Cross-Media News Journalism

Institutional, Professional and Textual Strategies and Practices in
Multi-Platform News Production

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PART I – Final contribution

1.0 Introduction

In the first years of the new millennium, news journalists have experienced significant forces of change related to technological developments and convergence – both within and between media organisations. Ownership in the media sector develops towards increased concentration, mergers and cross-media ownership. Digitization of production in media organisations has facilitated changes in the organisation and practices of journalism.

One significant development is the growth in the number of convergent 'media houses' at all levels of news journalism, from (inter) national media to regional and local media. Few modern media organisations publish on only one platform. As Deuze (2007) argues, 'A structure of convergent multimedia news organizations has been emerging since the mid-1990s, with companies all over the world opting for at least some form of cross-media cooperation or synergy between formerly separated staffers, newsrooms, and departments' (Deuze, 2007: 148). This is however a heterogeneous landscape, and Norwegian media organisations have embraced convergence journalism in different ways, and to various degrees (Hjeltnes et al., 2007).

Changing professional practices related to convergence developments raise a number of important questions about the relationship between organisational strategies, new technologies, and everyday news journalism. This thesis addresses these developments from two perspectives, *news work* and *news texts*, in order to see organisational strategies, journalistic practice and textual strategies as a whole. From the perspective of *news work*, it is necessary to adress organisational strategies for dealing with convergence, and how journalists relate to these strategies in their daily work. From the perspective of *news texts*, there are important questions about how news reports are made for and published on different media platforms, and whether news genres develop as the cooperation between radio, television and the web increases.

The core concept this thesis uses to describe these processes is *cross-media*. This concept describes communication or production where two or more media platforms are involved *in an integrated way*. The essence is whether the different media platforms 'talk to each other'. This thesis argues that in order to be more precise for theoretical and analytical purposes we have to distinguish between cross-media *communication*, and cross-media *production processes*.

Why is this important? Convergence in general, and cross-media production in particular, occurs in all areas of the news industry, and has implications for the majority of news workers. The phenomenon affects for example everyday news work conditions, journalistic hierarchies, the question of authorship and journalists' control over their news stories, the development of public service broadcasting towards public service (multi) media.

This thesis approaches the field from the perspective of *broadcast* news journalism. Seen from the outside, the news output of broadcasters in general has expanded rapidly since the early 1990s, and covers a wide range of media platforms from television and radio to tele-text, web and mobile phones. Seen from the inside, many broadcasters have seen profound changes in the organisation and practices of production. This is perhaps most evident with regard to production for multiple platforms in an integrated media organisation. To various degrees, production for television and radio has been integrated with production for digital media. Radio and television reporters, who used to exist in separate worlds, are now working together, cooperating across media boundaries. The platforms of radio and television have

been converging in terms of production processes, and, later, web and other platforms such as mobile phones have been added.

This thesis is about the everyday news work in a public service broadcasting organisation. It aims at examining the relationship between organisational structure, production processes and journalistic cultures. I do not aim for a normative perspective on convergence and cross-media journalism and it is not a matter of whether cross-media journalism is either a good or a bad thing. This study does not therefore seek to measure whether or not media organisations have achieved a certain 'desired' level of convergence. Further normative issues in research on convergence journalism will be discussed in section 3 on methodology.

The thesis has two parts: a main part consisting of five individual research articles, and a 'final contribution' which puts both the individual articles and the thesis as a whole, into a larger contextual, theoretical and methodological frame. The structure of the thesis is further explained in section 1.3.

1.1 Studying media production and institutions: existing research

This study is a *production study* of news journalism at the Norwegian public service broadcaster NRK. It is also an institutional study. Production studies are a tradition within media studies that focus on the conditions of production and the processes behind media content, or media organisations in action. The methods used are usually observation and interviews, often combined with document and content analysis. The majority of studies in this tradition focus on news journalism, and are often called newsroom studies or news ethnography (Helland and Schultz, 2007). The origins of the tradition are found in the functionalistic studies of 'gate-keeping' (White, 1950) and 'social control in the newsroom' (Breed, 1955).

The traditional path of news research has been found within the social sciences, where a transmission perspective on communication has dominated the approach. In a transmission approach, news is seen as bringing information about a reality to an audience (Dahlgren and Sparks, 1993; Curran and Gurevitch, 2000). Early sociological studies of news were primarily occupied with how news media

related to 'reality', and different ways of distorting this reality on its way to the audience. These distortions were usually explained by economic, ideological, or other factors (Helland, 1993: 5).

A stronger focus on organisational culture and news organisations as social institutions is found in the social constructivist studies of news culture. A number of news organisation studies that flourished in the 1970s and early 80s emphasised that the news is indeed *made*, not merely a more or less distorted reflection of reality. At the end of the 1970s, several studies of news production were published, among these Epstein (1973), Tuchman (1978), Schlesinger (1978), Golding and Elliott (1979) and Gans (1979). As Syvertsen (1999: 25) argues, these studies strove to show how, and in what way, the news is made, or produced, and why the news is not simply a mirror held up to the world.

A large part of the existing news research focuses either on the political economy of production, the semiotics of texts, or socio-psychological effects on audiences. Less work is done on the 'processes of mediation', or the actual production processes and practices (Van-Loon, 2007). Cottle (2003) and Ytreberg (1999) also point to political economy and cultural studies as the two overarching theoretical traditions dominating discussions on approaches to media organisations and their output.

This 'division of labour' (Ytreberg, 1999: 57) either emphasises economic, political and institutional structures, or the production of meaning in the text itself. Cottle (2003) argues that there is an 'unexplored and under-theorised "middle ground" of organisational structures and workplace practices' (Cottle, 2003: 4). In other words, if we wish to understand why media representations look like they do, we cannot rely on textual analysis alone. We need to take the production process and context into consideration.

A tendency in media research from the mid 1990s has been to focus on just that: actual, institutional practices. Production processes have emerged as a major point of interest in news organisation studies (Helland, 1993; Sand and Helland, 1998; Cottle and Ashton, 1999; Ytreberg, 1999; Küng-Shankleman, 2000; Boczkowski, 2004; Schultz, 2006; Ursell, 2001; Hemmingway, 2004; 2008).

What is in focus here are the *practices* surrounding technological developments within established media companies; one of the major points of interest

being how new technologies challenge the work practices of media organisations and workers, and the products that result from this process. In other words, how can we describe the relationship between journalistic practice and different news products?

A significant Norwegian contribution to this is Helland's (1993) extensive empirical work on the production of television news. He studies the context of production and conventions of the TV news genre, aiming to 'examine empirically the inter-relationship between the news texts and the news production processes in a public service and a commercial satellite television channel' (Helland, 1993: 3). The comparative perspective on potential differences between public service and commercial news is followed up in a study of public service news production and presentation in the NRK and the commercial competitor TV 2 (Sand and Helland, 1998). Schultz (2006) takes a similar approach is her study of news values. She aims at combining a socio-cultural and a textual perspective in what she calls *news-ethnographic field analysis* (Schultz, 2006: 23).

News production in a broadcasting organisation is a complex process characterised by a relatively high degree of work division. It takes the combined effort of a number of editors, reporters, producers and technicians to produce a radio or television newscast, as well as maintain a news site on the web. Ytreberg (1999: 20) visualises this process in a circular model, where the individual actors' textual understandings are negotiated through common understandings of genre and conventions, to reach a textual compromise in a concrete text. This text is then accumulated to each individual's corpus of textual understandings, which enters the next round of negotiations.

Reporters and editors have certain understandings, more or less similar or different, of what makes a good news report for radio, television or the web. These understandings are negotiated in the production of a specific news item. The news item then becomes part of the body of good or bad or mediocre news reports that constitutes the common body of textual knowledge.

This kind of 'meso level' study (Ytreberg, 1999: 276; Schudson, 1995; Ekecrantz and Olsson, 1998) that integrates production analysis and textual analysis has been lacking in many studies of news production. Such an approach has some advantages. It captures the continuity of the production process, looking both at how the work is organised and how it is practiced. It further makes it possible to tie the

analysis of production to the resulting texts. It also takes into consideration the hermeneutic relationship between text and how the text is understood in production situations. A further discussion of this is found in *article 1*.

Recently, a body of research has emerged that looks at media organisations, and especially news journalism, in the wake of digitisation, focusing on convergence developments. This relates to what Moe and Syvertsen (2007: 158) identify as part of the 'third phase' of media institution research, 'focusing on the impact of digitalisation in a broad sense', where 'researchers no longer see the NRK singularly as a broadcasting institution, but rather as a *cross-media institution*' (Moe and Syvertsen, 2007: 159, original italics). Contributions here include Marjoribanks (2003), Boczkowski (2004), Singer (2004), Puijk (2007), Kjus (2005), Deuze (2004, 2007), Krumsvik (2006, 2007), Petersen (2007a, 2007b), Grant and Wilkinson (2008).

In this body of research into convergence journalism, two particular themes stand out. A technologically oriented branch is occupied with analysing the role of new (digital) technology in news work. Another, more organisationally oriented branch concerns itself more with identifying 'stumbling blocks' to convergence.

Inspired by Cottle and Ashton's (1999) influential study of the role of new technology in broadcast news, Pavlik (2001) argues that changing technology affects journalism in several ways. With respect to how journalists do their work, he emphasises the increased use of online tools for research, as well as the negative implications of multi-skilling (Pavlik, 2001: 231). The content of the news is affected in terms of increased speed of the news flow. The structure or organisation of the newsroom is changing towards flatter hierarchies and combined newsrooms (Ibid: 234).

Analysing the development of online newspapers in the US, Boczkowski (2004) concludes that 'materiality matters in online newsrooms (...) technical considerations affect who gets to tell the story, what kinds of stories are told, how they are told, and to what public they are addressed' (Boczkowski, 2004: 177). In other words, the technology of news production needs to be studied in order to understand what goes on in the newsroom. Boczkowski and Ferris study what they call 'two underexplored themes in the studies of cultural production' (2005: 32), the role of technology in news work and the processes that shape media convergence, through a single-case study.

Ursell (2001) looks at how adoption of new technologies in three media organisations has affected work organisation and work conditions for journalists, resulting in increased work pressure and less time for journalism, with inevitable challenges to journalistic performance (Ursell, 2001: 194). She also stresses that while technology is important, it has to be seen in context, and not as an external force affecting journalism: 'The new technologies make possible canges in news production and news outputs, but there is no reason to expect that the impact of the new technologies will be uniform across all news providers.' (Ibid: 178).

Along the same line, Deuze (2007) argues that technology must not be seen as a 'neutral agent', in relation to news journalism, as 'hardware and software tend to amplify existing ways of doing things, are used to supplement rather than radically change whatever people were already doing, and take a long time to sediment into the working culture of a news organization' (Deuze, 2007: 155).

Thus, the uses of technology is as important as the technology itself. This perspective is shared by Huang and colleagues (2004). In a case study of the *Tampa Tribune* they focus on whether convergence has had negative consequences for the quality of journalism. Looking at the overall news output, they conclude that this has not happened (Huang et al., 2004: 86).

Newsroom technologies in use are also the object of study for Hemmingway (2008). Using Actor Network Theory to study the production of regional television news, she focuses on how to understand media as practice, looking at 'the internal routines, self-reflexive practices, technological arrangements and the unstable, constantly changing practical constraints that actually govern news production' (Hemmingway, 2008: 9). This approach leads to a view of human and machine actors as equal parts of a network, whereby the routines of news making can be recognised as *technologically embedded* (Ibid: 14).

Another major theme in the recent work on convergence news journalism is 'stumbling blocks' to convergence (Silcock and Keith, 2006; Singer, 2004; Dupagne and Garrison, 2006; Klinenberg, 2005). What are the factors that hinder cross-media journalism? Indeed, Quinn (2005) argues for a 'fundamental dichotomy' inherent in convergence journalism, where the business view of convergence as a tool for increased productivity and marketing, does not match the journalistic view of convergence as a tool for doing better journalism.

While Huang et al. (2006) examine media professionals' 'concerns of working across media platforms', Klinenberg (2005: 49) examines how editors and reporters tackle the time constraints and market pressure of convergence journalism. Silcock and Keith (2006) study the practice of convergence in print-television partnerships. They focus on how journalists define convergence, and discuss language- and culture-based challenges of convergence journalism. Referring to Dailey et al.'s (2005) 'continuum', Silcock and Keith argue that convergence partnerships can be describes as either 'open' or 'closed' (2006: 623).

Using the theoretical framework of the diffusions of innovations theory, Singer (2004) argues that cultural clashes block convergence, as 'cultural differences have led some journalists to minimize their involvement in convergence efforts' (Singer, 2004: 16). Through case studies in four media organisations, she finds that journalists see clear career advantages with convergence. However, the diffusion of convergence meets stumbling blocks in the form of cultural and technical differences and lack of necessary training to gain the competences needed for convergent news work.

Dupagne and Garrison (2006) study changes in newsroom culture at the *Tampa News Center*. They found that journalists spent more time on multimedia storytelling, and had increased awareness of the other platforms. The 'winner' is television news, benefiting from the depth of resources of the newspaper to which they did not have access when the two operations were not cooperating and were housed in separate locations.

Others have tried to find out whether or not convergence has jeopardised the quality of news journalism (Huang et al., 2004, 2006; Pavlik, 2004; Ursell, 2001). A lot of journalists are sceptical about cross-media journalism, as they perceive production for more than one platform either forces them to be spread too thinly, or increases their workload without compensation (Klinenberg, 2005; Dupagne and Garrison, 2006; Huang et al., 2006).

With all this in mind, how do we best describe multi-platform news journalism? One influential model is Dailey et al.'s (2005) 'Convergence continuum'. Created to describe convergence partnerships between separate organisations, it is also useful for analysing different platforms within the same organisation. Aiming at creating a 'common instrument for measuring convergence efforts' (Dailey et al., 2005: 2), the model describes convergence journalism as a dynamic scale with five

overlapping stages. These range from low to high levels of integration: 'cross-promotion', 'cloning', where one platform republish the content of another with little or no editing, 'coopetition', where platforms both cooperate and compete, 'content sharing', where platforms share and repurpose content, and finally 'full convergence', where 'hybrid teams' from different platforms cooperate in producing the news. An organisation's place on the model can change, also according to the nature of the news. This model has some shortcomings for analysing cross-media journalism, which will be discussed further in the following.

Thus, this thesis aims at contributing to these lines of research, focusing on the relationship between strategies and practices surrounding technological developments, and the relationship between journalistic practice and different news products. The thesis integrates the study of production processes and the finished product, and thereby places itself under the tradition of 'production studies'. This approach emphasises a holistic perspective on media production, looking at 1) how the production is organised, 2) how the production unfolds in real time, and 3) analysing the resulting media texts. Put more simply: institutional, professional and textual strategies and practices in cross-media news production.

Different approaches to studying institutions provide different perspectives. Within the social sciences, two large categories are the *rational actor perspective*, which sees institutions as organised by exchanges between rational, independent actors, whereas a *cultural theory perspective* sees the inner workings of the institution as organised by shared values in a community with shared culture, experience and vision (Orgeret, 2006: 39). March and Olsen (1989) famously propose a third perspective, the *institutional perspective*. They argue that neither independent individuals nor social forces explain how institutions work; rather, institutions are collections of structures, rules and standard operating procedures. Institutions both constrain and empower actors.

This thesis employs an institutional perspective on cross-media journalism, but not exclusively. The study started out from a rational actor perspective, approaching news journalism and the newsrooms from the viewpoint of structuration theory (Giddens, 1984). As the study progressed, this was deemed insufficient to explain the processes, actions and opinions encountered. The perspective is therefore expanded to

include a cultural perspective, acknowledging the importance of shared values, traditions and norms. This is further discussed in section 2.

1.2 Research questions

Moving on from the existing research discussed above, what new questions arise from recent developments in cross-media news journalism? This thesis is structured around two main themes: news work and news texts.

Convergence developments are followed by changes in both the organisation and practices of news journalism. This means that a number of questions about the relationship between convergence strategies, new technology, organisational change, and everyday news journalism have to be answered. How do news journalists relate to cross-media strategies in their daily news work? Related to this is the changing nature of news texts, which leads to a different set of questions about how news reports are made for and published on different media platforms, and whether news genres develop as the cooperation between radio, television and news increases.

The aim of this thesis is to study and analyse how media convergence and organisational convergence affect news journalism both as a process and a product. More specifically, the thesis will examine the inter-relationship between the production process and the news texts in a broadcasting organisation, with further emphasis on the relationship between different media platforms. How are professional, journalistic cultures dealing with convergence-related developments?

What is the relationship between the fact that news is produced and published in different media, and the organisational structure in terms of departments, sections, desks, editors and reporters? What is the relationship between this structure and the daily production process? And, finally, what characterises the way that the news is produced for different media platforms? The study is focused around four research questions:

- RQ1.0: How has broadcast news journalism been affected by developments related to convergence?

- RQ1.1: What characterise strategies and practices for cross-media news work at the NRK?

- RQ1.2: How do cross-media strategies and practices reflect themselves in the resulting news texts?

- RQ2.0: What analytical and methodological approaches and concepts are fruitful for understanding these developments?

RQ1.0 is the over-arching research question, which is made more concrete and specific in RQ1.1 and RQ1.2. These two research questions each deal with one of the two main strands of inquiry in this thesis: news work and journalistic processes, and news texts.

This corresponds to two different levels of looking at news journalism as institution: as the *sphere* of news journalism in general, or as *specific organisations* (Moe and Syvertsen, 2007: 150). This thesis analyses a specific media organisation, but through that also aims at saying something about cross-media journalism in general. This is reflected in the relationship between RQ1.0 (cross-media news journalism as a sphere) and RQ1.1 and RQ1.2 (cross-media news journalism at a specific organisation).

RQ2.0 is concerned with the methodological concerns of studies of these developments. What are the possibilities and limitations of different approaches to cross-media journalism?

The findings are discussed in relation to the research questions as follows: RQ1.1 is discussed in the section 4.1: 'Culture, competence and cross-media work practices'. RQ1.2 is dealt with in section 4.3: 'Medium specificity versus adaptability in cross-media production'. RQ2.0 is discussed in the methods section, section 3.5: 'Methodological challenges encountered when studying complex media organisations'.

1.3 Structure of the thesis

This thesis consists of two parts: a main part consisting of five individual research articles, and a 'final contribution', which is the part you are now reading. This part can be seen as a combination of a prologue and an epilogue, or introduction and conclusion. As Liestøl (1999) notes, the 'final contribution' is usually the last text to be written, and most likely the first to be read.

The 'final contribution' places both the individual articles and the thesis as a whole, into a larger contextual, theoretical and methodological frame. It also has the benefit of seeing the findings from the five individual articles alltogether, and aims at taking the discussion to the next level. When I refer to 'sections', this are sections of the final contribution. The individual articles are referred to as 'article 1', 'article 2' and so on.

Section 1 of the 'final contribution' serves as an introduction to the topic of convergence, media production and news journalism in general, and to the scope and aims of this study. It also relates this study to recent contributions to the field.

Section 2 discusses the main theoretical foundations of the study, and concludes by outlining my main contribution to the accumulated theory of the field. I here discuss media as institutions, structuration theory, culture as a theoretical tool, genre theory, remediation theory and rhetoric.

Section 3 is devoted to research design. Here I present the cases that are studies in this thesis, and discuss the methodological triangulation of newsroom ethnography or field observation, qualitative interviews and textual analysis. The section ends with a discussion of specific methodological challenges and limitations of this approach to complex or integrated media organisations.

Section 4 aims at synthesising the findings and discussions in the individual articles into a coherent whole, and relating them to the theoretical framework of the thesis. The section is divided into three parts, devoted to research questions 2, 3 and 1 respectively. This means that we will first discuss the findings of the articles regarding work practices and texts, and see what this implies for the concept of cross-media as a theoretical and analytical tool in studies of media production and media organisations.

Section 5 contains an overview of the individual articles, summarising the main findings.

As said, 'sections' refer to parts of the final contribution. I will refer to the individual research articles that constitutes the main part (Part II) of the thesis as follows:

Article 1: 'Researching media convergence and cross-media news production. Mapping the field'.

Article 2: 'Negotiating convergence in news production'.

Article 3: 'The roles of different media platforms in a public service broadcaster's news organisation'.

Article 4: 'Cross-media (re) production cultures'.

Article 5: 'Forms of reproduction in multiplatform news production'.

The sequence of the articles is roughly chronological, and is intended to reflect the research process and the writing process, as well as the development of the analysis and the central concepts. *Article 1* discusses specific challenges of studying news production and organisation in relation to existing research. *Article 2* and *article 4* are written from a sociological perspective, and mainly focus on RQ1.1. *Article 2* studies the relationship between organisational strategies and practice. *Article 4* deals with the meeting of different production cultures in a converged news organisation. *Article 3* and *article 5* are based on textual analysis of the news output, with RQ1.2 as the main focus. *Article 3* is devoted to the 'bigger picture': the roles of the different media platforms in the total news output during the news day. *Article 5* analyses different forms of cooperation and reproduction across platforms in particular news stories. A more elaborate presentation of each article, including the main findings, is found in section 5.

2.0 Theoretical foundations

This section will discuss different theoretical foundations to studies of media organisations, textual strategies and digital technologies. We will first discuss institutional theories of the media, before looking at the two different approaches of structuration theory and organisation culture. We then take a textual turn, discussing genre theory, remediation theory and rhetoric as approaches to changing textual strategies in news journalism.

2.1 Media as institutions

The origins of research into media institutions are typically traced to the 1960s, the time of sociologically based media research, when there was a marked interest in *effects*, and in how people used the media (Syvertsen, 1999; Moe and Syvertsen, 2007). Syvertsen (1999:22) identifies a movement of interest from 'effect' via 'message' to the 'sender' of the linear communication model. Researchers interested

in uncovering what caused the effects started looking at 'the organisational sources and "causes" of these features' (McQuail 1994, as quoted in Syvertsen, 1999:23).

A sociological definition of an institution emphasises characteristics like the presence of professions, formal procedures and permanence (Østerberg, 1994:85). Institutions can be seen as generating their own world of images, symbols, ideas and past experiences. To some degree, people within the institution have to accept this 'thought-world' (Douglas, 1987). Eide (1999:24) also points to the importance of the immaterial aspects of institutions: the norms, interpretations, values, discourses and ideas tied to specific social practices.

Institutional research usually distinguishes between two understandings of institutions – institutions as *spheres* (for example journalism, education, health care), and institutions as specific *organisations* (Moe and Syvertsen, 2007: 150). In the context of the present thesis, this corresponds to the institutions of 'news journalism', and 'the NRK' respectively. While this thesis focuses on the latter understanding, it also aims at saying something about the institution of cross-media journalism as such through studying actual media organisations. The usual suspects of generalisation problems related to qualitative studies apply, and are discussed further in section 3.

2.2 Structuration theory and organisational culture

The structural approach to newsroom practices is grounded in Giddens' (1984) *structuration theory*. He does not analyse media organisations as such, however, structuration theory is useful for analyses of how editorial practice and routines and norms of journalistic professionalism influence what journalists do. The digitisation of journalistic production makes it even more important to study how the relationship between structure and agency unfolds in a cross-media organisation, as newsroom routines and production processes change. An example of this is the development where not only web, but also radio and television news reporters get increasingly more deadlines to relate to during a normal news day.

Giddens defines structure as rules and resources, recursively implicated in the reproduction of social systems (Giddens, 1984: 377). Structures both empower and

constrain social action and tend to be reproduced in this process. Thus, structures are both sustained and transformed by social action. Giddens emphasises how structures are reproduced through the practices of actors. Structuration theory does not claim that structure determines these practices, but rather that structures facilitate certain actions, over which the actors themselves have influence (Giddens, 1984: 14). Structure and agency influence each other recursively. This can explain why structures like the organisation of a media company, professional norms and editorial practices, influence, and are influenced by, the practices or actions of journalists. Digitisation and convergence makes this perspective even more important, as the structures surrounding journalism gets more complex (Ottosen, 2004).

Structuration theory is an alternative to conventional sociological views that separate structure and agency, and which 'emphasise structural forces as something which constrain action externally' (Rasmussen, 2000: 7). Structuration theory on the other hand, defines structure as both emdium and outcome of everyday practices. Th theory's rejection of objectivism is criticised for creating a new problem of subjectivity. Discussing structuration theory in relation to digital media, Rasmussen (2000) argues that Giddens does not adequately account for material and other forms of constraints: 'Since the emphasis is on the duality of structure, constraining features of structures are underdeveloped' (Rasmussen, 2000: 9). Rasmussen argues that communication technology has structural status through its materiality, or 'membership in the world of objects'.

This thesis uses structuration theory in this extended sense, where structural enablements and constraints are found to be schedules and deadlines, daily work routines, organisational structures, editorial practices, and newsroom architecture, but also in the form of organisational and professional culture, which play a significant role as a structural enabler and constraint in relation to how news journalists perform their work.

What is the relationship between structuration theory and cultural theory? The news media are a social and cultural institution, or, as Deuze (2007: 53) phrases it, 'the production of culture is in itself a cultural process'. Studying the BBC and CNN, Küng-Shankleman (2000) approaches media organisations through the theoretical and methodological 'lens' of *culture* (Ibid: 3). What she calls 'corporate culture', is a 'short-hand term for the "soft", irrational, symbolic aspects of an organisation which

are hard to grasp but nontheless exert a powerful effect on what happens both inside and outside it' (Ibid: 7). Her point of departure is Schein's concept of culture, as:

> a pattern of shared basic assumptions that a group learned as it solved its problems of external adaptation and internal integration, that has worked well enough to be considered valid, and therefore is taught to new members of the group as the correct way to perceive, think and feel in relation to those problems (Schein, 2004: 17).

Schein (2003; 2004) distinguishes between three levels of culture: '*Artefacts* (superficial phenomena, tangible objects), *Espoused values* (officially-expressed strategies and philosophies, values and behavioural norms), and *Basic assumptions* (unconscious, taken-for-granted beliefs, feelings – the essence of culture)' (Schein, 2003: 171; 2004: 26). In the context of this thesis, artefacts are for example specific news texts, newsroom layout and day-to-day newsroom routines and rituals. Espoused values are for example expressed in annual reports and strategic documents. The challenge is to get access to the basic assumptions, the 'essence' of cross-media production culture at the NRK.

Assumptions are what members of a certain culture regard as 'reality', and consist of taken-for-granted, unconscious knowledge (Hatch, 1997: 214). Values are more conscious and closely tied to norms: unwritten rules that allow members of a culture to know how they are expected to deal with a certain situation. The tangible objects, or artefacts, are the visible remnants of behaviour grounded in norms, values and assumptions. I follow Orgeret (2006: 41) in renaming this level *text*, and placing the news texts produced by the organisation on this level.

Culture within an organisation is not homogenous, but usually consists of several distinct cultures (Singer, 2004: 14). Küng-Shankleman (2000) calls this phenomenon *cultural pluralities*, as the members of an organisation can belong to several different cultures: *professional cultures* (groups of practitioners who share a common base of knowledge, a common jargon and similar background and training); *industry cultures* (value orientations common to those working in a certain industry); and *inter-organisational subcultures* (based around cultural groupings such as

hierarchical level, function departments, gender and ethnic subgroups) (Küng-Shankleman, 2000: 13).

In his analysis of media work, Deuze (2007) uses the concept of 'media logic', by which he means 'specific forms and processes which organize the work done within a particular medium' (Deuze, 2007: 110). He argues that 'Media logic can be medium-specific because it primarily relates to production patterns within a given technological and organizational context' (Ibid.). This becomes problematic in a cross-media context where medium-specific logics have to relate to each other, and to a more general 'news journalism logic'. This thesis looks at precisely these processes, expressed as a set of tensions between professional and organisational (sub-)cultures related to increased cooperation and integration across media platforms.

2.3 Medium and genre

This thesis is concerned with cross-media production and communication. However, before we are able to discuss the theoretical and analytical features of *cross-media*, we have to take a short detour via the basic concept of *medium*. *Article 5* contains a discussion of what we understand by this concept, which I will here try to take a step further.

The term *medium* can be used for a technology, making the communication of signs possible, like, for instance, an artist's use of bronze or a painter's 'tempera on wood'. In media studies, this definition of a medium is not widely used. In most definitions, the technological aspect is only one of many. This definition covers cultural as well as economic and social aspects of a medium or the larger group of 'the media', where media is seen as institutions with a certain role in society.

This thesis uses a definition of media as institutional, cultural, economic, technological and political entities. A medium can be seen as a cultural and social institution, where a particular technology is used in a particular way. Within this definition, a newspaper and a magazine is seen as two different media, even if both use the same print technology. By the term 'media', this thesis understands *media as*

platforms, and the terms 'medium' and 'platform' will be used to signify the same thing.

Petersen (2007) describes media platforms in terms of the spatial and temporal dimensions of a medium and its use defined by the interface. In this understanding, a medium consists of a platform, a network and a use, tied to a context. The *interface* is important here. When media communicates across the divide, they do so across media platforms as cultural entities. Aiming at mapping the interplay or relations between texts and media that transgress the boundaries of media platforms, Petersen (2007: 8-11) talks about three types of cross-media relations: between texts in different media; between a text in one medium; and what she calls 'the medium level' of another medium (Ibid: 8), and between different media 'as platforms'.

Taking as her point of departure Genette's (1992) *architextuality*, or genre theory, Petersen argues that genre transgress media platforms, as non-media-specific categories, and subsequently argues that the concept of genre may not be fruitful for analysing cross-mediality (Genette, (date): 8). On this point, I disagree: I see the concept of genre / architext as important in studying cross-mediality, not least from a production point of view. The main reason for this is the possibility of mapping genre development across media platforms, and the very problematic of defining or distinguishing between what is a medium and what is a genre in relation to web media.

What is the relationship between medium and genre? Thompson (1994: 30) distinguishes between media technologies (printing, the Internet) and media products (newspapers, online newspapers). Lüders (2007: 94) suggests replacing the term media product with media forms, to account for the dynamic nature of digital media. Media products or forms can further contain different genres, as the media technology of the Internet can contain the media form of the online newspaper, which again can contain genres such as written news reports, interactive news graphics.

The concept of genre is often used in analysis of journalistic texts in order to understand the social functions of the text and also in some studies of news production. One of Helland's (1993) main theoretical and methodological concerns, is 'how to combine an analysis of the form, the style and the content of the specific news programmes with analyses of the frameworks for production and the actual editorial

and journalistic production processes within these frameworks' (Helland, 1993: 55). His solution is to use genre as a theoretical and methodological lever.

Helland (Ibid: 65) relies on Williams' (1974) definition of genre as consisting of the dimensions *stance*, *mode of formal composition* and *appropriate subject matter*. Through seeing the news as text, inspired by Chatman (1990), Helland aims at conceptualising the relationship between broadcasters, news genres and audience. He further (1993: 76) argues that news conventions rely on textual claims, codes for implying that the news is indeed made according to conventions. He further claims that typical textual claims for (television) news are independence, impartiality, immediacy, authenticity and exclusivity. The central question of this thesis in relation to this is what the increase in news reproduction and recirculation, both between media organisations, and within single organisations like the NRK, does with these textual claims. This is discussed in *article 5*.

One text may belong to different genres. Van Leeuwen (1986) argues that journalism's multiple purposes may lead to texts that are heterogeneous from a genre point of view. Similarly, Fairclough (2003) claims that texts belonging to more than one genre are common in the mass media. Palmer (1990) shows how one text may belong to several genres, and discusses whether genre classification is due to characteristics of the text, or, rather, is something that is ascribed to the text for the purpose of classification.

Palmer further sees genres as 'horizons of expectation', as a way to perceive and explain the social reality, and argue that genre for the most part is something that is defined by factors outside the text (Palmer,1990: 16). This perspective is developed by Miller (1984) who argues that the literary concept of genre as text classification based on given attributes is obsolete, because genre is part of our social practice and everyday communicative actions. Swales also see genre as part of social processes, and defines genre as 'communicative vehicles for the achievement of goals' (Swales, 1990: 46).

An important distinction is that between *genre* and *text type*. This can be seen as the difference between the classifications made by the users of language, and those based in literary or other textual sciences (Ledin, 2001: 9). It is common to distinguish between four text types: *narrative*, *descriptive*, *argumentative* and *expository* (Chatman, 1990: 6). Fairclough sees genres, activity types and style as different

discourse types. He argues that genre is the dominating discourse type, because 'genre corresponds closely to types of social practice' (Fairclough, 2003: 125).

According to Fairclough, genre is part of a social practice that implies not only specific text type(s) but also 'particular processes of producing, distributing and consuming texts' (Ibid: 126). Fairclough defines genre as 'use of language associated with a particular social activity' and discourse as 'language used in representing a given social practice from a particular point of view' (Ibid: 56).

Swales' (1990) understanding of genre is somewhat instrumental, fousing on 'vehicles' and 'goals'. My understanding of genre is closer to that of Palmer (1990), Miller (1984) and Fairclough (2003), seeing genres as social actions, and media as their instrumentality. Genre is about conventions, and answering the reader's expectations. In this respect, journalists may be seen as genre workers. This thesis examines the practices of these genre workers, with special emphasis on how they create news content for multiple media platforms.

2.4 Rhetoric

One way of approaching the relationship between different media platforms is Bolter and Grusin's (1999) concept of 'remediation'. Bolter and Grusin describe how new media remediate the conventions of older media. This process goes both ways, as the 'internet refashions television even as television refashions the internet' (Bolter and Grusin, 1999: 224). An example of this can be the developments in multi-platform media hybrids like sms-tv, where conventions are drawn from, for example, web communication (Enli, 2005). Bolter and Grusin's 'double logic of remediation' consists of two mainly conflicting logics of 'immediacy' and 'hypermediacy'. New media play on this logic for instance when justifying their relationship to older media, 'augmenting' the mediation process by making it either more immediate or more hypermediated.

Fagerjord (2003:131) develops their theory in the direction of looking more closely at how media, both old and new, communicate *meaning*. He proposes a theory of 'rhetorical convergence' to account for the ways in which hybrid web texts do this.

To fully understand the mechanisms of cross-media journalism, we have to go even further. The concept of remediation primarily accounts for media (conventions) as content of other media. We therefore need a term more down to earth to analyse the relationships between media platforms in production processes. Genre is one such term, as the analysis of genre development and adaptation in *article 5* shows.

Another fruitful way of looking at cross-media journalism is through the concept of *rhetoric*. Here I again look to Fagerjord (2003: 4), who studies rhetoric as 'means of expression', in order to 'focus on the isolation of textual strategies that are tied to certain media and genres' (Ibid: 10). This allows us to analyse textual strategies of reproduction found in cross-media news journalism, and describes how content is translated, adapted or repackaged for use on a different platform. The existence of these rhetorical forms in (the production of) a text, is a result of certain choices made by a reporter.

Liestøl (1999) extends traditional prescriptive rhetoric to synthetic-analytic explorations of digital media, conceiving of rhetoric as 'a *general purpose method* for production, preparation and presentation of information in any form and of any kind' (Liestøl, 1999: 35, original italics). This understanding, with basis in the rhetorical techniques of inventio, dispositio and elocutio, can also be useful when analysing the production and reproduction of news texts across different media platforms. It is the basis for this thesis' analysis of textual strategies and practices for content reproduction in cross-media settings.

