

UNDERSTANDING THE CHANGE TO INTEGRATION:
AN ORGANIZATIONAL ANALYSIS OF A SMALL NEWSPAPER

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By
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The undersigned, appointed by the dean of the Graduate School, have examined the dissertation titled

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AN ORGANIZATIONAL ANALYSIS OF A SMALL NEWSPAPER**

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UNDERSTANDING THE CHANGE TO INTEGRATION:
AN ORGANIZATIONAL ANALYSIS OF A MID-SIZED NEWSPAPER

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ABSTRACT

This multimethod study examined change efforts to integration at a mid-sized family-owned newspaper as a new content-management system was implemented. Using the open systems model, the organization was analyzed through the lens of organizational and strategic theory as well as the uses-and-gratifications tradition from the field of mass communication. An ethnography was conducted over a five-month period using in-depth interviews and observation to analyze the organizational structure, routines, and culture. A secondary analysis of a national media-usage survey was conducted to understand the needs of news audiences in the new-media environment. The study found that a commitment to core journalistic values, not resistance to technology, inhibited organizational learning and the ability to change.

I. INTRODUCTION

Since the advent of the Internet, the U.S. newspaper industry has faced a threat that has empowered the audience and disrupted the marketplace. Over the past several years, declining circulation and loss of readers have led to newsroom staffing cuts and the closure of daily newspapers as once-profitable organizations began to lose profits (Project for Excellence in Journalism, 2008). Though the industry has recognized it must change to survive (Hendriks, 1999; Sylvie & Witherspoon, 2002), efforts to meet the audience's changing needs such as topic teams and civic journalism have not succeeded as well as planned (Hansen, Neuzil & Ward, 1998; Gade & Perry, 2003). News consumption continues to drop across media, and traditional news appears to be losing value among audiences (Picard, 2006). And as the readers disappear, so, too, do the advertising revenues (Saba, 2008).

The scenario fits the model of disruptive innovation described by Christensen (1997). His theory posits that successful, established industry incumbents get caught in a resource-allocation trap: They chase more elite markets in pursuit of higher profit margins, leaving lower-end markets underserved while ignoring the needs of nonconsumers. As a result, competitors less restricted by the need to sustain profit margins can reach into these less-profitable markets and secure a competitive foothold. Building upon incremental successes, those small but innovative players gradually improve their way to competitiveness against the incumbents; by that time, it is often too late for the established companies to respond quickly and effectively against these disruptive threats (Christensen, Anthony & Roth, 2004).

For newspapers, the upward track meant targeting higher-income households with more elite and varied content (C.R. Martin, 2008). While such efforts may appeal to certain niches of the newspaper audience, they overshoot the needs of others, creating an environment ripe for disruption to occur (Christensen, 1997; Christensen & Raynor, 2003). To deal with these threats, organizations must focus on what disruptive-innovation theorists call emergent strategy, defined as strategy that arises from the bottom up, the result of executing day-to-day decisions in the face of quick-changing circumstances in the marketplace (Christensen, Anthony & Roth, 2004). Using this method in favor of traditional, deliberative strategy, managers can identify “jobs to be done” by potential consumers and respond to the frustrations and unmet needs in the market (Christensen & Raynor, 2003).

In a newspaper context, the uses-and-gratifications tradition of media-effects research provides some guidance for identifying these “jobs to be done.” The theory, which has evolved over the past 40 years, sees communication as a two-way endeavor, in which the audience has as much power as the medium (Ruggiero, 2000). Conducting a meta-analysis on more than 1,000 studies and articles in the U&G tradition, Thorson and Duffy (2006) developed the Media Choice Model, which posits that consumers use media to fulfill one of four primary communication needs: connectivity, information, entertainment, and shopping/consuming. Demographics of the audience; features of the medium, such as customizability and ease of use; voice of the medium; and aperture, defined as the window of opportunity to fulfill the consumer’s need, all contribute to the consumer’s choice of which medium to satisfy a specific communication need at a particular time (Thorson & Duffy, 2006).

To meet the needs of consumers in this multimedia environment, the idea of *convergence* in a variety of contexts has filtered through the newspaper industry. Some have defined it as a synergistic partnership between a newspaper and a broadcast station in the same local or regional market (Killebrew, 2005; Lawson-Borders, 2006). In other instances, convergence has been used to describe the consolidation of multiple media organizations to merge their strengths across delivery platforms (Wirth, 2006). This dissertation will focus on a specific conceptualization of convergence called *integration*, defined as a joint newsgathering operation of a traditional print newspaper and its Internet-based counterpart (Bressers, 2006). Integration often means asking the same employees to take on more duties, and such demands can lead to greater stress or frustration among newsroom employees (Singer, 2004b; Singer, Tharp & Haruta, 1999).

As news organizations adapt to this new environment, how these profound changes are managed and introduced to the staff will be critical, even more so than the transformation to pagination (Sylvie & Witherspoon, 2002; Underwood, Giffard & Stamm, 1994). News routines and values that have evolved over the decades are well entrenched in newspaper newsrooms (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996), and trying to change such an established culture requires the proper leadership and guidance (Argyris, 1973; Kets de Vries, 2001; Schein, 2004). Previous convergence studies (e.g. Singer, 2004a) have examined how well rank-and-file journalists have adapted to the new technology, but few have analyzed how change to integration has been introduced and implemented in a newspaper context.

This multimethod study will focus on the operations of the *Daily News*, a newspaper in a city of less than 150,000 people that is implementing a new content-

management system and changing to an integrated newsroom that develops content for multiple platforms. For purposes of this study, the organization's identity has been disguised. Most of the nation's newspapers have circulations of less than 100,000, making this site ideal for a case study examining the effects of the new media on the organization and the routines within a newspaper newsroom.

This dissertation offers an overview of the current state of the newspaper industry and uses the open systems model (Harrison, 2005) to analyze the *Daily News*' operation. Through observation and in-depth interviews over a five-month period, a descriptive ethnography was constructed, detailing how the newspaper is changing to an organization that produces content for multiple platforms.

To understand the role of audience in the new-media environment, a secondary analysis was conducted on a dataset from the Pew Research Center for the People and the Press, which interviewed 3,615 adults in the United States via telephone and cell phone from April 30 to June 1, 2008, about their news-consumption habits. The data were analyzed to discover potential "jobs to be done." Those results were compared with the decisions at the *Daily News* to gauge how well the newspaper was responding to the needs of its audience.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

A. The newspaper industry

The newspaper industry faces a time of dramatic change. From 2000 to 2008, U.S. daily newspapers lost more than 5 million paid subscribers, as paid circulation plummeted more than 10 percent, from 55.8 million to 48.5 million (NAA, 2009c). During that same time period, newspaper advertising revenue dropped from \$48.6 billion to \$34.7 billion, although some of the declines in 2008 were alleviated by \$3.1 billion in online advertising revenue (NAA, 2009a). From 2006 to 2007, stock prices for almost every major publicly held newspaper company dropped (Project for Excellence in Journalism, 2008b). In response, newspaper newsrooms around the country began laying off employees and trimming staffs through buyouts and hiring freezes; more than 11,800 had been laid off during the first seven months of 2009 (Smith, 2009).

In recent years, much of the market disruption has come from the Internet, which offers a variety of competitive news and advertising content, often for free (Gray, 2008). Classified ads contributed 18 percent of the revenue stream to newspapers in 1950; it was up to 40 percent of revenue by 2000 (Verklin & Kanner, 2006). The newspaper industry had worried little about its dependence on that revenue stream until the advent of Craigslist.org, with its free online classified advertisements and user-friendly searchable interface. Such sites have disrupted traditional revenue streams that have made newspapers profitable enterprises over the past several decades with margins exceeding 20 percent (Albarran, 2002; H.J. Martin, 1998).

Porter (1985) conceptualizes five primary competitive forces for determining the attractiveness of a market: the bargaining power of suppliers, the bargaining power of

buyers, barriers to entry of new competitors, intensity of the rivalry among competitors, and threat of substitution. With the introduction of the Internet, each one of these forces has put far greater competitive pressure on newspapers, making the industry less attractive from the standpoint of the individual firm.

Prior to widespread use of the Internet, the market for a local newspaper was much narrower, as the competitive scope was typically limited in geography. The buyers had limited power, as readers usually had few choices for local news, and advertisers — especially in two-newspaper towns — typically chose the larger newspaper to get their message out (Picard, 2004). Suppliers had more bargaining power, as newsprint and ink suppliers had customers other than newspapers for their products. Barriers to entry were high as presses were expensive, and it was difficult for competitors to reproduce the economies of scale of the incumbent newspaper (Lacy, Coulson & Martin, 2004). By the 1970s, many towns had become one-newspaper markets, and there was little threat of substitution (Albarran, 2002). Local radio and television did not have the number of reporters that newspapers had, and other local media could not offer as large or reliable an audience for advertisers as newspapers (Picard, 2004).

Applying Porter's framework becomes more difficult as newspaper content transforms from a product to a service in the age of Internet (Project for Excellence in Journalism, 2008b). Today, newspapers are trying to produce content in a so-called "platform-agnostic" environment where they provide information through multiple media channels (Lawson-Borders, 2006, p. 82). Local readers are still captive buyers of the print product. But Web readers are suppliers of eyeballs for the online product, which in many cases is given away for free. Though barriers to entry remain high for print, such barriers

are virtually nonexistent on the Web (Lawson-Borders, 2006; Meyer, 2008). In the new-media environment, the intensity of rivalry among competitors also increases because sites such as Craigslist and the free video site YouTube.com disrupt the profit model by giving away content and advertising for free (Verklin & Kanner, 2006). The threat of substitutes increases as well, as readers have multiple sources of national and international news and features, available with a click of a computer mouse. Ironically, the newspaper's own free Web site can serve as a substitute for the print product, although some industry studies have shown that newspapers' print and online audiences typically differ (Project for Excellence in Journalism, 2008b).

Trying to compete in such an environment poses a host of challenges for newspapers. Porter (1985) specifies two primary types of competitive advantage for a firm: *low cost* or *differentiation*. Combining those types with the scope of activities for a firm leads to three basic strategies: cost leadership, differentiation, and focus, which can be further subdivided into cost focus and differentiation focus. Cost-leadership strategy concentrates on trimming costs and streamlining operations to offer the lowest price for the product or service; firms choosing differentiation pursue quality and uniqueness to provide distinctive offerings in the marketplace. Focus leads a firm to concentrate on niches within the market. Most newspapers, being monopolies, sought differentiation as a strategy to provide value to consumers (Picard, 2006).

In later work, Porter (2001) argued that his strategic framework still applies in an Internet context, urging firms not to abandon their fundamental strengths in pursuit of ephemeral gains in the uncertain marketplace of the Internet. He expands his ideas by noting that competitive advantage can be achieved either through operational

effectiveness, which can be mimicked by competitors, or strategic positioning, which is more sustainable and difficult for competitors to emulate. His prescriptive analysis identifies six principles of strategic positioning, saying firms must:

- 1) focus on long-term return on investment.
- 2) offer a distinctive set of benefits (the *value proposition*) for consumers.
- 3) perform activities for creating products and services (the *value chain*) in a unique way.
- 4) make hard decisions about trade-offs, deciding what activities they will and will not do.
- 5) fit activities together in the most competitive way possibly.
- 6) embrace a “continuity of direction” (p. 71) that is consistent with a long-term vision and mission.

In a newspaper context, many have connected newspaper content quality with circulation and market share (Stone, Stone & Trotter, 1981; Lacy & Fico, 1991; Rosenstiel & Mitchell, 2004; Chen, Thorson & Lacy, 2005); by creating top-quality, unique content using a stable of experienced reporters, newspapers’ strategic position should be one of differentiation. Recently, however, industrywide cuts to newsroom staff seem inconsistent with that strategy. Part of the challenge arises from the competitive environment of the Internet, where there are minimal barriers to entry, allowing upstarts to enter the market for the price of a computer and an Internet connection (Meyer, 2008), and many voices are entering the news conversation, including bloggers and citizen journalists (Salwen, 2005). It is the kind of disruptive innovation described by Christensen (1997) in his analysis explaining why successful businesses fail.

The theory of disruptive innovation delineates between *sustaining* innovations, which bring better products into established markets, and *disruptive* innovations, which introduce new products for nonconsumers and low-cost items for customers whose needs are overshot by the current market offerings (Christensen, Anthony & Roth, 2004). On

the competitive playing field, industry incumbents most often will beat upstarts when it comes to sustaining innovations (Christensen, 1997). But new competitors can thwart the established companies with disruptive innovations because such products and services often have lower profit margins that are less appealing to industry incumbents requiring continually growing profits (Christensen, 1997; Christensen & Raynor, 2003).

Often, successful companies track upward with product improvements and developments, hoping to reach into higher profit-margin areas within the established market (Christensen, 1997). Meanwhile, they create products that overshoot the needs of customers who are willing to accept a lower-cost product “good enough” to fulfill their needs. As noted by Christensen, Anthony & Roth (2004): “When the *functionality* and *reliability* of products overshoot customer needs, then *convenience*, *customization*, and *low prices* become what are not good enough” (p. 18, emphasis added). While newspapers were improving content with an eye toward upscale audiences, consumers were turning to other sources for news (Pew Research Center, 2008a).

To combat disruptive threats, organizations should focus on emergent strategy, which is based on iterative experiments to fulfill the unmet needs in the marketplace (Christensen & Raynor, 2003). Unfortunately, established companies have become accustomed to deliberate strategy, requiring rigorous analyses of data and market research before allocating resources for new products; emergent strategy is antithetical to their established routine of business.

In the face of such disruption, several observers argue newspapers are failing to find their value proposition in this marketplace. Meyer (2008) urges newspapers to pursue a future in which the local organizations help readers sort through the mass of

information with analysis and investigative journalism. In another examination of the industry, Johnston (2008) wrote: “Like the air that sustains life, facts that would help hard-pressed consumers are all around us. Instead of gathering and delivering such facts, however, we often leave subscribers gasping for useful information” (p. 35). Still, there seems to be support for traditional news media in the new-media environment, as the top 10 news Web sites account for 29 percent of all Web traffic (Hindman, 2007).

The American Press Institute tapped into Christensen’s theory with Newspaper Next, a project designed to identify these underserved and untapped markets for newspaper organizations (American Press Institute, 2006). The goal, described in a report titled “Blueprint for Transformation,” was to move away from topic-based decision-making to circumstance-based strategy, which allows managers to identify the “jobs to be done” in the marketplace. Once those jobs are identified, the organization can move quickly to create “good enough” solutions, ones that provide enough functionality and reliability to fulfill an unmet information need. The report focuses on digital delivery and developing a portfolio of information services (American Press Institute, 2006).

While offering a radical shift in mission, the report does not adequately consider the impact on newsroom personnel, who have been professionally trained to produce verified content and are responsible for gathering and publishing information. How should such a dramatic shift be managed? How do you change the newsroom routines to accommodate such a disruptive change? This study examines at the organizational level the impact of these changes on newsroom personnel and their routines.

The API report also avoids the historical connection a news organization has with its community. By viewing everything pragmatically in a consumer context, the report does not give enough consideration to the traditional role of a newspaper in a community of connecting its citizens to one another through common trusted sources of information.

A follow-up report released in 2008 called “Making the Leap Beyond ‘Newspaper Companies’” acknowledged the previous blueprint was not a cure-all and revealed an impatience on the part of industry:

By all signs, Newspaper Next itself was successful. However, in summer 2007 we considered a more important question: How much progress was the industry making?

Based on the continued distress of the industry and the visible metrics of circulation, advertising revenue and profit margins, the answer was clear: Not enough. Newspaper companies were making progress at the process of innovation but the results needed to be bigger and come faster for the sake of all concerned. (p. 1)

The error with API’s analysis of the theory of disruptive innovation is that Christensen and Raynor (2003) urge incumbents venturing into these new markets to be patient for growth during this iterative process. The API reports regularly referred to the hope of quick growth from innovative projects; Christensen and Raynor note profitability, not growth, should be the chief concern.

The follow-up report urges newspaper organizations to transform themselves into “local information and connection utilities” (Gray, 2008, p. 1), but like its predecessor, offers little guidance on managing the change at the personnel level. Some newspaper companies have adopted the approach, such as Gannett Co. Inc., which began developing “information centers” to produce content for multiple platforms (Gahran, 2006). In this environment, the traditional newspaper newsroom is transformed: Instead of desks

organized by newspaper section, they are focused on content free of the constraints of medium, with names such as the Community Conversation Desk (Howe, 2007).

But the gains have yet to be realized, and Gannett, like many other newspaper companies, continued to lay off employees (Smith, 2009). Some are eliminating their daily print editions, the most high-profile being the *Christian Science Monitor*, which stopped in March (Yemma, 2009). The *Monitor* is not alone in the search for solutions; beyond the innovation in delivery systems, the industry as a whole is eyeing changes to production strategies, which have not changed fundamentally in more than a century (Sylvie & Witherspoon, 2002). Many see the Internet as the key to the industry's future (e.g. Li, 2006; Riley, 2006; Rolland, 2003). Taking advantage of that delivery platform, however, will require a shift in thinking as newsroom structures designed for newspaper production must change and journalists now have to learn multimedia techniques beyond their traditional skills.

Examining the newspaper industry and the local competitive market is fundamental to understanding the *Daily News* as an individual firm. The external competitive forces affect the decision-makers as they set goals and allocate resources within the organization. A newspaper's strategy also informs its organizational culture.

Therefore, this study seeks to investigate these research questions related to the market and the firm's overall strategy:

RQ1: What is the makeup of the competitive forces affecting the organization?

RQ2: What is the strategic focus of the integrated organization? How is it maintaining a distinctive strategic position in the marketplace?

RQ3: How is the strategy affecting the resource-allocation procedures?

RQ4: How is the organization responding to the disruptive innovation of the Internet?

RQ5: How is the organization identifying the audience's "jobs to be done"?

B. Understanding organizational culture and change

Newspaper trade journals have been filled with articles with such grave titles as "Adapt or Die" and "The End of Newspapers?" even though many newspapers remain profitable. Amid the profit-margin declines and staff cutbacks, the newspaper industry is trying to transform itself from producers of a singular one-way medium to a multiplatform interactive provider of content (Lawson-Borders, 2006). Photographers are now armed with video cameras, copy desks are disappearing, and reporters are blogging on newspaper Web sites. Newspapers such as the *Fort Myers News-Press* are developing citizen journalists to complement the work of professionals (McCurry-Ross, 2007), and many allow unmoderated comments from the public on news stories. In this new environment, journalists are beginning to embrace the idea of becoming multimedia storytellers (Project for Excellence in Journalism, 2008a).

Newspaper newsrooms seem poised for change. A recent survey showed a majority of journalists (55%) now see business pressures as the top threat to the industry, more than loss of credibility or other concerns that have historically topped the list (Project for Excellence in Journalism, 2008a). In the past, such dramatic change for the newspaper industry has been difficult because newsroom routines and structures had become entrenched by years of success, a situation that often makes organizational change more difficult (Schein, 2004). Newsrooms often display their reporting awards, and stories of organizational successes are passed down among reporters and editors,

embedding journalistic techniques into the fabric of the organization. As complex knowledge organizations, newspapers are difficult to change, especially if journalists believe the motivation for the changes are economic and will threaten journalistic norms (Sylvie & Witherspoon, 2002).

McManus (1994) used exchange theory from economics to understand the conflicting norms of business and journalism within television newsrooms. In his framework of news production, he sees a number of constituencies involved in the news process. At the top, he puts investors and owners of the parent corporation, who expect a return on their investment. The media firm, a part of the parent corporation, uses corporate resources to generate revenue for the corporation. The media firm interacts with advertisers and the news department. The news department has two primary constituencies, consumers and sources of news.

Within this framework, the news department has an organizational culture that must balance two oft-conflicting norms: the norm of journalism, which highlights the newsroom's public-service mission, and the norm of business, which focuses on maximizing return for shareholders (McManus, 1994). Sometimes, the norms mesh, such as during a major breaking-news event (e.g. the Sept. 11, 2001, terrorist attacks) when consumers flock to the news. But more often, the pursuit of audiences for the sake of the bottom line leads to news that is superficial or merely entertaining (McChesney, 2000). Gans (2004) found that news organizations tended to focus on novelty and conflict for their stories as a way to engage and increase the audience, which appeals to advertisers.

Journalists rank commercial constraints as the top constraint affecting their jobs, and the perception of autonomy has declined over the decades (Weaver, Beam,

Brownlee, Voakes & Wilhoit, 2006). In recent years, journalists have also been asked to do more with less. Reinardy (2007) found a majority of sports journalists suffered from role overload, as more duties were piled upon them, especially in smaller markets. Such an effect can lead to burnout and an exodus of talent (Reinardy, 2007).

Professional norms of journalists often lead to skepticism of any market-driven initiatives that may affect content. A survey of 547 journalists by the Pew Research Center for the People and the Press found that 66 percent of national journalists and 57 percent of local reporters believe that increased focus on the bottom line is hurting the quality of news coverage (Pew Research Center, 2004). The researchers also found a link between training and the journalist's view of the future. Of those who had had training or professional development in the year prior to the survey, 58 percent thought the industry was headed in the right direction; the inverse was true of those who had received no training. About 61 percent of that group said they thought journalism was headed in the wrong direction (Pew Research Center, 2004).

In 2004, Rick Edmonds of the Poynter Institute examined 175 newspapers to see whether organizations recognized for high quality had higher-than-average staff ratios. In a majority of cases, that hypothesis held true; thirteen of the top 21 newspapers identified as "high-quality" in a *Columbia Journalism Review* survey had staffing ratios higher than average (Edmonds, 2004). He concluded: "...the data suggest that an outstanding news-editorial report takes a generous complement of staff, usually if not invariably. But there is also support here for the truism that leadership makes a difference — a minority of the best papers were able to achieve that result with a fairly average staffing ratio" (Edmonds, 2004, p. 100).

In one survey, journalists generally agreed with the statements “Newsroom resources are shrinking past few years” and “Quality of journalism steadily rising past few years” (Beam, 2006). That survey also found that those who worked for organizations they perceived to be strongly profit-oriented were less satisfied with their jobs. Conversely, those who perceived that their organizations valued good journalism were more likely to be satisfied with their jobs (Beam, 2006). Beam built on research from Stamm and Underwood (1993), who analyzed newsroom policy changes and found mixed results for job satisfaction among journalists. Some changes, such as an increased emphasis on marketing and changes in management, did not lead to reduced job satisfaction; however, other factors including profit emphasis and staff reduction correlated with lower job satisfaction (Stamm & Underwood, 1993).

Singer (2004b) conducted case studies on four converged newsrooms using diffusion of innovations theory to explore how journalists were embracing the new technology, and her research spotlighted the need for more study on the topic from a management perspective. Questionnaire answers and depth interviews showed workplace factors such as support for training were more problematic for the change to convergence than employee attitudes toward technology (Singer, 2004b).

Organizational-development scholarship has studied how organizations “evolve, adapt, and change” (Gade, 2004, p. 6). Lewin (1951) outlined one of the first models of group change as a three-part process: *unfreezing* to motivate group members to unlearn existing behaviors, *moving* toward the new behaviors, and *refreezing* the new behaviors into group routines and practices. Kets de Vries (2001) sees four steps to meaningful organizational change: Creating a shared mind-set; changing behavior; building attitudes,

competencies, and practices; and improving business performance. Argyris (1993) discussed change in the context of “learning organizations,” explaining the most competitive organizations learn from their mistakes and take effective action (p. xii).

Argyris (2004) has found many organizations follow what he defines as Model I style of behavior, which encourages employees to achieve their goals at any cost. Such a structure leads to defensive routines, as employees cover up their own errors to ensure their success. Negative comments are discouraged. In such an environment, people often state guidelines that govern their behavior, but their actions, based on their actual “theories-in-use,” frequently contradict those espoused theories (Argyris, 2004). The ideal Argyris seeks is an organization that values inquiry and challenging the status quo. It follows what he calls Model II style of behavior, which requires valid and validatable information, informed choice, and rigorous evaluation of current behavior. In the organizational-learning paradigm (Argyris & Schön, 2003), learning is defined as the detection and correction of error. However, if the error correction remains on the surface, dealing only with organizational processes, that “single-loop learning” will not last. The goal should be “double-loop learning,” which challenges and changes the values governing the theories-in-use at the organization.

Schein (2004) defines organizational culture as “a pattern of shared basic assumptions that was learned by a group as it solved its problems of external adaptation and internal integration, that has worked well enough to be considered valid, and therefore, to be taught to new members as the correct way to perceive, think, and feel in relation to those problems” (p. 17). It manifests itself through *artifacts* at the surface level, such as physical structures and spaces as well as written policies; *espoused values*

and beliefs, such as mission statements and the official pronouncements of leaders; and *underlying assumptions*, the deeply embedded ideas that form the foundation for the organization's actual behavior. Written policies and memos often provide valuable comparative data for on-site observation and interviews to understand organizational culture (Harrison, 2005).

Culture is intertwined with leadership, as leaders provide the organizational vision and communicate the culture through actions such as resource allocation, employee rewards, and organizational structures and processes (Schein, 2004). The personality of the leader often is reflected in the organization itself: a strong authoritarian leader who is unwilling to cede any control to subordinates will create a distrustful environment filled with micromanagers; a disengaged, detached CEO will cause a hostile, politicized environment to arise as underlings jockey to fill the power void; a division president who plays favorites fosters a back-stabbing culture of winners and losers (Kets de Vries, 2001).

For most newspapers, their identities have been connected to their local markets, a situation that makes expanding to the Internet and its global audience difficult for many organizations (Sylvie & Witherspoon, 2002). In the case of *Daily News*, the paper has operated in its city and been owned by members of the same family for a century.

True change occurs only when the organization's character changes, and the most successful change is presented from "the most advantageous motivational perspective" (Sylvie & Witherspoon, 2002, p. 10). For effective, lasting change to happen, an organization's people are its most important resources (Gade, 2004; Sylvie & Witherspoon, 2002). In this time of dramatic change for newspapers, experimentation has

taken hold across the industry. Previous studies (e.g. Hansen, Neuzil & Ward, 1998; Smith, Tanner & Duhé, 2007) have shown a disconnect between perceptions of managers and the rank-and-file employees when it comes to newsroom-change efforts, but news managers from 250 newspaper newsrooms surveyed by the Project for Excellence in Journalism showed an optimism about the future, at least in terms of news quality, as 56 percent said they felt their newspapers were producing stronger content than three years ago (Project for Excellence in Journalism, 2008a).

In this time of change in the newspaper industry, the term *convergence* has become commonplace in conversations about strategy. Though definitions vary, most focus on some mixing of media to product content for a variety of delivery platforms (Killebrew, 2005; Pavlik, 2001). In her collection of convergence case studies, Lawson-Borders (2006) defined the term as “the realm of possibilities when cooperation occurs between print and broadcast for delivery of multimedia content through the use of computers and the Internet” (p. 4). In many convergence arrangements, the broadcast and print operations share resources and stories, but produce content with varying degrees of separation (Singer, 2004a; Lawson-Borders, 2006).

Bressers (2006) offers a more focused conception called *integration*, in which a newspaper organization integrates its print and online functions for distribution across several delivery platforms. This dissertation used Bressers’ conception to analyze the change at the *Daily News*.

As the industry transforms, newsrooms must engage in a process of understanding their values and operating assumptions. Singer’s (2004b) study of four converged newsrooms used diffusion of innovations theory to understand how news organizations

have employed convergence. Similar to Lewin's conception of group change, Rogers' theory posits that organizations embracing innovation go through five stages: agenda-setting (realizing the need for the innovation), matching (connecting the innovation to organizational goals), redefining/restructuring (retooling the organization's structures and processes for the innovation), clarification (further refining the link between the innovation and the organization), and routinizing (in which the innovation becomes integrated into the organization's processes and routines).

At the beginning of her analysis, Singer (2004b) cites one top manager: "Cultural resistance is the biggest hurdle for converging newsrooms" (p. 4). Though the cultural issues raised in that study focused on the different cultures between newspaper and broadcast personnel, that analysis and a related study using the same data found print journalists could be resocialized by highlighting common journalistic values between reporters in the different media (Singer, 2004a, 2004b). "'We' and 'they' still belong to separate cultural in-groups, but the circles delimiting each group have begun to overlap in both journalistic perception and practice," Singer concluded (2004a, p. 851).

Bressers (2006) conducted a telephone survey of 63 editors in the 50 largest metropolitan markets about their integration efforts. Her analysis found many cultural barriers between the print and online operations had been overcome, although some organizations noted print staffers had a higher perceived status in newsrooms than their online counterparts. But the study focused only on management perceptions and contained no on-site observation to corroborate the survey findings. In her organizational analysis of a newsroom moving toward integrated print/online operations, Brown (2008)

found that the underlying commitment to print at the *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel* affected the ability to become a Web-first news organization.

When initiating change efforts in newsrooms, it is important to consider people, resources and time, and communication is critical to project success (Sylvie & Witherspoon, 2002). Previous studies have found that when change efforts are closely tied to journalistic values and improving journalism, they are more likely to succeed. A longitudinal study of the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* by Gade and Perry (2003) revealed that although journalists initially embraced the efforts of new editor Cole Campbell to introduce topic teams and civic journalism, the ultimate effort failed because journalists felt the changes were negatively impacting the quality of the journalism. A previous technological shift that disrupted news routines was the introduction of pagination at newspapers in the early 1990s, and though the change resulted in the elimination of the back shop, more production duties fell upon copy-desk staff, resulting in less time for traditional copy-editing duties, including headline writing and fact checking (Underwood, Giffard & Stamm, 1994).

Handling organizational-development initiatives properly are important to maintain the morale of newsroom employees (Gade, 2004). Losing staff is a prime concern of newsroom leaders; a recent survey found that a majority of newsroom managers saw the loss of talent/experience as their top concern (Project for Excellence in Journalism, 2008a).

But there are signs the norm of business is taking precedence over the norm of journalism. After taking the helm of the Carnegie Foundation, Vartan Gregorian noted the need to consider ways for news organizations to maintain their First Amendment

responsibility in an environment where the bottom-line imperative was heightened by the fact that many large newspaper and media companies were publicly held corporations (Gregorian, 2004). Nine out of 10 news executives surveyed by Princeton Survey Research Associates for the Council of Presidents of National Journalism Organizations said they want to provide better training, but financial and time constraints severely limit those opportunities (Gregorian, 2004).

People create cognitive structures to help organize and understand their surroundings (Schein, 2004). Shared assumptions of groups develop over time to provide group stability, and the possibility of learning exists, as long as the group does not lose its sense of identity or integrity (Schein, 2004). Newsroom employees are realizing transformative change must now take place. No more must newspaper journalists see themselves as working on a single story for the next day's paper; they must embrace a variety of duties in order to tell stories in multiple ways in multiple formats (Project for Excellence in Journalism, 2008a).

Psychological safety is critical to ensuring such a change may take place (Schein, 2004). Gade (2004) cites the importance of individualism among American workers, a value embedded even more deeply in journalists (Weaver et al., 2006). Top-down changes being instituted in integrated newsrooms work against this theoretical construct.

Analyzing organizational change is also aided by understanding the psychodynamics of work and the organization (Czander, 1993; Diamond, 2005; Kets de Vries, 2001). Czander (1993) provides a six-point framework for examining psychodynamics within an organization: boundary management and regulation; task identification; authority and leadership; role definition; intergroup relationships; and

subsystem dependency and autonomy. Clarity is key in Czander's framework; when people do not understand their roles or tasks clearly, when leadership is unclear or inconsistent, there is confusion and fear. If the environment is uncertain and boundaries are fluid, people lack safety and security. If intergroup relationships are dysfunctional, processes grind to a halt. Such a framework provides additional structure for understanding how the organization is managing the change to integration.

It is critical to understand the culture to investigate the transformation of the *Daily News*. As part of the descriptive ethnography, the following research questions regarding organizational culture and change will be pursued:

RQ6: What is the organizational culture within an integrated newsroom?

RQ7: What are the underlying assumptions in an integrated newsroom?

RQ8: What role is leadership playing in bringing about change?

RQ9: How is the organization changing its underlying assumptions and fostering double-loop learning to alter "theories in use"?

RQ10: What defensive routines arise in the midst of a change to integration?

RQ11: What are employee and management perceptions of organization-change efforts to an integrated newsroom?

C. The audience and the "jobs to be done"

Christensen's theory of disruptive innovation provides some guidance for uncovering the audience's "jobs to be done." But the approach offered by the American Press Institute's Newspaper Next project focused on information; it did not incorporate the communication needs that affect the media-choice process for consumers. The uses-and-gratifications tradition from mass-communication theory provides deeper insights for

discerning how people choose certain media to fulfill their communication “jobs to be done.”

Lasswell (1948) offered an early conception of communication functions: surveillance of the environment, correlation of environmental parts, and transmission of social heritage. To this framework, Wright (1960) added a fourth element, entertainment. Katz, Gurevitch & Haas (1973) took a factor-analytic approach with a survey of Israeli citizens and found five communication needs being fulfilled by media: cognitive, affective, integrative (related to one’s credibility and confidence), social contact (with friends and family), and escapism (entertainment).

Building on this foundation, Katz, Blumer & Gurevitch (1974) explicated the idea behind the uses-and-gratifications approach, examining: “(1) *the social and psychological origin of (2) needs, which generate (3) expectations of (4) the mass media and other sources, which lead to (5) differential patterns of media exposure (or engagement in other activities), resulting in (6) need gratifications and (7) other consequences, perhaps mostly unintended ones*” (p. 510). Rosengren (1974) then added demographics and situational factors as important elements to explain how an active audience chooses among many media choices. That work served as the foundation for the U&G studies that followed over the next three decades and focused on the idea that gratifications sought led to media usage by an individual (LaRose & Eastin, 2004).

Rubin (2009) summarized the modern conception of uses and gratifications with five basic assumptions:

1. Communication behavior is “goal-directed, purposive, and motivated” (p. 167).
2. People initiate media use to satisfy communication needs.

3. Social and psychological factors play a role in how one satisfies communication needs.
4. Media and people compete to fulfill the gratifications sought.
5. People and interpersonal relationships often have more influence than media in communication.

