It "breaks down this wall": Dualities

in Journalists' Engagement with Twitter Followers

by

Richard G. Johnson

A Dissertation Presented in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Philosophy

Approved September 2015
Graduate Supervisory Committee:

Leslie-Jean Thornton, Chair
Bill Silcock
Dawn Gilpin
Alice Daer

ARIZONA STATE UNIVERSITY

December 2015

ABSTRACT

Scholars have identified that journalists have a strong occupational identity, leading to ideological conceptions of the rules of the field. However, while journalists are often the first to embrace technological change, they often do so in different ways than most people. With the arrival of digital technologies, journalists are often faced with practices that run contrary to long-established ideology, and they often carry traditional practices over to new media. Using the theoretical lens of Giddens's structuration theory, this research identifies traditional journalism structures that encourage or discourage journalists to interact with their followers on the social network Twitter. Using constant comparative analysis to interpret 23 interviews with contemporary journalists, this study identified multiple dualities between the use of Twitter and traditional newsgathering. It also recognized a cognitive dissonance among journalists who use Twitter. Though they can see advantages to using the platform to engage with followers, particularly other journalists and members of their audience, journalists do not seek out Twitter interaction and often avoid or resist it. Finally, this dissertation suggests three walls that block journalists from engaging in the Internet's facilitation of personal connectivity, engagement, and a true community forum with followers. Although a wall of objectivity has somewhat been broached by Twitter use, walls of storytelling and routine and traditional news values continue to hold strong.

KEYWORDS: Journalism, Twitter, engagement, interactivity, structuration theory, duality of structure, storytelling, objectivity, participation, social media

For my wife, Kira, the love of my life and my best editor. I couldn't have completed this project without you, your support, and your understanding. For my three children, my sons Grant and Rhys and my daughter, Lanaea, who put up with many long days and nights without me as I undertook my graduate program. You are the sunshine in my soul.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

LIST OF TABLES v

LIST OF FIGURES vi

CHAPTER

1 INTRODUCTION 1

2 LITERATURE REVIEW 9

Structuration theory 11

Journalism and Professionalism 16

Journalism and Culture 34

Journalism's Structures 39

Journalists and Change 57

The Internet and Participation 64

Participatory Journalism 71

Twitter and Journalists 77

Research Questions 91

3 METHOD 96

Participants 96

Qualitative In-depth Interviews. 101

Analysis 104

4 FINDINGS 115

Journalism Structures 115

Twitter Structures 161

CHAPTER .... Page

5 DISCUSSION 221

Rules 224

Resources 227

Dualities 229

Cognitive Dissonance. 241

Journalism's Walls of Social Media Engagement 256

Limitations and Future Research 270

REFERENCES 274

APPENDIX 299

A INTERVIEW QUESTIONS 300

LIST OF TABLES

Table Page

1. Participants..98

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure Page

1. Journalism Structures of Newsgathering 118
2. Structures that Carry Over from Newsgathering to Twitter 164
3. Dualities in Newsgathering and Twitter Practices...231
4. Cognitive Dissonance of Journalists' Twitter Engagement................................243
5. Journalism's Walls of Social Media Engagement 259

Chapter 1

Introduction

It began with a simple tweet, and it resulted in widespread community sharing.

On July 8, 2013, *Sports Illustrated* columnist Richard Deitsch saw a post on the mircroblogging social network Twitter. An acquaintance named Steven Bennett, whose brother had won the NCAA hockey championship at Yale, shared a photograph of himself celebrating the win with his brother (Orenstein, 2013). Sensing the joy in the photograph, Deitsch sent out a tweet to his then more than 84,000 followers asking if they had an image of the "single best moment" of their lives (Mendoza, 2013). Deitsch's followers began to respond, sending hundreds of tweets of their favorite moments, including some of the most intimate moments of family life, such as births, deaths, and triumph over adversity (Romney, Johnson, & Roschke, 2015). In one such photo, one of Deitsch's followers shared a tender moment of a husband leaning down to kiss his wife as she awakened from her heart and double-lung transplant (Mendoza, 2013).

Deitsch, impressed with such an unexpected display and response from his followers, began to share them with his own followers, resulting in "an opportunity to showcase the best of humanity" (Mendoza, 2013, para. 8). Because of the tidal wave of responses, Time Magazine named the conversation as one of the "140 moments that made Twitter matter," ranking it among news discussions such as the Iran election protests and the Arab Spring ("The 140 moments," 2013). CNN also dubbed Deitsch as "The Sportswriter who made Twitter cry" (Mendoza, 2013).

Although Deitsch's project illustrated the community that could grow from journalistic Twitter use, especially in regard to reader engagement, the use of the medium has not always been rosy for reporters—and, in fact, still presents more challenges to them. In 2010, Washington Post sports writer Mike Wise posted a fake update to Twitter that Pittsburgh Steelers quarterback Ben Roethlisberger had been suspended for five games because of poor off-the-field conduct (Kurtz, 2010). Wise, who later said he had posted the tweet to show how quickly bad information could spread via social media (Steinberg, 2010), was suspended by the newspaper for one month (Alexander, 2010). Also in 2010, a CNN editor was fired after she voiced respect for the passing of a Shiite cleric with ties to Hezbollah (Stelter, 2010), and a reporter with the Arizona Daily Star was fired for criticizing his newspaper via the social network, tweeting with humor about homicides in Tucson, and poking fun at a mistake by a rival television station (Schuster, 2011).

In addition, female journalists have repeatedly faced harassment from followers on social media (Sonderman, 2011b). Followers directed misogynistic and lewd comments toward Albany Times Union columnist Jennifer Gish after she criticized fans of the NFL's Buffalo Bills (Romenesko, 2011). Gish is not alone, as sexism toward female sports reporters has become common on social media—particularly following the 2014 domestic violence suspension of Baltimore Ravens running back Ray Rice (Laird, 2014). CBS Radio host Amy Lawrence took to her blog to denounce the social media harassment she received after voicing her opinion that Rice's two-game suspension was too lenient:

> I was called b----, gold-digger, hack, idiot, dumb broad, delusional, ugly, clueless, and the worst host on CBS Sports Radio among other things. One listener said he wished Ray Rice would knock ME out so I would go away. In the age where cowards turn Twitter into their weapon of choice, I was sexually harassed and

> called names I would never speak or print. In my 10 years of network radio, that was the worst it's ever been. (Lawrence, 2014, para. 4).

Such incivility is not uncommon on social media. In fact, in 2014, then-Twitter CEO Dick Costolo admitted in an internal memo that harassment was plentiful on the social network, and that the company had not effectively policed trolling and uncivil behavior (Dewey, 2014). However, the social media abuse journalists face stands in direct contrast and exists in the same media universe with the type of community created in Richard Deitsch's Single Best Moment Project.

These disparate stories illustrate the uncharted territory through which today's journalists wend their way. Reporters have long been trained to separate themselves from a story (Kovach & Rosenstiel, 2007) and share stories in objective ways (Deuze, 2005). In addition, in the age of legacy media, journalists became accustomed to "lecture"-like media reports (Gillmor, 2004). Suddenly, with the rise of digital media, and the interactive nature that is the hallmark of the Internet (Kiousis, 2002), journalists suddenly find themselves asked to voice their opinions (Lasorsa, Lewis, & Holton, 2012), interact with readers (Sheffer & Schultz, 2010), and face pressure to report news quickly—before their competition can make it to social media (Domingo, 2008a).

All of this has happened in a climate of great uncertainty. The newspaper industry has hemorrhaged both money and jobs since the middle of the last decade, and there is little indication of a reversal of course, despite gains in online readership (Edmonds, Guskin, Rosenstiel, & Mitchell, 2012). Though "good journalism has always been good business" (Rosenstiel & Mitchell, 2004, p. 85), the changing model and digital revolution have left major news corporations reeling with financial losses. Online revenue may be at an all-time high, but it still accounts for only one-seventh of total advertising profits for the industry (Edmonds et al., 2012). News outlets are "trading legacy dollars for digital dimes," (Olmstead, Sasseen, Mitchell, & Rosenstiel, 2012, p. 7) as advertising is down to half of 2003's numbers, stock prices and circulation have fallen, more than 250 print newspapers have ceased publication, and mass layoffs have cut the work staff to historic lows (Edmonds et al., 2012).

According to the Pew Research Center's Project for Excellence in Journalism's State of the Media report, news sites are finally investing in paywalls for online content (Edmonds et al., 2012). The question remains whether such drastic measures are being implemented too late. Changes have occurred before, and newspapers have weathered the storm of new media before (Alves, 2001). However, the revolutionizing aspect of digital technology, which transforms communication on such an exponential scale compared to previous innovations, has left some scholars, for more than a decade, doubting whether print media can survive the upheaval (Alves, 2001).

In 2011, another 1,000 job cuts left newsrooms with just more than 40,000 full-time editorial staff workers, 15,000 fewer than six years earlier (Edmonds et al., 2012). If, as Kovach and Rosenstiel (2007) state, "the role of journalism is to provide people with the information they need to be free and self governing," (p. 5) substantial cuts to the newspaper workforce have far-reaching implications. Downsizing increases the likelihood that the population will be uninformed, especially as those news professionals who are left have reported that they have so much less time and so many more responsibilities that they see the quality of their own journalism decreasing (Aviles, Leon, Sanders, & Harrison, 2004; Brannon, 2008; Liu, 2006). With the loss of quality, there perhaps emerges a cycle that could lead to even more revenue loss and more downsizing.

Amidst all of the downsizing, overworked journalists are now being asked to take on new efforts on social media. Scholarship has long showed that journalists are uncomfortable with change (Bennett, 1996; Nerone & Barnhurst, 2003; Robinson, 2011). The digital revolution has been no different. Often among the first to adopt new platforms, journalists have found themselves uncomfortable embracing innovative aspects of participation inherent in new media (Kiousis, 2002). Instead, journalists often carry over old practices of objectivity, gatekeeping, and dissemination that have long been prevalent in legacy media (Singer, 2005; Lasorsa, et al., 2012).

Research has shown that Twitter is one of the most common social networking platforms that journalists employ (Willnat & Weaver, 2014). In addition, a host of scholars have explored journalists' practices in using Twitter. Most research has been largely quantitative (Coddington, Molyneux, & Lawrence, 2014; Cozma & Chen, 2013; Deprez, Mechant, & Hoebeke, 2013; Holton & Lewis, 2011; Lariscy , Avery, Sweetser, & Howes, 2009; Lasorsa, 2012; Messner, Linke, & Eford, 2011; Russell, 2015; Russell et al., 2014; Schultz & Sheffer, 2010; Sheffer & Schultz, 2010; Willnat & Weaver, 2014), although a small number of journalists have also engaged in qualitative research (Kian & Murray, 2014; McEnnis, 2013; Parmelee, 2013; Reed, 2011, 2012; Sherwood & Nicholson, 2012). The quantitative research largely focuses on journalists Twitter practices—through self-reporting surveys (Lariscy et al., 2009, Schultz & Sheffer, 2010; Willnat & Weaver, 2014)—or the contents of their tweets—through content analysis (Coddington et al., 2014; Cozma & Chen, 2013; Deprez et al., 2013; Holton & Lewis, 2011; Lasorsa, 2012; Messner et al., 2011; Russell, 2015; Russell, Hendricks, Choi, & Stephens, 2014; Sheffer & Schultz, 2010). The qualitative research has focused on how journalists think Twitter use has changed their profession (Reed, 2012), how it affects their journalism (Schultz & Sheffer, 2010), or how they say they use it (Kian & Murray, 2014). Qualitative interviews have explored the Twitter practices of sports journalists (Reed, 2012; Schultz & Sheffer, 2010), political reporters (Parmelee, 2013), and foreign correspondents (Cozma & Chen, 2013).

Scholars have identified that journalists do see advantage in interaction with followers on Twitter (Willnat & Weaver, 2014), and reporters say they do engage with readers. However, while journalists do occasionally use Twitter to reach out for crowdsourcing (Parmelee, 2013), interactivity (Sheffer & Shultz, 2010), or to share their opinions (Lasorsa, 2012), express personal interests or insights (Deprez et al., 2013), and tweet with humor (Holton & Lewis, 2011), such activity is overwhelmingly rare (Deprez et al., 2013). Indeed, regardless of what journalists say they do on the platform, Twitter is used mostly as a reporting tool (Deprez et al., 2013; Kian & Murray, 2014; Reed, 2012) and to monitor the news (Willnat & Weaver, 2014). Journalists, in general, say they use Twitter for work and Facebook for personal reasons (Reed, 2012).

Scholars offer many explanations for journalists' reticence to embracing interactive innovations on social media. Lewis (2012) posited that social media participation challenges journalists' professionalism and their monopoly on the information dissemination market. Singer (2005) believed that use of social media, in particular blogs, challenges many long-held practices and assumptions of what newswork entailed. Whatever the reason, journalists have consistently shoehorned their old practices onto new media with somewhat mixed results (Lasorsa et al., 2012; Singer, 2005; Usher & Lewis, 2012).

Larsson (2012b) offered a hypothesis to explain the reticence of journalists to engage with their followers. He argued journalists struggle to embrace change because they draw upon old media structures when they gather news. In doing so, Larsson invoked Giddens' (1984) structuration theory, arguing that traditional norms, practices, and routines are not only drawn upon, but also reinforced, when journalists practice newsgathering online.

Giddens (1984) argued that humans make agentic choices of how they should act in a given situation. In order to do so, Giddens argued, people employ known structures, defined as rules and resources. Rules are precepts that govern behavior, while Giddens defines resources as material or nonmaterial means that facilitate action. However, Giddens' theory runs deeper, saying that by drawing upon those rules and resources and proving their effectiveness, people also reinforce them, strengthening the use of them in future endeavors. Giddens calls this phenomenon, a reinforcement of norms through drawing upon rules and resources, "the duality of structure."

Larsson's (2012b) hypothesis indicated that by drawing upon traditional rules and resources in order to engage in social media, journalists reinforce legacy practices that were established in a pre-digital world. However, although he calls for research examining how Twitter use reinforces traditional journalism structures, Larsson does not undertake the research himself. Despite the wealth of Twitter scholarship toward journalistic practice, to date, limited research has employed in-depth interviews to examine what a broad range of journalists indicate as the journalism structures that encourage or discourage interaction with their followers on Twitter. This dissertation attempts to fill that research hole through qualitative, in-depth, semi-structured interviews with journalists of varied backgrounds, media outlets, and experience levels.

I employed these methods to interview 23 journalists from outlets in the United States. Using the constant comparative method (Corbin & Strauss, 1990) for analysis of interview transcripts, I employed an emergent design. The constant comparative method allowed me to scan the transcripts for patterns that emerged from the data. I attempted to identify any journalism structures that respondents reported having employed in their newsgathering, and then I explored which of these rules and resources carried over to Twitter—indicating a reinforcement through the duality of structure. As a result of this research, I constructed three models, one examining the duality of structure of the rules and resources that carry over from newsgathering to Twitter; another other examining a cognitive dissonance respondents display toward the advantages of Twitter interactivity and their practices on the social network; and a third proposes traditional walls between journalists and the public that may explain why news professionals struggle to engage in digital engagement on social media.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

Scholars have long identified the strong occupational identity of journalists (Russo, 1998) and the ethics and routines that they fiercely profess to hold (Weaver & Wilhoit, 1986; 1996). As a result of their significant ties to industry ideals, journalists have developed strong identities and roles as the public's watchdog (Deuze, 2005; Hermans & Vergeer, 2011) and gatekeeper (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996; Shoemaker & Vos, 2009; White, 1950). Many of the same characteristics of journalistic identity and practice are common throughout the world (Weaver & Wilhoit, 1986; 1996), even if they are not identical or given the same weight in all countries (Hafez, 2002; Sanders, Berganza, & Aranda, 2008; Wu, Weaver, & Johnson, 1996; Yang, 2014).

As a result of the common roles of journalists and their accompanying ethics, as well as a sense of responsibility news professionals carry to the public and the truth (Kovach & Rosenstiel, 2007; Siebert, Peterson, & Schramm, 1956), journalists have developed traditionally strong work satisfaction (Burgoon, Burgoon, Buller, & Atkin, 1995; Pollard, 1995) and have developed ties to the industry that are so strong that they transcend loyalties that individual journalists say they feel toward their employers (Russo, 1998).

Since the turn of the century, however, journalists have seen great upheaval in the industry in the form of revenue losses (Mings & White, 2000) and technological advancements that promote interactive (Larsson, 2012a), user-produced (Singer, 2010; Singer & Ashman, 2009), converged (Silcock & Keith, 2006), and "webverged" (Thornton & Keith, 2009) media. Mass layoffs (Reinardy, 2011) have shaken journalists' confidence in the industry (Reinardy, 2009), have led to burnout (Reinardy, 2006), and have added new skill demands (Robinson, 2011)—for which many news professionals believe they receive inadequate training from their employers (Aviles et al., 2004; McGuire & Murray, 2013). Many innovations even challenge the traditional definition of what constitutes a journalist (Knight, 2008).

As a result, many journalists greet new interactive technologies and transmission models with skepticism (Reader, 2012b; Singer, 2010; Singer & Ashman, 2009) and try to force old practices into new media molds (Lasorsa et al., 2012; Singer, 2005; Usher & Lewis, 2012). In doing so, the modern journalist often feels that holding onto traditional practices can prove difficult because many new media organizations lack the same resources that elite legacy media outlets enjoyed for decades (Altmeppen, 2010; Konieczna, 2014; Larsson, 2012a).

Why do journalists hold on to traditional frameworks in cases where media differences allow—and perhaps require—revolutionary change (Bruns, 2008; Jenkins, 2006; Thornton & Keith, 2009)? Larsson (2012b) offered a theoretical basis for journalists' reluctance to relinquish to old ideas in even revolutionary circumstances. Drawing upon Giddens' (1984) structuration theory, and its concept of *duality of structure*, Larsson (2012b) posited that, because of their strong occupational identities, journalists reference and reproduce traditional norms, practices, and routines and therefore have difficulty employing innovation—even when they are among the first to use new media forms.

Larsson (2012b) calls for, but does not undertake, empirical research to examine media routines that lead to the possible reproduction of news culture structures that discourage journalistic interactivity and innovation on new media platforms. This dissertation conducted a qualitative study attempting to fill a research hole and examine what reasons journalists give for their reluctance to accept new practices and structures in changing media. To do so, this dissertation examines possible difficulties journalists face with regard to Giddens' (1984) structuration theory, which posits that, when deciding how to act, agents draw upon known structures to guide their undertakings and, in the process, reproduce them. This chapter will also identify the traditional structures and routines (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996) that guide journalism practice and position them within this inquiry. Finally, the chapter will examine participatory cultures and journalists' adaption to more interactive platforms, such as Twittter.

Structuration Theory

Giddens (1984) proposed structuration theory as a means to find balance between a person's agency and the outside forces that might contribute to decision-making. Giddens fought back against deterministic ideas and strongly believed that although outside forces undoubtedly had some effect on human behavior, people were essentially "reflexive agents" (Larsson, 2012, p. 256) who made knowing choices and actions (Leyesdorff, 2010; Poole & McPhee, 2004).

Giddens' (1984) structuration theory is built on several key ideas that reflect his views on agency, action, and the properties upon which agents draw in order to act. Giddens first introduced the theory in his book *The Constitution of Society* as a pushback against functionalist (Althusser, 1965, cited in McQuail, 2010; Parsons, 1949, cited in Durham, 2005) theories, which he felt did not give human beings enough credit for their own decisions.

In Giddens' argument, humans make purposive and knowledgeable decisions (Poole & McPhee, 2004). Giddens (1984) does not argue that every human decision is rational, nor that individuals always make conscious decisions. For Giddens, it is key to note that an agent had the opportunity to choose his or her course of action. Such freedom to act, whether conscious or subconscious, reflects Giddens' definition of agency:

> Agency refers not to the intentions people have in doing things, but in their capability of doing things in the first place . . . Agency concerns events of which an individual is the perpetrator, in the sense that the individual could, at any phase in a given sequence of conduct, have acted differently. (1984, p. 9)

Giddens' idea of agency was proposed in direct contrast to functionalism, in which an individual's decisions often stem from the desire to fill basic biological and emotional needs (Allaire & Firsirotu, 1984). Giddens' (1984) criticisms of functionalist arguments were multifaceted, but each of the arguments, in turn, boiled down to human agency. To Giddens, functionalism focused too much on natural systems and biology, fixated on scientific approaches, and emphasized collective over the individual.

According to Giddens, in order to make decisions on a course of action, human beings rely on structures that are already established and in place (Heracleous, 2013). Giddens (1984) defines a *structure* as "the properties which make it possible for discernibly similar social practices to exist across varying spans of time and space which lend them 'systemic form.'" (p. 17). Structures are therefore beliefs, practices, or resources that contribute to the production of social systems. For Giddens, a structure is composed of two central properties: (a) *rules*; and (b) *resources*. These two properties are the components of structure upon which agents draw in order to make knowledgeable decisions.

Giddens (1984) defines a rule as "some sort of underlying precept that the individual is following or any sanction which applies to back up that precept" (p. 19). Rules, therefore, are those guiding principles—whether cultural, organizational, or otherwise—agents use to govern behavior, as well as the consequences invoked by violating them.

Giddens (1984) lists several contrasting types of rules. There are rules that are *intensive* and are "constantly invoked in the course of day-to-day activities." *Intensive* rules are to be contrasted with *shallow* rules, or those guidelines that an agent does not often draw upon. *Tacit* rules are those that are somewhat clear to the actors, while *discursive rules* are discussed and thought out among actors. *Informal* rules are those that are general guidelines but not officially adopted, as opposed to policies that are *formalized*. Hoffman and Cowan (2010) refer to informal rules as guidelines "learned through experience" (pg. 207). Finally, Giddens (1984) differentiates between *weakly sanctioned* and *strongly sanctioned* rules based on the consequences of breaking them.

An example of an intensive, discursive, and formalized set of journalism rules would be the Society of Professional Journalists (SPJ) Code of Ethics. SPJ's adopted code guides news professionals in establishing proper daily journalistic behavior. The code is perhaps not formally called out with every ethical decision a journalist makes, but its precepts guide decision-making, even if the enumerated rules are not consciously invoked. The Code of Ethics has been formally adopted by one of the largest journalistic organizations in the United States, and is a set of principles that journalists are taught in formal journalism schools.

Whereas rules are the guidelines that govern behavior, resources are “material” or “nonmaterial” assets upon which agents can rely in order to carry out an action (Giddens, 1984; Poole & McPhee, 2004, p. 174). A material resource might include office space in a newsroom or equipment, such as a computer, while a nonmaterial resource might consist of formal, on-the-job training (Poole & McPhee, 2004). To Giddens, resources “are media through which power is exercised as a routine element” (p. 15). For a journalist, a material resource might include a media credential. The credential is a resource of *signification* (Haslett, 2013) in that it identifies one as a journalist, as well as a resource of *domination* (Witmer, 1997), wherein it allows a news professional access to places, situations, and people that are closed to the public. A media credential empowers a journalist with a resource by which he or she might conduct a gatekeeping role, becoming a resource of *legitimation*. Such a resource invokes the “legal and moral standard” (Haslett, 2013, p. 596), or one of the rules of journalism, to funnel information to the public.

Giddens (1984) postulates that by employing routines, an agent is constantly reinforcing and reproducing structures (Hoffman & Cowan, 2010; Poole & McPhee, 2004), a phenomenon that Giddens (1984) refers to as the *duality of structure:*

> The structural properties of social systems are both the medium and outcome of the practices they recursively organize . . . In reproducing structural properties . . . agents also reproduce the conditions that make such action possible. Structure has no existence independent of the knowledge agents have about what they do in their day-to-day activity. (p. 25)

A journalist who attends journalism school learns what rules and resources he or she has at his or her disposal and can decide whether to employ them. By drawing upon these structures, a journalist reinforces rules and resources as a legitimate means by which he or she may perform a journalistic function. As a news professional continues to employ the structures, he or she reproduces the journalism environment in such a way that the use or exercise of the profession's rules and resources become routine for a journalist and his or her colleagues (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996). Scott, Corman, and Cheney (1998) explain the duality of structure as describing the ways in which "the product of our actions today may well be a structural resource for interaction in that we rely upon in the future" (p. 301).

Giddens' illustration of structuration theory has been the subject of much discussion in social science fields. The theory has gained traction and has been applied to organizational communication (Heracleous, 2013; Poole & McPhee, 2004), to the construction of organizational identity (Scott et al., 1998), and to work/life balance (Hoffman & Cowan, 2010). In mass communications, structuration has been used as a theoretical lens by which scholars study the practices and routines of public relations professionals (Durham, 2005), online activists (Young & Leonardi, 2012), the duality of structure in technology (Orlikowski, 2000), and information systems use (Jones & Karsten, 2008), and the perpetuation of audience consumption habits (Yuan & Ksizaek, 2011; Webster, 2011). News consumers also fall into structural routines that perpetuate themselves as they continue to consume the same media (Martin, 2008).

Larsson (2012b) has applied structuration theory to journalistic practice**,** specifically news professionals' use of interactive online technologies. Scholars have referred to norms, rules, and routines of the journalism trade—even if they do not term their analyses as "structuration" (Deuze, 2005; Shoemaker & Reese, 1996). Routine is not always a bad practice, as it can make the journalism process "manageable" by helping news professionals "conform to standardized patterns of reporting and writing" (Dickinson, 2007, p. 192). However, should routine perpetuate structures, it could account for a journalist's failure to innovate in an interactive medium (Larsson, 2012b).

Larsson's analysis, although it fails to empirically study journalists' actions, posited that one of the reasons news professionals and audience members are so resistant to using interactive and participatory journalism is that "when consumers or producers of news approach the Internet, they do so with the practices of print media in memory" (p. 258). That is to say that printed news media practices are so engrained in public consciousness, both in the mind of journalists and audiences, that both groups are unable or unwilling to embrace interactivity.

Journalism and Professionalism

Before examining the culture of journalism and the structures of the occupation—particularly its rules and ethics—it is important to examine the relationship the industry has had with the concept of professionalism. While journalism exists within a framework that fulfill key elements of professionalism—such as ethics codes (Black, 1998) and an orientation toward public service (Deuze, 2005)—considerable scholarly debate surrounds the question of whether the industry can be considered a true profession (Beam, 1993; Beam, Weaver, & Brownlee, 2009; de Bruin, 2000; Lewis, 2012; McLeod & Hawley, 1964; McLeod & Rush, 1969; Menanteau-Horta, 1967; Reed, 2012; Wright, 1974). While journalists may possess a solid inclination toward professional behavior and even "consider themselves professionals," the occupation lacks many of the attributes sociologists ascribe to the traditional professions (Singer, 2003, p. 156). By a simple definition of being paid for work, rather than providing amateur service, (Flexner, 1915, 2001), journalists certainly qualify as professionals. However, for more than 100 years, scholars have identified more specific qualifications, and on some of those attributes, journalism may fall short of professional status.

The concept of "profession" has a rich history of scholarship. While sociologists have taken great strides to identify what constitutes a profession, there are myriad definitions in published works and several varied approaches to examine professional status. Friedson (2001, p.12) defines professionalism as "the institutional circumstances in which the members of occupations, rather than consumers or managers, control work." The root of the word "profession" indicates a desire to "speak forth" (Wynia, Latham, Kao, Berg, & Emauel, 1999, p. 1614). Most attempts to define a profession include a specific expertise in knowledge that is important to a functioning society (Evetts, 2003; 2006; Larson, 1977). Knowledge is shared through qualified training efforts (Evetts, 2003; 2006), and professions provide a "structurally stabilizing, morally protective" societal pillar in service to their clients (Wynia et al., 1999, p. 1612). While occupations may strive to become professions, not all fit the criteria, as society gives added esteem to those fields that qualify (Larson, 1977).

A key step for a profession to gain public esteem involves establishing monopolistic relationships that both protect the profession from outsiders and control the barriers for entry (Wilensky, 1964). Through the establishment of occupational boundaries (Gieryn, 1983; Lewis, 2012), professionals create "scarcity" that protects their position in the marketplace (Larson, 1977; p. xxviii). Some scholars argue that the "exclusive jurisdiction" (Wilensky, 1964, p. 138) of establishing professional boundaries may be among the strongest reasons that occupations aspire to professional status (Evetts, 2003). The monopoly on knowledge and expertise is among the biggest criticisms of professions (Friedson, 2001), but can perhaps be mitigated by opening access to all to at least enter into the occupational training (Larson, 1977).

Drawn by the desire to control a market share (Wilensky, 1964), and gain the prestige inherent in acceptance as a profession (Hargreaves, 2000), representatives of many occupations have voiced a desire to achieve professional status (Wilensky, 1964). Wilensky also asserted that few occupations have achieved this goal, with the clearest and most obvious example of a profession being the medical field (Wynia et al., 1999). Despite a lack of success at reaching professional status, representatives of other occupations continue to "assert claims to professional status and find that the claims are honored by no one but themselves" (Wilensky, 1964, p. 142). The term "professional" is often used in advertisements (Fournier, 1999) or as a marketing device to lure customers and potential employees (Evetts, 2003). Those occupations that have reached widely recognized professional status have clear motivation for limiting the term's use because the scarcity associated with the term also adds to its prestige:

> We need waste no time in endeavoring to formulate the concept of professional, if the concept is to include the indiscriminate activities touched on above. If there is a dancing profession, a baseball profession, an acting profession, a nursing profession, an artistic profession, a musical profession, a literary profession, a medical profession, and a legal profession—to mention no others—the term profession is too vague to be fought for. We may as well let down the bars and permit people to call themselves professional for no better reason than that they choose in this way to appropriate whatever social distinction may cling to a term obviously abused. (Flexner, 1915, 2001, p. 153).

In defining "profession," some scholars make a distinction between the term—which indicates a specific occupation that has a certain monopoly on knowledge, training, entry to the field, and a public service orientation—and the idea of professionalism—

which instead connotes “the extent to which one is committed to one’s profession” (Morrow & Goetz, 1988). It is perhaps in this distinction that some occupations mistakenly use the term incorrectly, although scholars clearly argue that many representatives of a chosen occupation consciously use the term to gain its prestige (Wilensky, 1964).

