing body of the journalistically engaged public is increasingly doing so as well. Thus, journalistic symbolic capital abounds on Twitter and the web.

As further evidence of the capital available to journalistic actors on Twitter, many chat users leveraged the medium for promotion purposes. Most directly, this took the form of sharing headlines and links to stories they—or their preferred affiliates—published. This kind of self-promotion is by far the most common throughout various fields across Twitter, although the sharing of journalism and news stories is perhaps the most visible and prominent. More broadly, many Twitter users leveraged the medium as a means of promoting others, as is illustrated by this tweet: “my favorite professor has joined twitter. This man deserves more followers.” While these examples clearly illustrate the availability of social capital on Twitter, they also illustrate how important

the medium can be in how journalistic actors can slowly build symbolic capital through new forms of media.

Many of the journalism's most tech savvy thought leaders illustrate how powerful Twitter can be in helping them build symbolic capital. Andy Carvin is an obvious, if recurring, example of this because he has earned his reputation as a 'Twitter journalist' who leverages the medium proficiently in reporting on international news events. Beyond the obvious examples of thought leaders like Carvin, there are many other ways in which symbolic capital is exchanged in Twitter-based (inter)actions. Given the medium's increasingly normative status within the field (Lasorsa et al. 2011), it has grown to be a leading digital space where journalistic reputations are made and maintained. Indeed, I have made clear throughout this manuscript that Twitter appears to be the preferred digital medium for journalistic (inter)action among the field's most innovative and influential thought leaders. Additionally, the sheer number of journalistic actors and audiences present on Twitter allows reporters to build a powerful reputation—good or not—through their (inter)actions. Beyond being implicated in the building of journalistic capital, Twitter's normalization also helps to facilitate a shift in the journalistic habitus.

Habitus

Bourdieu's notion of the habitus reflects the dialectic relationship between structure and agency by accounting for how actors' socialization within fields predisposes them toward particular practices while also leaving room for individual choice and creativity. As was made clear in chapter one, Bourdieu defines habitus as a system of "durable, transposable

dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures” (1990:53). Song further explains that “as an individual interacts and engages within a field, he/she cultivates a particular habitus, a way of thinking that makes sense of a particular field” (2010:257). As this section will demonstrate, this is exactly what is happening to the journalistic habitus of many actors on Twitter and the participatory web. The extensive leveraging of such powerful technologies have produced a latent effect of becoming normalized in journalistic practice.

Thus, as I have argued throughout this manuscript, Twitter is playing an increasingly important part in the journalistic repertoire of practices and dispositions. As such, the affordances of the new(s) media technology are also etching their way into the habitus of many journalistic actors. Much of the Twitter discourse analyzed for this research provides explicit examples about the role of the medium in journalistic practices and dispositions. Thus, one #journchat contributor explained their approach to leveraging the medium as follows: “I try to do Twitter chats...post local and international news. Interact with people who have similar interests.” Additionally, another Twitter user and contributor to the #journalism hashtag apparently felt the need to articulate the relevance of the medium for journalism, tweeting: “News is by far the largest category of content/information on Twitter.”

As one particularly vociferous #wjchat contributor proclaimed: “Twitter is already a powerful tool. We haven't finished exploring it's uses.” This tweet not only further supports the case of Twitter’s significance in the journalistic field (as well as many others), but also alludes to the community’s dedication to discover other ways in which the medium can be leveraging meaningfully. Felix Salmon, a journalist and

blogging editor for Reuters, is reported to have said that the journalistic value of Twitter was so high that he would willingly pay \$1000 annually for the service (Macnicol 2012). Furthermore, a #journalism contributor saw Twitter as so important for journalism that they volunteered to help newcomers learn the ropes: “I will start giving private training for some of my friends on how to use #twitter :) Will try my best.” Although these exclamations are not accompanied by greater explanation, they clearly attest to the journalistic importance of the medium and indicate that it plays a central role in their habitus.

In addition to the technological shift, much of the journalistic field has experienced an important shift over the last few decades regarding journalists’ dispositions toward interaction with the public. As Riley et al. found, many newspaper reporters in the late 1990s were “horrified at the idea that readers would send them e-mail about a story they wrote and might even expect an answer” (1998; quoted in Steensen 2011:317). Nonetheless, Steensen (2011) demonstrates that there has since been a steady shift toward the journalistic field’s greater acceptance of interactivity, at least online. Add into the mix Twitter and other social media communities and today we see a very different set of journalistic dispositions emerging compared to a little over a decade ago. More and more journalists now appear to be accepting of the increasingly interactive relationship they have with citizens and fellow journalists online. As the reader will see below, this claim is supported greatly by much of the Twitter discourse analyzed for this research. Therefore, I argue that we are witnessing an ongoing transformation within the journalistic field to a hybrid, web 2.0 habitus.

By using the term web 2.0 habitus, I mean to highlight the growing acceptance of digital, interactive values and practices throughout much of the field. According to Filho and Praca's analysis of the changing structure of Brazil's journalistic field,

the new journalistic structures such as blogs and twitter provide the feeling of augmented 'agency' and journalistic independence. However, they are still bound by the norms and practices of the companies (Filho and Praca 2009:19).

Thus, journalistic actors are increasingly adopting a hybrid habitus which incorporates many web 2.0 values and dispositions into their more traditional journalistic repertoire. Indeed, the "core journalistic skills are still crucial" (Thompson 2010, quoted in Herrera and Requejo 2012:88). However, they are increasingly overlapping with digital skills, many of which align heavily with web 2.0 values such as interactivity, convergence, and openness. Furthermore, it should be clear that the shift toward greater openness and participation in journalistic practice is historically remarkable. As Singer explains, "The open and participatory nature of the [web] medium is integral to blogging in a way it has not historically been to professional journalism" (2006:88). Therefore, as we witness the ongoing adoption of web 2.0 values in the professional journalistic field, we can begin recognize the significance of the shift taking place.

In making this argument about the emergence of a web 2.0 habitus, I am drawing on the concept of "media logic" initiated by Dahlgren (1996) and further developed by Deuze (2007). According to Dahlgren, media logic refers to

the particular institutionally structured features of a medium, the ensemble of technical and organizational 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 organize the work done within a particular medium. Yet, media logic also indicates the cultural competence and frames of perception of audiences/users, which in turn

reinforces how production within the medium takes place (1996:63; quoted in Deuze 2007:110).

Thus, the web 2.0 habitus is the product of a distinct media logic grounded in the pervasive logic of interactive social media—the trademark of web 2.0. Furthermore, I am also drawing importantly from Song’s (2010) consideration of the “participatory habitus” that has emerged along with Web 2.0 technologies. Through her analysis of online communities she argues that the key shift in the web 2.0 push has been the emergence of a “participatory habitus” (Song 2010:266). Accordingly, the combination of web 2.0 affordances and the increasing extent to which they are leveraged throughout much of the journalistic field have given rise to a powerful new form of logic and habitus.

The centrality of technology to the habitus is not a new assertion, although this study does suggest that it may carry a greater-than-average significance in this case. Sterne argues that “technologies are essentially subsets of habitus,” whose place in the field serves to inform and influence the dispositions of actors (2003:370). As with many other technologies and practices, Twitter and the web are increasingly becoming a part of the journalistic habitus. “As part of the habitus,” Sterne explains, “technologies and their techniques become ways of experiencing and negotiating fields” (2003:385). Thus, the finding that (inter)actions of journalistic significance increasingly take place on Twitter illustrates the ascent of the medium toward the center of many important journalistic relations. This shift has also given rise to a change in the practical reason prominent throughout much of the field—that is, the “embodied social knowledge that may or may not be conscious” (Sterne 2003:375). Indeed, Twitter and the web 2.0 ethic increasingly operate at the level of practical reason, where journalistic actors (inter)act in the field

with varying levels of consciousness about the importance of new media to their practices.