Rubin (2009) also noted that audiences are variably active, and that people may attend to the media at different levels at different times depending on what needs they are trying to fulfill. Over the years, he partnered with many scholars to explore what motivates media usage, and conducted studies examining fans' parasocial relationships with talk-show hosts and soap-opera characters as well as research projects examining what psychological factors might affect Internet usage (Papacharissi & Rubin, 2000). In that study, the researchers found that those who were more mobile and more satisfied with their lives and interpersonal relationships were more likely to use the Internet to fulfill information needs, while those who were dissatisfied with or less inclined toward face-to-face interactions were more likely to use the Internet as a functional alternative to interpersonal relationships.

One branch of media-usage research that has proved fruitful in the U&G vein is the concept of media credibility and its influence on media usage. Media credibility grew out of earlier communication research into source credibility, which is based upon trustworthiness and expertise of the source providing the information, and message credibility (Metzger, Flanagin, Eyal, Lemus & Mccann, 2003). Since 1961, the Roper Organization had consistently found that television was deemed the most credible medium, a position it has held ever since (Metzger et al., 2003). Though some scholars demonstrated that the phrasing of Roper's question revealed a bias toward television,

follow-up studies still showed television leading newspapers in credibility, albeit by a smaller margin.

Gaziano and McGrath (1986) developed a 12-item measure of media credibility, which Meyer (1988) refined to two primary concepts, *believability* (made up of bias, fairness, completeness, accuracy, and trust from Gaziano and McGrath's original scale), and *community affiliation* (constructed of four items, including patriotism and whether a reader felt the newspaper supported the community). Several studies have linked Meyer's concept of media credibility and media usage (e.g. Wanta & Hu, 1994). Some have attributed the decline in news usage to misplaced priorities, a disconnect between what the audiences want and what the news organizations are providing (Meyer, 2004; Picard, 2006). As credibility has deteriorated, trust in mainstream news organizations has eroded (Pew Research Center, 2008a).

One thread of credibility research has focused on the connection between credibility and familiarity, positing that once a user becomes familiar and accepting of a particular medium or news outlet, the more likely he or she is to continue to use the medium and deem it credible (Metzger et al., 2003). Researchers in the 1960s found that the perceived credibility of television news had little to do with the content; one study showed that credibility in television appeared to stem from its ease of use and availability, and its lack of demand on a user's cognitive resources (Metzger et al., 2003). Palmgreen, Wenner and Rosengren (1985) added *habit* as a construct distinct from gratifications sought and gratifications obtained. This conception is vital in the future of U&G research, as it may reveal one of the keys to understanding changes in media usage in the age of digital technology.

LaRose and Eastin (2004) built on the concept of habit to develop *the theory of media attendance*, which notes that when users are faced with multiple media choices, they will fall back on previous decisions to minimize the use of cognitive resources. The researchers expanded the idea of gratifications sought within Bandura's Social Cognitive Theory framework and considered six types of outcome expectations for media exposure: activity, monetary, novel, social, self-reactive, and status. Their study found each had significant relationships to Internet usage and also showed a concept they called *habit strength* was an independent predictor of media exposure, distinct from gratifications sought/gratifications obtained. Their findings supported previous studies suggesting habit as "a form of automaticity, a pattern of behavior (e.g., checking one's e-mail) that follows a fixed cognitive schema, triggered by an environment stimulus (e.g., keeping up with one's associates), and performed without further self-instruction" (p. 363). Further support for the concept came from Diddi and LaRose (2006), who found in a survey of college students that habit was the strongest predictor of news consumption. Johnson, Kaye, Bichard & Wong (2008) also showed that blog reliance was the only reliable predictor of blog credibility among the politically interested Internet users they surveyed.

In this dissertation study, the concept of *habit strength*, defined as the amount of exposure an individual seeks in a particular medium, will be explored for a variety of media. This variable will be described in more detail in Chapter V.

The dissertation will also use the Media Choice Model (Thorson & Duffy, 2006), which builds upon the U&G foundation to offer insights toward discerning how the audience seeks to fulfill certain communication needs. At its root, it focuses on four communication *needs*: information, connectivity, shopping/consuming, and

entertainment. After demographics are accounted for, media choices are then analyzed through the lens of *aperture*, an advertising concept that considered when an audience is most receptive to a given message (Wells, Moriarty & Burnett, 2006). E. Thorson and K. Thorson (2006) found that this concept in a news-media context also is related to topic interest; if a user is interested in a topic, he or she may be more open to receiving the message. Next, *voice* is considered. The original model included three voices: authoritative, opinionated (e.g. Fox News, talk radio), and created, such as blogs. A fourth, the collaborative/shared voice, was added to reflect citizen-journalism efforts typical of Web 2.0, which demands interactivity and two-way communication between source and receiver. Users then consider a medium's *features* (immediacy, ease of use, mobile, participatory, rich media, searchable, customizable, time shifting). Once the decision filters through the model, it ends with user satisfaction.

The Media Choice Model provides insight into the original decision-making process for choosing a medium to fulfill a need. The theory of media attendance argues that once that decision has been made, a user will resort to familiar media; once a reader has decided upon the *New York Times* online, many do not feel the need to question that choice repeatedly each time the news site is visited. But it depends on the user. Other studies have added further nuance to user choices, such as a link between a user's high need for cognition and use of distrusted media (Tsfati & Cappella, 2005); users who multitask depending on the communication need (Papper, Holmes & Popovich, 2004); and those who use multiple media in complementary fashion (Dutta-Bergman, 2004).

What is difficult in the digital media environment is that new technologies — and thus new ways to fulfill needs — are regularly coming on line, and they are becoming

easier to use, leading to new habits. Fast-growing sites Wikipedia, YouTube, and Facebook combine easy-to-use interfaces with new technology to fulfill communication needs (Verklin & Kanner, 2007). Economists note people who reap an immediate benefit from switching to a new technology are more likely to change and not worry so much about switching costs (Ahlers, 2006).

The picture is further complicated by studies showing support for legacy media. In a survey at one school, researchers found teenagers chose newspapers over online sites to find out about news and current events (LaFerle, Edwards & Lee, 2000). A more recent survey sponsored by the Knight Foundation of about 14,500 high-school students in the United States showed the largest percentage still consider television (43%) to be the easiest media source to use, over Internet publications (21%) (*Future of the First Amendment*, 2006). And students surveyed in that study believe television and newspapers are the most accurate news sources, over blogs.

News content fulfills an important surveillance function for users, providing them with information about their environment to make financial, political, and other decisions in their everyday lives (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996). As a result, they may seek content from any available source to meet that information need. Agenda-setting scholars refer to this phenomenon in an issue-specific context as a need for orientation (Matthes, 2005). Some scholars have also noted the concept of need for cognition, which measures one's enjoyment in engaging in challenging intellectual tasks, drives people to seek information (e.g. Perse, 1992). For purposes of this study, need for cognition in a news context will be called *news engagement*.

As mass-communication research broadened to include the Internet as a mass medium, researchers began tapping into the U&G tradition to examine how the habits of media consumers were changing (Morris & Ogan, 1996; Ruggiero, 2000). A recent survey of more than 3,000 adults in the United States put news/information consumers into four broad categories: Traditionalists (46%), who rely on television news and understand news better by seeing pictures rather than reading; Integrators (23%), who get news from television and online, and spend the most time with news on a typical day; Net-Newsters (13%), who are frequent online news viewers and read blogs and other online media more than traditional media; and the Disengaged (14%), who do not pay any attention to the news on a regular basis (Pew Research Center, 2008a).

These audience conceptions fit Christensen's disruptive-innovation model well. Traditionalists and Integrators can be viewed as traditional media consumers who use newspapers and require sustaining innovations to keep their interest. Net-Newsters are nonconsumers whose needs are not being met by the traditional newspaper while the Disengaged fall into Christensen's conception of overshot consumers; both require disruptive innovations to meet their needs. As the *Daily News* prepares its strategy, it is important to understand the "jobs to be done" among these groups. By analyzing the Pew dataset, this dissertation will focus on the following research questions and hypotheses related to audience:

RQ12: What communication "jobs to be done" do each of the four audience groups have in the new media environment?

RQ13: What is the habit strength for different media?

H1: The lower the level of news engagement, the lower the aperture level of the user.

H2a: The higher the level of news engagement, the higher the level of newspaper usage (habit strength)

H2b: The higher the level of news engagement, the higher the level of television news usage

H2c: The higher the level of news engagement the higher the level of radio news usage

H2d: The higher the level of news engagement, the higher the level of Internet news usage

H3a: The greater the level of online savvy, the lower the usage of newspapers

H3b: The greater the level of online savvy, the lower the level of television news usage

H3c: The greater the level of online savvy, the lower the level of radio news usage

H3d: The greater the level of online savvy, the higher the level of Internet news usage.

H4a: The greater the level of online savvy, the greater the frequency of posting comments.

H4b: The greater the level of online savvy, the greater the frequency of reading comments.

H4c: The greater the level of online savvy, the greater the frequency of checking most-emailed, most-blogged story rankings.

D. Integration and changing news routines

Many scholars have studied the sociology of news work, documenting routines that have arisen to meet deadline pressures and requirements to fill the space of the medium, whether for a newscast or a newspaper (Breed, 1955; Fishman, 1980; Gans, 2004; Graber, 1980; Schudson, 2003; Tuchman, 1978). News organizations try to digest limitless information with limited resources, and news routines have developed to manage the flow of information, with reporters checking with a stable of standard sources and institutions to gather news for publication and broadcast (Fishman, 1980; Shoemaker & Reese, 1996). Tuchman (1978) showed how events happening outside the regular work schedule of reporters often missed what she called the “news net” of broadcasters producing for particular time slots or newspaper journalists writing for the daily deadline, thus connecting routines to content. More recently, scholars have conducted descriptive

ethnographies of converged newsrooms in which a broadcast news station and a newspaper work together (e.g. Lawson-Borders, 2006; Singer 2004a), but the few studies of integration efforts have been predominantly based on surveys (Bressers, 2006).

Tuchman (1978) distinguishes between *soft news*, defined as a nonscheduled feature story, and *hard news*, which may be unscheduled or prescheduled but contains an urgent need for dissemination. Her typology also contains three related concepts: *spot news*, which is unscheduled, immediate, and event-driven; *developing news*, which is unscheduled but expands beyond spot news; and *continuing news*, which is prescheduled and offers more insight and analysis than either spot or developing news. Though the print and broadcast media offer different delivery systems, their news values, defined as the criteria for making decisions about what topics qualify as news, often are similar (Gans, 2004; Tuchman, 1978). Whether television news or newspapers, the traditional media present news in standardized patterns as reporters compete for time and space (Graber, 1980).

Graber (1980) identified five criteria for choosing news stories, noting stories must: have a *high impact* (in terms of proximity and magnitude); feature *violence, conflict, disaster* or *scandal*, qualities capable of exciting audiences; have *familiarity*, referring to well-known people or situations; be *close to home*, reflecting ideas of the community; and lastly, be *timely* and *novel*. Such news elements have been echoed in textbooks used to educate both print and television journalists in U.S. schools of journalism (e.g. The Missouri Group, 2007).

Such organizational norms and pressures often serve as constraints on journalists and exert influence on news content (Gans, 2004; Shoemaker & Reese, 1996). In a

national survey of journalists, 56 percent said their supervisors were a “very influential” factor in determining what was newsworthy (Weaver et al., 2006). Weaver et al. (2006) also asked journalists for comments regarding what limits constrained their jobs and found most of the open-ended answers fell broadly into four primary categories: Commercial demands of the business (30%); organizational policies, procedures and customs (25%); sources and external pressures (20%); and professional conventions including ethical guidelines (10%). Despite these constraints, journalists have historically had some degree of autonomy to choose news topics for coverage (Gans, 2004; Tuchman, 1978), although that perception has been changing in recent years. Weaver et al. (2006) found reporter autonomy and influence in the newsroom, both predictors of job satisfaction, continued to decline from previous decennial surveys of journalists.

With the popularization of the Internet, most newspapers have ventured to the World Wide Web in some form. By May 2009, the monthly audience for Web sites of U.S. newspapers was 69 million unique visitors with 3 billion page views, numbers that showed a downward trend from the beginning of the year (NAA, 2009b). Adapting to this new medium for many newspaper organizations has meant reconfiguring duties in the newsroom to generate content and information for the Web site. One analysis of convergence found that newspapers benefit more from a newspaper-Web arrangement than a newspaper-television partnership (Kraeplin & Criado, 2006).

As a result, several large newspaper chains, including Gannett Co. Inc., have embraced the integration model described by Bressers (2006) to create “information centers,” altering their newsroom structures to meet the demands of the new environment (Gahran, 2006). A recent survey of newspaper newsroom managers found the area in

which newsrooms have increased spending the most is videography, an example of changing newsgathering techniques in some newspaper newsrooms (Project for Excellence in Journalism, 2008a).

Though researchers have studied converged newsrooms during this transitional era, there has been little empirical study of news routines in an integrated environment or of integration's effect on storytelling and journalism. Scholars have documented different characteristics of production in the online realm, with its ability to link to other sites through hypertext, to allow the audience to interact with content producers, and to offer multiple types of media for consumption (Deuze, 2003). Brown (2008) found that newsroom personnel at the *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel* struggled with an unclear mission as the newspaper moved toward integration, and staffers had difficulty prioritizing tasks when trying to adapt routines to create content for the Web site.

In examining previous studies, it remains unclear how the previously identified constraints of time and space are affected by the new environment. The pressure of space is less great, with virtually limitless space on computer servers for content; the greater imperative is providing the information quickly with the 24-hour news cycle and the availability of search engines to locate specific stories. In the era of round-the-clock news, scholars have documented some changes. Livingston and Bennett (2003) found event-driven news had overtaken institutionally based news on cable news networks. Since the advent of the Internet, scholars also have begun studying the impact of the new medium on traditional news values. Singer (2001) examined gatekeeping at six Colorado newspapers and discovered the online sites had fewer stories and exhibited different story

selection than their print counterparts. Brown (2008) found that the movement away from the single newspaper deadline disrupted the ingrained routines of staffers.

Other studies have also discovered some differences in news judgment between print and online operations at the same news organization. An examination of *USA Today*, the *New York Times*, and the *Los Angeles Times* over a 23-day period in 2000 found significant differences between the selection of lead stories for the organizations' Web sites and newspaper products (Mensing & Greer, 2006). A survey of online editors at U.S. newspapers evaluating 38 criteria of news quality found editors ranked some online-specific variables such as immediacy and ease of use higher than traditional newspaper news values such as depth (Gladney, Shapiro & Castaldo, 2007). The authors of the Project for Excellence in Journalism's *State of the News Media 2007* report referred to this new environment as "the era of shrinking ambitions" and noted news sites have exploited the Internet's capacity for immediacy but not depth (Project for Excellence in Journalism, 2007).

The focus on producing content for multiple media is changing traditional news routines as well. Many local newsroom staffers are dividing their time between the Web and their more traditional roles. Four in ten (41%) of news directors surveyed by the Project for Excellence in Journalism in 2008 said newsroom staff also help on the Web, compared with 34 percent who had reported the same in 2007 (Project for Excellence in Journalism, 2008b). In a study of local television-news operations, Smith, Tanner and Duhé (2007) found that 68 percent of news workers they surveyed reported personally performing convergence-related tasks as part of their assigned duties. Most commonly, they produce content for their station's online product (61%), and 72 percent of those

surveyed agreed or strongly agreed their workload was increasing because of participation in convergence activities. A longitudinal study of 83 online newspapers of various circulation sizes showed a marked increase in multimedia elements: 42.5 percent featured multimedia in news in 2003, compared with 14.5 percent in 1997 (Greer & Mensing, 2006). But the study did not investigate the impact on the workers creating that content.

Some scholars have noted that from a strategic standpoint, newspaper organizations cannot just duplicate content across several media (Chyi & Sylvie, 1998). The different platforms serve different audiences who have different needs; the content should reflect those differences. Today, many newspaper journalists are being asked to produce content for media beyond the print product (Bressers, 2006; Singer, 2004b), and news stories are updated more frequently (Mensing & Greer, 2006). Gannett CEO Craig Dubow's memo to Gannett's employees about the transformation to integrated newsrooms noted the profound nature of the change: "The Information Center is a way to gather and disseminate news and information across all platforms, 24/7. The Information Center will let us gather the very local news and information that customers want, then distribute it when, where and how our customers seek it" (Romenesko, 2006). Though the memo hinted at some change of content, it was not clear how much training or preparation newspaper staffs received prior to the transition.

The Tampa News Center, which jointly houses the operations of the *Tampa Tribune*, WFLA-TV, and TBO.com, is often held up as an industry innovator (Singer, 2004b; Lawson-Borders, 2006). Even there, however, structural challenges remain. Gil

Thelan, the *Tribune*'s president and publisher, noted the conflict with a *Tribune* reporter working on a breaking-news story:

If a *Tribune* sports reporter is breaking his/her exclusive Tampa Bay Buccaneers story on the 11 o'clock news, what frequently happens is it gives little time to huddle together some type of story that they can put into the newspaper. So have we injured ourselves by publishing on one platform that takes away competitive advantage from another platform? We are still working our way through that question (Lawson-Borders, 2006, p. 101).

Though there has been some investigation of the impact of convergence on news routines, more work needs to be done examining integration. To expand the literature on the impact of integration on traditional newspaper organizations, the study will pursue these research questions in this area:

RQ14: What are the news routines in an integrated newsroom?

RQ15: What are the values that go into news decision-making process in an integrated newsroom?

RQ16: What happens to the constraints of time and space in an integrated newsroom?

RQ17: What are the ways news stories are being told to the public in an integrated newsroom? How does that storytelling affect news routines?

RQ18: How do the "jobs to be done" identified with the secondary analysis compare and contrast with the "jobs to be done" identified by the integrated organization's own processes?

III. METHODOLOGY

This multimethod study acknowledges multiple ways of understanding human behavior and phenomena. Statistical studies can help provide understanding of large populations, while ethnography and in-depth interviews offer rich detail for understanding the nuances of human behavior (Wimmer & Dominick, 2006). Such a triangulation of methods was chosen to capture the complexities of the changing newspaper industry. To understand how news audiences are changing, a quantitative analysis was conducted on a national media-use survey. This large-scale view was combined with a case study of a single newspaper to understand how one organization is changing in this new-media landscape.

To minimize issues of validity and reliability, the dataset from the Pew Research Center for the People and the Press was selected for its comprehensiveness and attention to detail. The national sample of 3,615 adults was carefully collected to match the demographic makeup of the U.S. population.

In his publications, Schein (2004) often keeps his organizations anonymous, and that protocol was followed in this study. The newspaper organization selected for this analysis, disguised as the *Midtown Daily News*, is located in a mid-sized U.S. city dominated by a large university. It is a family-owned newspaper that publishes seven days a week with a circulation of less than 50,000. Those characteristics made it ideal for this analysis; many recent newspaper studies have focused on larger chain-owned organizations. The majority of the nation's 1,422 daily newspapers, however, have circulations of 50,000 or less (Project for Excellence in Journalism, 2009). For purposes of this study, the focal unit of analysis is the newsroom.

A. The qualitative analysis

The *Midtown Daily News* participated in this study in a voluntary sense, under the clinical research paradigm specified by Schein (2004). The organization did not initiate the research project, but it did stand to gain from an outside analysis of the change process. The newspaper industry is eagerly embracing new business models, and discussion of change and self-analysis have proliferated in the industry press and the scholarly literature in recent years (e.g. Akst, 2005). The *Daily News*' associate publisher and managing editor were receptive to the study and willing to open the organization's door to me. An e-mail about my background as a journalist and a doctoral candidate as well as an introductory statement about the project were sent to all employees before fieldwork began in January.

Schein (2004) suggests forming a psychological contract where the organization becomes a client and benefits from the presence of the ethnographer/researcher. If this element is not present, he contends, it is difficult to gain a true cultural picture of the organization. Schein notes that a researcher must become immersed in an organization, developing a relationship to ensure "reliable and valid data will be forthcoming" (p. 221). Van Maanen (1988), too, notes that fieldwork requires interaction with subjects on their "home ground" (p. 2).

In this instance, I traveled to the site frequently over the course of the five-month period. During that time, I was often asked for my opinion or advice in certain instances; where my knowledge was useful, I did offer some opinions to journalists when asked. My goal was to reinforce credibility and gain trust among the staff as someone with

experience in a newspaper newsroom, as well as one who was trying to understand how the change to integration was affecting the routines and operation in the newsroom.

The study followed the method set forth by the four-phase model used by the Center for the Study of Organizational Change at the University of Missouri (Diamond, 2005). The center's process begins with the *contact/contractual* phase, in which the ground rules for the research project are laid out. It was made clear at the outset of this project that I was trying to provide a neutral picture of the organization and did not represent upper management during the analysis. The *diagnostic* phase involved gathering data through interviews and observation for the organizational analysis. In-depth interviews with open-ended queries offer greater insight into people's perceptions and allow consultants to test assumptions and gather rich data for analysis (Harrison, 2005). On-site observation and ethnographies go a level deeper, allowing researchers to understand the underlying assumptions at work, although Harrison cautions that such techniques can lead to subjectivity and consultant bias. Throughout the study, I remained on guard for how my own beliefs and attitudes were affecting the analysis. Chapter VIII includes my perceptions and reactions, similar to Van Maanen's (1988) confessional tale, to complete the analysis.

Kets de Vries and Miller (detailed in Diamond & Allcorn, 2003) offer four rules that are helpful for building the organizational narrative. Consultants need to find the *thematic unity* among the data. *Pattern repetition* allows one to find what assumptions are manifesting themselves at the surface level. *Psychological urgency* reveals what priorities are at work in the organization, and the *rule of multiple levels* shows how same data may

be operating at different levels of analysis. That framework was used to discern themes in the qualitative data gathered over the five-month study period.

The *intervention/action* and *follow-up* phases used by the center were not included as part of this study, as the organizational analysis is descriptive.

Harrison (2005) uses the open-systems model for understanding the organization. An organization has to deal with an external environment that influences the internal realities of the workplace. Resource inputs from the environment are converted to products and services using the organization's processes and are sold in the environment. During the analysis, this model was used to organize data affecting the organization. Levinson (2002) offers an outline of assessment data to ensure that comprehensive information is collected reflecting all facets of the organization, and it was used as a companion to the open-systems framework for collecting data.

After institutional review board approval was obtained from the University of Missouri, I interviewed 35 full-time newsroom employees, several more than once. During initial interviews with subjects, I provided an oral consent form outlining the details of the project, and all were given the opportunity to decline. None did. I focused on the city-desk employees but spent time in all sub-departments of the newsroom, including photo, sports, features, and the copy desk during observation. All interviews were conducted either in the library or a conference room away from the newsroom, in a secluded one-on-one environment, and all interviewees were promised anonymity and confidentiality to encourage openness and honesty. An interview schedule was used as a framework for all interviews, but the conversations were open-ended to allow full exploration of themes and concepts from the perspective of those in the organization.

Formal interviews were recorded with a digital recorder, and handwritten notes were taken. Interviews of key informants were transcribed in their entirety from the digital recordings; for all other interviews, handwritten notes were reviewed and key portions of the recordings were checked to ensure accuracy. All interviews were then analyzed for key themes and aggregated in a master outline.

Harrison (2005) warns of the bias inherent in personal interviews, noting the importance of selecting a cross-section from the organization to ensure a diversity of viewpoints is represented. Here, top organization administrators and employees from across the newsroom were interviewed to ensure a valid sample of perspectives from throughout the unit of analysis.

Throughout the research process, I noted not only the surface responses but also the nonverbal, psychological responses that may be occurring as a result of my presence. As Schein cautions: “If the researcher makes any kind of contact with the organizations, even if it is only the getting of permission to observe silently, the human system has been perturbed in unknown ways” (p. 204). Indeed, other researchers (e.g. Diamond, 2005; Van Maanen, 1988) warn against the effect of the researcher’s presence on the organization system.

Diamond and Allcorn (2003) note that during an organizational diagnosis, consultants must consider how the members and leaders of an organization react to the consulting team. The consultants need to be cognizant of transference and counter-transference as they construct their organizational diagnostic narrative. The concept of transference refers to a person’s unconscious tendency to impose characteristics of childhood relationships (most often a relationship to a parental figure) on to the current

relationship under study. In some cases, consultants may be seen as “heroes” or “saviors” for an organization in crisis; in others, they may be seen as enemies, who come only to recommend cuts. As the news organization faces pressures from the environment, it is likely subjects may perceive the researcher is there to help them.

Extensive observation was also used to offer a validity check on information gathered in interviews (Harrison, 2005). I was allowed to use a desk and computer in the newsroom; from this location, I observed interactions and behaviors among the employees. The study period began on January 7, 2009, and continued through May 21, 2009. Most weeks involved one- or two-day stays. I also spent three full work weeks at the newspaper, in January, March, and May.

Each week, I shadowed at least one employee to understand the jobs as the employees experienced them in their natural environs. I attended meetings, went along on interviews and assignments, and sat with employees at their desks during their work shifts. When asked, staffers willingly shared e-mail exchanges to help me understand how the communication processes work in the organization. Memos and internal reports were collected where appropriate.

During the study period, I used Iterasi, a Web-capture site to chronicle and preserve pages because organization does not archive Web updates as a matter of course. In this case study, observation notes were written on computer from my desk, or in my notebook when shadowing employees at their desks. The shadowing allowed me to observe from a variety of vantage points, and interactions were noted where appropriate. Handwritten notes were transferred to computer as soon as possible and fleshed out with other details. These notes were reviewed for key themes (Diamond & Allcorn, 2003) and

tested against the interview findings. The interview and observation data were then combined in the organizational analysis.

B. The quantitative analysis

In an integrated organization, the audience must be considered from both the print and online perspectives. One of the issues with the Newspaper Next project is its focus on the digital domain; it does not provide enough of a framework for considering jobs that could be better solved in print. In this case, an online poll, which presents numerous methodological hurdles (Duffy, Smith, Terhanian & Bremer, 2005), was considered insufficient for gathering information about nonconsumers and overshot consumers. Several polling organizations, however, track media usage and news-consumption habits in national surveys, providing for data for secondary analyses that help paint a more accurate picture of these nebulous groups.

Because the potential audience in the new media stretches beyond the geographic boundaries of the *Daily News*' home market, this study focused on analyzing the needs of a survey of U.S. citizens. It provides insights into nonconsumers as well as overshot consumers who are not currently tapping into traditional news offerings. This study used a recent dataset collected by the Pew Research Center for People and the Press via telephone interviews. Respondents were reached by both landline and cellular telephones from April 30 to June 1, 2008, and the sample of 3,615 adults was selected to represent the U.S. population.

The expansive dataset matched well with the variables of the Media Choice Model (Thorson & Duffy, 2006), with questions related to communication needs, media

features, aperture, and voice. The Pew researchers created a typology of four audience segments (Integrators, Net-Newsers, Traditionalists, and the Disengaged) based upon how engaged they were with the news and what media they used. The research questions investigating these audience segments used Pew's definitions of these groups. Specific variables and further methodological detail will be explained further in Chapter V.

Logistic regression and hierarchical linear regression were used to explore relationships between the independent variables and the dependent variables for the various hypotheses stated in the literature review, after controlling for demographics (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007). Such a cross-sectional survey can only show correlation, however, not causation (Shoemaker & McCombs, 2003). Once the quantitative results were compiled, they were compared with the qualitative findings of the *Daily News*' push to integration.

IV. ORGANIZATIONAL ANALYSIS AND CHANGE

For this organizational analysis, the open-systems model described by Harrison (2005) will be applied to the *Daily News*. It considers the organization in the context of the environment; inputs from the environment; behaviors, processes, technology, and culture inside the organization; and outputs to the environment. To decipher the organization's culture, Schein (2004) emphasizes the importance of examining the artifacts, beliefs, and underlying assumptions at work; for that portion of the analysis, that layered approach will be used. The culture will then be examined in the context of the change effort to see what barriers to double-loop learning exist (Argyris & Schön, 1996).

A. Environment/inputs

i. The newspaper industry

A newspaper is a local organization with a geographic focus for its advertising and circulation base, but it does not exist in a vacuum (Picard, 2006). As detailed in the literature review, it exists in a changing industry that during the past three years has faced a series of challenges, such as declining circulation, stagnant readership, and increased competition from new-media sources such as Craigslist (Project for Excellence in Journalism, 2009). Daily average circulation for the top 395 newspapers fell 7.1 percent to 34.4 million for the first quarter of 2009 from 37.1 million a year earlier, according to the Audit Bureau of Circulations (Bensinger, 2009).

Although this organizational analysis focuses on the newsroom of a single organization, it is important to understand the competitive climate of the industry as part of the environment in the open-systems model. Historically, a firewall has existed

between a newspaper's advertising and business departments and its newsroom, but that wall has become thinner in the age of tighter profit margins (Kovach & Rosenstiel, 2007, p. 71). Part of that pressure stems from the need to produce profits, especially among publicly held corporations whose shareholders expect returns on investment (Underwood, 1993). Some observers have also argued the structure of the news organization (e.g. family ownership versus a publicly held corporation) can affect the decision-making at the corporate and newsroom levels (Auletta, 2003; Bagdikian, 2004; McChesney, 2000).

As an organization tries to change in this environment, the industry climate becomes as a critical factor affecting employees and the organization. Many *Daily News* employees noted the uncertainty of the industry's future left them uneasy about their careers, even though they said they were not worried about their jobs at the current organization. As one employee said, "I feel as though I have to figure out how to save the newspaper industry" (personal communication, Feb. 3, 2009). Some wondered whether the industry had changed too dramatically in recent years. Though the newspaper at its current size was considered a "stepping stone" paper by many in the newsroom, several interviewees wondered if it would be possible to advance in the current environment. One employee who had been at the paper more than three years said: "As I look to moving on — whenever that might be — it'd be fairly daunting" (personal communication, May 14, 2009).

The top managers at the *Daily News* noted that there had been much discussion about the economy and the state of the newspaper industry in recent years at the organization. At the beginning of 2009, managers told the staff it would be a tight year financially, but the organization was expected to survive without drastic cuts. Salaries

were frozen, and in staff meetings, managers reminded staffers not to be wasteful with resources, asking them to turn off lights and conserve paper by not printing as often. Though specific financial results were not shared with the staff, a top newsroom manager said the organization did not have a heavy debt load and was financially stable. The organization's debt/equity ratio at the end of 2008 was about 1.01 (personal communication, May 18, 2009). Economic factors were blamed for the newspaper's financial woes.

Against this backdrop, the *Daily News* began working on plans for change. It initiated a massive redesign of its printed newspaper, with plans to shrink the Web width from 27 inches to 24, as many other newspapers across the country had done to reduce newsprint costs. It also decided to overhaul its Web site with a new dynamic content-management system. Compared with others in the newspaper industry, the *Daily News* had been slower to embrace changes with regard to the Web and the newspaper; neither platform had been changed since 2001.

The need for the *Daily News* to change to a more integrated organization was presented to the staff in the context of the industry itself. Observers inside and outside the newspaper industry have been talking about the push toward the Internet to survive; an industry outlook published by PriceWaterhouseCoopers noted "structural changes are now being exacerbated and accelerated by the global economic downturn" (Fenez & van der Donk, 2009, p. 4). Although the *Daily News* had not issued a vision statement regarding the Web and duties related to the medium, managers regularly referred to the Internet as the "future."

Picard (2006) wrote that news organizations have to find new ways to create value, but such organizations should not abandon core journalistic values in the process. Their value, he contended, comes from their commitment to those values. Similarly, a study by Brown and Groves (2009) found that such a commitment helped secure buy-in for change initiatives at three news organizations dealing with the pressures of multiplatform content creation.

In the year before the study period began, the newsroom had begun posting news updates on the Web site off the newspaper's regular cycle. It experimented with audio slideshows, video, and podcasts, although these efforts were sporadic and infrequent. The city editor had begun examining top-performing news stories on the Web to inform news-judgment decisions, and in the months leading up to the Web redesign, more beat reporters had begun blogging. But when it came to the Internet, the organization tended to follow the lead of others in the industry and took few risks with regard to large investments in its Web operation.

ii. *Organizational history*

Though the organization will be disguised, the details presented in this section will accurately reflect the organization. Time periods have been approximated, and some specifics have been omitted to ensure the identity of the *Daily News* is protected.

The history of the *Daily News* is critical to understanding the organization and its culture. The afternoon newspaper has been a part of its community for more than a century, owned by one family through several generations. Today, family members handle key top-level administrative positions, and a committee of family members makes

all the major decisions regarding the budget and direction of the organization. Members are also involved in community organizations and are well known throughout the city. That family ownership overlays the culture of the entire organization, an identity that will be explored more fully in the organizational-culture portion of this analysis.

The organization has two primary divisions: the *Daily News* newspaper and a commercial-printing division. The family has invested regularly in its news operations; as the 21st century began, it expanded its production facility and bought a new multimillion-dollar press. The press is used to print the *Daily News* as well as publications for other clients. Its newsroom staffing was nearly double the rule-of-thumb of one newsroom employee per 1,000 papers of circulation (Edmonds, 2004), and as part of its effort to keep pace with technology, the organization invested in a new editorial system and Web content-management system, both of which were launched during the study period. Those efforts were not put on hold, despite the downturn in the national economy.

For the past several years, circulation had remained stable, but the economic crisis of 2008 affected circulation numbers. In previous downturns, the paper had experienced similar circulation drops, and top managers remained confident the numbers would rebound with the national economy. Sales were down in 2008 about 7 percent for Sunday and daily papers from 1999 averages. One top manager noted: “We think the economy has caused the most damage to circulation because our 2007 sales were not that different from 1999 sales” (personal communication, May 18, 2009). During the study period, circulation was about 20 percent higher on Sundays, and once a week, the organization printed a large run distributed free to everyone in the city, an effort to compete with a

shopper product distributed throughout the market area. The *Daily News*' circulation placed it in the category of small newspapers, as classified by *Editor & Publisher* (Project for Excellence in Journalism, 2009).

The newspaper is based in a mid-sized city of less than 150,000 people that is dominated by a public university. At some point in their careers, most newsroom employees had attended the university, which has a large journalism program. For years, the newspaper has lured graduates from the school for their first jobs. During the study period, more than 75 percent of the newsroom staff had had some educational connection to the university. The newspaper tapped into students regularly as interns, and the managing editor made an effort to spot talent at the school. A new reporter who started as the study period began was a recent graduate who had once been an intern at the paper.

Some at the paper spoke of a "golden era" at the end of the 1970s, when the newspaper earned recognition for investigative reporting and projects. That period is chronicled in the hall leading toward the newsroom from the front desk. But in the eyes of some, the pursuit of awards led to projects at the expense of day-to-day community coverage.