The study and definitions of professions have evolved through three historical shifts. Lewis (2012) identified the three shifts as the attribute approach, the study of the process of professionalization, and the professional struggle between employees and management. Larson (1977, p. x) identified three dimensions to the study of professions: 1) the *normative* dimension, which “covers the service orientation of professionals and their distinctive ethics”; 2) the *cognitive* dimension, which is more specifically orientated toward the study of the knowledge of the professional; 3) and the *evaluative* dimension, which focuses on the “autonomy and prestige” of the profession compared to other occupations.

Beam (1990) identified three approaches that scholars have taken to study professions: 1) the *phenomenological* approach; 2) the *trait/attribute* approach, and the 3) *power-relations* approach. In the phenomenological approach, scholars use no formal definition of professions, instead focusing on individual professionals and how they view their work as a profession. Beam stressed that while the approach has value in that it doesn’t give the mistaken assumption of an ideal profession, it does make it impossible to compare separate occupations and their levels of professionalism.

In the trait/attribute approach, scholars attempt to create objective criteria by which an occupation can be judged, compared, and classified, similar to scientific classifications of animals (Becker, 1970). I will explore this approach in more depth, as it is perhaps the most widely used of the traditional approaches. Finally, the power-relations approach examines the political processes and implications of professionalization (Beam, 1990). The latter two approaches, attribute and power-relations, "are not wholly incompatible" (p. 5), but the differences lie in the focus—whereas one tries to set forth the qualifications of a profession, the other examines the measures of control in establishing a profession (Larson, 1977).

The attribute approach was particularly popular among sociologists during the mid-1900s. Hall (1968) is notable for having developed a professionalism scale that illustrated two types of professional attributes: those that describe the occupation and those that describe professionals' attitudes. While Hall's scale has been accused of being too "ambiguous" (Snizek, 1972, p. 112), and attribute approaches in general have been criticized for setting up too much of an ideal in the case of medicine (Larson, 1977), the attribute approach remained influential among scholars throughout the 1960s.

In his examination on whether social work should be added to the list of established professions, Flexner (1915, 2001) provided six criteria, many of which carried over into subsequent sociologists' definitions. For Flexner, the profession sets itself apart from the typical occupation because of: the autonomy it affords to industry workers; the emphasis it places on intellectual—rather than practical—knowledge; the efforts to share that knowledge through formalized education; the establishment of organizations to govern and further knowledge; and an orientation toward public service.

Greenwood (1957) emphasized similar attributes, but narrowed his definition to five. For Greenwood, the knowledge of the field was expanded to "*systematic theory*" that has been "organized into an internally consistent system" (p. 46). The knowledge and theory is furthered through research and shared through academic and formal education. Secondly, Greenwood states that the profession gains *authority* through its use of clients—directed by the knowledge that only the professional can give—rather than customers—who have their own ideas of the services a worker should give them. For the client/professional relationship to be successful, a customer must trust that the professional has his or her "best interests at heart" (Becker, 1970, p. 95). Another of the hallmarks of the professional/client relationship is the confidentiality afforded to their interactions (Greenwood, 1957).

Third, Greenwood (1957) said the worker gains the *sanction of the community* of professionals before he or she can perform any professional authority. Fourth, the profession establishes a *regulative code of ethics* to govern behavior and the consequences for violating those standards. Fifth, the profession forms a *professional culture* through the creation of professional associations that further the work. The worker becomes acculturated into the profession by eschewing deviant behavior and devoting his or her efforts to the service orientation of the career.

Barber (1963) narrowed the attributes to four criteria, including theory, the community efforts, ethics codes, and a system of rewards, which can include such benefits as promotions (Wilensky, 1964). Wilensky further refined the list of attributes to two important criteria, the system of knowledge of the field and a list of norms or ethics. McLeod & Hawley (1964), however, list eight attributes:

> There is some agreement on eight criteria that must be satisfied for the occupation to become a profession: 1) it must perform a unique and essential service; 2) it must emphasize intellectual techniques; 3) it must have a long period of

> specialized training to acquire a systematic body of knowledge based on research; 4) it must be given a broad range of autonomy; 5) its practitioners must accept broad personal responsibility for judgments and actions; 6) it must place greater emphasis on service than on private economic gain; 7) it must develop a comprehensive self-governing organization; and 8) it must have a code of ethics which has been clarified and interpreted by concrete cases. (McLeod & Hawley, 1964).

A standardized and organized theoretical knowledge is a base requirement for most attribute approach definitions of professionalism. According to some scholars, occupations have skill-based practical learning that must be completed in order to perform the functions of the occupation. However, an occupation that reaches profession status, while still requiring some practical skill, must move beyond practicality to include intellectual knowledge (Greenwood, 1957) that is often dispensed through laboratory or classroom training (Flexner, 1915, 2001). Formal education for professions must move beyond trade knowledge and apprenticeships to include organized theoretical knowledge (Wilensky, 1964). Professional status indicates a monopoly on both the theory and the dispensing of training for a knowledge that has societal import (Becker, 1970). As a result of the required training in the body of theory, professions allow for colleague control of those who are admitted to the profession (Greenwood, 1957).

Though professions often see tensions between current practitioners and academics (Barber, 1963), training in professions is largely accomplished through formal education at professional schools, such as a university setting (Greenwood, 1957). Placing formal training in a professional schooling environment allows for a constant renewal and expansion of ideas through research and discovery (Flexner, 1915, 2001). In the cases where experts in a profession are unable to dispense theoretical knowledge, they often create facsimiles, such as war colleges for military officers, that can approximate the atmosphere of the university training (Barber, 1963). While Larson (1977) argued that monopolies on training in professions can be “arbitrarily determined” (p. 211), she did note the necessary aspect of providing trainers, allowing that the “producers themselves have to be produced if their products or commodities are to be given distinctive form” (p. 14). The “emerging or marginal professions” that seek but have not yet reached professional status, often attempt to better their university connections in hopes of increasing their standing (Barber, 1963, p. 675).

As a part of the professionalization process, most occupations will establish a formalized or informal code of ethics that govern proper professional behavior (Greenwood, 1957). Such a code has been defined as “an objective and fair set of rules and standards” (Wilensky, 1964, p. 139) that can result in formal sanctions should a professional choose not to follow it (Greenwood, 1957). Formalizing ethics codes can protect the values and service aspect of the profession (Wynia et al., 1999), of which professionals often say they feel a “sense of calling” (Morrow & Goetz 1988, p. 92). Among other rules to govern behavior, formal and informal ethics codes often address neutrality toward the client, service to his or her needs, and the dedication to provide referrals or consults should a professional be unable to tend to the complete needs of the client (Greenwood, 1957). In establishing a professional culture, occupations often form associations that can organize events (Barber, 1963), dispense awards and rewards (Barber, 1963), ensure autonomy (Hall, 1968), and the continuation of a “shared work culture” (Evetts, 2006, p. 135), which Flexner (1915, 2001) calls a “brotherhood” (p. 155).

Snizek (1972) expresses the importance of autonomy to the establishment of a profession. The author defines autonomy as “the practitioner’s desire to be free to make decisions about his work. These decisions, he feels, should be made without the threat of external pressures” (p. 110). Therefore, although ethics codes and associations may express what is appropriate behavior, a professional should have autonomy to make decisions for the best course of action for his or her client, where “only colleagues, not ‘outsiders’ are qualified to judge their work” (p.110). In addition, the professionals in an industry must have the freedom of self-regulation, and the more self-regulating a profession is, the more people believe in it (Hall 1968). Professions with high degrees of autonomy are less bureaucratic, and in some professions, autonomy can decrease stress (Pearson & Moomaw, 2005) and increase job satisfaction (Weaver & Wilhoit, 1996). Recent scholarship has focused on the difference between organizational and occupational professionalism (Evetts, 2006). In organizational professionalism, employers and managers limit workers’ autonomy through additional control over behavior, which Evetts (2003) termed “professionalism from above” (p. 409). In occupational professionalism, or “professionalism from within” (Evetts, 2003, p. 409), practitioners and colleagues, rather than management, have more control over the autonomy of the profession (Evetts, 2006).

As part of his professionalism scale, Hall (1968) identified several attributes that are oriented toward professionals’ attitudes. Among them is a belief in the public service nature of the profession. Although professionalism can be used by management of some occupations as a means to regulate proper behavior (Fournier, 1999), a true professional “believes that his profession is both indispensable and beneficial to society,” (Snizek, 1972, p 109). As a result of the public service orientation, economic gain should not be a professional's primary motivation for providing service (Wilensky, 1964).

Fournier (1999) illustrates that the strongest advantage to a public service orientation is that it builds credibility among the public. Other scholars have shown that those who believe strongly in professional behavior are more committed to their jobs (Bartol, 1979; Morrow & Goetz, 1988), although one study showed limited correlation between professionalism and a reduction of turnover (Bartol, 1979). The public service orientation of a profession is perhaps reflected in the fact that professionals believe they have a career, rather than a job (Morrow & Goetz, 1988). Such devotion to the career becomes a major focus for a professional, who "is totally devoted to his work. Work is defined as an end in itself and not a means to an end" (Snizek, 1972, p. 110).

While still popular in laying basic groundwork for definitions of what constitutes a profession, the attribute approach has received much criticism. For starters, there is no accepted agreement or definition for what attributes constitute a profession, and few scholars agree which occupations have reached professional status—with the exception of medicine, law and clergy (Roth, 1974). As a result, definitions of professions are arbitrary and based on a sociologist's personal beliefs (Dingwall, 1976). Beam (1990) argued that the attribute approach not only lacks a thorough consistency it also does not pay enough attention to the political struggles involved with professionalization. Becker (1970) noted that the attribute approach creates such an idealistic model of a profession that even the more established professions, such as law and medicine, fall short of meeting all the criteria. Although established professions are thought to have a monopoly, Becker argued that there is more competition and specialization than scholars might realize. Lawyers, for example, do not necessarily have a monopoly over the law because other occupations can do some of the work, such as creating wills. Critics of the attribute approach note that oftentimes members of an occupation will create a body of theory simply to meet the requirements of profession (Roth, 1974).

Despite Greenwood's assumption that a client has no choice but to submit to the wisdom of the professional, Becker (1970) and Roth (1974) both argue that clients do not have to use a service if they wish to forgo treatment or legal advice. Roth (1974) argued that ethics codes are more a protection from public scrutiny rather than a governance of behavior, and Becker (1970) noted that regardless of the presence of ethical codes, unethical practitioners can be found in any industry. While professional autonomy asserts that colleagues, rather than outsiders, make decisions about the quality of a professional's work, outside groups, such as government, do question performance (Becker, 1970). Although professions form associations in the idea of furthering knowledge, conventions often take the form of social events rather than producing new ideas (Roth, 1974). The "unrealistic" standards of professionalization may have unintended consequences.

> A symbol which becomes so unrealistic may have consequences not intended by its users. For instance, people who accept it as a statement of the ideal may become disillusioned when they discover it is so difficult to bring into reality and give up their attempts to strive for it or become cynical and search for ways to evade the ethical responsibilities it seeks to impose. (Becker, 1970, p. 102-103).

Rather than drawing binary boundaries of attributes that constitute professions, some authors believe that scholars should recognize that professionalization is a "continuum" with varying degrees of success (Greenwood, 1957; Barber, 1963). While some occupations may be established on most attributes of professionalization, others may have taken some steps toward achieving the status but not others. Hall (1968) noted that traditional professions have practitioners that are individually more professional than others, as "members vary in their conformity to the professional model" (p. 94).

Some scholars suggest a mode of "hybrid professionalism" in which practitioners make decisions on professional behavior that can "establish meaningful connections between clients, work, and organized action" (Noordegraaf, 2007, p. 780). Evetts (2003) argued that there is enough in common between occupations and professions that sociologists should pay more attention to similarities than differences.

Another criticism of the attribute approach is that it spends too little time exploring the process of professionalization (Roth, 1974). Even though he lists six attributes in his discussion, Flexner (1915, 2001) believed that regardless of criteria, what really makes a professional is not an occupation's collection of attributes, but the "professional spirit" he or she has toward the industry (p. 165). To Becker (1970), this professional spirit is about making moral decisions in practice. Beyond the professional spirit, however, occupations can reach professional status by offering a unique full-time service, establishing training schools, forming associations, and making political moves to establish licensing procedures and ethics codes (Wilensky, 1964). The teaching profession, for example, gained professionalization through various stages in which teachers gained more autonomy in the development of their curriculum (Hargreaves, 2000). Recent scholars have argued both individuals and organizations can take steps toward professionalization (Witschge & Nygren, 2009). Friedson (2001) argued that professionalization is achieved "when an organized occupation gains the power to determine who is qualified to perform a defined set of tasks, to prevent all others from performing that work, and to control the criteria by which to evaluate performance" (p. 12).

The third approach to studying professionalism, the power-relations approach, is perhaps more accepted by today's scholars because it looks more at societal issues of control inherent in the professions (Beam, 1990). Larson (1977) argued that although many attribute scholars note the public service orientation of professions, the professionalization process is truly about control of marketshare (Evetts, 2006) through expertise and standardized procedure and behavior (Larson, 1977; Witschge & Nyrgen, 2009).

The control exhibited by limiting access to an occupation can further create a class system and discourage unionization (Larson, 1977). While professionals overwhelmingly prefer that they and their colleagues govern admission and practice (Snizek, 1972), organizational professionalism is often used by management as a way to discipline (Fournier, 1999) and motivate employees (Evetts, 2003), through expressing appropriate work behavior (Fournier, 1999) and accountability (Evetts, 2003).

Although discussions of whether journalism fits into the definition of a profession are not new, dating back at least a century (Beam et al., 2009), there is considerable argument and little consensus to its status (Lewis, 2012; Wright, 1974). Some scholars indicate it may be a "craft" (McLeod & Hawley, 1964). Others question whether it is an art (Menanteau-Horta, 1967). Regardless, if a scholar takes an attribute approach to studying whether journalism is a profession, it is quite simple to see that journalism is missing many of the key components outlined in the literature of professions (Kaplan, 2006; Wright, 1974).

There is no licensing process for journalism (Lowery, 2006). Indeed, such a process, at least in the United States, would violate the freedom of expression promised in the Constitution's First Amendment (Witschge & Nygren, 2009). Because there is no licensing process, journalists do not own a monopoly on their craft, which involves the dissemination of information (Kaplan, 2006). Information can be shared by amateur bloggers (Singer, 2004), via social media, or even directly by sources and organizations (Kaplan, 2006). In addition, the lack of a licensing process fails to limit entry into the field (Kaplan, 2006; Lewis, 2012). Though many universities provide journalism training and have established journalism schools, they do not require accreditation in order to train a prospective journalist (Lowery, 2006). Attendance at schools is not required—in fact, at least 8% of journalists surveyed in the current edition of *The American Journalist* did not even have a college degree, let alone a specialization in journalism (Willnat & Weaver, 2014). According to the authors, the number of journalists with formalized education has increased remarkably since the 1970s, when the first such study showed only 58% had a college education. Another study showed that in the 1970s, only 50% had any formal journalism training (Wright, 1974). It wasn't until the 1970s that the British system began formal journalism training (Aldridge & Evetts, 2003). While journalists in general show favorable attitudes toward education, they don't generally believe that it should be required for a journalist to receive formal university education in order to work in the industry (Menanteau-Horta, 1967; Wright, 1974). Outside of the United States and England, studies do show a consideration for a licensing process. Latin American journalists are more likely to believe that a journalist should be required to attend journalism school, attend refresher courses, and take part in other professionalizing activities (McLeod & Rush, 1969). Journalists who do have formal journalism training or education are more likely to exhibit professional attitudes about the responsibility of the social service aspects of the press (Johnson, Slawski & Bowman, 1972).

There are no official governing professional organizations in journalism, although there are groups to join, such as the Society of Professional Journalists (Beam, 1990). However, in the United States particularly, membership in professional organizations is low and declining (de Bruin, 2000). While one longitudinal study showed that in the first decade of the 21st century 15% of journalists dropped their affiliations with professional organizations, membership has traditionally been low: "At no point in the thirty-five year history of the American Journalist studies has a majority of respondents reported either belonging to at least one professional organization or regularly reading one or more professional publications or Web sites" (Beam et al., 2009, p. 281). Professional organizations have been shown to be more popular outside of the United States and among those who have more experience and less formal education (Menanteau-Horta, 1967).

While journalists place particular emphasis on autonomy—especially in the realm of news selection (Johnstone, 1976)—scholars argue that decisions are often made, not by reporters, but by managers—and even advertisers (Beam, 1990; McLeod & Hawley, 1964). Studies have shown that reporters at larger organizations have less freedom than those at smaller publications—who also have higher job satisfaction (Johnstone, 1976). This is perhaps explained by the fact that editors have more reporters to manage (Johnstone, 1976), which accounts for higher levels of organizational professionalism at larger newspapers (Beam, 1993). Although journalists spend much of their time away from the office, decisions are often made in bureaucratic fashion (Johnstone, 1976). Journalists do tend to have higher job satisfaction in correlation to their level of autonomy (de Bruin, 2000; Weaver & Wilhoit, 1996), but recent studies show that organizational pressures (de Bruin, 2000) have eroded their autonomy to some extent (Beam et al., 2009)—mostly in their ability to cover all stories on their beat, although freedom to select what stories to cover actually increased. Layoffs that resulted from the industry's move to digital technology have forced a reliance on multiskilling, and the publishing of public relations releases and newswire articles (Witschge & Nygren, 2009).

Journalists are not keen on respecting others' work (Wright, 1974), meaning there is little to no practice of client referral and consultation. In fact, there really is no specific client relationship for journalism (Aldridge & Evetts, 2003), which instead sees society as a sort of client relationship (Lowery, 2006). Journalists have no client privilege, as shield laws are not universal (Aldridge & Evetts, 2003). Because of these perceived shortcomings in achieving professional attributes, some scholars argue that rather than looking at journalism from an attribute professional approach, researchers would be better served to measure individual journalists and their professional attitudes (Menanteau-Horta, 1967; Wright, 1974). As such, many journalism professional studies use the normative (Singer, 2003) or phenomenological (Beam, 1990) approaches.

The normative approach is perhaps more effective in describing journalism because there are some traditional professionalizing attributes that apply to the individual journalists in the industry. Journalism organizations—particularly SPJ—have produced codes of ethics (Black, 1998; Lewis, 2012; Lowery, 2006; Witschge & Nygren, 2006). Although the SPJ ethics code has undergone recent revisions, its four pillars remain much the same as they were in 1996: Journalists are expect to “Seek Truth and Report It,” “Minimize Harm,” “Act Independently,” and “Be Accountable and Transparent,” (Society of Professional Journalists, 2014). Black (1996) wrote that the SPJ’s emphasis on these four pillars reminds journalists of the service role they have in society. Beam (1990) adds that the code of ethics shows that journalists are, indeed, moving toward professionalization.

However, SPJ’s Code of Ethics falls short of the requirements of the attribute approach to professionalization. There is no formal sanction to those who engage in unethical conduct (Beam, 1990), as the industry has no licensure. The ethics code is therefore not enforceable beyond the organizational level (Lewis, 2012; Lowery, 2006). Indeed, at the organizational level, newspaper adherence to ethical standards varies (Beam, 1990). Studies do show that those journalists who are professionally orientated are more likely to want standardized ethical guidelines for the industry (McLeod & Hawley, 1964), and although many journalistic codes around the world have some values that are not the same, the majority direction of ethical standards transcends many cultural borders (Witschge & Nygren, 2009). Journalists also believe that their ethical standards should carry over to the Internet, regardless of different natures of the technology.

Although they are not professionals in a traditional sense, there is some prestige afforded journalists from the public (McLeod & Hawley, 1964; Wright, 1974). Journalists see their field as an essential public service (Deuze, 2005), which Singer argued is the strongest case journalism can make for professional status: “It is generally unquestioned in journalistic circles that a central job of the press is to provide information citizens can and will use to govern themselves wisely” (p. 144). Public service and ethical codes do show that journalists, at the least, have an attachment to their occupational identity (Becker & Carper, 1956). Journalists who work at larger newspapers are more likely to believe that the public service of a journalist is in being an active democratic participant rather than a neutral observer or stenographer (Johnson et al., 1972).

Because of the presence of some of the traditional attributes but not others (McLeod & Hawley, 1964), some scholars have proposed that journalism is perhaps a hybridized profession (Lewis, 2012; Noordegraaf, 2007) or a semi-profession (Witschge & Nygren, 2009). There are certainly tensions between the occupational—or industry—and organizational aspects of professionalism, and journalists at different organizations often have different ideas of what is acceptable journalism practice (de Bruin, 2000). In addition, journalistic monopoly on information dissemination is under pressure with the Internet more than ever (Lewis, 2012; Singer, 2003; Witschge & Nygren, 2009). Journalists feel particular pressure from participatory aspects of digital media (Lewis, 2012) and from citizen journalism (Lowery, 2006). For example, the Monica Lewinsky scandal surrounding the Clinton presidency was not originally published by a journalistic outlet but by citizen blogger Matt Drudge, who challenged the traditional gatekeeping role of the press by reporting the information (Singer, 2003). Lewis (2012) used Gieryn's (1983) example of boundary's work, in which scientists draw boundaries around their work to distinguish between "science" and "non-science." To Lewis (2012), journalists who have lost their information monopoly now may use boundary work to separate journalism from non-journalism. Still, despite the challenges of new media, Singer (2003) ultimately argued that it is not the proliferation of other news sources that challenges journalists' professionalism, but instead commercial interests in which they must make money online: "What journalists refer to as separation of state—the 'wall' between the editorial and business sides of the media operation—has become a significant concern" (p. 154).

Journalism and Culture

In order to study the structures involved in news production, it is important to understand and define the traditional aspects of journalism culture. To understand what is meant by such a broad term as "journalism culture" and how it has traditionally and currently been conceived and studied, one must first dive into the meaning of the word "culture" itself.

Culture is a difficult word to define because it encompasses so many complex ideas (Cohen, 2009). Scholars, especially sociologists and anthropologists, have attempted to define the word, but that complexity is perhaps the key reason why Kroeber and Klouckholn (1952) were able to present 140 different published definitions of "culture." In the 60 years since Kroeber and Kluckholn's volume, there have no doubt been added numerous additional potential definitions.

In 1871, Edward Tylor, considered to be one of the founders of modern anthropology, described culture as "that complex whole which includes: knowledge, belief, art, morality, laws, custom, and any other capability or habits acquired by man as a member of society" (p. 1). Tylor's definition, widely used and cited, details in itself the murky waters of defining culture.

Geertz (1973) argued that culture is found in symbols that are represented in "historically transmitted patterns of meaning" (p. 89). Symbols, Geertz wrote, are how human beings make sense of experience and the ways in which we interpret our world. In addition to symbols, Sewell (2005) adds other key characteristics of culture, in 1) that it must be learned or taught, 2) involves a process by which humans engage in sensemaking, 3) and that it guides human actions. To White (1959), the *locus of culture* is found in three core areas of study: "human beliefs," "social interaction processes," and "material objects." Human beliefs represent knowledge, values, and norms. White wrote that material objects represent those artifacts of culture that are of a physical nature. Social interaction processes reflect the ways that members of a culture behave (White, 1959). Homogenous cultures have tightly held standards and practices, while those that are heterogeneous need more flexibility to avoid conflict (Triandis, 1996).

Culture is not only a societal phenomenon. It can be recognized at the organizational level, as well, although some scholars prefer to call such systems *"subcultures"* (Hofstede, 1980/1981, p. 24). Organizationally, scholars have noted several factors that affect culture: 1) "*societal norms*;" 2) "*outside influences*;" 3) "origins," which detail the history of the organization; and 4) the "consequences" involved in invoking the other three cultural factors (Hofstede, 1980/1981). Allaire and Firsirotu. (1984, p. 209) slightly refine Hofstede's factors, stating that culture in organizations reflect "society's values," the "organization's history," and "contingency factors"—reflecting behavior in cases that break social norms.

Studying culture is also a complex process. Geertz (1973), perhaps one of the most well known scholars of conducting cultural ethnography, described the study of culture as semiotic in process, as a result of the symbolic nature of culture itself. As a result, and owing to the complex nature of the symbols in a particular culture, a scholar who studies a culture must not simply summarize his or her findings, but must engage in deeper scholarship, which Geertz calls "thick description." Thick description, or "a stratified hierarchy of meaningful structures," (p. 7) is a detailed account of the deepest form that does its best to fully capture as many aspects of the culture as is possible for the researcher to discover.

With culture defined as patterns of symbols that encompass beliefs and practices, a scholar used traditional studies of newswork sociology to try and identify what might constitute journalism culture (Zelizer, 2008). Zelizer (2008) noted such study is necessary because it allows the researcher to attempt to understand what effect societal and professional norms and values have on the production of mass communication.

Hanitzsch (2007) defines journalism culture as "a particular set of ideas and practices by which journalists consciously or unconsciously legitimate their role in society and make their work meaningful for themselves and others" (p. 360).
Schudson (1989) identified three factors that are often studied in the sociology of news. First the "political economy of news" (p. 267) is the study of how newsworkers fit and draw upon social systems. In the case of American journalists, that could perhaps include ideas of "altruistic democracy" and "responsible capitalism" (Gans, 1979, 2004). Second, studies of the "social organization of newswork" (Schudson, 1989, p. 270) examine how newswork and the newsroom functions affect the production of mass communication (Schudson, 1989). Finally, "culturological approaches" (p. 275) examine issues of both professional and societal cultures and how they affect news production.

Shoemaker and Reese (1996; 2013) published what is perhaps the most comprehensive examination of journalistic culture. Because content production is the ultimate goal of newswork, the authors specifically focused on how content itself is shaped by the cultural atmosphere of the profession. To do so, they constructed a model of “hierarchical influences,” consisting of five stacked spheres representing cultural factors that affect the production of news content: “individuals,” “media routines,” “organizations,” “extramedia influences,” and “ideology” (p. 64).

Shoemaker and Reese (1996) noted that individuals are at the center of journalism content production. The individual level represents the manner in which beliefs, practices, and personal background affect the production of content. In the media routines level, Shoemaker and Reese (1996) detail many practices that affect news content, such as gatekeeping practices, objectivity, and news values.

At the organizational level, journalistic culture is shaped by such factors as ownership and policy. Russo (1998) noted that news professionals have great pride in their identity and their ties to the journalism industry are stronger than those to their employers. Russo also found that journalists have a sense of loyalty to their employers, even as much of their high job satisfaction (Burgoon et al., 1995) has become tied to the level of autonomy they feel (Weaver & Wilhoit, 1986). Although the publication’s ownership ultimately has the final say in what is produced, Shoemaker and Reese (1996) noted that such intervention is generally rare in the industry.

Shoemaker and Reese (1996) posited that outside forces also shape the journalism industry, represented in what they termed the extramedia influences level. News organizations must make money, meaning they rely heavily on advertising. Likewise, an outlet also falls under particular government systems that may affect how they do their work. In particular, Plaisance, Skewes, and Hanitzsch (2012) noted that the watchdog role—in which the journalist has a duty to serve as a public steward and investigate governmental claims (Clark, 2011)—is more common in countries that consistently provide a strong protection for freedom of the press and expression.

Perhaps some of the most significant changes in newsroom culture revolve around technological change and consolidation. Newspapers, for example, struggled to find economic structure in the move to digital news (Mings & White, 2000). As a result of the digital shift, combined with economic realities of the recession of 2008, many news organizations were forced to cut staff at an alarming rate (Reinardy, 2009). Therefore, much of journalists' historically high job satisfaction (Burgoon et al., 1995) has begun to erode (Reinardy, 2011), as news professionals question the quality of their newswork (Liu, 2006) and even contemplate leaving the industry (Reinardy, 2009).

The increased skill demands of the Internet (Aviles et al., 2004) have begun to overtax already burdernsome workloads, and journalists believe the quality of their work has suffered (Liu, 2006). Moves toward convergence—in which two organizations from competing media platforms, such as newspapers and television, combine along a continuum ranging from shared efforts, to sharing newsrooms, to a partnership in producing content (Dailey, Demo, & Spillman, 2005)—have been met with resistance (Robinson, 2011). Many journalists have expressed increased appreciation for colleagues in alternate media platforms, but they entered the arrangement without an initial high regard for colleagues from the other medium—especially in the case of print journalists toward broadcast counterparts (Singer, 2004). In many cases, culture clashes occurred because professionals failed to speak the same "language" as their colleagues, as terms and production styles differed based on the platform (Silcock & Keith, 2006).

In recent years, some news organizations have pushed beyond the convergence model toward "webvergence," in which a news outlet tackles the demands of digital media not by combining efforts with another medium, but instead striking out into the new frontier of the Internet on its own, attempting to train its own reporters to produce across multiple platforms (Thornton & Keith, 2009).

Journalism's Structures

Because the news industry puts a high priority on professional behavior (Burgoon et al., 1995), it is unsurprising that journalists contribute to the production and reproduction of industry rules and resources. Using Giddens' structuration theory as a lens, this chapter will further explore the structures of journalism proposed by both Larsson (2012b) and Deuze (2005). It will examine the rules of the profession, such as the SPJ ethics code, the social responsibility theory of the press, and the rules for the selection of news. Next, this chapter will examine cultural identities of news professionals—that of watchdog, and gatekeeper—and how they act as routine nonmaterial resources upon which journalists draw when reproducing industry norms—resources that are challenged by innovative digital media. Finally, this section of the chapter will examine how media practices, especially source selection, perpetuate traditional journalistic routines that limit participation.

Rules. The rules of modern journalism began to take shape in the mid-20th Century. As World War II ended, the Commission on Freedom of the Press convened in 1947 (McIntyre, 1987; Pickard, 2010). Commonly known as the Hutchins Commission, the meeting gave rise to the social responsibility theory of the press (Siebert et al., 1956). The social responsibility theory states that journalists have an almost sacred role in providing a forum to share ideas (McIntyre, 1987) and inform the public on vital issues (Siebert et al., 1956) of which citizens need to be aware in order to fully participate in the democratic process (Kovach & Rosenstiel, 2007).

Although he does not call them journalism "structures" or "rules," Deuze (2004; 2005) lays out several characteristics of journalistic ideology that have developed since the adoption of the social responsibility model. To Deuze, the primary characteristics of journalists are: (a) *public service*, (b) *objectivity*, (c) *autonomy,* (d) *immediacy*, and (e) *ethics*. As Hafez (2002) found, these characteristics are not given equal weight in all cultures. However, according to Weaver and Wilhoit (1986; 1996), at least some form of these ideals is found in most journalism cultures.