This perspective is developed further in *article 5*.

3.0 Research strategy and methodology

This section describes the methodologies of the study: newsroom observation, qualitative interviews and textual analysis. It also discusses some challenges that I encountered related to data gathering in, and analysis of, complex media organisations, integrated newsrooms and cross-media production processes.

My approach to the field of cross-media news journalism is an intrinsic case study (Stake, 2000) of a single news organisation, the Norwegian public service broadcaster NRK. A similar approach is used by Cottle and Ashton (1999), Huang et al. (2004), Klinenberg (2005), Boczkowski and Ferris (2005) and Dupagne and Garrison (2006). Case study as a research method refers to an empirical study that 'investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context' (Yin, 2003: 13), often seen as best suited for understanding complex social and organisational issues. This methodology is a way of generating knowledge about a particular case, and thereby adding to the accumulated knowledge about the field. The focus on understanding a specific case in depth rather than generalising makes case studies qualitative in nature.

The cases studied are two parts of the NRK news division (NYDI): The central newsroom at *Marienlyst* and the regional office *Østlandssendingen*, both located in

Oslo. The central newsroom produces national and international news, and the regional office covers the city of Oslo and the surrounding county of *Akershus*. The organisational structure of the two newsrooms is described in more detail in *article 2* and *article 3*.

In one way, these two bodies are both part of the same media organisation, the NRK. However, they can also be seen as two relatively independent news organisations. The news produced at the regional office is regularly featured in the news programmes made at the central office (*Dagsrevyen*, *Dagsnytt*, nrk.no/nyheter), but it is originally made for the separate regional television and radio news broadcasts and website.

The two cases are selected for two reasons. One is to cover the complexity of the NRK as a news organisation, and not just focus on the central newsroom. The other reason is the possibility for a comparative perspective, seeing the similarities and differences between a large and a fairly small newsroom.

Qualitative studies most often use smaller samples than quantitative studies, as they are more concerned with gaining in-depth understanding than a broad overview. The limitations of a qualitative methodology however have to be recognised. One of these is the difficulty of drawing definite conclusions based on the empirical material. This is both a result of the small scale of the study, as well as the often unrepresentative nature of the sample.

As said initially, my aim is to say something about the sphere of cross-media news journalism through a study of two NRK newsrooms; in other words, learning something about the general from analysing the particular. To what extent is that possible? One question to consider in this respect is whether the NRK represents a 'typical' case of convergence broadcast journalism. A recent study of ten small and medium-sized 'media houses' shows that the status of convergence in Norwegian news journalism varies greatly from one media organisation to the next (Hjeltnes et al., 2007: 13). The 'levels of convergence' range from almost complete separation to close integration in terms of cooperation between media platforms.

I will however argue that the NRK is definitely not an *atypical* case. Nordic public service organisations are situated in what Hallin and Mancini (2004) call the North European *Democratic Corporatist Model*. This model is characterised by a high degree of political parallelism in the media (considerably weakened during the last

generation), a high level of journalistic professionalisation, and a tradition of self-government and limits to state power over the media (Hallin and Mancini, 2004: 144-5). The developments of the NRK in the wake of digitisation are similar to those found in for instance Danish public service broadcasting (*Danmarks Radio*) (Petersen, 2007) and other large (public service) broadcasting institutions.

In October 2007, the BBC announced a six-year reform plan, 'Delivering creative future', with the slogan 'a *smaller* BBC, focused on *quality*, ready for *digital*'. The plan includes a merging of news production for radio, television and web, creating an 'integrated multi-media newsroom' (BBC, 2007). The expressed aim is 'bringing services together into a market-leading tri-media news production operation and promoting greater multi-media working'. An aim closely related to what has happened at the NRK.

The NRK can thus be seen as a rather typical case of a European public service media organisation. When talking about the possibilities for saying something about the sphere of news journalism based on this case study however, we must acknowledge that more commercially oriented media organisations may deal with convergence-related developments in different ways.

Case studies often lean on a set of different data sources to give a detailed picture of the phenomenon. Yin (2003: 83) operates with six categories: documentation, archival records, interviews, direct observation, participant-observation and physical artefacts). One of the epistemological challenges related to studying journalistic practice owes just to the fact that process and product usually are tied to different methodologies: observation of news production processes and textual analysis of news texts. This thesis is based on a triangulation of qualitative methods for gathering and analysing data. Field observation, qualitative interviews, qualitative textual analysis and document analysis are combined in order to create a holistic image of the relationship between production processes and news products at the NRK.

Triangulation of methods involves approaching a field of study using several methods. This is regarded as useful for uncovering 'unexpected dimensions of the area of inquiry' (Jensen and Jankowski, 1991: 63). As this study is about entering a research field without definite hypotheses, but about examining concrete processes, interactions and conceptualisations, this approach is deemed most suitable.

An ethnographic approach has the advantage over textual analysis in that it enables the researcher to see how the production process unfolds itself over time (Cottle and Ashton, 1999; Tuchman, 2002; Schultz, 2006). Another reason is that while, generally, quantitative methods are regarded as useful for testing hypotheses, qualitative methods are more suitable for exploring unknown territories and building theory.

Analysing public service television production on a general level, Ytreberg (1999: 24) distinguishes between three hierarchical levels of media production: The production team, the middle management level, and the management level. Looking specifically at news, these three categories consist of 1) Reporters responsible for researching and producing news items for radio, television or web. Desk editors responsible for a specific newscast would also fit into this category. 2) Editors responsible for a specific desk or programme and section editors responsible for the production of an entire newscast or the web site. 3) The news director, and the editors responsible for each platform. The middle level functions as a mediator between management and production. What Ytreberg then proceeds to do is to tie this division to a similar hierarchical division of television texts: the micro, meso and macro level. He argues that television production consists of textual negotiations on three levels, where different levels of the organisation negotiate about the textual level for which they are responsible (Ytreberg, 1999: 27).

This model is fruitful to map the relationships between organisational and textual levels in the production process. However, related to the case of the present study, the essence of such a model would be that negotiations occur *between production levels*. In my observations, I found that micro-level negotiations take place among reporters and desk editors about individual news items in relation to the newscast or website. Meso-level negotiations are about the relationship between newscasts, and takes place between desk editors, section editors and platform editors. On the macro level, negotiations take place about the role of platforms in the total news output among the news director, platform editors and editors responsible for special sections.

While not an elaborate use of the approach, this study is inspired by *grounded theory* (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). My approach to the field of cross-media journalism is to build theory by close study of a particular field. Grounded theory entered the

social sciences in the 1960s, as an alternative approach to, for example, survey research. Rather than trying to test hypotheses, grounded theory takes an inductive approach to theory development. However, as Klaus Bruhn Jensen (2002: 247) argues, the terminology of the approach is more widespread than the practice, and is 'sometimes invoked to legitimize an inductive approach' (Fielding and Lee, 1998: 178).

While trying to avoid this trap by not claiming to do 'proper' grounded theory, my approach shares some of its features. By closely relating analytical concepts and categories in the field of cross-media journalism, I aim to build theory from empirical findings. However, this strategy also resembles what Jensen (2002) calls *thematic coding*, with its 'inductive categorization of interview or observational extracts with reference to various concepts, headings or themes' (2002: 247).

The part of a thesis that is devoted to methodology usually gives a very logical, rational and controlled impression. First, it talks about the purpose of the study and the research questions. Then comes the logical choice of methods that come out of this, before it discusses the advantages and disadvantages of this choice. As some news ethnographers have experienced, the reality of a research process is often somewhat more messy, containing more coincidence, (bad) luck, unforeseen incidents, and blunders than one hoped for (Schultz, 2006: 23; Cottle, 2001).

Before, during and after the field observation, I experienced just how messy the research process can be. I was denied access for observation in the newsroom, and had to go through several rounds of negotiations, explaining how presence in the newsroom was crucial to my work. I arranged to follow a television team on a routine assignment, and minutes after we got in the car, the other team was hastily sent out to cover a dramatic stabbing incident demanding cooperation between radio and television reporters. Interviews taped on an mp3-player got lost due to technical malfunction, and I had to repeat them with only moderate success. I thus discovered the limitations of being a single researcher when it comes to observing the complexity of cross-media production, with events related to the same news story happening simultaneously at more than one desk.

Some of the methodological challenges or problems described in this section are not exclusive to studies of cross-media news journalism in a broadcasting organisation. I will argue that they are relevant both for different kinds of studies of

news journalism in a digital context, as well as for many studies of complex media organisations as such. This will be discussed further in the remainder of this section, especially in 3.5: Methodological challenges to studies of complex media organisations.

3.1 Observation

The units of analysis for the observation have been the production processes at the central NRK newsroom at *Marienlyst* and the regional newsroom *Østlandssendingen*. Two weeks were spent in each newsroom, where I was present from around 7 a.m. to 5 p.m. Some observation days at the central newsroom lasted to 8 p.m., in order to be present during the 7 p.m. television newscast. During this time, I had access to a number of desks in succession, and to morning meetings and other editorial meetings during the day. I was also granted access to some meetings of a more managerial character.

Field observation has been an integral part of many newsroom studies (Schlesinger, 1978; Helland, 1993; Cottle and Ashton, 1999; Schultz, 2006). As argued above, observation is generally seen as a *hermeneutic* method, in which the researcher continuously confronts theory and assumptions with empirical findings (Helland, 1993: 95). Thus, one of the forces of this particular method is arguably the possibility of fine-tuning research questions during a reflexive observation process (Newcomb, 1991).

There are, traditionally, several ways to define the role of the observer in this kind of fieldwork. McCall and Simmons (1969) talk about four different roles, where the observer is a *complete participant*, *participant-as-observer*, *observer-as-participant* or *complete observer*. The boundaries are not clear-cut, as the researcher will have to interact with the informants in some way in order to carry out the study. However, being present in the NRK newsrooms as a researcher and not a journalist, I would characterise myself as something between an observer-as-participant and a complete observer. My participation in the newsroom was limited to asking questions

about things I did not fully understand, and engaging in informal conversations. My role must therefore be seen as relatively passive (Holme and Solvang, 1991: 119).

This is similar to the experience described by Helland (1993: 96). I was neither employed by the NRK, nor involved in the news production processes in any way. However, I talked to the informants both formally and informally during the stay. I asked them for their opinion of events or actions that seemed unclear to me. They were also aware of the reasons for my presence, asked me about the project and sometimes started discussing my project from their point of view.

Anthropologists distinguish between open, semi-open and covert observer roles. My role was definitely open. I always presented myself as a researcher, and tried to give a short explanation of the project and the purpose of my presence. On my first day, a reporter, who also worked for the internal web newspaper *Torget*, approached me after attending an editorial meeting where I was introduced. He did a brief interview with me, where I described the project and explained the purpose of my stay. This was published with my photo in order to make it easier for everyone to know who I was and why I was there.

I experienced a high level of openness from reporters, desk editors and managing editors alike. Most of the people I spoke with expressed interest in the project and would willingly talk both about their everyday work their opinions on cross-media journalism in general. Some of the editors were quite frank in saying that it is a sensitive matter, and that they had experienced a number of cross-media-related conflicts. One editor approached me after a particularly heated editorial meeting, where internal conflicts came to the surface, and asked me to not cite from this meeting. He told me that, while he was perfectly comfortable with me talking to people, he didn't like it that I attended editorial meetings.

Only in one case did I get rejected by a possible informant. A television reporter I approached at the central newsroom during the first couple of days did not want to talk to me about cross-media work. He jokingly explained that he had such strong opinions on the matter that he would be easily recognisable even if he were made anonymous. Since he was humorous about it I tried to push him a little, but he was very firm in his unwillingness. Another television reporter was sceptical at first. He told me that he was uncertain of my role in the newsroom, particularly towards the managing editors, and asked if I was some kind of hired consultant.

The researcher always influences the research object in some way. In ethnography this is often referred to as the 'problem of ecological validity', pointing out that the researcher's presence and procedures influence the responses of the informants (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1990; Helland, 1993: 98). I found that reporters and editors were conscious of or alert to my presence to very different degrees. While I harbour no beliefs about my presence influencing the production of news as such, it may have increased the awareness of 'convergence' and cross-media cooperation. The question is to what extent my presence influenced editors to focus more on cross-media-related issues in editorial meetings because they see it as a desirable thing and wanted to emphasise this. Examples of this could be, in referring to the web in meetings, statements like 'we have to think about the web in this story as well', and 'this is a typical cross-media story!'

In the empirical material, there is a marked difference between the formal interviews and informal conversations during observation. The interviews carried out for this thesis were done in a more formal setting, where I asked the informant for permission, told them how the answers were going to be used, and explained issues of anonymity. They were usually, but not always, recorded in a separate room, on an mp3-player, and supplemented by hand-written notes. Schultz (2006: 27) argues that the informal conversation should be regarded as an important source for information about organisations' norms and values (See also DeVault and McCoy, 2002), but that this form of data could be ethically problematical due to the lack of informed consent from the informants.

During the observation period, I engaged in numerous informal conversations, usually occurring spontaneously, when sitting at a desk, following reporters on an assignment, or when people asked me about what I was doing there, and followed up with questions about my project and gave their opinion on the matter. The informal conversations carried out during the field work do contribute to my overall understanding of the organisation and practice of cross-media journalism at the NRK, as well as remarks about internal hierarchies, controversies about cross-media work, increased workloads due to more slots to fill, etc.

One of the most important functions of the conversations was perhaps that they gave me an increased understanding of the complexity of cross-media news journalism practice as the fieldwork went along and indicated which topics could be

fruitful to investigate more closely in the remaining interviews. This also points to the research process as a hermeneutic process, where the researcher's understanding of the subject changes during the process.

3.2 Negotiating access

Getting access to the media organisation(s) is a crucial part of employing observation as a method in production studies. Helland (1993: 98) makes a distinction between formal and informal access. Formal access is gained in the form of approval from the organisation's management for carrying out observation in the institution. Formal access is necessary but not always enough. Without informal access – meaning that that the actors in the organisation acknowledge and accept her/his presence – the researcher can experience difficulties in forming a valid and reliable understanding of the field.

Formal access to the NRK newsrooms was given to me after negotiations with top management. My first approach was a scheduled meeting in January 2005 with news editor Per Anders Johansen, responsible for radio, web, tele-text and mobile media. I presented my project and asked for permission to be present in the newsroom for a period of time, attending editorial meetings etc. He expressed interest in the project, that it was highly relevant for their efforts towards convergence and online news. He asked for a more concrete outline of what I wanted to do, and promised to present it at internal meetings.

I sent a request for a research interview to the then news director, Anne Aasheim. Before the interview, which took place in April 2005, I described the project. After the meeting, I further described my plans and wishes for a possible observation period at the NRK. The initial response was that this could be difficult. She would not promise anything, but asked me to send something more formal, which I then did.

The answer was negative. The project was described as interesting for the NRK, but the presence of a researcher in the newsroom was seen as too resource-demanding. I was told in a letter from Per Anders Johansen that this was something

that did not fit NRK policy. I started to get a little anxious, and discussed a revision of my research strategy with my supervisor. Would it be possible to do the study without getting access? It was clear that the project could be done with interviews and textual analysis alone, but that would demand a substantial revision. I had spoken to a desk editor at the regional newsroom, who told me that I would probably be given access to their newsroom, but that had to be discussed with the regional director.

As access to the regional newsroom seemed less difficult to obtain, I sent an email in September to regional director Per Arne Kalbakk , who immediately wrote back saying that this was something that had to be possible. He invited me to a meeting at the newsroom where I presented the project and what I wanted to do. He granted me formal access on the spot, and gave me a quick tour of the premises.

After this, I again approached the NRK. News Editor Aasheim had by then stepped down as a news director, and the position was taken over by Gro Holm, to whom I wrote a formal letter in September 2005, describing what I wanted to do, and scheduled a research interview slash meeting with her. Here, I described the project aims and gave a tentative scenario for observation, with increasing degree of immersion in the organisation. I stressed that I wanted to intrude as little as possible, and had talked beforehand with two reporters who had agreed to take me under their wings for a couple of days. She asked me to send a formal request, which I did.

My relief was enormous when, a couple of weeks later, she told me that the project was approved. She had decided that I should get formal access for a two-week period, and had advocated the project within the organisation. This was of incredible importance for the project as it is today. She did not demand any restrictions in return, but was clear that the informants should be anonymous. Gro Holm and her staff then sent me a programme of my stay, describing which desks I was going to be present at during each day of the two-week period, and which meetings I could attend. It was very detailed. On the first day, I was issued a temporary access card to enter the building.

It may seem that the detailed schedule provided by the NRK implied a restriction of my movement in the newsroom, as I was confined to certain meetings and desks at certain times. However, upon entering the newsroom, and becoming acquainted with the middle managers (section editors), this schedule served as a framework where I was in fact allowed a great amount of freedom about where I

wanted to spend my time, which meetings I could attend and which desks I wanted to sit in on each day. I would ask the desk editor if it was ok that I was present at their desk that day or at a certain time of the day, and was never refused.

Informal access can be difficult when dealing with controversial subject matter, or when people are sceptical about the purpose of the access. People may have bad experiences with earlier researchers (Helland, 1993: 100). In both newsrooms, the managing director introduced me to the staff at the first morning meeting, explaining who I was and why I was there. At the regional newsroom this was a common editorial meeting where all reporters and editors on duty were present. The central newsroom is much larger, and with no regular plenary meetings. I was introduced in the first radio, television and web editorial meeting that I attended. I also gave a brief interview to the internal website, explaining the purpose of my stay. The article contained a portrait of me for easy recognition.

To summarise: my approach to gaining access to the NRK newsrooms combined both formal and informal contact. I approached the managing directors formally, presenting my project and asking for permission to be present in the newsrooms and editorial meetings. Before encountering the central newsroom, I also contacted a couple of reporters on a more informal basis, asking if they would be willing to let me follow them around for a short period, should the editors approve of the project.

3.3 Qualitative interviews

During and after the fieldwork, I carried out 45 qualitative interviews with managers, editors and reporters. 30 interviews were done at the central newsroom (13 managers on different levels, 17 reporters), and 15 at the regional newsroom (6 managers and editors, 9 reporters). The selection of informants covers all levels of the news organisation, from top management to reporters, assistant functions like editorial assistants excluded.

The selection can be characterised as a purposeful, strategic (Ytreberg, 1999: 68) or theoretical (Jensen, 2002: 239) sample. I aimed at covering all levels to a

proportionate degree, talking to more reporters than editors. However, the proportion of editors that I interviewed is larger as most of the upper level management positions consists of only one or two persons while the organisation houses a much larger staff of desk editors and reporters. I also aimed at interviewing informants from all the different platforms (radio, television, web), and the different specialised sections (economy, politics, foreign affairs), as well as having a balanced selection of age and gender.

The interviews lasted from 30 minutes to an hour, the average length being around 45 minutes. A hectic newsroom is not always the ideal place for a peaceful conversation. If the informant had his or her own office, the interview took place there. If not, which was the case for most of the reporters, we found an empty editing suite or meeting room. A few of the informants preferred to do the interviews in a quiet corner of the cafeteria. The interviews were recorded on an mp3-recorder, and transcribed word-for-word for the purpose of analysis. The basis for the interviews was the interview guide (*Appendix I*).

The purpose of the interviews was to gather information on both the daily work of reporters and editors and how they themselves conceptualised their work. In order to understand the deeper levels of a culture, in this case the culture of news journalism, we must get to know the *exposed values* of members of the culture, 'what they claim their non-negotiable principles and ideologies to be' (Schein, 2003: 171).

The interviews were *semi-structured*. This means that they were neither done from a standardised list of questions, nor an unstructured conversation about the topic. The interviews were based on an interview guide containing a list of defined questions, where the order of questions could be rearranged and follow-up questions added as the interview went along. The questions were both cognitive (about factual circumstances, e.g., organisation, work tasks and everyday routines) and evaluative (about the informants thoughts and feelings about circumstances, e.g., organisational hierarchies, the value of cross-media cooperation, or the very term 'convergence') (Hellevik, 1977: 119). This division is however not clear-cut. Cognitive questions often resulted in evaluative answers, as the informants gave their opinion on the organisational structure or the everyday work routines).

3.4 Textual analysis

The tradition of exploring developments related to digitisation and convergence through textual analysis of media output is central to media studies. Bolter and Grusin (1999) explore the remediation of older media in new media through close textual analysis. The same method is used by Fagerjord (2003) to map rhetorical convergence in web media.

The units of analysis for the textual analysis were the news programmes and individual news stories that were produced and published by the NRK during my fieldwork. On a higher level, I also consider each media platform an analytical unit, as the study aims at shedding light on the relationship between platforms on both a productional and textual level.

During the time I was present in the newsrooms, the relevant news output was recorded for later analysis. This proved to be a challenge. Recording television and radio news was not that problematic. I programmed a DVD-recorder for the television news, which only had to be maintained by changing discs and reprogramming the timing, two times during a two-week period. This was no problem at all during the stay at the regional newsroom, as the news output of this regional office is significantly lower than at the central newsroom. Radio news was obtained from the Norwegian National Library, and was shipped to me on CD immediately after the observation periods were completed.

Recording web news was more of a challenge. This was something that could not be pre-programmed to happen while I was in the newsroom. Web news had to be accessed on a computer by a human being, and this act of reading had to be recorded for my later analysis. The solution was to hire a research assistant for the two observation periods. The problem of recording was solved in two ways. In order for me to be able to access the web articles later, screenshots had to be taken for each article, as well as for front pages at different times of the day. This was done in a programme called *Paparazzi*[1] which takes a snapshot of the entire web page, not only that part which is visible on the screen. This proved valuable, as a web article can run

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[1] Nate Weaver, downloadable from http://www.derailer.org/paparazzi/ (last visited 19 February 2008).

on more than one screen space, and front pages are even longer. Screen shots of all available articles were taken in the morning and afternoon, and saved as JPEG files.

This did not however take account of dynamic content. As this study focuses on how news content travels across media boundaries, it was necessary to be able to see how audio and video was used on the web. A programme called *SnapzPro*[2] was used for recording the actions on screen in real-time. This enabled my assistant to make recordings of everything, including sound, that happened on the computer screen during his readings of audiovisual material. This was saved as Quicktime files.

All in all, this procedure left me with a large corpus of textual material for analysis: all radio and television news during two two-week periods, as well as JPEGs of all web articles and Quicktime videos of readings of audiovisual material online, during the same time periods. In order to manage this large volume, selections had to be made for closer analysis, based on the field observations. The main units for textual analysis have been the prime time news programmes on radio and television, as well as the top stories on the web. Radio news has its main broadcasts at 06.30, 07.30 and 08.30 (central), as well as 07.04 and 08.05 (regional). On television, prime time news is broadcast at 19.00 and 23.00 (central), 18.40 and 20.55 (regional).

From the total text corpus, two days were selected for closer study. One day of news production for each of the two newsrooms. These were days where I had particularly rich observation data to shed light on the textual processes. Even if every Newsday in principle is different from the previous one, and the journalistic professionalism craves new angles and new stories, from an outsider's point of view the overall structure of the news production can be described as relatively constant.

The exception that confirms the rule is a larger news event that disrupts the typical production and publication routines, like the *Nokas verdict* described in *article 5*. This approach can be described as an *instrumental case study* (Schultz, 2006: 28; Silverman, 2005: 127), where close analysis of a particular case (two particular Newsdays at the NRK) is used to say something more general about a phenomenon (cross-media journalism).

Basing the analysis on selected periods of time, there is always a risk that specific events can dominate the news (Helland, 1993: 86). This was not the case

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[2] Ambrosia Software, downloadable from
http://www.ambrosiasw.com/utilities/snapzprox/ (last visited 19 February 2008).

during the periods in question, even if the cases of *bird flu* and *E.Coli 103 in meat products*, as well as the culmination of the Nokas trial (see article 5), were given a lot of coverage. However, as the study focused on issues of cooperation and content travel between media platforms, and not for instance the relationship between foreign and domestic news, single news events dominating the news output would not have caused as many problems as a major sports event like the Olympics would have done, as this would have messed up the 'normal' news schedules. The chosen time periods were therefore not atypical.

The analysis of the news texts focused on a number of aspects, emphasising two textual levels: that of the media platform, and that of the individual news story. A news story is here understood as, for example, a fire, or the discovery of bacteria in shopping mall playrooms. Thus, combined with observation and interview data, the textual analysis focused on a) the roles and relationships between the media platforms in the grander scheme of news coverage, and b) on how a particular news story was made for each platform, including how the platforms cooperated and/or exchanged information during this process.

3.5 Methodological challenges to studies of complex media organisations

This section will discuss some of the specific challenges related to studying complex (cross-media) organisations. I will first address some methodological challenges that often arise due to the complexity of the newsrooms, where the very notion of *cross-media* implies that things are happening simultaneously in more than one location. Secondly we will see how 'hidden' communication, to which the researcher does not have access, points to limitations in observation studies for grasping the entirety of the production processes. We will also touch upon challenges related to studies of fast-changing organisations.

The aim of this thesis is to combine a textual and a contextual study of news production, focusing on how the different media platforms relate to each other, both in terms of production practices and finished product. Helland (1993: 7) uses the concept of *genre* to achieve this in his study of television news production, analysing how the

production of television news is framed by ideals of how television news should be produced and presented according to genre conventions.

This tension between news texts and production practices is central to the present thesis. However, cross-media journalism raises a number of questions that genre cannot sufficiently explain, such as the relationship between cooperation and competition within an organisation, journalistic ambitions, hierarchies of production, etc. To fully grasp the complexity of cross-media journalism, this thesis will also focus on organisational culture. The analysis thus revolves around the concepts of *genre* and *organisational culture*.

It was my intention, upon entering the newsroom, to give a 'thick description' (Geertz, 1973: 17), of the everyday practices of the news production processes. Do I have description that is thick enough to claim to be doing an observation study? Or is the observation more of a support for planning, performing and analysing the interviews? Here we have to consider the relationship between the meaning-level (interviews) and action-level (observation). In other words: what journalists say they do, and what they actually do. Related to journalistic culture, this corresponds to what Schein calls the levels of *espoused values* (explicit: officially-expressed strategies and philosophies) and *basic assumptions* (implicit: unconscious, taken-for-granted beliefs and feelings) (Schein, 2003: 171; 2004: 26).

What are the challenges of field observation specific for studying convergence journalism? There are some specific methodological problems related to studies of large, complex newsrooms or organisations where the very notion of *cross-media* implies that a news story is produced for different platforms at the same time, but at different locations.

One prominent challenge encountered when entering a digital newsroom is what position or perspective to assume as an ethnographic researcher. My experience from the start was that it was difficult to know exactly where to position myself when observing the daily work on the desks. Or for that matter, which people to focus my attention on. As could be expected in an integrated newsroom, things happened in several places at the same time.

This was more of a problem at the central newsroom than the regional office, mainly due to the size and physical layout of the newsrooms, as described in section 4.2: 'Space: the significance of architecture in cross-media news work'. At the

regional newsroom, the centre of the production process is the desk where the editors for radio and television are located, close to the bulletin reporter and the web reporter.

At the central newsroom, the production process does not have one centre. The desks of television, radio and web are three main sites. While the radio and web desks are relatively close to one another, they are still so far apart that it is impossible for one researcher to observe both at the same time. The television desk is placed on the opposite side of a wall of offices and radio studios, making it impossible to have an overview of both sites at the same time. The role of architecture as seen from a journalistic point of view is discussed in section 4.2.

Analysing the production of regional television news, Hemmingway (2008) experienced similar frustrations, due to the simple fact that the researcher cannot be omnipresent in the newsroom; in ANT terms: the news network. She argues that ANT can be a solution to this, as it allows the researcher to observe 'actions occurring at more than one place as it is the *connections* between the actors and the network translations these create that are being so studiously mapped' (Hemmingway, 2008: 35).

I will argue that another helpful approach may be that of *perspective*. This means that, rather than try the impossible task of giving a full account of the simultaneous production processes in all parts of the newsroom, the researcher may emphasise that this particular account of a cross-media process/story is described as seen from a particular desk/platform. It would still be possible to discern the relationships between actors, but the fact that the observations are made from a specific perspective must be stressed in the analysis. The web desk had a different perspective on cross-media cooperation than the television news desk. However, this mosaic of different perspectives might, when seen together, give a thorough image of the processes.

Studying the production of television news at the BBC regional office in Nottingham, Hemmingway (2008: 27) also found that one methodological problem was that a lot of the news work was implicit or invisible, and not possible to analyse effectively by observation only. This corresponds to my experiences. The fact that a lot of the communication between editors and reporters took place via Electronic News Production System (ENPS) and email posed a challenge. ENPS is developed by Associated Press, and is the NRK's (and the BBC's) networked, desktop information

system, where all central and regional newsrooms can communicate and view each other's news material.

The extent, to which reporters and editors take for granted knowledge about processes, routines and genre, and therefore do not have to talk about it, was also a problem. As I had no access to ENPS, this communication was hidden to me. To what extent should I ask questions, or just sit and observe interactions between people? I soon found that I got a lot more information by shifting between sitting at the desk, observing who talked to who about what, and moving around asking questions. This was a smaller problem at the regional newsroom, since less of the communication seemed to happen in the production system, due to the fact that people were sitting closer to each other, within comfortable talking distance.

Another challenge is that of studying a field characterised by constant change. While highly prominent for studies of convergence journalism, this is of course relevant for other types of research as well. The empirical work that is the basis of this thesis was carried out during the spring 2006, and as such represents a snapshot of the state of affairs at that point in time. The researcher's headache stems from the sad fact that, even though my fieldwork at the NRK is done, the organisation ignores that and continues to develop.

Thus, the NRK reorganised the organisation of the news department in spring 2007. During my fieldwork, the production of news was roughly divided between a television desk and a desk for everything else. During the spring of 2007 however, this changed to a model where one desk is responsible for the main newscasts in both radio (*Dagsnytt*) and television (*Dagsrevyen*), while another desk takes care of news updates on all platforms (radio and television bulletins, web news, tele-text, mobile media).

This change contributes to reinforce some of the developments identified in this thesis. As argued in *article 4*, these developments point towards stronger polarisation and increasingly complex hierarchies between production and reproduction in cross-media journalism. This is will be further discussed in section 5.

3.6 Research ethics

Regarding both observation and interview data, ethical concerns of research needs to be considered. My informants, both in interviews and during observation, are news reporters and editors in a professional context. Prior to the interviews and observation periods, the informants were informed about the purpose of the study. I have not asked any questions about personal issues, and do not report any personal information in the analysis of either interviews or observation data. However, as described above, the subject of convergence and cross-media was somewhat controversial at both newsrooms, in particular in the central newsroom. Therefore, I found that some informants expressed concerns about whether they would be identified.

The informants, both those giving interviews and those who were present during observation, have been made anonymous. Quotes from interviews or observation settings are identified as either coming from a reporter or an editor, and by the media platform or section they primarily work for, for example 'web reporter' or 'desk editor, radio'.

The exceptions to this rule are the managing editors. A reason for this is partly that they are too few to keep anonymous, as there are only one or two with that function in the organisation. Another reason is that, in analysing cross-media related strategies, it is useful to identify potential differences in the managing editors' opinions and experiences. Thus, the managing director at the central newsroom, the regional director, and the two chief editors of television and radio/web are identified when their interview statements are cited. They were all informed about this prior to the interviews, and none of them had any objections. They have also had the opportunity to read through the interview statements that I am using.

Since the study involves gathering and storing information that can be linked to individual persons, I was required to inform the Norwegian Social Science Data Service (NSD), who oversees that the collection and storing of data with respect to ethical and legal standards.

4.0 Coming to terms with cross-media journalism

In this section of the thesis I take one step back to look at the bigger picture. The articles in part II examine the phenomenon of cross-media journalism from different angles. Seeing the individual contributions of the articles all together, what have we found out about the initial research questions? This section is divided into three main parts:

The first section discusses cross-media work practices from various perspectives, and is primarily related to research question 2: *What characterise strategies and practices for cross-media news production at the NRK*? We will touch upon the relationship between structural and cultural approaches to cross-media journalism, as well as the role of space and newsroom architecture in cross-media news journalism.

The next part of the section is devoted to cross-media news as texts, and is mainly related to research question 3: *How do cross-media strategies and practices reflect themselves in the resulting news texts*? We will look further into what the conflict between media specificity and platform adaptability implies for the

repurposing of news across media platforms. Issues of participation and authorship will also be discussed.

The last section aims at contributing to the accumulated theoretical understanding of the field. Here I will try to gather up all the loose ends, and discuss what the findings of this thesis imply for our understanding of media convergence and news production. The concept of *cross-media* is discussed from a theoretical and analytical perspective, with the purpose of seeing what it can bring to analyses of news journalism in a digital environment.

4.1 Analysing cross-media work practices

As argued in section 1.1, this thesis employs an institutional perspective, combining a *structural* and a *cultural* approach to cross-media work. *Article 2* looks at the relationship between cross-media strategy and practice from the viewpoint of *structuration theory*. The conclusion ís that convergence-related strategies in news production lose some of their force when they meet the reality of everyday news work. Idealised forms of convergence journalism where all media platforms work happily together are negotiated against structural constraints and counter-cooperative practices. As the study proceeded, it became clear that this approach was not sufficient to account for all aspects of cross-media news production.

Therefore, *article 4* examines cross-media journalism through the theoretical lens of *organisational culture*. Here the main conclusion is that when different journalistic cultures meet as a result of convergence and cooperation across media platforms, new and more complex journalistic hierarchies develop. This trend was found to be most visible in relation to the increase in news reproduction and republication.

The following section of the thesis will continue this discussion, and get deeper into what the cultural and structural approaches have to contribute to our understanding of cross-media journalism contributions, within an institutional perspective. I will discuss the structural enablements and constraints of *time*, *organisation* and *competence*, and move on to the role of organisational and

professional cultures. Finally, I will discuss the role of space and architecture as a structural constraint in a cross-media context. This aspect is not given much attention in the individual articles found in part II of the thesis.

Several researchers have studied news journalism from the viewpoint of the rational actor perspective described in section 1.1 of the final contribution. Not explicitly referring to structuration theory, Hemmingway argues that newsroom technologies 'do not simply facilitate the production of news, but ... possess and exhibit a particular agency' (2008: 205). She uses Actor Network Theory (ANT) as an approach to the everyday practices of regional television news production, and to get beyond the grand, global theories of news journalism. In this perspective, human and machine actors are seen as equal parts of a network, whereby the routines of news making can be recognised as *technologically embedded* (Hemmingway, 2008: 14).

However, a problem with ANT is the underplaying of the role of human actors. As Couldry (2003) argues, '... we need to think about how people's cognitive and emotional frameworks are shaped by the underlying features of the networks in which they are situated. If expressed in these terms, there is a great deal to be learnt from ANT in its understanding everyday practices around media' (Couldry, 2003: 4).