One top administrator put it this way:

At one juncture, we were almost too pristine about that. We lost connection with the town some number of years ago. We weren't covering enough of the bread-and-butter kind of news like the civic club meetings because the people who were running our newsroom were terrific but not interested in that kind of 'frivolous news,' so to speak. Well, one of the reasons people take the *Daily News* aside from City Council meetings is to find out what the school-lunch menu is. So I think we've developed a better rapport, shall we say, association with the community, at every level of our news coverage (personal communication, May 20, 2009).

Others also believe those journalistic ambitions during those “experimental years” affected the appeal of the news content for the casual or general reader and led to dissatisfaction with the news product (personal communication, Feb. 25, 2009).

Several features of the newspaper have remained in place over the years. For several years, the newspaper has had a “no jump” rule initiated by the publisher. In the news and sports sections, stories were limited to a single page; they were not to be continued or “jumped” to another page. The paper also featured more than a dozen local columnists, several of whom had contributed for years.

One *Daily News* editor mentioned that the newspaper had become known as a “writer’s paper” (personal communication, March 24, 2009), where editors and writers worked closely together to improve the quality of the written content, but the editor noted there was less time for coaching in the current environment. Still, some see the mission — as well as the value proposition for the organization — as providing the community top-quality writing. “[The managing editor] will talk about, ‘The information is really important. We need to write it well. If we fill a niche, it’s in writing well’ ” (personal communication, April 29, 2009).

iii. Competitive forces

To answer RQ1, the market was analyzed for competing media. The fact that the Internet plays a role as a diffuse competitor complicated the analysis; however, the organization focused on the newspaper as its primary product and revenue generator. Through the newspaper and the Web, the *Daily News* was a top news provider in the community in terms of audience during the study period. Publicly available comparative

Web analytics were conducted in February using alexa.com, and the *Daily News*' Web site had the top usage statistics among local news sites from newspaper, radio station, and television news organizations. The newspaper also had the largest print circulation of the local-news publications that distribute in the *Daily News*' home county.

Applying Porter's five-forces framework (1985), the barriers to entry for a daily print newspaper remain high. Few publications can match the ability to print and distribute such a daily product in the market. The university served as a competitor to some degree, as the mass-communication program produced a daily newspaper that offered news about the community in print and on the Web. Most employees, however, did not view the university as serious competition, as the university paper's circulation was thousands below that of the *Daily News* and was struggling to make money.

Two weekly newspapers distributed in the county used small staffs of one or two editorial employees to concentrate on narrow geographic niches and offered little competition for news. A locally produced monthly magazine had an estimated distribution of 12,000 copies, below the circulation of the daily newspaper. It targeted an upscale demographic with lifestyle articles. A weekly business journal that primarily focused on compiling business-related listings had been in the market for a decade. The occasional publications were not talked about in a competitive context, although one editor acknowledged some confusion among the local audience between the newspaper's Saturday business tabloid and the business journal. "Their role seems to be publication of record of some sort. I mean, we're the newspaper of record. But as far as business news, they try to squeeze it all in, but they're rarely out in front on any stories" (personal communication, Feb. 4, 2009).

A greater competitive threat arises with the Web site, where barriers to entry are low, as anyone with a computer can compete with the *Daily News*. For example, a local blogger had written posts raising concerns about the *Daily News*' coverage of some local issues. Reporters sometimes talked about his work because it was often provocative but inaccurate. In one instance, the blogger wrote about a political candidate's problems with police, but the report was incorrect; the criminal record was actually that of the candidate's son. Regardless, the candidate dropped out of the race after the blog report.

Among television-news competitors, the three local network affiliates were not usually discussed in news meetings, and local newscasts were rarely watched in the newsroom. The newsroom television was most often tuned to CNN Headline News.

The primary news radio station in the market is a National Public Radio affiliate that produces local news broadcasts and can be heard throughout the newspaper's coverage area.

During the study period, the *Daily News* subscribed to a survey service that analyzed media usage by medium and demographic for the market. It included two counties' worth of data, but the managers concentrated primarily on the county surrounding the city in which the newspaper is based. When selling to local advertisers, advertising representatives focused on the statistics for the home county. A report shared in February showed that 64 percent of adults in the county read the *Daily News* during the week. In contrast, the top television station's core audience from 10:30 a.m. to midnight was 18 percent.

Considering another part of Porter's framework, Web competitors have created a great threat for substitution for *Daily News*' print and Web offerings. Craigslist

developed a site of listings for the *Daily News*' hometown that competes directly with the newspaper's classified advertisements. Such low-cost competitors increased the bargaining power of customers, making it more difficult for the *Daily News* to ask premium prices for the ads.

In an advertising context, the organization took a much broader view of competition. One top manager said, "Anybody out taking your money intending to help you market your company, whether they're selling you ink pens or television ads, we see as competition because competition is always shifting" (personal communication, Feb. 25, 2009). According to Porter (1985), the greater the competition, the greater the competitive rivalry, and the more difficult it is for the organization to compete.

Managers at the *Daily News* remained optimistic about the future, blaming the current economic climate for the paper's financial issues. In part, that optimism stemmed from institutional memory; the publisher had weathered previous economic downturns and was confident that once the economy recovered, so, too, would the newspaper's fortunes.

iv. Strategic focus

When the Internet began to rise as a medium of communication and business transactions, Porter (2001) applied his competitive-strategy model to the fast-growing network. In that analysis, he reiterated the need to remain true to the core ideals and not abandon fundamentals in the quest for large online audiences that produced little or no revenue. Instead of focusing on cost and efficiency, he urged leaders to consider differentiation and uniqueness as primary sources of competitive advantage. They must

focus on long-term return on investment. By creating a unique value proposition in this new environment, Porter contended legacy organizations could survive and fend off fast-growing competitors that generated much interest but no profits.

To answer RQ2, the top management of the *Daily News* saw its comprehensive news report as its value proposition and its primary strategic focus. One family member said:

I think it's been important that through the years we've paid an extraordinary amount of attention to news coverage and hopefully, the quality of the package: news, commentary, and choice of columns. I believe that we have as good a relationship with our audience as any — or almost any paper. And I think that's paying off in particular now because everyone is fighting for new relationships with customers in the various media that we have now (personal communication, May 20, 2009)

The primary distribution method for that news report remained the newspaper, and company officials made it clear that that would remain the case for at least the next few years. During the study period, the *Daily News* did not have a formal written strategic plan with regard to the Web, although in April, the organization created a new top-level position, vice president of interactive services, to oversee the information technology and Web operations. One administrative council member encapsulated the Web strategy in an e-mail:

Right now we're operating under a set of priorities that is constantly in flux. It includes exploring paid content models, launching niche sites, expanding mobile services, increasing the use of video and making it easier for customers to transact business with us over the Web (personal communication, July 21, 2009).

In April 2008, a visioning process was conducted in the newsroom to examine its priorities. More than 100 items were included in the project, and employees and

managers voted in an online survey to rank the items in order of importance. The top five were:

- Better communication and planning in the newsroom.
- Be in the community more. Build relationships.
- Drop “fuddy-duddy” columnists and solicit younger, “must read” columnists.
- Use photos on the Web to draw attention to stories.
- Update news and sports online more and put updates at the top of the page.

At the time, planning was under way to upgrade the Web site with a new system, and the Web editor was sent to an off-site training center as part of that effort. The newsroom formed teams that helped figure out what changes and improvements could be done immediately. Some issues were addressed, such as providing more slideshows on the Web site and developing an intranet information system for reporters.

Two of the top five items were Web-specific improvements, and among the top-25 items, several involved the Web site. Almost everyone interviewed during the study period indicated they believed the future of newspaper journalism was linked with the Web, but in their minds, the leadership had not provided a clear direction for what that future would look like in the *Daily News* context. Though the leadership had broached the idea of 24-hour newsroom, the discussion had been nonspecific, and no detailed long-range plans were given to the staff.

Managers did raise the prospect of a more “cross-platform” presentation of news, much in the vein of the integrated newsroom where journalists create content for multiple platforms. Reporters were encouraged to blog, while photographers were to create slideshows offering photos that did not appear in the print edition. But several staffers said they were unsure of expectations for news updates; few reporters generated them consistently on their own initiative. Most updates were news briefs prepared for the print

edition. The city editor indicated Web updates should not “scoop” the newspaper unless it involved an event that competitors were likely to be reporting or news that threatened public safety, such as a storm or traffic tie-up.

One manager summarized a picture of the future:

I think we'll get to a point where we're updating stories even more than a 24-hour news cycle — a continuous news cycle, where we will post stories from events at the beginning, and update them through the day, and then at the end of that cycle, we'll write a whole story for the newspaper. That, I think, is the way to get readers to monitor our Web site all of the time. Not just do one bulletin or one story for the Web site and then wait until the next cycle on the print version. That's going to be happening. (personal communication, May 9, 2009)

Top managers assumed staffers knew that the newsroom must develop a Web-oriented mentality, but they rarely tested this assumption in practice, inhibiting the ability of the organization to learn (Argyris & Schön, 1996). Several staffers said they had received little guidance or vision from above about their duties regarding the Web. Many said they were not clear on how to prioritize the work for the Web in context of all their other responsibilities.

The newsroom saw complementary value networks in the distribution of content for the newspaper and the Web, as Christensen et al. (2004) suggest to deal with disruptive innovation. At the *Daily News*, the organization used writers and editors to develop content for both media within the existing structure. But among reporters, the mission of the Web site seemed unclear, especially with so much emphasis on the daily newspaper. Several staffers used the phrase “Newspaper first,” and some in the newsroom said they felt the Web site was taking away from the print product in terms of audience and readership. When it came to reporting for the Web, the workflow often

moved at a newspaper-like pace, going through the complete cycle of editors before going online. In one instance during the study period, a protest took place off the newspaper's regular news cycle. It occurred at noon and lasted about an hour and a half, but an update was not posted for another two hours.

At the *Daily News*, despite the investment of resources for the Web, the strategic focus remained on the newspaper, the primary revenue generator for the organization. The leadership/management team considered the news product vital to the business's success and did not see as much of a struggle between the business norm and the journalistic norm as detailed by McManus (1994). According to one organization director: "We don't see a conflict. I mean, our news operation is our core product. It is on the back of our newsroom that we are able to sell all of the other things that keep the newspaper afloat, so we have to constantly be focused on making that news product vital and important to our audience" (personal communication, Feb. 25, 2009).

After the study period, the Web editor in charge of the redesign left the paper, and the afternoon Web producer was promoted to his position. A new employee with Web programming skills was also hired for the organization's information-technology department, which serves all departments, including the newsroom and advertising departments. Though the organization added a mobile edition and an online business directory as potential revenue sources, expenditures and planning revealed that the newspaper remained the primary focus. Initial audience numbers for the mobile product and the directory remained far below that of the news Web site and the newspaper as well, although both new online offerings were growing.

v. *Resource-allocation procedures*

As part of the theory of disruptive innovation, Christensen and Raynor (2003) use resources, processes, and values to help define an organization's strengths and weaknesses, and its ability to deal with disruptive innovation. Is the organization adequately arranging its resources and processes to deal with disruptive threats? And are its values flexible enough to prioritize the disruptive innovations? To answer RQ3, historically, the *Daily News* has dedicated 12 to 15 percent of its total budget to the newsroom, according to management estimates. A newsroom representative is part of the top-level budget committee, and executives have said in staff meetings that the organization works to avoid newsroom cuts at all costs. The unique local-news content was seen as central to the value proposition for the organization from a strategic perspective.

Because the bulk of the revenue comes from the newspaper, most of the newsroom workflow and resources were centered on traditional newspaper-production functions. Reporters and photographers spent the majority of their workdays creating newspaper content, and most of the time on the copy desk, designers and editors were laying out pages, editing stories, and writing headlines for the print product.

1. *Staffing/layoffs*

As mentioned earlier, the newsroom was staffed above typical levels for the industry, and for years, it had weathered downturns without having to lay off any employees. Indeed, at the beginning of the study period, the top managers had assured the staff that though some vacant positions would remain unfilled, layoffs that had been

happening across the industry would likely not happen at the *Daily News*. The newspaper put a salary freeze into effect, which frustrated some staffers; one who had hoped for a raise reported being “pissed.” Also, the amount of health-insurance premiums being paid by employees went up. But some staffers said they thought those measures would be enough. “And so that didn’t seem like a big deal to me,” one recalled. “And when the layoffs did come, it was unnerving” (personal communication, March 6, 2009).

In February, five employees were cut, the first newsroom layoffs at the *Daily News* in more than 20 years. Several employees noted the series of closed-door meetings at the managing editor’s office, and another local news outlet reported the likelihood of layoffs. Two part-time sports positions, two city-desk writers, and a photographer were eliminated. In interviews, top managers said they had hoped to avoid layoffs in the newsroom, but after the first of the year, the bleak financial picture required greater measures. One of the family members said: “Finally, we got to the point that if we didn’t act, it could be a potentially bigger problem later. We decided to be proactive now. . . . The newsroom is always the last place you want to do that” (personal communication, Feb. 13, 2009).

The layoffs compounded the sense of anxiety regarding the changes, although many employees interviewed later said they trusted management and believed managers had few alternatives. In the newsroom, empty desks served as a visual reminder of the layoffs. At the beginning of the study period, most desks were full; after the layoffs, computers were removed from desks, and several spots remained vacant throughout the newsroom.

The managing editor announced the layoffs to the staff via e-mail, eight days after the launch of the Web and newspaper redesign:

Over the past several months, as most of you know, we've left 2.5 writing positions open to deal with the deteriorating economy. With continued fall-off in advertising revenue, we've lately had to make some additional hard decisions. (Employee 1's name) position on the copy desk will not be filled. In addition, (Employee 2's name)'s employment has been terminated and (Employee 3's name) and (Employee 4's name) have been laid off. In sports, (Employee 5's name) and (Employee 6's name) have been laid off.

Workforce reductions have occurred across the company in recent weeks and months. In addition, I have canceled some syndicated features and renegotiated certain contracts to save money. With any luck, this round of cuts in the newsroom will be the last.

I'll be available tomorrow at the 3 p.m. staff meeting for discussion and to answer questions.

I hope we can keep this news in the family for now.

Thanks.

After the e-mail was sent, some employees responded by offering to fill in coverage gaps where needed.

At the staff meeting, top administrators responded to all questions. One reporter asked whether the cuts would be enough; a manager said the newsroom was safe for the next several months. Another staffer asked whether layoffs were the only choice. A top-level member of the administrative council at the meeting noted other departments around the organization had undergone cuts before the newsroom. In interviews after the layoffs, most employees said they appreciated the explanations; one said the meeting helped restore calm.

After the layoffs, the time frame for work became more condensed, as interviewees throughout the newsroom noted they had less time to accomplish tasks. From that point to the end of the study period, the photo staff produced one video and no audio slideshows. City-desk writers had a shorter period between shifts in the weekend rotation. Some sports writers began doing layout desk work in addition to their writing duties.

Some experienced a sense of shock; one said he and others were “demoralized” after the layoffs. Said one staffer: “We had this huge shift to a lot of negativity, a lot of, you know, everything you expect: mourning, loss of a friend’s job, things like that. A lot of cynicism crept up.” Some commented about not sending a photographer to an away game for the university, something that historically had been covered. Others joked about working “in the dark,” as some lights were shut off in an effort to save electricity. The layoffs also led some to become less vocal about issues facing the organization, affecting the ability of the organization to learn. “It’s just like you don’t want to rock the boat, especially now,” one staffer said (personal communication, May 6, 2009). “...You don’t want to feel like the squeaky wheel.”

The most disruptive layoff appeared to be that of the photographer, whom most staffers saw as an excellent, talented co-worker. Even weeks after the photographer’s departure, some of her photographs remained on the newsroom board highlighting photographers’ work. “I mean, when you cut a photographer, you’re not just trimming the fat anymore; you’re cutting into the meat. And I felt like so many of the daily reporters were stretched thin,” one writer said after the layoffs (personal communication, March 6, 2009).

The layoffs also came at a time when the reporters were just being asked to do more Web-oriented tasks, such as producing blog posts and monitoring comments. “I worry about productivity when our staff, having been shrunk already — are the remaining reporters feeling too much of a pinch?” one staffer said (personal communication, March 24, 2009).

2. *Software expenditures*

Thousands of dollars were spent upgrading the newsroom’s editorial writing and layout systems as well as the content management system for the Web site, and employees were sent to off-site training. The software expenditures reinforced a commitment to the Web as part of the *Daily News*’ future. Several training sessions took place in January prior to the February launch of the new systems, and most employees said in interviews they felt they had received enough training to do their jobs. The improvements to the Web site were intended to spread the Web duties across the newsroom. Reporters who blogged were able to post at will, and several editors had the capability to post updates with the new system, something only Web staff had been able to do previously.

Over time, the organization had invested in cameras and laptops for the photo department, and a video camera was purchased with the hopes of producing video for the Web site. However, editing software was not purchased, and the video camera remained unused during the study period.

With this expenditure on software and equipment instead of staffing, some looked skeptically at the system change. “Every change in software or format usually means

more work. In spite of what all the people say, it means more work for the people who do it. It's not intended, it's never designed to do that, but that's exactly what happens" (personal communication, March 24, 2009).

vi. *Confronting the Internet*

In his theory of disruptive innovation, Christensen (1997) introduced the concept of "good enough," the notion that once functionality and reliability reach a certain level, consumers start to look for other traits, such as low price and customizability to fulfill their needs. What has made the Internet a disruptive force for newspapers is the free, low-cost nature of services provided by competitors. As mentioned earlier, Craigslist has cut deeply into newspaper markets for classified advertising, and bloggers are encroaching upon newspapers' roles as traditional purveyors of local news with more immediate but often less reliable information. With the advent of social-networking sites, there has been a push for a more collaborative voice on the Web (Thorson & Duffy, 2005).

In answering RQ4, it was important to explore how open the staff was to developing "good enough" content for the Web and collaborating with the audience. Through observation and interviews, it became apparent that reporters and editors did not think of Web updates and blog posts as "stories"; they were seen as a lesser product than what is provided in the printed newspaper. One sports staffer noted how writers in his department worked on updates during a game to have them ready for posting immediately after the game. He summarized the conflict: "A lot of your time, you could argue, you would be better served for your paying customers watching every second of everything going on instead of getting the thing written as the game is going on. We're

trying to sort of compete with other papers (in the state) so we can get stuff up quickly, so if people want to check right after a game, they can” (personal communication, Feb. 13, 2009).

The online realm regularly challenges the traditional journalistic value of verification (Kovach & Rosenstiel, 2007) and pushes immediacy near the top of the list of journalistic values (Gladney, Shapiro & Castaldo, 2007). The deference to the tradition of objectivity and fact-finding also created conflicts among reporters who blogged. Staff writers noted the best blogs had a personality and relayed a more conversational tone than traditional news stories. One reporter who blogged noted the struggle to break free of that journalistic training. The reporter recounted one successful blog entry involved an emotional explanation of reporting the story of a crime victim who had undergone serious trauma. The entry about the experience generated the most comments from the audience of any of the blog’s posts. But the writer noted a discomfort with becoming the subject of the blog, even though the writer acknowledged such personal revelations help contribute to blog’s personality and popularity.

You don’t want to make yourself the news. Like I said, it’s not about me and what I think. There’s all this caution – like do not put yourself into the story. Do not put your opinions into this story. Don’t editorialize in the story. Don’t sensationalize. You are a fact relayer. But on the other hand, I’m also learning you’re an interpreter of the news. And people may want to know — it may be valuable to know what I think because I’m the one that has to go to all these meetings anyway. I’m the one who’s been talking to people all the time. So maybe it’s not so horrible to put in a little bit of your opinion, but I just don’t know where that area is (personal communication, Feb. 3, 2009).

Verification also came into play with regard to interactivity and comments on news stories. Often, the question arose how much credence to give audience comments,

whether it was a news story or the Web site. For example, during a planning meeting of inauguration coverage, one staffer suggested doing a “person on the street” feature, gathering the opinions of ordinary citizens. Another editor responded: “Sometimes I don’t care what people have to say,” and other editors also questioned the value of such an article. That resistance became an issue as comments proved to be one of the most popular functions of the new Web site with users.

With the previous Web site, users could comment only on blogs, and reporters had to approve all comments before they appeared. After the launch of the new system, the organization allowed users to comment anonymously on any story on the site. No approval was necessary, although staffers monitored the comments and had the ability to remove comments that violated the site’s terms of service. The commenting function sparked frustration among staffers. The impact of commenting on news routines and the resistance from employees will be explored more fully in Chapter VI.

By the end of the study period, Web updates were still limited to breaking-news items that competing media were likely to know about, and exclusive content still was published in the newspaper first.

vii. Identifying “jobs to be done” online

Christensen et al. (2004) say determining what products and services are not “good enough” helps identify what jobs need to be done for consumers. By identifying overshot and underserved customers, businesses can determine what niches need to be filled. In this case, the *Daily News* had established itself as a purveyor of high-quality news content produced by a group of news professionals for a print newspaper. But news

audiences have been moving newer forms of distributions, via the Internet and mobile phones. How was the newsroom determining what the community needed in terms of news in the new context? In answering RQ5, it is important to note that the *Daily News* rarely conducted reader surveys or focus groups; one manager referred to the organization as being “reader-survey averse” and noted decisions about content were typically made intuitively based on journalistic experience. The last formal reader survey was conducted in 1991.

Most of the staff described having a sense of what readers want. “I just know, I guess. I’ve been a reporter for 10 years. You just know your community, and you know what the hot-button issues are. You can look at [the paper’s community call-in feature] and know” (personal communication, Feb. 13, 2009). One sports writer said he checked fan sites to view the online conversation but added it was not necessarily a way to generate topics for stories. “I wouldn’t say it influences any kind of story ideas. I think you kind of want it the other way around. You’d like our coverage to influence the topic of conversation; I think it does sometimes.”

Throughout the newsroom, people drew a distinction between the important news stories and the popular articles. Crime stories typically generated the most online comments, but the editors did not always put those stories on the front page of the print newspaper. During one shadowing session, a page designer chose a news brief about a cat mauling a dog and noted, “It’s less important but will be better read.” Kovach and Rosenstiel (2007) chronicled the rise of such “infotainment” among news outlets. Many at the *Daily News* said the newspaper should remain committed to covering the city’s institutions.

The Web site offered greater opportunity for analyzing the popularity of news topics, but few newsroom staffers reviewed the statistics on a consistent basis. In the past, there had been some disagreement among the editors about how much credence to give Web metrics in deciding how to position stories in the print edition. Some editors saw the Web rankings as providing useful information about audience desires. Said one: “We need our meat and potatoes, but we need our dessert, too. That kind of reinforces that idea for me that not everything is so deadly serious. We’ve got to have some fun once in a while and give people something that people are more interested in, that they’ll want to read” (personal communication, Feb. 4, 2009).

The sports department had been more aggressive about reaching out the Web audience in providing “good enough” content. After some writers attended a seminar in 2008, the department began producing podcasts, or audio recordings available for downloading and streaming online, by using a \$40 digital recorder purchased by the sports editor. Despite the low fidelity, the first episode had about 1,000 listens. In the summer of 2008, a sports intern shot football practices with a handheld video camera. “It was pretty low-tech because the camera was designed to record from me to you. Some of it wasn’t great at the longer stuff, but it was good enough that people liked it” (personal communication, Feb. 13, 2009). Such a “good enough” perspective made its way into the printed sports section as well. The department recently covered an amateur fighter who participated in an “ultimate fighting” tournament. A sports staffer said: “Sometimes, I think we look down our nose at upstart sports like that. There’s a reason that interests people” (personal communication, Feb. 13, 2009).

The market audit data used by the organization looked at demographics of the audience, their shopping habits, and their media utilization. A combined 75 percent of adults in the county read the newspaper's print and online editions during the week, a statistic that is posted in the organization's training room. Though the data showed current usage, they did not reveal what potential underserved markets existed that the company might exploit.

During the study period, the organization began developing another online product separate from the news site that involved business directory listings. All local businesses were included for free, and expanded information packages online were made available for various fees. The hope was that the product would provide an additional online revenue stream to supplement the ads being sold on the news Web site. During the study period, the newspaper's associate publisher presented suggestions at a university discussion about the future of community newspapers. Among the points mentioned: Continue to change without abandoning the core mission. "The most valuable thing, the only thing newspapers have, is content."

B. Organizational culture/outputs

To analyze the organizational culture of the integrated newsroom (RQ6 and RQ7), the artifacts, beliefs and underlying assumptions were identified and explored (Schein, 2004).

i. Artifacts

1. The daily operation

The newspaper offices are located in the downtown area of the city, within walking distance of the police station, City Hall, and the county courthouse. The name of the newspaper is printed in large letters on an upper face of the building and is visible from several blocks away. The printing press, which underwent a multimillion-dollar upgrade at the beginning of the 21st century, is housed in a building across the street. The previous press location has been converted to a gym/workout area for employees.

The main entrance desk offers a stand of several newspapers, including regional and national papers for which the *Daily News* has printing contracts through its commercial printing division. The newsroom is located in the back of the building; to get there, visitors must walk through a hall lined with dozens of journalism awards the newspaper has won over the years.

During the study period, visitors were allowed into the organization and could approach the front desk of the newsroom with little resistance during working hours. The friendly news clerk served as a gatekeeper and tried to direct the unexpected visitors to the correct people in the least disruptive way possible. Sometimes, she had them wait and talked to them about their problems in an effort to calm them. Often, the managing editor spoke to people who arrived without an appointment, as did reporters. Several people who visited during the study period knew the managing editor and called him by his first name. The newspaper also conducted educational tours for schools and allowed interested students to shadow newsroom staffers.

In the newsroom, ties were not required, although the managing editor typically wore a sports jacket and slacks. Most staffers wore casual clothes and shoes. During the study period, the newsroom was quiet, with most employees focused on their computers.

In interviews, some employees noted it was the quietest newsroom in which they had ever worked. Software blocks were put on the system to prevent computer use for personal activities; few employees were seen conducting personal business on company time during the study period.

The managing editor kept his door open except for occasional private meetings. The windows to his office make it possible to see visitors, although he had blinds to shutter the office when desired. Most staffers mentioned that the editor was approachable and willing to discuss workplace issues.

Each morning, the archivist put printed newspapers in lengthwise holders for people to use and read. Departments were clearly labeled, although the sports department had its own walled-off area apart from the main newsroom. One wall featured photographs from the staff with a sign saying, “Recent work from *Daily News* photojournalists.” Work from all of the photographers was represented in some form.

In the newsroom proper, each reporter and editor had a cubicle, with recent-model Windows computers featuring flat-screen monitors and access to the Internet. The cubicle walls were low enough that everyone was visible across the room; privacy was minimal. Most employees had personalized their spaces with family photos, favorite sayings, and inside jokes from newsroom stunts past. In the features department, a sign over one pod proclaimed, “We do not watch *Dancing with the stars* [sic].” One columnist had a calendar of *Daily News* men in humorous pseudo-fashion poses; the staff had put it together for her as a gift after she had been out for a long absence.

Near the newsroom was a large open room used primarily for staff meetings. On one wall was a large sports banner touting the university team, drawn by the newspaper’s

editorial cartoonist. Apart from meetings, the room was rarely used. A formal conference room next to the publisher's office away from the newsroom was occasionally used for some meetings. It had antique chairs, as well as historical paintings of family members over the years.

2. Established routines

The historical grounding of the news organization was prevalent in its routines and procedures.

a. The budget meeting

Budget meetings were held every morning to outline the stories for the print edition; the Web site was rarely mentioned in those meetings. The meetings followed the same order of presentation and were typically completed in 15-20 minutes with little debate or joking. The editors reviewed the stories of the day to create the lineup for the newspaper. It served as the blueprint for the day and rarely deviated from what was decided during the meeting.

The wire editor usually arrived around 6 a.m. each day to begin scrolling through the newspaper's wire services, including the Associated Press, the New York Times News Service, and McClatchy-Tribune Information Services. Other staffers filtered in between 7 and 8 a.m. Each day began with one of the editors making a trip around the newsroom, checking in with reporters to determine whether stories listed on the computer budget would be ready for the newspaper. The budget meeting was scheduled for 8:30 most mornings; on the day of the total-market coverage paper, the meeting took place at 8 to accommodate earlier deadlines.

Everyone in the newsroom had access to the online budget, which listed the local stories for the day. The budgets include a short story description, with an abbreviated story name, or “slug”; potential length in column inches; reporter’s name; information about photos and graphics; and the deadline for print. Web updates were not discussed during the budget meeting.

One such budget item was:

Outside. 12-14. [Reporter’s first name]. A school board member is sending her own child to an independent school outside the district. The breaking point came when she read over a math grant agreement between the district and the university that commits the district to teach “reformed” strategies, even in algebra classes.

Art: Mug

Deadline: 11:30 a.m.

On the budget, most reporters were listed by their first names.

At the appointed time, editors headed toward the copy desk to huddle around the copy-desk chief, who remained seated during the meeting. He was responsible for designing the front page. No one from sports attended the budget meeting, even though sports designers and editors were usually in the office at that time working on the section.

The structure of the budget meeting did not change during the study period. The meeting opened with either the city editor or associate city editor presenting the lineup of local stories, followed by the wire editor from the copy desk offering possibilities from the regional, national, and international news wires. Lengths of local stories were presented in column inches, and additional Web content usually was not discussed. Toward the end of the study period, however, editors occasionally noted comments on stories. At one meeting, the city editor mentioned a story about a superintendent candidate and then said, “According to our comment board, he’s a jerk.”

Next, a representative from the photo department showed printouts of photographs, and a page designer offered possibilities for the top strip on the front page that promotes stories inside the paper. The business editor then discussed his stories. During the meeting, the managing editor typically commented on the play of stories in the paper, but he usually did not override the suggestions of the other editors.

The Web editor's desk was located next to the copy desk. Though he was present at meetings, some days he continued to work on the Web site during the meeting. During the study period, he did not present a Web report as part of the meeting.

On Mondays, Tuesdays and Fridays, the final newsroom deadline was 1:30 p.m. It was 11:30 a.m. on Wednesdays for the total market coverage paper, and 12:30 p.m. on Thursdays, when the organization delivers a big paper with many inserted preprinted advertisements. The *Daily News* expects its carriers to have newspapers on customers' doorsteps by 5:30 p.m.

After the budget meeting, the city editor or the associate city editor updated the budget and distributed it via e-mail to the newsroom staff. Reporters were expected to finish their stories by the deadline set on the budget and send them to their desk editors for editing. Once read, the stories were sent to the copy desk for a final edit. The city editors wrote all headlines for the local news stories; copy editors created the ones for wire stories. Any news updates for the Web site during regular working hours were read by city editors, who then wrote headlines before sending them to the copy desk for final editing and posting.

Apart from the few Web updates throughout the day, the routines remained structured for the daily newspaper, and everyone focused on meeting the midday

deadline. In contrast, no formal time of the day was designated for posting to blogs or reviewing comments; individual reporters and editors were responsible for working those duties into their shifts.

Each day, the organization compiled a report tracking to the minute how well each department met the daily newspaper deadline. After the launch of the new editorial system, the news department during February missed 21 deadlines, but the problems were soon remedied. The next month, four out of 31 were missed, according to production-run reports. February proved an aberration during the study period; the other months had success rates of between 80 to 90 percent for meeting deadline as staffers became acclimated to the new editorial system.

After deadline, printed newspapers were brought up to the newsroom and made available to the staff. The Web site was updated with content from the newspaper at 2 p.m., the time when newspapers were scheduled to appear in the street boxes around the city. That update time had been in place since the initial redesign of the Web site in 2001, but it was not monitored as closely as the newspaper deadline. During the study period, the daily update time for the Web site was not included in the production-run report.

b. The daily deadline

In the morning, most newsroom employees were focused on the daily print deadline, verifying facts; writing stories, captions, and headlines; and creating content primarily for the print edition. The focus was on the “story,” which for most newsroom staffers meant the longer piece of verified content prepared and designed specifically for the newspaper. Even though it appeared on the Web site as well, staffers spoke of stories

in the context of the newspaper. Said one reporter who blogs: “I think I’m still at the point where the paper is kind of pre-emptive for me. The tops of my checks say *Daily News*” (personal communication, Feb. 20, 2009). Most of the staff considered updates and blog posts supplementary to the newspaper stories.

On the budget, each story was listed with a specific deadline, and for the most part, reporters regularly met those deadlines. Most made an effort to cut their stories to fit the prescribed length on the budget, but if caught between deadline and trimming, the writers relied on editors to make the story fit. Once the stories were “sent” through the computer system to a queue for the editors, one of the city editors opened the story and edited it. Depending on the editor, questions were asked via e-mail or phone, or out loud in the newsroom. Occasionally, stories were returned to reporters for reworking.

Once the stories were through the editing process, they were put on the page with headline specifications. Under the old system, the editors had to estimate these sizes; with the new editorial system, they could write the headlines directly on the page, streamlining the sizing process. As part of the “no jump” rule, stories were constrained to a single page, which limited page-design options for the copy desk. Content that was cut from a story usually was not restored for a Web version.

The routines of the Web staff remained focused on Web content, but most of the staff did not have the Web built into their daily routines. On a given day, there would be zero to four updates for the Web site, but most reporters focused their energies on finishing their stories for the print edition. Those with blogs added posts with varying frequency; some tried to update their blogs every day or so, while others waited a week or longer between posts.

As Tuchman (1978) found, deadline often played a role for reporters in deciding which stories to pursue. During observation one afternoon, a reporter had three primary stories to work on over the course of 1½ shifts. The first was following up on a story he had written for the previous day's paper about an employment shakeup at a local institution. The second involved a news-analysis piece for the Sunday newspaper. The last story involved covering a meeting the next morning.

Because the deadline for the Sunday news-analysis story was that afternoon, he spent the rest of his shift finishing that article. He then had to decide which of the other stories to pursue in the morning. Because the next day was a Wednesday, he would have had to send the story to editors by 11:30 a.m. He said the institutional story was more important but less certain. If he did the meeting story, he would be able to meet deadline. Constrained by the pressures of time, he chose to cover the meeting, leaving the more important enterprise story for later in the week. In his planning, the reporter thought in terms of stories for the printed newspaper; he did not consider options for putting any of the items on the Web.