Some #journchat participants emphasized the importance of interactivity and engagement on Twitter. For example, this tweet explained a growing pet peeve in the field: “Using twitter to simply tweet your blog posts without replying to anyone on twitter, or taking advantage of the social features.” Not only does this illustrate the increasingly interactive web 2.0 habitus seen on Twitter, but also the heterodoxy surrounding journalistic norms and expectations in the new media environment. Similarly, a #wjchat participant explained how new media technologies like Twitter fit into his journalistic practice: “My social media discussions are largely an outlet for my work. Real reporting can be done via #Twitter. But not all of it.” The habitus exemplified in this tweet illustrates the hybridity that is now so common of the modern journalistic disposition. It is explicit about the importance of social media’s journalistic affordances, but also about the fact that the profession’s more traditional role has not disappeared. While there are surely more ideal-typical accounts illustrating the tension between traditional and web 2.0 dispositions, which are still quite common throughout the field, these extreme positions appear less and less prominent as the web ethic becomes synthesized throughout much of the field. Furthermore, as yet another example of the Twitter and the web 2.0 habitus increasingly infiltrating the journalistic field, one #journalism contributor tweeted about “Using Twitter to Collaborate on Investigations.” Not only does this illustrate the importance of Twitter, but also of the open and participatory nature of the web that has become the trademark of the web 2.0 ethic.

As Lasorsa et al. explain, “j-tweeters appear to be normalizing microblogs to fit into their existing norms and practices but, at the same time, they appear to be adjusting these professional norms and practices to the evolving norms and practices of Twitter” (2011:13). Most importantly, this trend illustrates how the habitus of many Twitter journalists is undergoing a transformation which is hybridizing traditional values with web 2.0 ones. Furthermore, this trend also helps to demonstrate the extent to which this shift is also contributing to a doxic shift in much of the field. This shift is illustrated not only by the taken-for-granted nature in which many j-tweeters discuss the medium, but also by the doxic debate which surrounds the ongoing transformation.

Doxa

As was made clear in chapter one, Bourdieu’s notion of doxa highlights the taken-for-granted norms and values of a particular field. Doxic issues are so taken-for-granted that they are without discourse and thus remain largely undiscussed. When such norms and values are discussed, they are operating at the level of orthodoxy or heterodoxy. While orthodox values are those which are discussed but largely agreed upon throughout a (sub-)field, heterodox values are those which are debated and often disagreed upon. The debate between orthodox and heterodox positions serves a mutually (re)generative function for each position, in true dialectical fashion. Bourdieu emphasizes the importance of particularly because it “represents a tacit, fundamental agreement on the stakes of struggle between those advocating heterodoxy and those holding to orthodoxy” (Swartz 1997:125).

Although the belief in the importance of the field's game—what Bourdieu calls *illusio*—tends to remain relatively stable, doxic values can and do undergo change. As discourse between orthodox and heterodox positions unfolds, values can gain or lose acceptance, thus altering the field's doxic composition. Beyond doxic discourse, many other structural and practical factors can contribute to doxic shifts. As Bourdieu explains, “Crisis is a necessary condition for a questioning of doxa but is not in itself a sufficient condition for the production of a critical discourse” (1977:169). Recent economic and technological shifts have surely created a kind of crisis for the journalistic field, ushering in the kinds of practical transformations which have been the subject of this chapter. A strong body of journalistic meta-discourse reflects these dynamics and represents notable shifts in the field's doxa. Thus, the remainder of this section will focus on uncovering the place of Twitter and other web 2.0 values within the shifting doxa of the journalistic field.

Much of the Twitter discourse analyzed in this study frequently addressed many of the field's debates occurring around issues of heterodoxy, like the costs and benefits of new media. Much of these debates focused on issues of credibility further problematized by the speeding pace of the news cycle because of sites like Twitter. For example, as a contributor to the #journalism hashtag tweeted, “just because it's twitter, professionalism shouldn't fly out the window. RTing does not = #journalism.” Thus, this j-tweeter was concerned about the Twitter (and web 2.0) practice of curating and sharing content being confused or conflated with other, more traditional forms of journalistic practice. Contrastingly, many others encouraged fellow actors in the field to leverage Twitter to its full journalistic potential. As one #wjchat participant tweeted, “Don't be afraid to run

with a story you've found from Twitter. Twitter is here to help you, not hurt you.” While these positions outline the extent of the divergence found in heterodox debate, many more examples which illustrate this dynamic can be found below.

One of the primary issues of debate throughout the journalistic field on Twitter and the web concerns the distinction between (professional) journalism and (citizen) journalism/blogging. As Singer points out, the operative distinction between the blogging and journalistic communities' definitions of “truth” has much to do with how active a role the journalistic actor plays in vetting claims. Whereas professional journalists are largely expected to verify information before publication, most citizens and bloggers are less dedicated to verification than they are transparency (Singer 2007; Vos et al. 2011). Therefore, the view of most bloggers is that truth “is the result of discourse rather than a prerequisite to it” (Singer 2007:85). This issue was a central component of much of the Twitter discourse analyzed for this research. Although it was often an issue of debate and viewpoints were notably distributed across the spectrum, it is clear that many #journchat, #wjchat, and #journalism participants were increasingly accepting of the bloggers' value of truth through discourse for web-based publications. For instance, many chat participants concurred that “retweeting” breaking news was a useful act even if the information it contained was not yet verified. In a post that was retweeted many times throughout the #wjchat, one user declared: “Not journalistic sin to pass along rumors in new newsroom called Twitter.” This post was accompanied by a link to a Poynter blog post digging deeper into this issue and raising important questions for discussion on Twitter and the blog (Myers 2011b). Discourse like this illustrates the

extent to which journalistic doxa is in motion due to the kind of field disruption facilitated by Twitter and the participatory web.

Many chat participants echoed support for this open perspective. As one #wjchat participant succinctly responded to questions about retweeting inaccurate information on Twitter: “That's what delete is for.” Another #wjchat participant responded to the question about (re)tweeting unconfirmed rumor that it “Depends on the rumor, motive,” to which another replied: “Yes Didn't we hear rumor abt Osama on twitter 1st, & wasn't it tweeted as a rumor.” Thus, many of Twitter’s journalistic actors recognized an important difference between running with unconfirmed rumors through traditional media and passing them along via social media. As one Twitter stated in regard to recent instances of Twitter inaccuracy that were a central point of debate: “Being wrong on #Twitter (lasts only seconds) #Future of #Journalism.” Furthermore, #journchat participants were most concerned about the extent to which fear of (in)accuracy got in the way of many MSM journalism organizations leveraging Twitter’s affordances effectively. As one user stated: “For what it's worth, I think fear of making an error is what keeps many news orgs from using Twitter to its full potential.”

Despite such heterodox discourse, numerous other chat participants remained dedicated to traditional, orthodox journalistic norms of accuracy at all costs and did not consider Twitter or the web as an exception. For example, one #wjchat participant raised this concern: “Rumors in a real newsroom -- while unsavory -- are at least contained. There's no containing a rumor on Twitter.” Another #wjchat participant emphasized that passing on rumors via Twitter was a “sin.” He offered this as support of his position: “You'd be pressed to publish a rumor in an article / blog post -- how's twitter different?”

Similarly, another #wjchat participant tweeted: “even if I saw it on Twitter or in social media, it still needs verification. that aspect of journalism hasn't changed.” Thus, strong orthodox values still remain amongst a significant portion of journalists on Twitter. Nonetheless, there is evidence to suggest that some chat participants also synthesized orthodox and heterodox values. As one #wjchat participant tweeted: “Same rules of traditional journalism apply. Twitter isn't meant to loosen those rules, just more opportunities to find truth.”

In addition to such synthesis, many other chat participants offered middle-of-the-road perspectives, many of which offered a more practical approach. For example, one #wjchat participant suggested that journalists treat rumors as follows: “Respond by saying, Twitter is abuzz, but we can't confirm. Acknowledge by b careful about drinking the Koolaid [sic].” Moreover, many others provided even more practical advice for Twitter journalists working with questionable information:

Find out if it is the actual persons twitter account & not a person who is hired 2 check also call them 2 confirm info

create a go-to list of sources on twitter who have been reliable in the past

Beyond offering practical advice, other chat participants were concerned with the inherent tension between speed and accuracy. As one #wjchat contributor put it: “We'd all like to say being right is more important, but w/ Twitter & other sm, being 1st is becoming increasingly important.” While such tension is far from new—with “scoop” races dating back to journalism's early days, and the 24-hour news cycle speeding up the process—it is clear that new information and communication technologies (ICTs) are giving rise to new articulations of this dynamic.