In the case of American journalism, Deuze's characteristics of journalists are echoed heavily in SPJ's Code of Ethics, whose four pillars are that journalists should: (1) "seek truth and report it," (2) "minimize harm," (3) "act independently," and (4) "be accountable." The four pillars of the SPJ code echo similar suggestions of Weaver and Wilhoit's (1986, 1996) global journalism surveys.

This chapter has already discussed the idea of journalism as a public service, so it will now address the other characteristics of Deuze's (2005) ideal journalistic practices. As an interesting note, the most often cited and criticized rule of journalism—objectivity—is not mentioned specifically in SPJ's ethics code. Instead, the code states that a journalist must be "honest, fair, and courageous in gathering, reporting, and interpreting information" (para. 2) and that he or she "should be free of any obligation to any interest other than the public's right to know" (para. 30).

Recent scholarship has recognized objectivity as a lofty, and somewhat unattainable, goal (Deuze, 2005) and has since replaced it with other terminology, such as balance. According to Deuze, scholars argue that journalists will always have inherent bias. However, although "objectivity may not be possible . . . that does not mean one should not strive for it or redefine it in such a way that it in fact becomes possible" (Deuze, 2005, p. 448).

The objectivity norm states that journalists should report in a fair, detached manner (Kovach & Rosenstiel, 2007). It is one ideal to which journalists continue to cling as more opinionated platforms, such as blogs or social media (Singer, 2005), develop online marketshare. As Schudson (2001) puts it, the objectivity norm is journalism's "chief occupational value" (p. 149) and one that developed specifically as a mode of protection for journalists, to shield them against allegations of wrongdoing:

> Journalists live in the public eye. They are uninsulated from public scrutiny—they have no recondite language, little fancy technology, no mirrors and mysteries to shield them from the public. There are strong reasons for journalists to seek publicly appealing moral norms to protect them from criticism, embarrassment, or lawsuits, and to give them guidance in their work to prevent practices that would provoke criticism, or even lawsuits, and to endow their occupation with an identity they can count as worthy. (Schudson, 2001, p. 166)

The objectivity of news professionals is expected, not only by journalists, but also by the public, which tends to list a lack of bias and story balance as the most important facets of objectivity (Latham & Laxson, 2006). In one survey of audience attitudes, some of journalism's most cherished roles, such as that of the watchdog, found little support, while accuracy and "unbiased reporting" were almost universally desired (Heider, McCombs, & Poindexter, 2005).

Among Deuze's other ideal characteristics, there are similar agreements and challenges that arise. For example, a journalist's independence—one of SPJ's key components—can often be challenged by realistic expectations of a business's need to turn a profit (Hanitzsch, 2007; McManus, 1992) or conflicts of interest in community relationships or membership in organizations (Reader, 2006). Even so, it is expected that a journalist should remain as detached as possible (Kovach & Rosenstiel, 2007). Journalists themselves tie much of their job satisfaction to the amount of autonomy they perceive (Weaver & Wilhoit, 1986).

Deuze's (2005) suggestion that journalists tend to have a strong orientation toward ethics is clearly supported in the presence of SPJ's Code of Ethics. However, Battistoli (2008) found that while news outlets often have formalized ethics codes, professionals often place heavier emphasis on their own experience and advice from coworkers when solving ethical dilemmas.

Finally, timeliness is an important characteristic in a deadline-oriented business (Deuze, 2005). Journalists have been known to place great emphasis not only in disseminating the information quickly, but also in selecting news based on its recency (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996). However, timeliness was among the journalistic characteristics in which Heider et al. (2005) found that the public had little concern. Instead, the public placed a greater emphasis on reporting information correctly rather than upon disseminating it quickly.

Still, immediacy remains an essential journalistic characteristic, particularly in an era of on-demand, online reporting (Karlsson, 2011). The Internet poses a particular challenge to immediacy because "the high speed of the Internet denotes that news items are basically published before they have been completed" (Karlsson, 2011, p. 286). Because of the high speed and instantaneous nature of the Internet, journalists are expected to disseminate information as they gather it. Karlsson highlights that aspect of the profession as being problematic because it also means that readers who see the information at different stages of development will see an event through different lenses:

> Early readers will have a rather different picture of what happened compared to later readers, and when discussing news with each other, readers might discover that they have been exposed to sometimes contradictory descriptions of events on the news sites. Readers following the event over the day will have seen drafts dismissed and the story changed. (p. 289)

As a solution to the demands of timeliness online, Karlsson (2011) offered a new rule for the journalism trade that becomes possible through digital technology: increased transparency to the newsgathering process. Journalists, he argued, could easily highlight "in real time" (p. 289) the aspects of the newsgathering process that allow the public to see "segments of the gathering and processing stages of newswork" (p. 289). Karlsson's idea of digital increases in transparency could aid news professionals in fulfilling SPJ's accountability charge.

The rules of journalism, especially those of responsibility, objectivity, and timeliness become a part of a routine journalism practice, which governs much newswork (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996). Such routine forms the somewhat ritualistic nature of the news industry (Bogaerts, 2011). As such, routines help in the formation and reproduction of journalistic identity. Professional identity has been defined as "a sense of common understandings, experiences, and expertise, cultivated through professional socialization on several levels" (Wiik, 2009, p. 358). The next section of this chapter will explore how identity works among the resources journalists draw upon and reproduce in their daily routines.

Resources. Journalists can draw from many types of material resources, such as newsroom space, computers, audio recorders, corporate funds, or press credentials. This paper is not concerned with these material resources because they are not often tied to journalistic identity, which identifies more with the profession than with employers or their resources (Russo, 1998). Therefore, this section of the chapter is concerned more with those nonmaterial practices that journalists reproduce in their routines (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996), such as the journalistic identities of the fourth estate and watchdog for the public, gatekeeper of information, and agenda setter.

Journalism as watchdog. Accountability journalism, often called the "watchdog" role of the professional press (Hermans & Vergeer, 2011, p. 15), is the routine resource upon which journalists draw their role as the fourth estate, to be "stewards of the public trust, holding officials responsible for their actions" (Clark, 2011, p. 610). Accountability journalism, unsurprisingly, is more common among journalists with a high degree of press freedom (Plaisance et al., 2012). In many Western systems, journalists believe the watchdog role to be the most important identity for a journalist (Herscovitz, 2004; Weaver & Wilhoit, 1996).

The watchdog role is in line with the social responsibility role of the press (Siebert et al., 1956), but it is one upon which journalists draw in order to assist readers in democratic participation (McQuail, 1984). Watchdog journalism has drawn criticism because it places too much emphasis on holding public officials accountable and not enough on providing mobilizing information that informs the public of what individuals can do to improve their situation (Clark, 2011). In the end, perhaps because of the ubiquity of the watchdog role, time constraints, and the objectivity standard (Clark, 2011), journalistic trends perpetuate and reproduce accountability journalism at the expense of mobilizing the public.

Public journalism (Rosen, 1999), the most recent effort professional journalists have made toward achieving accountability journalism that also placed an emphasis on mobilizing information for the public good (Gade, 2008; Brewer & McCombs, 1996), failed to gain traction on mainstream journalism, perhaps because of its subjective, audience-centered focus (Barney, 1996).

The routinizing effort on the watchdog role of the press has far-reaching implications because of the next two identities this paper will explore, the journalist as gatekeeper and as agenda-setter. Journalists hold strongly to watchdog routines, though the public does not view accountability journalism among the most important roles of the journalist (Heider, et al., 2005), journalists consistently reify accountability journalism topics as important because news professionals act as the filters for information (Shoemaker & Vos, 2009) and the forum for public discussion. Kovach and Rosenstiel (2010) argue that the watchdog is one of eight key roles the journalist can play in a modern environment in which information is shared by many sources.

Journalism as gatekeeper. The gatekeeper, or “those who control the flow of news” (Snider, 1967, p. 419) is a metaphor that has received great scholarly interest both historically (White, 1950) and in recent years (Shoemaker & Vos, 2009). In essence, the theory of gatekeeping states that journalists traditionally filter news of interest to the public, ensuring only the best ideas find publication. And yet, like the traditional agenda setting theory (McCombs & Shaw, 1972), with new platforms opening up new gates (Bruns, 2008), many scholars are left wondering if the gatekeeping theory still has relevance in the current media landscape (Shoemaker & Vos, 2009). The next section of this chapter will explore traditional notions of gatekeeping theory, as well as ideas as to its relevance in the 21st century.

Historical views on Gatekeeping. The gatekeeping metaphor did not arise originally in response to mass communication, but instead stems from sociologist Kurt Lewin (1947), who in hoping to improve the distribution of food supplies, examined various "gates" through which goods must pass in order to move from farm, to distributor, and eventually to the public.

David Manning White (1950), one of Lewin's students, was the first to put gatekeeping theory into practice in a journalistic context. White hoped to examine what influences or values facilitated the selection of news from the many articles that cross a wire via the telegraph. To do so, he studied a wire editor at a Midwestern newspaper, whom White called "Mr. Gates." White asked Gates to keep all articles that crossed the news wire for an entire week. The author was not interested in the articles that actually found publication—for that, he could have used a content analysis. Instead, he focused specifically on those that Mr. Gates did *not* choose to publish.

White asked Mr. Gates to keep track of the stories that did not run and record a log of them each night after his shift to explain why he had passed over them. White concluded that Mr. Gates selected much of the news based on his own likes, dislikes, or biases.

Snider, a doctoral student at the University of Iowa, discovered that Mr. Gates was, in fact, one of his previous coworkers and still worked at the same Midwestern paper. Snider (1967) resolved to replicate White's study and see if he could draw many of the same conclusions as White. He found that many of the reasons for selecting news still held true, however, many of the issues that were highlighted in the newspaper reflected changing times and political climates.

Despite Snider's replication of White's study and finding of similar results, scholars later revisited White's data and drew remarkably different conclusions. Hirsch (1977) re-evaluated the data and concluded that Mr. Gates had actually chosen the stories in a manner that mostly conformed to the proportion in which the articles crossed the wire. In other words, Hirsch concluded that the number of stories a certain topic, type, or category that were available to Mr. Gates reflected what actually was published. Such a finding suggested that the original filtering of information began, not with Mr. Gates, but the individuals who managed the news wire.

Hoping to measure Hirsch's conclusions further, Whitney and Becker (1982) conducted a study of news editors. These editors were each given stacks of cards. Each of the cards had a particular story. The authors were asked to identify which stories they believed should be published. One stack of cards contained stories of different types and categories that were presented in equal proportions. The other stack weighted certain types of articles. Whitney and Becker found that when the proportions were equal, the editors chose a wide range of stories for publication. When the authors weighted proportions, however, the editors all favored the weighted articles, again suggesting that in the case of wire news, true gatekeeping begins with those who distribute the news to the editors—instead of with the editors themselves.

Conceptual ideas of gatekeeping. Gatekeeping theory, in essence, is that there is too much available information for the public to know what to trust and what is important (Shoemaker & Vos, 2009). Ultimately, the mantle then falls upon the journalist in order to "filter" and "translate" the news in order to highlight what is of most interest to the consumer (Gieber, 1960, p. 83). The theory represents many possible gates through which information must pass (Shoemaker & Vos, 2009). First, according to Shoemaker & Vos, a communication professional will uncover information to disseminate to the public. If that professional is a media relations worker, then perhaps he or she will contact the media or construct an event (Molotch & Lester, 1974) in order to disseminate the information. If that person is a journalist, he or she will then begin to construct the story based on typical media routines (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996).

Sigal (1973) found that much news production originates in routine channels, meaning it arises in constructed events such as press conferences or briefings, rather than on the enterprising effort of the reporter. After the news is produced, the journalist's news will pass through other gates, such as editors or publishers, until it eventually passes the final gate to publication (Shoemaker & Vos, 2009).

Bruns (2008, p. 175) describes the news selection and gatekeeping role as a three-step process: *"input,"* where the news is gathered, sources are interviewed, and articles are written or stories are filmed; "output," in which stories are edited or vetted; and "response," in which the public reads or views a story and is allowed to interpret and counter. In traditional gatekeeping models, the response phase is the only stage in which the consumer has any say, and it is often limited to such forms as letters to the editor.

Schudson (1989) cites a major problem with most of the early gatekeeping studies. In the Schudson's mind, early studies focused too much on what Snider (1967) called "the flow of news" (p. 419). Schudson's biggest criticism of gatekeeping research is that it focused too much on the publication of constructed news instead of the publication of original articles. Hanitzsch (2007) cites another issue with the gatekeeping metaphor: It is ultimately a one-sided process, with all of the power of filtration and publication lying in the hands of the media producer, disempowering the consumer. Ultimately, minority voices are silenced (Brown, Bybee, Wearden, & Straughan, 1987).

The one-sided nature of gatekeeping is especially magnified in that journalists do not consult the public in deciding what to publish (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996). Perhaps such a practice could be attributed to the fact that journalists do not always hold their audience in the highest regard (Burgoon et al., 1995; Netzley & Banning, 2011). Journalists often express that they believe the public is more interested in "guilty pleasure topics" (Netzley & Banning, 2011, p. 46) than perhaps "more important" information targeted by accountability journalism.

Often, a form of gatekeeping may manifest itself in monitoring and curating or mimicking the production of news of other outlets. Bailey and Lichty (1972) examined NBC News' decision to air video of an execution during the Vietnam war, and the authors concluded that NBC News only did so after the *New York Times* ran a photo of the execution on two separate occasions.

Berkowitz (1990) showed that the nature of television news production is somewhat different than newspapers, as the number of gates is magnified. Content decisions for television often arise out of committee approaches from broadcast news meetings. Often, the gatekeepers for television news may be different depending on the day and the context.

Gatekeeping in the 21st Century. With the rise of digital media, scholars have debated the usefulness of the gatekeeping model (Meraz, 2009; Williams & Carpini, 2000). Digital media bring with them new forms of participation (Jenkins, 2006) and production (Bruns, 2009), leading many to call for more participatory models of journalism that might also include more user input (Singer, Hermida, Domingo, Heinonen, Paulussen, Quandt, Reich, & Vujnovic, 2011).

Williams and Carpini (2000) noted that beginning in the late 1990s, blogs burst onto the mass communications scene, which, in recent years has allowed citizens to break stories on their own (Gillmor, 2004). Many scholars believe that as a result, the gates have been thrown open and media no longer stand as lone sentinels to filter information (Shoemaker & Vos, 2009). In the case of the Bill Clinton-Monica Lewinsky scandal, for example, at least two national media outlets were aware of the rumor but chose not to pursue a story because, in the past, gatekeepers had decided that politicians' personal lives were not public information (Williams & Carpini, 2004). However, when Matt Drudge decided to publish the information on his blog site, the *Drudge Report*, the national media were reluctantly forced to cover the story (Williams & Carpini, 2000).

Bruns (2003) suggested a new model of journalism that discards the gatekeeping model in favor of a new approach, one more appropriate to the 21st century, which he termed “gatewatching.” Bruns’ (2005; 2008; 2011) theory of gatewatching suggested a more collaborative and participatory approach to forming the news, in which the consumer has access to both the “input” and “output” stages, in addition to the traditional “response” stage.

In gatewatching, the journalists allows readers to participate in the newsgathering process. The journalist and the citizen work together to edit the story and then have a continued conversation that follows on the journalist’s platform. Bruns (2003) further suggested that a journalist should take on a more “publicizing” role, which still connotes some gatekeeping aspects. However, instead of producing the news, the journalist, who has access to larger pools of resources than the consumer, provides a platform and directs the public’s attention to the most relevant information on the web.

Despite calls for more inclusive participation, recent research suggests that journalists continue to ignore user participation and continue to cling to their traditional gatekeeping roles—regardless of the strength of the web in opening participation to all (Jenkins, 2006). Shoemaker and Vos (2009) argued that the gatekeeping metaphor still holds great relevance in the time of digital media—perhaps even greater relevance than it did before. The web has a preponderance of information as new gates open up, and the journalist can still serve as a gatekeeper in filtering the credible information from what is not credible.

Meraz (2009) showed that most citizen blogs lean heavily on traditional media for content, linking mostly to elite sources when discussing stories. Traditional elite media, however, mainly link to each other, ignoring citizen media almost altogether (Meraz, 2009).

In a series of case studies of news organizations through the world, Singer et al. (2011) showed that journalists still cling tightly to the production processes of news. Singer et al. identified fives steps to the news production process: 1) “access/observation,” in which news is gathered and written; 2) “selection/filtering,” in which it is chosen for publication; 3) “editing/processing,” in which it is refined; 4) “distribution”; and 5) “interpretation.” According to Singer at al., most newsrooms still do most of the work in four of the five steps, opening only the interpretation stage for the consumer. The selection/filtering stage, which is perhaps most tied to the traditional gatekeeping approach, is the most tightly controlled stage in most newsrooms (Singer at al., 2011).

As a result, it is clear that most traditional news outlets continue to find value in the gatekeeping model, and despite new technologies that encourage participation, media companies are as yet unwilling to open up the gates and share the platform. However, as more and more consumers begin to demands participation as a part of the process (Gee & Hayes, 2011), media in the future may find they have little choice. Adding to the production of blogs, social media now give consumers a platform to disseminate information. Whether it will lead to more participatory journalism is still unclear, as recent studies show that most journalists still use new platforms with old routines (Singer, 2004; Lasorsa, 2012; Usher & Lewis, 2012). As journalists have begun to adopt social networks and carry over legacy practices to the new media, research has shown a rebirth of the gatekeeping function in the way that many journalists post to microblogging platforms (Lasorsa, 2012). The retweeting function of Twitter, in which journalists can take another person’s post and share it with a reporter’s own followers, serves as a new form of filtering relevant information to send to the audience (Parmelee, 2013; Russell, 2015).

Content and source selection. The duality of structure (Giddens, 1984) of journalism practice is perhaps most prevalent in the gatekeeping role of the journalist. The method in which journalists select sources for the news becomes routine, coming from channels that feature similar favorite sources in multiple reports (Sigal, 1973). The demands of time and information also lead to an overabundance of official and elite sources—from government officials to experts (Dickson, 1994; Hayes & Guardino, 2010; Hickerson, 2011).

Although typical news values include timeliness, proximity, or prominence (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996), the deadline and immediacy requirements of newswork often mean that journalists' workloads must be managed by routines (Dickinson, 2007). As a result, much news happens as journalists cover constructed *events* (Molotch & Lester, 1974), or as information emerges through *routine channels* (Sigal, 1973).

Sigal defines routine channels as those in which news originates from planned activities, such as press conferences, briefings, scheduled events, or speeches. In his study of the *New York Times and Washington Post* and two network television stations, Sigal found that approximately 50% of news stories originated from routine channels. Only 25% of stories from Sigal's study resulted from *enterprise* channels—which Sigal defined as interviews or unplanned events. Television reporters, whose medium relies heavily on visuals and sound bites, are even more likely than newspapers to use routine channels for content generation.

Sources are defined as those who give information or story tips that lead to the production of news (Gans, 1979, 2004). Sources have a strong power of influence over what ultimately gets produced, so perhaps it is no wonder that Schudson (1989) argued the relationship between reporters and officials is the key facet of journalism sociology. Both newspaper and broadcast journalism use a steady diet of "official" or "elite sources" (Berkowitz, 1987). To Gans, elite sources are well-known people, such as celebrities, politicians, business people, astronauts, or athletes.

In an examination of *The New York Times* and the *Washington Post*, Sigal (1973) discovered that more than 75% of sources in national and international news articles were government officials—nearly 47% from the United States government alone. Likewise, Gans (1979, 2004) discovered that 76% of sources in a 1967 study came from "well-known people" (p. 8), including public figures, politicians, astronauts, and business leaders, as opposed to "ordinary people" (p. 13). Elite sources are also dominant in coverage of social welfare issues (Stempel & Culbertson, 1984; Tanner & Friedman, 2011). Journalists often "elevate" those few ordinary citizens who are quoted "to the status of legitimate spokespeople," thus creating a new elite source (McDonald, 2008, p. 223). Elevated sources also have a tendency to gravitate not to the average, but to the loudest voice, as is often the case with political protest coverage (Atton & Wickenden, 2005).

Both national and community news outlets subscribe to this form of newsgathering, although community news outlets are better at including average, nonelite people (Brown et al., 1987). Another study of the news coverage of the U.S. involvement in the Nicaragua Contra affair showed that U.S. officials were quoted more heavily than rebel sources and that most of the articles were written from Washington and not on location (Dickson, 1992). Media also monitor each other heavily in order to decide what to cover (Boczkowski, 2009).

It is perhaps not surprising that journalists would rely so heavily on elite sources. Paletz and Entman (1981, cited in Shoemaker & Reese, 1996) remark upon a relatively obvious explanation: Journalists believe that elite sources and officials have important and relevant information to add to the discussion. Conversely, others argue that journalists have concluded that nonelites do not add useful material to a story (Graber, 2002, cited in Althaus, 2003). As a result, minority voices are silenced (Brown et al., 1987) and hegemonic power perhaps remains in the hands of the elites because their information is what goes out to the public.

Yet other scholarship suggests that such sourcing practices stem not from nefarious or lazy journalism, but instead are the realities inherit in a lack of manpower and resources. Seo (1988, cited in Shoemaker & Reese, 1996) noted that journalists do not mind quoting nonelites, it is just that elites are more visible and require less time and effort to find. When journalists have more time to find sources, they present news with more diversity (Atwater & Green, 1988, cited in Shoemaker & Reese, 1996). Proximity also proves a key factor in the frequency of nonelites quotations (Martin, 1988). If journalists are covering articles in their hometown, they are far more likely to include average people, whereas with national news, reporters are often forced to rely on official sources (Berkowitz & Beach, 1993).

In the case of television news, Berkowitz (1990) noted three factors that affect content selection: 1) the reporter must be able to realistically produce the story based on schedule and resources; 2) the story must take into account the demands of the audience; and 3) it must fit into the form of the newscast. These factors apparently play key roles in the employment of routine newsgathering practices. For example, in the production of both normal and out-of-the-ordinary stories, broadcast media rely heavily on routine practices because routine facilitates production and job evaluation (Berkowitz, 1992a; Berkowitz, 1992b).

As a result of the routine resources upon which journalists constantly draw to provide news, the cycle of gatekeeping perpetuates itself—echoing Giddens' notion of the duality of structure. Average voices are left unheard, and elite sources maintain their status as the first gatekeeper (Shoemaker & Vos, 2009).

Regardless of the lack of explicit description of the gatekeeper role in professional ethics codes, considering journalists are somewhat wary of using interactive media responses from the audience (Singer, 2005; Lasorsa et al., 2012), journalists cling to their gatekeeping structure. In the case of user-generated content, Singer (2005) noted that part of journalists' reluctance to include community participation in their publications stems from the public's lack of training and ignorance of journalistic standards, resulting in the production of lower-quality content.

However, many such studies were conducted before the popularization of social media, particularly Facebook and Twitter. As the publication cycle moves into an area where more studies could focus on the use of social media for crowdsourcing, it would be interesting to see if the more readily available sources allow journalists to include more diverse voices, if the reliance on official sources really is because they are harder to find (Berkowitz, 1993; Atwater & Green, 1988, cited in Shoemaker & Reese, 1996; Martin, 1988; Seo, 1988, cited in Shoemaker & Reese, 1996) rather than because journalists think they are unimportant (Graber, 2002, cited in Althaus, 2003).

Journalists and Change

Organizational change is not something instituted in periods of brief, flurried activity; scholars, instead, view it as constant (Lewis, 2011). Despite the inevitability of change, it is something that journalists have not particularly handled with excitement, especially when such changes alter time-honored journalistic tradition (Gade & Perry, 2003). Lewis (2011) identifies many types of organizational change. First, there are planned—instituted by the organization—and unplanned changes.

Second, Lewis (2011) identifies the difference between "discursive" changes, which involve reorganizing names or language to "give the appearance of change without really doing things differently" (p. 38); and "material" changes that significantly "alter operations, relationships, decision-making, and the like" (p. 38). Examples of discursive changes in media outlets could involve renaming the "newsroom" to be a "news center" (Cottle & Ashton, 1999). A material change, however, might involve shifting practices in the newsroom, such as converging a television station with a newspaper (Silcock & Keith, 2006).

Material change involves both implementers, those who initiate change; and stakeholders, those who have an interest in the organization and whom the change affects (Lewis, 2011). Scholars have defined implementation as "the translation of any tool or technique, process, or method of doing, from knowledge to practice. It encompasses that range of activities which take place between 'adoption' of a tool or technique . . . and its stable incorporation into the on-going organizational practice" (Tornatzky & Johnson, 1982, p. 193).

Change affects all of an organization's stakeholders (Lewis, 2007; 2011). Scholars attempt to attribute some resistance to change to a lack of communication between stakeholders and implementers (Lewis, 2000; 2011). Stakeholder theories of change posit that much of a change's failures could be avoided if stakeholders are not only kept in the loop, but if implementers actively seek out their opinions "as a resource" (Lewis, 2011, p. 68) instead of a merely symbolic measure.

Certainly, implementers cannot give equal voice to all stakeholders or change might never occur. Instead, stakeholders can have added weight based on three attributes identified by Mitchell, Agle, and Wood (1997): *power*, in which "a party to a relationship . . . has or can gain access to coercive, utilitarian, or normative means, to impose its will in the relationship" (p. 865); *legitimacy*, or "socially accepted and expected structures or behaviors" (p. 866); and *urgency*, or the impetus for a stakeholder to have his or her needs addressed. In the authors' estimation, stakeholders who possess all three of these attributes will have the greatest ability to effect change.

In the case of the news, it is easy to identify many stakeholders: company leaders, management, editorial staff, advertisers, and readers, are only a few of the potential stakeholders. Corporate management would be an example of stakeholders who possess all three of Mitchell et al.'s listed attributes, making them what the authors term a "definitive stakeholder" (p. 878) and the most likely to have needs met when a change is necessary. Management would have the most power and legitimacy. Because the need to make a profit takes precedence, management would have the most urgency. A reporter, meanwhile, could be considered a “dependent stakeholder” (Mitchell et al., 1997, p. 877), exhibiting urgency—because of the possibility of job loss if the news organization were to fail—and legitimacy, but likely little real power.

If stakeholders receive insufficient information from the change’s outset, it can cause anxiety (Miller & Monge, 1985) and resistance (Lewis, 2011). Lewis actually detests the term “resistance,” which she termed as a “pejorative” (p. 280) that blankets all forms of dissent from a management point of view. She also noted that an organization can actually benefit from resistance to change. In fact, resistance to change can foment discussion, refine ideas, and build relationships among team members (Lewis, 2011).

Kuhn and Corman (2003) noted that not all changes can achieve opinions that are “heterogeneous or homogenous interpretations” (p. 222). However, Lewis (2011) firmly believed that if implementers effectively communicate their intentions and seek legitimate input from stakeholders, change has a greater chance of garnering success. In another study, Lewis (2000) found that, retrospectively, many managers identified unforeseen problems as the most difficult to deal with, and cited a lack of communication as the root cause.

Lewis and Seibold (1996) argued that many of the problems within organizational change scholarship stem from scholars focusing too much on convincing stakeholders of the utility of the change and not enough on seeing how stakeholders cope with change. Anxiety toward change often stems from “a lack of knowledge of others’ roles” (Miller, Johnson, & Gray, 1994, p. 71), and can be exacerbated unless management makes an “attempt to isolate needs relevant to the change and see what needs are being met in the new situation and help employees know that their needs are being considered" (Miller & Monge, 1985, p. 382).

Such arguments echo Lewis' (2011) assertion that those who seek input from stakeholders can genuinely reduce resistance to change efforts. In some ways, Miller et al. (1994) argue, anxiety, much like resistance, can actually benefit the change initiative: "Rather than being an impediment to change, a moderate level of anxiety may also have positive consequences . . . alert employees to new routines, stimulate information seeking, and prime their performance ability" (p. 73).

Management can also increase chances of success by carefully selecting the narratives in a way that allows stakeholders to make sense of the changes (Bisel & Barge, 2011). One way that implementers can decrease anxiety is by recognizing and addressing "dualities" in change (Barge, Lee, Maddux, Nabring, & Townsend, 2008, p. 375). Dualities become involved when change initiatives clash with other, more established interests. As an example, Barge et al. cite a host of technological changes implemented in Native American colleges and universities. According to the authors, implementers needed to find a way to communicate their plans in such a way that it became clear the technological changes would not clash with tribal traditions and identity. In the case of participatory journalism, it is possible that the dualities of economic necessity and journalistic identity clash in news professionals' minds—and management must address the tension. Most scholarship has found that good communication from implementers can reduce the anxiety that stakeholders feel—even in such earthshaking moves as mergers and acquisitions (Kramer, Dougherty, & Pierce, 2004).

Journalists often seem to question the utility of major change initiatives, especially if implementers incorrectly or inadequately communicate the reasons behind the change. In many cases, journalists resist change—especially any change that that alters their perception of their professional identity—despite coming to somewhat of a consensus that a change is necessary (Deuze, 2005). Two specific examples of journalistic change resistance involved the public journalism movement of the 1990s (Rosen, 1999) and the convergence attempts in the early 2000s (Nerone & Barnhurst, 2003).

Public journalism was an experiment several metropolitan media organizations instituted during the 1990s in which journalists eschewed the objectivity norm in order to encourage consumers to participate more fully in democracy (Rosen, 1999). Prominent examples of newspapers that employed the communitarian approach of public journalism included the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* (Gade & Perry, 2003), the *Virginian Pilot* (Rosen, 1999), and the *San Antonio Light* (Brewer & McCombs, 1996). The primary focus of public journalism, Rosen wrote, was to be "a willing sponsor of public talk" (p. 6). The model recognized that journalists are also citizens who should try to "improve democracy" (p. 178) by involving the community, not only in decisions but also in discourse.

In the case of the *Light*, the newspaper identified several children's issues, such as education, that the editorial staff defined as being the most important (Brewer & McCombs, 1996) and tried to use the media's ability to set the public's agenda (McCombs & Shaw, 1972) to bring those issues to the forefront. According to Brewer and McCombs (1996), the effort saw success in drawing the public's attention to those issues.

However, some newsrooms met public journalism with distrust and skepticism (Gade & Perry, 2003). After hiring a new publisher, the *Post-Dispatch* attempted to employ public journalism and a team-based production approach that emphasized collaboration among various departments. Resistance to the change did not occur from the outset; however, over the four-year period of Gade and Perry's study, journalists began to exhibit more and more distrust toward the initiative. According to the authors, much of the failure of the initiative stemmed from the radical changes and their immediate, instead of gradual, implementations. Members of the organization also believed that management made the changes for "economic" (p. 339) rather than journalistic reasons.