In the ethnographies of Tuchman (1978) and Gans (2004), reporters used telephones or handled their beat checks in person, talking with institutional sources about potential news, and both researchers noted the reliance on official sources to gather news. At the *Daily News*, several reporters relied on the Web for their beat checks. Reporters and editors frequently checked Web sites of major institutions for board agendas. On a computer screen in the photo department, the photo editor kept open a computer window with the real-time log of the 911 reports from the local emergency management agency to double-check reports on the radio police scanner. And the police reporter regularly

checked jail lists and arrest reports via the Internet. Using this method to gather news saved time and allowed reporters to collect information more quickly, but it reduced the amount of face-to-face contact with official sources.

c. The importance of verification

Throughout the period, writers and editors consistently verified information in stories for the print edition with human sources or through the Internet. Not only did writers make sure that the information was correct, but several took steps to ensure that sources understood how the information would be used. It was the kind of transparency that Kovach and Rosenstiel (2007) describe as being consistent with the value of verification.

During the study period, a reporter was shadowed as he spent a shift working on three unrelated stories for the newspaper. One involved piecing together the story of a homeless person. That afternoon, the reporter and a photographer trudged through mud to a homeless encampment off a main highway behind a grove of trees. Upon his return to the office, he spent the last 10 minutes of his shift working on a different story he hoped to finish for the next day's paper. That story involved the downtown club scene on Thursday nights after a violent incident at a particular club the previous week. He called a neighboring downtown club owner who was reluctant to talk about his competitor.

“Maybe you could talk about what you're seeing on Thursday night? You don't have to comment directly (on the incident),” the reporter said. He mentioned the fact that so many officers had been out the previous week and noted the impact such events have with regard to public safety. The club owner then agreed to talk.

“Here’s the question then: Are you worried about what you’re seeing on Thursday nights that might escalate?” the reporter asked.

The club owner offered some insights, and the reporter pushed to get the owner on the record as a verified source. “Can I use your name, quoting you just on what you saw?” He reviewed specifically what he wanted to use to make the club owner comfortable, and used the owner’s first name during the conversation. Again, the club owner agreed, and the reporter only used the portions of his comments related to the larger story.

That same reporter regularly did “quote checks” with sources to ensure quotations were accurate and being used in the correct context. Although not every journalist used that technique, most *Daily News* reporters shadowed recorded their interviews for accuracy.

In a staff meeting before the new content-management system went live, the managing editor and the city editor emphasized the importance of multiple sources and verification for news content. The managing editor said all stories for the newspaper should have at least two sources. “It shouldn’t be an afterthought,” he said, adding that reporters should think about sourcing from the beginning of the reporting process.

During the same meeting, the city editor raised the importance of not using “according to a news release” in a story, adding it conveyed a sense of laziness. Although the phrase was an attempt to transparent, he said it reduced the authoritative nature of the newspaper.

3. *Beat structures*

Beats were organized around major public institutions to cover the primary categories of news as detailed in traditional journalism textbooks (e.g. The Missouri Group, 2007): police/courts, county government, city government, secondary education, politics, and higher education. Besides the beat reporters, a general assignment reporter was also available to fill in coverage gaps. The features, sports and business departments wrote their own stories, although beat reporters sometimes supplied stories that were used in the features and business sections. Most beat writers were encouraged to have a blog, although it was not required, and three writers in the newsroom who did not want blogs did not have them.

Tuchman (1978) and Fishman (1980) both found a reliance on institutional sources to generate enough news to fill the daily newspaper; the structure at the *Daily News* was similar to ensure that at least five to 10 local stories were produced for each edition. Some reporters produced two or three stories a day to help fill the newspaper, even though there was no stated quota or expectation for story production.

4. *The newspaper*

The newspaper, the most visible artifact of the organization, evolved over the years to include a variety of sections, columnists, topics, and features to appeal to different segments of readers. Copies were available throughout the organization, and articles, photographs, and printed proofs of newspaper pages appeared on walls, in cubicles, and elsewhere in the newsroom. In the men's bathroom closest to the newsroom, each stall had a holder attached for a newspaper.

The structures of the organization were designed to ensure a complete newspaper was distributed throughout the community at the same time each day. Despite an ever-growing Web site, the workflow remained centered on producing the newspaper each day. Each morning, the newsroom was focused on meeting the midday deadline to publish the newspaper.

At the beginning of the study period, the newspaper page web width was 27 inches; it was later trimmed to 24 inches. Though the move would reduce newsprint costs, the managing editor noted in a letter to readers the day before the redesign launched: "Industry studies indicate readers like the way the narrower newspaper is easier to handle." To reduce the impact on content, the paper engaged in a massive redesign, its most substantial since 2001. New fonts and page templates were created, and the paper switched its page-design software from Quark Xpress to Adobe InDesign for greater compatibility with the Web system. Though the redesign coincided with the new Web content-management system, the content itself, including photos, articles, and graphics, remained largely unchanged.

The managing editor also touted the Web redesign in his letter and closed the missive with an invitation: "We are eager to hear your feedback, both negative and positive, and expect that tomorrow you will find even more to like about your hometown newspaper."

Top managers saw the newspaper as the primary product of value created by the organization. Advertising rates for the newspaper were higher than those for the Web and generated the majority of revenue for operation. Throughout the study period, managers

reinforced the importance of the newspaper and the organization's commitment to it as a high-quality product. Said one member of the ownership family:

We sell some on the Web, but it makes nothing. It's never going to be – if it ever gets to be 10 percent of our advertising revenue, I'll be surprised. Doesn't mean you should snuff at it, but I don't think it's nearly as important as protecting this [*held up a newspaper*], which can be strong (personal communication, May 20, 2009).

A number of features in the newspaper had been a part of the organization for years and remained so at the end of the study period. On the editorial page, the publisher wrote a signed editorial every day. A few times a week, the staff cartoonist produced an editorial cartoon. The paper also ran anonymous comments from a community call-in line almost every day; the feature allowed readers to discuss any issue of their choosing. The managing editor sometimes responded to comments in the column, answering questions or clarifying inaccuracies.

Weekly feature sections offering coverage of food, the local music scene, and arts and entertainment had been added over the years, and the newsroom continued to provide resources over the study period to support those sections. The organization also had a designated projects editor to oversee in-depth, investigative projects as well as a Sunday news-analysis section.

5. The Web site

Before the implementation of the new content-management system, the Web site was an electronic mirror of the newspaper. Often, the lead photo on the Web site did not change from what appeared in the newspaper. Stories were presented in the same order as

they appeared in print. The Web site, however, had been adding Web-specific content during the months before the study period.

When news updates were published to the Web, they would appear with time stamps above the print stories. At the beginning of the study period, the Web production system had no mechanism for users to comment on specific stories. Instead, the reporters who had blogs used that space primarily as a way for readers to discuss the news stories. With the previous system, all comments had to be approved by writers before posting; the new content-management system, however, allowed users to comment anonymously and instantaneously on stories.

The Web site doubled as a working archive of the print newspaper. The organization required that the Web site have at least one exact duplicate of the story that appeared in print for archive purposes. Each day, the traditional print page was posted on the front of the Web site and made available as a PDF file for readers to download.

During the study period, the average time spent on the site by visitors was 6 minutes per visit, and the Web site averaged around 5 million page views per month. Those statistics remained steady throughout the study period, even after the redesign launched in February. Peaks came on Monday mornings as users returned to work. The Web audience was primarily a workweek audience, making brief visits throughout the workday. Though the Web staff regularly reviewed Web statistics about what was popular on the Web, they made few decisions regarding story play online. The two primary Web staffers working on the site during the day had photography backgrounds. The archivist was also involved in the Web site, but her role had been diminishing as the new content-management system was implemented.

Before the new system was put in place, Web updates would appear with the sentence “Published on midtowndailynews.com.” Once the new content-management system had been launched, updates were published with a time stamp instead. Print stories appeared with a byline and the publication date but no time stamp. The number of ads on each story page remained the same before and after the implementation of the new content-management system.

Throughout the study period, the Web editor tried to have updates every morning; most were usually news briefs for that day’s print edition. However, he did not assign items directly to reporters and would ask for updates from the city editor or the associate city editor. About once every other week, the site had a full story with reporter byline that needed updating. Before the new content-management system, edited briefs and updates had to be sent directly to the Web staff via e-mail for posting. With the new system, several editors and newsroom staffers gained the ability to update the Web site themselves, although updates did not become more prevalent during the study period.

Besides updates, the organization worked to develop other Web-specific content such as videos, podcasts, and online photo galleries. But production of these multimedia offerings was not routinized and did not appear consistently on the Web site. Once the new content-management system launched, comments from readers also became part of the Web site, offering another way for journalists to interact with the audience. In December, the city editor had an “anonymous tips” form set up on the site, and since its posting, it had proved a popular item, so much so, he added a front-page link. Such e-mails go to all assignment editors as well as the Web editor, who was the primary Web contact.

The Web staff occasionally put more timely photographs as the primary image on the site. For example, when Hillary Clinton was confirmed as secretary of state, the Web editor replaced the main image from the previous day's paper with Clinton's photograph. But frequently, the Web site would be reflection of the newspaper.

ii. Espoused beliefs

1. The organization is a family

In the February e-mail to staff announcing the layoffs, the managing editor referred to the newsroom as "family." It is a word that came up often during the study period at the family-owned newspaper. Many employees noted that the family ownership made them feel safer, even after the layoffs. Some newsroom employees had returned to the *Daily News* after stints at larger chain-owned newspapers. "They value the people here more. There seems to be more concern for the employees than I've seen elsewhere. That's one of the things I like about working here. They live right here" (personal communication, May 6, 2009).

The family ownership of the paper gives literal meaning to the family metaphor as well. Family members hold key management positions throughout the operation as well as ownership stakes in the company. On anniversary dates, employees were given "high five" cards signed by the top management. Several reporters noted that the publisher's name was sometimes invoked by sources, although newsroom staffers said the family did not pressure reporters to tilt coverage in a particular direction.

The family metaphor exhibited itself in other ways as well. People within the organization were given the opportunity to advance in the organization. Several editors had worked as reporters and had been promoted through the years. Though there had

been much turnover among the reporters on the city desk over the years, several newsroom employees had worked at the *Daily News* for five years or more. Some events within the organization tried to bring people together as well; for example, a group of employees were part of a “walking club” that walked together after the early deadline on Wednesday, and groups of newsroom staffers often socialized together.

2. *Small newspaper, less bureaucracy*

Several employees said they saw plusses and minuses to working at a small paper in a mid-sized city. The paper’s size allowed for more interaction between the front-line news staff and the top management at the paper, and some characterized the culture as “inclusive.”

One editor cited an example shortly after the newspaper redesign took place in February. In several instances, names of photographers were being used in photo credits, but there was inconsistencies regarding how and when they would be used. One of the editors not directly involved with the redesign raised the issue with the presentation editor, the photo editor, and the managing editor. Together, the four arrived at a solution that remained in place at the end of the study period. “So it’s not like I have to register some complaint with the photo editor or suggestion and he says, ‘Thank you, I’ll talk to someone else about it.’ It’s very collaborative, and you can talk to people and bring up issues and work through things” (personal communication, Feb. 4, 2009).

One staffer who had worked in a larger newsroom said the *Daily News* did not experience the internal competition typical of larger newsrooms. “There, people were fighting for recognition, and fighting to get their stories on the front page, whereas here,

almost everybody's story is on the front page every day, so I don't know that there's that much internal conflict or competition here than there would be at a bigger paper" (personal communication, Feb. 13, 2009).

Observation of the budget meetings confirmed that judgment. Most disagreements involved the handling of certain workflow issues, not the play of stories or coverage of events. Usually, editors were deferential to one another, and reporters routinely supplied story tips to one another. A former education reporter who had switched to another beat often helped the new reporter who had replaced her. As new bloggers came online, the more-experienced bloggers offered suggestions and coached the uninitiated on HTML coding for the site.

The paper's small size required staffers to take on a broad range of tasks, and that demand became more pronounced after the layoffs in February. Beat reporters worked more frequent weekend shifts as part of their schedules, and they sometimes had to cover breaking news outside their areas of expertise when circumstances warranted. Occasionally, reporters took their own photos to accompany their stories because photographers were unavailable.

In sports, some beat writers also worked desk shifts or covered events off their primary beat. One staffer found such cross-work useful:

I think it puts people on equal footing a bit more. One thing that I think at the time, it can seem like a drag, but ... I think sometimes that kind of grunt work is kind of — I think it's good for us. It keeps us grounded. I appreciate it. At the time, I'm like, 'Why am I covering this?' But I think in the long run, I appreciate it because it just gives you some perspective on the job and what we're doing here with the newspaper (personal communication, April 3, 2009).

City-desk reporters helped with other sections, writing for the news-analysis and business sections; the respective section editors edited those stories. Reporters who worked the city desk did not do desk work, however; designated page designers and the copy desk handled the page production.

To some, the paper's size allowed it to adapt and change more quickly. One staffer who had worked at a larger paper said, "Once a decision is made, it's executed more quickly" (personal communication, March 6, 2009).

3. *The Daily News is connected and committed to the community*

The family ownership sparked another stated organizational belief: that the organization is connected and committed to the community. Several people mentioned the newspaper's roots in the city, with a century in the market as a family-owned organization. That dedication was part of the *Daily News* brand for news in the view of several staffers. Several mentioned that they felt the *Daily News* was perceived to be the leader in the market when it came to news.

The newspaper contained several community features for readers, and local residents had several ways to interact with the organization to get information or viewpoints published. For example, one editor called a feature that runs reader-submitted snapshots a "community scrapbook." Some noted the city's size made it easier to connect with the audience.

I've been here long enough that I can recognize people on the street. You're not anonymous in [this city], so when people are commenting, if they choose to actually reveal who they are, which they usually don't, it's not like if I posted on the *New York Times* Web site and used my whole name — nobody would know who I was or care. But here, if 'Paul' starts

comments on something, he is representing himself, and you know what he's talking about if he says something, and so the culture with that kind of thing is, I think, more personal, and allowing people to participate is a good move (personal communication, March 6, 2009).

The newspaper had more than 20 local columnists providing unique content for the paper in addition to the news stories. Some saw the columnists, some of whom write about the history of the city and the surrounding county, as providing a connection to the community. Said one writer: "I think that among the regular readers and the longtime [city] residents, the *Daily News* is sort of like part ... of the community. And I think that's reflected in the fact that we have many columnists, personalities writing about the history of the county, what things were like here many years ago" (personal communication, Feb. 3, 2009).

Several top newspaper administrators were involved with the community on charitable boards and other community-related activities. In the past, one local blogger raised questions about how connected the newspaper owners were to the power structure of the community. But many in the newsroom said direct pressure was rarely, if ever felt in the newsroom for coverage of certain topics. Some said that even that perception was preferable to an absentee corporate owner.

While we might struggle some of those perceptions or fears of the good-ol'-boy-type network, I think that's a lot better than the alternative. If we had a home base in California, I think people would perceive — you know even if [the publisher] is a good ol' boy, he hangs out with people and they talk about these things — at least he's here, and at least he cares, I guess is my kind of take on it. Whereas I think if we had some kind of corporate owner, you lose credibility. Like, 'What do you care? All you're trying to do is sell a paper' (personal communication, Feb. 4, 2009).

Obituaries provided another connection to the community. Because the first 75 words of every obituary were free, every local resident had the opportunity to be

memorialized in the newspaper. It was a popular feature: Apart from days with a major breaking-news story, obituaries typically were the most viewed item on the news Web site each day.

Providing free services to the readers extended to the Web site, where content was provided freely and users could create a blog profile at no cost. Through these profiles, which required only an e-mail address, readers could comment on stories, a feature that became popular among readers. Commenting will be explored more fully in Chapter VI, as it resulted in one of the biggest changes to news routines for staff members during the study period.

4. The Web is the future

This belief was tied to the state of the industry. Across the United States, newspaper circulation has been declining, and several journalists in the newsroom said they believed the Web represented the future of news delivery for newspapers. Even those resistant to the Web said they realized audiences were moving to the Web. With the change to the new content-management system, publishing to the Web became less about the process, which had been difficult in the past and required involvement of the Web staff, and more about the content itself. One staffer said, “The continued emphasis for us is going to be for getting things on the Web site as soon as they happen, as quickly as we can, so I think probably that’s something that all of us to a certain extent are training ourselves to think Web first” (personal communication, Feb. 4, 2009).

During the study period, the city editor, a member of the ownership family, was promoted to a new top-tier position called vice president of interactive media. This

administrative position was responsible for all of the organization's Web-related initiatives, including those of the newsroom. At a staff meeting announcing the change, the managing editor made clear this promotion signaled the importance of the Web for the organization's future.

Not everyone at the *Daily News* embraced the Web initiative equally; one staffer referred to "Web rage" from colleagues who were not interested in the Web, and some employees called for the organization to charge for content on its Web site. Some saw the answer to the *Daily News*' future as keeping content exclusive for the newspaper, a strategy the organization had been using to some degree. They blame the exodus of readers to the Web on the fact that content was provided for free on the Internet.

Several staffers noted an ingrained preference toward print. Younger journalists saw some more-experienced staffers as resistant to change; some staffers with more newspaper experience viewed the Web as diluting the primary newspaper product. "There's some of the 'old way' of thinking — I'm putting that in quotes — in the sense, there's some people here that are very strongly connected to print — 'The printed word is the heart and soul of the industry' — and are a little Web-resistant" (personal communication, Feb. 3, 2009).

Indeed, in interviews, some employees with more than three years' experience questioned the wisdom of putting so much time and resources to a medium that provides little revenue for the organization. "I view the Web as a corrosive element to the organization in the sense that it doesn't pay for itself and may undermine the whole organization's ability to pay for itself because why would you pay for a newspaper when

you can get the information for free? Taking it to its extreme, why should they pay me a salary, when what I do is given away for free?" (personal communication, Feb. 2, 2009).

iii. Underlying assumptions

Schein (2004) defines the underlying assumptions as those arising out of solutions that come to be taken for granted. They are automatic and unconscious, and remain embedded in the organization among its members. To answer RQ7, three primary assumptions became apparent based on observation.

1. The newspaper creates the most value for the organization

Although the Web was mentioned often and the organization dedicated time and resources to the venture, the newspaper still dominated the *Daily News*' routines, processes, and choices. Several reporters could cite the daily circulation numbers of the printed newspaper, but most did not know numbers of story page views or unique visitors to the Web site. The newspaper produced the majority of the advertising revenue for the organization, and the organization also made some profit from circulation revenue, more than enough to cover the cost of producing and delivering the paper. Promotional advertising stressed the importance of the newspaper and its link to the community, as ads showed people reading the printed product. During staff meetings and interviews, several mentioned the concern that the free content being provided on the Internet was hurting circulation and damaging the value of the primary product.

This rooted belief led some staffers to look skeptically at the push toward the Web and engage in defensive routines (Argyris, 2004). Some staffers recalled going through

previous change efforts at other papers and noted those initiatives did not result in circulation increases. Such lack of success at other newspapers seeded doubt among some employees about the future of change at the *Daily News*.

Some said they did not care much about the Web site because it threatened the newspaper. “If we’re giving away the product, and it’s hurting the place where it is paying, I wouldn’t care too much what happens to the Web. If it’s not paying, if it’s hurting us, you know, I don’t see that it’s something that we need to worry that much about” (personal communication, Feb. 2, 2009). As the *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel* pushed toward becoming a more integrated newsroom, Brown (2008) discovered a similar conflict between the espoused belief of being “Web first” and the underlying assumption that “print is still king” (p. 64).

During the study period, the news organization had begun exploring the possibility of charging for content but had not decided what content to keep behind the paywall. One top manager said: “How much do you put in front of the curtain that people can get for free, and how much do you put behind the curtain? And in that context, I would include blogs. We have some blogs are very popular. Do we give all of that away for free, or do we charge for it? Those are all decisions we have to make” (personal communication, Feb. 25, 2009).

Before the new Web site launched, some reporters were hopeful a more interactive Web site might broaden the organization’s focus beyond print. One reporter noted some items such as explanatory or investigative projects made sense to hold for the print edition for competitive reasons, but the organization should consider loosening the

reins on other items. He saw changing that mentality as a key challenge for the newsroom.

I think some stuff you would still save for print, like a huge breaking-news enterprise, you wouldn't put it on at 9 at night and then have [competitors] have it in the morning. Then it doesn't look like you broke the news or anything. But I think getting away from that — that print is the Holy Grail, we need to save everything for this, and then just put it on the Web site after. The Web site will help us do well, will help our print product, where we have extra stories and stuff we can put on the Web (personal communication, Jan. 15, 2009).

The focus during the study period, however, remained on the newspaper. One editor pointed to the example of a story that no other competitor had, about workers from a local plant returning to work from holiday shutdown. It was held for the print edition. “So it's not really like any breaking news, but it's something that we always debate, like when do you put it on the Web? You know, you want to get it up there first, but if no one else has it, you don't want to give someone else the story before it's going to be in the paper or a certain amount of time before it's going to be in the paper” (personal communication, Feb. 4, 2009).

If updating the Web site from a live event such as a basketball game, photographers tried to make sure they were not posting a shot that might be the primary photo for the print edition. “If publishing to the Web site first, they will want a different photo in print. We'll save the best photo for print so there's not overlap” (personal communication, April 7, 2009).

The day the redesigned paper and Web site went live reinforced the priority of print. As the midday deadline approached, the top editors huddled around the front-page designer to make sure the headlines were flawless and the page came together correctly.

Meanwhile, the Web editor struggled with the content-management system as some Adobe InDesign pages were not being processed. On his own, he developed a stopgap solution, but apart from a simple “How’s it going?” from one of the other editors, most of the leadership remained focused on the printed newspaper.

2. Journalists are the professionals, producing news content accurately

Most journalists at the organization had had some formal training, either at other newspapers or in journalism school, and several interviewees noted the level of professionalism at the organization. The norms of verification and objectivity instilled through professional and educational training were embedded among the routines of the journalists in the newsroom (Kovach & Rosenstiel, 2007; Shoemaker & Reese, 1996). Shadowed reporters consistently double-checked information for their stories for the newspaper, and several proofed their stories after they had been edited to ensure errors had not been inserted during the editing process. As at other news organizations, autonomy was prized among the staff (Weaver et al., 2007). During the study period, there was little open confrontation among the staff, and most conversations were focused on producing content for the newspaper. As noted earlier, the newsroom was quiet; there were few instances of raised voices during the study period.

The editors on staff had been writers or copy editors at some time during their careers and worked their way into management positions. Errors were frowned upon; in one staff meeting, the managing editor noted the errors appearing the news pages. “It’s embarrassing — for you and us,” he told the staff.

One more-experienced journalist worried about the changes on the profession being wrought by the Web. “I think the Web and the dependence in general on the Web has taken shoe-leather out of reporting, and the face-to-face contact that people have. Too often, reporters — and this isn’t everyone all of the time, but it happens — all too often, people spend too much time on the phone, and they never see their sources. They don’t know what their sources look like, and their sources don’t know what they look like” (personal communication, March 24, 2009).

The new content-management system provided a platform for the audience to comment on how *Daily News* journalists did their jobs. Anyone could post anonymously and take issue with a given fact or statement in a story. Although some reporters and editors joined the discussion in the comments, not everyone did so, and errors and unverified rumors often remained in the comments column without being removed. The give-and-take with the audience online through the comments and blogs also raised some issues among the reporters. Several expressed frustration about giving the public the ability to critique the news stories anonymously, even if they did not have all the facts. One manager at the end of the study period referred to the “overwhelming disdain” for the comments from the staff (personal communication, May 14, 2009).

Even a month after the Web site launched, the staff continued to wrestle with how much freedom to give commenters. An entire staff meeting was devoted to the topic, as several expressed concerns about how the comments might diminish the *Daily News*’ credibility. Two editors had an open disagreement in the meeting, but the managing editor made clear he felt comments were important. Said one staffer after the meeting:

“When the boss starts the meeting with two or three minutes of just unequivocal defense of the comments, you know” (personal communication, April 29, 2009).

After the meeting, the vice president of interactive media sent an e-mail to the staff:

A lot of valid questions were raised during yesterday's discussion about story comments, and I'm sure readers have a lot of the same questions. I want to put together a list of FAQs [frequently asked questions] that we can link from our story pages to answer some of these questions — why we allow comments, what we do when people post inappropriate comments, etc. Please e-mail me any other questions you think are worth addressing.

Also, [the Web editor] is changing the wording and placement of our policy statement and making other tweaks to head off any confusion there might be.

As always, we'll try to be as vigilant and proactive as possible to stop discussions from sliding into the sewer. We want the comments to add to our stories, not detract from them. It's inevitable that a few bad apples will wind up in the mix, but a vast majority of the comments are thoughtful and thought provoking, so I think it's in everyone's interest (readers and ours) to enable a robust discussion.

We'll keep talking about this issue because, as we all know, it keeps evolving.

Thanks!

The wording and policy statement regarding Web comments were changed soon after the meeting. The header above the comments was changed from “Comments” to “Reader Comments” and included the following statement: “The opinions expressed below are those of the readers who submitted them and not those of the *Daily News*’ reporters or editors. Readers are solely responsible for the content of their comments.” A “frequently asked questions” (FAQ) page about the newspaper’s approach to allowing comments was created but not linked from other pages during the study period.

After the new Web site launched, the mission of the *Daily News*' blogs changed. With the ability to comment on stories, bloggers no longer needed posts seeking comments on stories from the audience. As a result, some struggled to redefine their blogs, and several decided to meet after hours to brainstorm ways to improve their blogs. During the meeting, conflicting opinions about commenters also arose:

Reporter 1: I totally hate that. There's so much negativity.

Reporter 2: Our commenters are stupid. I'm sorry.

Reporter 1: People don't even read the story. They'll go right to the comments and be like, "Well, did the story say this? I think it said this." It's one inch above you. Just read it.

Reporter 3: They want people to spoon-feed it.

Reporter 4: I feel like that's a pretty isolated segment of our readership, though.

Reporter 1: The commenters?

Reporter 4: The crazy commenters.

Reporter 5: I love comments.

Reporter 1 (*frustrated*): It's just so ... I never want to read the comments.

Reporter 5: It's what readers have been doing for decades. They just read a headline and think they know what the story says.

Reporter 1: But I don't have to hear them or read them bitching. (*Another reporter laughs*). I would rather not do that.

Reporter 5: People are like, "Hey, your story said this," and you're like, "No it didn't."

Reporter 3: Fewer angry calls from readers when the comments went up.

Reporter 1: Fewer e-mails I've noticed. No one e-mails me anymore.

Reporter 4: I have, too. I never thought of that.

During an interview, one writer noted how the new medium conflicts with the standards of what was taught in journalism school: “In J-school, they said we are a public forum of thought. But it wasn’t really true because you’re a cinema. You’re just reflecting what you’ve created. You’re not reflecting as much what everybody’s saying. So I mean even if [Reporter A] is a great reporter, [Reporter A] will get multiple voices, he’ll get in as many as he can, but before readers had the ability to comment, that was all you got. It was whoever [Reporter A] got a hold of. Now anyone who has an opinion ... can comment on it. They’re in a restaurant now. They’re not at the cinema” (personal communication, March 6, 2009).

3. *The Daily News is a stepping stone to a larger paper*

Although some newsroom employees had been with the *Daily News* for five years or more, another underlying assumption was that the newspaper served a training ground for young reporters. Most of the newsroom staff arrived after 2001; more than a third joined in 2004 or later. Names of previous employees who have had success at larger papers were remembered, and the awards dating back a decade or more remained in the hallway to the newsroom alongside newer accolades. Some staffers avoid planting roots too deep into the organization.

Some viewed the amount of turnover in the newsroom as a way to refresh the pool of talent in the newsroom. But the underlying assumption that the paper is a stepping stone clashed with the stated belief that the newspaper is connected to the community. New reporters on beats take time to connect with sources and gain knowledge. Indeed, most of the primary beats had undergone turnover in 2008 and 2009. Said one staffer:

“There’s a lot of turnover. You’re always having to adjust to a new beat writer, new columnists. It’s tough in a lot of ways, but — so that would be the negative of it, maybe — but I think readers are getting more and more used to the fact that that’s just how it is” (personal communication, April 8, 2009). One of the sports staffers noted the amount of turnover among the city-desk reporters. “There’s a lot of turnover on that side. It seems like once you get to realize someone’s in a certain beat, they change” (personal communication, Feb. 20, 2009).

This underlying assumption also created more tension, given the state of the industry. Several employees noted they had hoped to advance to bigger papers, as previous staffers had done, but given the current climate, they were not sure that scenario was still a possibility. One staffer who came to the paper with the hopes of eventually moving to a larger market said: “What is the future for us? I don’t have a lot of hope for my future in this industry” (personal communication, March 6, 2009).

iv. Leadership

In examining RQ8, it is important to note the culture of the organization is tied in large part to the leadership of the organization (Kets de Vries, 2001; Schein, 2004). Much of the vision from above was imparted in staff meetings and through e-mails to the staff. Top managers noted a “hands-off” approach to management to give journalists the freedom to be creative in doing their jobs. But several staffers said they craved guidance for weaving the Web duties into their everyday routines.

In applying Kets De Vries’ (2001) constellation of organizations to the *Daily News*, the newsroom exhibits some features of the detached constellation of organization.

This type of organization is characterized by an internal focus and insufficient scanning of the environment. Though managers were aware of the changes in the industry, they maintained a belief in the core newspaper product. The organization, however, had not conducted reader surveys regarding audience needs and had not worked analysis of Web statistics into its work routines. Culturally, facets of the depressive organization seemed applicable as well: with hands-off leadership and ritualistic behavior, it is difficult to change (Kets de Vries, 2001). These traits were not exhibited in abundance, however, and did not reach the level of significant psychopathology. But they did keep the organization rooted in tradition and affect its ability to change.

The managing editor had been at the paper for more than 20 years, and most of his tenure had been in his current position. He was well respected by the staff, who during interviews offered unsolicited praise for his knowledge and news judgment. Most saw him as willing to embrace industry changes with regard to the Web, and this perception was confirmed through observation. He had a blog for a time and was one of the biggest proponents of limited management of comments on the Web site. Despite the appreciation for him as a person, employees desired more direction concerning the Web from leadership, especially with the climate of uncertainty facing the industry.

The leadership did discuss macro-level ideas and overall perspectives in staff meetings. A staff meeting in February shortly after the Web and newspaper redesigns had launched provided some insights into the management style at work in the organization. Before the meeting, the managing editor e-mailed to the staff a *Chicago Tribune* memo about new goals for editorial evaluations and used the document as a basis for discussion for thinking about how the *Daily News* evaluated its employees. Among them were:

1. *Digital first.* Think and act first as a member of a digital newsroom that also publishes newspapers. Create unique, relevant, trustworthy content for publication on digital platforms in concert with print.

2. *Deliver on mission.* Daily goals are local relevance, watchdog reporting, personal utility, consumer guidance, visual drama and compelling storytelling. Watchdog is standing up for the community, uncovering wrongs and holding the powerful accountable

3. *Innovation and customer focus.* Embrace change by seeking out new and innovative ideas that serve key audiences and move the *Chicago Tribune* forward. Demonstrate a customer-first mentality in content creation, delivery, reader contact and service.

4. *Urgency.* Work with a sense of urgency, managing time effectively to achieve highest-possible efficiency while maintaining quality.

At the staff meeting, the staff had been discussing other issues, and when the editors moved to the evaluation topic, a manager joked, “For those who didn’t know we had an evaluation system.”

The discussion opened with being “digital first.” The managing editor noted the newspaper was not at that point yet, but added, “Surely, we’re going to do more of that. The way I frame that is ‘think cross-platform.’ ... We ought to be able to add value on the Web.” In that discussion, the city editor made clear that content that is exclusive to the *Daily News* should not appear on the Web first. “We’re not putting that on the Web. We’re doing that to protect our print circulation.” Some reporters raised questions about the possibility of producing videos or audio slideshows, but no firm decisions were made regarding those suggestions.

Regarding utility, the managing editor noted, “We do a pretty decent job of watchdog, local relevance, personal utility. We’ve got good storytellers.” The city editor added: “We ought to be challenging ourselves to do that all the time.”

The point referring to customer service sparked a discussion about how readers perceive stories and how the journalists respond to people who call the newsroom. The city editor noted, “We are kind of perceived as the authorities of everything in the world. Some people are knocking on our doors because they can’t get help anywhere else.” Another staffer added: “People just appreciate being heard.”

When urgency was discussed, the managing editor said, “Boy, that’s a balance, isn’t it? We’ve got to be first, and we’ve got to be best.” He reiterated the importance of getting multiple sources for stories and avoiding corrections at all costs.

At the end of the meeting, he asked staffers to e-mail or “walk into my office and sit down” to discuss the evaluation ideas. “I would like to, with your help, come up with a more meaningful way to measure performance,” he said. By the end of the study period, however, no one had come to his office to discuss evaluations, and the forms still needed to be updated.

The hands-off approach to management also affected the amount of feedback given to directly to the reporters, copy editors, and photographers. Though an editors’ meeting was started during the study period to review papers, front-line staffers were not invited. Reporters were typically not given formal reviews or appraisals on a systematic basis, and they often had to seek out feedback.

“You just do your thing,” one staffer said. “There’s not a lot of hand-holding. For feedback, you have to go out and get the feedback. You’re not just going to get it. ...As far as expectations being laid out or feedback after stories, that doesn’t really happen unless you do something terrible” (personal communication, Feb. 3, 2009). Most staffers also said they expected the vision and mission of the organization to come from the upper

tiers. From several employees' perspectives, it was not their jobs to imagine where the revenue will come from. Said one: "Our job is to create the content. We're not the businessmen" (personal communication, May 14, 2009).

The lack of vision with regard to the Web led to some confusion over how connected the Web is to the journalistic mission of the organization. "Piecemeal," "lack of focus," and "lack of guidance" were all phrases used by staffers with regard to the organization's approach to the Web. Most agreed the ownership was committed to journalism, but several said they were unclear exactly how the Web fit into the *Daily News*' journalistic mission.

The approach to Web content revealed inconsistencies with the mission as well. Content that appeared in the newspaper was verified and double-checked, but not all Web content received the same level of scrutiny. If no copy editors were available, some updates were posted without additional editing. Photographers and bloggers could post content without an editor's approval; one editor noted that the policy signaled trust with the bloggers: "I trust what she's going to put up there. We have people doing blogs who are professionals. They're not going to put up libelous things" (personal communication, May 14, 2009). Comments, too, were posted before any vetting took place, and often, audience voices engaging in rumor or speculation were allowed to stay on the site unless they were proved inaccurate.