I agree. Therefore, and as argued in section 1.1, it is the view of this thesis that technology has to be analysed in close relation to human actors. As Deuze (2007) argues, 'contemporary trends such as … technological and cultural convergence … not only mean different things to different people, but are also differently articulated in the context of specific media products, genres, and organizations because of the ways in which departments, teams and individuals work together' (Deuze, 2007: 91-92).

The increase in workload often associated with cross-media production is seen by many researchers as one of the major factors influencing how journalists go about their daily work. While not explicitly using structuration theory, Cottle and Ashton (1999) argue that 'the pressures to produce news material for multiple media and outlets severely constrain journalists' ability and creativity in fashioning news items' (Cottle and Ashton, 1999: 36). Journalists have less time to research and produce a news item as a result of increased workloads. Klinenberg (2005) finds that reporters are worried about 'bottom-line driven assaults on their vocational techniques and professional values'as a result of the additional workload in a convergent newsroom

(2005: 53). Petersen (2007) comes to a similar conclusion, arguing that 'the leap from media routines to cross media routines is still not realized' (2007: 70).

One of the central arguments in *article 4* was that the increase in the amount of news has not only influenced the daily routines of reporters and editors, but also contributed to more complex hierarchies of news journalism. A majority of the informants argued that the NRK has a legacy for quality news, and that this legacy must not be ruined by new ways of making news. The NRK's reputation has to be maintained. However, how this should be done is a matter about which there is disagreement. Some think cross-media journalism endangers the quality of news; others see it as the only possibility to maintain a high standard of news coverage in a digital age.

Time is a scarce resource in news journalism. One of the ways in which the NRK management seeks to keep up quality is to spend less of that resource on republishing and updating the news. Instead, resources are channelled towards 'elite' reporters doing 'real journalism'. Klinenberg (2005: 56) comes to a similar conclusion. What he does not mention however, is that there has emerged a new category of reporters whose main task it is to adapt or reproduce already existing news stories for a different platform. This last category is the case at the NRK mainly associated with the web, but also with radio news bulletins. Of course, this is a gross simplification, and the reality of every day news production is much more nuanced.

As argued in *article 4*, while structuration theory provides a fruitful perspective for analysing (cross-media) journalistic processes, the approach has its limitations. This is the case when it comes to the level of values, opinions and norms. The different opinions between reporters from radio, television and the web on cross-media work remain unexplained. The same goes for internal competition and new hierarchies of news journalism, which are of course linked to organisational structures and editorial resources, but also to something more. We thus see that structural factors of time and organisation are closely linked to *cultural* factors.

A number or scholars have looked at news journalism from the point of view of culture theory. One of those is Singer (2004: 10), who argues that the idea of convergence journalism comes into conflict with traditional newsroom values in two major areas: medium-specific culture and professional competition. Silcock and Keith (2006) have made similar findings, arguing that the cultures of convergence

partnerships 'remained firmly rooted in broadcast and print traditions' (Silcock and Keith, 2006: 617). Or, as an executive editor of the *Tampa Tribune* puts it: 'Cultural resistance is the biggest hurdle for converging newsrooms' (Thelen, 2002: 16).

The cultural approach is also used by Fee (2007) in analysing the merger of two newspapers from the perspective of 'sensemaking' (Weick, 1995). He found the merging of two distinct cultures to be problematic, e.g., in terms of integrating two different ways of conceptualising news journalism (Fee, 2007: 73). While the decision to merge is something newsroom culture cannot control, journalistic culture could potentially influence 'the timing, the degree of integration, and, therefore, the ultimate success of the merger' (Ibid: 79).

When different journalistic cultures meet as a result of convergence developments, it often results in some form of conflict. These 'conflicts, misunderstandings and resistance to change' (Cottle and Ashton, 1999: 29) resulting from cooperation between traditionally separate media operations, have been described as ranging from 'reluctant collaboration' (Deuze, 2004: 141) to outright 'cultural clashes' (Dailey et al., 2005: 13). Singer (2004) goes as far as concluding that '[c]ultural clashes remain a major stumbling block to convergence and may well be a hallmark of the process in every newsroom' (2004: 16). From a more nuanced point of view, Cottle and Ashton (1999) found that the BBC, 'like other complex organisations, is stratified and comprises sectional interests not all of whom may be equally disposed to pursue corporate claims advertised in glossy public brochures' (1999: 29).

Part of the explanation for this is that culture is (in this understanding of the term) generally seen as tradition-oriented rather than change-oriented. Cultures, defined by the 'learned, taken-for-granted, shared beliefs and values of a given group or occupation' (Schein, 2003; 2004), reproduce themselves by the individual members' communication and confirmation of shared knowledge, values and norms (Schein, 2004; Sylvie and Moon, 2007). Citing Niklas Luhmann, Deuze (2007: 169) argues that 'the culture of journalism functions as an autopoietic or "self-organizing" social system'. Analysing journalistic news culture, one therefore has to consider both the shared beliefs and values of the news media as industry and as a set of occupations, and that of different sub-cultural groups within the media (Schein, 2003: 171).

Convergence results in meetings between differently socialised journalistic mindsets, which give plenty of possibilities for clashes of language and culture. Küng-Shankleman (2000: 14) distinguishes between four forms of culture: national culture, industry culture, professional culture and organisation culture. In the context of this study, the tensions between *organisational culture* (what Schein (2004) calls *corporate culture*) and *professional culture* (Ulijn et al., 2000) is particularly significant. While the former describes how the culture of an organisation is perceived by its members, and how the organisation's values, language and rituals influence their behaviour, professional culture describes the way in which professionals (doctors, professors, journalists) identify with their profession more than with their organisation (Sylvie and Moon, 2007: 92). Thus, a cultural approach to cross-media news journalism must take into account the tension between the corporate culture of the news organisation and the professional culture of news journalists and editors.

This thesis argues that the importance of factors like time constraints, cultural resistance and different competence demands must thus be seen together. The proliferation of platforms and programmes combined with fewer resources than one would wish for, contributes to a hectic work environment for news journalists. The constraints of daily news work, in the form of time pressure, competences and the lack of cooperating routines, makes it difficult for journalists to not prioritise their own, or primary, medium.

One important question to consider is the complex relationship between ideal and practical arguments in conflicts about cross-media journalism. To what extent are the negative arguments about how convergence is degrading the quality of the news (by having too little emphasis on the special journalistic and technical competences each media platform requires) linked to more mundane issues of more frequent deadlines, tighter time schedules and harsher working conditions? And, vice versa, to what extent are arguments about having too little time to do proper cross-media journalism, sharing content and writing an article for the web, linked to cultural aspects of status and career paths?

Boczkowski and Ferris (2005: 38) found that print journalists generally opposed being asked to work for the online edition of the organisation because of the perceived lower status attributed to this publication channel. This is supported by my findings. Television reporters are generally more reluctant to work for radio than the

other way around. One of the reasons for this is the traditional career ladder in broadcast journalism where reporters begin in radio, moving 'up' to television after a while.

As shown in *article 4*, when the two strong cultures of radio and television were integrated at the central newsroom, cultural differences came to the surface fairly quickly. And then the web was thrown into the ring so to speak. The conflict between radio and television in the integrated newsroom was significantly smaller at the regional office. Originally making only radio news, this office started television news production almost overnight in 1996. Later on, the web platform was also added. There was thus no issue of merging two strong, separate cultures into one. They chose to give everybody television training, but also the option to choose whether they wanted to work for both media, which most of the reporters did.

The different competences required for each media platform is an important factor complicating cross-media news work. My findings indicate that each group feels that their knowledge is particularly valuable. Television reporters complain about the lack of visual literacy amongst radio people. Radio reporters claim that they have more competence in research and hard news journalism. Web reporters are similarly the only ones who know how to write a 'webby' story for the web.

Other factors like visibility and journalistic resources further contribute to the complexity of these processes. Journalists are competitive. Journalism has traditionally favoured competition and being first with the last (Fee, 2007: 81), creating a 'culture emphasizing individual work rather than group work' (Weick, 1993: 650). It is hard to give up an exclusive story. While most journalists understand and may even see the upside of convergence, many are still uncomfortable when it comes to ideas being put into practice – when they are asked to share ideas, information or sources.

At the same time, the recurring journalist discourse of convergence degrading the quality of the news (Cottle and Ashton, 1999; Deuze, 2004) is being contradicted by arguments about the positive side of cross-media journalism, not only from management, but also from reporters seeing the benefits of convergence both for their work situation and career, and for the news organisation as such. Perhaps this points towards a change in the status of cross-media journalism, indicating that it has begun to find its place in the news organisation.

In any case, this emphasises that my analysis of these processes represents a simplification of a complex reality. There are many reporters in broadcast news that think of convergence and cross-media journalism as a threat to the quality of their work. At the same time, there are reporters who think that this is the best way to strengthen the whole news organisation, and that turf wars are bad for the organisation in the battle against its competitors. Certainly, my data indicates that old reporters are more negative towards cross-media journalism than their younger colleagues, and that this opinion is even more pronounced amongst television reporters compared to radio journalists. Then there comes a group of older television reporters that argue against the negative consequences of convergence, saying that they personally write articles for the web, and try to contribute as far as their time allows, because it benefits the organisation as a whole. Annoyingly enough, reality tends to be more complex than our models.

Another factor is the 'liquid' nature of media work described by Deuze (2007). The fact that many of the reporters at the NRK, especially the younger ones, are employed on a temporary basis, surely influences their view of convergence and cross-media work. Deuze (2007: 21) uses the term 'precarity' to describe a tendency where media workers experience increased employment uncertainty. When you have to compete with others for new employment, or for renewal of your contract, you may have different priorities from that of a reporter with a permanent job. Should you specialise in one medium, or enhance your multi-platform, cross-media skills, in order to be attractive? This aspect needs further attention, but is not covered in any more detail in this thesis.

4.2 The significance of space in cross-media news work

So far we have focused mainly on *time* as a structuring factor in news journalism, from conflicting deadlines and prime times to the time pressures of increasing workloads. Another important factor that we have until now not touched upon is the role of *space*. Space and newsroom architecture are highly relevant to the relationship between convergence strategies, practices and journalistic cultures.

Existing research into (media) organisations has traditionally taken two different perspectives on the physical surroundings, the symbolic and the behavioural (Hatch, 1997). While the behavioural perspective deals with the relationship between physical surroundings and the activities that takes place in the organisation, the symbolic perspective looks at how physical structure is tied to symbolic meanings.

Studying news journalism at the SABC News in Johannesburg, Orgeret (2006: 165) finds that the physical structure of the SABC institution communicated hierarchical patterns through spatial distances and physical objects. The size of staff members' offices, as well as their location on higher or lower floors, reflected their level of status and power within the organisation. Further, a divided physical structure of the newsroom influenced the news production process in the way that journalists delivering raw news material lost control over how the journalists on the other side of the newsroom edited and packaged it (Ogeret, 2006: 166). Hjeltnes et al. (2007: 49) finds that physical distance is perceived as negative for the cooperation between the online and offline parts of a newspaper.

Hemmingway (2004) examines the spatial organisation of the newsroom in relation to professional relationships between reporters. Her focus is the physical work space, 'within in which news is perceived and produced', and how journalists 'seek to territorialize that space' (Hemmingway, 2004: 410). Her case study is the BBC regional newsroom in Nottingham, which is divided into separate zones of 'newsgathering' and 'output'. While the two zones 'constantly struggle for control over logistics, staff members and resources', they also share knowledge of what the news should look like (Hemmingway, 2004: 412).

I will argue that in the two NRK newsrooms in this study space is not so much perceived as a place of struggle, as a *structural constraint limiting the ease of cooperation*. The spatial structure of the two NRK newsrooms definitely had an impact on how the journalists carried out their work. This was evident not least when it came to the relationship and ease of cooperation between different desks.

Figure 1
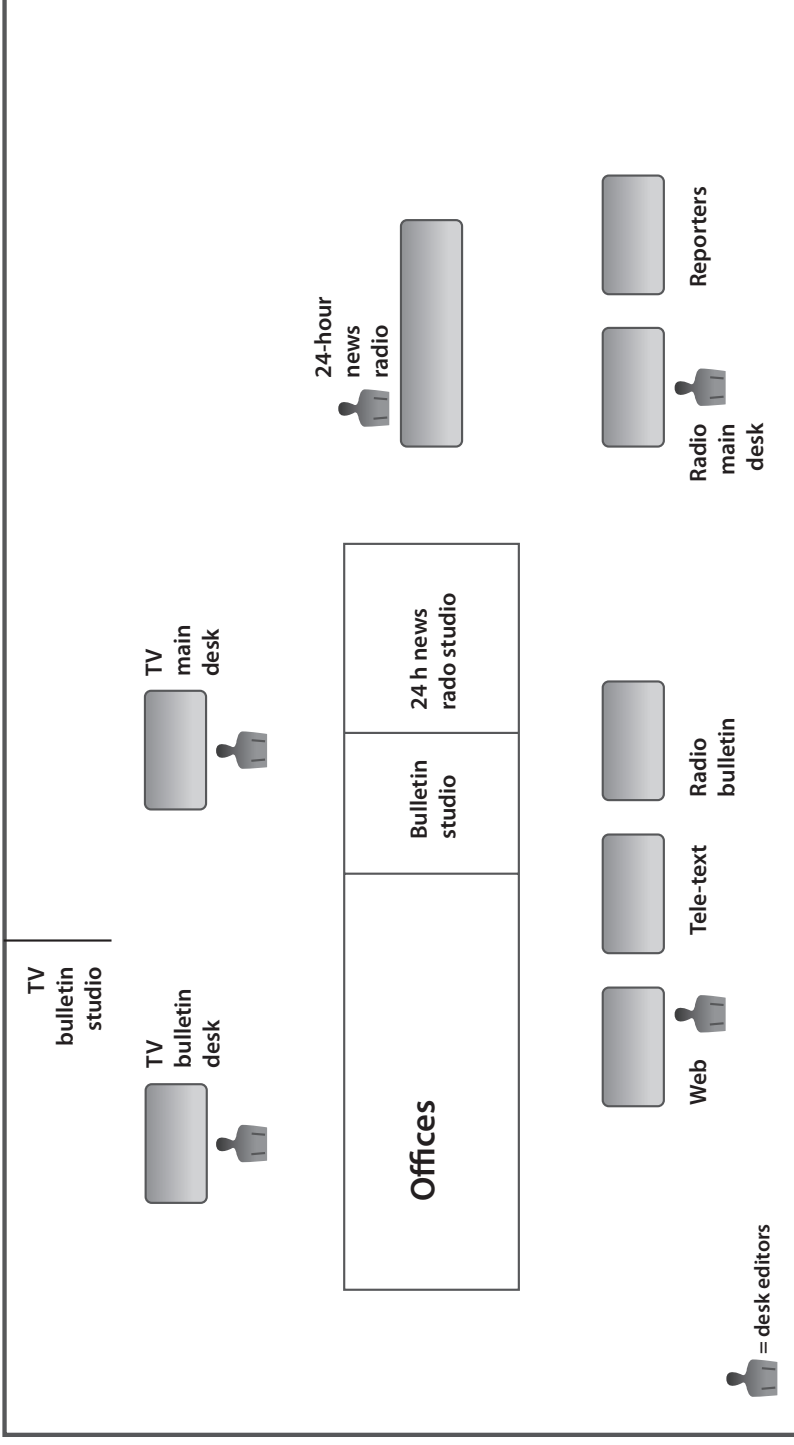
Figure 1: Rough layout of the main desks at the central news room at NRK Marienlyst

Figure 2
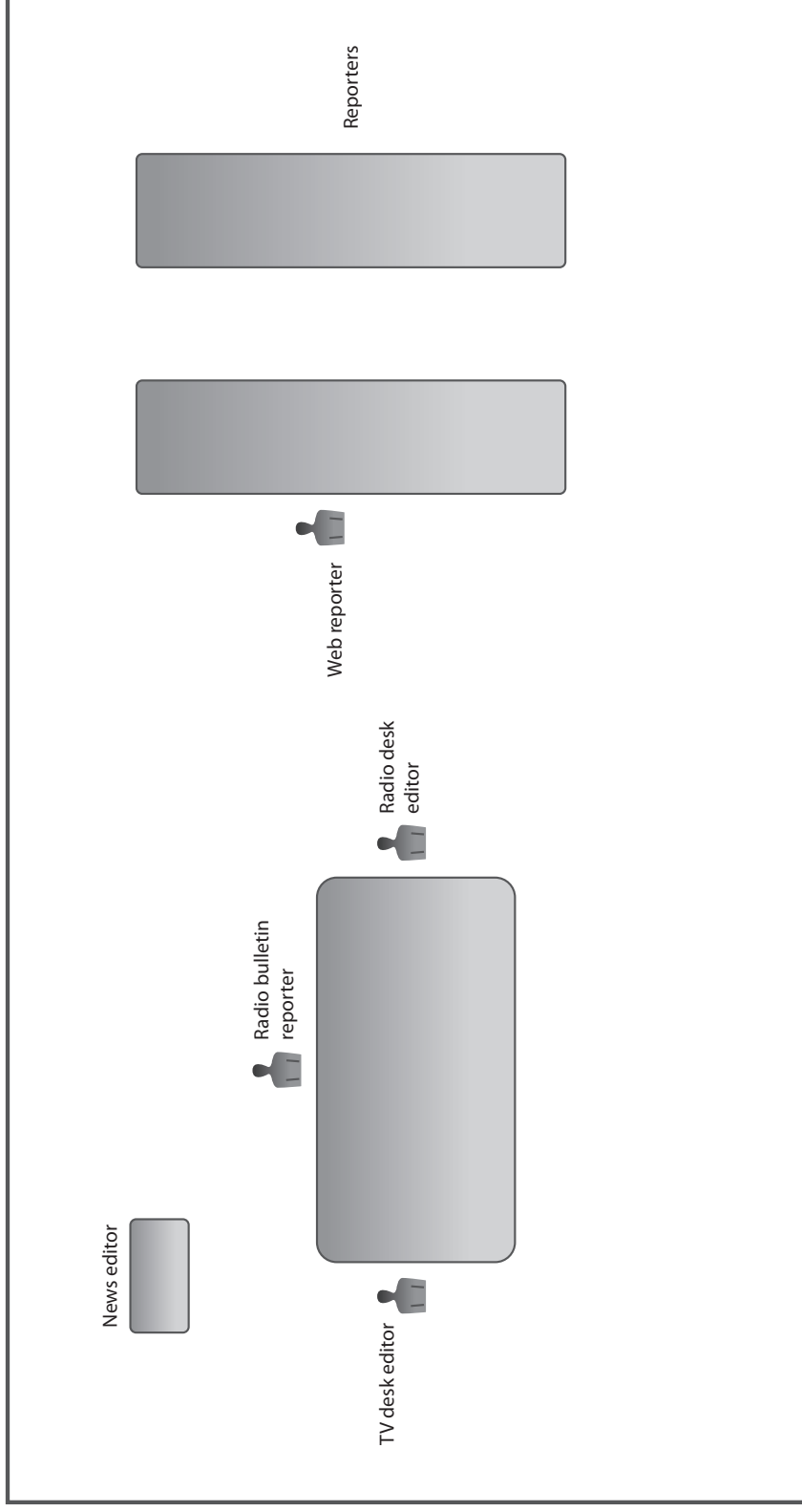
Figure 2: Rough layout of the main desks at the regional office at NRK Østlandssendingen.

In the layout of the central newsroom at Marienlyst (*figure A*), the television desks are divided from the radio and web desks by a row of offices. 'Going around the wall' has become an expression, as a radio bulletin reporter puts it: 'On larger stories we sometimes even cooperate with Dagsrevyen. We go around the wall. It was easier before, when we were sitting closer to them'. The web reporters agree:

> I miss having eye contact with Dagsrevyen, to be able to read their body language. It slows me down in my work. Earlier on we used to sit where we could see the television desk, and then we always knew when something big happened (Web reporter).

> We have regular contact with the radio bulletin desk, because they are sitting right beside us. That is where we often get to know it when big things happen. When something goes off somewhere, we hear that they are talking about it, and then we ask what it is, in order to get it out on the web (Web reporter).

As seen from the last quote, the close proximity between the web and radio bulletin desks results in informal cooperation during the normal working day. The special sections for politics, economy and foreign affairs experience the opposite situation. These desks are located on a separate floor, away from the other desks. The reporters here are conscious of the importance of physical closeness, claiming that the cooperation between them and the web desk was a lot better when a web reporter was sitting at their desk as an experiment.

> A reporter from the web desk was sitting physically at our desk in a short period, which was useful. ... She knew what stories we had in production, and could take initiative towards the reporters to cooperate with the web. And vice versa, we saw that she was sitting there and could just talk to her. In this period we had a lot more stories on the web than usual (Economy reporter).

The regional office is of course smaller in scale, but also significantly different in architecture (*figure B*). The most important difference is that, here, one common desk is shared by the radio and television desk editors and the radio bulletin reporter. This shared space makes informal contact easy, and the radio and television desk editors have more or less continuous contact during the day:

> As we are sitting physically close to each other, we don't discuss a lot of things in the formal meetings, but talk to each other across the table or send short, written messages in the ENPS-system. Very informal. (Radio desk editor).

The radio desk editor sits in the middle of the action, close to the television desk editor, the radio bulletin reporter and the web reporter, and functions as an informal information centre in the newsroom. The web reporter on duty sits near by, with her or his back to the radio desk editor. This allows him or her to take part in the informal discussions between the desk editors, and between the editors and reporters coming by to talk about their stories:

> I sit very close to the radio desk editor and the radio bulletin reporter, and I listen to them all the time. I am a real eavesdropper. I have to be, because they do not always remember that the web has a continuous deadline. (Web reporter).

We see that the two spaces are fundamentally different when seen from a cross-media perspective. At the regional office, the newsroom architecture facilitates cooperation. The desk editors of the different platforms are located close to each other, making informal communication easy. At the central newsroom, newsroom architecture has to be overcome in order to cooperate. This newsroom is much bigger, and contains a lot more people. The desk editors of the different platforms thus sit apart, something that makes informal communication a more cumbersome task. More of the communication

happens as written messages in the shared production system ENPS, less as face-to-face communication. Where the architecture allows it, face-to-face communication is preferred, as is is the case with the desks of web, tele-text and radio bulletins which are close together.

4.3 Analysing cross-media texts

This thesis aims at studying cross-media *practices* and *texts* in an integrated way, in order to understand the complex relationship between journalistic process and product in digital environments. This section is devoted to the textual perspective. The analysis consists of two main textual levels: one is the roles of and relationship between *media platforms* in production processes, the other is how *the single news story* is treated by each platform.

Article 3 looked at the various roles of different media platforms, both towards the audience, and in the cross-media production of news. The conclusion was that radio and television are the main news gatherers. This is reflected in the amount of journalistic resources for creating agenda setting news reports. The 24-hour news radio channel and the web rely on these platforms as their main source of content. Most of the news produced for the web has already been broadcast on radio or television, and the web reporters are active in getting this content published online.

A more micro-oriented perspective was employed in *article 5* discussing how cross-media news journalism involves media content travelling across media boundaries. As different media platforms use different sets of sign systems, (audio, video, writing, images and graphics), this requires some form of translation or adaptation. News content made for a specific programme on a specific platform, with a characteristic rhetoric, is adapted in part or as a whole to be republished on a different platform with a different rhetoric. The article concludes with a typology of different forms of reproduction in cross media news journalism, expanding on those found in Dailey et al.'s (2005) 'convergence continuum'.

The following section of the thesis will take this discussion further by focusing on the processes of cross-media reproduction from a textual perspective. The main

theoretical perspectives are those of *genre* and *rhetoric*, as described in section 2. We will first discuss different forms of reproduction, with special emphasis on how texts from a specific media platform are adapted for publication on a different platform with a different rhetoric. This leads us to a discussion of the tension between the medium-specific characteristics of a text on one hand, and its cross-media adaptability on the other. Finally we will discuss audience participation as a feature of genre development between broadcasting and web.

As mentioned in section 2, reproduction of media texts can be approached from different angles. One influential way of doing it is Bolter and Grusin's (1999) concept of *remediation*. Fagerjord (2003:131) argues that a shortcoming of Bolter and Grusin's (1999) remediation theory is that it doesn't fully account for the fact that media, both old and new, communicate *meaning*. He therefore proposes a theory of 'rhetorical convergence' to account for the ways in which hybrid web texts do this. I will argue that in order to fully understand the mechanisms of cross-media journalism, we have to go even further. As the concept of remediation primarily accounts for media (conventions) as content of other media, we need more specific concepts in order to analyse the reproduction of content and the ways in which it travels between media platforms.

Two such concepts are *genre* and *rhetoric*. Related to this, it may be useful to bear in mind the perspective of *adaptation*. Adaptation studies analyse how content is transferred between different media platforms, usually from a literary novel to feature film (McDougal, 1985). Broadly defined, genre can be understood as a set of norms guiding how texts are used for different purposes in different situations (Miller, 1984). Studying the development of web genre, Crowston and Williams (2000: 203) distinguish between reproduced, adapted and novel genres. When for instance a scientific article moves onto the web and takes advantage of linking possibilities, we have an adapted genre.

A genre's mode of formal composition (Williams, 1974; Helland, 1993) can be adapted to suit different medium characteristics, as a news story unfolds on different platforms. This is analysed further in *article 5*. Through analysis of this 'rhetoric of reproduction', we can gain understanding of the various textual strategies found in cross-media news journalism. Rhetoric is here understood as 'means of expression' (Fagerjord, 2003: 4).

Cross-media production relies on a variety of *forms of reproduction*. The nature of the journalistic processes requires that news content made for a specific programme on a specific platform with a characteristic rhetoric is adapted in part or in whole to be published on a different platform with a different rhetoric.

Other researchers have also touched upon this question. Klinenberg (2005) found that reporters working with different platforms increasingly realise that 'content does not move easily from one medium to the next, and therefore they must develop techniques for translating work across platforms' (Klinenberg, 2005: 55). He does not however elaborate on these techniques. Agerbæk and Jørgensen look at news production as a 'remediation machine' (2007: 170), in an attempt to revise Bolter and Grusin's (1999) term. Their focus is how the interplay between different media affects texts that are made for publication on multiple platforms, what they call 'single source publishing' (Agerbæk and Jørgensen, 2007: 171). While claiming to include all forms of communication, their analysis is limited to the remediation of written texts between various editions of print and online newspapers.

Studying the production of regional news at the BBC newsroom in Bristol, Cottle and Ashton argued that 'a homogenized news form – the so-called "bi-media package"' had emerged (1999: 35). This meant that complicated edits had given way to a lot of live interviews. They concluded that new technologies and multi-media news production contribute to increased standardisation of news formats (Cottle and Ashton, 1999: 38). Hemmingway found the beginning of a shift in journalists' definitions of news, as multiskilled video journalists consider 'the human-interest, longer, more sustained exploration of an issue' as newsworthy as 'the one minute summary of today's bus crash' (Hemmingway, 2008: 94).

Boczkowski and Ferris (2005: 32) on the other hand, found that the trend towards convergence of production processes across platforms was 'accompanied by a divergence in the products of traditional and digital media' (Ibid: 45). With respect to online news, this is exemplified by longer versions of stories, emphasis on updates, interactive applications and archive material. My findings support the latter.

Thus, we still lack a consistent vocabulary for describing content travel between radio, television and the web. The following part of this section will discuss the characteristics of such adaptive techniques in more detail and analyse the most common techniques for translating work across platforms. *Article 5* shows that the

relationship between platforms in a cross-media context is not that of equal partners. Radio and television are the main content producers, while the web is mainly a reproductive platform. Radio reporters also use some of the content made for television, for example interview statements from television interviews. Television reporters do not re-use content made for radio, at least not in the empirical material that this thesis is based on, as sound without image is not considered particularly good television.

Web reporters at the NRK re-use radio and television content in a number of ways. The written manuscripts of radio and television reporters are found in ENPS, and rewritten to suit the format of a web article. While all reporters are supposed to enter their manuscripts into the system, radio reporters do this most frequently. Articles are often written partly by listening to radio and television reports, and transcribing interviews and reporter comments into written text. The web platform also re-uses audio and video clips. This can be either finished radio or television reports, or extended versions that are not broadcast elsewhere. Photos for web articles are taken from a variety of sources, for example video captures from television reports and, more and more frequently, pictures taken on mobile phones by radio and television reporters and sent by mms directly to the web desk.

The analysis in *article 5* concludes by outlining a model of cross-media (re) production of content, ranging from relatively simple reframing of audiovisual content online, via recombination of the single elements of a news story to make a new version, to more extensive reversioning of news stories for publication on a different platform. The analysis showed that the relationship between *medium specificity* on the one hand, and *platform adaptability* on the other, is important when looking at cross-media reproduction.

The relationship between medium specificity on the one hand, and platform adaptability on the other, is central for an understanding of cross-media reproduction. A news story utilising a lot of medium specific traits is not easy to adapt to a different platform. Radio reports are not very often used on television. It is likewise hard to adapt a piece for television, using a highly visual style, to radio. As shown in *article 4*, this is nevertheless done on a regular basis. The 24-hour news radio channel does it most frequently, broadcasting the soundtrack of the main evening television news (*Dagsrevyen*) live on radio. To compensate for the problems of platform adaptability

with the medium-specific visual style of television news, simple adaptive techniques, like having the radio anchor read out the subtitles of speech in foreign languages, are used. Graphics and the weather forecast cause more of a problem.

It is a bit easier, but not entirely unproblematic, to transfer it to the web. In either case, doing so requires some form of adaptation to facilitate the receiving platform's characteristics. In the case of radio, television sound is often used as it is on air but stripped of its visual dimension. This is described in *article 5* as a process of recombination and decombination of content elements. The web platform uses news items made for both television and radio, and adapts them to the web through transcription to a written language. Using the web platform's ability to simulate both other platforms, the written articles are often accompanied by linked audiovisual material.

We thus see that a given news text's medium-specific characteristics structures the way in which content travels across platforms. As shown in *article 5*, a television news report may rely on highly visual language, referring to what is seen on-screen: 'Here it is (…) this is the courtroom (…) this is where the judges will sit', that is not easily adaptable for radio use. Interview statements made for television are however easy to re-use for a radio report. As argued in *article 5*, one of the characteristics of the web platform is that it is capable of containing all other media, or sign systems. Therefore, the web can repurpose all forms of content made for both radio and television.

Seen from a web reporter's perspective, this can be described as form of 'pick-n-mix' journalism, or rather: *hard-drive journalism*. Reporters from television and radio feed their raw material and finished news stories into the shared digital production systems (ENPS, Digas, Quantel). Web reporters use this as a content database for the production of articles. They reversion finished radio and television reports, and also make use of the raw material to add longer interview statements, illustrate their articles with video stills, and add links to audiovisual material.

This means that, as seen in *article 5*, a cross-media news story usually has multiple authors (Cottle and Ashton, 1999: 37). Some reporters reversion the story for a different platform, others re-use only parts of the story. This development has clear authorship implications, as journalists have to give up some degree of professional control over their work (Ytreberg, 2007: 77). Some of the informants reported that

they often write articles for the web themselves. The majority of radio and television reporters do not do this.

At the other end of the scale, there is a large group of reporters who do not think about the story after it has been broadcast in their primary medium, and leave it up to the web desk to do whatever they want with it. Most reporters, however, to some degree try to follow up their stories on other platforms (usually the web). This can be in the form of factual corrections, suggestions for new angles, giving the web desk access to material (interview clips, video footage, photos, factual information) not used in the original story.

This development is particularly important when we consider the journalists' relationship to their sources. Reporters often make arrangements with their sources about how to use quotes or statements, or which angle to put on the story. What issues arise when they give up some of their control over the story? As seen in *article 4*, reporters often maintain this control by refusing to put information about a story into the database before it has been broadcast on their main platform.

4.4 Participation

While discussing genre development and cross-media adaptation in the previous sections, we have not yet touched upon *audience participation*. A growing research topic in media studies is participation in the media by non-professionals. A body of research has formed on audience participation in broadcast media, focusing on the transition from one-way broadcasting to two-way interactivity. Recent contributions include institutional strategies related to audience participation in the media (Enli, 2007; Maasø et al., 2007), and new forms of user participation in SMS-based television (Enli, 2005; Beyer et al., 2007).

As Enli (2007: 6) describes, audience participation has a relatively long tradition in broadcasting, from listeners calling in to radio shows to voting via SMS in multi-platform concepts like Pop Idol. The combination of television and the mobile phone has shown itself highly potent for creating audience participation in television

programmes. An example of this is television formats that include text messages in the production process, often referred to as 'SMS-TV' (Enli, 2005; 2007: 8).

Specifically related to news journalism is the concept of 'participatory journalism' (Bruns, 2005; Jenkins, 2006; Engebretsen, 2007). Nip (2006) describes four categories of increasing degree of audience involvement: public journalism, interactive journalism, participatory journalism and citizen journalism.

Hujanen and Pietikäinen (2004) categorise different participatory genres by function, distinguishing between 'quizzing', 'voicing one's opinion' and 'commenting on journalism'. Engebretsen (2007) describes a more nuanced categorisation, consisting of, for example, 'article debate', 'debate forums', 'chatting', 'communities', 'readers' blogs', 'journalists' blogs' and 'online meetings' (Engebretsen, 2007: 161). The category 'commenting on journalism', similar to 'article debate', is one of the most common participatory genres in news journalism. It can be seen as an adaptive genre (Crowston and Williams, 2000: 203), or rather a combination of the two genres 'news article' and 'debate'.

Participation and interactivity is not least a central aspect of web communication. While the platforms of radio and television have their characteristic rhetoric (Fagerjord, 2003), the web platform's rhetoric is one of interactivity and participation. Therefore, the absence of participatory genre in the sample texts drawn from the NRK online news coverage is striking. Interactivity and user participation are only found in the form of hyperlink navigation, as well as the web's archive functions. Participatory genres like those described by Hujanen and Pietikäinen (2004) or Engebretsen (2007) do not occur.

This speaks against the claim that radio and television content published on the web enters a web rhetoric (Fagerjord, 2003), as to a large extent it keeps the rhetoric of the mother medium at the same time as it corresponds with the notion of web publishing within a broadcasting logic (Deuze, 2004; Erdal, 2007). It may be that the NRK news website still has some way to go before it confirms Kawamoto's (2003) claim that online news media have matured in the later years, 'acquiring their own identities, styles, looks and relationships with audiences, thereby distinguishing them from their non-online news counterparts, and yet complementing them at the same time' (Kawamoto, 2003: 6).

While the NRK is starting to use the vast amount of multimedia content available, the lack of real interactivity and independent audience relationships may be seen as holding back the development of an independent identity. This may also be explained by the 'seriousness' of the NRK as a news provider, not allowing for the presence of audience participation in their online news. Established media organisations may see the increase in audience-produced content as a threat to journalistic standards. Engebretsen (2007: 193) finds that audience participation is more common in the more 'popular' websites, associated with tabloid newspapers.

However, the total lack of participatory genre in the sample texts may also result from the sample of articles, including only those found under the 'news' headline, omitting articles in other categories like 'health', 'consumer' or those for specific debate programmes. Engebretsen, (2007: 171) indeed, includes the NRK website in his analysis of the participatory genre 'article debate'.