According to Rosen (1999), some of the brush-back against public journalism came as a response to the way the movement challenged traditional journalistic values. Critics saw it as "pandering" to the audience (Barney, 1996, p. 143). Some of the ideas of public journalism have survived in the form of small-town, community publications (Lauterer, 2006), and many newspapers are still attempting the team-based, cross-department approach—although a survey of editors showed they mostly do not prefer the practice (Gade, 2008).

Convergence initiatives (Silcock & Keith, 2006; Nerone & Barnhurst, 2003) have perhaps seen a more mixed success than the failed public journalism movements. Most media companies conducted convergence in an effort to take advantage of digital technologies to combine news coverage across disparate media, such as digital, print, or television, to cover much of the same news and tell effective cross-platform stories (Dailey et al., 2005).

Media convergence is not all-encompassing in method and has several forms, from simple collaboration to “full convergence,” or combing newsrooms and personnel to make “use of strengths of the different media to tell the story in the most effective way” (Dailey et al., 2005, p. 154). Sometimes, media companies under different ownerships combine efforts, but convergence is most often employed by corporations that own publications in both forms of media, such as Gannett’s convergence of the *Arizona Republic* and KPNX (Silcock & Keith, 2006).

Regardless of the economic necessity behind media convergence, editorial employees have often met the practice with strong resistance because of the revolutionary manner in which management conducts the change. In the case of television and print, convergence can cause difficulties in that reporters from the two forms of media use unique jargon and newsgathering methods (Silcock & Keith, 2006). News professionals often disrespect or misunderstand the work of their colleagues who work in other media platforms (Singer, 2004). Other issues in convergence involve new skill demands, as management often expects traditional print journalists to produce reportage in new forms of media (Robinson, 2011).

Already weighed down by extra work caused by numerous layoffs (Reinardy, 2011), journalists often reported feeling an added pressure to learn new skills that multiply their workload (Huang & Heider, 2007; Huang, Davison, Shreve, Davis, Bettendorf, & Nair, 2006; Liu, 2006). Journalists also expressed frustration at a lack of training, as they often were forced to learn the new technology skills on their own time (Aviles et al., 2004).

As a result, changes to traditional newsrooms were met with “cynicism” and sentiments of “moving the deck chairs around on the Titanic” instead of effecting useful change (Robinson, 2011, p. 1128). In some convergence cases, for example, journalists believed that change initiatives were dominated by management from the other medium—who ignore their needs (Huang & Heider, 2007)—or cultures clashed (Singer, 2004) and older journalists believed that they might lose their jobs to younger professionals to whom the digital technology came more naturally (Cottle & Ashton, 1999).

The Internet and Participation

The use of digital platforms brings inherent challenges to traditional journalistic practices. Long relying on a one-way, one-to-many transmission model, traditional media now find themselves in unexpected and unpredictable environments of two-way reciprocal communication (Jenkins, 2006).

Kiousis (2002) noted that perhaps the most defining feature of the Internet is its interactivity. The interactivity of the Internet and social media provides participation on a scale unfamiliar to journalists, and yet news audiences demand it (Gee & Hayes, 2011).

Interactivity and participation. Kiousis (2002) presents two definitions of note for interactivity. The first definition focuses specifically on the ways in which humans communicate with technology. This particular definition of interactivity involves technical aspects, focusing on user experience in navigating the tools of the medium. In the case of the Internet and journalism, an example of this form of interactivity could be a poll on a website, where the programming simulates a conversation between the user and many others in gathering opinions to discuss a particular question. The interaction, in reality, does not occur between the users, as there is no back-and-forth conversation. Another example could perhaps include the personalization of a journalism website to deliver news of interest to the user (Thurman & Schifferes, 2012).

Kiousis's (2002) second definition of interactivity, however, puts more emphasis on users' ability to communicate one with another. This definition puts specific emphasis on interpersonal communication, yet has a technical side in that it is the technology that is facilitating interactivity. An example of a communications technology on a news website facilitating interpersonal discussion would be a comment forum where users can participate and discuss news of interest.

Henry Jenkins (2006) discusses differences between interactivity and his preferred term, *participation*. According to Jenkins, interactivity emphasizes technology and remains in the control of the media producer, rather than a consumer. In contrast, Jenkins argued that true participation is not technological, but cultural. The interaction is not between human and system, but between humans as facilitated by a system, as expressed in Kiousis's (2002) second definition. Participation finds power in the control of the consumer, rather than the producer, making it a grassroots form of interpersonal communication (Jenkins, 2006).

As a result, the Internet and social media open new venues where the lines between production and consumption begin to blur, opening up new forms of production by those who were "formerly known as the audience" (Rosen, 2006). Such a blend of production and consumption has been termed as "produsage," by Bruns (2009), who states that new powers of participation with open gates allow for what Jenkins calls participatory culture, (Jenkins, Purushotma, Weigel, Clinton, & Robisoneyer, 2009).

Participatory culture. Journalists are producing news in an environment that continues to reinvigorate opportunities for shared participation. In 2006, Jenkins presented participatory media as one of the key components of the new 21st Century "convergence culture." In this atmosphere of blurred lines, new spaces emerge "where old and new media collide, where grassroots and corporate media intersect, and where the power of the producer and the power of the consumer interact in unpredictable ways" (p. 2).

Yet Jenkins illustrates the greatest paradox of the web: Despite an increase in platforms and participatory media, the media industry continues to consolidate. So how does such a powerful, consolidated, and corporate world begin to embrace a more communitarian approach?

Baym (2010, p. 75-88) noted that key components of communities include "space" (traditionally geographic in nature), "practices and rituals," "shared resources and support," "shared identities," and "interpersonal relationships." On the Internet, there is clearly no geographic tie, but Baym noted that digital sites are still considered to be shared spaces.

The hope with participatory cultures, then, is to attempt to build the other components, with the hope of meeting the needs of community members. Jenkins (2006) argued that community members will abandon groups that do not satisfy needs. As geographic boundaries disintegrate through the Internet, community journalism, traditionally a geographic term in its own right (Lauterer, 2006) suddenly opens to other definitions of community, including ethnic, religious, or interest niches (Reader, 2012a). Jenkins (2006) examines several such niche spaces at length, and, along the way, noted how content creation, collective effort, and multimedia storytelling work together to create participatory communities.

In intervening years, the notion of "convergence culture" has given way to "participatory culture" (Jenkins et al., 2009), which places particular emphasis on how participation can spur the growth of digital literacy (Meyers, Erickson, & Small, 2013). Jenkins et al. (2009) define participatory culture as having "relatively low barriers to artistic expression and civic engagement, strong support for creating and sharing one's creations, and some type of informal mentorship whereby what is known by the most experienced is passed along to novices" (p. 3).

News professionals argue that their key function is that of public service (Deuze, 2004) in educating the public on everything necessary to knowledgably participation in the democratic process (Kovach & Rosenstiel, 2007). The news profession faces danger if it continues to ignore participatory culture (Gee & Hayes, 2011) because if the audience believes that it can receive more interactive and thorough forms of information elsewhere, it will leave and find a more welcoming arena (Gillmor, 2004). Younger populations, in particular, have shown particular disinterest in news and politics, reflecting a feeling of disempowerment (Panagiotou & Theodosiadou, 2014). News media that continue to ignore the younger generations, who fully expect participation, will do so at their own risk (Gee & Hayes, 2011). In addition, journalists themselves will need advanced training in necessary digital literacy skills.

According to Jenkins et al. (2009, p. 3), three literacy concerns arise in the pursuit of digital literacy. Each of the concerns is directed specifically toward youth education in digital literacy, but they can be applied to participatory journalism. The first is the "participation gap," which moves beyond traditional notions of "digital divide," stating that it is not enough to ensure that the public has the necessary technological tools. Users must be allowed and taught to participate. Second, Jenkins et al. stress the concern of the transparency problem, in that it is necessary to understand the various forms of media and how they interact and intersect. Third, Jenkins et al. address the "ethics challenge," noting that digital media present new ethical issues, such as appropriation or infringement of intellectual property.

As participatory cultures, such as social media, reach domestication, in which what once seemed new becomes the norm (Baym, 2010), industry professionals must decide how to integrate more participatory forums into their online production. They must account for ways in which citizens can more fully participate in the newsgathering process. Perhaps a solution would be to create news sites in the mold of what Gee and Hayes (2011) term as "affinity spaces."

Affinity spaces are learning communities based upon common endeavors (Lammers, Curwood, & Magnifico, 2012; Curwood, Magnifico, & Lammers, 2013) for which participants have a great passion. Within these spaces, membership is based upon a shared interest rather than the qualifications of those who wish to participate (Gee & Hayes, 2011). While participation is encouraged, not everyone has to create to be a part of it, and users are allowed to grow their own expertise (Jenkins, 2006), giving them a "pro-am" designation (Gee & Hayes, 2011). Knowledge is often shared throughout the group (Gee & Hayes, 2011), with each helping and mentoring (Jenkins, 2006) should the need arise.

Affinity space research often revolves around participation in gaming platforms. Gee and Hayes (2011) specifically cite the ways in which content creation and exploration in games such as *The Sims* and *World of Warcraft* spur learning. As examples, they cite children who learn an easy navigation of programs such as Photoshop in order to design clothing for characters in games. The authors state that these children do not necessarily learn these skills in school, but do so through experimentation and the mentorship of the community within the affinity space.

Other affinity space research has focused on the creation of Twitter accounts based on characters from popular video games (Ryan & Gilson, 2013) and in user-generated YouTube videos (Lindgren, 2012). Lindgren (2012) showed that user-generated "how-to" videos on YouTube garner more positive comments than those created by traditional media. The author suggested that it was the common endeavor creating an affinity space that spurred the more civil conversation.

Reader comments attached to professionally produced content generally lack civility (Paskin, 2010), prompting many journalists to question the purpose of comment forums (Reader, 2012b). However, if a common endeavor can prompt more civil dialogue on YouTube (Lindgren, 2012), then perhaps a key to improving dialogue on news sites could be to include readers and commentators in a process of participatory journalism.

Perhaps opponents of such an approach could argue that it is not the job of the journalist to create community but to describe it. Such an argument, perhaps, has much in common with arguments against the implementation of the public journalism movement, in which news organizations attempted to involve the public more in the production of news and in trying to provide more mobilizing information within articles (Rosen, 1999). Such approaches were met with hostility (Barney, 1996), and the effort largely dissipated (Rosen, 1999).

However, if journalists are going to have the necessary skills to navigate the participatory nature of the Internet (Jenkins et al., 2006), and if young people who are used to participatory cultures are going to be drawn into news consumption, journalists may need to find a way to include the public in content production (Gillmor, 2004). Scholarship indicates that homepages, the traditional portal through which users accessed online news, have seen a sharp decrease in traffic in recent years (Thompson, 2014). Such a trend is even occurring for large, name-brand newspapers such as the *New York Times* (Thompson, 2014). As a result, those news sites who wish to continue driving traffic to their online product, they may need to do so through other portals, such as social media.

Jenkins, Ford, and Green (2013) suggest that content spreads online by putting an emphasis on participation. Traditional notions of "circulation" are not viable online, according to Jenkins et al., because they place the power in the control of the producer and not the consumer. As a result, the industry has coined the term "viral media," but Jenkins et al. suggest that metaphor is also lacking because it takes the agency out of the hands of consumer in deciding what to share. Instead, Jenkins et al. offer the term "spreadable media," in which participation is key.

Participatory Journalism

Domingo (2008a) expresses that participatory journalism was much hailed at the turn of the century but has largely proven to be a myth. The reason behind the failure is multifaceted, but largely includes the fact that journalists are reluctant to adapt the notion of more inclusive news. Although Domingo's study was conducted before many of the participatory social media, such as Twitter, took hold, it still resolves that despite the rise in blogs and reader comments, journalists still observe "a rather passive audience, consumers of the stories" (p. 688). The audience has also struggled to identify itself in more than a passive consumer role (Mitchelstein & Bozckowski, 2010).

If participatory journalism is failing, it is not for lack of platforms through which the public can interact. In a series of case studies of news organizations throughout the world, Singer et al. (2011) uncovered 10 ways that the public can contribute to the production of news, including: blogging, submitting articles, commenting on journalism blogs and articles, participating in discussion forums, engaging in collective interviews, voting in polls, interacting via social media, or by contributing to content hierarchy through site programming, such as "most-viewed," "most-shared," or "most-commented" stories.

Despite the myriad avenues of participation, most participatory initiatives are kept "at arm's length" by journalists (Singer et al., 2011, p. 29). Singer et al. offer five stages of the news production process: 1) "access/observation," in which information is gathered; 2) "selection/filtering," which refers to the gatekeeping process by which stories are vetted and selected for publication; 3) "processing/editing" in which the stories are shaped into their eventual publication; 4) "distribution;" and 5) "interpretation," in which the article is discussed. (p. 18) Within these five stages there is a clear delineation between producers and consumers. In their case studies, Singer et al. found that the first four stages are largely closed to the public, especially in the case of the selection/filtering stage. Journalists are largely uncomfortable with the "pro-am" relationship (Singer et al., 2011), and retain the identity as the gatekeeper of information (Shoemaker & Vos, 2009).

The reasons journalists generally eschew citizen participation are perhaps complex. Deuze (2008) wrote that in evaluating user-generated content, a journalist must consider whether the content adds to the journalism and whether it must be moderated. Nielsen (2014) suggested that journalists are open to allowing citizen participation, but they worry about the quality of the contributions and the accountability of the producers. Singer and Ashman (2009, p. 6) found that journalists worry about three major issues in regard to the publication of user-generated content: 1) "authenticity," whether the information has been verified; 2) "autonomy," whether journalists are using the user-generated content merely to drive up traffic, or whether it really adds to the discussion; and 3) "accountability," whether users will attach their names to and stand behind their creations and opinions.

In the case of the most ubiquitous form of participation, most comments are anonymous, a notion with which many journalists are uncomfortable (Reader, 2012b). Younger users and those who participate often dominate comment threads (Bergstrom, 2008) and often derail the conversation through tangents and personal attacks (Paskin, 2010).

In addition to accountability and authenticity, other scholarship suggested that overworked journalists struggle to accept user-generated content because they simply do not have the time or the desire to do so (Garcia, 2007). Citizen efforts often have access to fewer resources than those tapped by larger productions (Konieczna, 2014) and citizens sometimes fail to produce much additional content (Vis, 2009). For example, Vis (2009) showed that Wikinews coverage of Hurricane Katrina—an opportunity for hyperlocal citizen journalism on a scale that is perhaps unrealistic for the limited time and manpower of journalists—largely reproduced the reports of traditional news, allowing those traditional outlets to set the frames that carried over into Wikinews.

It is possible to argue that the advantages of user-generated content could outweigh the disadvantages. Gillmor (2004) noted that few journalists specialize in a variety of topics. Gillmor wrote that participation could be useful for a journalist to draw upon the public's collective knowledge: "If my readers know more than I do (which I know they do), then I can include them in the process of making my journalism better" (p. 18).

Blogging platforms allow everyday citizens to break news (Williams & Carpini, 2000), and allow corporations and public relations to be their own direct gatekeepers without having to rely on traditional media for information dissemination (Gillmor, 2004). Most importantly, however, Gillmor noted that the public far outnumbers journalists, and as such can provide the ability to cover things that journalists must, out of the necessity of time, let pass.

Bradshaw (2009) showed that the use of wikis, editable pages on which users can add content, fosters greater engagement on traditional news sites. The use of wikis raises authenticity questions, but perhaps the greater engagement and time spent by readers could make it worth the effort. Liu, Palen, Sutton, Hughes, and Vieweg (2009) showed that the prevalence of camera phones has allowed many consumers to participate as amateur photojournalists.

Perhaps journalists' reluctance to make use of user-generated content arises from quality concerns that could be assuaged through participatory processes. Bruns, Wilson, and Sanders (2009, p. 203-205) offered three ways in which professional journalists can assist citizens in the production of news: 1) "content work," as the journalists edited the citizen productions; 2) "networking," in which the journalists could use their resources to provide sources; 3) "tech work," in which the journalists could provide and mentor in the necessary technical skills to run the website; and 4) "community work," which allowed the journalists to promote the blog in the community.

In addition to increasing news literacy, there are certainly economic reasons to open gates. Vujnovic, Singer, Paulussen, Heinonen, Reich, Quandt, Hermida, and Domingo (2010) offer three economic incentives for using user-generated content. First, UGC can drive readers to an outlet's website. Second, a reader's ability to create and produce can serve as an incentive to return. Finally, competition between news organizations makes the integration of UGC necessary. If users can't find UGC on one site, the traffic might go to the competition.

Regardless of short-term economic motivations, journalists must consider long-term social implications when deciding whether to invite participation. The audience now expects to be able to participate (Gee & Hayes, 2011; Gillmor, 2004; Jenkins, 2006; Bruns, 2009). If digital literacy is tied largely to participation (Jenkins et al., 2009; Meyers et al., 2013), journalists simply cannot afford to ignore participatory forms. For one thing, when reader participation is ignored, younger consumers are discouraged because they feel disempowered (Panagiotou & Theodosiadou, 2014). Secondly, journalists themselves need to develop the skills necessary to negotiate the participatory environment of the Internet. In the end, if journalism professionals continue to ignore participatory initiatives, journalists could find their role continuing to erode.

Larsson (2012b) noted that journalists were among the first to use many interactive web technologies, such as social media. However, even as they are at the forefront of using these platforms, journalists fail to take advantage of new possibilities inherent in rapidly progressing technology. As Steensen (2009) laments, “online journalism is not what it was supposed to be. The assets of the new technology are for the large part ignored” (p. 821). Larsson argued that much of this is because journalists, who traditionally are resistant to change, anyway (Gade, 2008; Gade & Perry, 2003), continually try to make use of new technologies in the same way they always used legacy media.

Interactivity was the focus of Larsson’s argument because it is at the heart of news production, and the sharing of any message, in online spaces (Fortunati & Sarrica, 2010). In the case of journalists, interactivity can involve professionals conversing with the public or the public participating in the news-production process through user-generated content (Singer & Ashman, 2009; Singer, 2010). Interactivity upends traditional practices of one-way communication and gatekeeping (White, 1950), while “empowering users” (Deuze & Paulussen, 2002, pg. 242) who did not before have the resources to contribute (Downes & McMillan, 2000).

Larsson’s (2012b) supposition is backed by scholarly research that has shown that journalists try to shoehorn old practices into new platforms. Singer (2005) observed this trend in connection with journalists' political blogs. While she noted that the blog "represents significant challenges to longstanding and related professional norms and practices" (p. 177)—in essence, journalists offering their opinions and allowing new gatekeepers into the fold—Singer argued that journalists, as a whole, tend to hold onto old practices when blogging. Singer's findings showed that columnists, not reporters, generate most of the opinion writing on blog sites. When it came to interactivity, the majority of journalists still continued to link to elite media and largely avoid linking to citizen journalists and bloggers (Singer, 2005). Singer's conclusion is that such a reliance on elite mass media implies that "journalists are remaining steadfastly at the gate, offering blogs containing no evidence of user input" (p. 186). Meraz (2009) found similar evidence that elite media tend to link internally—and to each other—on their blog sites.

Similar results have since been found with more modern participatory journalistic media, including Twitter and open-source tools. In the case of Twitter, although journalists offer opinions via Twitter and sometimes share followers' tweets—a process known as retweeting—professionals are still trying to use Twitter to fit "their existing norms and practices" (Lasorsa et al., 2012, p. 31). The results are even more pronounced for national media, who remain elite gatekeepers even in a participatory medium (Hermida, 2010; Knight, 2012). Likewise, open-source programming on journalism websites is mostly employed to strengthen the typical reporting norms (Usher & Lewis, 2012).

Scholarship has illustrated that news professionals are not only slow to embrace change (Bennett, 1996; Boykoff & Boykoff, 2007; Thornton & Keith, 2009), they also often resent or resist it (Gade, 2008; Gade & Perry, 2003; Robinson, 2011). Journalists have proven particularly resistant to attempts at converging print, digital, and broadcast media (Cottle & Ashton, 1999; Robinson, 2011; Silcock & Keith, 2006) and toward the public journalism movement (Gade & Perry, 2003; Rosen, 1999), both of which challenged traditional journalistic norms. In Larsson's view, such resistance can largely be attributed to journalists who want to practice journalism the way it has always been done, holding onto traditional pillars and structures of one-way communications. To this end, Larsson (2012b) examines Giddens' (1984) structuration theory and its insistence that agents both employ and reproduce traditional structures.

Twitter and Journalists

Founded in 2006 to act as a mode of "SMS on the Internet" (van Dijck, 2011, p. 334), Twitter is an asynchronous (Murthy, 2011) microblogging platform (Larsson, 2011) on which users can send brief, 140-character messages known as "tweets"—to be viewed publically by any person with an Internet connection, regardless of whether a person is a registered Twitter user (Murthy, 2011). Twitter users can choose to subscribe to a particular user's tweets, a term known as "following" or can place them into "lists" that organize potential follows into groups (van Dijck, 2011). Tweets can also include photographs (Murthy, 2011). By using the "@" symbol in front of a username—known as an "@mention"—a tweeter can send a public reply to another user. Twitter users can use "hashtags"—code words that use the "#" symbol—in order to create conversations around particular topics (Brown, Hendrickson, & Litau, 2014; Bruns & Burgess, 2011; Cozma & Chen, 2013; Murthy, 2011).

In the past decade, Twitter has evolved from a niche service focused on interpersonal, text-message-style conversation (van Dijck, 2011) to a worldwide social network with more than 302 million users who send an average of 500 million tweets per day ("About"). Discussions on Twitter focus on a range of topics, including personal interactions (Brown et al., 2014), humor (Holton & Lewis, 2012), and news (Holcomb, Gottfried, & Mitchell, 2013).

Twitter has always fit boyd and Ellison's (2008) traditional definition of a social network, in which it is an online platform on which users can "1) construct a public or semi-public profile within a bounded system, 2) articulate a list of other users with whom they share a connection, and 3) view and traverse their list of connections and those made by others within the system." However, modes of participation in Twitter have varied in the decade since its launch. van Dijck (2011) chronicled the growth of Twitter, noting how the change in wording for its tweeting prompts reflected the platform's evolution. Originally consisting of a Web platform that also allowed its users to use mobile phones to send text message updates, Twitter asked its users "What are you doing?" when it first launched in 2006. van Dijck noted that within three years, most Twitter users had moved on to using mobile Internet applications and the prompt had changed from focusing on what the user was doing to "What's happening."

> Both prompts are starters for everyday small talk. And yet there is a difference between the two: Whereas the first prompt invites tweets that can be described as "interactive personal talk," the second prompt triggers news and information that also goes beyond the personal . . . This subtle but meaningful change in Twitter's interface indicates a strategy that emphasizes (global, public) news and information over (personal, private) conversation in restricted circles. (van Dijick, 2011, p. 340)

Journalists' early feelings toward Twitter appear to have been mixed. An analysis of early media coverage of the platform showed that journalists recognized that Twitter had great potential to share short, quick information (Arceneaux & Weis, 2010).

Although early articles about the platform explored some possible negatives of Twitter use—focusing on such topics as information overload and possible unintended consequences—most of the coverage Arceneux and Weis examined was generally positive. The full potential for Twitter to serve as a breaking news medium was perhaps not fully realized until a handful of major news events were tweeted by citizen journalists and public figures, such as the 2008 Mumbai bombings, the 2009 "Miracle on the Hudson" in which a jetliner landed on the Hudson River (Murthy, 2011), the 2009 Iranian election (Knight, 2012), and the death of Osama bin Laden in 2011 (Hu, Liou, Wei, Wu, Stasko, & Kwan-Liu, 2012).

Having evolved into a robust social network with hundreds of millions of users worldwide, Twitter now has many uses for its various publics. Johnson and Yan (2009) identified two categories of needs that Twitter might fulfill: *social* needs, such as *entertainment, relaxation, keeping up with friends, passing time, and communicating with large audiences;* and *information* needs, such as *news*, *links, facts, knowledge, and ideas.* Johnson and Yan found that, surprisingly, while the fulfillment of information needs correlated with a desire to increase Twitter participation, the fulfillment of social needs did not.

Other scholars have identified varied general uses the public has found for the Twitter platform. van Dijck (2011, p. 337) stressed that Twitter's uses included: 1) *conversation and dialogue;* 2) *collaboration and exchange* 3) *self-expression and self-communication* 4) *status updating and checking,* 5) *information and news sharing, and* 6) *marketing and advertising*. In addition, Twitter users use the platform to share humor (Brown et al., 2014; Holton & Lewis, 2012), to gain insight into the personal lives of celebrities and athletes (Hambric, Simmons, Greenhalgh, & Greenwell, 2010), to participate in democratic discussion (Posetti, 2010; Small, 2011), to act with authenticity and humanity (Marwick and boyd, 2011), to connect informally with others (Brown et al., 2014), to build a personal brand (Browning & Sanderson, 2012), and to share and comment on news (Hu et al., 2012) and media events (Larsson & Moe, 2011).

The most dominant of these uses has depended on the scholarly study being conducted at the time. However, it would seem that connecting with others and building relationships is often at the forefront (Brown et al., 2014). Perhaps this is not a rare occurrence among social network users, as research has shown those who use social networks express a greater connection to others (Chen, 2011).

Although Twitter users are more likely to list personal connections as a motivation for engaging in the platform's use, it is not uncommon to find Twitter users engaged in the production and sharing of news. Twitter has developed a reputation as a "virtual water cooler" (Cozma & Chen, 2013, p. 34) around which participants can discuss current events. While Twitter does not have as many users as dominant social networking platform Facebook, scholars have found that it is the second most common social medium people use to distribute and find news—trailing only Reddit (Holcomb et al., 2013). Johnson and Yan (2009) postulated that perhaps users might sign up for Twitter intending to use it to make personal connections but later gravitate toward the platform's rapid-fire information for news production. Those who use the platform as a medium to gain or distribute news are also highly likely to use other platforms, particularly Facebook, as a news aggregator (Holcomb et al., 2013).

Twitter is a democratic medium in which followers do not have to follow a user in order to see or interact with their tweets (Russell, 2015)—unlike Facebook which requires reciprocal friendship—and one in which regular citizens can not only participate but also break news (Knight, 2012). Users of the platform have been shown to form insular groups (Wu, Hofman, Mason, & Watts, 2011).

Journalists, for example, have been slow to embrace elements of Twitter participation (Lewis, 2012), and citizen journalists' influence often fades, "vanishing after 15 minutes in the limelight. In most instances, they are left unpaid and unknown" (Murthy, 2011, p. 786). "Ordinary" citizens are not likely to find themselves among top ten most-followed users, positions that tend to be occupied by celebrities (Wu et al., 2011). According to Wu et al., most attention on Twitter is controlled by approximately 0.05% of the Twitter population: "Information flows have not become egalitarian by any means" (2011, p. 709-710).

Journalists are not the only group to form insular cliques on Twitter, although news professionals do create some of the most closed circles. According to Wu et al. (2011) Journalists are 10 times more likely to retweet links from other media professionals than they are from celebrities and five times more likely to retweet fellow reporters than organizations—although they do retweet bloggers. In Wu et al.'s sample, bloggers retweeted other bloggers more than 99,000 times and only retweeted professional media 6,000 times. Celebrities were also more likely to retweet information from other celebrities.

There are many social networks in which journalists can get involved, and a growing portion of journalists believe it is vital to their journalistic efforts, now reaching

40% (Willnat & Weaver, 2014). Twitter is among those that journalists use the most prolifically in the context of their work (Parmelee, 2013; Reed 2011, 2012; Sherwood & Nicholson, 2012). According to one study, more than 53% of journalists say they are regular users of Twitter—although only one-third of those journalists say they use it daily at an average of between 30 and 60 minutes per day (Willnat & Weaver, 2014). Other studies have shown that journalists use social media professionally for up to an hour per day (Lariscy, et al., 2009).

In addition to the use of personal accounts, journalists are also using official accounts for their publications at a growing rate, as well. In fact, Twitter is becoming nearly universal, according to Messner et al. (2011). Of the sampled top 100 newspapers by circulation and top 24 market television news stations, Messner et al. found that official newsroom Twitter accounts had risen from 90.5% in 2009 to 99.5% by 2010—although 34% of official newsroom accounts did not tweet on a daily basis.

Amid the explosion of Twitter use by journalists in the past decade, much scholarship has focused on the way news professionals use Twitter. Scholarly studies on the subject have almost overwhelmingly focused on quantitative research methods, such as survey research (Lariscy et al., 2009, Schultz & Sheffer, 2010; Willnat & Weaver, 2014) and content analysis (Coddington et al., 2014; Cozma & Chen, 2013; Deprez, et al., 2013; Holton & Lewis, 2011; Lasorsa, 2012; Messner et al., 2011; Russell, 2015; Russell et al., 2014; Sheffer & Schultz, 2010). A handful of qualitative studies have focused on in-depth methods to discover how and why journalists use Twitter, with most of these scholars engaging in in-depth interviews (Kian & Murray, 2014; McEnnis, 2013; Parmelee, 2013; Reed, 2011, 2012; Sherwood & Nicholson, 2012). In addition, studies of journalistic Twitter use have employed case study (Romney, et al., 2015; Vis, 2013) and personal narrative (Ahmad, 2010) approaches.

In addition to varied methods, studies have also focused on a plethora of journalism subjects. Review of scholarship shows a concentration of studies focusing on sports journalists and Twitter use (Deprez et al., 2013; Kian & Murray, 2014; McEnnis, 2013; Price, Farrington, & Hall, 2012; Reed, 2011, 2012; Schultz & Sheffer, 2010; Sherwood & Nicholson, 2012). Perhaps the prevalence of scholarship in sports journalism is because these reporters use Twitter more than many others. Russell (2015) showed sports journalists tweeted more often than public affairs, business, and technology reporters and were more likely to use interactive @mentions. Sports journalists also face a need to gravitate to Twitter because many of the athletes, teams, and coaches they cover use the platform, putting reporters in competition to release information and allowing sources to bypass professional media and release information to their fans directly (Clavio & Kian, 2010; Hambric, et al., 2010; Hutchins, 2011). In addition to sports journalism, research has also focused on Twitter use by business (Lariscy et al., 2009), political (Parmelee, 2013), technology (Russell, 2015), and foreign correspondents (Cozma & Chen, 2013).