The lack of clarity regarding the Web mission was exacerbated by the layoffs, which created a greater sense of uncertainty. Though most employees said they understood the decision and trusted the leadership had little choice, some expressed frustration at the suddenness of the decision to eliminate staffers. This tension was

defused because of the open staff meeting in which the layoffs were discussed. The managing editor and city editor and the newsroom representative of the administrative council were on hand, and most employees said during interviews they felt their questions had been answered.

In the newsroom structure, the reporters worked with both the city editor and associate city editor; they talked with whoever was available regarding their stories, updates, and blogs. Some also discussed ideas with the business editor, who previously had been a reporter on the city desk. The city editor, associate city editor and business editor had all been writers at some time in the past and were familiar with the demands of reporting and writing.

Turnover was also a factor in the desire for leadership. With a constant stream of new employees, staffers looked above for guidance but often were left to learn the routines of the organization on their own, especially regarding Web-specific content.

v. *Structure and communication processes*

In examining RQ9, the structure and communication processes were considered. In the organization, there were attempts to review processes through measures such as the visioning process, but the single-loop learning did not reach the level of the underlying assumptions, or the “theories-in-use,” because the hands-off leadership style led staffers to rely on routines to guide their behavior (Argyris & Schön, 1996). These routines were rooted in the underlying assumptions.

The structure of the organization was hierarchical with a formal organizational chart showing the managing editor as the top newsroom manager, below the associate publisher. Despite this structure, staffers had much autonomy regarding their shifts. One

photographer operated primarily through remote electronic means. He received assignments via e-mail and transmitted pictures through his laptop to the office, allowing him to spend most of his time on assignments rather than in the newsroom. Writers communicated with editors regularly but arranged their own schedules to cover assignments as they saw fit.

Similarly, the individual subgroups within the newsroom operated and managed themselves. The photo editor worked with his staff to determine photography needs and managed scheduling conflicts with other editors. The sports editor decided what games and sports to cover; he experimented with video and podcasts on his own initiative in discussions with his staff. The copy desk, too, arranged its schedule appropriately to cover the shifts.

1. E-mail

As noted earlier, several employees mentioned how quiet the newsroom was, a point that was confirmed through observation during the study period. E-mail was commonly used in place of in-person discussions. News budgets were sent to the staff via e-mail; announcements, such as policy changes and meetings, were often made through staffwide e-mails; and policy discussions took place among editors through the system. One writer expressed frustration that editors would sometimes e-mail questions even if they could see each other in the newsroom. Photo requests were also scheduled through the Microsoft Outlook system.

One such policy exchange involved whether to amend stories online after they had appeared in print. The topic sparked an e-mail debate among the Web team, the managing editor, and the sports desk. The sports department had hoped to expand a story

online if additional information became available after the print deadline. The response from the managing editor: “Our online archive reflects what was in the paper. If we can devise a way to point readers to additional info, that's OK with me. But we can't run two different newspapers.” During the e-mail exchange, one sports staffer noted he was at his “wit's end” about the issue. At the end of the discussion, the policy remained that at least one version of the story as it appears in print needs to be on the Web site.

In another instance, after a staff discussion about comments, an e-mail was sent to the top managers offering some recommendations about how to handle them in the future: “These comments often are harsh or idiotic. I think it's demeaning to news stories that take skill and effort to report when we post such comments directly below the story text; why not set up a link that would separate a reader's first contact with the story from the comments portion?” That policy, too, remained unchanged at the end of the study period.

2. Meetings

Meetings were another primary form of communication. They were conducted efficiently and rarely exceeded the time allotted. Discussions typically were kept on track and did not deviate from their intended purpose. Despite that characteristic, some staffers found the staff meetings a “waste of time.” Others did not attend them. Rank did not seem to matter in meetings. Reporters who had been with the organization less than a year spoke as well as staffers with much longer tenures. The open environment for discussing and reviewing errors revealed facets of a Model II organization (Argyris & Schön, 1996).

The staff was cognizant of the number of meetings and meeting lengths. Meetings typically did not last longer than an hour, and they stayed within the preset boundaries. At one of the first editors' meetings, an hour was scheduled to review the week's papers. At 3:55 p.m., after nearly an hour, someone noted the time, and the pace of reviewing papers accelerated. Budget meetings sometimes started a few minutes late, but rarely ran longer than 20 minutes. As detailed earlier, they followed a routine format, with the city desk offering the lineup of the day's stories, followed by the wire report, the photos, and the top banner for the front page before the news budget was revised and distributed to the staff.

vi. Separation among the subgroups

In examining RQ10, it is important to consider the subgroups of the newsroom, which include the Web producers, the city desk, the copy desk, the business desk, the features desk, the photo department, and the sports department. Though the separate departments worked together to publish the paper every day, several staffers said they felt a psychological distance among the various departments of the newsroom, and that distance sometimes led to defensive routines among the departments. These barriers, though not major obstacles to change, contributed to departments seeing the changes in the context of themselves, leading to some defensive confrontations.

For example, the copy desk was most concerned with the changes to the page-design and wire-service software packages. Writers focused on changes to the editorial system and the blogging software. The Web editor concentrated his efforts on the change to the new content-management system. Because of this situation, the unclear vision from leadership left many wondering what the mission of the integrated newsroom should be,

as well as how to prioritize content for the newspaper and Web site. At the end of the study period, the newsroom routines and structures remained primarily focused on the newspaper. After the software changes, one staffer said, “It seems like everyone is a little distant and doing their own little thing. The departments do their own thing well” (personal communication, May 14, 2009).

The features department operated independently to a large degree, although its physical presence in the newsroom proper made it less separated than the sports and photo departments. Still, the arts and entertainment editor and the writer who works for him do their planning independently. The business editor was located in the editor pod alongside the city editors, a location that kept him part of the daily discussion. Some in those departments did not mention the separation or split as much as the other departments. One said most departments contributed work as part of the overall “total [newspaper organization] news product rather than feeling territorial about it’s-got-to-go-on-my-page type of thing” (personal communication, Feb. 4, 2009).

Perceptions of the Web were connected with the amount of control staffers felt to the medium. Control can affect the amount of anxiety one feels during a time of change (Czander, 1993). Some photographers, for example, saw the Internet as a canvas on which to display their work. One photographer said, “I definitely shoot more for the Web than the paper. It gives me more liberty” (personal communication, April 7, 2009). The resident bloggers, however, had mixed reactions to their responsibilities. Those who were considered good by their peers admitted they had grown a “thicker skin” when it came to the Web and comments. Others disliked how much power the audience had with the ability to comment.

For some staffers, workflow issues also affected their perception of the Web site. After more than a month with the new site, one editor classified the Web this way: “It’s something we don’t focus on yet. It’s something we look at as extra. We put all our energy into the print work” (personal communication, March 11, 2009).

The Web/print division also filtered into perceptions of the Web staff. Some people said they did not view the Web editor as an “editor,” or someone responsible for content. Instead, they saw his role as more technical. That perception was amplified by the fact that he did not have a role in the budget meetings and made few decisions regarding story play on the Web.

The photo and sports departments were physically separated from the rest of the newsroom, and some in those departments worked unusual shifts, which added to their isolation and independence. Staffers from both departments mentioned a lack of appreciation for their work. Said one sports staffer: “It’s not as valued as much as it should be” (personal communication, May 15, 2009).

Despite that perspective in the interviews, actions of the newsroom management showed resource support for both departments. Sports writers following the hometown university’s football and basketball teams traveled more than any other writers in the organization, and a photographer was sent to most away games. The newsroom supplied photographers with camera equipment, and the department had two laptops available for photographs to be sent remotely. The photo department also kept the newsroom video camera.

Though the sports editor reported to the managing editor in the organizational chart, the sports department for the most part operated independently of the rest of the

newsroom. As described earlier, no sports editors attended the budget meeting, even if a sports picture was planned for the front page, and its staffers were rarely required to attend the staff meetings.

One staffer noted: “It’s really interesting at this newspaper, sports is almost treated as their own entity — not to be included or excluded from anything purposely” (personal communication, March 26, 2009). Another staffer outside of sports characterized it this way: “It’s not like we have a problem working with them. It’s just that we don’t work with them” (personal communication, May 20, 2009). In one interview, a sports staffer said the department started blogging shortly after the city-desk’s politics blog became popular in 2007. The person, however, could not remember the name of the blogger; on the city desk, everyone knew the political blogger’s name.

Sometimes, that separation created an issue. Sports was “very autonomous,” one sports staffer said, “to the point sometimes where it’s to a fault. It’s not always the best communication if there’s a story that bleeds into sports and news” (personal communication, April 3, 2009). In some cases, staffers felt as though that decision to take stories from sports for the front page was done because of a lack of faith in their abilities.

An incident before the study period involved a college-basketball player who had been arrested. After the arrest, the police reporter at the time handled the stories, which created some tension. “They kind of took over the coverage of it, and would show up at his house and call all the time, and that’s really dogged reporting, but we’re the ones who pay for that on the sports side. Team officials get upset, and they know us, so they blame us. I think if the lines of communication were a little bit better as far as how to handle

those situations — and they are now, I think — you know, that always works out much better for us” (personal communication, April 3, 2009).

The photography department’s separation was not as pronounced as sports’ because photographers had to work closely with all departments. But the emphasis on writing at the paper had created some lingering issues. Very few story ideas from the photography staff were encouraged; some in the newsroom referred to the photography department as a “service organization” designed to serve the writing-centric departments.

But some in the photo department saw the possibility for photos to be stories as well; a regular photo feature that appeared in the newspaper each week was produced and driven by the photography staff. Some were frustrated by what they saw as the minimization of their craft by the other departments. “The picture isn’t used to tell a story. It’s a label. It’s a visual label. So anytime you see a mug shot of the governor, everyone knows what the governor looks like already; it’s not a storytelling thing. It has nothing to do with helping tell a story; it has everything to do with a quick visual thing — this story is about the governor” (personal communication, March 26, 2009).

Last-minute or incomplete photo requests also added to the feeling of separation in the photo department. Over the past three years, the photo editor had conducted four training sessions for the staff, but miscommunication still occurred. One photo request for a presidential candidate said only, “Mike Huckabee speaks.” The time listed was incorrect, and the department was unable to get the photo. The photo editor, however, had limited authority over other staffers to enforce standards about photo requests.

Photographers were often the first *Daily News* journalists responding to breaking news. One incident recalled by a staffer involved a drowning at a local lake. After the

initial report came over the police scanner, the photographer arrived first and interviewed some friends of the drowning victim. By the time the reporter arrived, the friends did not want to talk to anyone else. But the photographer was able to provide information from the original interview for the final story, written by a city-desk reporter.

The siloed nature of these subgroups is critical to understanding barriers to organizational learning because much of the innovation with regard to the Web was occurring in the sports and photo departments during the study period. Upon their own initiative, these departments tried to create unique, Web-specific content to develop a unique value proposition online for the Web audience. But those lessons remained confined to those departments in part because of the departmental separation.

The implementation effort of the new Web site and the new design did little to bridge the gaps between the departments. Near the end of the study period, several staffers in all departments still noted the separation between sports and the city desk: “It’s like two newspapers” (personal communication, May 6, 2009).

Some outside the city desk saw the change in city editor as a positive. As someone who had worked across departments in her previous job, she had communicated more frequently with the copy desk, photography, features and sports. After becoming city editor, the lines of communication appeared to remain open; in a March budget meeting, when a sports element was being considered for the front page, she knew that the sports department had asked to use a particular picture for its page.

C. Organizational change

As mentioned in the previous section, the separation among the subgroups played a role in the defensiveness of some staff members with regard to the change to the Web.

In answering RQ10 and RQ11, a lack of clarity of expectations also contributed to the defensive routines at work, resulting in differing perceptions between management and the rank-and-file employees.

The defensiveness at the *Daily News* primarily took the form of relying on established routines and preserving the status quo, clinging to what had worked in the past (Argyris, 2004). Most writers focused their energies on stories for the print edition; blogs were referred to as an “afterthought,” something to deal with only if extra time was left in the workday. This lack of priority was affirmed by the fact that three reporters who did not want blogs did not have them.

Managers did see the change to a Web mind-set as a slow, steady process. Some mentioned they were not concerned that they had not moved at the pace of others in the industry, especially since some newspapers that had actively jumped into the Web had not reaped sizable profits from such a move. The underlying assumption that the newspaper created the most value for the organization made it difficult to embrace the stated belief that the Web is the future. And though several people viewed the organization with less bureaucracy than larger papers, that streamlined operation did not necessarily translate into change because of the strong commitment to the underlying assumption that journalists were the professional fact-gatherers. The change to a round-the-clock news culture would focus on immediacy over accuracy, which conflicts with the professional assumption that values verification.

Many employees expressed concerns about changing so many systems in a single day, but the change proceeded according to schedule. It was one of the few instances of top-down decision-making seen during the study period. Almost everyone interviewed

mentioned the change in systems went as well as could be hoped for, given the number of systems that changed.

Several times during the study period, managers attempted to encourage ideas from rank-and-file employees. In those cases, anxious defensiveness often exhibited itself in the fact that no one responded to requests for input, such as the case with the evaluation forms. The pressures of learning new systems and experiencing new demands left people focusing on their daily responsibilities and little else.

After the layoffs, a sense of anxiety existed. Defensiveness exhibited itself in the fact that less content unique to the Web was being created. Some cityside bloggers updated their blogs sporadically, concentrating their efforts on producing stories for the print edition. Photographers cut back on audio slideshows and videos during that time period. Staffers fell back on the traditional routines and processes that were historically rewarded in the organization.

Managers in the newsroom laid the groundwork for new systems over a period of several months. Training sessions were held for the software, but several employees noted that learning new skills occurred on the job. One staffer said, “I wouldn’t say there’s a lot of training that goes on. It’s more watching and learning” (personal communication, April 3, 2009).

The change to integration at the *Daily News* has been gradual, as Web updates were begun 12 to 18 months before the study period began. One by one, beat reporters began taking on blogs, encouraged by the success of early blogs on education, politics, and sports. Apart from four people dedicated to Web positions, few operated with an eye toward the Web on a regular basis. The mornings for many reporters and editors were

focused on developing content for the printed newspaper and toward meeting the midday deadline. Some news briefs for the paper, once read, were forwarded to the Web for publication, but few updates through the study period were Web-specific. Sometimes in the afternoon, writers with blogs would write posts, but stories for the newspaper always took precedence.

One of the biggest challenges to the status quo came with the promotion of the city editor to a newly created position, vice president of interactive media. In announcing the move to the staff in a meeting, the managing editor said: "It's just gotten to the point where we feel we need a full-time position ... to work with department heads to coordinate online issues." The city editor then added: "The Internet is becoming a bigger part of what we do." The presentation editor, who was responsible for newspaper redesign, was promoted to city editor, and her position was left unfilled. Her remaining duties were spread among several page designers and copy editors.

Managers did sense some of the trepidation involving comments, and they were willing and open to discuss the issue with staffers during meetings and through e-mails. The communication was less open about the impact of blogging and updates on the daily routines of reporters. Managers relied on untested assumptions that reporters would figure out how to manage those duties on their own, but reporters said it was difficult to prioritize those duties because the expectations of management were unclear.

V. AUDIENCE ANALYSIS

In recent years, the number of media options for news has grown sharply, and news consumers have gained new power to choose when and where they want their information. News organizations such as the *Daily News* are scrambling to find ways to meet users' communication needs, but are they using the correct tools to determine the news "jobs to be done" in their communities?

To explore RQ12, RQ13, and the hypotheses regarding media choice, a secondary analysis was conducted on the 2008 news-consumption survey from the Pew Research Center. From April 30 to June 1, 2008, Pew polled 3,615 U.S. adults via landline telephone and cell phones, and gathered a sample that reflected the national population, making considerations for age, education, income, and race. The complete dataset was released to the public in February 2009. For purposes of this study, certain facets of the Media Choice Model (Thorson & Duffy, 2006) were tested to examine audience expectations and behavior with regard to newspapers and the Internet. The concepts specified in the model were operationalized using specific questions from Pew.

Pew researchers classified the respondents into news-audience segments based on how often they go online, how frequently they seek hard news, and what medium they use as their primary news source. Among the categories were Traditionalists (46 percent), who do not get news online and use a traditional media source (radio, television, or newspaper) as their primary source for news; Integrators (23 percent), who do get news online but use a traditional media source as their primary source; Net-Newsters (13 percent), who use the Internet as their primary news source; and the Disengaged (14

percent), who are not interested in news. The remaining respondents listed other sources as the primary source for news and were grouped together as “Other.”

The dataset was refined to make it suitable for regression analysis. For exploratory questions regarding media usage by audience, binary logistic regression was used to determine how media-choice variables correlate with choosing a given medium as the primary source for news. For hypotheses examining issues related to disruptive innovation, hierarchical linear regression was used.

The dataset was reduced to 3,426 respondents, removing those who responded “don’t know” or refused to answer certain demographic categories. Although those who failed to answer racial, education or age questions could be removed without affecting the quality of the dataset, 18 percent of the sample did not know or refused to answer the income question. These respondents could not be removed without endangering sample quality; therefore, a distribution of income responses was created and the 570 missing values were randomly replaced with values so that the replacements would be spread across the existing distribution.

Because some questions were asked of only online users, the dataset was further reduced to 2,232 respondents to test hypotheses dealing specifically with online users. These users were identified by those who answered “yes” to Question 48 (“Do you ever go online to access the Internet or to send or receive email?”).

A. The variables

i. Demographics

Six demographic categories were included in the analysis. *Age* was divided into 18-24, 25-34, 35-44, 45-54, 55-64, and 65 and older. *Education* was divided into less than a high-school diploma, high-school graduate, high-school graduate with some college, and college graduate or higher. Cases with missing values were eliminated from the analysis.

Four racial categories were considered: White, Black/African-American, Asian, and Other. Effects coding was used with Other designated as -1 in the categorical variable. As with age and education, cases with missing values were eliminated.

Ethnicity examined whether or not respondents considered themselves Hispanic. The categorical variable was coded as 1 for Hispanic and 0 for not. *Gender* was coded as a categorical variable as well, 1 for male and 0 for female.

Income was divided into nine categories: less than \$10,000 a year; \$10,000 to under \$20,000; \$20,000 to under \$30,000; \$30,000 to under \$40,000; \$40,000 to under \$50,000; \$50,000 to under \$75,000; \$75,000 to under \$100,000; \$100,000 to under \$150,000; \$150,000 or more. Missing values were replaced across the existing distribution as described above.

ii. Audience group

Pew used the answer to four questions to create the audience groupings for the survey: Question 42 (“Thinking about a typical weekday overall, do you get most of your news from television, a print newspaper, the radio, or the Internet?”), Question 48 (“Do you ever go online to access the Internet or to send and receive e-mail?”), Question 49

(“How frequently do you go online to get news?”), and Question 74 (“Now, I’m going to read you a list of different types of news. Please tell me how closely you follow this type of news, either in the newspaper, on television, radio, or the Internet?”). Some variables for this analysis were developed using those questions; in those cases, the audience groupings were not included as independent variables.

For purposes of this analysis, the audience groups were effects coded, with “Other” designated as -1.

iii. Media Choice Model variables

Media-usage concepts were operationalized with single and multiple questions. Certain conceptualizations of variables in the Media Choice Model focused on specific parameters explicated in the model because of limitations in the dataset. For example, only two aspects of *voice*, authoritarian and opinionated, were explored because of question wording.

Multimedia (categorical: 0, prefers text; 1, prefers pictures/video): For purposes of this study, this conception focused on the multimedia aspect of media features as described in the Media Choice Model. It was operationalized using Question 89 (“What do you find gives you the best understanding of major news events, reading or hearing the facts about what happened or seeing pictures and video showing what happened?”) to gauge the interest in multimedia presentation of news, versus the traditional text-driven model used by newspapers in print and on their Web sites. Those who responded “don't know” or refused were split evenly among the categories to preserve the categorical nature of the variable.

Aperture (scale: 0-4): This continuous variable used a tiered set of questions, Questions 84-86, and tallied the results to gauge how large a user's news aperture was. The first tier began with Question 84, "Are you more the kind of person who gets the news at regular times, or are you more the kind of person who checks in on the news from time to time?" For those who get it at regular times, the answer was scored with a 1. For those who check in, the potential aperture is greater, and the answer was scored with a 2. For those who answered "neither" or "don't know," or refused to answer, the score was zero.

Depending upon the answer to Question 84, the questioner then proceeded to either Question 85 or 86 to examine how often the respondent checked in with the news. For those who get the news at regular times, Question 85 asked, "In addition to getting the news at regular times, do you also find yourself checking in on the news from time to time?" For each level of checking in ("yes, less often"; "yes, once or twice a day"; "yes, several times a day"), another point was added to the aperture score.

Those who said they checked in were asked a similar question with Question 86: "How often do you check in on the news?" Another point was added to the base of 2, depending upon how often they said they checked in. A zero was given for "less often."

Voice (categorical: 0, authoritarian; 1, opinionated): For this variable, two of the four voices represented in the Media Choice Model were compared, authoritarian, which represents the traditional one-way form of media distribution, and opinionated, which represents a viewpoint in its presentation of news, such as talk radio. This concept was operationalized using Question 88 ("Thinking about the different kinds of political news available to you, what do you prefer: Getting news from sources that share your political

point of view, or getting news from sources that don't have a particular point of view?"). As with the multimedia variable, the few who responded "don't know" or refused were split evenly among the categories to keep the variable categorical.

Media usage (categorical: 0, other medium as primary source of news; 1, this medium as primary source of news): Four media-usage variables were created from Question 42: "Thinking about a typical weekday overall, do you get most of your news from television, print newspapers, the radio, or the Internet?" Respondents were allowed to pick only one source as the primary source; for that category, they were scored a 1. All others were scored as zero.

Habit strength (scale: 0-4): This concept focused on how much time the respondent spent with a given news medium. Four separate variables were created for television, newspapers, radio, and the Internet as news sources and were analyzed separately.

For newspaper habit strength, Questions 9 and 10 were recoded. Question 9 asked, "Now thinking about yesterday, did you get a chance to read a daily newspaper yesterday or not?" If so, the questioner followed up with Question 10, "About how much time did you spend reading a daily newspaper yesterday?" The answer was scored 0 for "didn't read paper," 1 for "less than 15 minutes," 2 for "15-29 minutes," 3 for "30-59 minutes," and 4 for "1 hour or more."

A similar question was asked about television with Question 13: "Did you watch the news or a news program on television yesterday or not?" If so, the follow-up question was, "About how much time did you spend watching the news or any news programs on

TV yesterday?” The answer was scored 0 for “didn’t watch,” 1 for “less than 15 minutes,” 2 for “15-29 minutes,” 3 for “30-59 minutes,” and 4 for “1 hour or more.”

For radio, Pew researchers collapsed the idea into a single question, Question 17: “About how much time, if any, did you spend listening to any news on the radio yesterday, or didn't you happen to listen to the news on the radio yesterday?” The scale, however, is the same: 0 for “didn’t listen,” 1 for “less than 15 minutes,” 2 for “15-29 minutes,” 3 for “30-59 minutes,” and 4 for “1 hour or more.”

Questions 18, 18a, and 19 probed the respondent regarding online news. Question 18 asked, “Did you get any news online through the Internet yesterday or not?” and was followed by Question 19, “About how much time did you spend getting news online yesterday?” Question 18a related to an earlier question about using online newspapers: “You mentioned reading newspapers on the Internet yesterday. Aside from newspaper Web sites, did you get any other news online through the Internet yesterday?” If so, respondents were asked Question 19. The usage was scaled as the other questions: 0 for “did not get news online yesterday,” 1 for “less than 15 minutes,” 2 for “15-29 minutes,” 3 for “30-59 minutes,” and 4 for “1 hour or more.”

iv. Innovation variables

Two variables were created to gauge how certain factors affected “jobs to be done.” In this case, *news engagement* was developed to measure need for cognition by considering their interest in news, and *online savvy* was created to examine desires of new-media consumers.

News engagement (scale: 0-3): To measure news engagement, Question 43 (“How much do you enjoy keeping up with the news — a lot, some, not much, or not at all?”)

was recoded into a three-point scale to reflect how interested in news each respondent was.

For online users only, an index called *online savvy* was created to evaluate a respondent's expertise online. Three questions regarding interactivity with news stories were also used to evaluate an online user's need to connect online.

Online savvy (scale: 0-10): This concept focused on how involved across the Internet spectrum in terms of content.

Ten questions were used for this scale:

- Question 52: "Have you ever used search engines such as Google or Yahoo to search for news stories on a particular subject you are interested in? How often do you do this: every day, 3 to 5 days per week, 1 or 2 days per week, once every few weeks, or less often?"
- Question 57a: "Do you receive alerts or summaries about the news in your e-mail or not?"
- Question 57b: "Do you have an RSS reader that includes news items or not?"
- Question 57c: "Do you have a customizable webpage like iGoogle or MyYahoo that includes news items or not?"
- Question 59a: "How often do you read blogs about politics or current events?"
- Question 59b: "How often do you read online magazines such as Salon or Slate?"
- Question 59f: "How often do you watch news programs or video clips online?"
- Question 59g: "How often do you listen to newscasts or news items online?"
- Question 61: "Have you ever used news-ranking websites such as reddit.com or digg.com to find news stories or not?"
- Question 62: "Do you have a profile on MySpace, Facebook, or another social-networking site, or not?"

Five questions were yes/no questions and were scored with a 0 (no) or 1 (yes).

Don't know/refused and missing values were rescored as zeros, as they were few in number.

To keep the scale weighted equally across items, Question 52 was rescored 1 for yes if they used a search engine at least once a week, 0 for less. Question 52 was asked of the users who said they got news online. For purposes of this analysis, the 179 people who said they did not get news online were scored with a 0, the assumption being that if they did not get news online, they would not search for news stories online.

The questions from 59 were rescored as follows: Those who answered "regularly" or "sometimes" were scored with a 1; those who answered "hardly ever" or "never" were scored with a 0.

This scale of 10 items had a Cronbach's alpha of .700, acceptable for this secondary analysis (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007).

The concept of connectivity, one of the four needs expressed in the Media Choice Model, was examined by focusing specifically on the ability to share and comment on the news. Three questions were scaled from 0-4:

- Question 59c: "How often do you look at lists of the most-read, most-emailed or most-blogged stories on news websites?"
- Question 59d: "How often do you read comments about news stories posted online by other people?"
- Question 59e: "How often do you post comments about news stories online?"

Each question was then used as a dependent variable in three separate regression analyses.

Once the variables were chosen and the indices created, each was examined for skewness and kurtosis to ensure they would meet the requirements of linear regressions. All created variables were within acceptable limits to perform regression analysis. Online savvy had an acceptable normal distribution for linear regression analysis. For the habit-

strength variables, the important part of the histogram to consider is those greater than 1, which reveals actual usage. Across that spectrum, the dispersion is even for each of the variable, and an analysis of histograms of the habit-strength variables revealed skewness and kurtosis fell within acceptable limits (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007). Assumptions of linearity, normality and homoscedasticity all were met.

B. The analysis

i. Media Choice Model

To investigate RQ12, the data were examined to see what factors affect the choice of a medium as the primary source for news. The research question was investigated by entering the following variables in a binary logistic regression equation.

Demographics (*Level 1*) + Media Choice Model (Aperture + Voice + Multimedia)
(*Level 2*) = Choose media?

All six demographic categories were entered in the first block of the binary logistic regression. The Media Choice Model variables of aperture, voice, and multimedia were entered as a second block. Primary usage for each medium (newspaper, television, radio, and the Internet) was selected as the categorical dependent variable. Tests of the full models against their constant-only counterparts were statistically significant in each case.

Newspaper as Primary Source (Table 1)

A test of the full model with all predictors against the constant-only model was statistically significant, $\chi^2(11, N=3,426) = 136.43, p < .001$. Classification (Table 2)

proved problematic, as the model correctly classified all those who wouldn't choose a newspaper but failed to classify those who wouldn't. Still, the overall classification percentage was high, at 85.5 percent.

In the Media Choice Model block, the aperture and multimedia variables were significant, while voice was not. The negative coefficient for aperture ($\beta = -.17$) indicates that the less one checked in for news, the more likely newspapers would be the primary source for news. The negative coefficient for multimedia ($\beta = -.73$) indicated that those who preferred to get their news in a text-driven format were more likely choose newspapers as their primary source.

Television as Primary Source (Table 3)

A test of the full model with all predictors against the constant-only model was statistically significant, $\chi^2(11, N=3,426) = 476.95, p < .001$. The model correctly classified 59.9 percent of those who did not choose television as their primary source of news, and 72 percent of those who did, resulting in a total percentage of 66.5 percent correctly classified (Table 4).

In the Media Choice Model block, multimedia was the only variable that was significant. The positive coefficient for multimedia ($\beta = .75$) indicated that people are much more likely to choose television as their primary source if they get a better understanding of news through pictures and video.

Radio as Primary Source (Table 5)

A test of the full model with all predictors against the constant-only model was statistically significant, $\chi^2(11, N=3,426) = 95.12, p < .001$. Classification results revealed the model correctly predicted 100 percent of those who did not choose radio as

the primary source of news; however, none of the 414 who chose radio as their primary source of news was correctly identified (Table 6). Overall, the model correctly classified 87.9 percent of the sample.

In this case, voice and multimedia were the significant independent variables from the Media Choice Model; aperture was not significant. The positive coefficient for voice ($\beta = .52$) indicated that news consumers were more likely to choose radio as their primary source of news if they preferred the opinionated voice for news. The negative multimedia coefficient for multimedia ($\beta = -.54$) revealed radio listeners gained a better understanding of news through text.

Internet as Primary Source (Table 7)

A test of the full model with all four predictors against the constant-only model was statistically significant, $\chi^2(11, N=3,426) = 643.59, p < .001$. In this case, aperture was the only significant independent variable from the Media Choice Model. This finding matched other questions in the poll revealing fewer online users consider themselves more engaged with the news. Classification results (Table 8) revealed the model correctly predicted 97.2 percent of those who did not choose the Internet as the primary source of news; only 19.7 percent of those who chose the Internet as the primary source of news were correctly identified. Overall, the model correctly classified 84.8 percent.

In this case, users who checked in throughout the day for news were more likely to choose the Internet as their primary source for news, according to the coefficient for aperture ($\beta = .45$). The nonsignificance of the multimedia coefficient indicated that those who rely on the Internet as their primary source of news did not exhibit a strong preference for text or multimedia.

ii. Habit strength

In examining RQ13, the data were analyzed to see how much habit plays a role in whether a medium is chosen as the primary source for news. Habit strength was added as a third block in the logistic regression model to see whether it would add explanatory power to the overall model of media usage.

Demographics + Media Choice Model + Habit Strength = Choose media?

Newspaper as Primary Source (Table 9)

A test of the full model with all four predictors against the constant-only model was statistically significant, $\chi^2(12, N=3,426) = 375.70, p < .001$. In the classification table (Table 10), 99 percent of those who did not choose newspaper were classified correctly, while 4 percent of those who did were classified correctly, resulting in an overall percentage of 85.2 percent. That result was lower than the model with only Media Choice Model variables.

These results reinforce the importance of habit among newspaper readers, but classification did not improve. The positive coefficient ($\beta = .54$), significant at $p < .001$, showed habit had a strong correlation with whether one chose newspaper as his or her primary source of news.

Television as Primary Source (Table 11)

A test of the full model with all four predictors against the constant-only model was statistically significant, $\chi^2(12, N=3,426) = 693.02, p < .001$. In the classification table (Table 12), 63.3 percent of those who did not choose television were classified

correctly, while 74.9 percent of those who did were classified correctly, resulting in an overall percentage of 69.6 percent. This model did improve with the addition of habit strength as an independent variable. Habit strength was statistically significant at the $p < .001$ level. However, its coefficient was not as large ($\beta = .33$) as the variable was for newspaper, radio, or the Internet.

Radio as primary source (Table 13)

A test of the full model with all four predictors against the constant-only model was statistically significant, $\chi^2 (12, N=3,426) = 445.07, p < .001$. In the classification table (Table 14), 99 percent of those who did not choose radio were classified correctly, while only 11.4 percent of those who did were classified correctly, resulting in an overall percentage of 88.4 percent. That result was a slight improvement over the model with only the Media Choice Model. Habit strength was statistically significant at the $p < .001$ level. It had the highest coefficient among the media tested, with $\beta = .63$.

Internet as primary source (Table 15)

A test of the full model with all four predictors against the constant-only model was statistically significant, $\chi^2 (12, N=3,426) = 922.63, p < .001$. In the classification table (Table 16), 95.8 percent of those who did not choose the Internet as their primary source for news were classified correctly, while 35.6 percent of those who did were classified correctly, resulting in an overall percentage of 86.2 percent. This model, too, showed a slight improvement with habit strength. Habit strength again was statistically significant at the $p < .001$ level, with $\beta = .36$.

In each case, the amount one used a medium had a significant correlation with whether one chose that medium as their primary source for news. This finding supported

LaRose and Eastin's (2004) theory of media attendance, indicating that once someone has chosen a given medium for news, he or she is likely to remain with that choice.

iii. Hypothesis 1 (Aperture as DV)

To investigate Hypothesis 1 comparing news engagement to aperture, the following hierarchical linear regression model was used:

Demographics (*Block 1*) + Audience Group (Traditionalist, Integrators, Net-Newsters, Disengaged) (*Block 2*) + News Engagement (*Block 3*) = Aperture

News engagement (Table 17) was a significant independent variable ($\beta=.22, p < .001$), with the full model resulting in a significant .04 change in R^2 from the Block 2 model with audience group. All of the audience groups were significant as well at the $p < .001$ level, indicating that a user's media habits did affect the aperture for news.

iv. Hypothesis 2 (Habit strength as DV)

To investigate Hypothesis 2 comparing news engagement to habit strength, the following hierarchical linear regression model was used:

Demographics (*Block 1*) + Audience Group (Traditionalist, Integrators, Net-Newsters, Disengaged) (*Block 2*) + News Engagement (*Block 3*) = Habit Strength of Medium

News engagement was a significant predictor in each of these hypotheses, indicating that the more one enjoys getting the news, the more time he or she will spend with a news medium.