4.5 Cross-media as theoretical and analytical concept

This part of the thesis will try to pull all the loose ends together, and discuss the concept of *cross-media* from a theoretical and analytical point of view. We will begin by relating the concept to that of *convergence*, and discuss why cross-media can be a more useful concept when approaching complex media organisations.

The concept of convergence has been central in discussions of media developments since the early 1990s (Fagerjord and Storsul, 2007: 19). The concept covers a wide range of technological, social and cultural processes. As early as 1983, Ithiel de Sola Pool described a phenomenon he called 'the convergence of modes':

> The explanation for the current convergence between historically separated modes of communication lies in the hability of digital electronics ... bringing all modes of communications onto one grand system (de Sola Pool, 1983: 27).

Media theorists often describe convergence as a melting together of information systems, telecommunications and media technologies, on the one hand, and social and

cultural convergence, on the other. It is, however, important to understand how convergence often goes hand in hand with divergence (Fagerjord, 2003: 123), or a higher level of complexity (Fagerjord and Storsul, 2007: 27). Actors, markets and technologies melt together and lay the foundation for divergence in relation to articulation and use of various media formats (Boczkowski and Ferris, 2005: 33). As Bolter and Grusin put it: '*Convergence means greater diversity for digital technologies in our culture*' (1999: 225).

Convergence comes in a variety of forms. Fagerjord and Storsul (2007: 20) distinguish between six forms of media convergence: convergence of networks, terminals, services, rhetorics, markets and regulatory regimes. This thesis has primarily looked at *service* convergence (cross media formats), *rhetorical* convergence (cross media genre development) and *market* convergence. Fagerjord and Storsul identify one of the features of market convergence as 'blurred boundaries between old sectors' (2007: 25). Dupagne and Garrison name this last form economic or industrial convergence, emphasising 'multiple but integrated platforms' (2006: 239).

I use the term *organisational convergence* to describe market / economic / industrial convergence both with respect to organisational structure and production processes. In an organisational context, convergence processes merge previously separate entities, both with respect to chains of command and production routines. In this case, the previously separate departments of radio and television news at the NRK have merged with each other as well as with the web, tele-text and mobile media.

Definitions of convergence in a journalistic context, or 'convergence journalism', have a tendency to strive towards an ideal of 'full convergence', where 'the key people, the multi-media editors, assess each news event on its merits and assign the most appropriate staff for the story' (Quinn, 2005: 32), or 'hybrid teams of journalists ... work together to plan, report, and produce a story, deciding along the way which parts of the story are told most effectively in print, broadcast, and digital forms' (Dailey et al., 2005: 5).

This thesis has adopted a more pragmatic definition, in line with Deuze, who defines convergence journalism as '(increasing) cooperation and collaboration between formerly distinct media newsrooms' (Deuze, 2004: 140). As Kolodzy notes, 'convergence journalism is happening in a variety of newsrooms, in a variety of

manners. No one form of convergence journalism has risen to be the best template for doing convergence' (Kolodzy, 2006: 10).

Aiming to clarify the different meanings of convergence, Gordon (2003) provides a definition that is useful for analysing the variety of processes and products in contemporary news journalism. He describes five aspects of convergence: ownership, tactics (cross promotion and sharing content across platforms), structure (organisational and functional changes), information gathering (for several platforms) and presentation (Gordon, 2003: 61).

Convergence journalism can be visualised as containing a vertical and horizontal axis. The vertical axis represents the production process from start to finish, and is linked to the established concept of *multi-skilling* (Bromley, 1997; Cottle and Ashton, 1999) A multi-skilled reporter performs several functions in the making of a news story, e.g., interviewing, shooting video, taking photos, writing up the story, editing audio and video. Journalists and academics alike often describe these 'backpack journalists' (Stone, 2002; Gordon, 2003) or 'Inspector Gadgets' (Quinn, 2005: 31) by the pervasive proverb 'jack of all trades, master of none' (Singer, 2004; Tanner and Duhe, 2005; Huang et al., 2006).

The main argument is that by 'being spread too thin' (Cottle and Ashton, 1999: 34), the multi-skilled journalist is not really very good at anything:

> … it is deskilling, journalists will have expertise in no single area; it is an attack on standards ... journalists will be tied to multimedia workstations packaging the same material for different outlets (Bromley, 1997: 16).

Ten years later, these arguments against convergence journalism are still common, even if this line of reasoning now is met with stronger and more articulate counter-arguments, as shown in *article 4*.

The horizontal axis of convergence journalism is, on the other hand, made up by the different media platforms on which a news story can be realised: print, radio, television, web and mobile media. It is likewise often associated with the 'master of none' label. We can call this the *cross-media axis* of convergence journalism. We will in the following take a closer look on this axis.

Section 2 of the final contribution emphasised a view of media as platforms. With this understanding in mind, how do we proceed from media to 'cross-media'? The concept concerns communication where two or more media platforms are involved *in an integrated way*. Other terms that have a similar signification are 'transmedia' (Jenkins, 2006) and 'intermediality' (Rajewsky, 2002). Cross-media is often confused with *multi-platform* (production or publishing). However, to be precise, the concepts of cross-media and multi-platform must be distinguished from each other. Thomasen (2007) sees cross-media as an extension of multi-platform. Multi-platform indicates the use of more than one media platform within the same 'communicative situation', but with no communicative relations or references between them. He argues that cross-media represents an extension of this, where these relations or references are present in the communication (Thomasen, 2007: 43).

The essence is thus whether the different media platforms 'talk to each other'. If a media concept uses television and web in a way that makes it impossible to remove one of them without severely altering the product, it can be described as a cross-media concept or text. An example of a cross-media production/product is *Pop Idol* (Syvertsen and Ytreberg, 2006; Kjus, 2005), where television is the main platform, integrated with the (mobile) phone platform for audience feedback, and supplemented by the web platform. Another cross-media concept is 'sms-television' (Enli, 2005), using mobile media content from the audience (sms messages, mms pictures) in a television broadcast.

My point is that, in order to be more precise for theoretical and analytical purposes, we have to distinguish between cross-media *communication*, and cross-media *production processes*. If a news story published on both television and web involves cooperation between television and web reporters, either on the research stage or through content sharing, we can talk about a cross-media production process.

Cross-media can thus be seen both from an external (the audience) and an internal (the organisation) perspective (Petersen and Rasmussen, 2007: 58). Internal cross-media describes production processes within a media organisation that involve more than one platform, and involves different modes of organisation and cooperation. External cross-media describes the communication towards the audience, or the text, with emphasis on cross promotion (Dailey et al., 2005), intertextuality (Rajewsky, 2002; Petersen, 2007) and repurposing of content. From this point of view,

cross-media has many similarities to intertextuality, but is a broader concept, as intertextuality is one aspect of external cross-media.

As shown in this thesis, internal and external cross-media, as process and product, are closely related. As Boczkowski demonstrates, the relationship between different platforms in the production process varies from organisation to organisation, with profound effects on the cross media product (Boczkowski, 2004: 177).

Dailey et al.'s (2005) influential model of the 'convergence continuum', describes increasing degrees of convergence in media production, from cross-promotion between different media to full convergence. While this model is fruitful for analysing the organisation of media production, it does not sufficiently describe the different ways that content travels across media platforms. The main reason for this is that the model does not distinguish between the internal and external dimensions of cross-media, or between communication and production.

Boczkowski lists three forms of content creation in offline and online newspaper constellations: repurposing, recombination and recreation (2004: 51). This is a fruitful model for understanding the relationship between the rather similar news outlets of a newspaper and its online companion. I will argue that cross-media journalism that includes a broadcasting organisation is more complex.

Puijk (2007) outlines a similar model, with a distinct focus on television production. Studying multi-platform production processes in two non-news departments at the Norwegian public service broadcaster NRK, he identifies five different models for the organisation of multi-platform production: separate online and offline production, multi-platform publication of the same content, recycling of content, recycling with added value online, and integrated production (Pujik, 2007: 133-5). He stresses the importance of timing with respect to when a story is published on what platform (Ibid: 147).

The model has been criticised for its linearity, assuming that all media organisations eventually (and inevitably) will move towards the highest stages, achieving full convergence (Deuze, 2004: 140). In the continuation of this line of argument is the inherent normativity of the continuum, where the movement from lower to higher levels of convergence is something that media organisations should aim for.

Further, and perhaps more important in the context of this thesis, the stages described in the model are successive. In order for a media organisation to proceed to a particular level it has to have obtained the characteristics of all lower levels as 'at the content sharing level, the distrust demonstrated in the coopetition level has diminished' (Dailey et al., 2005: 7). This implies that each step has overcome the shortcomings, or convergence 'stumbling blocks', of the former. Hjeltnes et al. (2007: 10) find that this is not the case in their empirical study, and argue that competition between units is a convergence hinder relevant for all steps.

My findings support this claim, as the cases studies portray distinct characteristics of several 'continuum' stages at the same time. In the two NRK newsrooms studied in this thesis the 'coopetition' of step three coexists with the 'content sharing' found on step four. As shown in *article 4* and *article 5*, the 'cloning' of step two, where one platform republishes the content of another with little or no editing, is an integral part of the cross-media reproduction process at the web desk at all times. Sometimes, as shown in *article 5*, 'hybrid teams' from different platforms cooperate in producing the news. While Dailey et al. (2005) say that an organisation's place on the model can change, and also the nature of the news, I will argue that cross-media production over time incorporates all these steps.

Therefore, rather than describe a convergence model as a ladder or stairway to convergence heaven, or an 'instrument for measuring convergence efforts' (Dailey et al., 2005: 2), it can be more useful to think of it in terms of a 'smorgasbord' of convergence forms.

While Dailey et al.'s model is made with specific reference to news, Puijk (2007) outlines a set of models based on ethnographic research in non-news departments of a public service broadcaster. He argues that the production processes in each department combine features of several of his models (Pujik, 2007: 146). This corresponds to my findings. I will argue that in a given newsroom, the different stages or models of multi-platform production described by Dailey et al. (2005) and Puijk (2007) coexist, if not all at the same time. At the same time, as shown in *article 5*, each stage or model of cross-media journalism involves a set of shared reproductive techniques.

Returning to Dailey et al. (2005), their model describes convergence mainly from the perspective of the *organisation*. This is an important contribution to our

understanding of the field. However, what we need to supplement this model, in order to understand the complexity of cross-media production processes, is a model that describes convergence journalism from a *textual* perspective, describing how a particular news story is produced for multiple platforms. I therefore propose a model of cross-media journalism where two axes exist simultaneously: the *work axis* and the *content axis*, each axis moving towards increasing complexity.

The work axis consists of different *forms of cross-media practice*, describing how content is created for multi-platform publishing from the perspective of media organisation and journalistic practice. It consists of these categories: *single-reporter multiplatform journalism* (one reporter produces the same news story for two or more platforms); *hard-drive journalism* (one reporter creates a new version of an already produced news report for a different platform); *intra-platform coordination* (reporters or editors from different platforms share information, and coordinate their efforts in covering a particular news story, typically during editorial meetings or more informally); and *intra-platform production* (reporters from different platforms cooperate extensively in covering a particular news story, sharing content and raw material. This category is often found in the covering of larger events like the one analysed in *article 5*).

These categories are not exhaustive, as I am sure others will have different categories that either supplement or refine the model. What unites and divides these four categories is, firstly, that they are either depending on bilateral coordination between different desks or platforms, or not. Secondly, that they are either depending on accessing information, raw material and finished news reporters in the shared digital production systems (ENPS, Digas, Quantel), or not. This can be illustrated by a simple matrix:

	Depending on bilateral platform coordination	**Not depending** on bilateral platform coordination
Depending on accessing information and content in shared digital production systems	Intra-platform production	Hard-drive journalism
Not depending on accessing information and content in shared digital production systems	Intra-platform Coordination	Single-reporter journalism

The content axis describes ways in which content is transferred across media platforms in cross-media production, mainly from radio and television to the web, but also from radio to television. Adopting Liestøl's understanding of rhetoric as 'a *general purpose method* for production, preparation and presentation of information in any form and of any kind' (Liestøl, 1999: 35, original italics), as described in section 2.4, we can outline a set of practices for content reproduction in cross-media settings. The model consists of three forms of reproduction, with an increasing amount of journalistic work involved:

The *rhetoric of augmentation* involves reframing of content, which is republished in a relatively unedited form. Most often new features are added to fit the rhetoric of the receiving platform. An example of this is television news published on the web, either as part of a web article or as an entire news broadcast for web-TV, divided into hyperlinked chapters for easy access.

The *rhetoric of recombination* involves parts of news reports and raw material being re-used in a different context. Television news reports may be stripped of their soundtrack and video images, which may be recombined with a spoken commentary to make radio reports or with a written text to make a web article. The soundtrack of a television repor, or indeed entire news broadcasts, may also be singled out and broadcast on radio, disembodied from the video images.

The *rhetoric of reversioning* involves more (journalistic) work. This means that the soundtrack of television and radio reports is transcribed and rewritten for publication on the web. As the analysis of all examples shows, this category mainly consists of web reporters' reversioning news stories from both radio and television, and platform-internal reversioning for radio, like editing down a 1minute, 30second radio report to make a 30 second bulletin.

Each category of cross-media work practice may utilise one or more or of these forms. My concepts of reframing and reversioning compare to Boczkowski's category of 'repurposing'. His 'recombination' category refers more to a media organisation making use of their different outlets online, and does not describe the reproduction of single news stories (Boczkowski, 2004: 51).

4.6 Summary and further perspectives

What are the chief findings of this study? The overarching research question of the thesis is: 'how has broadcast news journalism been affected by developments related to convergence?'. In order to answer this question, two sub-questions have been investigated: 'what characterises strategies and practices for cross-media news work at the NRK?' and 'how do cross-media strategies and practices reflect themselves in the resulting news texts?'.

The first sub-question has been analysed through the lens of structuration theory and culture theory. Complex media organisations contain a number of different inter-organisational subcultures. This thesis has addressed some challenges that arise when these journalistic cultures meet as a result of convergence strategies and cooperation across media platforms.

How does the tension between organisational and professional culture influences cross-media practices? We see a marked ambivalence towards convergence in the organisation, expressed by different opinions about the topic amongst professional sub-cultures. These differences, combined with the traditional hierarchical culture of broadcast journalism, represent significant challenges for cross-media cooperation.

Journalists identify themselves to a large extent with their primary medium, but this is changing. The question of what defines quality journalism, may slowly be changing, as the ideal of the highly specialised radio or television professional is complemented by the versatile cross-media reporter. The notion of the NRK legacy of quality being under attack from cross-media journalism, is contested by arguments about the benefits for the NRK in the news battle against competitors.

The organisational or corporate culture of the NRK is related to maintaining the ideal of public service broadcasting and a tradition for quality news. This legacy must not be ruined. However, how this should be done is not agreed upon within the organisation. Some think cross-media journalism endangers the quality of news, others see it as the only possibility to maintain a high standard of news coverage in a digital age. The recurring journalist discourse of convergence degrading the quality of the news is thus being contradicted by arguments about the positive side of cross-media journalism, not only from management but also from reporters seeing the benefits of convergence both for their work situation and career, and for the news organisation as such. Perhaps this points towards a change in the status of cross-media journalism, indicating that it has begun to find its place in the news organisation. Still, while most journalists understand and may even see the upside of convergence, many are still uncomfortable when it comes to ideas being put into practice – when they are asked to share ideas, information or sources.

How does the increased reproduction of news influence the daily news work and the roles of reporters? We see a development towards increased stratification or polarisation between reporters, where a group of reporters is given more time and resources to research and produce their own stories. The increase in reproduction and republication has thus contributed to further stratification between reporters.

A cultural approach to cross-media news journalism must take into account the tension between the corporate culture of the news organisation and the professional culture of news journalists and editors. The importance of factors like time constraints, cultural resistance and different competence demands must thus be seen together. Journalistic culture cannot control the convergence strategies of media organsiation. What it can do however, is to influence how it is done in practice.

We have seen that new and more complex hierarchies has developed, with a number of different tensions. One is the relationship between professional

(journalistic) culture and industry (broadcasting) culture on one hand, and organisational or corporate culture on the other. The traditional hierarchies of news journalism puts the investigative reporter on top of the pyramid, while television is the traditional high-status field of broadcast journalism. After convergence, the single-medium reporter has traditionally been given higher status than the multi-media reporter. In order to achieve convergence strategies about synergy and cooperation across media platforms, the corporate culture of the organisation battles with professional and industry cultures to focus on the entire news organisation rather than for example television or radio. At the same time, the specialised single-medium reporter is challenged by the multi-skilled cross-media reporter.

The findings of this thesis indicates that the web platform lacks its own identity in relation to a strong television/radio culture. The web is used as a reproductive platform, relying heavily on reproducing already-produced content for radio and television.

We have also seen that space and newsroom architecture are highly relevant to the relationship between convergence strategies, practices and journalistic cultures. In the two newsrooms studied in this thesis, space is not so much perceived as a place of struggle, as a *structural constraint limiting the ease of cooperation*. The spatial structure of the newsrooms definitely had an impact on how the journalists carried out their work. This was evident not least when it came to the relationship and ease of cooperation between different desks. The two spaces are fundamentally different when seen from a cross-media perspective. At the regional office, the newsroom architecture facilitates cooperation. The desk editors of the different platforms are located close to each other, making informal communication easy. At the central newsroom, newsroom architecture has to be overcome in order to cooperate.

The second sub-question has been answered through an analysis of textual strategies in production and reproduction of news for multiple media platforms. When content made for a specific platform is published on a different one, some form of translation or adaptation has to take place. News content made for a specific programme on a specific platform, with a characteristic rhetoric, is adapted in part or as a whole to be published on a different platform with a different rhetoric. This thesis has outlined some textual strategies for cross-media reproduction – standardised practices for easy reproduction of content from one medium to another.

This thesis argues that convergence journalism can be visualised as containing a vertical and horizontal axis. The vertical axis represents the production process from start to finish, and is linked to the established concept of *multi-skilling*. The horizontal axis is made up by the different media platforms on which a news story can be realised: print, radio, television, web and mobile media, and can be called the *cross-media axis* of convergence journalism. In order to be more precise for theoretical and analytical purposes, we have to further distinguish between cross-media *communication*, and cross-media *production processes*. If a news story published on both television and web involves cooperation between television and web reporters, either on the research stage or through content sharing, we can talk about a cross-media production process.

The analysis has shown that while Dailey et al.'s (2005) 'convergence continuum' and similar models describing stages or levels of convergence, are fruitful for analysing the organisation of media production, these models do not sufficiently describe the different ways that content travels across media platforms. Cross-media production involves a number of intertwining forms of cooperation and reproduction. We lack a consistent vocabulary for describing content travel between radio, television and web, which is more complicated than the reproduction of content between a print newspaper and its online companion. Therefore, this thesis outlines a model that integrates the perspectives of *news work* and *news texts* in convergence journalism.

The work axis consists of different forms of cross-media practice, describing how content is created for multi-platform publishing from the perspective of media organisation and journalistic practice. The content axis describes textual strategies for reproducing content across media platforms in cross-media production. The analysis has showed that the relationship between *medium specificity* on the one hand, and *platform adaptability* on the other, is important when looking at cross-media reproduction, as a given news text's medium-specific characteristics requires a specific set of textual strategies.

Participation and interactivity is a central aspect of web communication. While the platforms of radio and television have their characteristic rhetoric, the web platform's rhetoric is one of interactivity and participation. This makes the absence of participatory genre in the sample texts drawn from the NRK online news coverage

particularly striking. While the NRK is starting to use the vast amount of multimedia content available, the lack of real interactivity and independent audience relationships may be seen as holding back the development of an independent identity. This may also be explained by the 'seriousness' of the NRK as a news provider, not allowing for the presence of audience participation in their online news, as established media organisations may see the increase in audience-produced content as a threat to journalistic standards.

This thesis has analysed cross-media journalism from two angles, as work practices and texts, and has tried to integrate the analysis of news texts with that of journalistic work practices. What are the implications for further research on media organisations and news journalism? One obvious way to expand on this work would be to look at comparative cases within a broadcasting logic. How do commercial media houses compare to and differ from the findings in this study? The Norwegian commercial public service media house TV 2 has launched a 24-hour television news channel, as has the NRK, in part, as it does not broadcast 24/7. How does this further increase in news slots/outlets affect production processes and products across platforms? What are the similarities and differences in TV 2 and NRK?

Another interesting perspective would be to look at cross-media in broadcasting versus print environments; to compare media houses originating in a newspaper to those examined in this thesis. What are the similarities and differences regarding types of content published online, and what are the practices with respect to reproduction of content, hierarchies, and genre development?

There are however two other possible research areas that would be more interesting to examine, with the findings in this thesis as a starting point: closer analysis of new media technologies in use, and the question of public service broadcasting versus public service media.

The transition from public service broadcasting to public service media, and the status of different media platforms with respect to the concept of public service, needs to be addressed. The NRK web site is not included in the public service remit. In November 2007, the ministry of culture released a new public service guideline (*NRK-plakaten*), where the NRK is still allowed to get advertising revenue from their website. At the same time, the guidelines states that the license fee should not be used to subsidise commercial activities (Kirke- og kulturdepartementet, 2007). The fidings

of this thesis points to challenges facing public service media related to cross-media content reproduction where there is a mix of outlets financed by both lisence fee and commercial revenue, that needs further attention.

Another topic that needs further research, is the technological frameworks of cross-media cooperation and production. Here we would need to take both the frameworks that are set by technology and the specific uses of the technology in news production processes. Media organisations increasingly rely on 'content management systems' (CMS). This means that the tension between easy reproduction and exchange of content on one hand, and possibilities for limited options in the creative work of journalists becomes more pronounced (Deuze, 2007: 69). What kinds of possibilities and limitations do digital production systems like ENPS, Digas and Quantel set for news workers? Is content transferable between systems or does it need to be rewritten or transcribed? What kinds of communication can take place within the system? How do the reporters on different desks use these systems in their everyday work? To fully understand the implications of the findings in this thesis there is a need for close analysis of news production technology in use.

5.0 Overview of the articles

Article 1: 'Researching media convergence and cross-media news production: mapping the field'

Published in *Nordicom Review* 29 (2) 2007.

This article discusses specific challenges that face research on media organisations and news production in the wake of digitisation and convergence. The article also outlines existing research in the field, and discusses where this line of inquiry fits into the larger picture of media studies and journalism studies. The article functions as a theoretical and methodological basis for the rest of the thesis.

The main premise of the discussion is that digitisation and convergence blurs the boundaries of media platforms. This happens because content can easily be shared between journalists making news for television, radio and web. The article identifies two strands of research that need attention: changing professional practices and genre development.

Changing professional practices related to convergence developments raises a number of important questions. In this context, it is important to investigate how

reporters relate to cross-media strategies in their daily news work. How is production for multiple media platforms organised, practiced and conceptualised within the organisation? From a textual perspective it is important to analyse how news items are made for, and published across, different media platforms. How do journalists work with news genres on different media platforms? Is cooperation across media platforms followed by genre development?

These research gaps are related to changes in the organisation and practices of news journalism for multiple media platforms, and makes up the two main themes of the thesis as a whole.

Article 2: 'Negotiating convergence in news production'

Published in Storsul, Tanja and Stuedahl, Dagny (eds.): *Ambivalence towards convergence*, Gothenburg: Nordicom (2007).

This article was written as a first 'probe' into cross-media news production. It is grounded in media sociology and the newsroom tradition, and is based on empirical work at the NRK in spring 2006.

The article discusses strategies and practices of cross-media news production in the light of structuration theory. Based on the NRK case, two main strategies are identified: While *internal strategies*, linked to a resource and organisational point of view, aim at a synergetic mode of production, *external strategies* are related to the aim of creating a cooperative journalistic culture transgressing media boundaries, and focus on how convergence journalism can help the NRK win the 'news battle'.

The article concludes that these strategies lose some of their force when meeting the reality of everyday news work. While organisational convergence has taken place, and cross-media journalism is a clearly expressed goal, the vision of news journalism without media borders is negotiated against structural constraints and counter-cooperative practices, in the form of increased workloads and time pressure, different competence demands, and internal competition.

Proliferation of platforms and programmes has increased the workload of reporters, leaving too little time for cross-media cooperation and production. Different media platforms require different journalistic and other production-related skills, and this slows down convergence processes where content and reporters travel across media borders. Scepticism towards cross-media journalism for this reason is most clearly expressed by television reporters. Internal competition also slows down the development of cross-media journalism, even where there is a marked difference between what is called 'common' news, and more exclusive, research-based news.

Article 3: 'The roles of different media platforms in a public service broadcaster's news organisation'

Original title: 'Lokomotiver og sugerør – om medieplattformenes roller i en allmennkringkasters nyhetsorganisasjon'.

Published in Petersen, Anja Bechmann and Rasmussen, Steen K. (eds.): *På tværs af medierne*, Aarhus: Ajour forlag (2007).

This article examines the different roles of media platforms in the total news output, based on close textual analysis and observation at the NRK newsrooms. I examine both *external* roles (towards the audience), and *internal* roles (towards the other platforms in the organisation). There is much that is similar in the two organisations. However, the media platforms have somewhat different functions towards the audience, and play different roles in the cross-media production of news.

Looking first at the central newsroom, the article concludes that radio and television are the leading, autonomous news outlets. Both platforms direct journalistic resources towards creating agenda-setting news reports for their main news broadcasts: Morning news on radio, evening news on television. Cooperation between the web and the other platforms is mainly a one-way process, where most of the content published on the web, has already been broadcast on radio or television. The

web reporters take the active part in getting this content published online, and radio and web reporters seldom write versions of their stories for the web.

The picture is slightly different in the regional newsroom, where newsgathering is driven by the radio platform. Having relatively large journalistic resources channelled towards the morning shows, the radio sets the agenda for the news reporters on both television and web. In addition to setting the agenda and being the main news gatherer, the radio platform performs a function of information centre. Television reporters usually take the radio news as their point of departure when covering a story, leaning on research and contacts made by radio reporters. Similar to the central newsroom, the web platform mainly reversion content made for radio, as well as presenting updates during the day.

We thus see that while radio and television are the two main news gatherers in the central newsroom, this role is filled by radio in the regional newsroom. In both organisations, the web platform plays a subordinate role as a republisher of news.

Article 4: 'Cross-media (re)production cultures'

Accepted for publication in *Convergence*, issue to be confirmed.

An early, shorter version of this article is published in Norwegian as 'Flermedial nyhetsproduksjon og journalistiske kulturer i NRK', in Ottosen, Rune and Krumsvik, Arne (eds.): *Journalistikk i en digital hverdag*, Fredrikstad: IJ-forlaget (2008).

This article continues where article 2 ends. It is likewise grounded in media sociology and the newsroom tradition, based on empirical work at the NRK in spring 2006. The article discusses cross-media journalism through the concept of 'culture'. The premise of the discussion is a belief that complex media organisations contain a number of different inter-organisational subcultures (Küng-Shankleman, 2000; Singer, 2004). What happens when these cultures meet as a result of convergence and cooperation across media platforms?

The main theme of the article is the increased complexity of journalistic hierarchies as a result of the increase in reproduction and republication of content. One of the main arguments for cross-media journalism from a management perspective is that spending fewer resources on republishing and updating news makes it possible to channel resources towards doing 'real journalism'. As a result, new hierarchies supplement old ones. One of them being the emerging divisions between reporters given more time to research their own stories and do 'real journalism', those working mainly with updating or developing news stories that are already made, and those reproducing content for a different platform.

Related to this is the question of journalistic identities and notions of quality. The tradition of rivalry between television and radio news broadcasters goes way back. This conflicting duality creates hostile fronts between cultures of production and complicates cross-media culture, even as the number of media platforms increase. Another factor complicating the strategy of creating a shared, cross-media culture is the tension between cooperation and internal competition. Although the NRK is a single news organisation, internal competition proliferates. The production cultures of journalism exalt the exclusive story; cooperation across media platforms within the NRK therefore is closely linked to competition. There is a marked difference between what is regarded as 'common news', news that is shared by all media, and exclusive stories. This is less pronounced at the regional office than at the central newsroom.

In both parts of the organisation, the web is marginalised in relation to a strong television/radio culture. The web is used as a reproductive platform, relying heavily on reproducing already produced content for radio and television. Not only using television footage and radio sound as part of web articles, but transcribing and reversioning news stories. While ambitions for independent production may exist, there are few or no resources for newsgathering or independent reporters.

Article 5: Forms of reproduction in multi-platform news production

This article is a continuation of the analysis in article 3, and discusses news production for multiple media platforms through the perspective of *genre* and *adaptation*. When content made for a specific platform is published on a different one, some act or process of translation, adaptation or remediation has to take place. What characterises these processes in news production at the NRK?

The main argument is that, while the concept of remediation (Bolter and Grusin, 1999) primarily accounts for media (conventions) as content of other media, we need other terms to analyse relations between media platforms in text production processes. The article argues that multiplatform news production can be approached as a web of adaptations, where news content made for a specific programme on a specific platform, with a characteristic rhetoric, is adapted in part or as a whole to be published on a different platform with a different rhetoric. As seen in the analysis, cross-media production in a more or less integrated news organisation involves a number of intertwining forms of cooperation and reproduction from reframing of audiovisual content.

The analysis shows that the relationship between *medium specificity* on the one hand, and *platform adaptability* on the other, is central for an understanding of cross-media reproduction. A news story utilising a lot of medium-specific traits is not easy to adapt to a different platform. Radio reports are seldom used on television, as the lack of visuality and imagery is considered bad TV. It is likewise hard to adapt a piece for television, using a highly visual style, to radio. It is a bit easier, but not unproblematic, to transfer it to the web. In each case, doing so requires some form of adaptation to facilitate the receiving platform's characteristics.

In the example material, the web-specific forms of representation of interactivity and user participation are only used in the form of hyperlink navigation, as well as the web's archive functions. This somewhat contradicts the claim that radio

and television content published on the web enters a web rhetoric (Fagerjord, 2003), as to a large extent it keeps the rhetoric of the mother medium at the same time as it corresponds with the notion of web publishing within a broadcasting logic (Deuze, 2004).

PART II – The Articles

Article 1: 'Researching media convergence and crossmedia news production. Mapping the field'

Introduction

Digitization of production in media organizations has facilitated changes in the organization and practices of journalism. Technological convergence, media convergence and organizational convergence have changed the way in which news is made. This article discusses some challenges that face research into media organizations, challenges that are a result of these developments. What new questions have to be asked? The discussion is structured around two main developments: changing professional practices and genre development. The article will also look at where this line of research fits into the larger picture of media studies, and discuss the relationship to existing research in the field.

Over the past decade or so, fundamental changes have taken place in broadcast newsrooms. Seen from the outside, the news output of many broadcasters has expanded rapidly since the early 1990s, and covers a wide range of media platforms from television and radio to tele-text[3], web and mobile phones. Subsequently, broadcasters have undergone changes in the organization and practices of production. This is perhaps most evident with regard to production for multiple platforms in an integrated media organization. To various degrees production for television and radio has been integrated with production for digital media. Radio and television reporters who used to exist in separate worlds, are now working together, cooperating across media boundaries. The number of reporters who are able to work for both television and radio is increasing. The platforms of radio and television have been converging in terms of production processes, and later web and other platforms such as mobile phones have been added.

What specific research issues arise from this development? Related to changing professional practices, questions of how reporters relate to crossmedia strategies in their daily newswork, need to be answered. How is production for multiple media platforms conceptualized within the organization? How are news items made for and published across different media platforms? The last question is

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[3] By the term 'tele-text' I refer to text-based services via television, e.g. the Norwegian *Tekst-tv* and the British *Ceefax*.

also related to genre development, as is the way in which journalists relate to news genre on different media platforms, and whether we see genre development in the form of convergence or genre hybrids.

The basis of this development is digitization of production systems, which enables content to travel across media boundaries. Television footage and radio soundbites can be published on the Web, and television sound is frequently used on radio. This development is often described using the all-encompassing term 'convergence', which covers a wide range of technological, social and cultural processes. Media researchers often describe convergence as a 'melting together' of information systems, telecommunications and media technologies, on the one hand, and social and cultural convergence, on the other. While the concept of convergence has been central in discussions of digital media developments, it is important to understand how convergence often goes hand in hand with 'divergence'. Actors, markets and technologies melt together and lay the foundation for divergence in relation to articulation and use of various media formats. As noted by Jenkins (2006:10), de Sola Pool (1983) was perhaps the first to recognize convergence as a "force of change" in the media industries, in what he describes as the "convergence of modes" (ibid:23).

The twin terms of convergence/divergence are useful for describing general developments following digitization. For the purposes of close analysis of production processes, however, I will argue that we need to look more closely at what this relationship entails. As a starting point, I will use *crossmedia* as a key concept. Here, crossmedia communication refers to a process whereby more than one media platform is engaged at the same time in communicating related content. Related both to convergence and divergence, I will use crossmedia production to refer to production of content for more than one media platform within the same producer or organization.

By definition, crossmedia as a concept involves two or more media platforms. In media studies, important contributions have been made on multiplatform concepts, where more platforms are engaged in the communication process in an integrated way (Syvertsen and Ytreberg, 2006). One example of this is *Pop Idol*, a concept that uses television as its main platform, integrated with the (mobile) phone platform for audience feedback, and with the web platform. 'Sms-television' is another

multiplatform concept that uses mobile media content (sms messages, mms pictures) in a television broadcast (Enli, 2005). Currently, work is also being done on theory and practice in crossmedia production in media organizations (Petersen and Rasmussen, 2007).

The form of crossmedia studied in this paper, crossmedia news production, is less integrated. Here, we are talking about production of content for more than one media platform at the same time within the same organization. Several platforms are involved. Not necessarily in a completely integrated way, but most often integrated to some extent. Usually, the production involves different kinds of cooperation. This may range from information sharing between journalists and desks in different platforms, via reporters producing for more than one platform, to various forms of reproduction of content for different platforms. In more advanced forms of integration and cooperation, the platforms serve different purposes in the news coverage as a whole, implying a move towards the definition of a multiplatform concept (Erdal, 2007b).

I will argue that there is a research gap in media studies concerning media production in digital, 'crossmedia' environments. Some research has been done on crossmedia work in print media organizations (e.g. Boczkowski, 2004; Dupagne and Garrison, 2006). Regarding broadcast media, however, the lack of research is substantial, despite important contributions from, e.g., Cottle and Ashton (1999), Duhe et al. (2004), Huang et al. (2006) and Petersen (2007). In the following sections, I will discuss some of the challenges of studying 'convergence journalism'. Before dealing with the question of genre in relation to crossmedia production, we will look more closely at some changes in journalistic practice that follow organizational and media convergence.

Changing professional practices

When looking at later developments in the services of both public service and other broadcasting institutions, the very notion of *broadcasting* itself becomes difficult to handle. Digitization and convergence make it increasingly difficult to distinguish

between what is broadcasting and what is not (Scannell, 2005). As well as being more diverse in terms of content and audiences, news content now also comes in a variety of forms, delivered by online technologies in addition to traditional print and broadcasting media with enhanced, 24-hour capabilities. The field of news production has become more complex and differentiated.