Overall, this debate suggests that while truth through deliberative process—at least on the web—remains a heterodox value for much of the journalistic field, the growing support behind this ethic suggests its doxic status amongst the blogging and online journalism communities is slowly but surely being transmitted to the journalistic field. In other words, the extent to which these debates occurred may suggest that many new media technologies still reside at the level of heterodoxy. Nonetheless, many indicators suggest a greater push toward doxic acceptance of Twitter and web 2.0 values. For example, one #wjchat participant tweeted this question: “I’m curious what digital tools (besides twitter of course) people find indispensable.” If this doxic assumption that Twitter is indeed indispensable to the increasingly digital journalistic field is any indication, the medium’s acceptance within journalistic doxa is impending.

However, as this section has shown, much debate persists. But the fact that such debates are increasingly taking place through such new media themselves—in addition to the reality of Twitter and other new media usage growing as a requisite practice of the field—suggests that the transition toward doxic status is further along than some traditionalists might hope. Indeed, as Song candidly explains, “such deliberations may be had over a cultural and ideological shift that has already occurred and whose logic is finally simply playing itself out in our technological and social institutions” (2010:270). As has been shown repeatedly throughout this manuscript, an increasingly sizeable and influential journalistic subfield is becoming normalized to Twitter and the participatory web as a central part of their everyday practice. As such, the medium is slowly moving from journalistic heterodoxy to orthodoxy, and will quite likely become a doxic norm in due time.

CONCLUSION

Throughout this chapter I have addressed many of the central issues regarding the role of Twitter and other web 2.0 technologies in journalistic practice. After providing a brief overview of the field's practical history with various technologies, I turned to the case of Twitter for a revealing account of the ways in which the field's practices and practical attributes are undergoing change thanks to the increased leveraging of such new(s) media technologies. Through my participant-observations, I found eight practices employed by journalistic actors on Twitter. These are information collection, news dissemination, sourcing, brief note-taking, public engagement, field meta-discourse, other professional (inter)actions, and personal (inter)actions.

Perhaps more importantly, my combination of digital ethnography and content analysis yielded profound insights about the medium's role in the changing practical attributes of the field. I found many important ways in which the field's capital, habitus, and doxa are undergoing transformation thanks largely to technological and economic factors. Altogether, these findings suggest that while much of the core practices and practical attributes of the journalistic field remain, we are currently witnessing a shift toward a more open field where Twitter and other web 2.0 practices are serving greater—and more important—functions.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSIONS

This study sought to explain the emerging changes in the journalistic field given the proliferation of Twitter and the participatory web. As such, the manuscript has focused on answering the three key research questions outlined in chapter one:

- 1) How is Twitter implicated in the broader restructuring of the journalistic field?
- 2) How is Twitter implicated in the changing norms and practices of the journalistic field?
- 3) To what extent do the changes in the journalistic field reflect an “opening up” of the field to increasingly include interactions with other fields and actors including citizen journalists?

This final chapter will also provide an analysis of key findings, implications, and future directions advanced by this research.

FINDINGS AND ARGUMENT

While the task may appear straightforward, in truth a multitude of demanding yet necessary endeavors were required in order to lay the groundwork for the study to answer the above research questions. As I have argued throughout this manuscript, the journalistic field is currently experiencing an era of significant transformation. A combination consisting largely of economic, political, technological, and intellectual factors interact integrally with journalistic ones to produce the field’s structural and practical realities. While economic factors (i.e. monetary gain) have been an increasingly driving force in the field over the past two centuries, journalism has been a fundamentally

political and intellectual practice since its emergence. For nearly 200 years the structure of the field was so dominated by economic capital that noticeable entrance in the field practically required toeing the line of an increasingly profit-oriented and conglomerated MSM ecology. More recently, the rise of the increasingly participatory web and the proliferation of information and communication technologies (ICTs) throughout many fields have steadily broadened the structure and practices of the journalistic field. Now that the tools for reporting and publishing are accessible to much of the populace, a growing number of actors are combining their political, intellectual, and, of course, journalistic dispositions as they commit acts of journalism.

Considering Twitter amidst the breadth of web 2.0 transformations, it becomes clear that the power relations of the journalistic field are currently experiencing a significant shift toward greater influence from actors and factors not traditionally seen as being journalistically relevant. The speed and openness afforded by Twitter and the rest of the participatory web allow vast numbers of people to leverage the technologies effectively for countless, and often journalistically oriented ends. Now, non-professional actors can and often do engage in acts of journalism—of various relevance and frequency—more easily, thus weakening the MSM monopoly on news content. Furthermore, given the normative and definitive shifts taking place throughout much of the field regarding what is expected of journalists, and who is considered a relevant journalistic actor, individuals and networked groups can enter and influence the field more effectively than ever before. At the same time, the practices and practical attributes common throughout much of the field are changing to better fit the new media ecology. Accordingly, the trend in news content on Twitter and the participatory web is that it is

becoming increasingly accessible to the public. Thus, not only has journalism's structure become more open and its practices more accessible, but so too have its products.

This has meant two types of increases in the journalistic field's symbolic power. At the structural level, much of the Twitter community and the broader subfield of restricted production on the web have experienced great gains in symbolic capital. While this is especially true for the computer-mediated communication (CMC) realm and those frequently acting there, the great extent to which face-to-face (F2F) interactions, associations, and institutions are reliant on the web has meant that symbolic capital earned online is increasingly accessible offline. Additionally, it appears that the journalistic field—especially on Twitter and the web—has also been able to gain symbolic power in its relations with other fields. This is largely because of the increasing relevance, accessibility, and transparency of journalistic products to actors in other fields.

So, what transformative affects has Twitter had on the journalistic field and what is it about Twitter that affords such transformative affects? While the initial question frames the focus of the inquiry, the latter question cuts even deeper to the core of this research, as uncovering the how and why of these dynamics is just as important as revealing what the relationships look like.

Overall, I have argued throughout this study that Twitter poses a profound, transformative shift in the journalistic field's structure and practices. As a new(s) media technology increasingly leveraged by actors in the field, Twitter has changed the dynamics of power relations in the field in two distinct ways. First, Twitter has allowed citizens to enter and alter the field in greater numbers and with greater effects than other forms of social media. While quite unintentional, this effect is made possible by the

medium's speed, accessible and interactive format, as well as Twitter's increasingly normative status throughout much of the professional field. Because of this combination of form meeting field, Twitter has helped American journalism open up to become progressively more democratic.

At the same time, Twitter's powerful journalistic affordances have also given rise to a shift from deep inside the field. Indeed, countless journalism professionals now leverage the medium to numerous ends and increasingly adhere to many of the values, share many of the goals, and embody many of the dispositions of the participatory web. Altogether, the journalism community on Twitter consists of a strong, diverse, and ever growing group of actors. Not only has this trend allowed for a change in professional journalistic relations, as new routes to field-specific capital abound on Twitter, but it has also altered who can acquire such capital. Just as professional journalists gain greater legitimacy through their (inter)actions on Twitter, the same is true for citizen-journalist actors. Because so many professional journalists become aware of—and often benefit from—the work of citizen journalists on Twitter, the medium is facilitating a shift in the field's structural and practical attributes at the same time.

Findings: Structural and Practical Transformations

In analyzing the influence of Twitter and the participatory web on the structure of the journalistic field, this study has come to a number of notable conclusions. Journalism's relations with other fields, including the practice of citizen journalism by nonprofessional actors, have changed significantly in recent years. Moreover, relations among actors and

institutions within the journalistic field are also remarkably different today. This section will address the implications following each of these two dynamics.

Shifts in relations with the economic and technological fields have given rise to a new era of journalistic production that is now more open than it has been since the days of the Early Republic. Thus, although the field's structure still consists primarily of MSM institutions and the actors they employ, the opportunity for small startup organizations and individual journalistic actors—both professional and not—to enter and shape the field grow exponentially as new and increasingly accessible technologies lessen the primacy of economic capital as a prerequisite for journalistic relevance. As Twitter and the rest of the participatory web help lower the barriers to entry into the journalistic field, they have also helped raise the symbolic power of many actors and institutions in the field. The place of web-, and especially Twitter-, journalism has thus grown both within the field itself as well as in its relations with others.

The journalistic field—at least the largest and most powerful, MSM portion of the field: the subfield of large-scale production—is said to be increasingly heteronomous (Bourdieu 1993:53; Bourdieu 2005:41). While much of this subfield still enjoys a measure of institutional autonomy, upheld mostly by professional and organizational values, the extent to which economic, political, technological, intellectual, and cultural factors bear upon the journalistic field is remarkable. The more autonomous subfield of restricted production is occupied largely by small-scale, independent and (frequently) citizen-fueled reporting operations of various sizes and dispositions. Here, the *raison d'être* is not economic profit, but political, intellectual, and cultural influence.