The findings of scholarship on journalists' Twitter usage can perhaps be separated into two branches. Studies have examined the content of journalists' tweets and how they fit into established journalism practices, as well as attitudes journalists have toward Twitter use and its advantages or disadvantages. Studies have also often focused on the practices of particular types of journalists. Only a handful of studies have focused on depth of attitudes, with the vast majority using quantitative content analysis techniques.

What the literature has not yet explored in depth is what structures may encourage or discourage journalists from engaging with their followers on Twitter. This dissertation will attempt to fill that research hole.

Studies of journalistic practices on Twitter largely show that media professionals see the platform mostly as a reporting tool (Deprez et al., 2013; Kian & Murray, 2014, Reed, 2011, 2012). Reed (2011, 2012) found that journalists tend to take their personal interactions to Facebook, in which networking requires a reciprocal relationship, rather than Twitter, which is open to all (Russell, 2015). For official newsroom accounts, Twitter is almost exclusively news related, with one study showing 95% of tweets devoted to breaking news (Armstrong & Gao, 2011).

Twitter has become an extension of journalists' gatekeeping activity (Parmelee, 2013; Russell, 2015), to which they have held steadfastly in the online environment (Lewis, 2012). Journalists actively use Twitter to monitor breaking news, with 78% of journalists using such networks in order to check for the latest updates and 73% of them using social media to monitor other news organizations (Willnat & Weaver, 2014). Lariscy et al. (2009) found "surveillance" to be the most common use of Twitter for business journalists, and other scholars have shown that journalists see monitoring the news as the "primary function of Twitter" in their newswork (Sherwood & Nicholson, 2012).

When journalists do retweet and pass information on to their followers, they mostly share tweets from members of other news organizations (Russell, 2015). Public affairs reporters particularly used retweets but were less likely to use interactive @mentions, "suggesting these journalists perceive their role as passing on information to followers (Russell, 2014, p. 13). Monitoring information on Twitter allows journalists to come up with new story ideas (Reed, 2012; Willnat & Weaver, 2014). In addition to fellow newsworkers, journalists are able to use Twitter to follow sources with a "disinterested stance" (Russell, 2015 p. 2). Sports journalists especially told scholars they use Twitter to follow sources (Kian & Murray, 2014; Schultz & Sheffer, 2010), as athletes have taken to Twitter for communication (McEnnis, 2013) and personal branding purposes (Hutchins, 2011).

The instantaneous nature of the medium is ideal for live reporting of breaking news (Ahmad, 2010, Bruns & Burgess, 2011; Deprez et al., 2013; Hu et al., 2012; Parmelee, 2013; Vis, 2013) and discussion of current events (Cozma & Chen, 2013). The need to break news quickly, combined with the increased competition, may add extra pressure in the newsgathering process (Kian & Murray, 2014). Studies show that in spite of these strengths in providing live updates, few reporters tweet breaking news news. One study showed that only 13% of reporters' tweets on their personal feeds contained breaking news (Cozma & Chen, 2013), while another showed that organizational Twitter accounts were even less likely to tweet breaking news, with such tweets only accounting for 4% of official accounts' posts (Armstrong & Gao, 2011). Whether the low numbers of breaking news tweets are because of a scarcity of breaking news or for reporters' own reasons is unclear from scholarship. Schultz and Sheffer (2010) found that some sports reporters believed that Twitter's 140-character limit was not ideal for in-depth storytelling, "but those characters can be used to direct users to longer stories and images in an newspaper or on a television station or Web site" (p. 229). Schultz and Sheffer's findings may suggest that although the instantaneous nature of Twitter allows for frequent live updates, perhaps the lack of depth accounts for lower percentages of live reporting tweets and higher percentages of referral posts.

Twitter also offers journalists opportunities for transparency and accountability for the newsgathering process, particularly for female journalists, who often “provided significantly more openness and accountability in their tweets than did their male counterparts” (Lasorsa, 2012, p. 412). Transparency is especially prevelant through biographies on Twitter profiles, where 77% of journalists have been found to identify a reporter and the company for which he or she works (Cozma & Chen, 2013). Reporters are able to build credibility through the ongoing reliability of the information they tweet (McEnnis, 2013). Twitter’s “real-time conversation and ability to link to external sources of evidence” (Coddington et al., 2014) allows journalists to act as fact checkers, although the authors of that study found that journalists acted more as stenographers than fact checkers during the 2012 United States presidential election.

Audience building is another potential advantage that journalists recognize in the Twitter platform, although Willnat and Weaver (2014) have shown that the perceived necessity of “reaching a mass audience” has dropped substantially among news professionals’ attitudes since 1971—a drop of nearly 27%. Still, reporters, particularly older journalists, are likely to use Twitter as a tool for promoting their work or that of their colleagues (Schultz & Sheffer, 2010). Cozma and Chen (2013) found that foreign corrspondents were as likely to tease their own work via Twitter as they were to report breaking news. Russell et al. (2014) found that nearly one in four reporter tweets contained links to their own news organizations’ sites. In one study, nearly 86% of sampled tweets from official organizations’ accounts attempted to drive traffic to the website (Armstrong & Gao, 2011, p. 232). In another, the rate was even higher, as 97% of official newspaper account tweets sampled from 2010 contained links.

Twitter presents an ethical quandary for some journalists, in that the social network allows news professionals a chance to publically comment or share opinions on news events, with one study showing that 22% sampled tweets contained opinion of some form (Deprez et al., 2013). Younger journalists are more likely to share opinions via Twitter (Sheffer & Schultz 2010). Some scholars have found that as many as 42% of tweets they sampled contained either minor (27%) or major (15%) opinion sharing (Holton & Lewis 2011). Holton and Lewis particularly examined the use of humor on Twitter, in which journalists can take part in the "fabric of Twitter and pattern their practices around its social milieu: information, conversational, opinionated—and, yes, often witty and satirical too" (p. 13). While journalists sometimes share their own opinions through tweets published on their accounts, they rarely ask followers for their opinions—consisting of only 1% of tweets in one sample (Deprez et al., 2013).

Although many journalists contain their personal interactions to Facebook rather than Twitter (Reed, 2012), some journalists use Twitter sparingly as a means to share personal interests or insights (Cozma & Chen, 2013; Deprez et al., 2013). Female newsworkers are more likely than male reporters to tweet about their personal lives (Lasorsa, 2012). Holton and Lewis (2011), called such practices "lifecasting" (p.13), and said such "behind-the-scenes life details and personal musings" were one of the ways journalists might explore the use of humor in order to connect with readers on a more personal level. Official accounts are highly unlikely to share any personal, non-news-related items via Twitter (Verweij, 2012).

While most of the scholarship examining journalists' use of Twitter seems to indicate that journalists have embraced the medium as a breaking news tool, other research shows they are slow to adopt the "innovative" benefits of Twitter, relying highly upon the medium to "drive traffic to the news site" (Armstrong & Gao, 2010). Twitter is also where reporters break news (Kian and Murray, 2014), but as a whole, journalists have been "ignoring many of the obvious technological breakthroughs associated with Twitter (i.e., the ability to connect directly with sources) and instead are using it to point back to the journalism they grew up with—developed stories on the printed page based on traditional journalistic practices" (p. 236). Although some studies show journalists recognize social media's potential for connecting with the audience on a more personal level (Hambric et al., 2010), in general, journalists do not engage much with their followers (Russell et al., 2014). One study showed only 6% of sampled tweets using interactive means (Cozma & Chen, 2013). Journalists rarely use the medium to conduct interviews, to network, or to "verify information" (Willnat & Weaver, 2014, p. 19). Official newsroom accounts are even less likely to contain interactivity or to be used "as a community-building tool" (Messner et al., 2011, p. 19).

Journalists operate somewhat in an "echo chamber" (Parmelee, 2013, p. 293) online, with most of their Twitter interactivity spent engaging with other journalists. Journalists are more likely to share links from their own organization than any other (Russell et al., 2014)—although some studies have shown journalists in countries other than the United States share external links more (Noguera Vivo, 2012). Journalists are also more likely to retweet or send @mentions to traditional news media, especially from their own news organization (Russell et al., 2014).

Such findings are not out of place when taken into context of journalists' traditional reticence in adopting interactive platforms. Journalists were slow to adopt interactive features of blogs—with hyperlinks as the one exception (Rosenberry, 2005). Other studies showed that journalists were also slow to use the Internet in "revolutionary" ways for gathering information, using computer technology more as a way to connect with more human sources rather than more innovative information-gathering means (Reich, 2005, p. 563).

Unsurprisingly then, some reporters, particularly older journalists (Reed, 2012; Schultz & Sheffer, 2010), were highly skeptical of Twitter and the benefits its adoption might avail (Price et al., 2012). Many reporters who see Twitter use as a necessity only do so because they believe it is vital to maintain employment (Kian & Murray, 2014). In general, news professionals do not believe that Twitter use improves their journalistic practices (Lariscy, et al., 2009). As a result, for many news professionals, Twitter remains in a secondary position as reporters stress "that writing and reporting remain their primary duties, with most noting that those skills have not changed much since their entrance into the profession despite technological advances" (Kian & Murray, 2014, p. 72). When they do migrate to Twitter, they carry over many traditional practices—such as objectivity and gatekeeping (Coddington et al., 2014; Parmelee, 2013)—perhaps because of their propensity to follow "from their supervisors and peers" in how to use the platform (Parmelee, 2013, p. 298).

Studies show, however, that journalists who fail to recognize or employ interactive means through Twitter use may fall behind those who do. According to the PEW Research Center's Project for Excellence in Journalism, younger news-savvy audiences flock to Twitter, with 45% of U.S. adults ages 18-29 saying they get news from Twitter. An additional 38% of U.S. adults ages 30-49 say they do. Social media could also provide a means to reach out to disenfranchised minority sources (Brown et al., 2014). In addition, television stations that interact with their Twitter followers have more followers than stations who do not, even though interactive stations often tweet less often than noninteractive accounts (Greer & Ferguson, 2011). Some Twitter users say they ascribe greater credibility and trust to journalists who engage with their followers via Twitter (Brown et al., 2014). Journalists are not unaware of the potential for engagement in building reader loyalty (Price et al., 2012), with many surveyed professionals expressing a desire to have more training in using social media in interactive ways (Willnat & Weaver, 2014).

Twitter use for journalists is not without its disadvantages, and those setbacks can perhaps explain why some journalists remain skeptical of professionally driven Twitter interactivity. Among disadvantages of Twitter interactivity, journalists are worried about the abuse they take from followers on social media (Price et al., 2012). Tweeting proves distracting, taking too much of their time (Parmelee, 2013), with some journalists calling it a “time sucker” (p. 300) that can even distract them when they are trying to engage in newsgathering.

Although all of the United States’ largest newspapers have attempted to use social networks—and networks, such as Twitter and Facebook, continue to grow in use by the public—“the subscriber base on [social networks] represents only a small fraction of the audience size in print (9% for Facebook and 14% for Twitter) and on the Web (less than 1% for Facebook and Twitter)” (Ju, Jeong, & Chyi, 2013, p. 8). Therefore, even with a growing—and younger audience—on social networks, news professionals may be reticent to spend time catering to an audience that is much smaller than their general readership. In addition, the bulk of referrals to online news articles are from other news entities or search engines, and visitors who arrive at a site from social media are less likely to stay on the site, with higher bounce rates and fewer average page views (Sonderman, 2011a).

However, Twitter offers a potential to reach new readers that would otherwise be missed. According to the PEW Research center, only 18% of Twitter news consumers read print newspapers, only 17% watch cable news, and only 32% watch local television news (Holcomb et al., 2013). Even if current social media audiences are smaller than traditional outlets (Ju et al., 2013) and less engaged than other referrals (Sonderman, 2011a), they therefore remain an untapped source that could create larger readership, if journalists use social media referrals to increase engagement.

Research Questions

Scholars have shown that journalism students often arrive at universities with certain cultural ideas of what constitutes media work (Ball, Hanna, & Sanders, 2006). Internships and exposure to newsrooms reinforce these ideals (Hanna & Sanders, 2012) and journalists rely on advice from coworkers to help form their opinions on ethical issues (Battistoli, 2008).

With such strong identifications evident before young reporters reach professional newsrooms, combined with their strong attachment to the industry (Russo, 1998), it is possible to see why many journalists struggle to adapt to technological change and online interactivity. In addition to intensifying the immediacy factor (Domingo, 2008a;

Brannon, 2008), the nature of the Internet and its interactive technologies pose difficulties with regard many of the traditional journalism structures (Singer, 2005).

Interactive technologies and ease of publishing on the Internet have perhaps shattered the dominance of professional information gatekeepers (Bennett & Iyengar, 2008; McCombs, 2005). Singer (2005) noted that blogs were a first step in opening up publishing avenues for the general public, in essence exponentially multiplying the number of available voices and gatekeepers:

> Online, almost anyone can send news and views around the world, and sometimes it seems as if almost everyone does. In a media environment with unlimited sources of information, the concept of discrete gates through which information passes is obliterated; if there are no gates, there is no need for anyone to tend them. The diminished authority of any one outlet to play a gatekeeper role over published information derives not only from the medium's openness but also from the speed of instant publication in a continuous news cycle (p. 178-179).

In addition to opening gates of information, the Internet has also posed significant challenges to the agenda-setting function of the press. Beginning with the Bill Clinton-Monica Lewinski Scandal in the late 1990s (Williams & Carpini, 2000), nontraditional media began to move into agenda-setting and gatekeeping roles. With so many voices and so many possibilities for expression via social media, blogs, or alternative media outlets, journalists are not always the first to share the news.

Increased workloads in the early 21st Century can perhaps also explain why journalists are reticent to embrace new technology. With demands of multiskilling (Aviles et. al, 2004)—requiring journalists to fulfill multiple roles in the newsroom—immediacy (Brannon, 2008), and industry-wide layoffs (Reinardy, 2011), journalists are overworked and believe that their journalism has suffered as a result (Liu, 2006).

However, some scholars believe cultural factors are also, at least partially, responsible for the reticence of journalists to embrace new practices (Steensen, 2009). Cultural factors are evident when academics report that some newer structures are often more readily embraced by media that are native to the Web—as opposed to the practices of legacy outlets ("Journalism's changing norms," 2011).

While an ever-present demand for immediacy might perhaps cause challenges for journalistic values such as accuracy (Reinardy, 2010), timeliness at least is in line with a traditional journalism rule (Domingo, 2008b). Interactivity, while understood by journalists as a strength of the Internet, "is counter-intuitive with the principles of traditional journalistic culture tended to diminish the willingness to explore audience participation" (Domingo, 2008a, p. 698). Journalists sometimes "dehumanize" online commentators (Reader, 2012b, pg. 501). News professionals also clearly believe that standing firmly entrenched in their gatekeeping role is still preferable to opening gates to a flood untrained voices. As a result, journalists see interactivity and participatory journalism as something extra that they have to deal with and an element that often produces lower-quality content (Singer, 2010).

Journalists are not the only agents who have reproduced traditional journalism activities through routine. Mitchelstein and Boczkowski (2010) believe that for the first decade of the 2000s, audiences had "not behaved radically differently from traditional media audiences" and that they "are still influenced by past consumption habits (p. 1086). Such a revelation shows that neither journalists nor consumers take advantage of one of the core strengths of revolutionary Internet technology: its interactive nature. However, the public's reliance on traditional, one-way consumption also illustrates that one of the key arguments of Giddens' theory could be in force here. Structuration and the duality of structure could be seen as reproducing routine habits of journalists, which bleed into reproducing the habits of consumers.

Bruns (2008) argued that participatory media change the nature of journalism itself. Instead of the gatekeeping model, Bruns proposes the idea of "gatewatching," in which journalists open the gates to other voices. In Bruns' vision, journalists, who have access to resources that are beyond those of typical participants, provide the platform and discussion and then facilitate a conversation, rather than broadcast an agenda. However, Bruns' vision has yet to take hold among most journalistic endeavors.

Previous research into how journalists use Twitter is largely quantitative. (Coddington et al., 2014; Cozma & Chen, 2013; Deprez et al., 2013; Holton & Lewis, 2011; Lariscy et al., 2009; Lasorsa, 2012; Messner et al., 2011; Russell, 2015; Russell et al., 2014; Schultz & Sheffer, 2010; Sheffer & Schultz, 2010; Willnat & Weaver, 2014). Most of the previous quantitative research explored journalists' use of and attitudes toward the platform. Several qualitative studies have explored in depth the reasons why journalists use Twitter and said how they believe its use may affect their professionalism (Kian & Murray, 2014; McEnnis, 2013; Parmelee, 2013; Reed, 2011, 2012; Sherwood & Nicholson, 2012). While some of the studies into the uses of Twitter examined interactivity, there is a research hole to be filled in examining which typical journalism structures encourage or discourage interaction.

The research for this project is inspired by many of the sentiments put forward by Larsson (2012b) in that adherence to traditional structures can account for some of the reticence for journalists to accept new technologies and roles. This study proposed the following research questions about structuration processes among contemporary journalists in regard to technology:

> RQ1: Which journalism structures discourage or encourage news professionals to engage with followers on Twitter?
>
> RQ2: How do journalists negotiate their attitudes toward the advantages and disadvantages with regard to reporting news and engaging with followers on Twitter?
>
> RQ3: How does journalistic Twitter use reinforce or weaken walls between journalists and their readers or viewers?

Chapter 3

Method

To provide depth and context in answering the research questions, I conducted a qualitative study of 23 in-depth interviews with journalists with current professional experience and who actively use Twitter. In the spirit of emergent design (Lincoln & Guba, 1985), the research process influenced the number of interviews until the data reached saturation (Lindlof & Taylor, 2011). Analysis consisted of a constant-comparative method (Glaser & Strauss, 1967).

Because of both methodological and practical factors, I used a pool of purposive subjects for this project, rather than using a probability sample. First, identifying the entire population of journalists on the social medium Twitter in order to draw a probability sample was not feasible. Second, qualitative research uses purposive participation in order to ensure that respondents are relevant to the study (Babbie, 2009). Purposive participation was most appropriate in this case because the project required locating journalists who were actively involved in Twitter.

Participants

Interview participants were initially recruited through targeted and purposive means. I sought out journalists in varied markets whom I knew to use Twitter extensively. I also followed up on recommendations for other interview subjects from other academics. Following each interview, I asked each participant for referrals to whom I could reach out. Each reporter I interviewed was promised confidentiality, in which only my dissertation chair and I would know their identity (Babbie, 2009). Journalists interviewed for this study were informed that I might also keep basic demographic information. More detailed information about participants and their backgrounds can be found in Table 1.

Although journalism studies often focus on major national and international publications, such publications do not represent the average journalist, as 97% of newspapers in the United States fit a community niche (Smith, 2008). As this is a qualitative study, I was more concerned with establishing a range than a representative sample. I wanted to contact a variety of journalists in order to provide varied perspectives on Twitter use. As a result, I sought out journalists who had print, digital and broadcast perspectives, originated from different sections of the country, represented publications with different profiles, and who boasted varied numbers of Twitter followers.

Of the 23 interviews, 15 participants were men and eight were women, a ratio that is consistent with demographic breakdowns of U.S. journalists (Willnat & Weaver, 2014). Unfortunately, including a sample of racially diverse subjects proved difficult, as only three journalists were minorities, and only one respondent was not a native of the United States. However, such a ratio is actually also consistent with demographic studies of U.S. newsrooms, which have shown that only 8.5% of American journalists are minorities (Willnat & Weaver, 2014). Journalists from the Western, Eastern, Southwestern, Northeastern, Southern, and Midwestern United States were represented.

Of the 23 participants, five worked for broadcast outlets, two in Internet-specific companies, and 16 in traditional print newsrooms. The number of broadcast reporters was lowest, but I was not specifically looking for broadcast perspectives for comparison purposes. I was looking for perspectives that could transcend the lines of whatever medium a journalist represented.

Table 1
Participants

Name*	Gender	Outlet	No. of outlets	Role	Prof. Journalism experience
Logan	M	Community Daily Newspaper	1	Reporter	More than 10 years
Andrew	M	International Newspaper	6	Section Editor	More than 20 years
Shawn	M	International Newspaper	2	Reporter	Fewer than five years
Garrett	M	Niche newspaper in metropolitan market	3	Reporter	Fewer than five years
Tom	M	Metropolitan newspaper	1	Sports reporter	More than 20 years
Alex	M	Freelance, formerly worked for community daily	2	Freelance sports reporter	More than 10 years
Matt	M	Metropolitan newspaper	8	Editor	More than 20 years
Natalie	F	Niche newspaper in metro market	5	Reporter	More than 10 years
Ben	M	Community weekly	1	Sports Reporter	Fewer than five years
Sarah	F	Radio news station and top 40 market television station**	3	Reporter	More than 10 years
Erin	F	Community daily newspaper	1	Reporter/ Digital editor	Fewer than five years

Table 1 (continued)
Participants

Name*	Gender	Outlet	No. of outlets	Role	Prof. Journalism experience
David	M	Metropolitan newspaper	2	Reporter	More than 10 years
Ruth	F	Television station, top 40 market	At least 3	Reporter	More than 20 years
Daniel	M	National newspaper	2	Social media editor/ columnist	More than 20 years
Javier	M	Television station, top 40 market	4	Anchor	5-10 years
No pseudonym given to protect identity	F	International news organization	3	Reporter	More than 10 years
Owen	M	Metropolitan newspaper	2	Social media editor/ reporter	Fewer than five years
Lisa	F	Television station, top 20 market	6	Anchor	More than 15 years
Austin	M	Niche publication in metropolitan market	4	Reporter	5-10 years
Rachel	F	Television station, top 40 market	3	Anchor/ Reporter	5-10 years
Tara	F	News syndication	4	Curator	5-10 years

Table 1 (continued)
Participants

Name*	Gender	Outlet	No. of outlets	Role	Prof. Journalism experience
Noah	M	Public relations, formerly worked at mid-sized daily newspaper	2	Public relations /former reporter	5-10 years
Brock	M	Midsized daily newspaper in metropolitan area	7	Reporter	More than 20 years

Notes: Some of the interview subjects have since changed outlets or positions. The information here is presented in most recent journalism roles they occupied when the interview was conducted.
*Names have been changed per IRB standards
**Markets are ranked according to Nielsen DMAs.

Respondents represented newsrooms of community, metropolitan, regional, genre niche-specific, newswire, national, and international publications. While some recent in-depth interview studies of journalists and Twitter use have specifically identified journalists with at least seven years experience (Reed, 2012), I purposefully did not set an age or experience limit—in order to get varied perspectives, including those of millennial journalists who have entered the field since Twitter was founded. As a result, participants ranged from nearly 30 years to less than one year of experience. Although two of the participants had recently left the field, both had significant journalism experience, including several years using Twitter. Both had worked as journalists within six months of their interviews. One of the two journalists had left the full-time journalism industry but continued to work in a freelance capacity. The other still worked the mass communications industry—as a public relations professional. The respondent pool also included reporters—who covered such topics as news, politics, sports, business, and features—editors, and anchors.

Participants reported various experiences using Twitter. As of July 2015, the journalists I interviewed for this study averaged 3,421 followers on Twitter. Only four had fewer than 1,000 followers, and three had more than 10,000. Only two participants said they had separate work and personal accounts. Journalists who had tweeted fewer than 1,000 times were not considered for this study. As of July 2015, respondents had tweeted a total of 285,907 times. On average, journalists who participated in this study had tweeted 12,052 times—with the most prolific participant having tweeted more than 43,000 times. Only three journalists interviewed for this project had tweeted fewer than 5,000 times.

Qualitative In-depth Interviews

In order to gain the proper depth necessary to analyze qualitative interviews, a researcher must possess the ability to listen (Rubin & Rubin, 2004). Listening is key in allowing the respondent to feel comfortable enough to share details in responses (Lindlof & Taylor, 2011). Follow-up questions and probing questions often allow the subject to more fully explain previous answers (Boyce & Neal, 2006) provide a more emergent design, allowing theory to emerge from data in an unbiased manner (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Lindlof and Taylor (2011) suggest a method of “active listening” (p. 198) when conducting interviews. Active listening consists of hearing and analyzing what the participant is saying in order to guide future questions, while also continuing with verbal and non-verbal actions that build rapport—such as “head tilts, nods, smiles, looks of concerns, and the ‘Yes,’ ‘Uh-huh.’ And ‘I see’ that sustain talk” (Lindlof & Taylor, 2011, p. 199).

Follow-up and probing questions present the need for a good researcher in search of interview depth to engage in semi-structured interviews (Rubin & Rubin, 2004), where the researcher prepares a list of questions to ask each respondent but allows the interview to take shape as it emerges (Berg, 2009). As each successive interview is conducted, the researcher has the latitude to alter the list of prepared questions to address previous results and refine the categories that emerge throughout the interview process. The prepared questions for this study revolved around common journalistic practices and how they carry over to Twitter, examining respondents’ attitudes toward Twitter use to crowd source, break news, share user-generated content, and interact directly with readers.

For example, interview questions explored the manner in which the respondents decided whom to follow, what to retweet, or what they believed to be the biggest utilities of Twitter use in their newsgathering. In addition to Twitter practices and attitudes, this study also explored journalists’ understandings of the rules of the trade, their practices of newsgathering, and their own ideas pertaining to their role society. Subsequent questions focused on such topics as rules and practices carried over from offline journalism onto Twitter, perceptions of their role on Twitter, and their cognizance of those roles—and their identity as a journalist—when they tweeted. A full list of prepared questions can be found in Appendix 1.

Interviews are best conducted in person, so that the researcher is able to provide a setting in which subjects find themselves at ease, and the interviewer can also pick up on nonverbal, visual cues (Lindlof & Taylor, 2011). In order to compensate for some of the loss of nonverbal cues from a series of telephone interviews but to still have a more varied pool of journalists throughout the country, I initially conducted interviews using the online video messaging program Skype. Using a plugin for the software, the audio for interviews was recorded. In subsequent interviews, however, several subjects voiced unfamiliarity and uncomfortable feelings toward the Skype platform and asked to be interviewed via a telephone conversation. Although in-person interviews are preferred for the researcher's ability to recognize nonverbal cues, conducting the interviews over the telephone was deemed preferable to confining the interviews to a limited region of the country. In addition, a study by Sturges and Hanrahan (2004), showed that "both face-to-face and telephone interviews yielded similar information" (p. 115). The benefit of including more varied respondents may therefore strengthen interviews could therefore offset any perceived disadvantage from conducting interviews via phone (Sturges & Hanrahan, 2004). In the end, I conducted 14 interviews via Skype and nine over the phone.

I conducted the semi-structured, in-depth interviews over a period of two months from December 2014 to February 2015. The first participants were recruited beginning in December of 2014, and the first interview commenced on December 18, 2014. Interviews continued over the next two months until analysis showed the data reaching saturation, at which point the final interviewed concluded on February 3, 2015. The interviews averaged 54 minutes and 21 seconds in length. The longest interview was 1 hour, 14 minutes, and 2 seconds long, and the shortest was 38 minutes and 41 seconds long.

Analysis

Data analysis occurred using the constant comparative method (Saldana, 2011). Following each interview, I transcribed each recording using a word processing program. Transcripts were copied to a password-encrypted hard drive, and attempts were made to remove any identifying information that could compromise the confidentiality of each respondent. Transcripts were then loaded into the Atlas.ti software, a program that allows a researcher to tag passages of transcripts with specific codes that can then be organized, condensed, and filtered in the pattern-searching process.

Constant comparative analysis is often used in the construction of grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967), a method of inductive reasoning where theory arises from data (Saldana, 2011). However, grounded theory often involves conducting research with a more inductive approach where theory does not guide analysis but arise from the data (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Therefore, this study, which relied on Giddens' structuration theory (1984) as a starting point, could not be described as a true grounded theory approach. However, constant comparative analysis, which is often the suggested method of analysis of grounded theory (Corbin & Strauss, 1990), provided a useful method by which to create patterns and categories in an effort to identify how journalistic contribute to journalists' reticence to embrace interactive technologies.

The constant comparative analysis process is inductive in nature, allowing a researcher to examine his or her data and begin to form emergent categories that can be used to organize the data (Saldana, 2013). In the constant comparative analysis approach, codes are constantly formed, refined, compared, and analyzed throughout the research process (Lindlof & Taylor, 2011).

The principles of inductive and deductive theory building have inherent, often irreconcilable differences. Often scholars fall into one camp or the other, without recognizing that, despite their differences, both approaches have inherent strengths. Inductive theory is often used in qualitative methods, with deductive research taking place in quantitative methods—although it is possible for deductive theory to take place in a qualitative setting (Lindlof & Taylor, 2011). Therefore, although the nature of inductive theory makes it less likely to find its place in quantitative reasoning, neither theory of inquiry is restricted to a particular method.

Deductive theory, according to Babbie (2009) deals with the formation of hypotheses that are then subjected to and verified through rigorous testing processes. Babbie discussed deductive theory in terms of "[moving] from the general to the specific," (p. 23) with a particular focus on larger samples that do not focus particularly on the individual. According to Lindlof and Taylor (2011), deductive reasoning forms its hypotheses by appealing to existing knowledge that has already been tested through previous research. Theories and hypotheses are directed to new situations and new forms of tests, but they are built on the foundation that previous research has set (Lindlof & Taylor, 2011).

For example, a researcher studying the agenda-setting function of the mass media as it relates to local newspapers and a road project would appeal to the seminal study of McCombs and Shaw (1972) and their finding that public salience toward issues correlates with the attention given them by the mass media. Because McCombs and Shaw showed correlation in their findings, the deductive researcher could use agenda-setting research to form a hypothesis that as journalists tweet about issues, the public's perceived importance of those issues would also increase.

Inductive theory, however, involves a more focused process that is influenced but less supported by existing foundations (Lindlof & Taylor, 2011). In the case of inductive theory, it is through the observations of the data that a researcher will begin to build theoretical foundations (Babbie, 2009). The principles of study are inferred from the data itself, instead of the work of previous studies (Lindlof & Taylor, 2011). It is a focused process by which data turns into theory, as the researcher allows the theory to emerge in a more organic process (Lindlof & Taylor, 2011). For example, an inductive researcher might use agenda-setting theory (McCombs & Shaw, 1972) as a starting point to ask journalists if they believe they influence public discussion, but allow the responses to shape theory, rather than *a priori* hypotheses.