Hypothesis 2a analyzed the habit strength of newspapers. Each block improved the R^2 of the model (Table 18), with the full model R^2 of .15, significant at the $p < .001$ level. Only the Disengaged were significant ($\beta = -.05, p < .01$) as an independent variable among the audience groups, indicating that they have a negative correlation with regular newspaper usage. News engagement was a significant variable ($\beta = .19, p < .001$), showing a positive correlation between how engaged one is with the news and the amount one uses the newspaper.

Hypothesis 2b analyzed the habit strength of television. Each block improved the R^2 of the model (Table 19), with the full model R^2 of .18, significant at the $p < .001$ level. The Traditionalists ($\beta = .07, p < .001$), Integrators ($\beta = .09, p < .001$), and Disengaged ($\beta = -.09, p < .001$) were significant variables among the audience groups. News engagement was a significant variable ($\beta = .25, p < .001$) when considering how much a consumer watched news on television.

Hypothesis 2c analyzed the habit strength of radio. Each block improved the R^2 of the model (Table 20), with the full model R^2 of .05, significant at the $p < .001$ level. It was the weakest of the models considered under Hypothesis 2. News engagement added little explanatory power to the model ($\Delta R^2 = .01$), even though the full model was significant. The Integrators ($\beta = .09, p < .001$), and Disengaged ($\beta = -.06, p < .01$) were significant as independent variables among the audience groups. News engagement was also a significant variable ($\beta = .17, p < .001$).

Hypothesis 2d analyzed the habit strength of the Internet, and this model (Table 21) offered the most explanatory power ($R^2 = .35, p < .001$). Each block improved the R^2 of the model; however, as with the radio model, news engagement added little

explanatory power beyond the audience groups, even though the full model was significant ($\Delta R^2 = .00$).

All of the audience categories were significant here: Traditionalists ($\beta = -.36, p < .001$), Integrators ($\beta = .10, p < .001$), Net-Newsters ($\beta = .38, p < .001$), and Disengaged ($\beta = -.15, p < .01$). One would expect the Net-Newsters to have a stronger habit, given that they are defined as a group who uses the Internet as its primary news source. The results of news engagement in the full model indicated that interest in news is not strongly correlated with how much one uses the Internet for news.

The audience groups could not be used in the next set of analyses because of overlap among the group definitions and questions used for these measures.

v. Hypothesis 3 (Online savvy)

Hypothesis 3 examined the relationship between online savvy and habit strength of different types of media. The following hierarchical linear regression model was used:

$$\text{Demographics (Block 1) + Online Savvy (Block 2) = Habit Strength}$$

In this case, all models were significant, although online savvy offered little explanation for habit strength in the legacy media, providing improvements of .02 or less in R^2 for the full model. Interestingly, the positive coefficients indicated that those interested in online use all media to some degree for news. But the changes in R-squares were so small, it was difficult to draw a strong conclusion from these results.

Hypothesis 3a analyzed the habit strength of newspapers. Online savvy improved the R^2 of the model by .01, with the full model R^2 of .12, significant at the $p < .001$ level

(Table 22). Online savvy was a significant variable ($\beta = .09, p < .001$) but offered the least explanation of the variance of all the H3 models.

Hypothesis 3b analyzed the habit strength of television. Online savvy improved the R^2 of the model by .02, with the full model R^2 of .10, significant at the $p < .001$ level (Table 23). In this model, online savvy was also a significant variable ($\beta = .15, p < .001$).

Hypothesis 3c analyzed the habit strength of radio. Online savvy improved the R^2 of the model by .01, with the full model R^2 of .04, significant at the $p < .001$ level (Table 24). Online savvy was a significant variable ($\beta = .11, p < .001$).

Hypothesis 3d analyzed the habit strength of the Internet. Online savvy improved the R^2 of the model by .16, with the full model R^2 of .21, significant at the $p < .001$ level (Table 25). It had the most explanatory power of the four models investigating Hypothesis 3. Online savvy was a significant variable ($\beta = .42, p < .001$) and offered the most explanatory power in this model. This finding indicates a strong connection between how much one did online and how much he or she used the Internet for news.

vi. Hypothesis 4 (Interactivity)

To investigate Hypothesis 4 comparing online savvy to the frequency of certain online behaviors, the following hierarchical linear regression model was used:

$$\text{Demographics (Block 1) + Online Savvy (Block 2) = Frequency}$$

The results of these analyses revealed that posting comments, reading comments, and checking most-emailed, most-blogged story rankings were commonly used by those with higher levels of online savvy. Based on these results, reading comments had the

strongest correlation with online savvy, followed by posting comments and checking the most-emailed, most-blogged story rankings.

Hypothesis 4a analyzed the frequency of looking at most-read, most-emailed rankings on news Web sites. Online savvy improved the R^2 of the model by .18, with the full model R^2 of .22, significant at the $p < .001$ level (Table 26). Online savvy was a significant variable ($\beta = .45, p < .001$) and offered much explanatory power in this model for how frequently one checks the rankings.

Hypothesis 4b analyzed the frequency of reading comments. Online savvy improved the R^2 of the model by .21, with the full model R^2 of .24, significant at the $p < .001$ level (Table 27). Online savvy was a significant variable ($\beta = .48, p < .001$) and offered much explanatory power in this model for how frequently one reads comments.

Hypothesis 4c analyzed the frequency of posting comments. Online savvy improved the R^2 of the model by .13, with the full model R^2 of .14, significant at the $p < .001$ level (Table 28). Once again, online savvy was a significant variable ($\beta = .38, p < .001$) and offered an improvement in explanatory power in this model for how frequently one posts comments on a Web site.

C. Findings

Investigating RQ12 and RQ13 revealed that different facets of the Media Choice Model helped explain when consumers chose a particular medium as their primary source for news. Regardless of medium, habit strength was a significant independent variable. This finding reveals the importance of heeding Porter's (2001) advice of not abandoning core competencies. Media outlets must not change so dramatically as to disrupt the habits of the established customers.

Still, with so many media choices, organizations such as the *Daily News* must be cognizant of ways to reach news customers in other ways. Depending upon the particular audience target, this analysis provided some insights into significant factors affecting media choice.

In the case of newspapers, habit was a critical component to ensuring one chose the newspaper as a primary source for news. The negative coefficient for aperture in this model showed that newspaper readers had a designated time for their information need, and the negative coefficient for the multimedia variable showed they preferred text as the primary form to receive that information. Age and the white race variable were the only significant demographic variables, showing that older, white respondents were more likely to choose newspapers as the primary source for news.

For television, almost every demographic variable was significant in whether one chose the medium as the primary source for news. Here, the significant variables were gender, the African-American race variable, the Hispanic ethnicity variable, age, education, and income. Women, African-Americans, and Hispanics all were more likely to choose television as the primary source for news. Older, less educated adults also leaned toward television. Among the Media Choice Model variables, only the multimedia variable was significant, revealing that those who preferred video to text were more likely to choose television as their primary source for news.

Age and education were significant demographic variables for whether one chose radio as the primary source for news. Younger, more highly educated respondents were more likely to choose radio as the primary source for news. Radio was the only medium in which voice was a significant independent variable; people who preferred the

opinionated voice leaned toward radio as their primary source for news. The negative coefficient for the multimedia variable also revealed those who prefer text to video were more likely to choose radio.

The Internet, like television, had several significant demographic variables that affected media choice. Gender, the African-American and Asian race variables, age, education and income were all significant. For gender, males were more likely than females to choose the medium as the primary source for news. African-Americans were less likely to use the Internet as the primary source for news, while Asians were more likely. Younger, more educated and affluent respondents were also more likely to choose the Internet.

The logistic regressions offered some insights for this preliminary analysis, but the preponderance of people who choose television as their primary source for news raised some classification issues. Though the models do well classifying those who do not choose a particular medium as their primary source for news, they do not adequately identify those who do choose the particular medium. The models each improved with the addition of the habit strength as a third block. Further research is needed, however, to corroborate these findings.

Reviewing the hypotheses, H1 was fully supported, as audience group and news engagement were significant independent variables with regard to the aperture variable. The more engaged one was with the news, the more likely he or she was to seek news at several times throughout the day. And those who used new media (Integrators, Net-Newsers) had greater aperture than the Disengaged or the Traditionalists.

H2 built upon H1 by investigating the relationship between news engagement and habit strength. It was partially supported. For each medium, news engagement was a significant independent variable, showing a positive relationship with habit strength; however, it offered only marginal improvement in R^2 . This finding gives initial support to the idea that the news media may be more effective focusing on interested news consumers rather than trying to broaden the appeal with lifestyle coverage.

In H2, the significance of audience groups varied by medium. For newspapers, only the Disengaged were significant, indicating that usage of the medium does not depend heavily upon audience type. However, five demographic variables (gender, the White race variable, age, education and income) were significant in their relationships with habit strength.

For television, three audience groups were significant, with Integrators and Traditionalists likely to have positive correlations with habit strength. Age and the White and African-American race variables were significant. Older audiences were more likely to spend more time with television news. The small coefficients on the race variables indicated those variables did not have a large impact on habit strength.

Gender, education and income were significant demographic variables for radio. Again, the coefficients were small, indicating less explanation than news engagement for habit strength. Integrators and the Disengaged were the significant audience groups for radio.

Analyzing beta coefficients revealed audience groups had more explanatory power than news engagement for the habit strength of the Internet. Every audience group was significant in this model, with larger coefficients than that of news engagement. This

finding indicates a level of comfort with the medium itself appears to be required on the Internet; Traditionalists and the Disengaged do not have a strong Internet habit, while Net-Newsters and Integrators do. If one uses the Internet as a source for news, he or she is likely to use it for long periods of time.

H3 used the online savvy index to understand the relationship of users comfortable with the online medium to other media sources. This hypothesis was fully supported, as online savvy was significantly related to habit strength in all cases. This result indicated Internet users might be more interested in news across the media spectrum than other consumers. If media outlets can connect with this interested audience online, it might be possible to lure those users through cross-promotion to other platforms.

H4 used the online savvy index to discern potential “jobs to be done” that might be needed on the Internet and was fully supported. In these models, demographics played little role in determining whether one read or posted comments or looked at ranking lists of stories on news Web sites. However, online savvy was a significant predictor in each model with strong explanatory power. Those who live online through e-mail and social-networking sites are much more likely to use collaborative functions such as commenting and user-based story rankings, according to this analysis.

Because this study involved a secondary analysis of existing data, further research should investigate related media-usage questions with instruments specifically tailored to investigate the Media Choice Model. But these significant findings provide a foundation on which to build.

VI. EVOLVING NEWS ROUTINES

Routines are part of organizational culture, entrenching successful ways of solving problems in the organization's procedures and processes. In high-stress environments that demand results such as newsrooms, routines become embedded over time, as success deepens the roots of those routines and makes them more difficult to change (Schein, 2004). Sociologists (e.g. Graber, 1980; Tuchman, 1978) have documented how the pressures of space (in the form of newshole, or space in the news columns) and time (in the form of deadlines) lead to routinization of newswork at newspapers. The lack of constraints on the Web, combined with the increased power of the audience, disrupted routines at the *Daily News*.

Thus far, the study has examined the culture, the existing routines, and the connection with traditional journalistic values. This chapter examines the new routines of the *Daily News* as a result of the new content-management system and the push toward integration.

A. *New routines*

In considering RQ14, it is important to note that even before the launch of the new content-management system, the *Daily News* was moving toward integration and developing Web-specific content beyond the newspaper product. At the time, most of the push was encouraged and not required. The photo department experimented with video and audio slideshows. The sports department developed podcasts. A former city-desk reporter who had an affinity for the Web was remembered by most staffers as one of the most aggressive when it came to the Web. He had a popular blog that he updated three to four times a day and posted regularly to Twitter, an online social-networking service on

which users post updates of 140 characters or less. But after his departure in 2008, no one had incorporated the Web as fully into the journalistic routine.

New content evolved during the study period in primarily three areas: multimedia content for the Web, which included videos, audio slideshows, photo galleries, podcasts, and full-text reproductions of reports; blogs, which involved posts to the Web that did not appear in print; and comments, which came primarily from the audience, although staffers occasionally answered questions or responded to readers on that part of the site. The newsroom had created such elements for the Web site before, but with the new content-management system, the leadership envisioned more consistent updates from more staffers and increased interactivity with the audience.

A focus on the Web throughout the newsroom did not emerge, however, and routines did not fundamentally change during the study period. The stated policy with regard to Web updates remained consistent: If the public was in jeopardy, news should be published immediately to the Web; otherwise, exclusive information should be held until the printed newspaper was published for the day. Exclusive content that was high impact or high interest was not published first on the Web. Some reporters noted that occasionally an editor would read a blog item that had not appeared in print and ask for the post to be turned into a story for the newspaper. At the bloggers' meeting, one reporter recalled posting a unique item to the blog, only to be told by an editor: "I saw your blog. Cool stuff. I'm going to run that in the paper." The editor then copied the item and edited it for use in the paper "He'd always say, 'If it's cool enough to be on your blog, then we can put it in the paper.'"

Another reporter responded: “I don’t think they do a good job of differentiating. It’s like then why even have a blog? If everything we do is going to go into the paper, then what’s the point?”

The editor’s action was consistent with the underlying assumption that the newspaper was the valued product, regardless of the stated belief that the Web was future. As a result, the double-loop learning could not take place (Argyris & Schön, 1996). Until the underlying assumption is confronted and changed, the routines and processes will remain directed toward the production of the newspaper, and employees will respond to what they unconsciously know is valued by the organization.

Prior to the new content-management system, the newspaper had had some experience with anonymous comments with the regular call-in column edited by the managing editor. The newspaper also had hosted an online bulletin board to provide a home for local ideas and discussion from the community, but that discussion site was separated from the news stories and required an extra click to reach. In contrast, letters to the editor in the newspaper had to be signed, and some editors struggled with the anonymity of the online comments. As one editor noted: “My own attitudes are evolving about this stuff. At first, I was pretty adamant that I wanted to apply the same standards ... to the comments. And you can’t do it. It’s just overwhelmingly not that kind of communication” (personal communication, May 5, 2009).

i. One reporter’s morning

After the new content-management system launched, a beat reporter was shadowed on a Friday morning, a day with a 1 p.m. deadline. The following is chronology of the morning leading up to deadline. It is used to show the mix of online

and print expectations for reporters. It also revealed the additional duties required of beat reporters after the layoffs.

In the morning, the reporter checked his e-mail and saw information for a traffic brief had been sent to him. He then reviewed the online sources on his beat, such as the jail log and the list of 911 calls for fire and rescue, to see whether any incidents might warrant news stories. He quickly scanned some comments on his stories but said he usually does not respond directly to them within the comments, as some other reporters do. He opened a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet of the court cases he was monitoring to check for scheduled hearings and filings.

9:28 a.m.: The city editor asked him to check a tip about layoffs at a manufacturing plant in town. The tip, which came from the anonymous tip box on the Web site, mentioned that 67 people had been laid off. Though the reporter did not regularly cover business, he was needed to help because the business reporter had been laid off. After examining the tip, he made a phone call to the business; a local representative referred the call to the company's corporate communications office in another city.

9:40 a.m.: The reporter finished the traffic brief. A handheld police scanner sat on his desk, occasionally bleating out accidents, fires, and other emergency calls.

10 a.m.: The business editor, helping via e-mail, sent previous releases and information about the company from earlier publications.

10:45 a.m.: The reporter wrote a brief about residents charged with hunting federally protected animals. He checked e-mail again and read one from Big Brothers, Big Sisters about an upcoming event.

10:46 a.m.: The reporter called another source for reaction to the layoff report. He looked online at one of his stories from the previous day; it had 44 comments. He skimmed them but did not respond to any of them.

10:50 a.m.: The local chamber of commerce called back. He interviewed the subject on the phone, typing notes on his computer. He verified the name and spelling of the primary source.

11:06 a.m.: He called the company again to check the timing of a press release, which the official promised would be sent. He told the city editor he had gotten confirmation and asked if the editor wanted a Web update. One was not done.

11:32 a.m.: The reporter confirmed the layoffs and interviewed a spokesperson from the corporate headquarters.

11:40 a.m.: The reporter began writing and finished the lead paragraph.

11:42 a.m.: He called a third source to get more information for the story.

11:56 a.m.: The corporate executive called back to provide more information.

12:03 p.m.: The reporter made another call to verify information, but no one was available.

12:07 p.m.: The city editor came by his desk and asked, “What’s your ETA on that?” The editor wanted to make sure the story would be ready before the final 1 p.m. deadline. “Two minutes,” the reporter answered.

12:11 p.m.: The reporter read through his story, editing and tightening the copy.

12:15 p.m.: The reporter sent the story to the business editor for editing and walked to the editors’ pod to tell them it was ready. He printed the article and reread it, adding information where needed.

12:34 p.m.: The business editor called the reporter over to watch while the editing was being done. The story was then sent to the copy desk.

The commitment to verification over immediacy was similar to that of other reporters shadowed earlier in the study period. Names were double-checked with sources, information was compared with online sources, and more than one source was checked before publication. The reporter's blog was not updated during the morning, and the reporter's attention remained primarily on getting as complete and thorough a story for the newspaper as possible. Again, the specific behavior revealed a reliance on the underlying assumption that the newspaper was top priority, as the reporter created content relying on routines for the newspaper.

B. Changing values

In answering RQ15, the tension that most often arose was between immediacy and verification, a struggle articulated earlier by the managing editor during a staff meeting. As Gladney et al. (2007) found, immediacy became a top journalistic value in the Web domain, and at the *Daily News*, there had been a slow shift toward updating breaking news on the Web. During the year prior to the study period, the organization had begun updating more frequently, and the new content-management system made it possible for staffers beyond the Web team to update the Web site. Though few editors had posted updates themselves, the newsroom's bloggers regularly produced and posted content on their blogs without editors or Web producers reviewing the posts. Some saw the shift toward immediacy as having an impact on the types of stories getting into the newspaper as well. One staffer said: "I don't think stories are given as much scrutiny as

they used to be. I think the process, it moves faster. There's a demand, I think, for stories — to get stories in the paper" (personal communication, March 24, 2009).

Overall, however, most reporters functioned as the reporter in the example detailed above: Calling numerous sources to confirm and verify information to provide as complete a story for the newspaper as possible before the midday deadline. Part of that commitment stemmed from the underlying assumption that the newspaper provides the primary value proposition for the organization (Porter, 2001). Others in the newsroom also saw a clear distinction between writing for the paper and writing for the Web, and in some cases, some feared a diminishing of the craft through updates and blog entries. "Reporters are writers," one journalist with more than five years' experience said. "That's what they do. They're reporting, but really, because they work for a newspaper, not for an Internet site, they're writers. So their job is to write and to report, not to just spill out information. I think in the Web format, people just want information spilled. They don't want a story. They want something current, something late-breaking. They want a few sentences, and then they want to move on" (personal communication, March 24, 2009).

Staffers dealt with this conflict between verification and immediacy psychologically by viewing updates as separate from stories for the newspaper. In one instance, a reporter took the press release about the appointment of a new official and wrote an update quickly. "That's the basic bare bones," the reporter said (personal communication, Jan. 7, 2009). In these instances, it was permissible to create updates based on news releases, even though that level of verification would not be acceptable for a newspaper story.

The sports department had less tension in this regard toward the Web site. Though still committed to verification and accuracy, the sports department had developed routines to focus on immediacy and collaboration for its Web audience while providing the depth and verification for its newspaper audience. Game updates without quotations would appear on the Web immediately after major sports events covered by the staff, and staffers admitted typos and minor errors sometimes appeared in those updates. Sports bloggers tried to post regularly and interact with the readers commenting on the posts. This ethic did not spread across all sports, however; a college baseball game covered in the afternoon did not have an update on the site, nor was one expected.

Similarly, the photo department had incorporated the Web into some of its routines as well. Photographers would often put extra photos from games on the Web site before the print edition. But the layoffs affected this progress. Though the department had created some short videos prior to the new content-management system, the staff did not produce any more videos during the study period after the layoffs. The photo department also had produced several audio slideshows, which feature changing photos set to sound in a movie-like presentation. One photographer worked over the course of two months gathering photos and audio for one particular audio slideshow, and once gathered, the information took about four or five hours of production time to put together. In the post-layoff environment, however, the staff did not have the time to invest in such projects.

During the study period, the staff did discuss and think about Web-related content. One editor noted how some newspapers post full-text government reports or databases with little explanation, asking readers to decide what is important. “They put up these documents, and that’s the whole story, right? You know that to me was just

dumb. People don't want to figure it out for themselves. That's why we're here — to tell them, you know? I don't want to do that, but I do want to have the value-added stuff we can't do in print. That's what the Web site is good for" (personal communication, March 27, 2009).

That inclusion of the audience challenged another traditional ethic at work in the newsroom: The authoritarian delivery of news. Traditionally, newspapers have researched and provided the information for consumption by the audience, and that arrangement put the newspaper and journalists in a position of power. But with the advent of commenting, the concept of collaboration came to the fore (Thorson & Duffy, 2005). The idea of journalism as conversation, of including the audience more in the journalistic process, is not new (e.g. Anderson, Dardienne & Killenberg, 1996), but the Web provides more opportunities to engage with audience and build community (Marchionni, 2008). Some journalists at the *Daily News* felt threatened by this loss of power and engaged in defensive routines as a result.

Some reporters, however, did view their blogs as an opportunity to collaborate with the audience. Before the new Web site launched, one reporter who blogged hoped to emulate the efforts of another journalist who had posted documents and asked the audience for help interpreting them. "So it was almost like he used this big community to help him report. They aided his reporting. That's something I could see. I think it was a bigger paper, so I don't know if I got it, if they'd allow me to put it on before the paper, so it kind of comes back to that. I see myself working like more as a collaboration rather than me telling them what's going on" (personal communication, Jan. 15, 2009).

C. Deadlines and conceptions of space

In considering RQ16, the conceptions of time and space changed with the push to integration. The Web site could be updated at any time; in one instance, the *Daily News* updated the Web site at midnight with a story. The site also was not limited in space for stories and content.

Tuchman (1978) described the creation of the “news net” to capture news for the news organization on a cycle that fit within the deadlines of the organization. In the case of newspapers, with a singular deadline, the routines fit into a linear monochronic model described by Schein (2004). With the Web, there is no deadline; the cycle is continuous, calling for what Schein would call polychronic routines that require working on multiple pieces of content simultaneously throughout the day. Instead of focusing on the “story,” reporters had to become concerned with posting blog items, developing multimedia content, and moderating comments. Because such changes had not been prioritized, the newsroom kept to its monochronic behavior and routines, and the processes and structures remained directed toward putting out the newspaper each day.

Researchers have also noted the limitations of space and its effect on news reports (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996). But the Web provides potentially unlimited space for stories. Indeed, several in the sports department saw the Web as a way to provide additional information, as a complement to the newspaper. One sports blogger said, “I kind of use the Web if there’s some kind of breaking news that we want to get out and it’s far away from the print deadline, use the Internet, and then use it for whatever’s left over. And that way, you’re emptying the notebook, getting everything because there’s infinite space online” (personal communication, April 3, 2009).

Several bloggers mentioned the “emptying the notebook” concept as a way to use their blogs to supplement the print newspaper. In practice, however, most had not worked that idea into their routines, and such “emptying” exercises were infrequent during the study period.

D. Web content

i. Multimedia

Multimedia content was the closest online relative to the concept of a newspaper “story” in that organization members create and verify the content for distribution and consumption by the audience. The most common forms produced by the organization included full-text reports on which stories were based, photo slideshows, audio slideshows, podcasts, and videos.

In one instance, a reporter working a story about an official winning an environmental award obtained a copy of the nomination form. The form, as a Microsoft Word document, was posted in its entirety with the story on the Web site. Such occurrences were rare, however; in this instance, the form appeared only because the reporter suggested it, not because of any routine or process for consistently generating that type of content. Full-text reports were usually the only multimedia Web content produced by the city-desk reporters and editors during the study period.

The sports department experimented more regularly with a variety of multimedia content. Over the past year, the staffers had begun producing podcasts on an inexpensive digital recorder about issues related to the university football and basketball teams. The sports department also experimented with an intern using a handheld video camera to

record football practices, another bit of multimedia content that proved popular with its online audience.

During the study period, the photo department also posted multimedia content beyond what appeared in the newspaper. Photo slideshows, or online galleries featuring additional photos that did not appear in print, were the most common item included during the study period, as photographers often put additional content online for the audience as part of their routine. Videos and audio slideshows were other occasional features produced by the department, although shooting and editing these multimedia items was time-intensive, and after the layoffs in February, the photo department cut back on producing such items.

As Christensen and Raynor (2003) note, separate divisions not constrained by the routines and processes of the legacy organization are often best for confronting threats from disruptive innovation. In this case, having these unintended pockets of innovation allowed new routines to develop at the *Daily News*. But the separation prevented the learning in these units to spread throughout the rest of the organization (Argyris & Schön, 1996).

ii. Updates

Updates for the Web represented a challenge to the ideal of the newspaper story. The items were typically short, two to four paragraphs in length, and often relied upon news releases or single sources. In the middle of one afternoon, a reporter had received a news release about a new police chief being chosen. He called the candidate, who was not available, and wrote a short item based only on the press release, as one of the desk

editors had told him just two paragraphs was needed. The completed update was three paragraphs long and was published about five minutes after the release was received.

In another instance, the newspaper received a news release at 4:30 p.m. about a top-level city official stepping down, and an update was posted by 5:06 p.m. “Even though we didn’t know very much about it, we went ahead and put it up,” an editor explained (personal communication, May 20, 2009).

To some, the immediacy represented the biggest change to the established routine. One editor said: “The thing that has changed the most is our ability to do updates in real time. It may not be quite so visible on the Web site right now; it really is a revolution for us to be able to take spot news, and get it on the Web site like that. We had some real obstacles to that in the old system” (personal communication, May 5, 2009). Still, by the end of the study period, the idea of updating had not become a routine part of the organization’s processes. Unless updates were news briefs for the newspaper, they did not appear on the budget, nor were they mentioned during budget meetings. No protocol was established for ensuring updates would appear consistently in the afternoons.

At the end of the study period, one editor noted some reporters still had to be prompted for updates. “We have never really talked about updating with anything other than breaking news essentially. I don’t know that we’ve ever discussed this in depth; to me, it’s just because we do want to keep some sort of premium on the print product because we are still trying to make money off of it” (personal communication, May 20, 2009).

In some instances, a complete verified “story” with author byline did appear on the Web site before the print edition; these typically involved large events that other news

media were aware of. The content was typically expanded for the next day's print edition, and the expectations for this type of "story" content were higher. In those cases, the stories went through the regular editing process, through a desk editor and the copy desk before publication to the Web.

In one case, a local protest expected to draw crowds was scheduled for noon, off the newspaper's regular production cycle. Two reporters and two photographers were sent to cover the event from different areas of the city. The two reporters compiled a story with multiple sources and used digital recorders to verify information. The next day, additional detail and quotations from the scene were added for a longer story that appeared in the newspaper. The expanded version was not put on the Web site until after the newspaper had been published.

The sports department regularly updated game scores and results, but the items were often not read by the copy desk because the updates were produced at a time when the copy desk was not staffed. The newsroom did not develop staffing plans to cover such circumstances during the study period.

Even with a growing emphasis on the Web, the Web team did not interact consistently with the reporters about content. The Web editor sometimes talked with reporters about their blogs, and reporters said they felt comfortable asking for help on technical tasks such as adding photos or formatting blog posts. But by the end of the study period, the Web site had no regular news budget, and the leadership had set no specific expectations in terms of amount of content each staffer was to produce for the Web.

iii. Blogs

Blogs were regularly updated online-only features consisting of written content called posts. Posts were typically one to 10 paragraphs in length and often contained photos or links to other content on the Web. They were written with a distinctive voice, often in the first-person, deviating from the authoritarian journalistic tradition of a disinterested, third-party tone (Kovach & Rosenstiel, 2007). These posts did not go through the usual editing cycle of updates or newspaper stories; writers had the authority to post whenever they wanted.

This transition to a new style of writing challenged the professional norms of many *Daily News* journalists, who said blog writing was different from what they had been trained to do. When writers were given blogs, the organization provided no formal training or guidelines in terms of content. One writer noted, “The main point is to get people talking. And that’s the part where I get stuck. I still don’t know what it is that people want to know” (personal communication, Feb. 3, 2009).

Another issue was the clash of accuracy with immediacy, especially in the face of competition from bloggers outside of the newspaper. One writer noted the struggle trying to compete against a popular local blogger who felt free to write headlines that were not substantiated by the blog entry itself. “I’m just not wanting to get something wrong, or make too many assumptions. I think I might overdo it on that end, where I think some other people, like [the local blogger] for example, will overlay it because they want to get readers” (personal communication, Feb. 3, 2009).

At the beginning of the study period, the *Daily News* blogs were the only place on the old Web site where readers could comment, and bloggers often posted links to their

newspaper stories to foster discussion. On that system, bloggers had to approve all comments before they appeared on the Web site, giving them a measure of control. On the new system, however, any registered user could comment on any item on the site, and those comments would appear immediately.

Although the newspaper had had columnists for years, most staffers delineated between columns and blogs: Columnists offer opinions, while bloggers speak with a distinctive voice. Some said the audience of the blog was narrower and more specialized than that of the full newspaper or Web site. Some of the most popular bloggers saw their blogs as niches for the very involved or interested. “You’re going to find people who know what they’re talking about,” said one (personal communication, May 13, 2009).

One of the reporters who had developed an online following noted the tone was important to success: “You’re actually talking to your readers and not talking above them, but engaging them in a conversation” (personal communication, Feb. 13, 2009). The reporter also saw the blog as something separate and distinct from news stories and would include comments from readers frustrated by problems with the institutions on the beat. “It was good for that kind of stuff, that wasn’t real newsworthy per se, but people wanted to vent about it” (personal communication, Feb. 13, 2009).

Still, some journalists struggled with the format, seeing it as beyond their usual duties. Several writers referred to the blogs as a “supplement” or a place to put “extra stuff” that did not fit into the stories for the print newspaper. It was also seen as a place to put interesting or humorous tidbits that did not necessarily warrant a full newspaper story. “I think it’s like a mind-set. We’re always used to thinking about things, ‘Is this a brief or is this a story?’ I mean, that’s easy. You learn that way early on. But then: this is a brief,

this is a story — this is a *blog entry*. Hmm. What does it mean if something is a good blog entry?” (personal communication, Feb. 3, 2009). Another staffer noted about her blog: “It’s an afterthought. It’s not high priority” (personal communication, March 6, 2009). Midway through the study period, the features section produced a story on spring allergies, and one of the sources in the story provided a recipe for nasal wash. Because the section did not have room for the recipe, the writer decided to post the item on her blog.

Conflicting messages from the editors added confusion as well. In one instance, a reporter described a tip he had received from the online editor about a mistake an independent local blogger had made; the online editor asked whether anyone was blogging about that item. The reporter then asked an assignment editor about whether the item might be a newspaper story, and the editor said no. The reporter decided not to write about the issue at all because another story needed to be written. Such a conflict between print and Web demands occurred regularly during the study period. “I’ll try to blog in the morning, but most of the time, I’m more focused on the print story, like getting that done, since we have a morning deadline” (personal communication, Jan. 15, 2009).

One of the popular bloggers requested records from the university regarding budget-cutting suggestions from employees. About 100 pages were sent to her. Instead of trying to do a traditional story, she thought about using the suggestions as a series of blog posts. But before she did, she talked with the editors, one of whom thought a more traditional approach might be warranted. After further discussion, the editor told the reporter she could try it only if she didn’t think there was anything “newsworthy” in it. She opted to use the suggestions as a series of blog posts.

Blogging was not reinforced through the institutional reward systems, which is critical for change to occur (Schein, 2004). In some instances, reporters who openly resisted a blog did not have to start one; in one case, a writer who had a blog and found the experience frustrating was allowed to discontinue it and focus on content for the newspaper. Some viewed the Web as extra duties for which they were not compensated, and so relegated that content creation to the bottom of their priority lists. “But since we don’t get any extra income for that, and when we’re working 50-60 hours ... a week, I tend to put that aside and hold off” (personal communication, April 8, 2009). Though much was clipped from the newspaper and posted around the newsroom, little of the Web work appeared on display.

Most agreed blogging was secondary in importance to the daily newspaper, an idea that has been reinforced through messages from top managers. Most noted there seemed to be an expectation to have a blog, even though no manager explicitly stated that requirement. One editor said reporters knew they should be updating the blogs regularly to keep the content fresh. “We do expect them to update those blogs with some frequency,” adding, “We haven’t put that into a code” (personal communication, May 6, 2009). Another editor saw the blogs as additional content, and as a result, did not set quotas or requirements regarding posts. “I guess I see that as it’s kind of up to them. But we’ve got to put out a paper every day. They don’t have to post to the blog every day” (personal communication, Feb. 13, 2009).

Blog entries took more time to produce than updates, placing the content between the instantaneous nature of comments and the slower, more verified newspaper stories. Some writers estimated it took one to two hours to create a well-researched, well-written

blog entry that was unique and different from what appeared in print, an estimate that was verified through observation. One reporter writing about a dispute between local government officials wrote a 654-word blog entry that took about two hours to compile.

Near the end of the study period, the city-desk bloggers gathered at a meeting to discuss ways to improve their blogs. It was an informal, after-hours discussion at a local nightspot outside of the newsroom. During the meeting, several noted time issues with the blog. Several writers had also struggled to redefine the goal of the blogs on the new site in light of the fact that they were no longer needed to generate story comments.

Reporter 1: It's like now, the blogs need to differentiate themselves more than they used to. I think frequent, short — short and frequent updates, I think, are best to do, but then we've done that thing where we can't update them, we don't update them for half the day. And then you're working the other half of the day. When I get home, the last thing I want to do is blog.

Reporter 2: [One of the editors] did bring up a good point. If we're supposed to moderate the comments, well, that's not my own time. So you get into a real gray area. I'm all or nothing. Like the big 25-inch blog versus the little snippets. I think that would catch people's attention.

Reporter 1: I think the blog — we don't know what they mean (*chorus of "yeah" from the group*), and our bosses don't know what they mean.

Reporter 3: I wish I didn't have to have one.

Reporter 4: And we never met about what they should be, how ...

Reporter 3: It's like, "Every beat gets one. Go."

Reporter 1: [Reporter 5] had one that did really well, [Reporter 6] had one that did awesome. And then it was like the cool thing to get a blog. So now we all have them.

Reporter 3: Now, what am I doing?

Reporter 4: I definitely feel like they should be better defined.