An important discovery made through this distinction and much of the analysis presented in chapter three involves the profound technological influence on the field. This was true not only for the subfield of small-scale production, but for the subfield of restricted production as well. ICTs have allowed practically all journalists to (inter)act in new and revolutionary ways. Furthermore, not only have technological advancements in or near the standard journalistic repertoire made their impact on the field's structure, but the particularly participatory, web-based new media tools like Twitter that recently emerged have profoundly altered the field's structural composition. Given the ubiquity, and profoundly journalistic affordances of Twitter and other interactive media tools, non-professionals now have easier access to the tools required to enter the field than ever before.

There are countless ways in which the structure of the journalistic field is changing due to its changing relations with the technological field. For example, advancements in some journalistically useful technologies have made sharing and analyzing information more effective and efficient. More importantly, the proliferation of easily accessible new media tools has paved the way for a new class of journalistic actors to enter the field, with dizzying consequences. Thus, boundaries between fields have also blurred due to the lowering of barriers to entry, facilitated largely by the ubiquity and accessibility of new media technologies. While I will return to this opening up of the field below, I would like to emphasize here the significance of American journalism's structural transformation. Indeed, journalism's changing relations with other fields have been made quite clear through my participant observations on Twitter.

Beyond the numerous changes in inter-field relations, the US journalistic field is also undergoing a major shift in intra-field relations. As professional journalists and institutions leverage Twitter's affordances with greater frequency and effectiveness, their relations with other actors in the field are ever more likely to be mediated by their presence on Twitter. As such, Twitter has become an increasingly important variable in the power relations of the journalistic field. In making this argument I do not deny the significance of (inter)actions occurring through other, more traditional media. Rather, I simply wish to emphasize the remarkable trend of Twitter's growing significance as a powerful medium.

Bourdieu's interest in capital hinges largely upon its iteration as a form of power. Economic capital (i.e. money) currently plays a less direct role in Twitter and other participatory media, largely because new media content is typically free. Nonetheless, advertising and pay walls are common avenues for economic profits to reach organizations. Individual journalistic actors are more likely to gain economic capital indirectly on Twitter and other new media, as the other forms of capital gained could be converted to economic capital if/when their employers, or other relevant actors, recognized their value. Indeed, while economic capital may be the most obvious route to achieving a desired outcome in capitalist societies in general, social, cultural, and symbolic capital are also common and effective forms of power. This is especially true for the journalistic field on Twitter.

Given Twitter's increasingly normative status in the journalistic field, the opportunity for growing and maintaining ties with other actors is great. Therefore, social capital is an obvious asset available to those who leverage Twitter's affordances

effectively. Cultural capital is also abundant on Twitter, given how popular it has become beyond the field of journalism. As numerous fields (inter)act and converge on Twitter, the breadth of potential cultural knowledge to be gained there is remarkable. Perhaps most importantly, Twitter's journalistic allure also allows many of the field's innovative leaders to acquire powerful symbolic capital through their integration of web 2.0 practices into their journalistic repertoire. Indeed, the journalistic legitimacy and prestige available to those who use Twitter effectively remarkable, and seemingly growing. While this trend does not negate the enduring effects of economic capital in the subfield of large-scale production, new forms of social cultural and especially symbolic capital are available to journalists in Twitter, and the value of this capital is less and less contained to the subfield of restricted production.

As journalistic actors build symbolic, social, and cultural capital through their (inter)actions on Twitter, and as this capital is increasingly at play in ways that are far from virtual, the field's power relations are undergoing a major shift. What started as a medium leveraged primarily by actors in journalism's subfield of restricted production has grown into something quite relevant among the MSM as well as the broader subfield of large-scale production. Not only are Twitter and other web 2.0 values increasingly at play throughout the core of the US journalistic field, but their relevance is growing steadily as actors and institutions from numerous fields recognize them. Overall, as American journalism's inter- and intra-field relations become increasingly influenced by Twitter and other (inter)actions of the participatory web, the field's power relations are also undergoing a slow but steady transformation. Such a structural shift is both a cause

and a consequence of journalism's ongoing shifts in practices and other practical attributes.

In addition to identifying significant structural changes, this study has also found that the journalistic field is experiencing notable shifts in its practices and practical attributes. The profound journalistic affordances of Twitter and other web 2.0 tools have led much of the field to integrate these technologies into their daily practices. This ongoing trend serves to alter the repertoire of practices for many journalistic actors, thus also contributing to the transformation of many of the field's practical attributes such as habitus and doxa. As the norms and practices of the journalistic field become increasingly contingent upon those of Twitter and the participatory web, the values and dispositions of many actors in the field are also undergoing important changes. Altogether, these shifts amount to a broader transformation occurring at the level of journalistic practice.

As I demonstrated in chapter four, Twitter has been at the center of this practical transformation. Not only has the medium become normalized throughout much of the field (Lasorsa et al. 2011), but it has made its way into the daily routines of many journalists, thus affecting their dispositions and views about journalism. The goal of this section is to answer and discuss the second of this study's research questions: How is Twitter implicated in the changing norms and practices of the journalistic field? Finding an answer to this question meant taking account of the field's many visible journalistic practices as well as its more elusive practical attributes illustrated by Twitter participation.

From the telegraph, to the telephone, to Twitter, the proliferation of new media technologies have had a profound impact on many fields and practices, especially those related to journalism. Most obviously, many technologies helped journalistic actors in their everyday reporting practices. This meant collecting information and sources, submitting stories, and now thanks to tools like Twitter, simultaneously recording and sharing information. Furthermore, the profoundly participatory affordances of many new media technologies have long played an important role in the practical attributes of the journalistic field. Whereas radio, television, and the early web provided users with greater access to information, this connection rarely entailed much audience participation. More recently, web 2.0 tools have emerged, ushering in a new era of media where the contribution of users is encouraged and essential to the experience.

Drawing on a growing body of recent literature as well as the digital ethnographic and textual data collected for this study, I reviewed the medium's many affordances and practical implications for the journalistic field. The subject of Twitter's journalistic affordances received great attention in much of the Twitter discourse analyzed for this research. Although a notable portion of the field remained skeptical about the (positive) impact of Twitter and other new media tools on journalistic practice, a clear majority of "j-tweeters" (Lasorsa et al. 2011) found the medium to be a great asset. Reasons cited included its speed, conciseness, interactivity, and potential for engagement—both with other professionals and the public—thanks largely to its ubiquity and popularity in the field. Overall, I found eight main types of practices employed by journalistic actors on Twitter: information collection, news dissemination, sourcing, public engagement, brief note-taking, field meta-discourse, other professional

(inter)actions, and personal (inter)actions. I will not retrace the discussion of these practices again here, but the reader should note that the increasingly common application of Twitter for these journalistic practices is not only remarkable in and of itself, but also provides greater evidence for the role of the medium in the shifting journalistic habitus, doxa, and capital.

In addition to Twitter's significance as a new space for the exchange of journalistic capital—discussed at length above—this study suggests that the use of Twitter and other new media tools also contributes importantly to changes in the journalistic habitus. As the leveraging of Twitter for reporting practices becomes increasingly normalized throughout the field, the dispositions of those actors are also slowly but surely starting to reflect the normalization of these practices. Similar trends are also occurring beyond Twitter, as countless other web 2.0 tools are becoming integrated into the daily routines of many journalists. These shifts not only affect what practices journalistic actors engage in, but also how they practice and perceive journalism. Accordingly, I argue that the field is currently witnessing a significant shift in the habitus of many of its actors.¹⁸ Furthermore, as the practices afforded by web 2.0 tools become increasingly integrated with many of journalism's more traditional practices, more and more journalists are becoming socialized—indeed, often normalized—to this relationship. The end result is a hybrid combination of dispositions integrating many of the norms and values typical of the participatory web. I refer to this

¹⁸ It might be beneficial to see the direction of this shift occurring from *inside out*: many of the field's central actors are pulling in norms and values from the outside. Additionally, a similar shift is also taking place from the *outside in*, as many citizens and actors from other fields are integrating journalistic practices into their repertoire and entering the field.

as the emergence of the web 2.0 habitus, where journalistic actors are increasingly disposed toward technological and participatory practices. As I demonstrate in chapter four, evidence from this study's participant observations and content analysis, as well as other relevant studies, provide supporting evidence of this conclusion.