According to Cottle (2003:16), few studies pursue this differentiatedness regarding news forms and journalistic practices into the production environments, and explore how news production 'contexts' and news 'texts' can be productively approached as mutually interpenetrating, and not as analytically separate elements. Some studies have tried to do this (Helland, 1993; Cottle and Ashton, 1999; Clausen, 2001). Cottle and Ashton (1999) studied the role of new technology in news production at the BBC's newscentre in Bristol. Looking at the introduction and impact of news technologies on journalistic practices and news output, they claim that digitization, new communication technologies and technological convergence are factors contributing to a "*radical reconfiguration of broadcast newsrooms and changing professional practices*" (ibid.:21).

Digital technologies and the possibilities for convergence these represent, have changed the landscape of broadcast news production. These changes have again opened the arena for 'multiskilled'[4] or 'deskilled' journalists, according to advocates and critics respectively (Cottle, 2003:16; Quinn, 2004:111). Some of these perspectives are also found in Bromley (1997). His historical account of the development of journalism in the UK, from the press to broadcasting, also deals with the term 'multiskilling'. While Bromley shows that this is not a new phenomenon – correspondents usually work for both radio and television, and small media like local newspapers have a tradition of multiskilling – he argues that digital newsrooms facilitate crossmedia work (ibid.:341).

One seemingly simple, but actually complicated question, is: *What is convergence in the area of news production?* Is it one, fully integrated, news desk, or should we also include other forms or degrees of integration and cooperation? According to Duhe et al. (2004), nine out of ten American television newsrooms are practising 'some type of convergence'. However, less than half of the respondents

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[4] i.e. journalists (skilled to be) working on several media platforms in a multi-media work environment.

defined convergence as having one fully integrated newsroom. Cottle (2003:32) finds that the introduction of new technologies led to changes in the newsroom space itself, a spatial reconfiguration that significantly affected the working environment. On this point, he is supported by Boczkowski (2004:177), who argues that "*materiality matters in online newsrooms*". Newsrooms are sociomaterial spaces in which technical considerations affect who gets to tell the story, what kinds of stories are told, how they are told, and to what audience they are addressed. In order to improve our understanding of the relationship between changing news technologies, journalist practices and news output, Cottle and Ashton (1999:26) call for theoretically grounded, detailed empirical studies of particular news organizations.

Taking their point of departure in television, Waldahl et al. (2002) claim that conventions of (television) news production, as well as influence across media iorganisations and platforms, play an important role in how news content is selected and presented. This points to processes of change regarding social practices (ibid.:31). In my view, this becomes even more recognizable in a crossmedia environment, which increases the complexity of interrelationships between news media, e.g., throughout a newsday.

This line of inquiry, however, rests on a long tradition of research on media production in general, and news production in particular. Broadcast media, especially television, have been the object of extensive research within media studies, starting from the early works of Williams (1974) and Ellis (1988) on televisual form and genre development, and Brunsdon and Morley's (1980) analysis of news reception combined with textual analysis in their *Nationwide* study. Research into public service broadcasting has traditionally had a strong basis in normative ideals about public service media as just that, a public arena or 'offentlichkeit' (Curran, 1991), while the empirical tradition focuses on actual practice (Blumler, 1993).

A tendency in 1990s' media research has been to focus on actual, institutional practices (e.g., Helland, 1993; Søndergaard, 1994; Syvertsen, 1997; Sand and Helland, 1998; Ytreberg, 1999, Küng-Shankleman, 2000; Born, 2004). The origins of research into media institutions are typically traced to the 1960s, the time of sociologically based media research, when there was a marked interest in *effects*, and in how people used the media. Syvertsen (1999) identifies a movement of

interest from 'effect' via 'message' to the 'sender' of the linear communication model. Researchers interested in uncovering what caused the effects, started looking at "*the organisational sources and 'causes' of these features*" (McQuail 1994, quoted in Syvertsen, 1999:23).

In the Nordic countries, Syvertsen (1997) and Søndergaard (1994) have contributed major works on public service broadcasting and the transition to deregulated media markets and competition. Syvertsen (1997) analyses the strategies and programming policies of the NRK and TV 2, following her comparative historical study of the NRK and the BBC (Syvertsen, 1992). Focusing on institutional processes of change, Søndergaard (1994) follows DR into the age of deregulation and competition, looking at the break-up of the monopoly and subsequent changes in programming policy and DR's position as a public service institution.

While an institutional approach has the advantage of getting close to the processes shaping text production, studies of text production have not had a central position in Norwegian media research. Research into media policy and institutional approaches have been combined to a limited degree with textual analysis (Ytreberg, 2000). From another angle, Waldahl et al.'s (2002) study of developments in Norwegian news broadcasting in the 1990s relies on close reading of news texts.

Ytreberg (2000:54) identifies a possible explanation for the missing development of concepts, models and methodology for studying the interplay between production and text in the scientific critique of intentionality within, e.g., literature studies, a stance he finds to be highly accepted in media studies. He points to Hall's ([1973] 1980) essay *Encoding/Decoding* in his attempt to construct a theoretical framework for studying the relationship between text and context. Describing how meaning structures are created both in the production and reception of a text, Hall emphasizes the reception part of the process. The essay spurred several reception studies of television texts, among others that of Brunsdon and Morley (1980). Later studies have focused on how text *production* as well involves interpretation on the part of the producer (Cottle and Ashton, 1999; Ytreberg, 2000).

Further, Ytreberg is followed by Cottle (2003) in identifying political economy and cultural studies as the two overarching theoretical traditions dominating discussions on approaches to media organizations and their output. This

"division of labour" (Ytreberg, 2000:57) emphasizes economic, political and institutional structures, and the production of meaning in the text itself, respectively. Cottle (2003:4) argues that there is also a need for other approaches, between the theoretical foci of marketplace and cultural discourses, an *unexplored and under-theorised 'middle ground' of organisational structures and workplace practices*. If we wish to understand why media representations look like they do, we cannot rely on textual analysis alone, Cottle claims. Thus, we need to take the production process and context into consideration.

Another reason for the gap in research on the latest developments in crossmedia text production is undoubtedly the very nature of such research. Studies of large media institutions that aim at generating thick descriptions of text production, are work intensive and require access to the institution, access that will have to be negotiated.

Having said that, research on news production processes in broadcast media is by no means a new endeavour. At the end of the 1970s, several studies of news production were published, among these Epstein (1973), Tuchman (1978), Schlesinger (1978), Golding and Elliott (1979) and Gans (1980). As Syvertsen (1999:25) argues, these studies strived to show how, and in what way, the news is made, or produced, and that the news is not simply a mirror held up to the world. In her comprehensive overview of research on media institutions, Syvertsen (1999) gives Siverts' (1984) study of news production in the newspaper *Bergens Tidene* credit for being the first Norwegian attempt to address this field. Puijk's (1990) empirical study of text production in NRK's educational department is a related work.

Schlesinger's (1978) seminal study of news production in the BBC is one of the first inside reports of the workings of a media institution. Working from ethnographical observations of the BBC's radio and television news departments in 1972-74, Schlesinger concerns himself with how the news is "(...) *actually put together in the BBC's newsrooms*" (Ibid:11).

Following in Schlesinger's footsteps, Helland (1993) has done extensive empirical work on news production at NRK and TV3. He studies the context of production and conventions of the TV news genre, aiming to "*examine empirically the inter-relationship between the news texts and the news production processes in a*

public service and a commercial satellite television channel" (ibid.:3). Helland here focuses on the potential differences between public service and commercial news, a comparative perspective he follows up in a study of public service news production and presentation in the NRK and the commercial competitor TV 2 (Sand and Helland, 1998). Production processes are at the centre of this study as well, as the researchers wish to get 'behind the news' (as the book's title claims) and discover not only the similarities and differences between the two channels' news broadcasts, but also what, in McQuail's (Syvertsen, 1999:23) terminology, 'causes' them. In other words, they describe the relationship between production, content and form.

Another effort in researching the practices of online news production is represented by Boczkowski (2004), who studies how daily newspapers in the US have developed electronic publishing ventures in relation to the paper-based motherships. He wants to look at the *practices* surrounding technological developments within established media companies (ibid.:3), the main point of interest being how new technologies challenge the work practices of media organizations and workers, and the products that result from this process. He finds, not surprisingly, that online newspapers represent a merger of conventions from the printed newspaper, and the new potentials of the Web (ibid.:17). Relating his findings to the literature on 'convergence', Boczkowski (2004:179) argues that there is too much focus on the *products* of convergence. Wanting to "*make visible what is left unexplored by the dominant discourse around convergence*" (ibid.:181), he calls for a greater focus on issues of the *processes* that create these products.

Genre development

Research on digital media, often termed 'new media', is by nature multidisciplinary, combining theory and approaches from as diverse fields and traditions as film theory, art history and television theory (e.g., Bolter and Grusin, 1999), literary theory and computer science (Aarseth, 1997; Manovich, 2001). In their study of how new media 'remediate' conventions from earlier media, Bolter and Grusin (1999) stress the relationship between the rhetorics of old and new media. Furthering this

approach, Fagerjord (2003) does important theoretical work in mapping what he terms 'rhetorical convergence' in the relationship between old and new media.

However, much of the rhetoric surrounding 'new media' emphasizes radical *breaks* from old media, and often neglects continuity (Siapera, 2004; Boczkowski, 2004). In an empirical study of what she calls 'inter-media sites' (the websites of four broadcasters: BBC, ITV, Channel4 and Channel5), Siapera (2004) seeks to identify changes and continuities in the *notion of the audience*. She concludes that television has indeed gone online, but not changed its understandings of audiences. In what she calls the 'struggle for dominance', television attempts to *"'dominate' the internet, or at least to mark it with the televisual (...)"*, rather than making full use of the Internet's potential (ibid.:168). This argument is echoed by Quinn (2004:111), who argues that there exists a fundamental dichotomy between the business view of convergence, where multiple-platform publishing facilitates increased productivity and marketing, and the journalistic view, where convergence offers a potential for better journalism (something that is unlikely to save money).

A large portion of the research on digitization processes and media convergence has addressed the relationship between newspapers and online newspapers (e.g., Sparks, 2003; Boczkowski, 2004). Engebretsen's (2001) study of form and genre in online news explores the *potential* for utilizing hypertextuality in news presentation, specifically in the case of online newspapers. His focus is more on the possibilities of hypertextuality and on what online news *could* or *should* look like, rather than on actual practice. While a great deal of the research on digitization processes and media convergence has focused on the relationship between newspapers and online newspapers, research into the relationship between broadcasting and digital media is less developed.

More empirically oriented work on the development of journalistic genres in relation to emerging genres on the Internet, was done by Matheson (2004). His study of the weblog as part of *The Guardian's* online presence shows how online journalism deals with the specific genre of weblogs and asks further questions about the interplay between journalistic genres and emerging online formats. Weblogs have rapidly become popular with most online newspapers, as seen, e.g., in the

Norwegian tabloid VG's publication of the initial postings on one of their blogs on page 3 of the paper[5].

Along this line, Deuze (2002) argues that the Web has had a substantial impact on journalism as a profession as well as on journalistic culture. While he recognizes that most mainstream news media going digital repurpose not only content, but also their own journalistic culture, he claims that much of the research on journalism and new media fails to consider the current and potential connections these online journalisms can have to *"broader and more profound changes and redefinitions of professional journalism and its (news) culture as a whole"* (ibid.:203).

The relationship between text and genre can be seen as a framework controlling both production and reception of a text (e.g., Fairclough, 2003). The act of defining genre and separating texts into them involves the definition of a conventional framework, through identification of certain textual features. This framework directs both the production of the text, according to the established framework, and the text's reception and interpretation. Genre plays a central role both as a framework directing the production and reception of the text, and as a way of categorizing the texts and generalizing within text groups. How is the concept of genre relevant to crossmedia news production research?

Looking at the invention and revision of media texts as interconnected processes, through perspectives supplied by hermeneutics, the act of producing a text is closely related to the act of interpretation (Ytreberg, 1999:17; Bell, 1991). Here, the hermeneutics of the production process refers to what is sometimes called 'spirals of production' or design (e.g., Liestøl, 1999:26), which means that each step in a production process relates to previous and succeeding steps, in the form of pre-understandings of the text about to be made, relations to conventions of production, medium and genre. Production of, e.g., a news reportage relies on news and genre conventions, production routines of the given organisation, medium characteristics, etc. To take part in a production process, journalists will need to have knowledge of existing news texts, and share an understanding of the genre involved (Ytreberg, 1999:17). The tight deadlines and time pressures of news production make it

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[5] http://blog.vg.no/index.php?blogId=6.

relatively dependent on established production routines and (genre) conventions (e.g., Schlesinger, 1978:83; Tuchman, 1978).

Helland's (1993) approach to television news production analysis and the concept of genre is to see news as a broad subgenre of the epic genre[6]. He relies on Williams (1974) in further dividing television news into subgenres according to the *mode of formal composition*. Williams distinguishes between a genre's stance, mode of formal composition, and appropriate subject matter. Following this, Helland identifies the familiar subgenres bulletin, editorial comment, news report, and interview (Helland, 1993:90), all with more detailed subsets[7].

While not conceptualized in the way described above, the difference between static and dynamic information types is an issue in Crisell's (1986) study of the medium-specific semiotics of radio news. While he does not define genre in relation to radio news, he discusses concrete differences between radio news and newspapers with respect to both content and format (ibid.:103).

One problem in dealing with genre in a crossmedia context involving web communication is that it becomes difficult to distinguish between what is a medium and what is a genre. In his work on the 'architext', Genette (1992) operates with a genre understanding similar to that of Williams, distinguishing between aspects of theme, mode of enunciation and 'medium' of imitation. This is taken as a point of departure by Fagerjord (2003) in a discussion of whether it is useful to distinguish between web media and web genre. He argues that the Web should not be regarded as a medium, but rather a platform capable of carrying a variety of media (ibid.:13-16).

If we accept this, we still run into difficulties. One aspect that to a certain degree distinguishes crossmedia text production involving web media in the area of broadcasting, from that of print-based media, is the meeting between static and dynamic information types[8]. Online news originating in newspapers is increasingly more complex in nature, and the use of video material is increasing. However, print and images are still the primary content of print-based media organizations. The

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[6] From Aristotle's definitions of the epic, lyric and dramatic genre (Ibid.).
[7] A subgenre can also contain another (e.g. interview(s) in a news report).
[8] By dynamic information types, I mean audio and video, conditioned by temporal sequence, and changing over time in order to convey meaning. Static information types are text and still images, constant over time (Liestøl, 1999:44).

main content or information type of broadcast media, on the other hand, is dynamic media like audio and video. In a crossmedia environment, this means greater complexity with regard to how this dynamic content is republished on the Web, alongside text and still images.

Conclusions

Convergence has changed the way in which news is made. Digitization and technological convergence mean that the boundaries of media platforms are easier to cross. Content can easily be shared between journalists making news for television, radio and the Web. Media organizations increasingly integrate production for different media platforms, in order to encourage cooperation between desks.

The main purpose of the present article has been to identify gaps in media studies as regards crossmedia production. These research gaps concern changing professional practices and genre development in relation to changes in the organization and practices of news journalism for multiple media platforms in an integrated or converged organization.

The article has identified some research questions that need to be investigated. With respect to changing professional practices, how do reporters relate to crossmedia strategies in their daily newswork? How is production for multiple media platforms organized, practiced and conceptualized within the organization? How are news items made for and published across different media platforms? This also relates to genre development. Other questions ripe for study concern the way in which journalists work with news genres on different media platforms, and whether cooperation across media platforms is followed by genre development.

Article 2: 'Negotiating convergence in news production'

Ivar John Erdal. Negotiating convergence in news production. Published in: Storsul, Tanja and Stuedahl, Dagny (eds.): Ambivalence towards convergence. Gothenburg: Nordicom, 2007.

Introduction

Since the last years before the new millennium, fundamental changes have taken place in broadcast news journalism. Seen from the outside, the news output of many broadcasters has expanded rapidly since the early 1990s, and covers a wide range of media platforms from television and radio to tele-text, web and mobile phones. If we take a look at the inside, many broadcasters have undergone changes in the organization and practices of production. This is perhaps most evident with regard to production for multiple platforms in an integrated media organization.

The present chapter looks at news production for radio, television and web at the Norwegian public service broadcaster NRK, which has gone through convergence-related developments similar to other broadcasting organizations (see, e.g., Cottle and Ashton, 1999; Duhe, et al., 2004; Klinenberg, 2005). At the NRK, production for television and radio has been integrated with production for other, 'new' media. Gradually, the platforms of radio and television have converged in terms of organization and production processes, and the web and other platforms such as mobile phones have joined later. This form of journalism have been called *multimedia journalism* (Deuze, 2004) or *convergence journalism* (Huang et al., 2004). In the present chapter, I will use the term *cross-media journalism*, emphasizing the relationship between different media platforms.

The technological foundation of crossmedia production is digitization of production. However, digitization is not a requirement for cross-media cooperation. Foreign correspondents of most larger broadcasters have for decades been reporting for both radio and television (Bromley, 1997:342). While digitization does not necessarily lead to cooperation across media platforms, it makes it easier. Digital production infrastructure allows for immediate sharing of information and content, in formats that are ripe for editing and republishing. This inevitably leads to increased focus on the relationship and interplay between different media as platforms, rather than separate entities.

Is it possible to study media production from a convergence point of view without falling into the technologically determinist trap? Does technology change organisations, or more specifically the way media organisations work? Others have combined media sociology with an attention to the role of (digital) technology in studies of news production (Cottle and Ashton, 1999; Boczkowski and Ferris, 2005). Along these lines, the present chapter emphasises that the crucial point is that digital technology makes crossmedia cooperation and production *possible*. The main question is *how digital technology is used* in order to change the way news is produced and published.

In the introduction to his book on media industry insiders' views on news production post digitization, Quinn (2006:xiii) argues that the defining characteristic of 'convergence coverage' is that the news event should decide how it should be covered: "*If pressed for a simple definition, I would argue that it [convergence journalism] is about doing journalism and telling stories in the most appropriate medium*". This is, as I see it, an idealized form of convergence journalism.

However, reality bites. Defining factors of convergence journalism are not only the nature of the news event, but organisational structures, the structure of the newsday consisting of a mixture of news broadcasts with their temporally fixed deadlines, combined with the more flexible publishing forms of the web, the issue of the 'news battle' between news organisations, journalistic resources and so on.

The main topic of strategies and practices of convergence journalism is the relationship between organizational convergence and crossmedia journalism as a management ideal, and the way it is practiced and negotiated on the newsroom floor. Following a complete digitization of the news production, in relation to what is described as "the new reality of television", the NRK yearly report for 2003 emphasises cross-mediality as one of the distinguishing features of NRK's activities, especially related to news (NRK 2004a). What happens when this vision of a new borderless media landscape meets the reality of everyday news journalism? It seems that, while on a strategic level convergence journalism is a promising vision of synergies and journalistic cooperation, it is not as straightforward in practice.

Organisational convergence and increased news output

Over the last decade, news production for different media at the NRK has been integrated into one entity, the 'news division' (NYDI), something that can be described as a process of organizational convergence. During the same period of time, the amount of news produced and broadcast or published, and the number of outlets (media platforms and programs) has increased substantially. Convergence has thus lead the way for divergence.

The NRK's news output has increased significantly from 1995 to 2007, gaining momentum over the last few years. In 1995, the NRK produced and broadcast news for three radio channels, one television channel, and tele-text. News for television, radio and tele-text were produced in separate departments within the NRK. In 2007, the NRK produces and broadcasts news for four radio channels (one of which is the 24 hour news channel *NRK Always News*), two television channels, tele-text, web, and mobile media. The production of news for different media is integrated in the division NYDI.

In the case of television, the increase is mainly due to an increase in the number of broadcasts, since the news shows have become shorter. A second television channel, NRK2, was launched August 31st, 1996. Along with an increase in the number of channels on different platforms, the number of news broadcasts on radio has gone up. A 24-hour news radio channel has been introduced, redistributing some of the content already made for other channels, but also producing its own content. The NRK has established itself as a major news source on the web, even though it is smaller in reader figures than the largest online newspapers. NRK's news production has been increasingly centralised in an integrated newsroom, a process which started with the creation of a separate division for news and regional services (NYDI) in 1997, and still continues.

In 2000, the board of directors voted for a new, cross-media organisation model, which separates the roles of *broadcaster* and *program production*, also named "The broadcaster model", with the BBC as inspiration. This continues the

development towards a cross-media organisational structure that began with the creation of NYDI.

At the time of the fieldwork that is the basis for the present discussion[9], news production was organised around two main desks: *Dagsrevydesken* (television) and *Nyhetsdesken* (radio, web, tele-text and mobile media). Television news is further divided into Dagsrevyen (the main, prime time news programs) and Timesnyhetene (Shorter news updates or bulletins). Nyhetsdesken consists of Dagsnytt (the main, prime time news programs and bulletins), NRK Always News and Web (web, tele-text and mobile media).

Having more programs to serve, more slots to fill, structures the work practices of journalists. This is not caused by digitization as such, but the digitization of journalism increases the possibilities and expectations of cross-media cooperation, in an increasingly structured work environment.

Changes in the field of news journalism, particularly digital production technologies and the integration of previously separate media into more or less converged news organisations, have been followed by divergence on the part of news journalists and editors. Workloads increase as news organisations launch new platforms and programs demanding content. Multiple deadlines create new time constraints, and is followed by concerns about how this all affects the professional competences of journalists, and the preceived quality of journalism. This relationship between convergence and divergence is crucial to understanding crossmedia production.

This study is about journalists' everyday work; routines and practices in news production. News production is a complex process of both enabling and constraining elements which can be both material, discursive, intended, unintended, structurally determined, or culturally mediated.

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[9] In January 2007, the NRK went through another reorganization of the news division. The news production is now organized under two main desks: One is responsible for the main news broadcasts on radio and television, the other is responsible for news updates on radio and television, in addition to NRK Always News, Web, tele-text, mobile media, and a planned news-only television channel.

Organizational convergence and media convergence

Convergence is a concept that is used to talk about a number of developments, that all have in common a process of 'coming together'. The concept covers a wide range of technological, social and cultural processes. Media theorists often describe convergence as a 'melting together' of information systems, telecommunications and media technologies, on the one hand, and social and cultural convergence, on the other.

While the concept of convergence has been central in discussions of digital media developments, it is important to understand how convergence often goes hand in hand with divergence (Fagerjord, 2003:123). Actors, markets and technologies melt together and lay the foundation for divergence in relation to articulation and use of various media formats. As Bolter and Grusin (1999:225) put it: "*Convergence means greater diversity for digital technologies in our culture*".

Two forms of convergence are central for studies of news production for multiple media platforms: *organizational convergence* and *media convergence*. In an organizational context, convergence processes merge previously separate entities, both with respect to chains of command and production routines. In this case, the previously separate departments of radio and television news at the NRK have merged with each other as well as with the web, tele-text and mobile media. The basis of media convergence processes is the digitization of production systems, which enables content to travel across media boundaries. Television footage and radio soundbites can be published on the Web, and television sound can effortlessly be used on radio. This needs to be followed by changing practices in news journalism.

Research into convergence journalism is not abundant in media studies. Boczkowski (2004) and Klinenberg (2005) have both studied digital technologies in newsrooms from the viewpoint of print media going digital and producing content for multiple platforms. Others have noted the divergence, or fragmentation, in news journalism following convergence processes, e.g., Klinenberg (2005:51), who analyzes the interruptions coming from additional tasks and time pressures.

One aspect distinguishing cross-media journalism in a broadcasting organisation from that found in, for example, a newspaper organisation, is the meeting

between static and dynamic content: writing and images versus audio and video (Liestøl, 1999). Acknowledged, the web efforts of most larger newspapers are not pure republication of the newspaper on the web, and increasingly contains, for example, video. However, while writing and images are still the primary content of most newspaper organisations, in a broadcasting organization, it is audio and video. This seems obvious, but indicates that production involving more than one media platform will be different in the two organisations.

As a theoretical starting point for studying journalists' everyday practices, I look to Giddens' (1984) structuration theory. Giddens considers agents to be both constrained and enabled by structure. While organisational and other forms of structure inside the newsroom do not determine the actions of journalists, neither do journalists have absolute freedom of action. Giddens' concepts of structuration of action can shed light on the relationship between, on the one hand, structures in the form of organisation of news production for multiple platforms. This covers, for example, to which specific media platforms and programs reporters are expected to deliver content, formal modes of cooperation, deadlines and time pressure.

Giddens (Ibid.:14) defines structures as "*rules and resources, recursively, implicated in the reproduction of social systems*". Structure does not necessarily determine the actors' actions, but enables actions over which the actors themselves have influence. This theoretical basis is used to explain how structures like editorial organisation and professional norms relate to journalistic practice.

Methodology

The chapter is based on a qualitative study of news production at the Norwegian public service broadcaster NRK. Methodological inspiration was found in, for example, Schlesinger's (1978), Helland's (1993) and Cottle's (1999) studies of the inner workings of news organizations.

In order to get close to the production processes, I combined field observation and qualitative interviews. The field observation was carried out over a period of two weeks. During this time, I followed the daily work, both as it took place at the different desks and following single reporters on assignments, as well as attending

editorial meetings. Open and semistructured interviews with reporters and editors on all levels were carried out towards the end of, and in direct succession to, the observation period.

The group of informants was selected from different desks, in order to get a sample that covered all functions and media platforms. The informants belonged to one of these groups: Reporters working solely for television, reporters working solely for radio, reporters working for both radio and television, web reporters, desk editors close to the daily news production, section editors (e.g., responsible for politics, economy or foreign affairs) and, finally, editors from top management.

Organizational convergence as strategy

News has always been at the centre of the NRK's strategies related to its position as public service broadcaster, as expressed in a strategic document from 1992, where one of four prioritized areas of programming, is "*a broad news production containing critical, factual and thorough journalism*", the others being programming for children, drama and sports. (Syvertsen, 1997:56). In the NRK's charter, §3 states that the purpose of the organisation is:

> ... to offer public service broadcasting for the entire population of Norway on radio and television, and other media platforms. ... The NRK's public service activities should consist of core activities on television and radio ... and other editorial activities on tele-text, web and other media platforms that can mediate editorial content. (NRK, 2004b).

The web platform is thus not considered part of the core mission, but is still placed safely under the normative wings of public service broadcasting.

So far, I have identified two main strategies for converging cross-media news at the NRK. One strategy is linked to a *resource and organisational* point of view. The other main strategy is related to the aim of creating *a cooperative journalistic culture* transgressing media boundaries.

Resources and production strategies

One of the fundamental synergetic strategies for crossmedia work is to get more news published on more media platforms, with the same, or fewer resources. This is expressed as a desire to create a synergetic mode of production, a strategy often tied to convergence journalism – not only between media organizations with the same owners (Klinenberg, 2005:52), but also within the same organization, as is the case here. Increases in the number of media platforms and the number of news programs have lead to demands for more content. Resources in the form of the license fee do not increase at the same rate. As one top management editor puts it: "*We wanted fewer people to do the same job*". One of the operationalisations of this strategy, is to have only one reporter covering a press conference for both radio and television;

> Then she or he can do a story for the television bulletin, and a radio version for the midday broadcast. And if we're lucky, make a version for Dagsrevyen in the evening as well. Then we get a lot more journalism for our money (Section editor).

The background of this strategy is to achieve increased flexibility for managers in the daily planning of news production. Having multiskilled reporters gives opportunities for shuffling them between media platforms when needed. It is expressed explicitly that this does not mean that managers think that everybody should do everything, but that they should be able to;

> This gives a degree of flexibility within the newsdesks. If you have free capacity, you can shuffle reporters around a bit. And if for instance a radio reporter is ill, and you have a free television reporter who is able to do radio, you can use him or her, and vice versa. I think that is a kind of flexibility the section editors like to have (Editor, top management).

Strategies for creating a cooperative journalistic culture

The second strategy is related to the journalistic product in several ways. Firstly, it is simply an overall matter of *being present on all platforms*. An explicit part of the NRK's public service strategies, is to be on the forefront of the technological development, and to have programming "for all viewer segments and have a presence on all important media platforms" (NRK 2004b). Public service broadcasting is described as the NRK's "foundation and unique competitive advantage. Our challenge is to maintain our strong position in a digital, commercial and interactive media landscape, and secure communication with our users in both old and new value chains" (Ibid.:6). NRK wants to be seen as innovative both in content and form, and will aim to "implement new technology and new forms of production and distribution (...) the NRK shall be seen and heard in 'all channels' (television, radio, web and other, new platforms)" (Ibid.:8-9).

This is closely connected to a more ambitious, but also more fuzzy, goal of creating a *crossmedia journalistic culture*, which emphasizes cooperation, and where information and content are shared across platforms. This for the benefit of the NRK as a whole: to make the NRK news as good as possible, and in order to win the news battle. As one editor puts it;

> The important thing is (...) that the NRK is the best, and not that radio or television or the web is the best. (...) That whatever channel can publish first gets the news story out. (...) Our main goal is for NRK to win the news battle (Editor, top management).

According to this strategy, convergence journalism can be seen as a tool – or rather a weapon – in the fight against competitors. But it can also be regarded more as a goal in itself, where managers express a desire to strengthen the NRK as a news provider over all, regardless of media platforms. This means both making 'better' news as seen from an audience point of view, ans strengthening the internal "NRK news" identity, making reporters think about the NRK as a whole, not in terms of separate platforms and programs. A top manager expresses it like this;

The journalistic argument has been that we want to create journalistic cultures that support and strengthen each other. And thereby make the NRK news division stronger than when we used to sit separately, backstabbing each other and pulling in different directions (Editor, top management).

Strategies meeting practices

Giddens' (1984) understanding of structure does not necessarily imply that structure determine the actors' actions, but supports actions over which the actors themselves have influence. News reporters at the NRK are unanimously concerned about the increase in their daily workload due to development of multiple platforms and news programmes: cross-media cooperation and production creates more work, as does the proliferation of programmes demanding news content on each platform.

Time is the most frequently mentioned structural constraint in this respect. While management wants more cross-media cooperation and production, reporters negotiate this in their daily work by stating that they don't have the required time. There is an endless stream of newscasts on all platforms that demand content. Related to concerns about time pressure, is the perceived effects on the quality of journalism. Internal competition is also an important factor against crossmedia cooperation.

Time pressure

Earlier, a television reporter could relate to a fixed deadline for Dagsrevyen. Today, the increased number of televised news broadcasts is combined with the demands from radio and the web, publishing continuously. There is always breaking news to be produced and published, a phenomenon Klinenberg (2005:54) has referred to as the *news cyclone*.

Radio reporters have (...) no time to write anything for the web. There is more
than enough work producing for those who want radio news. (Desk editor,
radio)

Among the frustrations, are the perception that the proliferation of platforms and
programs increases the workload of journalists. This is not only the case when looking
across media, since the number of programs and slots that need to be filled on both
radio and television have increased tremendously over the last years. Most radio
reporters have a number of deadlines during the day, which leaves little time for other
platforms.

You're supposed to work as much across media as possible, and ideally make
conent for both web, radio and television. But reality gets to you eventually.
You don't have the time, it is not practically doable (Radio/television
reporter).

The majority of the informants express frustration about having more responsibilities
but not more time to fulfill them. This is similar to findings in other studies, e.g.,
Huang, et al. (2004) and Klinenberg (2005). Dupagne and Garrison (2006:251),
however, found to their surprise that the journalists in their newsroom study
experienced few changes in their "core work". They explain this by the increased
efficiency resulting from shared digital production systems.
        While the majority of informants say that management does not demand that
they have to work for more than one platform, it is expected that you contribute to
media other than your own. However, when a deadline is approaching and time is
limited, they have to focus on their prime medium. Thus, time pressure can be linked
to more fundamental discussions about news culture, and questions about the relative
status of platforms and priorities of what is most important in the institutional
context.

Ideally we should have had more time to do [cross-media work], but the
pressure, the pace is rather intense both in television and radio news. (...) Of

course, we put our own programs first, that is what we're supposed to focus on. (Television reporter)

On the other side of the table, the web desk relies heavily on reproducing already produced content for radio and television, not only using television footage and radio sound as part of web articles, but transcribing and reversioning news stories. At the NRK, the web is treated, or used, as a reproductive platform. There are little or no resources for newsgathering or independent reporters, and the output is based on what is produced by the rest of the organisation, for radio and television.

We use a lot of the news stories from the morning radio news. We are supposed to have one reporter on duty to write independent news articles. But that is generally used to fill holes in the work schedule. So there are not many independent articles coming from our desk. (Web reporter)

The time pressures experienced by the other desks are as much a part of everyday life at the web desk. This means that the web desk seldom receives finished web articles from radio or television reporters, and that the web reporters have to be very active in seeking out what material is available, getting hold of it, and producing content from it. Web reporters listen to and transcribe finished radio and television news stories. They also use the written manuscripts for reports that radio and television reporters store in the digital production system. But even that is not always ready at hand, as the reporters often don't store their manuscripts.

They are not very good at doing that, but now they have been told to do it and we have seen the first manuscripts. (...) But of course, there is more and more work to do on all desks, so this is something extra that they have to do which they don't always have time for (Web reporter).

Professional competences and the question of 'quality'

Convergence constraints are also found in the fact that different media platforms demand different professional skills from journalists. There is no general agreement among news professionals about whether convergence benefits or harms the quality of news journalism (Huang, et al., 2006:85)

Advocates of convergence journalism argue along the lines of the NRK management cited above, that convergence and cross-media work benefits journalism and media organizations. Among reporters, on the other hand, worries about their status as professionals, and the quality of their work, is common (Cottle and Ashton, 1999; Huang, et al., 2004; Klinenberg, 2005). A majority of the informants in my study adhere to the view that each medium requires a certain set of skills, both journalistically and technically, and that the demands of cross-media journalism threathen the quality of their work. This view is most clearly expressed by television reporters.

> I am often told that when people have learned a craft – and this goes especially for television, which is claimed to be more complicated than radio and the web – when someone has learned how to make television, and has become good at it, it is unwise not to take advantage of that skill in television production. And that by letting people specialize in television production, the end result is of a higher quality (Editor, top management).

But what do you define as 'quality'? The informants' use two conflicting arguments regarding cross-media journalism. One argument is that the quality that the NRK is known for, its legacy as a high quality public service broadcaster, is jeopardized, that quality goes down when they are not able to focus their time and energy on one medium.

The other argument emphasies the value of crossmedia work and cooperation for the NRK as a whole, in order to make the NRK the best possible in the news battle with competitors. A significant proportion of the informants, most clearly expressed in radio reporters and editors, sees as an asset or a quality in a journalist them being able to master different platforms. Even if this doesn't involve working for several

platforms on a regular basis, the understanding of 'how things are done' in other platforms facilitates cooperation and sharing of information: "I think it is important for the NRK as an organization" (Radio reporter).

While some reporters see crossmedia work as valuable, others are worried about the consequences for journalistic professionality and the quality of their work, expressing concerns about the end result being less than optimal for all media platforms:

> In my view, crossmedia work degrades both, or all three, media. I'm talking about competence, skills and time pressure. There are limits to how much one person can do. It affects quality (Television reporter).