Reporter 5: Well, and again, the only reason they were awesome was because comments weren't allowed on the stories.

Reporter 2: But we're supposed to engage the reader, and that's not real traditional journalism.

Some felt added pressure because they knew blogs had the potential to be among the most popular content on the Web site. The blog of the college-football writer was regularly among the most-read items on the Web site, and almost everyone pointed to him as an example of someone doing a good job managing the blog.

iv. Comments

The biggest disruption to routines during the study period came in the form of comments. It did not directly result in more work for the staffers, but it did provide more information and ideas for them to consider during the news-gathering process. Though not every staffer engaged the commenters, most said in interviews that they do look at them, and several said they found the comments frustrating. Some referred to them as “crazy,” but they also acknowledged that occasionally useful information comes to the organization through the comments. Part of the defensive reaction stemmed from the fact that many comments were made anonymously.

One reporter noted the emotional connection the audience had with the comments:

The comments are a way for the public to unload. It's funny, if [the team] loses a game, our blog here — and I think it happens at other sites too — it sort of becomes a place for people to kind of commiserate and it almost becomes like the psychologist's couch. They come on and get everything out of their system about how upset they are, and people take things so seriously, so personal. And I've learned there's no sense in responding to a lot of that stuff. It's to the point where people just come to vent (personal communication, April 3, 2009).

The staffers most at ease with the comments tended to be the ones who managed their blogs most effectively. Said one popular blogger of the comments: “To me, I just think it can only be ultimately positive to bring those to the surface and deal with them, rather than people walk around with these thoughts and attitudes that nobody gives them an alternative view or challenges them on that. . . . I’m all about public discussion” (personal communication, May 13, 2009).

The idea of comments were introduced at a staff meeting in late January in advance of the February launch of the new content-management system. The Web editor mentioned that readers may ask questions in the comments, and he encouraged staffers to respond. After the meeting, some reporters wondered how that change might disrupt the reporting routine. Under the previous Web system, the newspaper posted e-mail addresses on stories, and some beat reporters had blogs that allowed commenting. But the level of audience interaction was much greater and less controlled with the new content-management system.

Before the comments went live, several reporters noted they did not read the blogs or the newspaper’s discussion board on a regular basis. Said one:

I don’t routinely because my feeling is I’m trying to write real good stories, and I know what’s in the newspaper. That’s the facts I have to deal with. I don’t read the columnists, I don’t read the personality columns, I just read the hard news that contains facts and information that’s important for me to know. And everything else, I just don’t have time for. Now once my story gets out there and somebody comments on it with something factual, sure, I’m going to take it into account (personal communication, Feb. 2, 2009).

To post comments, users had to register with the Web site; they were required to supply an e-mail address to use the free commenting system. Above the comment box

was an abbreviated sample of the site’s commenting policy: “Be courteous. Don't post comments that are abusive, defamatory, illegal, libelous or obscene. It is possible to debate without engaging in personal attacks. We cannot review every comment, but we reserve the right to remove or delete comments at any time. Read more about our commenting guidelines here.”

The more detailed guidelines, available through a hyperlink, said:

- Don't post comments that are abusive, defamatory, illegal, libelous or obscene.
- Be courteous. It is possible to debate without engaging in personal attacks. Do not verbally abuse or threaten other members.
- Respect copyrights. Do not post content that does not belong to you. If you want to share something with other members, summarize and link to the original source. Posting copyrighted work in this space is not acceptable.
- You're only allowed to have one account on the site. Please don't post comments under multiple identities.
- You are solely responsible for the content of your comments. We cannot review every comment, but we reserve the right to remove or delete comments at any time.
- The *Daily News* reserves the right to change this policy at any time.

The day after going live, it was apparent the commenting function would become popular. Almost every local story had at least one comment; two stories involving local disputes had 10 each. Within a month, the commenting function had become more active than the off-site discussion board the organization had been using. More than 3,200 users had registered for the site by mid-March, giving those users the ability to comment on any story and publish their own blogs on the *Daily News* site. By the end of the study period, the level of commenting had continued to rise, with several stories reaching the 100-comment mark. Crime stories and local controversies tended to elicit the most comments, and several comments involved people responding to other commenters. “And I don’t think that there’s a day that goes by that we don’t discuss the situation with

comments,” one editor noted near the end of the study period (personal communication, May 6, 2009). Few users, however, posted regularly to the *Daily News*-hosted blogs.

Shortly after the launch, the newspaper had no specific policy regarding which staffers were responsible for monitoring and reading comments. Said one reporter a few days after the launch: “We still have to work through, am I responsible for the comments under my specific story? And do I have to jump in on that? It’s only been that way for less than a week now, so we haven’t really had any chance to get a handle on it yet, just because it’s so new” (personal communication, Feb. 3, 2009). But even at the end of the study period, some reporters remained unsure how much time they should devote to monitoring comments.

Early in the process, some staffers were optimistic about the conversation/feedback aspect of the commenting mechanism. Said one editor: “So I’m hoping with this story today, we’ll go to the Web site and there’ll be some people saying, you know, giving some insight into that or giving further context, or workers may get on there and read it. It just is another opportunity for people to talk to us, which I think we need more of” (personal communication, Feb. 4, 2009). As the study period progressed, the expectation grew. Besides reading comments, staffers were expected to be engaged in some level of moderation as well, flagging inappropriate comments or removing them completely. Some reporters worried about how that might cut into their reporting time.

During the bloggers’ meeting late in the study period, the topic of comments came up regularly. Some talked about frustrations with the comments and dealing with the comments (“I never want to read the comments”) while others saw it as part of the journalistic process (“It’s what readers have been doing for decades”).

Some staffers also wondered how long they were supposed to track comments on a given story. Readers typically added comments for about a day or two after the story appeared on the Web site, and almost every local story generated some comment. By the end of the study period, a formal policy had not been developed for the monitoring of comments.

Comments occasionally became part of the reporting process when the audience provided useful information. In one instance, a Web update with limited information was posted about a suspect bringing a gun into a building on the university campus. Shortly after it was posted, a commenter who said he knew the suspect's identity posted links to a Web site that named a specific person. The newspaper did not remove the link; instead, the reporter used the item to obtain more information from the university: "We had to pretty much call the university police and say, 'Hey, this name is out here. If it's not, you better tell us, so we can take it down.' And they pretty much had to confirm that it was him" (personal communication, May 13, 2009).

The comments matched with the organization's stated belief that it is connected and committed to the community, as some public officials such as legislators entered into the comments to talk directly to the public and the organization. In one case, local police officers had used a Taser on a suspect, and some in the community had questioned whether the action was excessive. The interim police chief, using his name, then posted a comment: "Hi folks. I may live to regret chiming in here, but I thought I would ... I can't make this a regular event. Nevertheless, it can't hurt to engage a little here too, at least theoretically, right? I can't go much into specifics about this incident, because we're pretty methodical about how we handle citizen complaints, and a lot of that involves

statutory confidentiality. That can come off to the uninitiated as being secretive, but it's not intentional. We also like to have all the sides before we make a decision.”

Many commenters expressed surprised the chief weighed in: “Wow, I am incredibly impressed that [the chief] even bothered to respond to these posts!!! My opinion has always been that most of you who ‘blog’ on here are ... ‘anti-police/law’ until something happens in your own back yard or maybe your house ... Thank you [chief] for taking the time to try to speak some sense here!!!” Another wrote: “[Chief], thanks for your response, it's nice to see the police taking an interest.”

In an interview with a reporter, the chief later provided his rationale for participating in the comments. “There's a lot of information you can get out there. People read the blogs. Now, the ratio of valuable opinions to non-valuable opinions is low — not that I can provide the only valuable input. But for example, [a city official] gets arrested and you look at the people who have replied to that, it's like, good heavens. You get to take anonymous shots, but that's the beauty of the Internet, too. Just getting on there, doing that, being available, I think it just fits in with my desire to communicate more with the community.”

Despite such instances, some staffers said they felt the comments diminished the brand, or as one staffer said, the “prestige” of the paper (personal communication, April 7, 2009). Another staffer said of the comments: “I don't read all of them, but I skim them sometimes on particular stories that are drawing a lot of fire, and you just wonder what's going on. And you get in there and read a few, and usually, it sort of answers it — it lives down to the expectation I had, and gets redundant and doesn't add anything” (personal communication, March 24, 2009).

Among newsroom staffers, the afternoon Web producer experienced the most disruption to her routine, as her responsibilities evolved to include moderating the comments over the study period. Though she knew there would be a learning curve with the new content-management system, she did not realize to what extent comment-moderation would become a part of her routine. By the end of the study period, she typically spent one to two hours a day moderating comments, as much as a quarter of her eight-hour shift.

The new content-management system classified users by their tenure on the site and the frequency of flagged comments. The first few posts from newer users, whom she called “rookie users,” were monitored closely. She also received e-mail alerts telling her when “sketchy users,” those who have had comments flagged previously, posted a comment.

One morning near the end of the study period highlighted part of her new routine:

9:30 a.m.: She first checked all the flagged comments. Two comments were highlighted. She left them both, including one about the “town being full of liberals.” She then reviewed comments from “sketchy users,” checking for profanity. Lastly, she examined stories with many comments.

10:01 a.m.: On a story about a new official being appointed to the city, one commenter wrote: “She is a nut case,” and the comment was removed. Two other comments that referred to the “nut case” comment had to be removed as well.

A story about suspects being arrested on suspicion of a home-invasion crime had 110 comments. One said: “You missed...” and listed what appeared to be a previous

criminal record for one of the suspects. That information proved helpful to the police reporter as he followed up on the report.

Another commenter urged: “Dangle them by their sack.” That comment was removed.

The Web producer noted she would remove items that contain profanity, were off-topic, attacked individuals with name-calling, or were obviously advertising. She added that there was little comment moderation over the weekend.

10:30 a.m.: She checked the links of comments that people provided in comments to make sure they were functional and linked to legitimate Web sites. One went to a pro-death penalty group and was allowed to stand. “Too bad more people don’t use their names,” she said.

By 10:45 a.m., she had completed the morning run through the comments.

During the study period, editors mentioned that a light hand should be taken to moderating comments, erring on the side of openness. One e-mail exchange among the editors over the course of an April afternoon showed the learning process was continuing two months after the launch of the commenting function. One editor asked the Web editor whether reporters had rights to take comments down; most could because they have blogs. It was noted that one comment had been taken down that appeared insensitive but did not violate the site’s terms of service. It was restored without the reporter being involved in the e-mail discussion. One editor wrote: “This is going to be an ongoing conversation. It’s good that we discussed it once at a staff meeting. We should probably revisit it and emphasize that we want to take the lightest approach possible.”

Those who reached a level of comfort with the comments found a way to place the Web content in the context of their journalistic life. Said one staffer who found the comments useful: “It’s just basically taking the old men at the coffeehouse with the actual hard copy newspaper, discussing stories, to an online format. It’s the same thing” (personal communication, May 13, 2009).

E. A typology of Web content

In previous studies, organizational researchers have found resistance with regard to the Web resulting from how the technology itself disrupts the routines at work in an organization (e.g. Lawson-Borders, 2006; Singer, 2004a). At the *Daily News*, however, few staffers seemed to struggle with the technology. Instead, the defensiveness and resistance to particular types of Web-specific content and routines based upon how much it conflicted with journalistic values of autonomy and accuracy (Kovach & Rosenstiel, 2007; Weaver et al., 2007).

To provide a framework for understanding this phenomenon in connection with specific types of content, a typology of Web content was developed based on the data from the *Daily News*. The first range of categorization involves the level of *verification* for a given piece of content. The more immediate the content, the more resistant a journalist was likely to be as the desire to be accurate often outweighed the desire to be first, especially in the traditional culture of the *Daily News*. The second range of categorization considers the *voice* of the content, and draws the two most applicable voices from the Media Choice Model, the collaborative and authoritarian voices (Thorson & Duffy, 2006). The more collaborative and immediate the content, the greater the resistance from the *Daily News* staff regarding that type of content.

The level of resistance tended to correlate with the amount of experience a journalist had. The more embedded those journalistic values had become over time, the more resistant the journalist appeared toward the Web content. There were exceptions; for example, the managing editor was one of the first to try a blog at the paper and encouraged the free flow of comments on the site.

		VOICE	
		Collaborative	Authoritarian
VERIFICATION	Immediate	<i>Comments</i>	<i>Updates</i>
	Verified	<i>Blogs</i>	<i>Stories/Multimedia</i>

Psychodynamic theorists (e.g. Argyris, 2004; Czander, 2003) would tie these forms of resistance and defensiveness to the loss of control experienced by the journalist. Apart from the ability to flag comments, journalists at the *Daily News* had little control over what the audience said about their stories. Given the current view of leadership toward the comments, it is apparent the organization will lean toward openness and leniency, adding to the feeling of frustration and helplessness by the front-line writers in connection with the comments.

This frustration, coupled with the anxiety over the state of the newspaper industry, added to the defensive nature of many in the newsroom with regard to the push toward the Web. Though many said they understood the need for change, the power of the audience led to a major disruption of their routines and dislodged their traditional sense

of power. As a coping mechanism, some staffers were projecting those negative feelings on the commenters and the bloggers they competed against in the new-media environment (Czander, 1993).

VII. EVALUATION/DISCUSSION

A. Organizational assessment

The *Daily News* is an award-winning, family-owned newspaper with a long history dedicated to covering its community. The publisher and associate publisher have served on the boards of many community groups, including press associations, and the managing editor has been involved with a number of professional journalism organizations. The organization regularly invests 12 to 15 percent of its budget in the newsroom and remains committed to the newspaper as its core product. Its higher-than-average ratio of newsroom staffers to circulation — even after layoffs during the study period — showed a commitment of resources to reinforce the stated belief that the organization is dedicated to the craft. Because of its investments in the newsroom operation and the family's connection to journalism in the city, the conflict of business norms versus journalistic norms was not as divisive at the *Daily News* as it has been at other news organizations (McManus, 1994). When the layoffs came during the study period, most employees said they trusted management had little choice.

Ironically, it was the deep history and commitment to principles of journalism and newspapering that ultimately inhibited the organization's ability to change into a fully integrated organization distributing content across multiple platforms. Among the family leadership, it was clear the newspaper dominated the routines of the organization and would continue to do so in the future, as the product was the primary source of revenue. In the view of top managers, online revenue was unlikely to contribute enough revenue to support the existing news operation, a view supported by current industry trends (Mendez, 2009). One member of the ownership family said:

I think the dog is always going to be the print; online will be the tail. Now there's going to be more and more stuff — peripheral things I'll call it — done for online. But because it's not going to be easy to monetize it, or even possible to monetize it, there's not going to be any incentive to spend the time and attention on online only. The only value to it namely is going to be reader interest or people getting on there to see what you've got. Nothing wrong with that. But it's not nearly as much fun if nobody will pay to do that (personal communication, May 20, 2009).

Strategic theorists such as Porter (2001) would support the move not to abandon the core source of value for the organization. The danger, however, is that too strong of a commitment often interferes with the ability to respond to threats from disruptive innovation such as those that face the newspaper industry (Christensen & Raynor, 2003). Unless the organization embraces innovation as well as principled adherence to its core product, it is in danger of being overtaken by upstart competitors for advertising and news content. It must accomplish both to survive.

The organization has not avoided the Web. On the contrary, it recently created an online business directory as a new source of revenue and promoted a family member to the newly created top-level position of vice president of interactive media, which attempted to bring together all of the organization's Web initiatives under one executive on the organizational chart. Some Web-unique content, such as a garage-sale map, was developed in other departments, and the organization invested thousands of dollars in a new content-management system to create a more dynamic Web presence with greater interactivity. The newsroom as a whole, however, was not as aggressive in developing innovative processes and content. A mobile edition of the newspaper was launched, but

its content had been repurposed from newspaper. Indeed, the majority of the content on the front page of the Web site comes from the newspaper.

As detailed in the descriptive ethnography of the organization, the newsroom's structures and processes were focused on producing content for the newspaper each day, affirming the underlying assumption that the newspaper creates the most value for the organization. After implementation of the new content-management system, some positions remained focused solely on content for the newspaper, and those staffers did not think regularly about the Web site or the part of the operation committed to that purpose. The organization did not confront this issue enough. Because these structures for the newspaper were so deeply embedded in the organizational routine, any focus on integration had to be emphasized by the leadership and reinforced by changing routines and reward systems (Schein, 2004). The newsroom's attempts to analyze itself, such as vision planning and open discussions at staff meetings, often produced only single-loop learning, correcting behavior for a limited time without creating lasting change. Until the underlying assumptions are confronted, double-loop learning will not take place (Argyris & Schön, 1996), and the newspaper routines will continue to dominate and prevent the organization from developing new Web-related routines in a meaningful way.

The newsroom Web operation had some successes. Some Web-exclusive content was being created, primarily by the sports and photo departments. Updates appeared on the Web site. Most reporters began blogging. And the monthly average of unique visitors grew slightly over the study period. But the mission for the Web site and its importance to the overall operation remained unclear. Most employees said they were unsure how much time should be dedicated to developing content for the Web. The leadership set no

specific expectations regarding production of Web content by its newsroom employees; it remained up to the individuals to be innovative about creating their own structures and processes. When those structures conflicted with the established ones, the employees sought the psychological comfort of existing routines (e.g. holding important enterprise news for the newspaper rather than breaking it on the Web site).

Throughout the organization, people noted that unique content in the newspaper made the product valuable. The challenge is how to create valuable content on the Web on a consistent basis with the existing staff. Primary Web initiatives across the organization focused on building revenue streams rather than audience numbers for the news site. On that site, much of the content was repurposed from the newspaper, and the news routines changed little regarding staff-produced content during the study period.

In some respects, the move played to the strength of the organization; the local news and sports pages as well as obituaries were regularly among the top 10 most viewed items online each day. But Web-exclusive content that fits the needs of the online audience also had an impact. The blog written by the sports writer for college football is continually among the top items on the Web site, and he built a loyal following by providing consistent unique content beyond the newspaper almost daily. The blog of the college-basketball sports writer, the second most popular blog on the site, was among the top 50 most viewed items over the study period.

During the study period, no one conducted an inventory of the ancillary online skills that reporters and editors had beyond the traditional journalistic skill set. During interviews, a photographer noted he had built his own Web page and had experience with video, a reporter mentioned a two-year stint as a videographer at a television station, and

an editor said he had had experience with online gaming. One writer who had a question about the operation of his blog said he got help from one of the other writers in the newsroom. “I think there’s many talented people in the newsroom who know a lot about a lot of different things. And I think that’s kind of how we have found our way to do that — is kind of collaborating and teaching each other” (personal communication, Feb. 4, 2009).

But such sharing of information was informal and not institutionalized, and many of those multimedia skills were not brought to bear on change efforts as the newsroom pushed toward integration. The focus remained on the daily print product and the standard duties of reporters, photographers, and editors. There was no attempt to reshape the newsroom drastically, as has been done in other instances where convergence and integration have been implemented (Gahran, 2006; Lawson-Borders, 2006).

Still, innovation was happening in the sports and photo departments. If the organization can break down the barriers among these subgroups through stronger leadership, it may be possible for organizational learning to occur. Some staff bloggers, too, embraced an altered journalistic role, as less of a gatekeeper and more of a moderator. But those lessons must find a way to filter throughout the organization in a more deliberate, more cohesive way.

B. Comparing audience analysis to newspaper response

The learning in the subgroups is critical to embracing the “jobs to be done” identified by the audience analysis. In examining the Media Choice Model, understanding aperture is key to deciphering the needs of news audiences, according to this analysis. Traditionalists and the Disengaged were content with receiving their news

at specified times during the day. But those users who incorporate the Internet into their news habit — Integrators and Net-Newsters — check in throughout the day for news. By using the Web site as a means for satisfying these users, the news organization can hold on to the Integrators while appealing to a new audience of Net-Newsters.

Aperture also was the only significant variable of the Media Choice Model for choosing the Internet as the primary source for news. Combined with the strong result for habit strength in choosing this medium, the news organization has the potential to build a loyal audience, as long as it fulfills the needs of those users. The sports and photo departments appear to have found some ways to reach out to this audience, but the knowledge there must spread to the rest of the organization.

The logistic-regression results reveal that the significant Media Choice variables for those who chose newspapers as their primary source of news were aperture and multimedia; both were negatively correlated with whether the respondent chose newspaper as their primary news source. There are weaknesses to this analysis, as the large number of people who choose television as their primary source skewed the classification results; however, the results were significant at $p < .001$ and provided some insight regarding the critical choice variables for media users.

The quantitative findings indicate the newspaper organization's focus on verification over accuracy is ideal for a newspaper audience. In this regard, building the routines to provide the most accurate, in-depth news for a certain distribution time appeals to this audience. Similarly, this audience is not interested in multimedia options, and the traditional format of the newspaper meets their communication needs. Habit strength was also a significant predictor of whether one chose the newspaper as their

primary source for news. As this audience, the largest for the organization, has remained stable over the past decade, the *Daily News* should avoid radically changing the format of the printed product.

Still, the *Daily News* must consider its future, and that future involves a commitment to online with regular updates to satisfy those checking in regularly for news. To develop the habit, Internet users must first have their needs met by the organization. With exponential growth of online audiences internationally, this segment shows the most potential for growth for the *Daily News*.

To explore aspects of the online audience further, hypotheses using *online savvy*, which gauges respondents' comfort with the new medium, and *news engagement*, which examines how interested respondents are in news, were investigated. Using the Media Choice Model as a guide, the expectation was that more experienced, technical users would be more drawn to the collaborative, interactive elements such as comments than other users. Those hypotheses were supported.

The quantitative analysis also showed support for the importance of news engagement online. The first hypothesis was supported, indicating that those interested in the news check in for news more regularly. The second set of hypotheses was also supported, indicating that those with an interest in the news are more likely to spend more time with news media, whether it is the newspaper or the Web site. Interestingly, the model examining Web usage showed that news engagement, while significant, offered comparatively little explanatory power for habit strength on the Web. That finding indicates that it might take more than traditional news to draw users to the Web site.

In investigating the second set of hypotheses, the results indicate audience group was not significant regarding the habit strength of newspapers; it was, however, significant for the Web. In applying disruptive-innovation theory, Web sites should approach the Disengaged and the Traditionalists as potential groups whose news needs are not currently being met. Further local surveys of the potential audience should investigate these groups to determine their needs in the *Daily News*' market. In contrast, Net-Newsters and Integrators must be lured with sustaining innovations, such as deeper and richer news content on the Web, an effort the organization is already pursuing.

For its newspaper audience, the *Daily News* is taking the appropriate action. It remains committed to the core product and has not resorted to hasty changes or risky investments. However, if industry trends continue, with print circulation declining while online audiences increase, the organization must find ways to deal more successfully with the disruptive threat of the Web. Historically, the organization has waited and watched as others in the industry experimented online with different types of content and technologies. To remain competitive in the online environment, it must take a less cautious approach and pursue an emergent strategy, trying iterative experiments and putting successful measures to work throughout the organization (Christensen & Raynor, 2003). The appointment of a family member to vice president of interactive media was a proactive move, but the pace of experimentation, especially in the newsroom, must accelerate.

The *Daily News* must engage the online audience with more consistent updates to satisfy their aperture for news, and it must provide more original news content to engage

Net-Newsters and Integrators. That audience will seek that content online. The question is whether the *Daily News* will be the organization to provide it.

C. Barriers to organizational learning

In some respects, the *Daily News* exhibited some features of a Model II organization as detailed by Argyris and Schön (1996). Because of the hands-off leadership style, parts of the organization were free to explore ways to provide content to the audience, and the newsroom tried to create reflective structures in the form of staff and editor meetings. The management did not discourage reporter-initiated meetings (such as meeting of the bloggers), and staffers initiated ways monitor improvement within the confines of an environment pressured by the daily newspaper deadline. The managing editor had an open-door policy and encouraged the flow of valid information to ensure the newspaper remains competitive in the fast-changing environment.

But such self-evaluations did not always filter their way to all levels of the newsroom. Few issues raised during the bloggers' meeting were passed along to editors. An editors' meeting that provided critiques of the newspapers was limited to editors. Several staffers reported that there was no feedback on a consistent basis unless severe errors had been committed. Writers and editors were left largely to their own devices, as top managers saw autonomy as a way for staffers to thrive. But the lack of feedback left the status quo in place and prevented double-loop learning from occurring (Argyris & Schön, 1996).

i. The role of deeply embedded culture

Even before the implementation of a new content-management system, top editors said they recognized a need for building an integrated process for planning stories across platforms. For the most part, however, new structures and routines were not developed. The format of morning budget meetings did not change during the study period. Critique sessions at the editors' meetings focused on the design of the print newspaper and included little discussion of the Web site itself. And most of the time, the play of the Web stories mirrored the hierarchy in print. Stories on the front page would appear at the top of the column of Web stories on the site's home page, and the main photograph in print usually would be the primary photograph on the Web site. In many respects, the Web site was an electronic copy of the paper.

Though the stated belief was that the Web is the future, the underlying assumption that the newspaper creates the most value for the organization prevented the organization from fully embracing the online medium and constructing new routines to create content at the level that would fulfill the online audience's needs.

Judgments about the Web were usually not made based on valid information (Argyris & Schön, 1996); instead, they were usually based on untested assumptions, a barrier to double-loop learning. Few empirical studies about the audience and its needs were conducted; some noted a reliance on instinct for deciding what to change with regard to content. One staffer said people on the Web seek shorter items, not the depth usually found in newspapers. When asked where those conclusions came from, he explained: "I guess it's just my sense of that. I don't have a particular basis for that,

except that's what the Internet is. At your fingertips, you have access to context and a broad array of things, but I think it's a mile wide and millimeters deep" (personal communication, March 24, 2009).

This type of "gut instinct" among the journalists came from years of experience producing news under the pressure of deadline; it is the kind of routine reinforced by stories of past successes (Schein, 2004). New types of Web routines, such as allowing the audience to comment instantaneously, devalue that journalistic ability and challenge the underlying assumption that journalists are the professionals. Unlike previous studies regarding convergence, this case study revealed the defensive resistance to change stemmed not from the technology but from the challenge it posed to deeply held journalistic values. A Web-oriented focus can lead to change in values; Gladney et al. (2007) found values such as immediacy and multimedia were ranked above more traditional journalistic values by online editors. In the case of the *Daily News*, staffers experienced psychic resistance to abandoning or altering those values, as detailed in the descriptive narrative. For example, when asked what it would take to elevate the comments to a level that would be worth paying attention to, one staffer responded: "I think you'd have to see news in the remarks. You'd have to see something that was worthwhile in following up. And trumpeting opinions alone is not worth following up" (personal communication, March 24, 2009).

Several in the profession and in scholarly literature have adopted the phrase "platform-agnostic" when it comes to convergence/integration arrangements (e.g. Lawson-Borders, 2006). The content is viewed as a sort of clay that can be easily molded to fit a variety of media platforms. At the *Daily News*, journalists did not struggle so

much with the technology as they did with how to provide content appropriate to each audience. In one instance, a Web producer asked about correcting an update and was told by an editor that a formal correction was not needed since the item only appeared online. Instead, the final story from the paper would appear online with the information, replacing the update. The update was ephemeral; it did not remain a part of the permanent record of the *Daily News*, and therefore was not as important. The approach to how staffers viewed the archive also demonstrated how deeply embedded the culture of the newspaper was. The Web site was viewed as content that was supplementary rather than primary, and until this mind-set is changed, the daily routines will remain locked toward producing the newspaper, keeping the status quo in place.

ii. The hands-off approach of leadership

One recurring issue in this case study was the leadership's hands-off style. In part, that approach was meant to give journalists the freedom and autonomy to pursue their jobs within the bounds of journalistic values; one editor noted the hope was to inspire creativity by allowing such freedom. And several employees acknowledged they enjoyed the ability to pursue their craft as they saw fit. While such freedom worked for the production of newspaper content because the routines were so embedded, the lack of structure made it difficult in a new realm where the routines were not established and success was not guaranteed.

As detailed in the cultural analysis, the detached leadership style did not interfere with the efficient running of the newspaper operation. In the current lineup of employees, there is little jockeying for power to fill the void, and top management did step in when

tempers flared, such as the instance involving whether to add content to a Web version of a print story (Kets de Vries, 2001).

However, the hands-off approach by leadership led managers to operate with many untested assumptions, including the belief that given the freedom, staffers would discover on their own the best way to accomplish their tasks (Argyris, 2004). Indeed, bloggers and staffers found themselves seeking out others in the newsroom who were viewed as successful in the new realm. One of the most popular bloggers was regularly sought out for guidance as to how to elicit comments and produce interesting posts for readers. Despite this self-learning, in interviews, many staffers conveyed a desire for a clearer vision with regard to the Web. How much should they blog? How do they work moderating comments into their routines? When should they designate time for Web-specific duties? Will these duties become more important over time? What can I do to acquire these skills?

There were also aspects of the depressive organization at work at the *Daily News*. Though the leadership would not be classified as depressive, the organization itself was entrenched in ritualistic behavior. The adherence to the daily deadline for the newspaper and the focus on the legacy product kept the *Daily News* immersed in a mature market (Kets de Vries, 2001). Diamond (1985) noted an adherence to ritualistic behavior in bureaucracy as a defensive mechanism to avoid anxiety especially in high-stress environments such as hospital nurse stations. In organizations exhibiting such behavior, it is difficult to respond to the changing external environment (Diamond, 1985).

At the *Daily News*, leaders recognized the need to change with the industry but were unwilling to let go of the ingrained routines and truly embrace new organizational

structures required by the new media. They saw the newspaper as the primary product of value created by the organization and did not alter the newsroom routines that had been created over the decades for producing that product efficiently. Some characteristics of the depressive constellation described by Kets de Vries, such as inflexibility and excessive bureaucracy, did not apply in this case, but people struggled to develop new routines because of the dependence on ritualistic behavior. They struggled to develop new routines required by the new media. Without newsroom leaders willing to guide the change more directly, employees relied on established work rituals to guide them instead of developing new routines.

Kets de Vries (2001) offers a prescription for this constellation, including redefining the strategic orientation, simplifying processes, and becoming more responsive to customer needs. The new content-management system put in place addressed several of those issues and seemed poised to put the organization on the path to success. But the leadership must be willing to take full advantage of the platform by fostering and encouraging the development of new routines with a clearer vision.

At the end of the study period, the Web remained secondary in importance to the print product, partly because of the business reality of the organization. The *Daily News* still relied heavily on newspaper revenue for its profitability, and strategically, altering all routines without revenue stability online is not advisable. But some segments of the newsroom had already developed innovative skills to manage across platforms. The challenge for management is opening the doors of communication to allow the innovative structures that exist in sports and photo to spread their lessons to the rest of the newsroom.

iii. The subgroup cultures

Over time, the sports and photo departments had become separated from the core newsroom operation and developed their own workflows and routines. Their perceptions of the audience also differed from those of the rest of the newsroom. For sports, much of their audience consisted of passionate fans who eagerly crave information about their favorite teams. In the photo department, photographers saw the Web as an opportunity to showcase additional photos that could not be put into the newspaper because of space limitations. In both cases, the departments viewed the Web as a way to expand and deepen their journalistic commitment to their audiences. For those departments, the Web did not pose a central conflict with the underlying assumption that journalists are the professionals.

The separation of the sports and photo departments is not without benefit. It meshes with Christensen and Raynor's (2003) prescription for innovation to occur in separated divisions, free of the constraints of tradition and historical success, which embed cultures deeply into organizations (Schein, 2004). But the separation and feeling among the subgroups that they were taken for granted prevented them from sharing their information with the rest of the newsroom. One reporter mentioned being interested in learning video, but requests to photo for help were rebuffed. Similarly, the sports department has the most successful blogs in the organization, but no one from sports was invited to the city-desk blogger meeting. More formal channels of information sharing would allow for learning to occur across departments.

To a lesser extent, the Web operation is itself a subgroup. Though the Web editor is equal to the city editor on the organizational chart with the authority over reporters, he never exercised that power. During the study period, he typically worked through the city editor to get updates, and though he encouraged blogs and advised the writers, he never set formal guidelines or quotas regarding the frequency or style of posting. The promotion of the city editor to the newly created position of vice president of interactive media is a step toward validating the Web operation in the eyes of the rank-and-file.

There also was a lack of communication between the Web team and the primary editors on the city desk regarding capabilities of the new content-management system. Several staffers did not realize they had the ability to flag comments, even a month after the launch, and some editors were not sure what capabilities they had with regard to their sections on the Web.

The dispute over modifying a print story for the Web story highlighted the lack of clarity with regard to the Web mission. It also revealed the realities faced by a smaller newspaper. At the *Daily News*, the Web site serves as a conduit to the archiving system; to be seen as a true archive of the print product, a version of the print story had to exist somewhere on the Web site. But members of the sports department saw the Web as a platform for expanded content, and some argued that tethering it so closely to the print edition hindered the ability to take advantage of the immediate dynamic nature of the Web. Another factor complicating the discussion was the fact that print stories had been updated on the Web. In one instance, a story referred to a \$6 billion project as a \$6 million project, an editing oversight that was noted in the comments. The city editor then corrected the print story online.

Until a clear vision of the Web is established by top leadership, such conflicts and inconsistent actions will continue. If the subgroups remain separated, the organizational learning will remain compartmentalized, impeding the effectiveness of the *Daily News* as it moves toward an integrated future.

D. The psychological impact of changing routines

The uncertainty and anxiety created by the volatile climate in the newspaper industry cannot be underestimated. Almost everyone interviewed voiced concern for the future, and this sensitivity was only heightened by the layoffs that occurred during the study period. Though management had the trust of the employees, who accepted the reasoning behind the layoffs, there was a desire for a firmer hand from above and a clearer vision of an integrated future in which people are expected to create content across platforms.

Several employees craved this leadership because of the underlying assumption that the *Daily News* is a stepping stone to a larger paper. Historically, the paper had nurtured and coached writers, allowing them to advance to larger newspapers. But as the industry changes to a more cross-platform environment, being a good writer may not be enough to advance from the award-winning paper. Some employees questioned whether they would have the skill set after their stint at the *Daily News* to move to larger papers, especially since competition has become more fierce with the number of layoffs across the industry.