In their criticism of the positivistic paradigm, specifically in their section about the underdetermination of theory, Lincoln and Guba (1985) highlight another key difference between the two theories of inquiry. Deductive reasoning, they argue, is closed. It seeks for the best possible explanation and subjects it to tests. As a result, the deductive researcher argues that the truth is fixed in that explanation. In addition, because a deductive researcher begins his or her theory process by building hypotheses based on existing, verified theory, the deductive researcher enters the study with *a priori* assumptions of what he or she might find—which Lincoln and Guba argue might bias the results because if the researcher enters the theory process with an idea of what he or she might find, the scholar is perhaps likely to find it.

Inductive research, according to Lincoln and Guba (1985), is less concerned with *a priori* assumptions because it is from the data, not existing literature, that theory is formed. The inductive researcher leaves his or her theory open. It is one theory, Lincoln and Guba say, but it is not the only possible explanation of a particular phenomenon. Explanations might change based on context.

As mentioned, both approaches have particular strengths and weaknesses. Researchers should perhaps find harmony in what it is that each approach can produce. Deductive theory, for example, is easy to justify because of its firm foundation built on previous literature. Concepts are clarified, reliability checks are performed, and the researcher often runs inferential statistics tests to measure whether there is a significant difference or whether the results of only been garnered by chance (Privitera, 2012)—such as selecting a particular sample. Inferential statistics from a representative sample allow a researcher to attempt to generalize to the public at large (Privitera, 2012).

However, weaknesses of deductive research, as argued by Lincoln and Guba (1985), include the fact that the researcher often becomes so caught up in building upon previous theory that he or she fails to create or refine theory. Replication, not innovation, becomes the norm. In addition, Lincoln and Guba argue that deductive research often focuses too much on large groups, ignoring local contexts and individual agency.

Inductive theory, on the other hand, often includes smaller samples drawn in a naturalistic setting (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). The setting of inductive reasoning, along with the repetitive nature of examining the data line-by-line (Lindlof & Taylor, 2011), can often provide more detailed analysis, which Geertz (1973) termed as "thick description"—which can provide context, agency, and innovation that deductive research often ignores. It also puts a heavy emphasis on the development of new theory (Charmaz, 1983).

However, inductive research does carry its own limitations, especially with mass media research. First, the extensive coding and analysis process can be time consuming and drain resources. Second, inductive theory is more difficult to generalize to the public than deductive reasoning. As Fink and Gantz (1996) note, mass media studies that cannot be generalized perhaps have weaker overall implications.

The grounded theory method (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) is an appropriate example of the employment of inductive reasoning. According to Saldana (2011, p. 116), grounded theory can be defined as methodically examining data in a manner that allows the researcher to form theory "from the ground up." The grounded theory process is thus inductive in nature, allowing a researcher to examine his or her data and begin to form categories that emerge during the process and can be used to organize the data (Saldana, 2013).

I will now examine why, despite using the constant comparative method and inductive reasoning, this study can not be accurately described as grounded theory. Lindlof & Taylor (2011, p. 250) describe three major inductive characteristics of grounded theory: 1) "emergent theory is grounded in relationships between data and the categories;" 2) "the researcher forms the categories using the constant comparative method"; and 3) "codes, categories, and category definitions change dynamically in the field." The first statement shows that the theory arises inductively, as the categories that will eventually become theory are built from the data, and in turn are used to summarize, visualize, and explain the data (Lindlof & Taylor, 2011). The second principle of grounded theory shows the intensive coding process, as codes are not just formed but are constantly refined, compared, and analyzed throughout the process (Lindlof & Taylor, 2011). Thus, constant comparative analysis, which I used for this study, is a key step of grounded theory, but is not the full grounded theory process itself.

Finally, the third characteristic defined by Lindlof and Taylor shows that grounded theory is a process of emergent design (Lincoln & Guba, 1985), in which the research process is not fixed but changes based on the context and observations. As an example, as I undertook the early interviews for this project, I noticed that many journalists placed an emphasis on storytelling aspects of the journalistic field. Therefore, I reevaluated some of my questions based upon these interactions and began to explore the subject of Twitter storytelling with subsequent interview respondents. Conversely, I noticed few rich results rising from another question, which explored whether journalists could think of experiences in which the rules of journalism might change their approach to a story. As a result, I abandoned this question in subsequent interviews.

Corbin and Strauss (1990) lay out a specific set of characteristics on which grounded theory should be built. First, when conducting grounded theory, the collection of data and analysis of it should occur simultaneously. A grounded theorist must not wait to the end of collection to begin his/her observations, especially if he or she hopes to allow the codes to change based on observations during the process (Lindlof & Taylor, 2012).

Second, Corbin and Strauss (1990) stress that the unit of analysis is not the subjects of the study, but the concepts one discovers along the way. Third, as the concepts begin to emerge from the analysis of the data, a researcher begins to organize them into categories. Fourth, a purposive sample that fits the theoretical model should be employed, meaning Corbin and Strauss believe a probability sample would be inappropriate in the case of grounded theory. Fifth, the coding process, as Lindlof and Taylor (2012) mentioned, should take place in a constant comparative method. Sixth, Corbin and Strauss (1990) stress that during the coding process, the research should begin to look for patterns that emerge and allow the categories to be refined, collapsed, combined, or strengthened. Seventh, a grounded theory researcher should emphasize the construction of models and hypotheses from the patterns of categories. Eighth, a researcher can begin to construct theory through the process of writing memos, which organize the codes and patterns. Ninth, the researcher attempts to explain the theory process.

Charmaz (1983) noted that one of the key functions of the grounded theory process is to emphasize the word "theory." She wrote that grounded theorists must expect to build theory instead of merely verifying existing literature. Thus, this study cannot be fully described as grounded theory. Perhaps some researchers have overlooked the theoretical emphasis when undertaking studies they term to be grounded theory. The constant comparative method is certainly a key part of the grounded theory process, but as evidenced by Corbin and Strauss's characteristics of grounded theory, it is only one of the many steps in the method.

The constant comparative method consists of an intensive coding process involving three steps (Charmaz, 1983). The researcher engages in *open/initial coding*, in which he or she methodically examines the data and begins to form categories. For example, during analysis for this study, I thoroughly read transcripts and used the Atlas.ti program to tag passages with codes, such as objectivity, fairness, or professionalism. In the second stage of Charmaz's (1983) coding process, the researcher begins to refine the categories in a further meticulous process known as *focused coding*. Here, the codes are examined, studied, and refined. Finally, the researcher creates memos to organize the codes and build theory. For example, in this study, in the focused coding process, I collapsed superfluous categories and organized resulting structures into visual coding trees with supercategory headings. "Objectivity," for example, was grouped together with "balance" and "fairness."

Lindlof and Taylor (2011) provide additional steps to the constant comparative analysis process. Following open coding, a researcher should begin to look for *in vivo* codes, which Saladana (2013, p. 99) noted is a Latin phrase meaning "that which is alive." In the *in vivo* coding process, a researcher looks for specific examples from the data, such as phrases or terms the subjects use, and begin to use those examples as categories (Lindlof & Taylor, 2011). One example from this study was a quote used by one reporter that used the term "overwhelming" in reference to the constant stream of information that flows through Twitter. Finally, Lindlof and Taylor (2011) state that a researcher should engage in a process of *axial coding*, in which the categories are compared one with the other for similarities and differences.

Saldana (2013) offered six separate steps, grouped in two cycles, in the coding process. In *first cycle* steps, a researcher engages in open/initial and in vivo coding. However, a researcher can also use *process* or *action coding*, in which specific observations are made and coded as the data is being gathered. In *second cycle* steps, Saldana presents focused and axial coding in similar terms as Charmaz (1983) and

Lindlof and Taylor (2011). However, he also adds another step, which he calls *selective* or *theoretical* coding, in which the researcher begins to take the codes and form a theory or model.

Such an extensive process shows how constant comparative analysis in two key ways relates particularly to the inductive, rather than deductive, theory of inquiry. First, theory is formed as a result of the data and the categories, not from previous, established, and verified literature—as in the case of deductive reasoning (Lindlof & Taylor, 2011). Second, the process is much more individual and contextual, which also falls in line with inductive theory (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

The coding process of axial and open coding in constant comparative analysis is a versatile approach that has been used in scholarship from myriad social science fields. The process has been used to study advertising (Andronikidis & Lambrianadou, 2010), religious communication (Cheong et al., 2011) journalism (Reader, 2006), digital communication (Becker & Stamp, 2005), and education (Thompson, 2008). It can also be used as a form of analysis for a variety of data-gathering methods, such as focus groups (Andronikidis & Lambrianadou, 2010), in-depth interviews (Becker & Stamp, 2005; Cheong et al., 2011; Reader, 2006) and diary-interview methods (Thompson, 2008).

Andronikidis and Lambrianadou (2010) set out to explore what type of understanding children have of both the effect and process of advertising. Using focus groups of Greek children, the authors used constant comparative analysis of the transcripts to form categories. After examining the results, they built a model of the children's understanding of advertising, including such things as the motivations and the consequences involved.

Cheong et al. (2011) used in-depth interviews of Christian pastors in Singapore to measure whether they believed the Internet reduced both their autonomy and their authority. Although Cheong et al. did not advance a new theory or model—instead building upon previous research she had done with Buddhist monks)—she used a thorough line-by-line analysis to build categories that could carry build upon her previous inductive research. She also used a snowball sample, instead of a probability sample, to find her interview subjects, which is one of Corbin and Strauss' (1990) grounded theory criteria.

Reader (2006) conducted extensive interviews with journalists at both metropolitan and community newspapers in hopes of discovering the different challenges each face when it comes to relationships with sources and community organizations. Using constant comparative analysis, Reader found an emergent theme of managing conflicts of interest that persisted among the responses of the interview subjects from community newspapers.

Becker and Stamp (2005) illustrate a purposive nature of sample in inductive theory. Hoping to discover ways in which people manage their reputation or images in chat rooms, Becker and Stamp recognized that a purposive sample, taken from a specific population instead of at random, would be the best measure of correct contexts. From their original sample, Becker and Stamp used a snowball process to find more participants. In the end, they built a model of impression management, including such ideas as using screen names, creating new identities, and selective presentation. Finally, Thompson (2008) used a diary-interview method to provide depth and context in building a model of the support incoming freshmen receive and perceive they need during their first year of college. Their model showed that following the first semester, the students' reliance on support waned.

These examples show the versatility of the constant comparative method, along with its strengths in providing models and theory that arise from qualitative research and inductive reasoning. As such, it was determined that the constant comparative method, was the most appropriate method of analysis for this study.

Chapter 4

Findings

This chapter will discuss the patterns that arose from analysis of the interview responses. For an easier illustration of the patterns I will discuss in this chapter, see Figures 1 and 2. The first of the two figures are associated with the first research question in identifying traditional structures, namely the rules and resources of journalism. The second explores the first and second research questions, as it deals with both the structural responses to social media interactivity that might encourage or discourage journalists to engage in dialogue on Twitter (RQ1), as well as the advantages and disadvantages journalists perceive with such interactivity (RQ2). I will initially explore the first research question.

Journalism Structures

This section of the dissertation examines the structures with which these journalists most identified. The following section shows that journalists identified traditional structures that have often been identified through previous literature, such as objectivity, accountability (or watchdog) journalism, or gatekeeping. However, the unusual pattern of such structures as a storytelling acumen inherent in many journalists' desire to become involved in the field, show that it was important to examine the context and depth of these particular respondents.

Rules. I will begin by examining that which many journalists I interviewed identified as the rules of the trade, examining also some of these rules that they believe carry over into Twitter and social media use. While some participants held some in common, a handful, especially objectivity, transparency, accuracy, and professional behavior, seemed nearly universal.

Objectivity. Logan is a reporter for a community newspaper. Logan has often been one of the early adopters of various social media platforms at his newspaper and spent time working on the news side before he took his current features post. He acknowledges that, as a human being, he has inherent biases, but he is adamant that the traditional journalistic notion of objectivity means "doing your best to avoid letting [biases] influence a story." For Logan, such objectivity involves depth, multiple viewpoints, and a solid effort to keep one's "own voice and opinion out of the story."

Objectivity was the first standard Logan cited during his interview, and he did so without hesitation because he said he believed that sharing his opinion could give readers the perception that he favors one side over another. Like many journalists, he acknowledges times that his own opinions have generated questions of credibility—although one such experience came as a direct result of an opinion Logan shared over social media, rather than in an article.

Logan made a "somewhat political statement" on his personal Facebook page, which he notes is followed mostly by close friends and a small handful of acquaintances. Yet—though he guards his privacy on social media—once Logan posted the comment on his personal Facebook page, he lost some control over the post. A friend, who had actually agreed with Logan, shared the post on his own Facebook profile, "where a lot of people I wasn't personally friends with were viewing it."

Subsequently, a potential source who had opposite political leanings, upon seeing the post, expressed outrage that Logan had shared the opinion, especially because the potential source knew Logan's position at the community newspaper. The potential source contacted Logan via a personal message, and argued with him, saying things that Logan called "personally offensive." However, Logan later found himself needing to quote the source in an article:

> He achieved something great, and it was worth a story. And I found myself not wanting to write it because I had been offended by him and I had offended him. When it came down to it, though, he wanted the publicity, and I knew it was my job to write about this relevant story, and we kind of talked around it. This interaction never came up, even though . . . our only previous interaction was this moment of tension on social media, caused by something that in reality, I probably shouldn't have said.

Logan said, beyond the awkwardness of the interview, he and the source were able to put their feelings aside and write the story. Logan did not believe his opinion was in the wrong or that he wasn't allowed to have it. However, he believed that as a reporter—even as a reporter who did not cover politics—sharing a political opinion on a personal social media platform was dangerous.

Several respondents indicated that objectivity is perhaps one of the key rules because it is ingrained so deeply in both journalism school and on-the-job training. One participant, a reporter from a major international news agency who was the only interview respondent who was not an American, appeared deeply appreciative of the additional training she received in the United States that put an emphasis on objectivity. In order to further protect her privacy from identification, I have chosen not to provide a pseudonym for her. This particular reporter attended a journalism school in her home country, and she said that, in theory, her country has the same journalism ethics as those that reporters from the United States espouse. However, she expressed frustration in how those ethics are or are not followed. In the American press, she said, "peers will come down heavily on you if

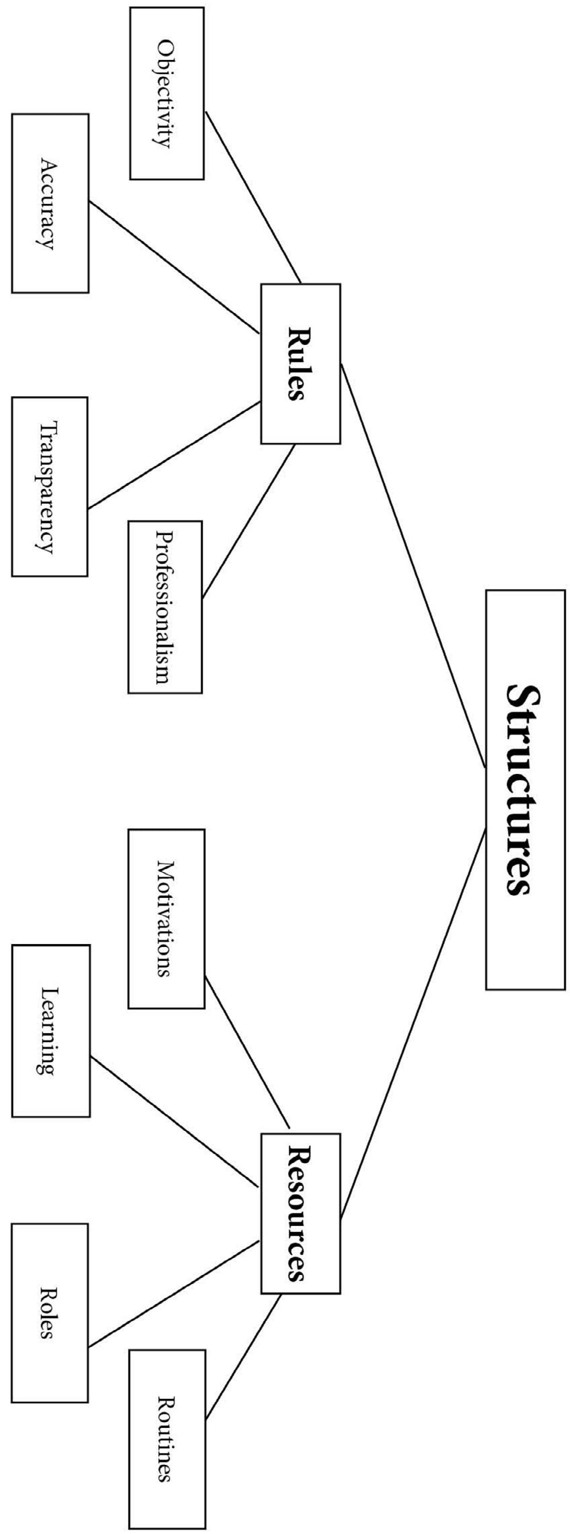


Figure 1. Journalism Structures of Newsgathering.

you express your biases publicly. You will probably lose your job." In her home country, however, reporters are not as diligent at keeping their biases out of the coverage. Her own experience of being the victim of a biased article in her home country further deepened her appreciation for the ethics of the American press. The journalist I interviewed told me that a reporter in her home country wrote a false story about her, and when she confronted him about it, he threatened to write a salacious (and false) headline about her. "And I gave in," she said, noting that she would not be as protected by the legal system in her home country as in the United States.

When she arrived in the United States, she knew that different standards and ethics—among them objectivity and more extensive editing—would require her to undergo further training if she wanted to work in the U.S. media. As a result, she decided to attend a graduate program in the United States. There she said she learned an even deeper appreciation for objectivity standards, particularly from professors—one of whom would express annoyance if students attended classes wearing shirts bearing corporate logos.

For many of the respondents, objectivity has different definitions. Some respondents indicated that people are not going to be able to completely avoid the formations of opinions, not even on stories that they are covering. Respondents seem to recognize that opinion formation is natural.

Noah is a journalist who recently left his job as a public safety reporter for a mid-sized metropolitan newspaper to work in the public relations field. Noah emphasized that he believed it was important to represent an issue in the "most fair way" and through "diligent" research, but he also expressed frustration at the "extremes" to which the objectivity standard is often taken, especially because journalists often fear "the perception of bias" in their readers. To Noah, being objective does not mean he is not allowed to be human. On the contrary, he said he believed that it is quite possible to form an opinion and still cover issues fairly:

> To use my public safety beat as an example, it would be silly to think that I'm for murder. I can cover a murder trial fairly without anybody assuming that I support murder. And so that sounds so silly when you say it, but why can't that be the same with someone who's covering politics? I don't think you should be overtly out there and trying to change the cause. I wouldn't donate to a cause. But I think I could say, "Yeah, I'm not big into the mountain-top mining," while still covering both sides.

Almost immediately, however, Noah mentioned the caveat: By stating such an opinion, someone could instantly argue that bias taints a story, and that perception can be dangerous. His example still indicates that it is not the formation of the opinion that he considers to be dangerous, but the voicing of it.

Other interview respondents voiced the belief that objectivity means—despite their own personal opinions—reporters should remove their feelings from the story. That might include reaching out to multiple sources, adding diversity to a story, or attempting to write from a neutral point of view. "I owe my audience both sides of the story," one respondent said. "I don't want to make a decision for them. I give them both sides of the story and let them come to their own conclusions."

Giving "both sides of the story" echoes another possible definition for objectivity. As detailed earlier in this dissertation, scholars have argued that objectivity is not possible, and that better terms, such as "balance" or "fairness" should be used in regard to providing all sides of a story, rather than objectivity. However, most of the journalists I interviewed for this study said they still saw objectivity and separating themselves from their opinions of a story as an ideal practice.

That ethical integrity includes not only being careful about objectivity in print, but also, as one respondent put it, with “voicing your opinion on certain public forums.” Journalists I interviewed for this study also said that they need to separate themselves from a story in the story selection process. One respondent noted a colleague who promoted her own religious group at the expense of a dominant local faith: “She was always trying to push stories and write things that were not bashing the other group, but making hers look better and trying to compare the two and that just didn’t sit well with, not just me, but with a lot of people in the newsroom.” Another journalist expressed frustration with a colleague who would actively try to stir up responses from the public by saying controversial things.

Respondents said objectivity, balance, and fairness are important, not only as a journalistic duty to providing the whole truth, but also because of the potential of losing credibility with sources or the public. The participants said they fear that by exposing their opinions, they might expose biases that would give readers cause to distrust them. One respondent believed that the growth of citizen-run blogs and the preponderance of online journalists who do not tend to follow the rules of objectivity has had a trickle-down effect that has damaged credibility for many in the industry who do try to adhere to traditional standards.

Another respondent, Tom, is a sports reporter for a major metropolitan newspaper. He covers a team with a fairly significant national profile. One major focus for Tom is to build a reputation as an unbiased observer who is “not a fan of the team I cover.” He wants to be clear that he also bears no ill feelings toward the team or its rivals.

Regardless of his efforts, he said that he constantly fights the perception from fans that he is biased for or against the team. “Everything you write can be interpreted, and perception is reality in one way or another. And people kind of believe what they want to believe, in a way, and use that to reinforce their own belief system.”

According to respondents, application of balance and fairness would appear to be a more complicated effort than simply “getting both sides of the story.” A reporter at a major metropolitan news agency indicated that there are generally more than two sides in any particular story. Another indicated that fairness does not simply mean affording “that side equal weight,” but by showing diligence in gathering news. He said that sides that have been disproven “by science, or by time, or by other measures” do not need to have equal representation, as long as a reporter represents that side “in an accurate light.” Andrew, currently working as an editor at a newspaper of international renown, agreed with that sentiment, saying the same approach does not always work to providing balance to a story. A reporter should “not make assumptions” and should understand that the truth of a story is not always obvious:

> I guess the way I would express it is, yeah, two plus two equals four. But so does three plus one. So does five minus one. So, in other words, there’s all kinds of ways to get to that number on the other side of the equals sign. So you can’t always think, oh well, if it’s four, well it’s got to be two plus two. There’s other things you’ve got to consider.

Balance and fairness require that a journalist do his or her due diligence in collecting information, participants said. One interview respondent expressed a need to know “who the key players are” and to be willing to adapt and evolve the narrative. A reporter at a community newspaper, a millennial currently working her first job out of college, said it is also important to evaluate the direction of the story and ensure that it does not include criticism. Many of the journalists I interviewed expressed that balance and fairness also benefit from a multiplicity of sources. Respondents also said they take pride when potential sources or readers recognize their efforts in finding balance. One journalist covered a county commissioner race at a local community newspaper on his first day as a professional reporter. Following the race, local political veterans expressed to the reporter and his editors that they "had never been treated more fairly and had a better experience with a reporter than they had with me." The journalist, who now works for a large new organization, described the experience as one in which he fully learned what it means to be a journalist.

Alex is a sports reporter who recently left a full-time job and is writing freelance articles for a national news service. He said that a multiplicity of sources is vital to provide a balanced and accurate light. As an example, he cited a recent profile he wrote of a high school athlete. He approaches an article "almost like a job interview." First, he reached out to the student-athlete and then asked for references that she would like him to interview about her. After interviewing coaches, parents, or mentors, he often likes to reach out to people who might not always paint a positive picture of the athlete, such as rival coaches or athletes.

> I'm not necessarily digging for negative information, but you're trying to offer balance, right? You're trying to figure out what this person is like in the hallways. Are they as good as they are with two minutes left in the game as far as how they treat people?

In this particular instance, Alex discovered the student-athlete was universally admired by everyone he interviewed. Along the way in his quest to find balance, however, he discovered positive information that allowed him to provide deeper context in painting a profile of the young woman. After making 10 phone calls, he found out that the young woman was a member of the school band. Alex reached out to the school's music teacher and found a different angle he could take for the story rather than focusing simply on her participation in athletics. While reaching out and looking for possible balance in examining what others thought of her, he instead found greater depth and balance in portraying this young woman as more than an athlete. "It kind of took us out of that mold as far as, 'Okay, she's an undersized soccer player.' We can play on that story all day. It's a neat story, but it was kind of neat to see her in a different perspective," he said.

Respondents said fairness and balance apply to more than sourcing and neutral writing. The standards also extend to news selection. An editor of a major metropolitan newspaper stressed that true balance or fairness requires accurately documenting history, but also that it includes portraying the world and society in a fair light. He believed that the news judgment of major newspapers often focus too much on depressing news, and as such it represents a disconnect journalists may have with readers. Larger newspapers often consider, he said, that "there were 200 f---ing horrible things in the world today and here are the five worst. Of all the s---ty things, here are the five s----iest things we could find." The editor stressed that journalists needed to reach out and portray the world accurately as "a fair representation of what our life is really like." He said that journalists can do so by balancing the needs and interests of the audience with important news and issues, rather than simply following the perception that violent crime and tragedy constitute important news.

Accuracy. Alex, the sports reporter who currently works mostly freelance journalism, once broke news that had major implications—and, consequently, became a national story. The team he covered suspended a key player before a championship tournament, a disciplinary action that later became well publicized. Alex knew about the player's suspension before any other member of the media. What his sources had not indicated to him, however, was why the player was going to be suspended. So Alex began to work on the story, on which he spent six hours tracking down information about the suspension. He finally produced the article, for which he received awards, later that afternoon. The story then proceeded to turn into widespread reports that focused attention on the nature of the player's suspension and the implications it would have.

This particular instance of diligent verification occurred before Alex had a Twitter account, meaning that, although he likely knew there would be competition for the story, he did not feel the need to immediately break the news before he was able to gather the facts.

> If I had to tweet about that when I found out about stuff at 11 a.m. that, hey, this was a done deal, again I didn't know exactly what he had done, and my guess on what happened was wrong . . . if I had to tweet at 11 a.m., what I knew or what I thought I knew, it was a little bit different story quite frankly than it was at 3 p.m. or 4 p.m.—later in the day.

Alex's story reflects a general belief what may have once been standard operating procedure may now be a luxury: That regardless of time constraints, deadlines, or competition, the first responsibility for journalists in reporting a story is to make sure it is reportedly accurately. Producing developing stories may lead to mistakes, and as a result, the journalist may lose some of his or her credibility. While objectivity may have been the most cited rule, the rule about which the respondents were most adamant almost certainly was that of accuracy. The journalists whom I interviewed said they knew their job and their credibility hinged completely on getting things correct. More dangerously, because journalistic reports have societal and monetary implications—in Alex's case, the story involved a sport that draws significant revenue—mistakes have far-reaching consequences that go beyond credibility issues. "I mean this is a big deal: These are millions of dollars on the line."

Respondents said that as they set out to produce accurate news, they put a heavy emphasis on facts, truth, and verification. One respondent indicated that perhaps "truth" is subjective, but he believed the duty of a journalist involved attempting to identify "the best version of the truth" he or she could find. As a result of supplying true information, respondents said they could build both trust and credibility with their sources. Participants believed a journalist's job is to find the facts as quickly as possible and to put them into a mode that the readers or viewers can understand, calling to mind the gatekeeping role of the journalist.

Respondents said a heavy emphasis on accuracy is drilled into the minds and habits of journalists from the beginning of their careers, particularly in journalism school. Andrew attended a journalism school at a major private university in one of the largest media markets in the United States. Many of his professors were adjuncts who were currently working in the field. He recalls one professor who particularly emphasized accuracy.

Students were sent out to gather information for articles during a lab portion of the class and were expected to return to the classroom and use class typewriters to write their reports. The professor generally would give two grades on each assignment. The first was "for the quality of the writing." The second grade, however, focused exclusively on the accuracy of the information in the article.

> She had a hard and fast rule that if you had one proper name misspelled, it was an automatic "F" on the accuracy grade. So in other words, you could score 100 or an "A" on the writing—the writing might be beautiful—but you misspell the mayor's last name just once, it was an automatic "F."

Andrew noted that such high standards in one of his journalism classes emphasized the importance of such values and "what's acceptable and what's not." Most interview respondents stated that journalism is about gathering and reporting facts. Regardless of other motivations, such as readership or time constraints, they know that their goal is to have it right—rather than having it first. And with the Internet putting added pressure on journalists to get information out quickly, journalists have become somewhat frustrated about the demands of immediacy that cause some in the industry to sacrifice accuracy in order to keep up with the competition. As one respondent put it, "Being first is one thing; being right is everything."

Respondents indicated that having it correct the first time often requires depth and verification. Journalists I interviewed for this study said that beyond the basic facts, however, accuracy also involves putting things into context so that the reader can fully understand things, and eventually make their own decisions and conclusions about the information in an article. As a result, participants said a journalist can become an expert that the readers or viewers can trust to provide them with information.

Tom, the sports reporter for a major metropolitan newspaper, shared an instance in which he had correct information, but the standards of verification and accuracy of his newspaper required that he verify the information before reporting it. Tom heard from an athlete on the team he covers that a rival's key player was not only injured but that he would be missing the rest of the season. Tom works in a heavily competitive beat, and has mentioned that the pressure to break news first has increased because of social media, especially Twitter. In this case, he and his competitors "all jumped on Twitter" and shared the information they had heard, that the rival team's player would be missing the rest of the season.

An editor quickly called Tom on the phone and asked him to remove the tweet from his Twitter feed. He told Tom that the rival team was refuting the information he had shared on Twitter and that Tom's source, a player on a completely different squad, was not a good enough source on which Tom should base his credibility.

Recalling the incident, Tom later laughed and noted that "ironically, it turned out to be true." His original source, the athlete on the team Tom covers, had a brother on the rival team, "so it was a pretty good source." The rival team eventually did indeed announce that the player would miss the rest of the season. However, Tom notes that regardless of the truth of the information, because he had not verified the player's injury with the rival team, his editors would not allow him to share the information.

> If I had been writing for the paper before the days of Twitter, I would have called and said, "Hey a guy at [team] is saying [player] is done for the year, is that true or not?" before I put anything in the paper . . . That was just an example of where I probably used Twitter wrongfully, where I would have fleshed it out more if I were writing for the paper.

A handful of newspaper journalists expressed frustration that, in their estimation, television reporters, especially, put a heavy emphasis on being the first to report the information—at the expense of accuracy and verification. One editor noted that he is "paid to tell the truth" and that he expresses to his employees that television stations can "fight all day on having it first. We're the ones that, when you go to it, we will actually have it right." Regardless of the ill feelings from their print-focused colleagues, broadcast journalists I interviewed also expressed that accuracy was at the forefront of their minds when working on a developing story. Regardless of where they work or how much competition they have, all of the respondents expressed a desire to maintain their credibility through accurate reporting.