Most of the reporters indicate that they recognise the desire from above to work crossmedially, to at least share information and, for example, interview materials, and ideally produce news for other platforms in addition to the primary one. But this is negotiated against time pressures and concerns about the quality of the end product.

> If you have to do everything for several media, eventually the finished product is of a lower quality. I think the synergy of crossmedia work has to be found in the planning and information gathering stages... you have to respect that it takes time to do a quality news story for either radio or television (Radio/television reporter).

However, observation in the newsroom indicates that the feared 'platypus reporter' working for all platforms at once but not really mastering any of them, does not exist in practice. Or, s/he exists, but does not work for several platforms at the same time. Some reporters are able to work for both television and radio, and are put on a form of rotational work schedule. The web is not part of this scheme. It seldom happens that reporters make versions of their stories for other platforms. As seen, the main reason given for this is that time does not allow it.

Convergence journalism and internal competition

Another bump in the road towards convergence has to do with journalistic ambition. Altough the NRK is one news organisation, internal competition proliferates. The production cultures of journalism hails the exclusive story. Cooperation across media platforms within the NRK therefore is closely linked to competition. There is a marked difference between what is regarded as 'common news', i.e. news that is shared by all media, and exclusive stories. One example of the first may be an accident or a robbery. This kind of news is covered by most national media outlets, and here the NRK stands more as a whole in the news race against its competitors. The main aim here is to publish the news fast, get it out before anyone else, regardless of platform.

> It depends what kind of news story it is (...) event news, things that happen during the day, we want to publish as fast as possible. And then there's more or less free flow of information and content between the media. But if you're working on a news story on you own, that you research, then you don't want to give it to the radio or the web (Television reporter).

We see that when the news story is the result of extensive research, however, the media platform, or indeed the specific program, gets more important. This is partly due to program identity, partly because this kind of news is not expected to be picked up by other media, hence no need to get it out there before anyone else.

> If you have a good news story for radio, you often want to keep it to yourself... because you don't want Dagsrevyen to steal it and air it in their program in the evening, and then the news is out when radio has it's prime time the morning after. That creates conflict sometimes. (...) It is said from the top that we should share, but you don't always do it anyway. But there is a big difference between event news that is common for all media, and our own, exclusive stories. But it is a bit up to the reporter as well. Some think about the importance of NRK being first, no matter in which medium; others don't (Radio/television reporter).

As the last interview statement indicates, reporters are given a fair amount of freedom regarding how much they want to embrace crossmedia cooperation. When developing investigative stories, editors discuss whether it should go first on radio or television. In case of disagreement, the golden rule is that the medium where the reporter in question works has the rights to the story. Medium identity is given more weight than institutional identity, something that is reflected in the view of this editor:

> I definitly think that Dagsnytt (radio) can suffer in crossmedia cooperation. One of the challenges is the crossmedia specialised sections. Where do the reporters have their identity, their loyalty? Where do they want to publish their best stories? (Editor, top management)

Conclusions

Convergence strategies in news production lose some of their force when they meet the reality of everyday newswork. While organizational convergence has taken place and crossmedia journalism is a clearly expressed goal, the vision of news journalism without media borders is negotiated against structural constraints and counter-cooperative practices.

This chapter has identified two main strategies concerning crossmedia news at the NRK. The internal strategy is linked to a resource and organisational point of view, where a synergetic mode of production is the desired ideal. The other main strategy is related to the aim of creating a cooperative journalistic culture transgressing media boundaries.

However, an idealized form of convergence journalism where all media platforms work happily together, comes up against the reality of structural constraints and counter-cooperative practices. Proliferation of platforms and programmes has increased the workload of reporters, leaving too little time for crossmedia cooperation and production. Different media platforms require different journalistic and productional skills, and this slows down convergence processes where content and

reporters travel across media borders. Scepticism towards crossmedia journalism for this reason is most clearly expressed by television reporters. Internal competition also slows down the development of crossmedia journalism, even where there is a marked difference between what is called 'common' news, and more exclusive, research-based news.

Article 3: 'The roles of different media platforms in a public service broadcaster's news organisation'

Ivar John Erdal. 'The roles of different media platforms in a public service broadcaster's news organisation'
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Introduction

What roles do different media platforms play in a broadcaster's converged news organisation? This article looks at the interplay from two perspectives. From the audience point of view, it is interesting to study the functions fulfilled by each platform in the total news coverage. Looking inside the organisation, we will focus on the forms of cooperation between desks and journalists on different platforms. The article aims at shedding light on some questions distinguishing cross-media production in a broadcasting organisation from that of print media.

Methodology

This article is based on a close study of news production in two organisations within the Norwegian public service broadcaster NRK. One is the central newsroom at *Marienlyst*, producing national news, the other is *Østlandssendingen*, a regional office for Oslo and Akershus counties. In the following, they will be referred to as 'the central newsroom' and 'the regional newsroom'. The main reason for this choice was the opportunity for comparative analysis: what are the similarities and differences regarding the organisation of news production, and the everyday practices of journalists and editors?

My initial thought was that cooperation would be closer and more formalised in the smaller organisation. By this I mean that the daily contact between desks would be substantial, and that many of the reporters would work for more than one platform. The reasoning for this was based on the size of the organisation, and its less complex news output. I also believed that, as broadcasters, the radio and television platforms would be leaders in news production, while the web platform would have a less central position. What the cooperative relationships between platforms would look like was more of an open question, since radio and web are relatively 'rapid publishers' compared to the more resource demanding television platform.

In order to get close to the processes behind the news, I chose to base the study on a methodological triangulation of textual analysis, field observation and interviews. Inspiration for this approach was found in, for example, Schlesinger (1978), Helland (1993) and Cottle (1999). The fieldwork was carried out over a period of four weeks. Two weeks were spent in the central newsroom at Marienlyst, and two weeks at Østlandssendingen. I followed the daily covering of concrete news stories, as well as attending editorial meetings. Open and semi-structured interviews with reporters and editors were carried out towards the end of, and in direct succession to, each observation period.

The article looks at a typical newsday in each of the two organisations, and tries to give a rough image of the cross-media production processes. In the analysis, I aim at integrating the findings from field observation and interviews with textual analysis of the news content.

Theoretical background

The study of cross-media production is an emerging field within media studies. The concept of cross-media is being established as a theoretical and analytical concept in the wake of convergence (Petersen and Rasmussen, 2007; Carr, 2003; Duhe et al., 2004). Around the end of the 1970s several studies of news production were published, among these Epstein (1973), Tuchman (1978), Schlesinger (1978), Golding and Elliott (1979) and Gans (1979). As Syvertsen (1997:25) argues, these studies wanted to show how, and in what way, the news was made, or produced, and was not simply a mirror held up to the world (See Erdal, 2007a, for a more elaborate discussion of this). Significant studies of news production after digitalisation are among others found in Boczkowski, (2004) and Cottle and Ashton (1999).

Most of the literature on cross-media production in broadcasting organisations is made for educational purposes, concerning journalistic work for television and radio (Tuggle, et al. 2003). Carr (2003) describes convergence in news organisations from the practitioner's point of view, with the Tampa Tribune as his main example, and he describes different levels of convergence in media production. Following this, cross-media news production can be visualised on a scale from information sharing between

journalists and desks (e.g. in cross-media editorial meetings), via different forms of reversioning of content for a new platform, to integrated multiplatform coverage of, for example, larger events.

One aspect distinguishing cross-media production in a broadcasting organisation from that found in, for example, a newspaper organisation is the meeting between static and dynamic content. Static content can be written text and images, while dynamic content can be audio and video (Liestøl, 1999). Admittedly, the web efforts of larger newspapers are not pure re-publication of the newspaper on the web, and increasingly contain multimedia content, however, while text and images are still the primary content of most newspaper organisations, the primary content of a broadcasting organisation is audio and video.

This seems pretty obvious, but indicates that production involving more than one media platform will be different in the two organisations. In a newspaper/online newspaper organisation, a large portion of the cross-media production will be related to republishing text and images from one paper to the web. The forms of communication remain the same. Any dynamic content, most often video, represents additional production. In a broadcasting organisation, on the other hand, written web articles are most often produced on the basis of radio and television news stories. Switching platforms means switching modes of communication between audio, video, writing and images. How a broadcasting organisation deals with this complexity is the topic of this article.

Key concepts

By definition, the concept of *cross-media* involves two or more media platforms. In media studies, important contributions have been made on multiplatform concepts, where the platforms are engaged in the communication process in an more integrated way (Syvertsen and Ytreberg, 2006). An example of this is *Pop Idol*, a concept that uses television as its main platform, integrated with the (mobile) phone platform for audience feedback, and the web platform. Another multiplatform is the 'sms - television' concept, using mobile media content (sms messages, mms pictures) as part of a television broadcast (Enli, 2005).

The form of cross-media studied in this article – cross-media news production – is less integrated. We are here talking about production of content for more than one media platform at the same time, within the same organisation: several platforms are involved, not necessarily in an integrated way, but usually to some extent. Normally, the production involves different kinds of cooperation. This may range from information sharing between journalists and desks on different platforms, with reporters producing for more than one platform, to various forms of reproduction of content for different platforms. In more advanced forms of integration and cooperation, the platforms fulfill different functions in the news coverage as a whole. This implies a move towards the definition of a multiplatform concept that will not be covered in this article.

News production for multiple platforms at Marienlyst

In the NRK's central news department at *Marienlyst* news is produced for television, radio, the web, tele-text and mobile media. This article will focus on radio, television and the web. Radio news is broadcast on three channels: P1, P2 and Always News (AN), and can be roughly divided into three categories: Bulletins of 2 – 3 minutes on the hour; longer newscasts of 7 to 30 minutes, at 06.30, 07.30, 08.30, 12.30 and 17.30; and several debate and commentary programmes. The latter category will not be covered here.

While P1 and P2 are general omnibus radio channels, AN started in 1997 as a 24-hour news radio channel. Within the NRK, it is nicknamed the 'sucking straw', pointing to the fact that it broadcasts almost the entire NRK news production for both radio and television. AN also has its own desk, producing news updates in 18-minute slots every half hour.

> Always News is a sucking straw. We broadcast the most important news. Our privilege is that we have more sources than anybody else, because we use the entire NRK production: Regional offices, correspondents, and everything that is made for Dagsnytt (radio news). But also everything that is made for

Dagsrevyen (television news). AN has limited resources, because we feed on what everybody else does (Editor).

The same news formats are found in television: Shorter news updates every (half) hour during the morning and early daytime, lasting 3 - 5 minutes; longer newscasts of 30 minutes at 19.00 (*Dagsrevyen*) and 21.00 (*Dagsrevyen 21*), as well as a 10-minute programme at 23.00 (*Kveldsnytt*); and several debate and commentary programmes. As with radio news, the latter will not be covered here.

On the web, news articles are published and updated on a 24-hour basis. However, journalistic resources are at a peak during daytime, and reduced in the evening and during the night.

Though all platforms publish around the clock, they do have their designated prime times. Radio news has its prime time in the morning shows at 06.30, 07.30 and 08.30. These are the shows where the agenda is set, and the allocation of journalistic resources reflects this. These shows are the prime targets for reporters working on more elaborate stories during the previous afternoon and evening. The afternoon newscast at 17.30 focuses on follow-ups of the day's news, as well as analysis and comments. The production of radio news is strongly connected to updating the current news; something that is shared with the web platform.

To us, the most important thing in the world should be updates. The next news bulletin. We will be the first to have a news item. We don't have one big, leading newscast, like Dagsrevyen on television (Editor)

Television news prime time is in the evening, starting with the 'flagship' evening news (*Dagsrevyen*) at 19.00. Like the morning newscasts on radio, this is the programme that television reporters work towards during the day.

Our main goal is for NRK to win the news battle. Regarding radio, the focus is on the morning, with about two million listeners before ten o'clock. Of course, this means that resources are put towards morning news stories on radio. If something happens, they have first access to correspondents, for example. On

television, the focus is on the evening. That is when we have our best news

stories and experiences, which gives people something extra (Editor).

The web platform has a double role concerning the audience. On one hand, the web news should always be up to date, and the goal is to publish early; to beat the competitors. On the other hand, web news should always be available, as a news archive. This double role of web media: fast publishing and permanence in time is further described by, Fagerjord (2003) and Bolter and Grusin (1999). Within the NRK, the prime time of web news is daytime, where it is assumed that a large section of the audience is at work, many with access to a computer.

New platforms and changes within platforms, as well as new media habits, do however contribute to changes in the roles of old media platforms. When a large part of the audience is supposed to be up-to-date on today's news via radio and web news, the role of the main television newscasts are prone to change.

It is a new world compared to just a few years ago. When (public service

competitor) TV 2 started their news broadcasts, the ratings of Dagsrevyen

dropped like a stone. The news landscape changes fast. Now we have 22 daily

newscasts on television. That means that Dagsrevyen cannot be a summary of

today's news like it was before. When evening comes, most people are up-to-

date on what has happened. What we did was create a concept where

Dagsrevyen consists of fewer news items. This happened at the same time as

we started news updates on the hour during the day. Dagsrevyen now focuses

on a few main items that are elaborated. Fewer news items, but more on the

items we cover (Editor).

From a cross-media perspective, it is interesting to note that the 24-hour radio news channel broadcasts the soundtrack of the evening television news live. Parts of a media text produced for a specific platform are transferred to a different platform without additional journalistic effort. Although radio and television reporters alike often claim that their platform needs special attention to media specific characteristics, and what is considered 'good radio' or 'good television' (E.g. Crissell, 1994), this is perceived by most as working pretty well:

We broadcast Dagsrevyen live ... the problem is the weather forecast. And we have an anchor in our studio translating any subtitled speech. If someone speaks Russian or Arabic, they read the subtitles out loud. It is no more complicated than that (Editor).

The other way round, the television channel NRK2 broadcasts a televised version of a radio debate programme (*Dagsnytt 18*). Before this concept started, radio editors expressed concerns that this could mean that radio programme would change and they laid down strict rules regarding what the television crew could do to avoid changing a radio programme into just a 'television show on radio'. Compared to the above example of television news on radio, in the case of television, not only are parts of the original text transferred to a different platform, but a new text is produced that contains additional information: video. Broadcasting radio sound alone on television would not be considered 'good television'.

A Newsday at Marienlyst

In the NRK central newsroom, production is organised around two main desks: one for television and one 'news desk' for everything else (radio, web, tele-text and mobile media). The television desk is sub-divided into one desk responsible for the main evening newscasts, and one desk producing short news updates or bulletins on the (half) hour. The news desk is made up of three desks: radio bulletins and longer newscasts on radio, the 24-hour news radio channel, and the web.

Three special sections cover politics, the economy and foreign affairs. The reporters in these sections produce content for both radio and television, but usually specialise on one platform. Not so in the foreign affairs section, where reporters work on a rotation covering both radio and television, and work for both platforms when they travel abroad.

Morning meetings in these special sections start at 09.00, before the meetings of the television, radio and web desks at 09.30. These editorial meetings thus distinguish sharply between the radio, television and web platforms.

Let us take a closer look at a 'typical' newsday at the central newsroom, exemplified by Tuesday 7 March 2006 . On radio, the newsday starts with the 06.00 bulletin. The top story is a short studio statement about train drivers falling asleep at work. The story is based on a Danish report, and is actualised by a Norwegian driver's union representative stating that it is common to experience 'micro sleep' while driving. The story also tops the day's first longer radio news broadcast at 07.30, where it is expanded to contain interview statements.

> The radio desk at 06.40: The train driver story is discussed. Present are the desk editor, a reporter and the news anchor. The desk editor has just got off the phone with the managing director of the railway supervision authorities who is due to be interviewed by the news anchor over the phone, to be broadcast in the bulletin at 07.00. As the 07.00 broadcast fades out, the desk editor shouts to someone at the Always News desk: 'Always News? You can use the entire interview, with the guy from the railway supervision authorities'. Someone shouts back: 'We are editing as we speak'.

The story was thus already being prepared for the 24-hour news radio channel before being aired on the regular radio news. The story also tops the broadcasts at 07.30 and 08.30, further expanded with interview statements from a doctor and a transportation politician. At 12.30, the story seems to have lost some of its news value, and is moved down to fourth place. At 17.30, sleepy train drivers are no longer news.

Moving to television, the news update at 07.00 does not mention any story about train drivers, the top story here being the government's promises to increase efforts on the development of alternative energy sources. The story contains an interview with the secretary of oil and energy. The story also tops the news updates at 07.30, 08.00 and 08.30. At 13.00, the story is no longer news.

The web desk publishes the story of the train drivers at 06.25, and it heads the front page at 08.00. The web story contains all the interviews made by the reporter and is based on the radio story, with no further information or links. After publication, it does not get updated, and at 14.00, the story has been pushed down to the bottom of the front page. The television story about alternative energy sources never gets published on the web.

The top stories on each platform during the morning and early afternoon show that the radio and television desks work relatively independently, each focusing on their own platform. The web desk, however, has published stories made for both radio and television, as well as from other media organisations. Later, there is a closer relationship between the desks' news coverage. A radio bulletin reporter puts it this way:

> There is more cooperation between the radio desks during the evening, when there are fewer reporters on duty. It is easier to cooperate then, and we are more dependent on each other as well. We work on our own stories, but we sit close together and talk a lot. On larger stories we even cooperate with television! Then we have to walk all around the wall. It was easier before, when we used to sit closer to them. (Reporter).

One of the top radio stories at 17.30 is a foreign affairs report on a robbery of a money transporter at the airport near Gothenburg. This also tops the television evening news at 19.00. Among others, two national news items are covered by all three platforms: One is the breaking news that another child is infected by the E.Coli O103 bacteria, the other reporting that shopping mall playrooms filled with plastic balls contain alarming amounts of bacteria. Both stories are broadcast on radio at 17.30, and on television at 19.00.

On the web, the playroom story is published at 09.00, and the E.Coli story at 16.00. Both stories are regional news and both are published on the web by a regional office. While the playroom story is broadcast in its original form, the E.Coli story, being considered a matter of great national interest is versioned for national television and radio by the radio and television desks.

Television news prime time starts with the evening news at 19.00. One of today's top stories is, as mentioned, the robbery at Gothenburg airport. Next is the playroom story. This report contains a sequence of some children playing, and interviews with a parent and a physician. The sound from these video clips is used in the radio story at 17.30. In the television broadcast at 21.00, the E.Coli story is on top, updated with an expert interview.

Having being present in the newsroom over a period of time, and carried out a series of interviews, I believe the hypotheses of cooperation between platforms stands. At the central newsroom, radio and television are the producers of news stories. Journalistic resources are channelled towards creating content for the prime time shows, the 19.00 evening news on television and the morning newscasts at 6.30 and 7.30 on radio.

Cooperation between media platforms happens in a variety of forms. As described in the introduction, we can talk about various levels of cross-media cooperation. One form of 'low level' cross-media cooperation is information sharing. A lot of this happened via a common database system, ENPS, used by all news workers at the NRK and used for getting access to information about finished, in-production and planned news items on all platforms. During the observed period, it was my experience that cross-media information sharing happened on a formal level among editors in meetings, and among reporters on a more informal level. While reporters from different platforms visited other desks throughout the day, to share information on news stories, this did not happen very often. Most of the informal information sharing however took place on an intra-platform basis, such as radio reporters on different desks sharing information. The most frequent cross-media information sharing happened between the radio bulletin desk and the web desk, where the spatial proximity allowed for easy access.

> What can I say? Television does not come to us. Television is a little bit spoiled by having many viewers, at least in the evening. Our only option is to grab the sound of television stories. To the extent that we cooperate, it mostly happens through morning meetings, where a reporter is sent out to get material for both television and radio, and in the specialised sections. Of course, television reporters do not mind us using their material. When you have a really good story, it is nice to get it spread out on all platforms, radio, television and web. But that is the reporter's point of view (Editor).

In this respect, an important divide exists between 'common news' or 'event news' and 'investigative news'. The common goods are news items covered by all media outlets, like the example of another child being infected by E.Coli O103. When

something happens, what matters is to get it published, no matter where. Intra-organisational competition should be put aside in order for NRK to win the news race. Investigative news, on the other hand, is 'owned' by the platform where the reporter works, and is usually held back for publication during this platform's prime time.

> When developing investigative stories, we discuss whether it should go first on radio or television. If there is disagreement, it is a golden rule that the medium where the reporter in question works that has first right. The radio platform's focus on investigative news is during the morning. Our focus is on the evening television news. When radio has developed a story for the morning show, we talk to each other to make sure that we can make an item of it for television news as well. When television has a story we have decided to break in the newscast at seven [p.m.], we make sure that radio and web has ready versions to be published at the same time, at seven o'clock [p.m.]. This is of course a challenge, the news going as fast as it does. There is tremendous development during the day, and it is damn difficult to develop exclusive material for the newscast at seven, especially tied to something that happens (Editor).

It seldom happens that reporters make versions of their stories for other platforms. Time does not allow for this, as each platform has a number of slots that needs to be filled. Some reporters do write their own web articles, but this is more an exception than a rule. A reporter being able to work both for television and radio is considered rather as an opportunity to be flexible.

> Radio and television has two separate groups of reporters covering home affairs. Most of the journalists in my group are recruited from radio, and are able to work for both platforms. They don't do it, but they're able to. Usually radio recruits and we teach them to work for television bit by bit. The home affairs groups in radio and television are the workhorses. They don't have the time to do both radio and television. Those covering event-based news are the ones doing least cross-media work, while the reporters that are specialists in a field, and are able to plan ahead; do more of it (Editor).

It is no secret that cross-media production has given reporters more work to do, producing for more platforms. They often complain that they don't have enough time to work on their stories (News editor).

Here, the editors of television and radio share the same view. Cases of one reporter making versions of the same story are more common within each platform. But also in these cases, the desk responsible for broadcasting the show in question usually does the reproductive work:

We use the news items for the morning shows, and make them shorter. Radio typically uses items of one minute and thirty seconds, while the longest a bulletin item can be is thirty seconds. It really should not be more than twenty seconds. We spend a lot of time on language, concentrating and getting the essence of the story. But we also use a lot of sound clips from the morning news updates on television. It is incredible how much television sound works well on radio (Reporter).

A neighbouring form of cross-media cooperation is reproduction of existing content for a different platform. In the observed period, this was routine on the radio desks, and especially on the web desk.

Radio reporters regularly use sound clips from television stories, mainly interviews, in their radio reportages. These are collected from the production database, to which everyone has access. On the web desk, very little original material is produced. The work here is dominated by the reproduction of existing news stories from radio and television, but also from news agencies and other media outlets. This reproductive activity is most often initiated from the web desk. Finished news items, and raw material such as entire interviews, are collected from the production database. It is common procedure for reporters to write their spoken lines in a story into this database. That is, all information that is not interview statements or sound effects. Web reporters use these as a basis for their articles, as well as listening to the finished stories and looking at television reports – transcribing them word for word. Web reporters also use material such as still images from television reports, camera phone images taken by television reporters or photographers, and video and audio clips.

Regarding reproduction, the television platform stands out as a pure content provider. While radio reporters routinely use television sound in their reportages, it rarely happens that a news story is reproduced for television, due to the fact that television as a platform demands live images. This one-way street is reflected in the 24-hour radio channel's use of television sound:

> We cut from the television news updates during the day. And it works surprisingly well on radio. What is difficult is to use longer television reports. The television people get a bit grumpy if we tell them how well it works on radio because that means that they have not done a good job telling the story in pictures (Editor).

News production for multiple platforms at Østlandssendingen

Having looked at a newsday at the central news desk, we move to a smaller, regional office. *Østlandssendingen* covers the counties of Oslo and Akershus for television, radio and web. On radio, their news is broadcast on the frequency of NRK P1, on television it is aired on NRK1. Their website is a part of the NRK website.

At the regional newsroom, cooperation between platforms is significantly closer. The radio and television desk editors share one desk, sitting at either end of a large table. The radio news anchor sits beside the radio desk editor, and the web reporter on duty sits directly behind him or her. There is one common morning meeting at 08.45, where all editors, desk editors and reporters attend.

Radio news is broadcast in three time slots: from 06.00 to 09.00, from 11.00 to 13.00 and from 16.00 to 17.30. The main newscasts on radio are in the morning, at 07.04 and 08.05. The remaining radio news consists of 2-minute bulletins on the hour. Television news consists of a main 20-minute newscast at 18.40 and a 5-minute programme at 20.55. On the web, news is generally published from 05.00 to 21.00 unless something big happens at other times. The prime times of the platforms mirror that of the previous example.

> We want to set the agenda in the morning, on radio, and also on the web. Then
> we provide news updates throughout the day on radio and the web. In the
> evening, we summarise the day, and tell the good stories. That is our ideal
> newsday (Editor).

> Most important for us is radio news in the morning. That is when we have the
> most listeners, and is what we put our resources into (Desk editor).

Having been present in the newsroom, my impression is that this is a fairly accurate
description of the daily news production. Looking again at a 'typical' newsday, what
roles do the platforms play at the regional newsroom?

A newsday at Østlandssendingen

The newsday 27 March starts with the radio bulletin at 06.03. One of the top stories,
reports that of the reported crimes in a part of the Norwegian capital Oslo, only a
small percentage is solved. The second story reports that the roof of a sports arena
(named *Valhall*) is not capable of withstanding large amounts of snow. Yesterday,
parts of the roof fell down during a children's football tournament, and the arena is
now closed. These two stories also lead the longer newscasts at 07.00 and 08.00, and
are placed at the top of the web front page.

   The crime story is published simultaneously on radio and web at 06.03. The
article is based on radio reportage, and on research done by the radio journalist not
used in the finished report. The web reporter confirms this, and says that use of extra
material on the web is routine. The web article for example contains an interview that
is only part of the radio report on the 08.05 newscast. Both the radio reporter and the
web reporter are credited as authors of the web article, which is not updated after its
original publication. The radio bulletin at 10.03 is the last to contain this story, and has
an additional interview. The crime story is not given much space in the evening's first
television news, only a factual studio comment with no interviews. In the 20.55
broadcast, the story is cut, the reason for this reportedly being that 'the story has been

running all day on radio and on the web, without any new information coming up'
(Television desk editor).

The story about snow on the roof is published on the web on Sunday at 17.00 and updated the same night at 20.00. The article contains several interviews. The next morning, in the first radio bulletin at 06.03, the story is presented as studio comment without any interviews. In the 07.04 and 08.05 newscasts, the story contains the interviews already published on the web. In the bulletin at 10.00 the story leads the news, since new information about the arena being opened again the same afternoon has been added. This information is published on the web at 10.20, as a new article. It is updated with an interview at 13.15, which was also aired in the 10.00 bulletin. At 16.00 the web article has been pushed down the front page as no new information has arisen.

In the evening's two television newscasts, the collapsed roof story is on top. The report contains footage from the arena, with children playing football, as well as several interviews with parents and people responsible for what has happened. Besides the children and their parents, the report contains no information not already published on radio and the web, which points to the leading role of the radio platform at the regional newsroom. One of the radio desk editors describes his understanding of the internal roles of the platforms:

> The news presented on radio in the morning is most often what we cover on television in the evening. In the beginning we had ambitions to have exclusive television news, but that is not important anymore. It is of course desirable, but most often on softer news or features (Desk editor).

A television desk editor also shares this view:

> The television desk editor always chats with the radio desk editor when we arrive at 8 am. We base our work on what the radio does. They set the agenda. The radio investigates. It can be a setback that we follow them so closely ... but we think differently. We need images. We are supposed to tell a good story (Desk editor).

Earlier, we found that at the central newsroom, the radio and television desks operated relatively separately, with their own main shows in focus. At the regional newsroom, this is different. In addition to the radio being news leader, the radio desk editor has a function as an 'information centre'. During the observed period, informal information sharing happened continuously between the radio and television desk editors, as well as between reporters and the desk editors. Reporters frequently visited 'their' desk editor, but also the desk editor of the other platform. A result of the web reporter's position close to the radio desk editor is that web articles often get published on the basis of this information flow, before the news has been broadcast in a radio bulletin. A radio desk editor describes some of the routines like this:

> You have a radio story in the morning that is supposed to be followed up during the day both on radio and television. Often, a television crew carries out the interview, and then the radio reporter gets the soundtrack from it. Usually, the television desk editor sees to it that the television team does the reportage, but then I will say: 'ok, but we will need sound clips, as the interview has to be more than just the 20 seconds you need for television'. So there is cooperation. In some cases the radio reporter cooperates with the television crew about interview appointments. But the television reporter carries out the interviews, and gives them to the radio reporter. And then the reporter, or someone else, edits it into a radio news item (Desk editor).

In both parts of the organisation, web reporters base their work on reports and raw material from radio and television. As described in the introduction, one of my hypotheses was that the reporters in the smaller organisation would be producing more content for the web. This turned out to not be the case; almost the other way around. During the observed periods, a few reporters at the central newsroom wrote versions of their own stories for the web. This did not happen at all at the regional newsroom: all published articles were produced by the two specialised web reporters, based on news produced for radio.

Conclusions

News production in a converged media organisation involves a range of cooperative forms. Formal and informal modes of information sharing in editorial meetings and around the desks are part of the daily routines. News is not only produced but also to a large degree reproduced ad infinitum for other platforms. This is a central part of the production of especially radio and web news.

There is much that is similar in the two organisations. However, the media platforms have somewhat different functions concerning the audience, and play different roles in the cross-media production of news. At the central newsroom, from an audience point of view, the radio and television platforms stand out as relatively autonomous news outlets . Each platform channels journalistic resources towards creating agenda-setting news reports for their main news broadcasts. Radio, for the morning shows, television, for the main evening news at 19.00.

While the main television and radio news focus on producing exclusive content, the 24-hour radio news channel is devoted to republishing and updating. Cooperation between the radio and television desks is mostly through editorial meetings on a formal level, and informal information sharing between reporters. Cooperation between the web and the other platforms is dominated by reproduction of content for the web, the main body of which has already been broadcast on radio or television. The web reporters are largely the instigators in getting this content published online, and radio and web reporters seldom write versions of their stories for the web.

The picture is slightly different at the regional newsroom. Newsgathering is driven by the radio platform. Having relatively large journalistic resources channelled towards the morning shows, radio sets the agenda. The television platform has a bias towards follow-ups and elaboration on news that has already been broadcast on television. As at the central newsroom, the web platform mainly reproduces content made for radio, as well as presenting updates during the day.

The cooperation between the radio and television platforms is closer in the smaller organisation. In addition to setting the agenda and being the main news gatherer, the radio platform performs a function of information centre. Television

reporters usually take the radio news as their point of departure when covering a story, leaning on research and contacts made by radio reporters.

In both organisations, most of the web publication is reproduction of radio and (to a lesser degree) television content: web reporters write articles based on finished radio and television reportages, and from information provided by the reporters on the other platforms, in addition to agency material. In both newsrooms the web platform cooperates more with radio. In the case of the central newsroom, this can be caused , by being part of the same subdivision of the organisation, but also by physical proximity. Although this aspect of cross-media production has not been dealt with in this article, it is an interesting question that deserves further attention.

Article 4: 'Cross-media (re)production cultures'

Introduction

In the first years of the new millennium, news journalists have experienced significant forces of change related to technological developments and convergence – both within and between media organisations. This article looks at production cultures in an integrated news broadcasting organisation: more specifically, news production for radio, television and web at the Norwegian public service broadcaster NRK, which has gone through convergence-related developments similar to other broadcasting organisations (Cottle and Ashton, 1999; Duhe, et al., 2004; Huang. et al., 2004; Klinenberg, 2005).

Seen from the outside, the news output of broadcasters in general has expanded rapidly since the early 1990s, and covers a wide range of media platforms from television and radio to tele-text, web and mobile phones. Seen from the inside, many broadcasters have undergone profound changes in the organisation and practices of production. This is perhaps most evident with regard to production for multiple platforms in integrated newsrooms. The platforms of radio and television have been converging in terms of production processes and, later, web and other platforms such as mobile phones have been added.

Journalism for multiple media platforms has been called *multimedia journalism* (Deuze, 2004) or *convergence journalism* (Huang et al., 2004). The present article uses the term *cross-media journalism*, emphasising the relationship between different media platforms. This concept describes communication or production where two or more media platforms are involved *in an integrated way*. The essence is whether the different media platforms 'talk to each other'. Of particular interest is the development towards increased reproduction of news, and its implications for the daily work routines of reporters in a converged newsroom.

Complex media organisations contain a number of different cultures (Singer, 2004; Küng-Shankleman, 2000). The introduction of convergence and cooperation across media platforms poses a number of challenges. This paper discusses implications of the meeting between different journalistic cultures in a digital, cross-

media context. By journalistic cultures, I mean how different production environments conceptualise and practice news journalism.

One underlying premise is the increase in reproduction of news texts across media platforms. The demand for news content has increased, due to both new platforms and more news programmes, or slots on existing platforms. Media organisations striving for organisational and journalistic convergence, therefore, seek a *synergetic mode of production* (Boczkowski, 2004; Singer, 2004; Deuze, 2004; Erdal, 2007c). One strategy for achieving this synergy is increased reproduction of news across media platforms. This article is concerned with the implications of this development for the everyday work routines and roles of journalists.

Why is this interesting? While cross-media production may seem like a narrow approach to news journalism, the phenomenon has important implications for modern journalism and media organisations when it comes to everyday news work conditions, journalistic hierarchies, the question of authorship and journalists' control over their news stories, and the development of public service broadcasting towards public service (multi) media.

Existing research

This study is a *production study* of news journalism at the Norwegian public service broadcaster NRK. It is also an institutional study. Production studies are a tradition within media studies that focus on the conditions of production and the processes behind media content, or media organisations in action. The methods used are usually observation and interviews, often combined with document and content analysis. The majority of studies in this tradition focus on news journalism, and often called newsroom studies or news ethnography. The origins of the tradition are found in the functionalistic studies of 'gate-keeping' (White, 1950) and 'social control in the newsroom' (Breed, 1955).

The traditional path of news research has been found within the social sciences, where a transmission perspective on communication has dominated the approach. In a transmission approach, news is seen as bringing information about a reality to an audience (Dahlgren and Sparks, 1993; Curran and Gurevitch, 2000).

Early sociological studies of news were primarily occupied with how news media related to 'reality', and different ways of distorting this reality on its way to the audience. These distortions were usually explained by economic, ideological, or other factors (Helland, 1993: 5).

A stronger focus on organisational culture and news organisations as social institutions is found in the social constructivist studies of news culture. A number of news organisation studies that flourished in the 1970s and early 80s emphasised that the news is indeed *made*, not merely a more or less distorted reflection of reality. At the end of the 1970s, several studies of news production were published, among these Epstein (1973), Tuchman (1978), Schlesinger (1978), Golding and Elliott (1979) and Gans (1979). As Syvertsen (1999: 25) argues, these studies strived to show how, and in what way, the news is made, or produced, and that the news is not simply a mirror held up to the world. A tendency in media research from the mid 1990s has been a focus on just that: actual, institutional practices. Production processes have emerged as a major point of interest in news organisation studies (Helland, 1993; Helland and Sand, 1998; Cottle and Ashton, 1999; Ytreberg, 1999; Küng-Shankleman, 2000; Boczkowski, 2004; Schultz, 2006; Ursell, 2001; Hemmingway, 2004; 2008).