Another psychological barrier for the organization is viewing audience-created content in the form of online blogs, comments, and reader-submitted photos and videos as part of the unique content the organization can offer. Some staffers embraced the

comments, but others resisted the push toward blogging and moderating comments. Some were concerned about diminishing the *Daily News*' credibility with unprofessional content. The suggestion to separate the comments from the stories is one example of wanting to push what is "not journalism" from what journalists produce. In their analysis of groups, Smith and Berg (1997) note that groups often will bond together by developing values and routines that separate them from others. Delineating the journalist from the "not journalist" — in this case, the commenters on the stories and blogs — provides psychic comfort and value to the group.

This psychological defensiveness stems from the underlying assumption that journalists are the professionals, and in the eyes of some newsroom staffers, the audience does not have the same level of appreciation for this discipline. As noted at the end of Chapter VI, levels of resistance increased the more collaborative and immediate the content became. In some form, comments, blogs, and updates all challenged traditional notions of verification prized by newspaper journalists.

Singer (2004b) found a clash of values from the perspective of merging television and newspaper cultures; here, the immediacy of the Web clashed with the verification ethic of print journalists. The collaborative nature of the medium also created issues, as journalists had to relinquish some of the content-creation control to the audience. No longer were they the experts distributing the information to the citizen audience for passive consumption; they had to open the doors and allow the audience to become part of the process.

Top-tier managers supported this idea, as revealed by the story comment that was restored by editors; it was the top managers who were more open about the comments.

But several staffers exhibited psychological discomfort at being regularly criticized and second-guessed by the public. Some reporters resisted the change because many commenters could hide behind a shroud of anonymity and did not have to abide by the same set of standards as the journalists.

E. Lessons for the newspaper industry

Case studies provide a level of rich detail in a natural environment (Yin, 2003), and the lessons of the *Daily News* are instructive for others in the industry. Like many other newspapers, the organization was struggling to find the balance between the core product of the newspaper, which still provides the bulk of the revenue, and the burgeoning potential of the Web, which promises large audiences but uncertain profits.

This study departs from previous analyses of newspaper organizational-change efforts in that it takes a psychodynamic approach to examine the push toward integration, producing content for a variety of platforms in one organization. Unlike convergence arrangements, the *Daily News* is not joining with another media outlet; instead, it is trying to educate itself how to reach audience across platforms with existing resources. Few studies have examined this phenomenon using observation and in-depth interviews.

This study indicates the struggle to change ingrained routines stemmed not from resistance to technology but from the commitment to the newspaper and core journalistic values. To confront such a challenge, organizations must provide a clear vision that articulates how the changes will not only address economic realities but also remain true to the professional values that journalists consider critical to their professional identities.

Newspapers have shed thousands of employees over the past three years, but the study of the *Daily News* revealed that layoffs need not be irreversibly destructive. Indeed,

it is possible to complete a major newsroom change even in the face of layoffs as long as there is trust among the employees and a commitment to journalistic values backed up by an investment of resources.

The *Daily News* is not the first newspaper to experience separation of the sports and photo departments. Sports stories are typically on a different time schedule than news stories from the city desk, and photographers often clash with writers and editors over the importance of pictures versus words. But if such separation is viewed through the lens of disruptive innovation, organizations can allow learning to occur. The key is finding a way to allow that learning to spread from those niches into the rest of the newsroom. Confronting underlying assumptions and opening the doors of communication can make it possible to remain true to core journalistic values while adapting to the realities of the new environment.

The audience analysis provides a blueprint for confronting the disruptive environment caused by the Internet. Newspapers can build a loyal online audience by altering the traditional approach to journalistic content creation; they must bring the audience into the process through comments and collaborative journalism. At the *Daily News*, the comments helped foster a sense of community online, especially when public figures engaged with citizens.

Indeed, the audience analysis reveals those with online savvy embrace comments and seek news throughout the day, and those who choose the Internet as a primary source for news are interested in topics beyond traditional news. The challenge will be developing new journalistic routines that embrace the “good enough” approach to online

content, one that often does not require rigorous verification demanded by traditional newspaper content.

The *Daily News*, like many newspaper organizations, is trying to use its existing newsroom resources to develop content across platforms. While this “platform-agnostic” approach is efficient, it fails to consider the challenge to journalists’ identity as the producers of verified content. Though some employees bridged the psychological disconnect between the two media, many struggled. To be successful in this environment, newspapers must create new structures that allow content creators for the different media to be true to their values without engaging in psychological conflict that may give rise to defensive routines and resistance to change. Acknowledging that phenomenon is the key to survival.

VIII. RESEARCHER'S PERSPECTIVE

In his typology of ethnographies, Van Maanen (1988) describes the confessional tale, which acknowledges the fieldworker's involvement in the research-gathering process. How does one's presence affect the environment? How are those in the field responding to the researcher? And how is one reacting to the environment itself? Schein (2004) echoes this theme, noting that it is not possible to obtain credible cultural data unless the researcher is seen as one who will help the organization. Though this organizational analysis was presented in a realist format (Van Maanen, 1988), I believe it is important to include a brief chapter regarding my own background and reactions to the environment to inform the findings.

This section details the genesis of the project, my attempts to build rapport with key informants, and my perceptions of how I was received in the organization. I also take into account my own reaction to the organization so that this study may be considered with a complete perspective of the researcher who gathered and analyzed the data, and constructed this organizational narrative. With such an immersive project, it is impossible to remove one's self completely from the analysis, even with a realist presentation (Van Maanen, 1988). During analysis, researchers must consider how they are viewed in order to conduct a meaningful diagnosis (Diamond & Allcorn, 2003). As I took observational fieldnotes over the course of the study period, I regularly entered my own reactions as well as perceived reactions of others to me during the period.

My interest in the research topic for this study sprang from my years as a journalist and a newspaper manager. As I left the field in 2005 to become an academic researcher and instructor, my area of research interest became media management and

organizational change, and I had hoped to understand how the dramatic changes in the industry were affecting news routines. Given the news media's role in the United States' democratic society, understanding how these changes were affecting the quality of journalism became an important part of my research agenda.

Faculty members in my doctoral program who had contacts at the *Daily News* introduced me to the organization, and an initial discussion with the associate publisher was encouraging. I was told the managing editor would be my primary contact. After a couple of attempts, we connected over the phone and met for lunch a few weeks before the study was to begin. At that meeting, the managing editor and I shared stories from our newspaper careers, and he appeared open to allowing me complete access to the organization and its supporting data. During that lunch, I felt as though he was committed to the craft and was dedicated to publishing a strong community newspaper. I tried to remain aware of my respect for him to avoid that perspective clouding my findings.

Soon afterward, I sent an introductory e-mail to the managing editor to distribute to the newsroom staff.

Greetings,

My name is Jonathan Groves, and I will be the doctoral student nosing around your newsroom over the next few months.

If you Google me, I'm on the first page of Jonathan Groveses. No, I don't have a ministry or do voiceovers. I'm the one at Drury University.

After 14 years as a journalist, I began teaching and returned to the University of Missouri to work on my doctorate in media management. For my dissertation, I plan to document how a newspaper is changing in this new multimedia environment: How are the Web and its myriad technologies affecting the way journalists do their jobs and fulfill their role as community watchdogs?

That's where I need your help. In the coming weeks, I'll be spending time with you, hoping to learn from your experiences. I hope to shadow some of you and interview those willing to talk with me. I won't be identifying individuals in my research, and the interviews will be kept confidential. I'd be glad to share what I've learned working with other news organizations over the past two years as a Reynolds Journalism Institute fellow.

Thank you for letting me into your newsroom, and I look forward to working with you in the months to come.

*Best,
Jonathan*

My first visit was in early January, a month before the launch of the content-management system. On my first day, I noted: "Initial introductions, skeptical but interested. Some engagement among the employees. Everyone seems eager to help." The managing editor asked another staffer to show me the newsroom and introduce me to the entire staff. One employee upon meeting me said, "Is this a new employee?" Over the course of the morning, we met most of the staff, and most were open to the idea of interviews and shadowing. The staffer also provided a temporary login and password for the computer system, as well as permission to park in the employee lot. By the end of the day, I did feel much like a new employee and had to remind myself that I was a researcher studying the organization.

My first full week followed the initial visit, and that immersion allowed me to establish my role as a researcher in the newsroom. I developed a routine of attending the budget meeting each day and arranging for at least one interview or shadowing experience a day. Often, there were more. Initially, I found myself gravitating toward the staffers who seemed more open to me; some seemed more standoffish. I found certain

employees were willing to help me more than others, and I felt as though some were sharing information with me in a way that they hoped would tilt the findings in their favor. After the first month, I began to feel like more of an intruder, especially after the layoffs. I had heard that some employees joked I was a “mole” for top managers.

Having been a former online editor, I felt some kinship toward the Web editor as well, and I had to resist the urge to sympathize with his struggles against the established routines at work in the newsroom. It seemed the roots of this struggle dated back to the original Web redesign in 2001, when some efforts to be more aggressive on the Web had been resisted by previous editors on the city desk.

As the interviews progressed, I also felt that for some employees I was a vessel for their anxiety related to changes at the newspaper and in the industry (Diamond & Allcorn, 2003). Though I gave subjects a 30-minute estimate for interviews, almost every one went longer; some discussions lasted as long as 2½ hours. A few interviews were cut off by prescheduled appointments, but no respondents stopped the interviews because of discomfort with the questions or topics. With most of the employees, I sensed little reticence to talk about the issues facing the company, and the interviews became easier as the study period progressed. The reporters I shadowed were generous with their time and allowed me to see all aspects of the newsgathering process, as they read e-mails, interviewed sources, and wrote stories.

The danger I continually warded myself against was feeling as though I was part of the organization. I was invited to take part in a midday walking group but declined. On Valentine’s Day, when one reporter handed out small cards and chocolates around the newsroom, she offered me one as well. I occasionally offered advice to reporters I

shadowed who were working on stories on topics I knew something about (e.g. a story about a bank with financial problems). Near the end of the study period, I did accept an invitation to an after-work bar session where several employees meet with other people from around town and shared a drink with the crowd.

During the study period, some asked me what I was finding, and I answered truthfully but vaguely, worried that excessive disclosure would disrupt the environment and affect the findings. Because most people had been discussing the comments, I felt comfortable revealing that comments seemed to be the greatest disruption to news routines. That revelation was usually greeted with a nod of assent, which I took as a validity check on my findings.

Toward the end of the study period, I began to feel as though the newsroom was tiring of my constant presence, although everyone was still open to my interviews and requests for shadowing. In a sense, the study ended as it began; though I had the trust of the organization, I felt once again like an outsider. But I had gained an inside perspective on the organization and its operation.

APPENDIX A RESEARCH CHRONOLOGY

Italicized dates indicate observation days; unitalicized dates highlight key events during the study period, but I was not on-site during those events. In those cases, interviewees were asked about those key events after the fact. Those who were not reporters or editors (such as page designers, news clerks, etc.) are identified as “staffer.”

I was provided a desk in the newsroom. I was permitted to approach any staff member about interviews and attend pertinent meetings. No staffer refused an interview or a shadow request during the research period, although some proved easier to schedule visits with than others.

During each visit, I attended the morning budget meeting. Interviews typically lasted between one and 1½ hours, and some subjects were interviewed on more than one occasion. Several staffers were shadowed for portions of their shifts. During the periods between the interviews and the shadowing, I sat at a desk in the newsroom, observing interactions among staffers.

Jan. 7: (Beginning of nonparticipant observation period)

- Initial interview with managing editor
- Introduced by editor to entire staff
- Spent morning with editor
- Interviews: reporter, editor

Jan. 12-16 (First full week)

Jan. 12:

- Interview, editor
- Attended afternoon planning meeting for inauguration
- Attended interdepartmental meeting about software launch

Jan. 13:

- Shadow, Web staff

Jan. 14:

- Shadow, editor
- Attended staff meeting

Jan. 15:

- Shadow, copy editor
- Shadow, Web editor

Jan. 16:

--Shadow, photographer
--Interview, reporter

Jan. 20:

--Interview, editor
--Attended training sessions for new editorial system

Jan. 30:

--Interview, reporter
--Shadow, editor

Feb 2: Launch date for the Web site and redesign

--Shadow, Web editor

Feb. 3: Shadow, photographer

Interview, reporter

Feb. 4: Interview, editor

Shadow, Web editor

Feb. 5: First layoffs

Feb. 6: University paper reports about *Daily News* cuts

Feb. 11: Newspaper publishes its own story about the layoffs. Notes specifically when and where the cuts were in the newsroom. Afternoon staff meeting regarding layoffs.

Feb. 13: Interviews: editor, editor, editor, reporter

Feb. 20: Shadow, editor

Shadow, Web editor revising site

Interview, reporter

Feb. 25: Staff meeting, much time devoted to talking about comments, even less than a month in.

Interview, administrator

March 6: Shadow, reporter

Interview, staffer

Interview, editor

March 11: Interview, staffer

Interview, editor

Shadow, reporter

Attended staff meeting announcing city editor will become vice president of interactive media, a new position; the presentation editor will take over as city editor.

Mid-March: Web editor changed system so all staffers could see comments, including those that had been removed.

March 18: Shadow, editor
Attended editors' meeting

March 23-27 (Second full week)

March 23: Shadow Web editor

March 24: Shadow editor

Shadow, reporter

Interview, editor

Shadow, reporter/photographer on out-of-office assignment

March 25: Shadow, reporter

Shadow, reporter

March 26: Shadow, editor

Interview, photographer

March 27: Shadow, staffer

Interview, editor

April 3: Shadow, reporter

April 8: Interview, staffer

Interview, photographer

Interview, editor

Interview, reporter

April 15: Shadow, reporter

April 16: Reporter roundtable meeting in which comments came up

April 22: Staff meeting about comments. Immediately afterward, the Web editor changed the label on the comments to "Reader Comments," and added two lines: "The opinions expressed below are those of the readers who submitted them and not those of the *Daily News*' reporters or editors. Readers are solely responsible for the content of their comments."

April 23: E-mail sent to the newsroom staff from vice president of interactive media about comments.

April 29: Attended editors' meeting

Interview, Web editor

Interview, reporter

May 6: Shadow, editor
Interview, copy editor
Interview, Web producer
Interview, editor

May 12-16 (Third full week)

May 12: Interview, photographer
Shadow, reporter

May 13: Interview, columnist
Interview, editor

Attended editors meeting
Shadow, reporter

May 14: Interview, copy editor
Interview, reporter

Shadow, Web producer
Interview, editor

May 15: Shadow, reporter (night shift)
Shadow, reporter

Interview, photographer
Shadow, editor

May 16: Newsroom observation

May 20: Interview, editor
Interview, administrator

APPENDIX B
INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

1. What is your role in the newsroom?
2. How do you see your role changing with the implementation of the new content-management system?
3. How do you see your duties changing? What about the duties of your co-workers?
4. How do you see the ways in which you gather information and tell stories changing?
5. What are your expectations with regard to the changes?
6. What challenges lie ahead for the newsroom? What, in your view, is the biggest challenge?
7. What are the values of this organization? How do those compare/contrast with your own?
8. In your view, what is the role of leadership in this time of change?
9. How prepared are you for the change? What resources and training have you received in preparation for the change?
10. Why does the organization need to change?

APPENDIX C

CONSENT FORM

Thank you for your participation in this interview. This research project will analyze how a news organization prepares its staff for change when integrating Web content and production into the daily news operation.

The interview will take about 20-30 minutes to complete. Your participation is strictly voluntary, and you may end the interview at any time.

Your participation will help the news industry understand the issues employees and managers face when changing to an integrated newsroom. Your personal information will remain confidential. Only the investigators will have access to the data in its original form, and after the analysis is complete, it will be kept in a locked file cabinet for three years from the completion of the project.

The findings may be published in an academic forum or shared with those in the media industry.

Any questions about this research methodology may be answered by Jonathan Groves, at (417) 576-3868, or through e-mail, at jwgroves@mizzou.edu.

Research at the University of Missouri-Columbia involving human participants is carried out under the supervision of the Institutional Review Board (IRB). Questions or concerns about research participants' rights may be directed to MU Campus Institutional Review Board, 483 McReynolds, University of Missouri, Columbia, MO 65211. Phone: 573 882-9585. Fax: 573 884-0663.

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Table 1
Logistic Regression Analysis of Choosing Newspaper as Primary Source for News

Predictor	β	SE β	Wald's χ^2	df	p	e^β (odds ratio)
Constant	-2.49***	.309	64.81	1	.000	NA
Level 1 (Demographics)						
Gender	.17	.100	2.74	1	.098	1.18
White	.33*	.160	4.25	1	.039	1.39
African-American	.15	.200	.52	1	.469	1.16
Asian	-.40	.401	.99	1	.320	.67
Hispanic	-.36	.286	1.58	1	.208	.70
Age	.20***	.034	33.45	1	.000	1.22
Education	.06	.056	1.18	1	.277	1.06
Income	.03	.023	1.35	1	.246	1.03
Level 2 (Media Choice)						
Aperture	-.17***	.044	15.41	1	.000	.84
Voice	-.16	.118	1.79	1	.181	.85
Multimedia	-.73***	.106	47.11	1	.000	.48
Test			χ^2	df	p	
Overall model evaluation						
Score test			136.43	11	.000	
Goodness-of-fit test						
Hosmer & Lemeshow			13.20	8	.105	

Note. N= 3,426. NA = Not applicable. Cox and Snell R^2 =.04. Nagelkerke R^2 =.07.
* p <.05 *** p <.001

Table 2
The Observed and Predicted Frequencies for Choosing Newspaper as Primary Source of News by Logistic Regression With the Cutoff of 0.50

Observed	Predicted		% Correct
	Yes	No	
Not newspaper	2,928	0	100.0
Newspaper	498	0	0.0
Overall % correct			85.5

Table 3
Logistic Regression Analysis of Choosing Television as Primary Source for News

Predictor	β	<i>SE</i> β	Wald's χ^2	<i>df</i>	<i>p</i>	e^β (odds ratio)
Constant	.33	.209	2.43	1	.119	NA
Level 1 (Demographics)						
Gender	-.36***	.074	22.97	1	.000	.70
White	-.01	.093	.021	1	.884	.99
African-American	.56***	.122	21.42	1	.000	1.76
Asian	-.33	.215	2.33	1	.127	.72
Hispanic	.37*	.168	4.73	1	.030	1.44
Age	.25***	.024	110.52	1	.000	1.29
Education	-.42***	.042	99.35	1	.000	.66
Income	-.04*	.017	5.28	1	.022	.96
Level 2 (Media Choice)						
Aperture	.04	.034	1.39	1	.238	1.04
Voice	-.10	.085	1.39	1	.237	.91
Multimedia	.75***	.075	98.43	1	.000	2.12
Test			χ^2	<i>df</i>	<i>p</i>	
Overall model evaluation						
Score test			476.95	11	.000	
Goodness-of-fit test						
Hosmer & Lemeshow			7.71	8	.463	

Note. N= 3,426. NA = Not applicable. Cox and Snell $R^2 = .13$. Nagelkerke $R^2 = .17$.
* $p < .05$ *** $p < .001$

Table 4
The Observed and Predicted Frequencies for Choosing Television as Primary Source of News by Logistic Regression With the Cutoff of 0.50

Observed	Predicted		% Correct
	Yes	No	
Not television	938	627	59.9
Television	521	1,340	72.0
Overall % correct			66.5

Table 5
Logistic Regression Analysis of Choosing Radio as Primary Source for News

Predictor	β	<i>SE</i> β	Wald's χ^2	<i>df</i>	<i>p</i>	e^β (odds ratio)
Constant	-2.34***	.315	55.39	1	.000	NA
Level 1 (Demographics)						
Gender	.19	.108	3.07	1	.080	1.21
White	.20	.146	1.96	1	.162	1.23
African-American	-.26	.198	1.77	1	.184	.77
Asian	-.56	.361	2.37	1	.123	.57
Hispanic	-.14	.238	.329	1	.566	.87
Age	-.12***	.034	12.55	1	.000	.89
Education	.25***	.062	16.64	1	.000	1.29
Income	.01	.025	.16	1	.693	1.01
Level 2 (Media Choice)						
Aperture	-.07	.049	2.00	1	.157	.93
Voice	.52***	.115	20.40	1	.000	1.68
Multimedia	-.54***	.113	22.96	1	.000	.58
Test			χ^2	<i>df</i>	<i>p</i>	
Overall model evaluation						
Score test			95.12	11	.000	
Goodness-of-fit test						
Hosmer & Lemeshow			9.60	8	.294	

Note. N= 3,426. NA = Not applicable. Cox and Snell R^2 =.03. Nagelkerke R^2 =.05.
*** p <.001

Table 6
The Observed and Predicted Frequencies for Choosing Radio as Primary Source of News by Logistic Regression With the Cutoff of 0.50

Observed	Predicted		% Correct
	Yes	No	
Not radio	3,012	0	100.0
Radio	414	0	0.0
Overall % correct			87.9

Table 7
Logistic Regression Analysis of Choosing the Internet as Primary Source for News

Predictor	β	SE β	Wald's χ^2	df	p	e^β (odds ratio)
Constant	-3.05***	.312	95.47	1	.000	NA
Level 1 (Demographics)						
Gender	.28**	.107	6.75	1	.009	1.32
White	-.07	.110	.40	1	.528	.93
African-American	-.62***	.163	14.41	1	.000	.54
Asian	.70**	.224	9.75	1	.002	2.02
Hispanic	-.15	.218	.45	1	.504	.87
Age	-.66***	.039	288.70	1	.000	.52
Education	.62***	.067	85.00	1	.000	1.86
Income	.08**	.025	11.24	1	.001	1.09
Level 2 (Media Choice)						
Aperture	.45***	.058	60.16	1	.000	1.57
Voice	-.21	.125	2.80	1	.053	.81
Multimedia	-.21	.109	3.75	1	.094	.81
Test			χ^2	df	p	
Overall model evaluation						
Score test			643.59	11	.000	
Goodness-of-fit test						
Hosmer & Lemeshow			6.50	8	.592	

Note. N= 3,426. NA = Not applicable. Cox and Snell $R^2 = .17$. Nagelkerke $R^2 = .29$.
** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$

Table 8
The Observed and Predicted Frequencies for Choosing the Internet as Primary Source of News by Logistic Regression With the Cutoff of 0.50

Observed	Predicted		% Correct
	Yes	No	
Not radio	2,796	82	97.2
Radio	440	108	19.7
Overall % correct			84.8

Table 9
 Logistic Regression Analysis of Choosing Newspaper as Primary Source for News (With Habit Strength as a Predictor)

Predictor	β	<i>SE</i> β	Wald's χ^2	<i>df</i>	<i>p</i>	e^β (odds ratio)
Constant	-1.90***	.318	35.90	1	.000	NA
Level 1 (Demographics)						
Gender	.05	.106	.18	1	.673	1.05
White	.25	.166	2.33	1	.127	1.29
African-American	.14	.206	.45	1	.505	1.15
Asian	-.35	.413	.70	1	.404	.71
Hispanic	-.35	.295	1.40	1	.237	.71
Age	.04	.036	.98	1	.323	1.04
Education	-.04	.059	.36	1	.549	.97
Income	.01	.024	.26	1	.612	1.01
Level 2 (Media Choice)						
Aperture	-.26***	.046	31.92	1	.000	.77
Voice	-.13	.124	1.16	1	.282	.88
Multimedia	-.70***	.111	39.12	1	.000	.50
Level 3						
Habit Strength	.54***	.036	226.66	1	.000	1.72
Test			χ^2	<i>df</i>	<i>p</i>	
Overall model evaluation						
Score test			375.70	12	.000	
Goodness-of-fit test						
Hosmer & Lemeshow			4.73	8	.786	

Note. N= 3,426. NA = Not applicable. Cox and Snell $R^2 = .10$. Nagelkerke $R^2 = .18$. ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$

Table 10
 The Observed and Predicted Frequencies for Choosing Newspaper as Primary Source of News (With Habit Strength) by Logistic Regression With the Cutoff of 0.50

Observed	Predicted		% Correct
	Yes	No	
Not newspaper	2,899	29	99.0
Newspaper	478	20	4.0
Overall % correct			85.2

Table 11
 Logistic Regression Analysis of Choosing Television as Primary Source for News (With
 Habit Strength as a Predictor)

Predictor	β	<i>SE</i> β	Wald's χ^2	<i>df</i>	<i>p</i>	e^β (odds ratio)
Constant	.35	.216	2.69	1	.101	NA
Level 1 (Demographics)						
Gender	-.39***	.077	26.02	1	.000	.68
White	.02	.095	.05	1	.826	1.02
African-American	.50	.125	15.78	1	.000	1.65
Asian	-.35	.221	2.42	1	.119	.71
Hispanic	.34*	.172	3.98	1	.046	1.41
Age	.16***	.025	38.23	1	.000	1.17
Education	-.45***	.043	109.29	1	.000	.64
Income	-.04*	.018	4.92	1	.026	.96
Level 2 (Media Choice)						
Aperture	-.03	.036	.67	1	.414	.97
Voice	-.09	.087	.98	1	.323	.92
Multimedia	.72***	.078	85.85	1	.000	2.06
Level 3						
Habit Strength	.33***	.023	205.99	1	.000	1.39
Test			χ^2	<i>df</i>	<i>p</i>	
Overall model evaluation						
Score test			693.02	12	.000	
Goodness-of-fit test						
Hosmer & Lemeshow			3.77	8	.878	

Note. N= 3,426. NA = Not applicable. Cox and Snell $R^2 = .18$. Nagelkerke $R^2 = .25$.
 * $p < .05$ *** $p < .001$

Table 12
 The Observed and Predicted Frequencies for Choosing Television as Primary Source of
 News (With Habit Strength) by Logistic Regression With the Cutoff of 0.50

Observed	Predicted		% Correct
	Yes	No	
Not television	990	575	63.3
Television	468	1,393	74.9
Overall % correct			69.6

Table 13
 Logistic Regression Analysis of Choosing Radio as Primary Source for News (With
 Habit Strength as a Predictor)

Predictor	β	SE β	Wald's χ^2	df	p	e^β (odds ratio)
Constant	-2.46***	.336	53.69	1	.000	NA
Level 1 (Demographics)						
Gender	.04	.117	.11	1	.738	1.04
White	.30	.154	3.75	1	.053	1.35
African-American	-.29	.209	1.93	1	.164	.75
Asian	-.61	.379	2.58	1	.108	.54
Hispanic	-.27	.255	1.10	1	.295	.77
Age	-.17***	.038	20.21	1	.000	.84
Education	.21**	.067	9.75	1	.002	1.23
Income	-.02	.027	.72	1	.397	.98
Level 2 (Media Choice)						
Aperture	-.22***	.053	17.13	1	.000	.80
Voice	.49***	.125	15.23	1	.000	1.63
Multimedia	-.41**	.121	11.29	1	.001	.67
Level 3						
Habit Strength	.63***	.035	320.49	1	.000	1.88
Test			χ^2	df	p	
Overall model evaluation						
Score test			445.07	12	.000	
Goodness-of-fit test						
Hosmer & Lemeshow			18.02	8	.021	

Note. N= 3,426. NA = Not applicable. Cox and Snell $R^2 = .12$. Nagelkerke $R^2 = .23$.
 ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$

Table 14
 The Observed and Predicted Frequencies for Choosing Radio as Primary Source of News
 (With Habit Strength) by Logistic Regression With the Cutoff of 0.50

Observed	Predicted		% Correct
	Yes	No	
Not television	2,982	30	99.0
Television	468	1,393	11.4
Overall % correct			88.4

Table 15
 Logistic Regression Analysis of Choosing the Internet as Primary Source for News (With
 Habit Strength as a Predictor)

Predictor	β	SE β	Wald's χ^2	df	p	e^β (odds ratio)
Constant	-2.60***	.329	62.18	1	.000	NA
Level 1 (Demographics)						
Gender	.16	.115	1.99	1	.158	1.18
White	-.03	.119	.08	1	.784	.97
African-American	-.51**	.177	8.44	1	.004	.60
Asian	.63*	.244	6.67	1	.010	1.88
Hispanic	-.11	.233	.21	1	.650	.90
Age	-.64***	.042	237.19	1	.000	.53
Education	.47***	.072	41.91	1	.000	1.60
Income	.07**	.027	6.94	1	.008	1.07
Level 2 (Media Choice)						
Aperture	.22***	.061	12.96	1	.000	1.25
Voice	-.13	.133	1.36	1	.243	.86
Multimedia	-.16	.117	1.25	1	.263	.88
Level 3						
Habit Strength	.36***	.022	263.94	1	.000	1.43
Test			χ^2	df	p	
Overall model evaluation						
Score test			922.63	12	.000	
Goodness-of-fit test						
Hosmer & Lemeshow			17.86	8	.022	

Note. N= 3,426. NA = Not applicable. Cox and Snell $R^2 = .27$. Nagelkerke $R^2 = .40$.
 * $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$

Table 16
 The Observed and Predicted Frequencies for Choosing the Internet as Primary Source of
 News (With Habit Strength) by Logistic Regression With the Cutoff of 0.50

Observed	Predicted		% Correct
	Yes	No	
Not television	2,758	120	95.8
Television	353	195	35.6
Overall % correct			86.2

Table 17
 Hierarchical Multiple Regression Predicting of Levels of Aperture in the Media Choice Model

	ΔR^2	β
Step 1	.03***	
Gender		.04*
White		-.05**
African-American		.05*
Asian		.01
Hispanic		-.01
Age		-.04*
Education		.01
Income		.00
Step 2	.06***	
Traditionalists		-.09***
Integrators		.07***
Net-Newsers		.16***
Disengaged		-.11***
Step 3	.04***	
News engagement		.22***
Total R^2	.13***	

Note. N=3,462. * $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$

Table 18
 Hierarchical Multiple Regression Predicting Habit Strength of Newspapers

	ΔR^2	β
Step 1	.11***	
Gender		.07***
White		.06**
African-American		-.01
Asian		-.01
Hispanic		.01
Age		.25***
Education		.10***
Income		.03*
Step 2	.02***	
Traditionalists		.01
Integrators		.02
Net-Newsers		.00
Disengaged		-.05**
Step 3	.02***	
News engagement		.19***
Total R^2	.15***	

Note. N=3,462. * $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$

Table 19
Hierarchical Multiple Regression Predicting Habit Strength of Television News

	ΔR^2	β
Step 1	.08***	
Gender		.01
White		-.04*
African-American		.04*
Asian		.01
Hispanic		.01
Age		.22***
Education		-.02
Income		-.03
Step 2	.04***	
Traditionalists		.07***
Integrators		.09***
Net-Newsers		-.01***
Disengaged		-.09***
Step 3	.06***	
News engagement		.25***
Total R^2	.18***	

Note. N=3,462. * $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$

Table 20
Hierarchical Multiple Regression Predicting Habit Strength of Radio News

	ΔR^2	β
Step 1	.03***	
Gender		.07***
White		-.03
African-American		.00
Asian		.00
Hispanic		.02
Age		.00
Education		.07**
Income		.07***
Step 2	.01***	
Traditionalists		.01
Integrators		.09***
Net-Newsers		.01
Disengaged		-.06**
Step 3	.01***	
News engagement		.17***
Total R^2	.05***	

Note. N=3,462. * $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$

Table 21
Hierarchical Multiple Regression Predicting Habit Strength of Internet News

	ΔR^2	β
Step 1	.10***	
Gender		.03*
White		-.03
African-American		-.05**
Asian		.03
Hispanic		-.01
Age		-.01
Education		.06***
Income		.01
Step 2	.25***	
Traditionalists		-.36***
Integrators		.10***
Net-Newsers		.38***
Disengaged		-.15***
Step 3	.00***	
News engagement		.07***
Total R^2	.35***	

Note. N=3,462. * $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$

Table 22
Hierarchical Multiple Regression Predicting Habit Strength of Newspapers Among the Online Savvy

	ΔR^2	β
Step 1	.11***	
Gender		.09***
White		.03
African-American		.05*
Asian		-.02
Hispanic		-.01
Age		.30***
Education		.09***
Income		.03
Step 2	.01***	
Online savvy		.09***
Total R^2	.12***	

Note. N=2,232. * $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$

Table 23
 Hierarchical Multiple Regression Predicting Habit Strength of Television News Among
 the Online Savvy

	ΔR^2	β
Step 1	.08***	
Gender		.02
White		-.06*
African-American		.08**
Asian		.00
Hispanic		.01
Age		.33***
Education		-.03
Income		-.02
Step 2	.02***	
Online savvy		.15***
Total R^2	.10***	

Note. N=2,232. * $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$

Table 24
 Hierarchical Multiple Regression Predicting Habit Strength of Radio News Among the
 Online Savvy

	ΔR^2	β
Step 1	.03***	
Gender		.09***
White		-.02
African-American		.02
Asian		-.03
Hispanic		.02
Age		.11***
Education		.06**
Income		.05*
Step 2	.01***	
Online savvy		.11***
Total R^2	.04***	

Note. N=2,232. * $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$

Table 25
 Hierarchical Multiple Regression Predicting Habit Strength of Internet News Among the Online Savvy

	ΔR^2	β
Step 1	.05***	
Gender		.08***
White		-.00
African-American		-.10***
Asian		.05*
Hispanic		-.04
Age		.02
Education		.12***
Income		.00
Step 2	.16***	
Online savvy		.42***
Total R^2	.21***	

Note. N=2,232. * $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$

Table 26
 Hierarchical Multiple Regression Predicting Frequency of Viewing Most-Read Story Lists Among the Online Savvy

	ΔR^2	β
Step 1	.03***	
Gender		.02
White		-.03
African-American		.02
Asian		-.01
Hispanic		-.01
Age		-.02
Education		-.01
Income		.04*
Step 2	.18***	
Online savvy		.45***
Total R^2	.22***	

Note. N=2,232. * $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$

Table 27
 Hierarchical Multiple Regression Predicting Frequency of Reading Comments Among
 the Online Savvy

	ΔR^2	β
Step 1	.03***	
Gender		.06**
White		-.03
African-American		.03
Asian		.00
Hispanic		-.05*
Age		.02
Education		.02
Income		-.04*
Step 2	.21***	
Online savvy		.48***
Total R^2	.24***	

Note. N=2,232. * $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$

Table 28
 Hierarchical Multiple Regression Predicting Frequency of Posting Comments Among the
 Online Savvy

	ΔR^2	β
Step 1	.01***	
Gender		.04*
White		-.02
African-American		.03
Asian		.01
Hispanic		.01
Age		.06**
Education		-.02
Income		-.04*
Step 2	.13***	
Online savvy		.38***
Total R^2	.14***	

Note. N=2,232. * $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$

VITA

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