The expansion of the web 2.0 habitus throughout much of the journalistic field also contributes to significant shifts in values. Indeed, as the dispositions of journalistic actors become increasingly normalized to the values and practices typical of Twitter and the participatory web, their view of many of the field's core issues is also likely to change accordingly. Thus, I argue that the field's undiscussed norms and values (*doxa*) are currently shifting along with journalism's other practical attributes like capital and habitus. This was illustrated by the taken-for-granted values inherent within statements as well as the broader patterns observed in the (inter)actions of many journalistic actors on Twitter and the participatory web. Furthermore, by analyzing journalistic discourse from Twitter—much of it meta-discourse about the field and its practices—I was able to outline many of the field's orthodox (accepted) and heterodox (debated) values. Altogether, I was able to show that many of these values—including those taken for granted, accepted, and debated—were consistent with the web 2.0 trend. As such, the current and future direction of the field is likely to become increasingly influenced by new media technologies like those exemplified by Twitter and the participatory web. Indeed, because the field's practical attributes come to constitute the field itself, the ongoing transformations documented in this dissertation are and will remain greatly significant for American journalism and those seeking to understand it.

RESEARCH IMPLICATIONS

By addressing the study's three primary research questions and investigating many of the various dynamics surrounding them, this research has contributed to the growing bodies of knowledge about the journalistic field as well as its relationship with Twitter and other participatory media. Along the way, it also makes important advancements for Bourdieuan field theory and its application to the study of fields beyond journalism. Furthermore, this research also poses a number of methodological implications for future research—about various fields and especially about new media and the web.

Opening Up

As mentioned above, the journalistic field has undergone significant transformation in recent years. The changes to the field's structure and practices amount to what I refer to as an "opening up" of the journalistic field. In addition to being made possible by new media technologies like Twitter, where acts of journalism are encouraged by the design and culture of the medium, many other technologies also contribute importantly to this trend. Thanks to the increasingly participatory web and the proliferation of mobile, networked technologies, the means of journalistic production is now widely accessible to a growing number of citizens.

Accordingly, a growing number of actors not traditionally seen as part of the journalistic field are engaging in reporting practices, thus entering the field. Given the transformative impact that new entrants often have on fields (Bourdieu 1993), this shift marks an important turning point in American journalism. The journalistic field is no longer as dominated by MSM institutions as it once was. Twitter's particular role in this

process is quite significant. Not only is the medium open to actors from all fields, but its increasingly normative status throughout American journalism affords it even greater potential to influence the relations of the field. In addition to this conclusion being supported by supplementary evidence from other studies, which I present in chapter three, the participant observations and content analysis I conducted for this research also further suggest that the journalistic field is increasingly open.

The role of technology in this shift has been considerable. As Klinenberg and Benzecry explain,

Historically, the most influential new communications technologies have reduced the price of entry into a cultural field, creating openings for actors and organizations who were previously unable to get their work into the public (2005:8).

Such an opening up of the field provides a key circumstance for the making of journalistic history. Furthermore, there is little doubt that the standards of the journalistic field are also changing in this new media ecology. As Deuze (1999) explains, the internet “breaks the traditional concept of ‘journalists know and can decide what people need’ in terms of information” (p. 385). Through the web 2.0 push and the rise of widely accessible, interactive technologies, the journalistic field is opening up to greater (inter)action with and by “the people formerly known as the audience” (Rosen 2006). Citing the rise of blogging as a prime example, Klinenberg and Benzecry concur, arguing that “digital technologies and the Internet have...allowed new voices to enter the media, in journalism as well as entertainment” (2005:11).

The long-term implications of this opening up remain unknown, although countless journalistic actors frequently speculate about what the new media revolution is

doing to the profession of journalism. Ironically, so much of this speculation occurs on Twitter or other new media platforms, as my data makes quite clear. In my analysis, a small but vocal portion took a lamenting tone, arguing for—and thus carrying out—a policing of journalism’s boundaries in defense of tradition. Such a commitment to orthodoxy is not surprising—indeed, it is a trend found across most fields. However, the vast majority of views represented in the data collected for this study tend to take a synthesizing rather than conflicting view of the relationship between so-called new and old media, and the norms, values, practices, and field structure they sustain.¹⁹ As such, heterodoxy is slowly becoming orthodoxy. Not only is much of the journalistic field participating in this shift, but it is doing so with such force that many values from Twitter and the participatory web may become so normalized that they are doxic.

Clearly, these shifts suggest that the story of the journalistic field’s transformation is not as straightforward as many make it seem. As the field’s boundaries open up to grant greater access to new entrants, a growing number of professional journalists are becoming increasingly disposed toward Twitter and other new media norms and values.²⁰ While this study shows these dynamics to be integrally connected, it appears that discontent over the former is much greater than that over the latter. To be clear, despite a decline in investigative journalism and newspapers, and a rise of citizens engaging with(in) the journalistic field, professional journalism institutions remain at the center of the journalistic field. The fact that they too have taken to Twitter and other new media in

¹⁹ Although my limited sample does not represent the field at large, it does represent a sizeable and increasingly influential portion of the field whose norms and values are far from confined to the digital realm.

²⁰ This finding is one that deserves much greater attention in future research.

droves—in an ‘adapt or die’ climate—and that the changes have had such residual effects on the field illustrates just how significant this historical event is.

What Will this Opening Up Mean?

Although this dissertation has clearly outlined the structural and practical transformations taking place in the journalistic field, it is also important to consider some of the many potential implications of this development. In other words, while I have shown what kinds of changes the journalistic field is undergoing, I have not taken up the question of what specific effects might arise from these changes. While the return to a more open journalistic field may offer some benefits for its inter- and intra-field relations—many of which have been touched on above—it also poses many troubling challenges. Put succinctly, research has not yet determined to what degree this opening up will result in more democratic practices, better journalism, or a more informed public.

As I make clear throughout this work, there is great journalistic and democratic potential in the spreading of new(s) media practices, values, and dispositions throughout an increasingly networked public. However, many have argued that these developments may do more harm than good to the functioning of American journalism, and in turn, American democracy. As Paul Starr states succinctly, “New media have not, as of yet, offset losses in more traditional media” (Starr 2012: 234). Starr goes on to offer one of the pointed critiques of this kind:

The digital revolution has been good for freedom of expression because it has increased the diversity of voices in the public sphere. The digital revolution has been good for freedom of information because it has made government documents and data directly accessible to more people and has fostered a culture that demands transparency from powerful

institutions. But the digital revolution has both revitalized and weakened freedom of the press. It has revitalized journalism by allowing new entrants into the media and generated promising innovations, and in countries where the press has been stifled, that effect is the most important. *But in the established democracies, the digital revolution has weakened the ability of the press to act as an effective agent of public accountability by undermining the economic basis of professional reporting and fragmenting the public. If we take seriously the idea that an independent press serves an essential democratic function, its institutional distress may weaken democracy itself* (Starr 2012:234-235) [emphasis added].

Starr's concern, which many others have raised in different ways, is exceedingly important given the recent crises in journalism and the US economy more broadly. Furthermore, journalism's importance as a central factor in the functioning of democracy also legitimates this concern.

But there is also a gaping hole in framing the concern the way Starr (2012) does, because it appears to place responsibility for the ongoing transformation and its many consequences unfairly upon one side of the relationship. Can we blame journalism's mounting "institutional stress" solely on the rise of new media? The position I have taken throughout this dissertation suggests that while such technological factors are increasingly important to the current and future state of the journalistic field, they are far from deterministic. Indeed, beyond external constraints, many of the realities of the journalistic field are the result of key decisions made within the field itself. For example, Starr's (2012) insistence that the rise of new media played a key role in challenging the economic and professional stability of the journalistic field fails to account for the field's own involvement in its current state. It makes little sense to blame these trends on the proliferation of participatory media without also holding the journalistic field—or at least the most powerful and culpable MSM institutions—responsible for its own course.