Existing research on this topic can be identified along two main lines: that of *newsroom convergence*, and that of *journalistic professionalisation and organisational culture*. In her study of the BBC and CNN, Küng-Shankleman (2000) looks at the organisations through the theoretical and methodological 'lens' of *culture* (2000:3). More precisely, she uses Schein's (2004) concept of culture: 'a pattern of shared basic assumptions that a group learned as it solved its problems of external adaptation and internal integration, that has worked well enough to be considered valid, and therefore is taught to new members of the group as the correct way to perceive, think and feel in relation to those problems' (Schein, 2004: 17).

Culture within an organisation does not, however, need to be homogenous, but can also consist of several distinct cultures (Singer, 2004: 14). Küng-Shankleman calls this phenomenon *cultural pluralities*, as the members of an organisation can belong to several different cultures: *professional cultures* (groups of practitioners who share a common base of knowledge, a common jargon and similar background and training), *industry cultures* (value orientations common to those working in a ceratin industry) and *inter-organizational subcultures* (based around cultural groupings such as

hierarchical level, function departments, gender and ethnic subgroups) (Küng-Shankleman, 2000:13).

The coexistence of these different cultures inside an organisation is what will concern us for the remainder of this paper. In the case of the NRK, professional culture will be that of (news) journalism, and industry culture, that of broadcasting. Inter-organisational subcultures can be based around different production environments (television, radio, web) or hierarchical levels (management, journalists). My point of departure is that, going deeper into the the models of journalistic convergence posed by Dailey et al. (2005), the meeting of different newsroom cultures leads to cultural clashes or 'collision of cultures' (Dailey et al., 2003/5?: 13). From an organisational point of view, dealing with this kind of synergy 'particularly impacts upon how to deal with the embedded roles and rituals of doing things within the distinct cultures of formerly different media or parts of the modern media company' (Deuze, 2004:148).

Since Cottle and Ashton's (1999) seminal study of changing journalist practices at the BBC in the wake of digitisation, 'newsroom convergence' has emerged as a sub-field of media studies. Boczkowski (2004) and Klinenberg (2005) have both studied digital technologies in newsrooms from the viewpoint of the digitalisation of print media and the production of content for multiple platforms. Others have noted the divergence, or fragmentation, in news journalism following convergence processes (Deuze, 2004; 2007; Singer, 2004). Other contributions include Marjoribanks (2003) and Grant and Wilkinson (2008). For broadcast media, however, the body of research is smaller, despite many important contributions (Dailey et al., 2005; Duhe et al., 2004; Huang et al., 2006; Lawson-Borders, 2006; Dupagne and Garrison, 2006; and others).

In this body of research into newsroom convergence, two particular themes stand out. A technologically oriented branch is occupied with analysing the role of new (digital) technology in news work (Pavlik, 2004; Boczkowski, 2004; Boczkowski and Ferris, 2005; Ursell, 2001; Huang et al., 2004). Another, more organisationally oriented branch concerns itself rather with studying newsroom convergence from a sociological point of view (Silcock and Keith, 2006; Singer, 2004; Dupagne and Garrison, 2006; Klinenberg, 2005). A recurring topic in both branches is whether convergence has jeopardised the quality of news journalism.

This article employs, though not exclusively, an institutional perspective on cross-media journalism. The study started out by approaching the newsrooms from the viewpoint of structuration theory (Giddens, 1984). As the study went along, this was deemed insufficient to explain the processes, actions and opinions encountered. The perspective is therefore expanded to include a cultural perspective, acknowledging the importance of shared values, traditions and norms.

Definitions of convergence in a journalism context sometimes strive towards an ideal of 'full convergence' where 'the key people, the multi-media editors, assess each news event on its merits and assign the most appropriate staff for the story' (Quinn, 2005: 32) or 'hybrid teams of journalists ... work together to plan, report, and produce a story, deciding along the way which parts of the story are told most effectively in print, broadcst, and digital forms' (Daily et al., 2005: 5). This paper adopts a more pragmatic definition, like the one provided by Deuze, who sees convergence journalism as '(increasing) cooperation and collaboration between formerly distinct media newsrooms' (Deuze, 2004:140).

Research questions

This article aims at contributing to the lines of study described above by investigating cross-media news production from a cultural perspective. Cooperation across media platforms is connected to two main strategies at the NRK: that of achieving a 'synergetic mode of production' (Klinenberg, 2005: 52) – getting more journalism for the same amount of money – and that of nurturing journalistic cultures that share information and content across platforms for the benefit of the entire NRK news organisation in the 'news battle' (Erdal, 2007c):

The strategy is, in other words, to strenghten the organisational culture of the NRK news department and ease conflict between subcultures within the organisation. What happens when this strategy meets the web of inter-organisational subcultures associated with television, radio and the web? This can be articulated in two research questions:

RQ1: How does the tension between organisational and professional culture influence cross-media practices at the NRK?

RQ2: How does the increase in reproduction of news content across media platforms influence the work routines and roles of reporters?

The case

My approach to the field of cross-media news journalism is an intrinsic case study (Stake, 2000) of a single news organisation (Cottle and Ashton, 1999; Huang et al., 2004; Klinenberg, 2005; Boczkowski and Ferris, 2005; Dupagne and Garrison, 2006): the Norwegian public service broadcaster NRK. The cases studied are two parts of the NRK news division (NYDI): the central newsroom at *Marienlyst* and the regional office *Østlandssendingen*, both located in Oslo. Although these are both part of the same media organisation, the NRK, they can also be seen as two relatively independent news organisations. The news produced at the regional office is regularly featured in the news programmes made at the central office (*Dagsrevyen*, *Dagsnytt*, nrk.no/nyheter), but it is originally made for the separate regional television and radio news broadcasts and website.

The news output of the NRK has increased significantly from 1995 to 2007, gaining momentum over the last few years. In 1995, the NRK produced and broadcast news for three radio channels, one television channel, and tele-text. News for television, radio and tele-text were produced in separate departments within the NRK. In 2007, the NRK produced and broadcast news for four radio channels (one of which is 24-hour news radio), two television channels, tele-text, web, and mobile media. The production of news for different media was integrated in one department.

The two cases were selected for two reasons. One is to cover the complexity of the NRK as a news organisation, and not only focus on the central newsroom. The other reason is the possibility for a comparative perspective, seeing the similarities and differences between a large and a fairly small newsroom.

Methodology

Case study as a research method refers to an empirical study that 'investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context' (Yin, 2003: 13), often seen as best suited for understanding complex social and organisational issues. This methodology is a way of generating knowledge about a particular case, and thereby adding to the accumulated knowledge about the field. The focus on understanding a specific case in depth rather than in general makes case studies qualitative in nature.

Therefore, case studies often lean on a set of different data sources in order to give a detailed picture of the phenomenon. This article is based on a combination of qualitative methods for gathering and analysing data, incorporating field observation and qualitative interviews. Such an approach is regarded as useful for uncovering 'unexpected dimensions of the area of inquiry' (Jensen and Jankowski, 1991: 63).

The field observation consisted of a total of four weeks in February and March 2006, two weeks in each newsroom. During these periods, I was present at a number of desks, and attended editorial meetings.

Field observation has been an integral part of many newsroom studies (Schlesinger, 1978; Helland, 1993; Cottle and Ashton, 1999); Schultz, 2006). As argued above, observation is generally seen as a *hermeneutic* method, in which the researcher continuously confronts theory and assumptions with empirical findings (Helland, 1993: 95). Thus, one of the forces of this particular method is arguably the possibility of fine-tuning research questions during a reflexive observation process (Newcomb, 1991).

There are, traditionally, several ways to define the role of the observer in this kind of fieldwork. McCall and Simmons (1969) talk about four different roles, where the observer is a *complete participant*, *participant-as-observer*, *observer-as-participant* or *complete observer*. The boundaries are not clear-cut, as the researcher will have to interact with the informants in some way in order to carry out the study. However, being present in the NRK newsrooms as a researcher and not a journalist, I will characterise myself as something between an observer-as-participant and a complete observer. My participation in the newsroom limited itself to asking questions

about things I did not fully understand, and engage in informal conversations. My role must therefore be seen as relatively passive (Holme and Solvang, 1991: 119).

During and after the fieldwork, I carried out 45 qualitative interviews with managers, editors and reporters. 30 interviews were done at the central newsroom (13 managers on different levels, 17 reporters), and 15 at the regional newsroom (6 managers and editors, 9 reporters). The interviews lasted from 30 minutes to an hour, the average length being around 45 minutes. The interviews were *semi-structured*. This means that they were neither done from a standardised list of questions, nor an unstructured conversation about the topic.

The selection of informants covers all levels of the news organisation, from top management to reporters, assistant functions like editorial assistants excluded. This can be characterised as a purposeful, strategic (Ytreberg, 1999: 68) or theoretical (Jensen, 2002: 239) sample. I aimed at covering all levels to a proportionate degree, talking to more reporters than editors. However, the proportion of editors that I interviewed is greater, due to the fact that most of the upper-level management positions consists of only one or two persons while the organisation houses a much larger staff of desk editors and reporters. I also aimed at interviewing informants from all the different platforms (radio, television, web), and the different specialised sections (economy, politics, foreign affairs), as well as having a balanced selection of age and gender.

My aim is to say something about the sphere of cross-media news journalism through a study of two NRK newsrooms. To what extent is this possible? One question to consider in this respect is whether the NRK represents a 'typical' case of convergence broadcast journalism. A recent study of ten small and medium-sized 'media houses' shows that the status of convergence in Norwegian news journalism varies greatly from one media organisation to the next (Hjeltnes, et al., 2007: 13). The 'levels of convergence' range from almost completely separate to closely integrated in terms of cooperation between media platforms.

I will however argue that the NRK is definitely not an *atypical* case. Nordic public service organisations are situated in what Hallin and Mancini (2004) call the North European *Democratic Corporatist Model*. This model is characterised by a high degree of political parallelism in the media (considerably weakened during the last generation), a high level of journalistic professionalisation, and a tradition for self-

government and limits to state power over the media (Hallin and Mancini, 2004: 144-5). The developments of the NRK in the wake of digitisation are similar to those found in, for instance, Danish public service broadcasting (*Danmarks Radio*) and other large (public service) broadcasting institutions like the BBC. Thus, this article should have relevance outside Norwegian public service media.

Organisational versus professional culture in a cross-media environment

Research question 1 asked how the tension between organisational and professional culture influence cross-media practices at the NRK. Managers express a desire to strenghten the NRK as a news provider, regardless of media platforms. This means both strengthening the position with the audience, and strengthening the internal 'NRK news' identity, making reporters think about the NRK as a whole, not in terms of separate platforms and programmes.

The strategy is, in other words, to strenghten the organisational culture of the NRK news department and ease conflicts between subcultures within the organisation; to emphasise the interests of the NRK as a multi-platform media organisation and not a set of individual departments. What happens when this strategy meets the web of inter-organisational subcultures associated with television, radio and the web?

Cultural factors may encourage or hinder convergence (Quinn, 2005: 36). Previous studies have shown that cooperation between traditionally separate media operations often result in conflict, misunderstandings and resistance to change (Cottle and Ashton, 1999: 29), ranging from 'reluctant collaboration' (Deuze, 2004:141) to outright 'cultural clashes' (Dailey et al., 2005: 13). Singer (2004: 10) argues that the idea of convergence journalism comes into conflict with traditional newsroom values in two major areas: medium-specific culture and professional competition.

This relates to the difference between *corporate culture* (Schein, 2004) and *professional culture* (Ulijn et al., 2000). While the former describes how the culture of an organisation is perceived by its members, and how the organisation's values, language and rituals influence their behaviour, professional culture describes the way in which professionals (doctors, professors, journalists) identify with their profession

more than with their organisation (Sylvie and Moon, 2007: 92). Thus, a cultural approach to cross-media news journalism must take into account the tension between the corporate culture of the news organisation and the professional culture of news journalists and editors.

As described above, news production for different media at the NRK has, during the last decade, been integrated in a process of organisational convergence. Prior to this, news was produced in separate departments for radio, television, teletext, and web. Some of the challenges in integrating these departments into one organisation, as perceived by the NRK management, was, and still is, related to the identities of journalists being closely connected to their primary medium (Erdal, 2007c). Several editors describe the experience of trying to integrate the cultures of radio and television during the first phase of convergence journalism as highly challenging. While reporters belonging to radio and television were physically relocated, it proved difficult to get from just sitting side by side to actually cooperating:

> There was a lot of secrecy. Hush hush. You didn't tell others about things, and saw each other as competitors. It was a professional and social milieu, but if you had a good story going for [television], you didn't tell the radio people about it, and vice versa (Specialised section editor).

This conflict was less pronounced at the regional office. Originally making only radio, this office started television news production almost overnight. There was thus no issue of merging two strong, separate, cultures into one. They chose to give everybody television training, but also the option to choose whether they wanted to work for both media, which most of the reporters did. The explicit aim was to avoid a situation where 'television is number one, and radio number two'.

This, so far, is the management or editorial view. How do reporters relate to this? Where do they have their identities, or as one editor puts it: 'Where will they publish their golden stories?'. Of the informants, the radio and television reporters are roughly divided into three: those that are *positive*, those that are *negative*, and those that are *positive in theory but reluctant in practice*.

The positive group had a distinct tendency to think of the NRK as the most important entity, not each single media platform: 'I think that it is the NRK against the rest'. Some even say that they do extra work without getting paid, typically write articles for the web, because they want the NRK to 'do well on all platforms'. The general view amongst this group of informants is that the legacy of the NRK as a news institution is best continued by cooperation. This group of informants report that they make an extra effort to make material available for the web desk, or write web articles themselves, either because they feel an obligation for making the NRK benefit from their work, or because they want their news stories as widely published as possible: 'I write articles for the web because I like it', and 'I think this is important for the NRK as an organisation. We are a team, and the NRK should sort of be best on all platforms, not only one of them', as one television reporter put it. The majority of this group consisted of younger radio reporters.

Television reporters dominated the negative group, and expressed a strong identification with their prime medium. The general view amongst this group of informants is that cross-media journalism is degrading the quality of the news, and that the legacy of the NRK as a news institution is best continued by specialisation.: 'There are limits to how much one person can do. It affects quality. The NRK has a position and a legacy in both media that we should take care not to ruin' (television reporter).

The reluctantly positive group expressed the same positive arguments about cross-media journalism as the positive, but argues that, in a usual day, the workload and time pressure do not allow for a lot of thinking about anything other than your primary medium and the next deadline. As one radio reporter says: 'It is a matter of capacity. I like to do it when I have time for it, but it is never a top priority for me'. A common opinion is that the benefit of cross-media work is to be able to work for several media, and thereby be able to see what fits where and cooperate better with reporters from different platforms.

This points to one of Deuze's (2004) findings, that an important factor in promoting convergence journalism is knowledge about 'the others'. One of the elements frequently cited by informants as important for creating a shared identity across the entire NRK news department is knowledge about the other platforms and their needs. While it is recognised that nobody can do everything, they should at least

'know how the other media work', as one editor puts it. A majority of the informants sees it as an asset or a quality in a journalist of being able to master different platforms. Even while not working for several platforms on a regular basis, the understanding of 'how things are done' in other platforms facilitates cooperation and sharing of information:

> What is good about working cross-media is that you get better at working cross-media. That as a television reporter you get better at thinking about radio, and radio about television. That you communicate more across media. I think you get better at working together when you're working for more than one medium (Radio/television reporter).

However, the conflict between organisation and medium is not only about 'turf wars' (Deuze, 2004: 144). It is also about what editors and journalists perceive to be best for the NRK as a news organisation; in other words, how they define 'quality' in terms of public service broadcasting and news production.

The main argument of the cross-media-negative subculture is that cross-media journalism affects the quality of the end product, the news, in a negative way. The quality that the NRK is known for, its legacy as a high quality public service broadcaster, is jeopardised because quality goes down when the journalist is not able to focus on one medium. The cross-media-positive subgroup emphasises the value of cross-media work and cooperation for the NRK as a whole; to make the NRK product the best possible in the news battle against competitors.

A significant portion of informants express worries about the consequences for journalistic professionality and the quality of their work. The main concern is that the end result is less than optimal for all media platforms because of the demands of cross-media work. Increasing work loads and time pressure conflict with the skills and competences required to make a quality product in a specific medium. The voices in this group belong mostly to television reporters.One of the informants working for radio reports being met with negative comments after making a television report: 'Maybe they feel a bit threathened, because they say that radio people can't make television, that we make radio on television, and that we don't know the visual language'.

The attitude towards cross-media journalism is divided among media lines. Radio reporters are generally more positive, while television reporters are more sceptical. The majority of informants say that cross-media cooperation is desirable on the research stage of the 'convergence continuum' (Dailey, 2005).

> If you have to do everything for several media, eventually the finished product is of a lower quality. I think the synery of cross-media work has to be found in the planning and information gathering stages... you have to respect that it takes time to do a quality news story for either radio or television (Television reporter).

Another bump in the road towards convergence has to do with journalistic ambition and competition. Altough the NRK is one news organisation, internal competition proliferates. The professional culture of journalism hails the exclusive story (Singer, 2004:10). Cooperation across media platforms within the NRK therefore is closely linked to competition. This mixture of cooperation and competition is described by Dailey et al. (2005) as 'coopetition'.

There is a marked difference between what is regarded as 'common news', i.e. news that is shared by all media, and exclusive stories (Fjærvik, 2007). One example of the first may be an accident or a robbery. This kind of news is covered by most national media outlets, and here the NRK works more as a whole in the news race against its competitors: the main aim is to publish the news fast and to get it out before anyone else, regardless of platform.

When a news story is the result of extensive research, however, the media platform, or indeed the specific programme, gets more important. This is partly due to programme identity, partly because this kind of news is not expected to be picked up by other media, hence no need to get it out there before anyone else. If you have a good news story going for radio, you keep it to yourself: 'I don't go to [television] with a story I have made for [radio] before I know it is going to be broadcast on radio the next morning, and then it goes on the television morning show. That is something you just don't do' (Radio reporter).

As these interview statements indicate, reporters have a fair amount of autonomy regarding how much they wish to embrace cross-media cooperation. When

developing investigative stories, editors discuss whether it should go first on radio or television. In case of disagreement, the golden rule is that the medium where the reporter in question works has the rights to the story. Medium identity is given more weight than institutional identity. In the coverage of common news, however, the organisational culture gets the upper hand. Then it is more about beating the external competitors; publishing as fast as possible, regardless of platform.

Professional culture and journalistic hierarchies: who is doing 'real' journalism?

Research question 2 asked how the increase in reproduction of news content across media platforms influences the work routines and roles of reporters. Traditional hierarchies have a strong influence on production cultures in a cross-media environment, and television is usually still regarded as the goal of a broadcast journalist's career (Cottle and Ashton, 1999). After convergence, a new stratification has formed, where multimedia journalism is generally seen as less prestigious than working for one medium (Deuze, 2004: 145). Another important division is that between staffers with a 'permanent' job, and the growing group of workers on temporary employment, in a highly competitive business (Deuze, 2007: 100).

Studying a regional office of the BBC, Cottle and Ashton (1999: 33) found that convergence lead to flattened hierarchies. This is not supported by my findings. While the NRK publishes on several platforms, radio and television are by far the two most dominant. As one television reporter puts it: 'Everybody wants to work for television'. The web has far less status. In the opinion of a radio reporter 'it is two different cultures, I think, television and radio. It is like Dagsrevyen is the big thing traditionally, that there is a kind of a hierarchy in the air'. Some of this can be explained by external factors such as visibility and audience ratings, but also production costs. Usually, reporters learn the craft and routines on radio, where it is less dangerous to do something wrong. Television has a tighter production schedule, and it is more expensive to throw a television report in the bin.

It is of course more flashy, I get that from what people say, to get your story on Dagsrevyen than in the economy news on radio. That is not unnatural, since they have more viewers, and more prestige is more important. Those who work for Dagsrevyen, I think they are very proud of that (Radio reporter).

This visibility is also used against them by radio reporters arguing that the simplicity of the radio platform allows more time to concentrate on journalism. One of the arguments is that when you work for television you spend a lot more time on visuals, while on radio you spend more time on journalism.

Any journalist wants to get his or her stories out there, and then television is a good place to be, but the culture for doing, what should I say, independent journalism, is not as good in television as in radio (Radio reporter).

At the regional office, this line of argument is taken further, and is reflected in the roles of the different platforms in the total news output (Erdal, 2007b). Resources for investigative journalism are allocated to radio and news stories run first on radio. It seldom happens that something runs on television without it first being broadcast on radio: television reporters mainly follow up the stories that have run on radio during the morning. The web feeds on the information going through the radio desk editor, and makes versions of radio stories for the web.

Back at the central newsroom, the internal status of the platforms is reflected in the amount of production resources available. Informants complain about a brain drain from radio to television. Radio takes care of recruitment and training and, after a while, many of them move over to television, never looking back: 'The flow of people goes a bit too much in the direction of television and not the other way' (Radio desk editor). The editorial group of informants describe this hierarchy as one of the biggest hinderances for cross-media cooperation and convergence journalism:

Cross-mediality challenges some fundamental myths at the NRK, being that at the top of the hierarchy is television reportage for Dagsrevyen. And then you have some kind of invisible status ladder below that. This expresses itself in different ways, for instance in a certain arrogance, historically speaking

anyway, in some television milieus. And at the same time a kind of inferiority

complex in some radio milieus. And these cultures are a challenge when you

try to get the milieus to work more closely together (Editor, top management).

One of the quality-related concerns often raised in relation to multiple platform publishing is that the same content is reproduced for several media; that content convergence prevails over plurality. As the number of platforms and programmes increase, more slots have to be filled with news. More resources are put towards reproducing or reversioning news for different programmes and platforms: 'There's a lot of cut-and-paste going on among the different desks. In the hourly television news, in the bulletins. Lots of cut and paste.' (Editor). While the demand for news, and for new versions for other programmes and platforms, has increased tremendously, resources have not: 'We have to work more efficiently, and that is where cross-mediality comes into the picture. If we can spend fewer resources on news updates, which is important, we can spend more on long term, investigative journalism' (Special section editor).

One of the main arguments is thus that spending fewer resources on republishing and updating news makes it possible to channel resources towards doing real journalism. As a result, old hierarchies are supplemented by new ones; one of them being the emerging division between reporters given more time to research their own stories and do 'real journalism', and those working mainly with updating or developing news stories that are already created. Similar findings were made by Klinenberg (2005: 56). What he does not mention, however, is that digital cross-media news production has added a new step at the bottom of the ladder for those reporters mainly working with reversioning already-produced news stories for a different platform. This last category is mainly associated with the web, but is also found in less prestigous slots on other platforms.

At both the central newsroom and the regional office, the web is treated or used as a reproductive platform. While both ambitions and journalistic competence for independent production exist, there are few or no resources for newsgathering or for independent reporters: 'We want to have important journalism on the web. But what is really done is that you kind of feed off the journalism that is made for other media'

(Editor). The news that is published on the web is based on what is produced by the rest of the organisation, for radio and television. Web reporters experience the communication as highly asymmetric. They often have to approach television or radio reporters in order to get material. Formally, the web desk has one reporter on duty to write independent news articles, but that reporter is generally used to fill holes in the work schedule.

> Being a multimedia desk, we're supposed to think television and radio, television images and radio sound, on the things that we make. We use a lot of morning news stories from Dagsnytt. We listen to the sound, write down interviews, not directly, that doesn't look good, but we make our own version of the news (Web reporter).

Singer argues that while web reporters may be innovators of convergence journalism, they are unlikely to be opinion leaders for the organisation as a whole, 'because other journalists are unlikely to look up to them' (Singer, 2004: 16). She explains this by their being young and inexperienced. Equally important, I will argue, is the status of the web as a reproducer of content within a broadcasting logic (Deuze, 2004).

What we have seen is a complex web of stratifications that not only distinguish between media, but also between reporters who are given more time to research their own stories and do 'real journalism' and those working mainly updating or developing news stories that are already made. At the bottom of the ladder are those reporters mainly reversioning already-produced news stories for a different platform.

At the time of the fieldwork, the NRK was discussing the creation of a specialised desk for news updates on television, radio and web. This desk is now a reality, separating the reporters from those working for the main news programmes on radio and television. This has to be analysed in more detail, but seems to reinforce the developments described above. Discussions prior to the change touched upon the question of internal status:

Will it be low status work to be at the updates desk, instead of making the more elaborate reportages for Dagsrevyen, or the top story for Dagsrevyen? Will it be a low status thing to be bimedial, or will it be cool, like: 'I can do everything!'? It is a difficult balance (Editor, top management).

Conclusions

Complex media organisations contain a number of different inter-organisational subcultures. This paper has discussed some of the challenges that arise when these journalistic cultures meet as a result of convergence and cooperation across media platforms.

Research question 1 asked about how the tension between organisational and professional culture influences cross-media practices. What we see is a marked ambivalence towards convergence in the organisation, expressed by different opinions about the topic amongst professional sub-cultures. These differences, combined with the traditional hierarchical culture of broadcast journalism, represent significant challenges for cross-media cooperation.

The tradition of rivalry between television and radio goes way back in news broadcasting. This conflicting duality creates hostile fronts between cultures of production and complicates cross-media culture, even as the number of media platforms increase. Another factor complicating the strategy of creating a shared, cross-media culture, is the tension between cooperation and internal competition. Altough the NRK is one news organisation, internal competition proliferates. The production cultures of journalism honour the exclusive story. Cooperation across media platforms within the NRK is therefore closely linked to competition. There is a marked difference between what is regarded as 'common news', news that is shared by all media, and exclusive stories, though this is less pronounced at the regional office than at the central newsroom.

Related to this are journalistic identities and notions of 'quality'. Do reporters identify themselves primarily with the organisation or with their 'mother medium'? The answer is that this may change according to the type of news in question. The relationship between different departments and platforms consists simultanuously of cooperation and competition. The journalistic desire for the exclusive story to be held back for their own primary medium prevails in constantly negotiated conflict with the greater good of the organisation. Journalists identify themselves to a large extent with their primary medium, but this is changing. The question of what defines quality journalism, may slowly be changing, as the ideal of the highly specialised radio or television professional is complemented by the versatile cross-media reporter. The notion of the NRK legacy of quality being under attack from cross-media journalism, is contested by arguments about the benefits for the NRK in the news battle against competitors.

We have to conclude that, in the question about whether convergence and increased cross-media cooperation is good or bad for media organisations and news journalism in general, the jury is still out. This is indicated by the differences in opinion expressed by my informants, where one group sees convergence as jeopardising the quality of the news, while another group sees it as necessary to keep up the quality of the news. Both sides thus talk about maintaining quality journalism, but with very different answers as to how this is to be done. The convergence-negative group argues that journalists still have to be highly specialised in their medium of choice, while the positive group thinks that what is more important is the ability to see the media platforms together, and what news fits where.

Research question 2 asked about changes in the daily work routines and roles of reporters. What we see is a development towards increased stratification or polarisation between reporters. The demand for news content has increased through new platforms and more news programmes, or slots on existing platforms. Media organisations striving for organisational and journalistic convergence therefore seek a *synergetic mode of production* (Boczkowski, 2004; Singer, 2004; Deuze, 2004; Erdal, 2007c).

One of the strategies for achieving this synergy is to spend fewer resources on reproduction of news by doing it more efficiently. This means less customisation for each platform, and more cut-and-paste journalism. As one self-reflecting editor puts it:

'We want to have important journalism on the web. But what is really done is that you kind of feed off the journalism that is made for other media'. This makes it possible to channel resources towards 'real journalism'. One group of reporters is given more time and resources to research and produce their own stories, at the expense of another group having to work more efficiently with news updates and reproduction.

In both parts of the organisation, the web is marginalised in relation to a strong television/radio culture. The web is used as a reproductive platform, relying heavily on reproducing already-produced content for radio and television: not only using television footage and radio sound as part of web articles, but transcribing and reversioning news stories.

While ambitions for independent production may exist, there are few or no resources for newsgathering or for independent reporters. Whereas the traditional hierarchies of broadcast journalism have been those of television versus radio, stratification is made more complex as increased reproduction and republication has given heightened status to those reporters given time to do investigative journalism, regardless of platform.

Klinenberg (2005:56) points to a similar development in American newsrooms. He describes the introduction of a system of stratification where elite reporters are given time to do large projects, while other, 'second-tier' reporters are responsible for the daily workload. What he does not account for is the further tightening of the screw associated with digital, cross-media prouction, where groups of reporters are primarily working with updating and reproducing news stories for different platforms. This is especially relevant for the web, but also for radio and television bulletins. The growth in reproduction and republication has thus contributed to further stratification between reporters.

Further research is needed in order to understand the implications of these findings. One perspective is that of the status of public service in a converging media environment. The NRK web site is not included in the public service remit. In November 2007, the ministry of culture released a new public service guideline (*NRK-plakaten*), where the NRK is still allowed to get advertising revenue from their website. At the same time, the guidelines states that the license fee should not be used to subsidise commercial activities (Kirke- og kulturdepartementet, 2007). The practice

of reproducing news from radio and television (which is financed by a license fee) for the website (which is commercially financed) is highly relevant for this discussion.

Article 5: 'Forms of reproduction in multiplatform news production'

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Article 5: 'Forms of reproduction in multiplatform news production'

Introduction

One of the characteristics of web journalism is the prominence of *reproduction* of texts. Content is linked to and cut and pasted from one site to another. Online news discourse is defined by intertextuality and recontextualisation or 'cannibalism' (Rasmussen, 2006). This is however not an exclusive feature of *online* journalism. As this article will show, it is also routine between radio, television and the web within a broadcasting organisation.

Broadcasting organisations striving for organisational and journalistic convergence, seek a *synergetic mode of production* (Boczkowski, 2004; Singer, 2004; Deuze, 2004; Erdal, 2007c). This implies that media content will travel across media boundaries. Different platforms use a different set of *sign systems*: television – audio and video, radio – audio, and the web – writing, images/graphics, audio and video. When content made for a specific platform is published on a different one, some act of translation, adaptation or remediation has to take place.
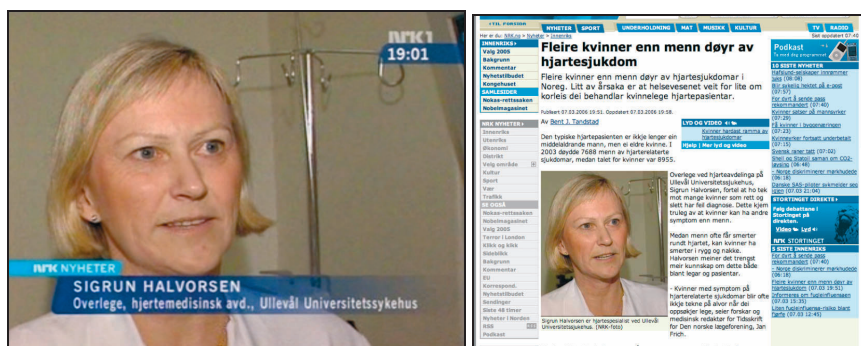

Figure 1: More women than men die from heart disease*, NRK March 8th 2006 (television and web).*

The example shown in Figure 1 is how a story about women and heart disease is published online after being broadcast on television. This is a common form of reproductive journalism.

This article will examine what characterises these processes in a broadcasting organisation. The article is based on a case study of news production at the Norwegian public service broadcasting organisation, NRK. Methods used are textual analysis, qualitative interviews and ethnographic observation during a four-week period in spring 2006.

The production resources of the NRK are almost entirely devoted to television and radio. The web desk has only one reporter on duty to make independent reports, and this reporter is frequently used to fill in gaps in the work schedule (Erdal, 2007). As it is the declared ambition of the NRK to use this audiovisual abundance of news material in order to have a multimedia presence on the web, it makes it especially interesting to look at how audiovisual news material is reproduced for and remediated on the web. In other words, to consider what characterises production processes where audiovisual content travels across media platforms from television and radio to the web, as well as between radio and television.

An influential model of convergence journalism is Dailey et al.'s (2005) 'convergence continuum'. Aimed at creating a 'common instrument for measuring convergence efforts' (Ibid: 2), the model describes convergence journalism as a dynamic scale with five overlapping stages ranging from low to high levels of integration: 'cross-promotion'; 'cloning', where one platform republishes the content of another with little or no editing; 'coopetition', where platforms both cooperate and compete; 'content sharing', where platforms share and repurpose content; and finally 'full convergence', where 'hybrid teams' from different platforms cooperate in producing the news. An organisation's place on the model can change, also according to the nature of the news. However, while this model is useful for analysing the organisation of media production, it does not sufficiently describe the different ways in which content travels across media platforms.

The premise of this article is that multi-platform news production involves a range of intertwining forms of cooperation and reproduction. These processes make use of standardised practices for easy reproduction of content from one medium to another. The technological apparatus for this is found in the Electronic News

Production System (ENPS)[10]. This article will examine what characterises different *forms of reproduction* in a cross-media news organisation. In other words, we will look at news production for multiple media platforms from the theoretical lenses of *rhetoric, genre* and *adaptation*.

Medium, genre and rhetoric

This article sees *media* as institutional, cultural, economic, technological and political entities. A medium can be seen as a cultural and social institution where a particular technology is used in a particular way. Within this definition, a newspaper and a magazine is seen as two different media, even if both use the same print technology. In media studies, the understanding of the medium 'radio' is tied to a use of radio technology by broadcasting organisations that differs significantly from the way radio technology is used in military or naval communication.

Following this definition, the web is commonly not regarded as a medium, but as a 'shared technology or technological framework encompassing several media' (Fagerjord, 2003: 13). Fagerjord (Ibid: 137) uses the term 'publishing channels'. I will use the term *platform* to describe the web, as well as radio and television (Petersen and Rasmussen, 2007). The web is then seen as a platform capable of carrying different media, for example online newspapers, web-tv and web-radio. Even if this somehow counters common sense, and radio and television are usually seen as media, the platform of television does for instance carry both the medium of television and that of tele-text. By the term 'media', this paper will understand *media as platforms*.

The concept of *genre* is often seen as originating from the literary sciences, building on the three basic genres: *epic*, *lyric* and *drama*. These basic forms have been regarded as nature-given and a point of departure for using the genre concept to classify texts based on common characteristics. Ledin (2001) gives an account of how this static view has changed to make way for a view where genre is a culture-bound and changing institution, for instance as advocated by Todorov (1990). Genre is not only characterised by repetition, but also by variation and change.

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[10] ENPS is developed by Associated Press, and is the NRK's (and the BBC's) networked, desktop information system, where all central and regional newsrooms can communicate and view each other's news material.