When journalists do get something wrong, they are expected to apologize or make corrections. One of the key facets of the Code of Ethics for the Society of Professional Journalists is that journalists should be accountable for what they write and how they write it. Knowing that his reporters were human and therefore likely to make mistakes, one editor said his only hope was that they would at least learn from them. "I expect everybody to make mistakes, just don't make the same ones twice. Go ahead and make new ones, but you know, learn from the other ones."

One social media editor indicated that regardless of an online publication's ability to make corrections, especially with the timeliness and flexibility of social media, an emphasis should still be placed on being correct in initial reports: "Honestly, if we're not first on something, that's fine. I want to make sure we get it right because I don't want to have to go back and apologize. That goes back to being trustworthy. If people trust you, and they know you're going to get it right the first time, then they're going to trust you more next time."

Erin, the reporter working in her first job, cited an instance where her newspaper reported a mistake on its website. Reporters listening to a police radio in the newsroom overheard a report of a bank robbery taking place in the small town they cover. The initial report over the radio placed the incident at a particular bank. In reality, the robbery had occurred at a different bank. The news organization updated the article online, but Erin noted that some people who had read the story before the change was made likely beileved inaccurate information.

As an example of an unintended consequence of a mistake, however, the manager of the bank that had not actually been robbed was unhappy with the original report. He asked the newspaper to make a correction or remove the article from the website. “You can’t undo it . . . That was something I know I felt badly about because I shared it out there with the world, and it was wrong.”

Logan, who works for a community newspaper, said that the only expectation he would have for his audience might be loyalty. He hopes that his organization can build trust and credibility to where the members of the community “will trust us as the source of news and events and things happening in the community.” In order to build that trust and loyalty, respondents believe journalists have to focus on presenting accurate facts and truth. To do so, an independent verification can help strengthen reports. One respondent indicated that, regardless of what the news is or its importance, he always tries to make sure he has “two trustworthy sources” before making any report.

Transparency. Rachel is a television news reporter and anchor at one of the largest and most popular stations in her metropolitan area. Rachel has worked her way into this position by working as a sports reporter at various smaller stations, as well as by taking on smaller assignments when she first arrived at her current employer, where she now covers hard news topics. Rachel has built a career and is a recognizable face in her market, which suggests to her that she has to represent her employer with the utmost professionalism.

Some of that cognizance of her position as a journalist came from an early experience in which she made a mistake that she now regrets. In one of her early assignments in the journalism field, Rachel misrepresented her intentions for an interview with a coach. At the coach's school, there had been a legal incident involving a player, and the conditions upon which the coach agreed to be interviewed included a stipulation that Rachel would not ask questions about the incident.

Rachel, who had herself been a student-athlete, had the questions asked on a technicality. While she had agreed to the terms, Rachel's photographer had not, and she had the photographer ask the coach questions about the incident. Angry at what he saw as a breach of the agreement, the coach "stormed out" of the interview. The reporter stated she decided at that moment that she was going to be a transparent journalist.

> It was the first time I realized I was not going to be that type of a journalist. I was not going to be deceitful and go under false pretenses. If I wanted something, I was always going to be direct about it . . . If I agreed to something, I was going to stick to those terms. And if I didn't want to agree to those, then I was going to find a different way to do it.

Some respondents told me that they believe it is important to identify themselves as journalists to potential sources and members of the public, with professional transparency in their profiles on social media—allowing sources to know that they are talking to a journalist on the record. In addition, one respondent, an editor, added that journalists should be smart and ethical when working to convince sources to go on the record. The editor said journalists should never "deal from the bottom of the deck." They should not pay for information or stories and they must be "clear about when, how, and in what circumstances you're to use what information." In addition, one radio journalist said reporters should acknowledge their biases during the reporting process if they are unable to “set that aside.”

Respondents indicated that transparency involves honesty in the selection and reporting of news. Reporters must avoid manipulation of the audience, instead projecting an attitude of objectivity and openness. One television anchor said that journalists often require their sources to go on the record or share their opinions, actions, or stories with someone in a transparent way. If journalists ask a source not to manipulate information, then they should expect no less of themselves—especially if they want to build credibility with their sources.

The journalists I interviewed for this study, of necessity, expect transparency and accountability from sources and the public. One respondent said he had an expectation for “integrity on their part, as well.” Respondents acknowledge that sources often try to skew stories to their point of view or to make themselves look better. Because this is often the case, a reporter often needs to dig deeper and find independent verification of information. One television reporter, an investigative reporter for a major metropolitan news organization, said she refuses to do silhouetted, anonymous interviews because she said it is important to let her audience understand how the information for the story was gathered. The rare exceptions for her involve a situation in which a source’s life may threatened if he or she is named in a story.

In regard to the Internet and social media, the journalists interviewed for this study are somewhat uncomfortable with anonymity. Respondents said they cannot be sure that they are talking to somebody who is relevant or at the scene. “Anybody could be hiding behind a Twitter handle,” one reporter said. And often, interview subjects said, members of the public use anonymity as a license to say horrible things or abandon civility online. A reporter, who in recent years had moved from a major metropolitan newspaper to a niche publication in a major city, expressed frustration at the mean-spirited nature of anonymous comments. “Sometimes you just want to be like, ‘You know what, if you said that to my face, I doubt you would be saying that.’”

Some of the journalists I interviewed seemed to believe such behavior manifests itself more on the story comments online than with social media, which one advocate of interactivity said tends to police itself much better—though he acknowledged that Twitter can sometimes prove to be a hostile environment. One journalist said that anonymity can give a voice to those who wouldn’t otherwise be able to speak, but only in situations where the reporter knew the information was coming from a credible source, even if the public didn’t.

Professionalism. The journalists whom I interviewed cited a common belief in certain ethical standards that should be observed by journalists, who should behave “in a way that is worthy of your calling as a journalist,” as one television reporter said. However, according to the interviews I conducted, professional behavior extends beyond traditional ethics of newsgathering and content production, such as objectivity, fairness, and balance. In addition to those standards, the respondents talked about exhibiting professionalism by publically representing themselves, their employers, and the journalism industry at large.

Javier is a television journalist in a midsized market. In less than a decade, he has climbed from a general assignment radio reporter to a morning anchor position at his current station. Javier said that journalists should represent themselves well at all times, including on social media, especially placing a focus on the community values of the market in which a journalist works. "If you tweet Monday through Friday all this news stuff, and then over the weekends you're showing yourself getting completely wasted at the lake, and things of that nature, then I think some people will say, 'Who is this guy.'"

Javier has seen journalists acting unprofessionally while on duty, which bothers him greatly. For example, he has seen reporters who arrive at a crime scene and take "selfies"—pictures of oneself using a mobile device—with friends from competing news stations. "Freaking morons, you're at a homicide. Somebody has died, and you're over here having a good old time."

Many of the journalists I interviewed, and especially those who work in television, expressed an awareness of the fact that they are public figures and local celebrities and are often recognized by members of the community. They understand that they represent their employer and their trade. They also know that what they write and what they share on social media is public and often permanent, and as such they need to approach what they do and say with great care.

Several respondents said that, when they are out among the public, they often consciously consider their identity as a journalist. "That crosses my mind every time I step out of the house," one television reporter said. "Every time I do anything. I'm in the public eye . . . There's an image that I have, that other people have an image of me, and there's a certain expectation that I have of myself." Another television reporter told me that viewers have often approached her when she is not working, such as when she is shopping at a grocery store. "A woman came up to me and started talking to me, and introduced her daughter to me. And those are the things you've got to remember when you're out . . . all the time, aside from just the events, the foundation galas, the things like that you attend. It's every day."

Many respondents said they came into the field because it was something that they say they wanted to do for most of their lives, and many of them have idealistic goals of wanting to change—or even save—lives. As one community newspaper reporter said, journalism is a profession that "matters to some extent. Even when I'm writing about like sewer construction or something like that, I feel like it's important." Some respondents said they approach their job and what they represent very seriously because they would not want their behavior to be a detriment to that mission.

Journalists also expressed an awareness that in addition to representing their profession and their employers, they represent the brand that they are trying to create. As Rachel, a television reporter for a major metropolitan station, described it, when out among the public, a journalist not only represents a publication or station, but "you're always representative of this person people believe you are, so you have to live your life in a way that is respectful to that."

Some of the newspaper journalists interviewed for this study said they believed that in the past people may have known their byline. However, these journalists said that prior to social media, their publication might not have further branded its journalists on an individual basis. But these respondents said that modern changes in digital journalism have further increased their visibility—a fact that may make some of them uncomfortable. As Noah, a former public safety reporter who has recently moved into public relations, said, journalists are still finding their way about "what's appropriate" in the new digital frontier.

I think there are some things that I think that are appropriate that others don't.

> And there are other things that I think people don't parlay from their traditional journalism role onto social media well. I think the disadvantage is when you don't represent yourself well or the brand well, so you say something stupid, or rude, or inaccurate, or libelous or something like that, so there still are pitfalls there.

Participants said those pitfalls include the somewhat relaxed nature of Twitter, which many of the respondents indicated can sometimes have a slant of humorous or playful banter. Journalists, who perhaps would not have acted impolitely when meeting a source or audience member in person, are now thrust into a realm that often proves uncivil. As such, some journalists have fallen prey to light-minded and frivolous mistakes that could come off as unprofessional. One respondent said a former colleague had made light of a situation in which a woman had been killed by a falling tree branch. Unfortunately, that colleague, assuming she was publishing to her personal Twitter account, tweeted a joke about the woman using the company's account.

Similarly, the aforementioned reporter who works at an international wire service, the only non-American respondent in this study, recalled a time where she was covering a national political event and considered making a joke about a prominent politician. In contrast to the journalist who had accidentally tweeted a joke to her publication's account, this reporter would have sent it out on her personal Twitter feed. In the moments before she clicked "send," however, she reconsidered because she said that she believed "my employer might be embarrassed by that."

As news publications move onto social media, respondents recognize that in addition to representing their employers in person, they are also representing them online. When it comes to social media representation, Tom, the sports reporter at a metropolitan newspaper, noted that journalists need to remember that their social media profiles brand them as a journalist. “You’ve got to understand in your Twitter profile if it says, ‘Hey, I’m a reporter for this news organization,’ then you are basically telling your followers that ‘I’m credible and whatever I tweet basically should be believed.’” Tom indicated that he believed with the escalation of widespread Twitter use, he has to be more conscious of what he tweets than he was during his early days using the medium. “If your name’s behind it and you’re calling yourself a journalist, there is the expectation that you’re accurate, just as you would be in your own newspaper.”

Resources. Giddens’ (1984) structuration theory includes structures defined as rules and resources upon which people draw when making decisions on how to act. While rules are precepts that govern behavior and the rewards and consequences for it, resources are material and nonmaterial assets upon which agents can rely in order to carry out an action. Therefore, in order identify structures that might encourage or discourage journalists from interacting with audience members online, I needed to identify readily identifiable resources that my participants believed facilitated their newsgathering.

While material resources may include such things as compensation or technology, the result of this research identified mostly nonmaterial resources that journalists draw upon in order to do their work. As I will detail later in this chapter, many of these resources carried over into their Twitter use, suggesting that journalists use it mostly in the same ways they have conducted previous newsgathering efforts.

For the purpose of this chapter, analysis identified four categories of nonmaterial resources under which other categories could be linked. Respondents identified their motivations for becoming involved in journalism, the methods by which they gained an understanding of the journalism process, the roles they believe they fill in society, and the expectations they have for how the newsgathering process works. I will begin by discussing their motivations for becoming journalists, which included their desire to tell stories, their penchant for writing, their desire to know what is happening, wanting to meet people, and hoping for a job that provides variety.

Secondly, I will discuss how respondents said they learn the skills they need for the industry. What did they believe they could learn from the classroom, and what is better learned from experience? Does their employer provide training for new subjects such as social media? Who are their mentors and to whom do they go for advice? Next, I will examine the roles they believe they play in society. Do they continue to cling to their gatekeeper roles? What idealistic sentiments do they employ, and how much do they consider the interests of their audience? How do they see their roles in the community? Finally, I will examine their sourcing practices. While many of these resources have been explored in depth by previous research, I felt it necessary to establish them here and see how or whether journalists consider them as they engage with the new frontier of digital journalism. The connection with how these structures carry over into Twitter, how journalists reflexively consider them, and how the routines work with the duality of structure, is what sets this research apart from other studies. How these processes do or do not carry over to Twitter will be discussed with the second research question later in this chapter.

Motivations. Andrew grew up in a major city with a massive media presence. In his own words, Andrew "knew at a very young age" that he wanted to be a journalist. He was a writer, he was "snoopy" and he was interested in what was happening in the world. In his youth, Andrew would take stories from his local newspaper, rewrite them into "TV scripts" and then pretend that he was an anchor and was "delivering a newscast." Andrew admits to "chasing fire trucks" because of his curiosity, and said he would even go as far as taking pictures of emergency situations.

> One time there was a murder scene that I, well actually it was, there had been a shooting, and I was probably, gosh I must have been in about fourth grade I guess, fourth or fifth grade, and my friend and I, we bicycled to the shooting scene and then we came to find out that the cops had towed the murder victim's car to the local precinct house. So I have photos of the murder victim's car in the police precinct's garage with the bullet holes and the bloody bandages still on the hood. I mean this was way back in the day when there was like not any security. I mean if I wanted to, I could have gone right up to the car and touched it. I mean, this was a long time ago. But I still have those photos. It's emblematic of kind of the adrenaline junkie and the, you know, finding out what's going on, chasing the fire trucks and the ambulances, and the cop cars, that sort of thing, that kept me going.

While not every journalist I interviewed said they spent their youth chasing fire trucks and taking pictures of shootings, as Andrew did, a good portion of them said they wanted to be journalists from a young age and dreamed of entering the industry. One participant said he wanted to be involved since the third grade. Another had started on a sixth-grade newspaper. A third had wanted to be a television journalist ever since her parents watched the "Mary Tyler Moore" show when she was younger.

The first, and perhaps most prominent, attraction to the field was that many respondents said they love telling stories. Early in his collegiate experience, Logan wanted to be a photographer. At the time however, he began to work for his college newspaper. Logan was sent out to cover his first feature story, and he instantly fell in love with journalism.

Logan interviewed a female student from another country, who was from a different culture and religion than the majority of the population at the school—whose population was mostly homogenous. Logan was fascinated by her story, especially because he has always been interested in diversity, and he was excited about the prospect that this woman would trust him with her story. He was intrigued and began to focus on the storytelling aspect of the journalism field.

> The whole process of sitting down with somebody telling me their story, and me taking those notes and trying to write something that people found entertaining and interesting, while also showing diverse viewpoints, it just really appealed to me and I decided that's what I wanted to do for my career.

Many of the participants said that, at their heart, they are storytellers. They acknowledge that they believe the field is important, that it can ideally help people and put an emphasis on holding the powerful accountable, but, deep down, they like to tell stories.

Sarah, a radio journalist, referenced a famous quote about the purpose of journalism written by humor columnist Finley Peter Dunne in his 1800s column about the fictional Mr. Dooley (Shedden, 2014) that journalists "comfort the afflicted and afflict the comfortable." To Sarah, that quote not only points to a press that is pushing an angle, but that it is "too lofty" for her tastes.

> I'm not out there to afflict the comfortable, comfort the afflicted. I just want to tell stories. I think my role as a journalist is to share information about what makes me curious and what I think they might find interesting about what the government is doing or about the cute ducks trying to cross the street. It's just a variety of things that I find interesting, and I think the role of the journalist is to share that.

Storytelling is an "art" form, as described by Shawn, who works for a newspaper of international renown. Shawn covers many articles about lawsuits that work their way through the court system. His mode of storytelling with lawsuit articles involves heavy research into original documents and court briefs, which he can translate for readers into simpler terms they will have an easier time understanding. But to Shawn, it is not just acting as the gatekeeping funnel that makes lawsuit stories interesting, it's the whole process of crafting the story. "It's kind of like building a statue, and you have like a whole block of granite or something, and you carve a statue out of it . . . You have this lawsuit, and you kind of craft a story out of it."

There are many steps to the storytelling process that seemed to attract the participants of this study to the journalism field. For many of them, it was the opportunity to listen as people shared personal and intimate details of their lives in their own words. Sometimes, participants do not even share these stories in the newspaper—but they still feel a thrill from listening to them. Alex, for example, shared a recent experience of meeting the father of a player at a game. Alex spoke with the father for a short, 10-minute conversation about the man's daughter, her team, and the area.

Another draw of storytelling for some of the participants was the fact that they had a chance to act as a historian for the community, often offering depth and complexity. For other participants, the storytelling aspect gives them a chance to learn about a variety of issues, some of which they do not always cover. Ruth, a television news reporter covered a military base immediately before the first Gulf War, and the chance to learn about new topics, including some that were "controversial," appealed to her. Of course, covering controversial stories can have its detriments, as well:

> It can be tricky because not everybody's happy with their story when all's said and done. I'm not making it out to be some sort of joyful blissful career . . . You have to be good at being kind of alone. Not being on a lot of people's Christmas lists. You have to be at peace with that.

Another motivation that drew aspiring young journalists into the field was a chance to write. Many participants expressed that they have always known that they possessed good writing skills, and journalism was a way to improve them and get paid for writing. For some of them, teachers, professors or mentors identified their penchant for writing. Others discovered writing talent through later experiences—such as taking writing classes in college.

In addition to their writing talents, many of the journalists expressed a natural curiosity to asking questions or discovering information. Like Andrew, they discovered at a young age that they enjoy understanding things. Said Rachel, "I just liked being able to know what is happening around me at all times." Alex expressed a strong desire to understand how things work, or why people enter the fields that they do. "Why does somebody become a politician, just like why does somebody become a 3-point shooter? I think that kind of stuff is fascinating." Several of the journalists expressed that this innate curiosity of how the world works is still present. Outside of work, many still enjoy reading and watching the news.

Participants also love the variety of the field, that few days are the same, that they are not tied to the desk or the office, and that they see a lot of interesting—and "fun"—things. Respondents said they like to get out and meet people. Prior to the Internet, many of them had other ways that they could get in touch with the community and expand their circle of acquaintance. They attended public meetings, held town halls, went to events, and reached out via telephone or email. One social media editor said he fondly recalled a time when he and his colleagues left the office to hand out newspapers and discuss the news with potential readers. Even with the advent of social media, many of the reporters I interviewed still engage with the community in these ways. Lisa, a news anchor in a major metropolitan area, said one of the best ways to get story ideas is to leave the office and actually knock on the doors of community members. Garrett, a business reporter, said his newspaper still holds town hall-style events that allow him to interact with sources and readers. “It gives us a chance to interact with people and let them know who I am.”

Learning. Austin has recently moved from a job at a mid-sized metropolitan newspaper to a national publication. But when Austin considers where he learned what it really means to be a journalist—what to expect, how to do it, and what the job entails—he doesn’t think back to his time at the mid-sized paper. Instead, he talks about his first job, at a 6,000-circulation community newspaper.

> There’s nothing pretentious about it. I mean, it’s the bottom rung and you sort of get in the dirt, talk to real people, and I don’t think there’s ever a day that you’re in the office, really. If you work at a smaller paper, you are always out and you just learn a lot of valuable lessons being in that situation.

Brock shares a similar experience. He now works in a major metropolitan area. However, his career didn’t begin with the glitz and glamour of the city. He didn’t pursue a masters degree, instead opting for a minimum-wage job. But he feels like his education at a tiny, six-day-per-week newspaper was as—if not more—valid as any other reporter’s. Brock speaks of having a terrific mentor in his editor, but even more importantly he got varied experience by doing “hands-on stuff.” He covered sports, government, features, “everything literally for the first 13 months.” The experience taught him what his strengths were, what weaknesses to work on, and, most importantly, he learned a passion for community news, “ It was really, really valuable. And it was reinforced in how important it was . . . in a dirt-poor community, sometimes and covering stories that wouldn’t be covered if it wasn’t for me.”

Participants largely identified three distinct areas where they learned about the process of journalism. First, they learned many things in the classroom at college. Many of them also worked for student newspapers or in internships. Finally, they often learned many skills on the job—especially their first jobs.

When ranking the importance of these areas, most of them said they believed they learned more from experience and working as a journalist than they ever did in a classroom. "I don't know that there's a college class that can prepare you for the situations that come up," Tom said, "and the experiences that you have rather than just rolling up your sleeves and actually doing it." Some respondents even hinted that perhaps they would have studied a different subject in school, such as history or political science, and hoped to still work in journalism, carrying over what they learned in those fields to combine with what they learned with experience.

While almost all of the journalists did not believe that the classroom could ever match the on-the-job training for its effectiveness in learning what it really means to be a journalist, most of them did see some value in taking journalism classes at college. Most believed that college was a good place to learn the basics: How to source, how to construct a lead, or how to use the inverted pyramid writing style. Participants also said they believed the classroom was a good experience for them to learn about libel law and the ethics of the trade.

Participants said one of the strengths of the classroom environment can be having professors who have journalism experience. Natalie attended a journalism school at a major university and spoke approvingly of the advice and "insights" of the professors there because of their experience in the field. Professors would break down articles she and classmates had written and go over the basics of how to improve or construct a story.

One television reporter said classroom learning offers a solid "foundation, but I don't think you really grasp the importance and how it really works until you really get in the field and figure it out for yourself." For Andrew, having adjunct professors who currently worked in the field, rather than academics, who may be separated from day-to-day operations by graduate education, was a major benefit. "These were people who were engaged actively in the craft every day."

Several respondents indicated that their best experiences in college involved "hands-on work." Whether that included internships, work at the student newspaper, or classes that had lab components which we "experiential," as Noah described them.

> When you're in a student environment, you can talk about the work more in a way you can't in a professional newsroom. So I definitely think student projects are valuable because not only is it real work, real journalism, but it is also in an environment that you don't get in a professional newsroom where you can just learn from and go deeper.

However, when it came to the actual process of doing journalistic work, participants almost universally cited experience as the way they learned what it means to be a journalist. Deadlines were especially learned on the job. Some of the journalists indicated that working for the student newspaper taught them a lot, but for most of them it was their first professional job—especially in community coverage at smaller newspapers where they were asked to take on myriad tasks. In some cases, participants, such as Andrew, learned the trade through their own experience, as well as advice from mentors.

> I just think it was kind of like water on a stone in a sense of like being exposed to best practices, tricks of the trade, and almost in some ways too just by sheer observation, being exposed to things of what not to do. You know, sort of a little bit by trial and error but also by observing others where either up close or in the industry where they fell down and learning from the mistakes of others kind of

thing.

When needing advice, almost all of the participants said they turn to editors or colleagues as the most likely mentors. A handful of them cited professors, a few journalists from other publications, and one mentioned textbooks. But for the most part, when looking at how to approach a story, journalists approached other professional journalists and asked them what they thought. “We bounce ideas off our editors, off other reporters—especially if its not something I’m familiar with.” Garrett particularly felt benefit in seeking advice from his editors. “I like being able to talk and solve problems with them.” Such mentorship helps him with sourcing, writing, or background information. Sarah said at times, she will “just kind of shout it out to the newsroom, what do you guys think of this?”

Almost never did participants mention seeking advice from sources, family or the general public. One participant, Noah, did say “I never thought that I knew more than my sources,” and that he would “often ask them for advice.” However, for the most part, participants said they get advice from other journalists. An hour before her interview with me, Sarah was training two interns on the computers in her newsroom and the process of entering a story into the system for the radio station, passing on her own knowledge and experience in using rules and resources to another group of journalists.

The structure of learning on the job has also appeared to carry over to Twitter use, itself perhaps reinforcing the structure of “learning through experience.” Many of the journalists stated that they didn’t have any formal training in the proper use of Twitter. One received a “handout” with “dos and don’ts,” although he claims his editors “missed the mark, ironically.” Some of them may have had informal, one-on-one sessions with colleagues. Some went to conferences or watched online seminars (webinars). Some of them laughed when asked if they had any training in the use of Twitter, saying that they had actually figured it out on their own and *provided* the training.

Sarah remembers the moment she was introduced to Twitter as a journalist. She was working in the newsroom when a website manager met with her and a colleague. Sarah's station had produced a few reports about the site, but at the time, no reporters were actively using it. Sarah and her colleague were to be the test cases. The manager showed them the basics of the site, signed up accounts for them, and asked them to tweet a handful of times per day. Subsequently, Sarah and her colleague began to figure out the platform for themselves. It wasn't until a year after that experience that the station hired a social media editor who provided formal training.

Journalists didn't seem to think the platform was overwhelming, and therefore said they did not need in-depth training on the basic uses of the Twitter interface. However, many of them did not receive formal training on the best way to use Twitter. For some of journalists that meant there was an unclear utility in its use—for some even prevailing to today. For others, it meant they figured things out as they went. Some of them did follow the example of other journalists. Even some of those who received guidance from their employers on the best practices of using it said that Twitter use is constantly evolving, and they no longer use it the way their employers originally intended.

Roles. Matt is an editor at a major metropolitan newspaper. He also has background in community, international, and digital media. He has dreamed of working in media since the third grade, and his hero growing up was a community journalist of some renown who had run his hometown newspaper long before Matt was born. But Matt is frustrated with a historical disconnect that journalists have with their audience. “I can look at 70 years worth of data that says we haven’t known what to give readers since 1940.”

As Matt spoke of the direction of the journalism industry in embracing digital media, he evoked a clear passion for the industry. Matt, like many of the participants I interviewed, is an idealist who said he believes in “committing important acts of journalism” that “make humanity better.” The role of the press, according to Matt, is to save lives and change society for the better. But he is also pragmatic, and he realizes “none of that matters if we don’t have an audience.”

Matt said in a previous job he managed a highly innovative newsroom that drew attention from journalism schools and journalism organizations for its creativity and the revolutionary ways it was creating interactive journalism. But Matt said that in the end, it did not mean much because he believed it failed to connect with the most important segment: the audience.

> In my mind, what they thought was important had failed every way that could fail. No readers cared. It’s not like we built anything that made anybody but other journalists excited. And secondly, we didn’t change humanity. It’s not like we got laws changed or saved somebody’s life . . . Nobody looked at it, nobody paid attention.

Matt indicated that the journalism industry’s struggles boil down to a lack of relevance in readers’ lives. What excites the journalists, innovation and watchdog journalism, is not connecting with readers and is not becoming “essential.” And for the industry to survive, he believes it needs to find a way to be essential. Matt said one of the ways journalists could become more essential is by connecting with readers enough to understand enough what it is they want in order to also give them the stories they need.

> Sometimes it's much easier to explain to our readers about the homeless problem and why it's important to humanity and why they'll be judged of how we lived our lives by how we treat those who are less fortunate than us if I also just tell them, "You know what? Here's a great place to go get a hamburger. Here's a new park that's opening up that you can take your daughter to."

The participants in this study identified many possible roles they fill in society. Respondents said they are gatekeepers, informers, historians, surrogates, watchdogs, storytellers, entertainers and community builders. Despite Matt, and others, feeling that idealistic journalists often put too much emphasis on the important stories and not enough on readers' interests, some journalists did indicate that they take audience interests into account before gathering information for a story.

The most obvious journalistic role from scholarship is that of the gatekeeper, and the journalists I interviewed for this study identified this even if they did not call it "gatekeeping"—although some did. Some participants saw their role as a surrogate for their readers, providing access to that which the reader cannot gain access, having the time to represent the public in a way the public is unable, and then sifting through information and presenting it in a way that the public can understand.

Many of the journalists referred to this as an "informer." As Logan said, information is the primary need that a news organization fills for the public. Participants believed that information is not always accessible to the public at large. They indicated that being a thorough informer also involves knowing what questions the reader or viewer might have and either addressing them in a story or asking them of sources.

Even when information is public, and with the Internet full of aspiring citizen bloggers who could share information, respondents said they believe they are trained to uncover, translate, and “filter” information, as one reporter described. “There’s a craft, a school to being able to disseminate information . . . I think that comes with time and with experience and isn’t just something any Joe Schmoe, so to speak, can pick up and do right away.”

Participants indicated that journalists act as a sifter, deciding what’s important and sharing it with the audience. They also translate complex information into terms the public can understand. Shawn, for example, writes many articles that examine lawsuits. Because of the nature of legal terms, he said he believes is not likely that the public will understand everything. Even if readers could understand it, sorting through legal briefs that can often be hundreds of pages long is something readers a) do not have time to do or b) are not interested in.

> So I kind of find doing my job is to go through all of that and summarize a story in a way that people who don’t have all day to go through that, so they can understand what’s happening . . . There’s interesting stuff in there. So it’s really going through all those pages and finding out how do I put this in a way that’s concise and accurate and interesting.

The idealistic journalists, such as Ruth, often hope that after they inform—after they filter and report on vital issues—that it might spur the public or local leaders to get involved in effecting change. Austin referred to the gatekeeping role of the journalist as illumination to previously unknown subjects. But several of the journalists noted that the public in general did not have the time or interest to get involved in local political affairs. As a result, these journalists saw the gatekeeping role as that of a “surrogate” for the reader.

Brock, for example, worked at a suburban newspaper in which many of his readers had long commutes into the city. Brock covered city council and school board meetings that were often at times when citizens were either at work or unable to make it through traffic to the meeting. Even if they wanted to attend, these citizens would be unable to share their voice or hear what local officials were doing. Brock therefore saw it as his role to "say I sat in all of these boring meetings" and "synthesized what's going on and here's the stuff you need to know about, either just for your own knowledge or maybe for you to get on the phone or send an email or find a way to attend the next meeting to raise some hell." In Brock's view, he can act in the citizen's place, ask the questions that are important to him or her, and present the results in a manner that is concise enough for a busy reader to skim it quickly.

However, some respondents also believed the public needs to take a greater role in local government, even with journalists acting as their surrogates. Alex, who recently left reporting, worked for a short time in public relations before returning to freelance journalism. In the public relations position, Alex was helping local school districts in releasing information on upcoming issues. In his case, meetings were held during evenings, instead of the work day, and they were still sparsely attend by the public. In one particular instance, a school district was about to push for a $13 million bond.

> That's a lot of money, especially in this little area where we live and everything. The first week, we posted stuff saying there's going to be meetings and everything and this is the value of it . . . We got like 10 people there.