Surely the construction of a field that is so economically heteronomous, so reliant on advertising revenue, so profit-hungry that many institutions swiftly cut funding for intensive reporting or the reporters themselves while still earning sizeable profits must credit journalistic, economic, and political factors before technological ones in explaining its current state of economic distress. Of course, this is not to downplay the technological factors—indeed, I have shown throughout this work just how important they can be—but rather to consider them fairly and in interaction with the many others which contribute meaningfully to current state of the American journalistic field.

Beyond Starr, many others—including a great number of professional journalists—are concerned about the erosion of journalistic standards and authority. As I discuss above, this concern was echoed frequently in much of the data collected for this study. Although much of the journalistic field on Twitter appears to be growing increasingly comfortable with the hybridity brought about by the convergence of fields and the lowering of barriers to entry, many of the journalistic field's central and most influential actors and institutions remain troubled by what developments may follow these shifts. Indeed, as Twitter and other new media increasingly afford non-professional actors with the tools to enter the journalistic field, many wonder what will become of professional journalists, their institutions, and the public reliant upon their work.

Another common worry comes from concern over the shift in power and influence, which is now less privileging toward professional MSM institutions than it has been in centuries. Journalists' authority is a key factor in their ability to do their job effectively. But the journalistic field did not gain authority overnight. Rather, it was earned through the process of professionalization and the creation of standards that have

defined much of the field for over a century. Now that new routes to journalistic influence exist that frequently circumvent the professional model, many worry about the potential for abuse which these opportunities present. While this constitutes yet another understandable concern over the future of American journalism and democracy, it again treads into waters which span far beyond the case and scope of this research. A related concern is over the functioning of Twitter and the rest of the participatory web as an ‘echo chamber 2.0’, where often simplistic and distorting perspectives are amplified with growing ease thanks to the affordances of new(s) media. Although I share these concerns to an extent, I am moved to point out that they were present—if in different form—long before the proliferation of Twitter and the participatory web, and they will likely remain long after other new media tools and trends rise to prominence.

Yet another reasonable concern is that as greater emphasis is put on Twitter and other digital tools in reporting practices, emphasis may be taken off of the more traditional, F2F practices that have been part of the journalistic habitus for so long. For example, a growing subfield of “digital journalists” often work primarily through various forms of CMC as a way to cut costs, bridge vast distances, and/or gain new forms of access. Although such digital reporting tools frequently offer benefits to those who can leverage them effectively, they can also be a limiting factor if relied upon too heavily. Thus, concern over digital-only journalism is a realistic concern to the extent that journalistic actors employ a dualist lens which sees these realms as separate (Jurgenson 2011a). Those journalists who do act in a dualist manner are surely limited by their privileging of either CMC or F2F realms over the other. While the data collected for this study gave little indication that digital-only journalism has much traction throughout the

journalistic field, many in the field remain concerned that the growing emphasis on digital practices will lead to an annexing of more traditional, F2F reporting practices.

The growing overlap between entertainment and news is also a concerning trend. Because Twitter and the participatory web are so often used less for political, intellectual or journalistic ends and more often serve entertaining ends, many are understandably skeptical of their contribution to these fields. This concern resonates strongly with others' over the decline of civic engagement and the increasing emphasis in American culture on entertainment. While Twitter and the participatory web may present new versions of the issue, again these concerns are far from new. Neil Postman (1985) raised such a concern over the future of American democracy in light of the proliferation of television and entertainment culture nearly three decades ago, and since that time concern over the denigration of the news media has flourished. Thus, this dissertation raises yet another concern that cuts to the core of the American journalism and democracy. Indeed, not only does such a debate raise fundamental questions about the affordances and applications of media, but also about deliberative democracy and its relationship to journalism and the sharing of information more broadly.

Altogether, these concerns represent what might be called the “dark underside” of the trends identified throughout this study. While all are genuine concerns about real, important issues, most are far from specific to the case of study examined throughout this work. Indeed, scholars have debated many of these issues for decades, and will likely continue to do so for the foreseeable future. Nonetheless, great potential remains for future research to investigate these issues, especially as they relate to Twitter and the transformation of the journalistic field.

Advancing Research on the Journalistic Field

Since its rise over the past decade, sparked by Benson's (1999) call, journalistic field theory has been remiss to address the vast changes occurring at the border between journalism and other fields of cultural production. While scholars in other veins of literature have been busy analyzing the changes and implications brought about by the leveraged affordances of new media technologies, scholarship on the journalistic field has focused largely on twentieth century questions of the MSM's inter- and intra-field relations. This focus is not without benefit, for sure, given that journalistic field theory has risen to the top ranks of media sociology particularly because of its explanatory ability for professional MSM institutions. However, such a focus has thrived at the cost of other questions—particularly those regarding the changes occurring in the journalistic field as the twenty-first century takes hold.

Despite the distinction, these two lines of inquiry are not mutually exclusive. Indeed, journalistic field theory mustn't abandon its established focus in order to account for new and emerging developments. Rather, as I argue elsewhere (Barnard, 2011), journalistic field theory should "open up the field of possibility" (Butler, 2006: viii) to include a broader array of journalistic practices as both in and of the journalistic field. This approach is comparable to Bourdieu's when he states, "There are ways of avoiding ethnocentrism which are perhaps no more than so many devices for keeping one's distance and, at all events, for making a virtue out of necessity by converting a de facto exclusion into a choice of method" (1977:10). Similarly, my contention is that research on the journalistic field can no longer afford to exclude non-professional actors from its analytical scope. While this opening up does necessitate a more inclusive definition of

what counts as journalism—i.e. shirking the implicit, professional bias—it does not mean we must abandon the fruitful course already established. Expectedly, the solution is both/and: journalistic field theory needs to both continue to pursue its established line of inquiry and introduce innovative questions regarding the changes occurring in the journalistic field facilitated by the growth of web 2.0 affordances.

Overall, while some researchers have already begun investigating the role of Twitter as a tool for journalism, there is still much to uncover regarding Twitter's relevance in the journalistic field and how it is implicated in the field's ongoing transformation. In other words, this study provides important insight on the role of Twitter in the changing journalistic field. Furthermore, this line of inquiry also offers more generalizable insights about how fields undergo change as the affordances of new media technologies are increasingly leveraged by social actors situated throughout the field of cultural production.

While the breadth of this work has not been explicitly focused on developing theory per se, its application of Bourdieuan field theory has given rise to a number of theoretical advancements. As I argued in the introductory chapter, although Benson (1999) and many others have praised field theory's potential to account for change in the journalistic field, too much of the research in this area fails to live up to this potential. Though a small number of studies have made headway in this direction—many of them cited above—this research has largely focused specifically on this dynamic of change. In so doing, I have made important inroads regarding the role of Twitter and other web 2.0 tools in facilitating interaction and convergence within and across fields. As I demonstrated in chapter two, the journalistic field has undergone many structural and

practical changes over the course of its history. This historical analysis of the American journalistic field fills a notable gap in the literature on the field and blazes a trail toward greater historical analysis of the journalistic and other fields.

Analysis of the more recent structural and practical transformations occurring in the journalistic field—addressed in chapters two and three, respectively—also lays important groundwork for other scholars studying these or similar dynamics. Thus, the task of conceptually developing and analyzing the structure and practices of fields can now be made easier thanks to the theoretical (and methodological) contribution laden throughout much of this manuscript. While much of journalistic field theory has been applied at the structural level, few such studies have dug into the practical level of the field. In addition to offering a candid discussion of journalistic practices, this research also advanced an important analysis of what I call the field's practical attributes. Furthermore, I offer a useful framework for conceptualizing and analyzing the sum of these attributes as they are manifested in a particular field context. Consequently, in addition to answering many questions, this research also gives rise to many more questions about the role of capital, habitus, and doxa in the journalistic and other fields. For example, how are new media tools implicated in the exchange of capital, especially symbolic capital? In what ways will these tools affect the symbolic power of journalistic actors as new opportunities for (inter)action and engagement continue to emerge? As ICTs and participatory media become increasingly ubiquitous, what role do these tools play in the formation of the habitus? What role do new media tools play in the manifestation and transformation of a field's doxa? And to what extent are the findings

of this study representative of broader trends in more traditional portions of the journalistic field?

Although I resisted focusing specifically on the structural and practical attributes of the technological field, this research has also helped make progress toward the study of the technological field from a Bourdieuan perspective. Discovering firsthand the profound impact technology is having on the journalistic field, as I have done through this research, raises many more questions about the role of the technological field in other, increasingly mediated fields. Thus, while the parameters of such a technological field remain uncharted, it is increasingly clear that this territory exists and is awaiting exploration. The role it may be playing in other journalistic relations, let alone those of other fields, remains an open question.