One important distinction is that between *genre* and *text type*. This can be seen as the difference between the classifications made by the users of language and those based in literary or other textual sciences (Ledin, 2001: 9). It is common to distinguish between four text types: *narrative*, *descriptive*, *argumentative* and *expository* (Chatman, 1990: 6) A text belonging to a certain genre may contain one or more text types, and different genre may contain the same text type. In the case of journalism, the descriptive text type may occur in most genres, while 'hard news' is dominantly narrative and editorials are dominantly argumentative (Ledin, 2001: 10). Further, van Leeuwen (1986) argues that journalism's multiple purposes may lead to texts that are heterogeneous from a genre point of view. Similarly, Fairclough (2003) claims that texts belonging to more than one genre are common in the mass media.

The concepts of genre and discourse are often used in news analysis in order to understand the social functions of the text (Waldahl et al., 2002). Studying news production, one of Helland's (1993) main theoretical and methodological concerns, is 'how to combine an analysis of the form, the style and the content of the specific news programs with analyses of the frameworks for production and the actual editorial and journalistic production processes within these frameworks' (Helland, 1993: 55). His solution is to use genre as a theoretical and methodological lever in order to conceptualise the relationship between broadcasters, news genre and audience. Using Williams' (2003) definition of genre as consisting of the dimensions of *stance*, *mode of formal composition* and *appropriate subject matter*, Helland (1993: 76) argues that news conventions rely on textual claims, codes for implying that the news is made according to conventions. The present article focuses on how the mode of formal composition is adapted to suit different medium characteristics as a news story unfolds on different platforms.

One problem in dealing with genre in a cross-media context involving web communication is that it becomes difficult to distinguish between what is a medium and what is a genre. Fagerjord (2003: 16) discusses whether it is useful to distinguish between web media and web genre. As he points out, a medium is defined in technological, economic and sociological terms, a genre by theme, form, mode and style. While a medium is dependent on one specific use of a technology, a genre is not. Fagerjord then goes on to define one web medium as that of 'mass

communication' (Ibid: 17), under which umbrella we find the objects of study in the present article.

While genre is not media-specific, I will argue that the concept is useful for studying cross-media, not least from a production point of view. The main reason for this is the possibility of mapping genre development across media platforms, and the very problems of defining or distinguishing between what is a medium and what is a genre in relation to web media.

Fagerjord (2003) identifies some genres particular to the web: photo collections, interactive graphics and video-on-demand. A web page might provide live coverage from, for example, a courtroom, like radio would do but with written words. Another suggestion for a newly emerged web (news) genre comes from Knox (2007), who argues, in his study of visual-verbal communication in online newspapers, for the development of a new genre in online news – that of the 'newsbite'. Being the central visual-verbal element of the front page of a typical online newspaper or similar site, Knox argues that a typical newsbite consists of a title, a lead and a link (2007: 26). As this article shows, other genres have emerged as a result of the increased reproduction of content.

A specific media platform has certain characteristics when it comes to distribution and consumption (television and tele-text on a television set, often for a small group audience; web media on a computer, usually for a single reader). Another significant difference involves the medium's characteristic 'information types' (Liestøl, 1999) or 'sign systems' (Crisell, 1986; Fagerjord, 2003).

The sign systems found in radio are speech, sound and music. In addition to speech, sound and music, television contains video as well as still images and writing. In newspapers, we typically find writing and still images, while the web can contain speech, sound, music, writing, still images and video. The web, as a platform capable of containing all other forms of digitised media, thus lends itself to all sign systems. The web page shown in Figure 1 contains writing, images and graphics, as well as links to video (web-tv) and audio (web-radio) content. The sign systems can be divided into two according to their relation to temporality: Dynamic sign systems (speech, sound, music, video and animation) are conditioned by *temporal sequence*, and change over time in order to convey meaning. Static information types (text, still images, graphics) are constant over time (Liestøl, 1999: 44).

One way of approaching the relationship between different media platforms is Bolter and Grusin's (1999) concept of 'remediation'. While not explicitly talking about cross-media, Bolter and Grusin describe the aesthetic relationships of 'old' and new media. New media remediate or refashion the conventions of older media. This process goes both ways, as the 'internet refashions television even as television refashions the internet' (Ibid: 224). An example of this can be the developments in multi-platform media hybrids like sms-tv, where conventions are drawn from web communication, for example (Enli, 2005). Bolter and Grusin's 'double logic of remediation' consists of two mainly conflicting logics:'immediacy' and 'hypermediacy'. New media play on this logic for example when justifying their relationship to older media, making the mediation process either more immediate or more hypermediated. When the NRK website remediates tele-text (Figure 2), it also 'enhances' it, making the new media hybrid's features easier to use.

Fagerjord (2003: 131) criticises Bolter and Grusin for losing sight of media as communication: the fact that media, old and new, communicate *meaning*. To explain how hybrid web texts, with combinations of different sign systems, communicate meaning, he proposes a theory of 'rhetorical convergence'. As the concept of remediation primarily accounts for media (conventions) as content of other media, we need a term more down-to-earth in order to analyse relations between media platforms in text production processes. One such term lends itself from film- and literary studies, where the challenges of cross-media production have been analysed in the tradition of adaptation studies. Adaptation studies look at how content is transferred, usually from a literary novel to feature film, with special emphasis on issues of narration (McDougal, 1985).

I will argue that it is fruitful to look at multi-platform news production as a web of adaptations. The production process thus relies on different *rhetorical forms of reproduction* where news content made for a specific programme on a specific platform, with a characteristic rhetoric, is adapted in part or as a whole to be published on a different platform with a different rhetoric. Studying these textual strategies, I use the concept of rhetoric in the same way as Fagerjord (2003: 4), understood as 'means of expression'. The remainder of this article aims to outline a typology of different forms of reproduction in a cross-media context.

Acts of (re)production

Fagerjord's (2003) model of *rhetorical convergence* describes how earlier media influence web media. He argues that web newspapers are examples of a rhetorical convergence between print and broadcasting (Ibid: 49). Layout and writing is similar to that of a print newspaper, but the mode of distribution compares to that of television news. A similar argument concerns television news on the web. When published on the web, television news tend to be chaptered so that the user can access each news item out of sequence, rather like reading a newspaper; in other words a convergence of video and hypertext (Ibid: 64).

From a convergence point of view, the websites of newspapers like VG.no and those of broadcasters like the NRK.no/nyheter share the same conventions of online news sites. Reading complex web sites containing written text, images, video and audio, we encounter a 'hybrid of rhetorics from print, television, web and even radio' (Fagerjord, 2003:137).

Written text has always been a part of cinema and television (e.g. dialogue intertitles in silent films, subtitles, and headlines in television news), but only as 'servants' to the audiovisual content. In, for example, web-tv or video on the web, audiovisual content is usually combined with verbal text in the form of menus, links etc. Barthes' (1977) concept of anchoring, in the relationship between written text and photographs, can be one way to understand this. Fagerjord (2003: 71) argues that when two different forms of signification are combined, they are not simply put next to each other, but rather form a parent-child relationship. One mode of signification *contains* the other: a television news clip is inserted into a text frame, or text is inserted into a video window.

In the case of a web newspaper publishing video clips, Fagerjord (2003:136) argues that television rhetoric enters web newspaper rhetoric. However, the video clips assume a different role in the new text, because the television rhetoric is 'subsumed into a larger, newspaper-like rhetorical whole'. In other words, when a text produced for a specific medium other than the web is published on the web, it becomes part of a different rhetoric (Ibid: 140).

A similar process of rhetorical travel happens when audiovisual content made for television or radio is republished on the web. But what happens when audio material from television is reused on radio, or when radio and television reports are transcribed for publication on the web (Figure 1), maybe with audiovisual material to complement it? That is what will concern us for the remainder of this article.

1: Rhetoric of augmentation

Let us look at a short example of a news story involving content-travel across platforms. One of the characteristics of web journalism is the prominence of *reproduction* of texts (Rasmussen, 2006). Content is linked to and cut and pasted from one site to another, hopefully with a reference to the original producer. We can say that online news discourse is defined by intertextuality and recontextualisation (cannibalism).

A case of relatively pure *reframing* typical for broadcasting organisations online is archival use of video or audio content on the web (Figure 2). However, the audio or video content is here usually framed or *contained* (Fagerjord, 2003: 281) in a window with text and graphics giving information about this particular news item (the item's title/subtitle). This application of audiovisual content on the web is thought to simulate the experience of watching television. While it gives a visual interface to radio, the interface of web-tv looks more like a Quicktime videoplayer than what we normally see in a standard television set. Here, it can be argued that the main content remains the same, at least from a primary producer's point of view, while the packaging is different, or even enhanced (Bolter and Grusin, 1999).
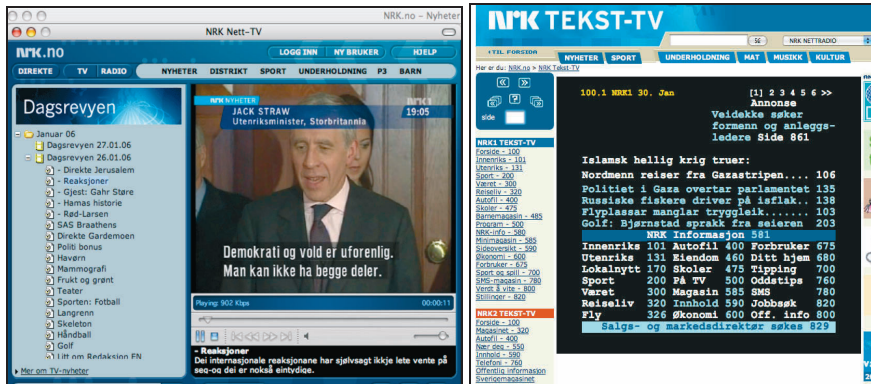
Figure 2: NRK web-tv interface (left), and 'tele-text on the web' interface (right).

The same goes for the republishing of tele-text on the web with enhanced features. The interface is similar to what you see on your television set, with added menus on the left. While tele-text is navigated on the television set with the remote control, here page numbers are active links, adding web navigation to a tele-text interface; in other words, a versioning of already made tele-text content with a slightly altered interface. The content remains the same, at least from a primary producer's point of view, while the reception is different.

2: Rhetoric of reversioning

Returning to the example given in the introduction, we see that this represents a different form of content travel. The story is titled 'More women die from heart disease'. It is first broadcast in the main television newscast in the evening, and is given prominence, both in the headlines and as the top story. The report contains interviews with two female doctors, a patient and the minister for health, combined with sync footage from a hospital. The story is not covered by radio news, and first appears on the web immediately after the televised newscast is over (Figure 3).

Figure 3: More women than men die from heart disease, *NRK March 8th 2006 (television and web).*

The web article is a *reversioning* by a web reporter of the television version, which involves, for example, *transcription* of spoken information into written form. The article has the form of a summary illustrated with still images captured from the television interviews, and contains a link to the full television report. The web article thus takes the form of an *envelope* containing the original television report. According to web reporters, publishing an audio or video link that contains exactly the same as the written article is considered bad form: 'The link should be something more. If not, the user can feel cheated. He or she thinks, like, okay, I'll listen to this clip and get something more, and then it turns out to be precisely what they had just read. Should they waste their time on that?' I will argue that this represents an emerging web news genre, where the original audiovisual report is *enveloped* in an article containing a summary of the essential story lines, and providing a link to the full story.

This story is an example of cross-media production involving transcription of content from one platform for use on a different one. During observation, web reporters used many news stories from both radio and television news, listening to the sound and transcribing it into written form. They did however claim that this was not a mechanical process, and that the television and radio news stories were not transcribed word for word: '(...) that doesn't look good. We make our own version of the news' (web reporter).

3: Rhetoric of recombination

Liestøl's (2007) model of genre convergence and divergence in digital media helps us understand what happens when content travels across media boundaries. His model describes convergence and divergence as a process of exchange and recombination of features and qualities in hardware, software and 'meaningware' (Ibid: 8). Features belonging to separate genres disintegrate, and recombine into new genre hybrids.

If we look at cross-media news through Liestøl's frame of understanding, on one hand, news genre features disintegrate and recombine into new, digital news genres; on the other hand, combinations of sign systems belonging to distinct news genres are decombined and recombined in new constellations on the other side of the cross-media strait.

Through a process of *decombination* and *recombination*, a television news report may be stripped of its soundtrack and video images. These may be recombined with a spoken commentary to make a radio report or with a written text to make a web article. The soundtracks of television and radio reports may also be transcribed and remodelled into written text to form the body of a web article. The soundtrack of the television report, or indeed an entire news broadcast, may also be singled out and broadcast on radio, devoid of the video images.

Revision and reuse of content also takes place on an inter-platform basis. Bulletin reporters reversion news items for the morning shows, making them shorter to fit the tight format of the radio news bulletin: 'We spend a lot of time on language, concentrating and getting the essence of the story. But we also use a lot of soundclips from the morning news updates on television. It is incredible how much television sound works well on radio' (Radio bulletin reporter).

Another example from 7 March sheds further light on how content travels between platforms. The story deals with how playrooms in shopping malls, restaurants etc., contain a high number of bacteria. The story originates from one of the regional offices of the NRK, and is then pulled into the national news sphere by the desks at the central newsroom.

The story originates from a regional newspaper (*Bergens Tidene*), which has commissioned a test of the bacteria content in children's play areas that are filled with plastic balls in places such as shopping malls and restaurants. The NRK publishes the

story first on the web (Figure 4). The article features a short summary of the report, and an interview statement from a doctor, and is illustrated with a screen capture from the NRK regional television story. The web story relies heavily on the newspaper version.

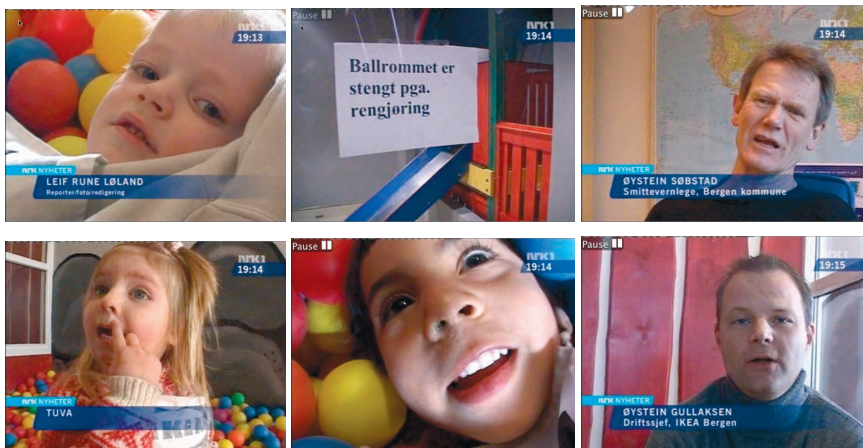*Figure 4:* Bacteria in childrens' playrooms*, NRK 8 March 2006 (web).*

Figure 5: Bacteria in childrens' playrooms*, NRK 8 March 2006 (television). Screenshots in original sequence. Read from top left, top middle, etc. to bottom right.*

The story is put on national radio in their prime newscast at 5.30 pm.

The radio and television versions are made by two different reporters. Unsurprisingly, the television piece has a visual nature, showing children playing in a heap of balls, while the radio version contains longer interview statements (Figure 5). What is

interesting is that they use the same sources (a doctor and a representative of one of the malls) and some identical sound clips (interview statements and sound effects). The story is thus made in different versions based on the same raw material. Video and audio interviews and sound effects are recorded for television and then edited for radio use, where the interview questions are cut from the radio version, and replaced with reporter commentary.

4: Single-reporter multi-platform journalism

Another example from 8 March involves multi-platform journalism created by a single reporter. A larger common story regards the announcement by the two largest Norwegian oil companies, Statoil and Shell, of a joint venture into CO_2 cleansing. The story is scheduled to be announced at a large press conference at 10 am.

The story breaks in the radio morning news at 6 am as a short notice read by the anchor. The early publishing of the story by NRK radio is due to an alert economy reporter. At 6.30, which is considered prime time for breaking news, a short report by the same economy reporter is broadcast. The report is used in different versions at 7 am, 7.30, 8 am and 8.30. The story is published on the web at 6.48 am (Figure 6, left), and broadcast in the television bulletins at 7 am, 7.30, 8 am and 8.30 (Figure 7).

Figure 6: Shell and Statoil cooperates on CO2 solution*, initial pre-conference report (left) and updated final story (right), NRK 8 March 2006 (web).*

The version, made by the same reporter, is almost identical on all three platforms. This corresponds with NRK management goals about being first regardless of platform (Erdal, 2007c). The similarity across platforms is linked to the verbal nature of the story, and the wording is the same on radio, television and in print on the web. The soundtrack of the television version is the same as the radio version, illustrated by video footage showing the companies' headquarters and offshore oil installations. The visual part of the story functions as an illustration to the reporter's spoken commentary.

Figure 7: Shell and Statoil cooperates on CO2 solution*, initial pre-conference report, NRK 8 March 2006 (television). Screenshots in original sequence. Read from top left, top middle, etc. to bottom right.*

From then on, however, the coverage of the story is separated into different platforms. Radio and television have their own separate teams at the conference, making different stories for publication in the afternoon and evening broadcasts. Identical sources are being interviewed by different reporters for television and radio.

After the first web article published by the multi-skilled economy reporter, who also did the story for radio and television, web reporters rely mostly on what is done by the other two platforms, as well as agency material, although not entirely. The press conference is published as a live audio feed from the radio broadcast, with a link on the front page. This is later turned into an archived audio file. A longer article is published at 11 am, and updated several times until the last registered update at 1 pm

(Figure 6, right). The article is summary in composition, and contains interview statements from various actors that are interviewed for radio and television, as well as statements from the press release and agency material. The story is illustrated by a photo from the press conference, taken on a mobile phone by the reporter who wrote the initial story and is covering the conference for radio. There are links to the initial web article and two related articles. More audiovisual material is provided in the form of the initial television report, but only linked from the front page.

To summarise: the first publication of the presumed cooperation is published more or less simultaneously on all three media platforms. A cross-media economy reporter, demonstrating a *multi-platform rhetorical competence*, makes all versions of the story. Emphasis is on the verbal presentation, which is almost identical on radio, television and the web. A schematic overview of the cooperations between platforms is found in *figure a*.
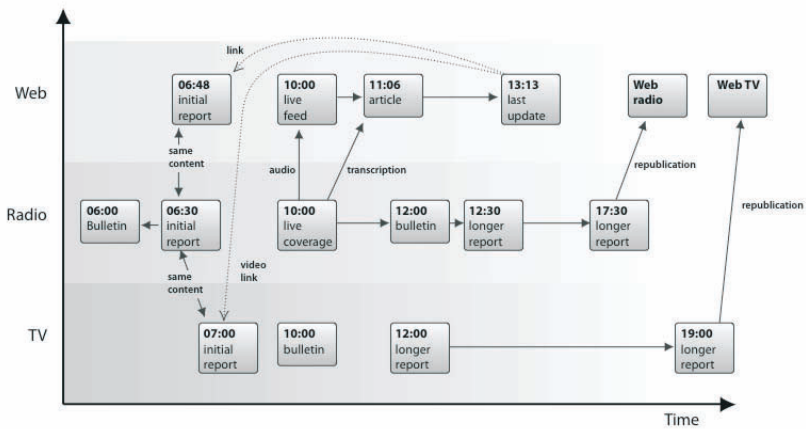
Figure a: Coverage of the "Shell/Statoil" story on different platforms at NRK Marienlyst, 8 March 2006.

5: Cross-media coordination

An example of more integrated cross-media cooperation is found in a story from the regional office on 28 March. It covered six people from an environmental organisation who boarded a working vessel in the fjord outside Oslo in order to stop them dumping soil into the fjord.

The story is first published on the web at 7.20 am, based on a press agency story (Figure 8, left). A new article is published at 10 am, reporting that the environmentalists have aborted the mission (Figure 8, right). The story is written by the radio bulletin reporter and contains a link to the first story and an audio link to a telephone interview conducted by the radio reporter. This interview is not part of the written article. The article also contains a link to background information, and is illustrated with a photo taken by the television crew.

Figure 8: Chain gang on working vessel, *initial report (left) and updated final story (right), NRK Østlandssendingen 28 March 2006 (web).*

On radio, the story leads in the 8 am newscast. The same story is broadcast in the bulletin at 10 am, but updated with a short studio comment saying that the environmentalists have aborted the mission after police intervention. This version is repeated in the bulletin at 11 am, but supplemented with a short telephone interview.
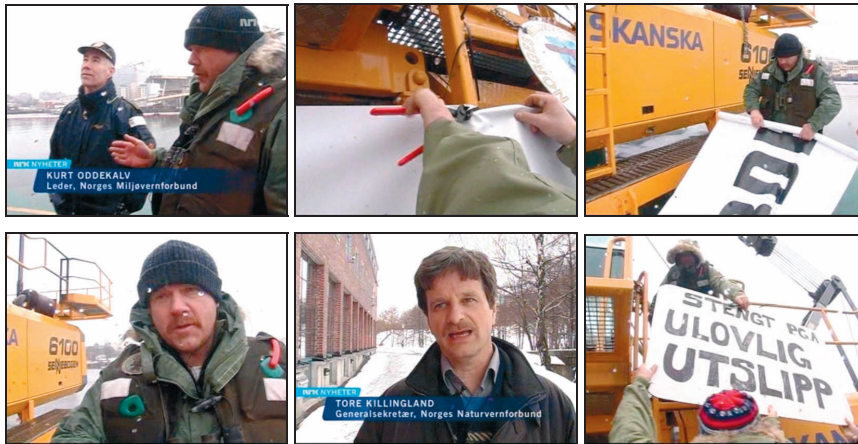
Figure 10: Chain gang on working vessel*, NRK Østlandssendingen 8 March 28 2006 (television). Screenshots in original sequence. Read from top left, top middle, etc. to bottom right.*

The story is aired first on television news at 6.40 pm. First comes video footage of the environmentalists leaving the vessel and removing their banners. Their leader comments to the camera as they go, and then gives a more formal interview. We notice that the television version is highly visual (Figure 10), consisting mainly of video footage of the happenings on the vessel, the environmentalists removing their banners almost as if staged for the camera, and seemingly improvised and provocative statements ('Have they lost their minds?') towards the camera.

To summarise: this form of cross-media cooperation involves all the rhetorical forms described above – augmentation or reframing, reversioning and recombination of content. The web article uses a photo taken by the television crew specifically for the web and also contains an audio link to the telephone interview conducted by the radio bulletin reporter (Figure 9, right). At the main desk, at 10.45 am, the radio bulletin reporter is listening to his telephone interview, and shouts over to the web reporter: 'I'm sending you some quotes right now!' This interview is also broadcast in the 11 am radio bulletin. A schematic overview of the cooperations between platforms is found in *figure b*.
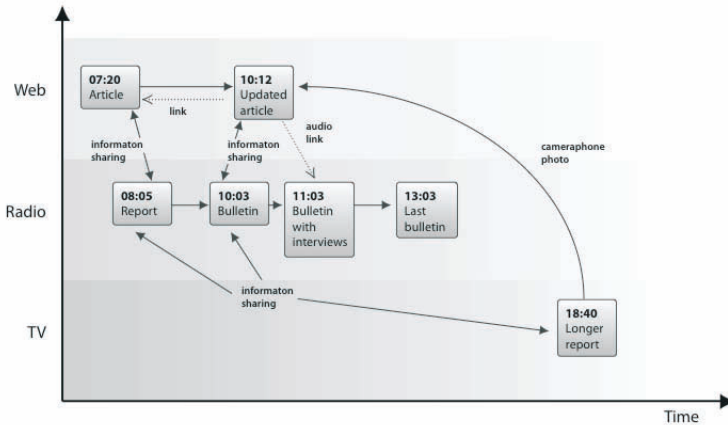
Figure b

Figure b: Coverage of the "enivornmentalist" story on different platforms at NRK Østlandssendingen, 28 March 2006.

6: Multi-platform orchestration

We now turn to the coverage of a larger news event at the central newsroom, and take a closer look at the cross-media production process. The 'Nokas trial' was a notorious Norwegian trial during 2005 and 2006, involving robbery and manslaughter[11]. The trial was given a prominent place in the media during its unfolding, and reached its climax with the live reading of the verdict at 12 am, 10 March. The NRK covers this climax as a planned and orchestrated news event, where each platform had designated functions.

Television is the primary content provider, having control over the in-court production of sound and images. The NRK1 broadcast consists of live coverage from the courtroom, combined with expert commentary and analysis relayed from a purpose-built studio. Radio broadcasts the live audio feed from the television production, combined with independent commentary and analysis.

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[11] For an excellent rhetorical analysis of the web coverage of another famous Norwegian trial, the 'triple murder case', see Fagerjord (2003: 120).

The web covers the verdict in a number of ways. Prior to the reading, the web publishes a background piece on the accused (Figure 12, top left). The multimedia producer has also found the *Dagsrevyen* broadcast from the day the robbery took place, which is put out on the front page as background material (Figure 12, bottom right). The web has two live feeds: The 'raw', uncommented, reading of the verdict, and the broadcast on NRK1, which contains comment and analysis. Written articles are scheduled to be published as soon as information is revealed by the reading of the verdict, and updated along the way.

> The web desk at 9.30 am: Morning meeting. Editor: 'Did we manage to get hold of *Dagsrevyen* from the day it happened?' Reporter 1: 'It takes a while. First, someone has to get the tape from the archives, then it will have to be loaded onto the server, and I will have to get it into the system. But yes, we will get it.' Reporter 2: 'I was originally asked to do a piece on *'forvaring'*. If that is the verdict[12]. The legal expert is going to comment live on Dagsrevyen and Always news, and when she's done there, I will do an interview with her. I have talked to the Desk editor of Dagsnytt, who hired her. It is an alternative to a net meeting.' Editor: 'Ok.'

The total coverage is discussed at the managing editors' meeting at 10.30 am, focusing on which platform is doing what. The radio editor confirms that the 24 hour news radio channel will only be covering the live reading for the first 30 minutes. After that, they will return to the normal schedule. This generates some discussion:

> 'We are going to cover the verdict massively, and are going to broadcast the most important items. It will happen very fast. They will continue to return to the feed, and pick out sound clips along the way. I think we are talking about seconds from something important being revealed before it gets on the air.' News director: 'I understand that. But it is interesting to note that we have three media, two of which are covering the verdict live, one that is not – radio.

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[12] Norway's harshest sentence, a special form of protective custody that can keep the convict in custody for life. See http://www.aftenposten.no/english/local/article1841949.ece, last visited 4 March 2008.

And the 24 hour news channel that chooses not to. It is a question of news philosophy. Currently we are discussing the 24 hour news channel on television, and would there be any doubts that the verdict would be broadcast live on that?' Television editor: 'The broadcast is easier to identify on television'.

Immediately before the reading begins, at 11.45 am, the 24-hour news radio desk editor confirms this schedule. After the first 30 minutes, their coverage of the verdict will be done by reporters listening to the television feed: '... cutting out interesting sound clips, also from the comments on television. They will be cutting and editing interesting sound clips from television and radio, which will be aired.'

The television broadcast starts at 11.50 am, with a ten-minute introduction. We can identify a considerable number of explicit authenticity claims in this part, utilising the visuals: 'Here it is', 'this is the courtroom' (Figure 11, top left), 'this is where the judges will sit', 'here is the convoy with the accused' (Figure 11, top middle), 'the press copies of verdict is in these sealed boxes' (Figure 11, bottom left), all stressing the feeling of immediacy, of being there right now.

Figure 11: Introductory sequence of Nokas verdict*, NRK March 10th (television). Screenshots in original sequence. Read from top left, top middle, etc. to bottom right.*

We arrive at the scene some minutes prior to the event. We get to inspect the place where it is about to happen. We see the different actors preparing themselves: the accused finding their places and talking to their lawyers; lawyers and the prosecutor commenting about their expectations and not least how they feel minutes before the verdict; an expert commentator providing background information and speculations about the outcome (Figure 11, bottom middle). The host counts down: Only a few minutes left now... Then all rise and the judges arrive in a blaze of camera flashes. The television coverage now concentrates on the judge, with minor variations in camera angle and some reaction shots of the attorneys and general audience.

As the reading begins at 12 am, all eyes and ears at the web desk are turned to the live television coverage. As the verdicts are announced, the top story on the web front page is published and then continuously updated (Figure 12, bottom left). The headline changes from 'Guilty!' to 'No *forvaring'* in just a few minutes. The desk editor calls out: 'Nice work on the top story, the verdicts are being added as they come!' The news anchor of *Dagsnytt* runs over to the Tele-text desk, asking: 'Who has control over the verdicts? All of them got shorter verdicts than asked for, right?' Web desk editor (shouting): 'A couple of years shorter for everyone'. The live feed from the reading still runs, and a video clip from the first minutes, where the sentences are read, is published as a separate link. One article goes into the judge's explanation of why the sentences were so long.

At 1 pm, the top story is complete with background material, the headline reading: 'Why [the main accused] didn't get *forvaring'* (Figure 12, top right). The news editor strolls by: 'You performed very well today! You had an up-to-date verdict before every one else!'. Immediately after this, the web desk goes over to the television desk editor to ask for a reference to the web on *Dagsrevyen*: 'Read about the verdict on nrk.no'. Desk editor, *Dagsrevyen*: 'We'll run a 'super' (on-screen text), thanks for asking!'.

Figure 12: The Nokas verdict*, NRK March 10th (web). Background story (top left), Newsbite with audiovisual and article links on the front page (top right), intermediary story immediately after the vedict is clear (bottom left), Archive material: Dagsrevyen from the day of the robbery (bottom right).*

Thus, this form of cross-media cooperation also involves all the three rhetorical forms described above: augmentation or reframing, reversioning and recombination of content. Here, television stands out as the primary content provider, and the other platforms rely on the television production as a basis for their own coverage. This consists of both a 'raw' verdict reading, with no comment, broadcast live by one of the regional newsrooms (NRK Rogaland), and the main broadcast with expert comment and analysis relayed from a purpose-built studio on the spot. Radio uses the sound of the 'raw' television production. The web desk is streaming both television productions live. Reporters on the radio and web desks watch the television broadcast continuously, and publish their own news updates from this.

Conclusion: conceptualising cross-media news production

When content made for a specific platform is published on a different one, some form of translation or adaptation has to take place. As the concept of remediation (Bolter and Grusin, 1999) primarily accounts for media (conventions) as content of other media, we need other terms to analyse relations between media platforms in text-production processes. It can be fruitful to look at multi-platform news production as a web of adaptations. News content made for a specific programme on a specific platform, with a characteristic rhetoric, is adapted in part or as a whole to be published on a different platform with a different rhetoric.

The analysis has shown that while Dailey et al.'s (2005) 'convergence continuum' is fruitful for analysing the organisation of media production, this model does not sufficiently describe the different ways that content travels across media platforms. Cross-media production involves a number of intertwining forms of cooperation and reproduction. This article has outlined some forms of reproduction:

The *rhetoric of augmentation* loosely corresponds to what Dailey et al. (Ibid.) describe as 'cloning'; where content is republished in a relatively unedited form. An example of this is news from either television or radio news stories, published in their entirety on the web, stand-alone and linked to from the front page, or as part of a web article. A way of doing this is shown in example 2, resulting in the emerging web news genre of the *envelope*. Alternatively it can be pages of tele-text published on the web, the original layout being maintained, but augmented with hyperlinks, to fit the web platform, as in example 1. Audiovisual content is here framed or *contained* (Fagerjord, 2003:281) in a window with text and graphics, giving information about what this particular news item is about (the item's title/subtitle).

The *rhetoric of reversioning* involves more (journalistic) work. As evident from the fieldwork, the soundtrack of television and radio reports is often *transcribed* and partially rewritten for publication on the web. As the analysis of all examples shows, this category mainly consists of web reporters' reversioning news stories from both radio and television, and platform-internal reversioning for radio.

The *rhetoric of recombination* is facilitated by shared digital production systems that allow for easy access to (parts of) news reports and raw material.

Through this process, television news reports may be stripped of their soundtrack and video images. These may be recombined with a spoken commentary to make radio reports or with a written text to make a web article. The soundtracks of television and radio reports may also be transcribed into written text to form the body of a web article. The soundtrack of the television report, or indeed entire news broadcasts, may also be singled out and broadcast on radio, disembodied from the video images.

More integrated forms of reproduction make use of some or all of these rhetorical forms. Examples of this are *multi-platform production* or *cross-media coordination* where a single reporter or team of reporters produce the same news story for multiple platforms. This category ranges from a single reporter producing a story for several platforms, to teams of reporters cooperating to cover a larger news event.

The analysis has shown that the relationship between *medium specificity* on the one hand, and *platform adaptability* on the other, is important when looking at cross-media reproduction. A news story utilising a lot of medium-specific traits is not easy to adapt to a different platform. Radio reports are seldom used on television, as the lack of visual rhetoric is considered bad television. It is likewise hard to adapt a television piece, using a highly visual style, to radio. In the case of radio, television sound is often used as it is on air, stripped of its' visual dimension. It is easier, but not unproblematic, to transfer it to the web. In either case, doing so requires some form of adaptation to facilitate the receiving platform's characteristics. This article has shown that multi-platform news production relies on certain standardised practices for easy reproduction of content from one medium to another, and has proposed the typology of different *forms of reproduction* in cross-media news production described above.

An interesting aspect of reproductive journalism not covered by this article but ripe for further research, is that of journalists' control over their work. As shown, a cross-media news story usually has multiple authors. Someone writes the original story, others reversion it for a different platform, others again recycle only parts of the story. This development has clear authorship implications, as journalists have to give up some degree of control in order for cross-media cooperation to take place.

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APPENDIX I

Interview guide for reporters

- Age
- Section/desk
- Present position
- How long in present position
- Previous positions at the NRK

- Can you describe your work responsibilities or duties?
- Which media platforms do you work for?
- In what way do you work for each platform?
- Describe the way in which you cooperate with other sections/desks
- What digital production systems do you use?
- How do you use them?
- How would you define convergence?
- How would you define cross-media (Norwegian: "flermedialitet")?

- What characterizes a good news story for radio/television/web?
- Are there (in)formal guidelines for how a news story should be made?
- If not gathered by yourself, where do you get the raw material for the news reports/articles that you make?
- Do you gather raw material for other platforms? How?
- Radio/television reporters: Do you use content from other platforms when making a story? How?
- Web reporters: How do you go about when you write an article based on a radio or television report?
- Web reporters: How do you work with audio and video online?
- Has your way of working or cooperating with different platforms changed since you started working at the NRK? In what way?

Interview guide for editors and managers

- Age
- Section/desk
- Present position
- How long in present position
- Previous positions at the NRK

- Can you describe your work responsibilities or duties?
- How would you define convergence?
- How would you define cross-media (Norwegian: "flermedialitet")?
- Can you describe the strategies for convergence/cross-media at the NRK?

- What are the experiences with convergence/cross-media at your section/desk?
- How many reporters work with more than one platform at your section/desk?
- Can you describe how this is done?
- Can you describe your section/desk's cooperation with other sections/desks?
- What do you see as the pros and cons of convergence/cross-media?
- What are the strategies for what kinds of news stories that should be published on which platform?
- Are there (in)formal guidelines for how a news story should be made for different platforms?

- Has your section/desks' way of working or cooperating with different platforms changed since you started working at the NRK? In what way?
- Has the cooperation between different platforms in general changed since you started working at the NRK? In what way?