This research has largely argued—along with Bourdieu—that one’s action in a field qualifies their place in it. Thus, non-matriculated journalistic actors are considered to have entered the field once they engage in journalistic practice(s). While this contestation appears logical and appropriate for the current case of study, it poses greater challenges for field theory as it is applied more broadly. If one’s field location is determined merely by action in it, what does this say about the usefulness of the field metaphor? Can actors truly occupy positions in multiple fields simultaneously, and if so, to what effects? Are journalists who discuss politics, economics, or technology to be regarded as acting as significantly in those other fields as they are in journalism? If so—and I suggest that this depends largely on what effects such acts have in various fields—should fields be seen as overlapping or converging in each instance? Or, do the dynamics of field interaction and convergence only arise significantly when larger structural and

practical attributes bring them to a common ground? Furthermore, if political and intellectual participation in our networked society is taking on an increasingly journalistic flavor, what does this say about the resiliency of these fields over time? May we see increasing field overlap in the future, or will such distinctions become less relevant as practices take on more hybrid forms? Inspired by this research, each of these questions pose significant issues with which future research must deal.

This study also holds major implications for the analytical focus and application of field theory itself. Whereas most other applications of field theory have tended to focus primarily on larger structural-, macro-, and mezzo-level realities, this research has extended the reach of field theory to also pay closer attention to micro-level dynamics. For example, the close attention paid to the practices and practical attributes found throughout the field on Twitter, and especially this study's focus on and analysis of posts to a micro-blogging medium, illustrate how field theory can be applied at the micro-level. Furthermore, such attention to case-specific detail also allows for a more thorough assessment of historical factors as well as those resting outside the field of study. Indeed, applying the field theory model to the analysis of historical events and their role in the field has allowed for path-dependent relationships to be established within and across fields. Thus, as I have argued above, this research also makes important advancements toward a greater understanding of how fields undergo change.

Lastly, as I discuss in the previous section, this research also begs many questions about the future of American journalism and democracy as Twitter and other new media contribute to the transformation of the journalistic and other fields. In what form will journalism survive as a professional institution? How will the public be able to

differentiate between professional, vetted news reports and the sea of rumors and opinions deepened by the growing mass of producers? What will be the relationship between citizenship and journalism in the new media ecology? What will American democracy look like with a journalistic field so open to influence from non-professionals? And what will these dynamics amount to in the coming years? More broadly, considering this study along with Starr's (2012) claim raises a fundamental question: (how) must journalism be institutionally structured to serve democracy? These are each exceedingly important questions given the trends identified throughout this work, and future research will do well to investigate them more directly.

Overall, this dissertation offers important extensions of field theory as well as the methods employed in its application. It is worth noting, however, that such empirical and theoretical accomplishments would not be possible without the support of an appropriate methodology. Accordingly, it is to this subject that I now turn.

Methodological Implications

Although the subject of methodological implications comes last in the discussion, it is certainly not of lesser importance. Indeed, because this study focused so intensely on new media and digital (inter)action, as well as their powerful relation to the F2F realm, it offers a great number of significant methodological strides.

First and foremost, the profound extent to which the CMC and F2F realms overlap and interact is becoming clearer every day (Jurgenson 2011a). Actors in any field can walk and talk in the F2F and CMC realms simultaneously. What's more, these seemingly separate actions are more closely related than it appears. Other actors, who

can also inhabit both realms simultaneously, carry through knowledge, capital, habitus, and doxa from one to the other. Such fluidity demonstrates how life in the new media ecology is “augmented” rather than dualistically separated (Jurgenson 2011a). Consequently, it is important for research methodology to reflect this emerging reality. Thus, instead of regarding Twitter and other web-based (inter)actions as somehow less significant, this study focused primarily on analyzing them in order to help explain their role in the changing field. Accomplishing this task did prove difficult at times, especially given that all primary data collected for this study was in digital form. However, the use of historical and secondary materials allowed me to maintain a specific focus on Twitter and other participatory media while also accounting for broader F2F realities not directly represented in the study’s primary, digital data.

I also made a few important strides in collecting this digital data. Most notably, I built upon the base of online participant-observation research often referred to as “virtual-” or “digital ethnography.” Having spent over three years as a participant observer in the journalistic field on Twitter, I learned nearly as much about the research process as I did about the case of study. One particularly helpful breakthrough I made was in applying Hermida’s (2010a) notion of a journalistic “awareness system” to my own research process. Using this metaphor, I became increasingly reflexive about what I was—and wasn’t—including in my analysis largely because of the particular awareness system I had constructed on Twitter. Having this knowledge, I was able to broaden the network of journalistic actors I followed as well as to take supplemental measures—like other web-based explorations—to ensure that my participant-observations represented the field as best they could.

Getting to the content analysis portion of the research, I had to be very creative with the tasks of data collection and sampling. As I discussed in chapter one, changes to Twitter's policies now limit the access researchers have to the full "fire hose" consisting of all the tweets posted to the site. Discovering Archivist, a free software program that would provide a reliable means of collecting and exporting tweets for analysis, I was left with the question of what to sample. Again, the distinct case of Twitter posed its own set of challenges. While I could follow a subset of key journalistic actors on Twitter, there was no apparent way to systematically collect their tweets for analysis. Accordingly, I chose a method of textual data collection that would capture the Twitter-based interactions of such key actors while also working within the limitations of Twitter and Archivist. This entailed entering search terms corresponding to the popular journalistic hashtags of #journchat, #wjchat, and #journalism that were frequently used in journalistic discourse on Twitter.

Archiving these hashtag discourses on a regular, tri-weekly basis for a month yielded a dataset of unwieldy proportions—over 27,000 tweets. Thus, I took a subsample consisting of all tweets containing the word "Twitter." This yielded a more manageable sample of 1,044 tweets, which more explicitly addressed the topic of Twitter and journalism. Having experimented with many other means of sampling, I am confident in the steps taken and their potential implications for future research. While this study was not the first or last to collect and analyze hashtag discourse, the innovativeness of its mixed methods approach and sampling procedure provide an exemplary case of web-based qualitative research. Future research would also be greatly aided if Twitter and other new media sites made their public content more readily available for collection,

manipulation, and exportation. The same goes for programs designed for use in research, such as Computer Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software (CAQDAS).

I make no claim to advancing the standard coding practice of content analysis, as I coded data in much the same way as countless others have. This process was made much easier with the help of the CAQDAS software DiscoverText. However, I do think the mixture of such (digital) ethnographic methods with content analysis offers a significant advancement to the repertoire of qualitative social science, as I argue in chapter one. Indeed, serving as a participant-observer in the field for an extended period of time allowed me to gain extensive knowledge that was unquantifiably useful when carrying out the content analysis portion of the study. As such, this particular mixed methods approach, which I call Digital Ethnographic Content Analysis (DECA), has proven to be quite useful in helping to answer research questions concerning web-based (inter)actions.

Because the increasingly augmented nature of social relations, it is especially important that researchers strive to account for these changes and allow their data and analyses to accurately reflect them. Developing and applying DECA throughout this research process has been my attempt at contributing to this ongoing project. Having found the repertoire of more traditional social scientific research methodology unfit for use on my case of study, I also saw DECA as a nearly ideal, customized means of answering the research questions which served as the *raison d'être* of this research. I found it quite well equipped for this task, and worked hard throughout the data collection, analysis, and writing stages to maximize the knowledge gained from each portion of the research and to apply it most efficiently. Overall, because of its success answering its

stated research question, I argue that this study provides “proof of concept” for other research seeking to study similar dynamics and transformations within the journalistic and other fields.

Research limitations

There are limitations in every analysis. Most of the time, the place, type, size, and frequency of these gaps are largely a product of conscious and unconscious decisions made by the researcher. In the case of this research, I made the choice to study the journalistic field as found on Twitter—and by extension, the participatory web—because I wanted to gain a better understanding of the fascinating dynamics I was watching unfold before my very eyes. Beyond being a matter of convenience—my eyes could remain on this field no matter my physical location—this decision became a major strength of this study. Given the immense popularity of Twitter throughout much of the journalistic field, the field’s (inter)actions through this medium represent an emerging and increasingly powerful factor that is only now becoming recognized in broader, academic circles. Nonetheless, having chosen to focus on web-based (inter)actions meant that I was less focused on accounting for F2F ones. This limitation was mitigated by consciously considering what was not accounted for in my data and doing my best to supplement it through literature and secondary sources. I return to this issue again below.

Having chosen Twitter as the digital site for my participant-observations, it was clear that technology would be a major factor in the analysis. Nonetheless, the choice to focus primarily on the relationship between journalism and technology meant that my ability to account for other factors—i.e. economic, political, cultural, intellectual, etc.—

would be significantly limited. I did my best to mitigate the above limitations by drawing upon supplemental and secondary data sources and to be conscious and considerate of these other field relations. As the reader will notice, although these factors were not directly represented in this study's primary data, their influence on the case of study were well accounted for throughout the dissertation.

Nevertheless, this does not mean that a similar study focused on economic, political, or other factors on the transformation of the journalistic field would not arrive at somewhat different conclusions. This is to be expected. So long as research is internally valid, there is little trouble in it having specific research questions and limiting its focus to those factors most likely to yield revealing results. Thus, this and other analyses of the rising influence of Twitter and the participatory web on the journalistic field do not deny or negate the influence of other fields and factors. The goal has simply been to focus in on the specific phenomenon driving this research and to draw on supplemental accounts to help provide adequate context of the broader dynamics which also influence the current structure and practices of the journalistic field.

Another key criticism likely to be waged against this research is that its digital focus somehow limits its ability to speak to phenomena that manifest primarily in the F2F realm. This poses less of a problem than it may seem, because rather than being a separate (sub)field, the journalistic field on Twitter is largely an extension of F2F relations. Examples which illustrate this fact are practically limitless. Actors across fields constantly weave together their CMC and F2F (inter)actions in ways that continually prove the overlapping and augmented nature of social relations in the new media ecology (Jurgenson 2011a).

This leads me to address another key criticism commonly waged at studies like this one. That is, research which seeks to study the influence of the CMC on broader (including F2F realities) while relying primarily on data from the web is only studying the web. Another, similar charge is that this amounts to “sampling on the dependent variable.” This limitation is important to the extent that the picture appears different from the perspective of a digital rather than F2F location. However, I doubt these different research locations would cast drastically different shadows. Indeed, while digital interactions do consist of atoms and bits, their growing importance in the F2F realm illustrate why they can no longer be ignored (Jurgenson 2011a). Furthermore, as I describe above, I went to great lengths throughout the research process to diversify my digital ethnographic experiences by leaving the confines of the Twitter journalism community and exploring other subfields with a strong online presence. This allowed for the inclusion of a broader array of experiences and data to be considered in the analysis. Nonetheless, this research would undoubtedly be made stronger by the addition of F2F ethnography across different positions in the journalistic field. Accordingly, this and other future research should consider combining digital and F2F ethnography—what Jurgenson (2011b) refers to as “augmented ethnography”—to investigate the changes brought about by Twitter and other new media technologies for the journalistic and countless other fields. Additionally, surveys and other macro-focused measures may also be useful in obtaining a broader perspective on the role of Twitter and other web 2.0 technologies in the field.

Twitter’s profound relevance in the journalistic field makes it an ideal site from which to study the transformation of the journalistic field. Although the “digital divide”

is still real for many rural and low-income populations, many of which could potentially enter the field if they had greater access to web-based technologies and other forms of capital, the limitation virtually disappears once the focus turns to the core, professional portion of the journalistic field. Journalism is quickly becoming one of the most connected and technologically savvy fields, where frequent use of web-based media is increasingly expected of its actors. As such, the decision to focus my research solely on web-based interactions has in many ways strengthened this study. Beyond its scholarly implications, this research also provides important, practical implications regarding American journalism's past, present, and future state.

PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Although it is much too early to declare the current era as an age of deprofessionalization, there is little doubt that the professional structure of the journalistic field is being tested in ways never before seen. As Rosen (2012) puts it, “the tools for staking [journalistic claims to authority] have been distributed to the population at large.” These shifts have led me to argue that the journalistic field is opening up to increasing influence from actors and factors that have not traditionally played such important parts in the field. Indeed, many of the field's five “w's”—who, what, when, where, and why—are changing. Who is a journalist, what practices they engage in, when and where they engage in them, and even why they do so are each undergoing a transformation unlike the field has ever seen. Furthermore, many of these actors now have greater access to powerful forms of journalistic capital than ever before.

As Quandt (2011) thoroughly documents, the jury is still hung on how the participatory turn in the journalistic field will turn out. Nonetheless, other inquiries have helped to explain the overlap between professional and citizen journalism. For example, recent research conducted on the relationship between blogging and journalistic practices found that

bloggers do not necessarily require journalistic motivations to engage in journalistic practices when blogging. While some adopt journalistic behaviors through a motivation to inform and influence others, others do so to express themselves. Thus, in certain online settings, some people practice journalism with a not-so-journalistic motivation. This suggests that online journalism—in particular, blogging—has different characteristics that somehow diverge from the more traditional media (Gil de Zúñiga et al. 2011: 600).

Despite this divergence, the hybridity of the web 2.0 habitus persists due to the shifts on both ends of the relationship. On the one hand, many citizens are increasingly disposed toward acts of journalistic significance. On the other hand, many professional journalistic actors are increasingly influenced by web 2.0 norms and values. Altogether, these shifts occurring on both sides spell important, divergent outcomes for the field's future.

Despite all the journalistic implications brought about by advancements at the intersection with the technological field, the way in which they will play out over time remains an open question. In addition to the role of the journalistic and technological fields, the economic, political, power, and other cultural fields wield profound influence in this area. In other words, although the potential of Twitter and the web to continue to transform the structure of the journalistic field is extraordinary, there are greater and

more powerful sources of influence that also have great interest in these relations. As Wall explains,

Increasingly, a handful of companies seeks [sic] to own the means of entering and navigating the Web and other digital communication forms. In the end, these business interests may delegitimize digital activist journalism by making it extremely difficult to find or by simply ignoring it (2003: 121).

Placing this observation in the more recent context of the political debate surrounding proposed legislation for “Net Neutrality” as well as the “Stop Online Piracy Act” (SOPA) and its cousin, the “Preventing Real Online Threats to Economic Creativity and Theft of Intellectual Property Act” (PIPA), it is clear that the current field relations are far from fixed. Debate over these issues operates at the intersection of numerous fields, including politics, economics, power, technology, and culture. Thus far there has been little effective input from the autonomous spaces of these fields, with the greatest influence coming from the heteronomous poles of the political and economic fields. While this issue is one of many ongoing struggles where outcomes remain to be seen, it is a revealing example of the relative instability of technological implications and the complex overlap of influential fields in which the issue rests. If the web is made less open, and access to the means of journalistic production returns to a restricted state—like it was for over a century—the democratic and journalistic affordances of these tools may be effectively mitigated.

Whether or not Twitter will remain at the center of the journalistic field—for professionals and citizens—the transformation it has been at the center of will have already occurred. Not only are other mediums emerging which may fulfill similar roles—like Google Plus, for instance—but the ethic of web 2.0 remains as strong as

ever.²¹ This ethic assures that the web 2.0 habitus, as well as its accompanying capital and doxa, will remain strong for years to come. And although the journalistic field may be one of the fields at the center of this shift, it is also apparent in the technological, political, and various cultural fields, to name a few. How the field of journalism will respond to this shift remains an open question. Whatever happens, change will occur through a combination of journalism organizations' "culture of innovation" (Boczkowski 2010b), the varying heteronomy with other fields, and the innovation occurring at the field's boundaries and by its new entrants.

While it is clear that the current affordances of Twitter and the participatory web provide remarkable opportunities for the public to enter the journalistic field—and thus, the political field—with a force not seen since the Early Republic, the question of how and to what extent these affordances will be leveraged in practice remains looming. As has been shown, there are countless variables that may influence journalistic actors and their practices. Emerging media technologies such as Twitter have played an especially transformative role as the field's structure changes due to the combination of economic crisis with key technological and cultural shifts. With such dynamic field relations unfolding every day, there will be no shortage of opportunity for future research to continue to examine the various ways in which fields interact and undergo change in the new media ecology.

²¹ Indeed, today's journalistic epoch may later be named the Open Era, after the increasingly open access given to consumers, producers, and everyone in between.

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