The journalists I interviewed for this study acknowledge the balance between reporting on important news and understanding audience interests. Participants were not deaf to the idea of knowing what the audience wanted. One specifically said, "It's always good to know what your audience is interested in." Journalists acknowledged that one of their roles was to entertain and to understand what the audience wants to know. Garrett said before he begins writing a story, he tries to take a step back and consider “why do people care?” Likewise, Tom, who as a sports reporter covers many news conferences, considers his readers’ interests, as well as their needs, before he begins to ask any questions. Some of the journalists, such as Ben, a sports reporter at a community newspaper, expressed that readers also needed to take some responsibility in telling the journalists what they want to know. One reporter expressed frustration that readers’ interests were not compatible with their needs. “Maybe they don’t even know what they want. They want only feel-good stories, and we can’t just cover the feel-good stories.”

Many of the journalists seemed to believe that journalism is a public service. Many of them indicated that they are idealists who believe that journalist can change or save lives. As such, they see their role as the gatekeeper or watchdog in an almost sacred light, and one can see why they would be unwilling to give that role up in a participatory fashion. But they also believe it is their job to serve as the check against overreach by governments and corporations, also known as the watchdog role of accountability journalism. David, a reporter at a major metropolitan newspaper, said the watchdog role is vital because those in power are not always transparent about their motives or their actions.

Rachel recently covered an incident where a student was killed in an outdoor activity. While covering the story, she discovered that the incident involved an error in the local emergency dispatch system. Rachel said this incident spoke of a “social problem,” a major societal issue that could “impact thousands of people in the future.” To her, journalism as a public service and a watchdog meant not only reporting the story, and not only reporting that the error had occurred, but also digging deeper and uncovering possible changes that could be made to the system.

> The dispatch center met with their board director and came up with new dispatch codes. Moving forward, anytime there would be an emergency, the medical teams would automatically respond. Had we not taken that initial tip of somebody just saying, ‘Hey, I think there was a mistake’ and not looking deeper, we never would have gotten to the conclusion that could potentially save someone’s life in the future.

To Brock, the change that comes from journalism as a public service is sometimes more important than the scoop. He said he often sees articles where his original inquiries spur officials to make changes before he is able to even take a story to print. However, he is clear to sources that even if changes happen before he can print, he is happy to do his part in effecting change. Brock notes that many of the school districts that he covers are in areas that no longer have their own newspapers, and if he did not cover them, “small communities have big problems fester if nobody’s keeping an eye on them.”

Journalists interviewed for this study also said they see themselves as community builders. Logan identified the newspaper as a “mirror” of the community, one that reflects society but also makes members of the community feel pertinent. “There’s a sense of relevance that if you see yourself in the newspaper, you know you’re a part of that community, and I think it’s a job of newspapers to build community, to give that identity, to hold up that mirror and say ‘This is who you are.’” Participants said they believed they could build community by being “real-time historians” recording the history of their towns. Understanding the historical the documentation of the community by his idol, the small-town newspaper of renown, was one of the strongest attractions that Matt had to the journalism field.

Erin worked at a midsized metropolitan newspaper for a short time during college. During that time, she mostly covered lighter stories. One day, she came back into the newsroom and an editor told her that over the scanner they had heard that a truck that was "hauling a large wooden garage" and been involved in an accident with a minivan on one of the city's key streets. Erin traveled out to the street, excited to have a byline on a breaking news story in a professional newspaper. In addition to having a byline, she was excited to know that she was documenting the event as history.

> I was thinking this is so cool, just the fact that if I wasn't here, this would have just been forgotten about. And maybe in 50 years, somebody will be looking through and be like, "Oh, look at that, a shed collided with a minivan."

Participants said they see themselves as filling many roles, from informers, to gatekeepers, to public servants who document history. In trying to fulfill those roles, they now find themselves in a new digital realm that asks them to include interaction and participation in those roles. This potential conflict between traditional roles and participatory media will be explored in the second part of this chapter. First, I will round out my examination of the first research question by examining the routines respondents said they engage in when they fulfill those roles.

Routines. In recent years, the issue of same-sex marriage has been garnering national attention. Two years ago, Brock was in the newsroom as reporters discussed court hearings and coverage of them and what experts would say. Frustrated, he said he told his colleagues that none of them understood the topic on a personal level. He argued that for human interest in the story and to understand it from the point of view of someone whom the situation really affected, that a reporter needed to go out and talk to the people involved.

"Everyone just kind of rolled their eyes at me." But with his editor's permission, Brock set out to do the interviews. He sought out sources and spoke with them in a one-on-one situation. Specifically, he interviewed gay teenagers in their own homes. He asked them to share personal stories. As Brock worked on a package of stories that would contain some expert information, he was also able to include human interest in the form of the personal stories of the teenagers, “who frankly contradicted the experts . . . Asking even adults . . . they still don’t know at the end of the day at the same way that the actual gay teenager whose mother told her she had to go back into the closest or she was going to throw her out of the house.”

Brock’s story illuminates that he thinks it’s important to feature real people, not just those who are in power. Although Brock said he doesn’t subscribe to the “cult of experts” he does acknowledge that “there are people who are experts for a reason.” When pressed about their story construction routines, particularly in regard to sourcing practices, most of the journalists interviewed for this study spoke of reaching out to official sources—and few of them discussed “real” people without prompting.

In some cases, journalists did say they were interested in talking to the people affected by issues, but just as often they also mentioned that they had a tendency to rely on many of the same sources. Some of them also indicated they were somewhat limited in their sourcing pool because of the particular beat they cover. This was particularly true for sports reporters, one of whom noted that the team he covered only had a limited number players and a handful of coaches. Tom said one of the ways he tries to break out of that routine is to reach out to unconventional sources, such as a player’s spouse, for a story, but it can often be hard not to rely on those who are convenient—but most importantly relevant, to a story. Another reporter, who covered a niche business industry, said his potential sourcing pool was simply so small that it wasn't really possible not to expand his sourcing pool.

However, even those journalists who covered larger beats, some of them national, admitted to relying on many of the same sources, or types of sources, when putting together a story. One business reporter noted that she interviewed a lot of CEOs in her work, and when she did interview customers of the business, it tended to be other businesses that used a product or service. A legal reporter noted that he speaks to a lot of lawmakers and advocacy groups.

Participants said they did have reasoning for why they relied so heavily on those types of sources. Many of these "official" sources are government or business sources who have knowledge of the situation and details. Others are experts or academics. Some are public relations or business spokespeople. Many of these sources are "in authority," as one television reporter said. Also, participants indicated that many of the sources upon which the journalists repeatedly rely have been consistently vetted by the reporters or their colleagues, thus building credibility. The journalists know they can trust the information these sources provide. As Ruth said, "I've been using the same number of people for years and years and years from let's say a law enforcement perspective, or consumer advocate perspective. There are people who are well known . . . who are vetted and have always been vetted by our station for years and years as the go-to person."

On occasion, participants did express frustration with the routine that sometimes develops. One reporter for an international news wire lamented that she has not "had a real human in a long time now." Javier, a television anchor, noted that "after a while, a shooting is a shooting" and as a result, many reporters will often rely on a formulaic approach to the story.

> They'll look for an authority figure, they'll look for a family member, and then they'll get the facts from the police and they'll put it all together . . . I think it depends on the story and how passionate that journalist is when they show up at the scene. Sometimes, if it's a similar case, if you're in a city . . . where there's shooting every single day, I'm sure for those journalists, it's hard to look for those extra sources because it's easy not to look for them if that makes sense. Let's talk to the crying mother, let's talk to the police officer and a witness and let's write this up, and we've got time to take an hour lunch break.

The time aspect is another reason why respondents said they often rely on the same or similar sources. When a reporter is on deadline, he or she often has to go with whoever is available. However, when they have time, respondents said they appreciate adding diversity to their stories. The participant who was not from the United States, for example, covers issues where women are traditionally underrepresented. As a result, when she can find a female source, she becomes excited to include that voice. Likewise, Brock looks for relevant voices that "bring in different points of view we haven't heard before." In fact, he said that one of the reasons he likes to quote public officials is not because he trusts them but because he wants "to get them on the record" because he believes holding them accountable—the watchdog role—to be key.

There are plenty of occasions when respondents said they do their best to include "real" people, nonelite sources such as community members or those affected by an issue. One community sports reporter said he was taught from the beginning to have a good relationship with such people as team equipment managers or student managers because they could be potential sources. Another said one of his keys was to speak with fans who traveled with the team to road games because they may have some insight on the team. Austin, who has covered public safety issues, said reaching out to nonelite citizens can be a good way to gain a better understanding of someone who may have been a victim of a crime. “The best way to do that is to talk to their friends and family. Sometimes when they won’t answer their doors or pick up their phones, then the next best thing that you have is to reach out to friends and relatives through the best means you can”—which can often be social media.

It is difficult to call any newsgathering a “routine” because the participants noted that the process is largely dependent on the story. There are hallmarks of the story construction process, however, that could perhaps be considered typical. Many of the participants said it is good to build a source network on their beats. When they need more information, some of them use the Internet as a forum for research. Erin, for example, uses Google to find potential sources. As a sports reporter, Ben scours statistical websites. Shawn, a legal reporter, will often turn to legal documents for research. David subscribes to a listserv of journalists on a similar beat, and he will often use that to reach out for help. Because he covers a governmental agency, David also files many open records requests. The dawn of social media has helped considerably on the research end, as some of the reporters have said they use hashtags for research purposes. “Hashtags are amazing, ” Rachel said. When covering crime articles, Noah would often look at suspects’ Facebook and Twitter profiles to gather more information. Tara, who has recently moved to an aggregator service that collects various news reports for its stories, will often scour the Internet for the best, most original, and most complete stories to include in her reports.

Once they have done the background research, reporters said they then reach out to sources and begin to attempt to construct a balanced story. As much as participants defined clear rules and processes for conducting good journalism, their indicated practices have become second nature to them, and as such they perhaps no longer actively think about them. “I don’t know if I’d say consciously, almost more subconsciously,” Ben said. “I feel like from the classes that I’ve had and from the experiences that I’ve had, it’s something that’s just kind of been built, kind of embedded into my journalistic fabric so to speak.”

Yet some did offer recent examples of articles they’ve written where routine processes could not work because of the unusual nature of the story. Garrett, for example, recently wrote a story about a new, 200,000-square-foot aquarium being built in his city. However, rather than simply giving facts, Garrett believed a better way to present the story to paint an accurate picture for the reader would be to present a photo essay combined with infographics to give more depth and information.

Stories that are unconventional often involve information that originally appears to lead the reporter in one direction but causes the reporter to break the routine as new information develops. Javier, for example, shared a story he covered in a previous city where two crime stories, one where a woman had been sexually assaulted, and another where two parents were murdered and a child had been sexually assaulted, were actually connected.

> So all of a sudden this wasn’t just a regular shooting. There was a lot more to this case. And so from then on, we were talking not only to neighbors, we were looking for school officials, we were looking for psychologists to try to understand who would do such a thing. We’re talking to police. The police originally told us there was no danger to the public, and that’s when we had to put the pressure on them and say “what do you mean there’s no danger to the public? This guy’s still on the loose” . . . It was all these different things that had us going, “Uh-oh, this needs a lot more focus than just the kick day-turn of a shooting.” So I think that’s when all of a sudden you start looking for more extend sources.

Respondents said unconventional articles also happen in the form of stories that are perhaps overexposed or overcovered in the local media. As a result, some participants suggested that an unconventional article may be necessary to provide a new angle. Brock, for example, covered a particular embezzling case for nearly a year and a half. After the case was concluded, local police provided Brock and his newspaper with interrogation audio, but Brock did not feel like it added any new information. So Brock approached the article in a narrative style instead of the typical journalism routine of the inverted pyramid—putting all of the most important information at the top of the story.

> If you can write a story in the inverted pyramid, you can write a story about literally anything ever, but that doesn't mean it's always the best tool for the job. And then for newsgathering it's the same thing. There are times when the traditional sources don't make a lot of sense for us.

Although some reporters said they like to reach out to readers or viewers for story or source tips, the newsgathering, selection, and presentation processes remain mostly closed. Respondents said they certainly see crowdsourcing possibilities of social media, but they also did have a somewhat limited amount of participation prior to the Internet. Andrew, for example, shared a series of articles more than 20 years ago where his newspaper conducted a poll and wrote stories about topics that arose from them. Instead of simply reporting the results, however, Andrew and his colleagues "told those stories through the lives of real readers." The newspaper Andrew worked for also conducted "town hall-style meetings" to "take the temperature of the community about what their issues were." Such stories were often more "labor intensive" than typical routines, which is perhaps why they were not employed as often.

Other journalists shared similar participatory experiences, but they indicated they were not the typical practice. Logan, as a features reporter, will take photographs of Christmas lights in his community and ask for readers to "help write a future story" by suggesting where else he should take photographs. Austin indicated that such participation is easier to conduct "when the stakes are lower," such as a non-investigative story. Radio reporters, such as Sarah, are perhaps an exception to the rarity of such experiences. Sarah said it was pretty common in her medium for reporters to ask listeners for their experiences.

One final resource that journalists indicated is somewhat finite for journalists is their time. Many of them seemed to express frustration that they do not have the time to work on some stories they would like to do, especially as newsroom personnel has shrunk since the economic downturn of 2008. As a result, some participants mentioned they often settle for covering what they have been assigned or they face a buildup of a "backlog" of stories.

Twitter Structures

In order to address the first research question, the preceding half of the findings chapter of this dissertation attempted to identify structures of journalism upon which the participants rely when completing industry work, or, as one participant called it, "committing acts of journalism." The following section will be devoted to exploring how such structures answer the research questions of this dissertation. The illustration guiding the discussion of these emotional reactions to the compatibility of Twitter to traditional journalism structures can be found in Figure 2.

The first research question asks which journalism structures may encourage or discourage journalists from interacting with audience members through Twitter. I will begin with how the reporters said professionalism and the ethics of the trade carry over to Twitter. One of the rules of journalism identified by participants involved objectivity (and its adjacent terms of balance and fairness). Second, having established accuracy as a traditional structure of journalism, I will examine how respondents said the speed and timeliness of Twitter made it ideal as a reporting tool but difficult to verify information. Third, I will show how participants said they were somewhat concerned by the quality of information on Twitter. Finally, I will examine how journalists believe how their journalistic cognizance requires them to represent their employer in a civil manner, and how that expectation can make discussion with readers or viewers—many of whom often abandon civility—difficult.

Following the discussion on professionalism, I will examine how participants said the wall-breaking uses of Twitter can lift the traditional barriers between them and their readers—as well as other journalists. I will discuss how respondents said Twitter allows them to insert a personality that brands them as a human being; how they can involve readers or viewers in the journalism process; how they can respond and engage with audience members and colleagues; and how social media open the door for real-time feedback.

Third, I will discuss how they said Twitter engagement fits into a field that many participants had dreamed of entering since they were children. I will focus particular attention on whether they believe engagement is incongruent with the gatekeeping role of the journalist, and how it fits into their desire to be storytellers, their desire for variety, and the chance to meet new people. In addition, I will explore how their propensity to learn from industry experience, rather than from classroom instruction or training, continues on Twitter, as it did for other newsroom practices.

The second research question examines how journalists perceive the ways in which Twitter is advantageous to them in fulfilling their societal roles. Journalists showed they were both excited and frustrated about the changes social media, particularly Twitter, bring to the journalism industry. Interview participants said they see participatory media's advantages, but they also acknowledged disadvantages. Among the utilities of Twitter, they discussed its capability for building an audience, its instantaneous nature, and the participants' confidence in the medium's ability to improve their journalism efforts. For disadvantages, however, the journalists spoke of participation's limits, how it causes frustration, and how it can be a sometimes overwhelming distraction.

Professional ethics. Javier perhaps described Twitter professionalism in the simplest terms: "I just accepted a long time ago that every post on [Twitter] is going to be acceptable for work and friends and family." Many other participants agreed. Some of the millenials I interviewed said they originally joined Twitter in college as a social networking platform upon which they could communicate with friends. As they began to build their careers, however, some of them distanced themselves from previous uses and began to see the platform as a strictly "professional presence." Owen, for example, once used Twitter for such purposes as making appointments with friends. "I would never do that now. It would be ridiculous." His reasoning was simple: His responsibility as a journalist requires him to act professionally.

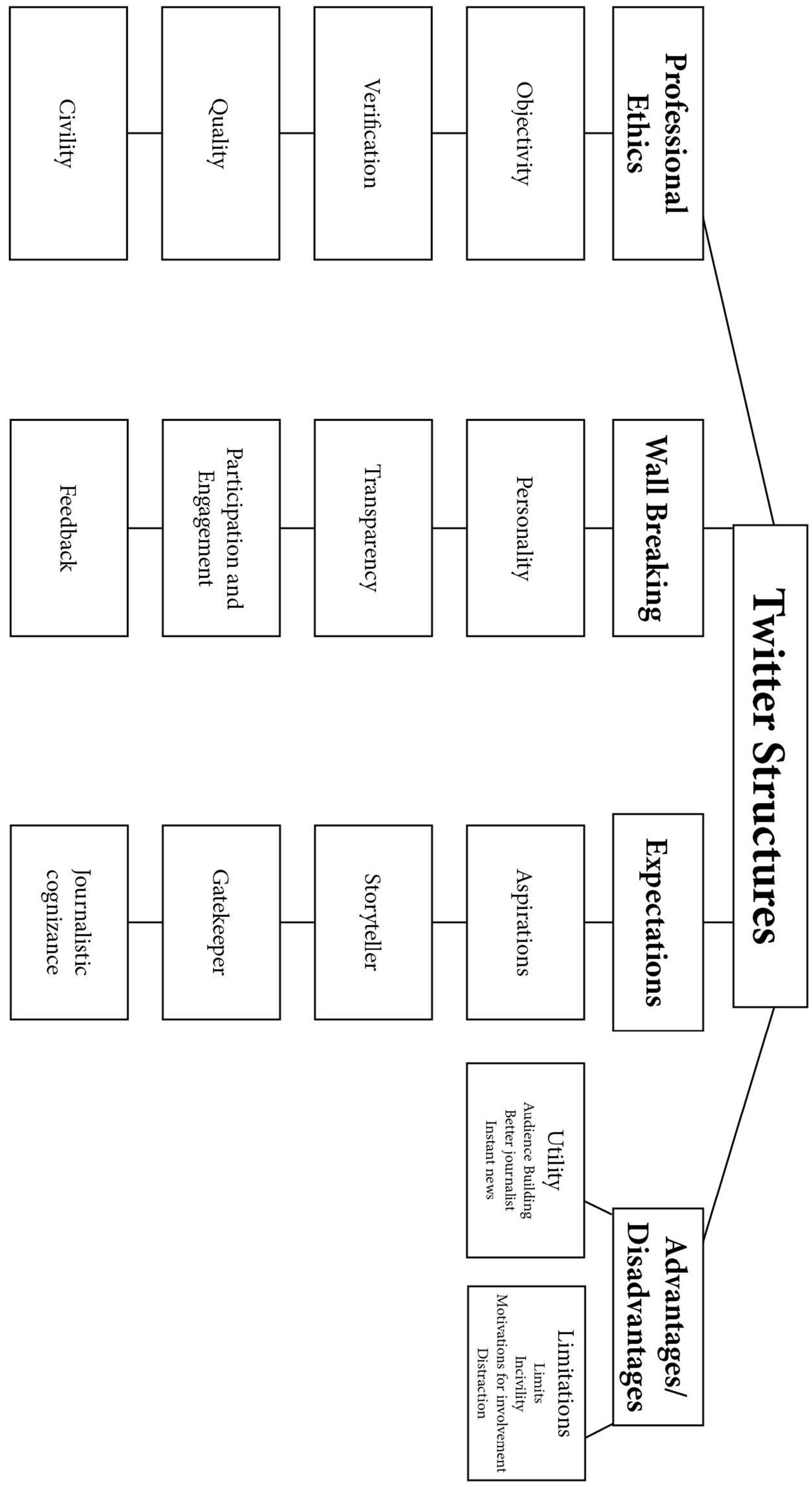


Figure 2. Structures that Carry Over from Newsgathering to Twitter.

Objectivity. Despite heavy competition on a major sports beat, Alex didn't join Twitter as early as many of his colleagues and competitors. On the contrary, Alex resisted involvement until 2011. The reason for his reluctance was quite personal, but it underscores why many journalists may be nervous about the possible consequences of getting involved with and engaging on a social media platform such as Twitter.

Alex had a close relationship with his father, who was the inspiration for his pursuing a career in journalism. Alex's father took an article Alex had written and turned it in to a local newspaper. "[My dad] thought I was a pretty good writer and thought I liked sports, and so he kind of 'plagiarized' for me." The editor liked the article enough that he began to give Alex assignments. Part of Alex's love for journalism involves a "wistfulness" from "hanging out with my dad."

While Alex was covering that major sports beat, his father passed away from cancer. Alex noted that as he watched the cancer develop and take his father, the experience "changed me for years." As a result, he described himself as having become an "angry guy," and as such he didn't see a point to become involved in Twitter.

> I didn't want a quick medium that would really allow me, I think, to tarnish myself. I didn't view it as access, or engagement, I viewed it as a way to be pissy and spout off real quick. So, I was so worried about it being a place where you could just smack talk. I wasn't anonymous. I always put my name on it, but I think there's chances to kind of be a lesser person than what you are on social media, especially Twitter.

At that point of his life, Alex said he didn't want to get involved in what he saw as a medium that could hurt his credibility, particularly because he perceived his readers could interpret use as a lack of professionalism. He was afraid he might face trouble from his employer, although, in retrospect, he believed he would likely face more criticism for a column than for anything he might tweet. When Alex did eventually create a Twitter account, he immediately took to it and was impressed with the engagement he could find with his readers. Up to that point, however, the fact that in a moment of anger or heated discussion he might say something he would regret caused him to see little value in Twitter.

While objectivity is clearly on participants' minds as they use Twitter, they also reported a realization that they must strike a delicate balance. Respondents said they believe one of the strengths of Twitter lies in a user's ability to share a little bit of their personality and allow people to see they are not merely a "mindless automaton." However, respondents also expressed an understanding that they represent themselves, their employer, and the journalism industry, and that they cannot afford to be "completely bombastic or provocative just for the sake of being provocative," as one newspaper editor said.

On a more complex level, participants said they understand that their credibility can be tainted if they show their biases through Twitter. As a result, they said objectivity, fairness, balance, and independence carry over to Twitter interaction. When I asked what type of participation they engaged in on Twitter, many participants spoke of answering readers' questions. While such interaction does not always necessitate the sharing of opinions, such dialogue could, perhaps, open the door to betraying biases when answering questions. "They were taught everything has to be by the book, to the letter, this way, and there's no other way," one social media editor said.

Participants' reticence for sharing opinions on social media stretched to Twitter use in general, and not only with one-on-one interaction. Though Logan said the culture of social media to be less formal allows for “a teensy bit more leniency,” he also acknowledged that journalists should exercise great caution in voicing opinions via social media. For him, the key is to be “conversational without necessarily being overly opinionated.”

Participants were especially nervous about sharing opinions of a political nature. Some journalists found it easier to share opinions and personality when they were doing so about their own personal interests rather than what they cover. For example, a political reporter might be able to share opinions about his or her favorite professional sports team or opinions on gardening. However, participants would be hesitant to share political opinions because that might expose their biases. Therefore, if a reader saw and perceived the bias, future coverage might be tainted by the perception of impropriety.

One reporter, who worked for a newspaper with an international following, said he is afraid of sounding “grouchy and angry” while sharing opinions about political subjects, and as such he tries to mostly only tweet opinions about things that are not associated with his particular beat. Another reporter said she would consider sharing an opinion about music she enjoyed. Daniel, a social media editor at a major newspaper, agreed, stating that he would never use Twitter to cheer on the efforts of a public figure or political party, but telling a reader what his favorite pizza place in his neighborhood is not only proper, it also builds trust with readers.

> I think that’s very different than a reporter going on there and doing a review for a pizza place and looking like they have some sort of weird connection to them . . . I think that gives a greater insight into the people that they trust. Because if you think about it, people read people in the newspaper or watch TV because they trust them . . . Now I think if you’re the person that has the conversations, shares

> opinions, answers questions, I think you're much more likely to be trusted than anyone else.

However, some reporters said they even struggled with sharing opinions unrelated to their own beats. They seemed to indicate that they were afraid their publication or station colleagues might have a more difficult time building credibility if journalists not assigned a particular beat shared opinions. For example, one reporter said she had a favorite football team that was not based in the city she covered. She liked to see the city's team succeed because she cared about the city and the people who lived there. However, she was nervous to cheer for the city's team on Twitter because it might make life more difficult for the station's sports reporters.

Some participants were afraid of bias that could simply be perceived through tweets. For example, Ruth, a television reporter, covered a story in which a police officer had shot an animal, and many viewers were angry about the situation. Ruth interviewed the local chief of police and tweeted a teaser to the interview over Twitter. Several angry citizens began to attack her, thinking she was taking the side of the police. "The people that were protesting the shooting just went after me on Twitter. In fact, I had to block a few people."

Some journalists were uncomfortable with other forms of Twitter engagement, particularly the "retweet" process. When "retweeting," a Twitter user takes a post that was originally shared by another user and forwards it to his or her own followers. Participants did not have a specific formula for deciding what to retweet, hoping simply that a tweet might be entertaining or have additional or relevant information, especially if the person sharing the original tweet is somebody with inherent credibility. However, a few participants said questions often arise of whether the act of sharing someone else's tweet means a journalist endorses the comments. One reporter said looking at retweets could betray political leanings.

> People always say retweets are not endorsements. Yes they are. They are. You just are saying that because you know they are. If you won't retweet anything that says Obama is the worst president ever in the history of America, but you will retweet that the U.S. economy has grown bigger than it did in previous presidencies, I really do think retweets are endorsements, even if people say they are not.

The sports reporters interviewed for this study seemed to have an easier time embracing sharing opinions, perhaps because analysis is a frequent practice sports journalism. But though they may often share analysis and opinions on Twitter, the sports reporters interviewed for this study said they must balance their analysis with a caution to avoid either rooting or attacking the team that they cover. Other reporters shared the belief that despite the fact that Twitter is essentially "exposing your inner monologue," doing so does "open yourself up for skepticism." Daniel said one of the most difficult aspects of interacting on Twitter is that journalists, who have long attempted to keep advertising and reporting under separate banner, see Twitter as an "uncomfortable mish mash of editorial and marketing, and those are the things people don't like to mix." However, many respondents said one of the major goals to maintaining a Twitter profile is to promote their work. Daniel said without mixing marketing and branding with editorial, a journalist cannot find success on Twitter. "You can do it without the personal piece, but I think the people who do it without the personal piece are selling themselves short, and I don't think they get the interaction that they're hoping to get."

***Verification*.** Tom admits he had to learn a lesson about verification and Twitter anonymity. Although he was not covering the beat of a particular local professional team, he followed an account that he believed that a player on the team maintained. Tom was not aware that the account was a fake—someone pretending to be the player and not a Twitter-verified account. Posing as the player, the person behind the account tweeted that he had been traded. Tom retweeted to all of his followers, but later found out that an imposter had fooled him. Tom said the delicate balance fought between verification and immediacy is a constant struggle. He is assigned to a highly competitive sports beat. When he is covering a story, he can see his competitors with their smart phones and laptops, and he knows they are going to tweet the information.

> That is the dilemma that I face almost on a daily basis . . . You hear something and your first instinct is to want to tweet it out. And a lot of times you do. But you've got to understand in your Twitter profile, if it says, hey I'm a reporter for this news organization, then you're basically telling your followers that I'm credible, and whatever I tweet, basically, should be believed.

Some of participants were frustrated by the speed of Twitter and how the emphasis on getting the news out first often led journalists to publish misinformation. They indicated that possibility of passing on bad information may make it difficult to interact or retweet when readers share information. While the speed of delivery and live and instantaneous nature of Twitter can often work to a journalist's advantage for breaking news reporting, participants said they can also be burned if they report before vetting information fully. Alex indicated that "Twitter is big on being first. I don't know if it's necessarily big on being right."

Some participants, like Tom, had been burned by this sort of false information. Others were disgusted to see colleagues employ it. One editor said his idea was not to “focus on being first. Let’s focus on being best.” Alex expressed frustration with the focus on immediacy and noticed that, since he began to work as freelance writer, he has recognized that perhaps there is value in a weekly news model where a journalist can afford to take the time to diligently work to ensure the information is correct.

In other words, a few journalists expressed a mantra of: Don’t get it first, get it right. This especially seemed to be the attitude of newspaper/online journalists who did not work for a television station. Even with the increased demand of immediacy online, most of the newspaper/online journalists tended to think that verification and depth were their strong suit, whereas they perceived television journalists as trying to be the first to report a story. Television journalists, however, echoed many of the same sentiments of credibility hinging on getting things right. Contrary to the assumptions of her colleagues in the print media, Ruth was adamant that the vetting process for television news is thorough. She said that just because Twitter is an instant medium, does not mean she believes it should not be held to the same standard.

> You don’t tweet anything until you know. We wouldn’t go on TV without vetting and confirming facts. So why are journalists tweeting before they know? If it’s a race for competition, then that’s a really bad reason to be tweeting . . . If you’re in a race to be first, then you ought to be a NASCAR driver, not a journalist.

One reporter noted that being first should not be a focus anymore, anyway, because exclusivity is so rare in an immediate digital world. By the time the news spreads across the Internet, few people would remember who had it first, anyway. Some journalists admitted that they have Twitter open all day, even if they are not always looking at it. Some of them are terrified that if they are not on Twitter, they might miss something. One respondent had Twitter open during our interview. Another reporter indicated that newsroom leadership will often see an item on Twitter that will trigger a "panic," causing them to attempt to try to get someone to report a story.

> Sometimes you've got to be like, I know we are trying to get things on the air super fast and be the first to report, but take a step back. Just a minute. And that's something I see a battle almost every day in our newsroom.

As an example, this reporter shared an experience of traveling to cover the scene of a shooting. Authorities had not released much information, and as a result, the reporter was especially cautious with her report. At the same time, however, her producer pushed her to tweet the latest information. Meanwhile, she was trying to make sure she did not defame a suspect—but was limited in the number of characters she can use when publishing to Twitter.

Some of the respondents said they believed it was important to continue to attribute information online, even if it becomes difficult to do so with the medium's character limits. One journalist suggested he does not tweet anything until he has confirmed it independently from two sources and can attribute the information. "When I tweet, I make sure that I attribute to where the information came from even if it takes up half of my characters."

Respondents said they are busy trying to do their job of reporting, which includes confirming information and attributing it before releasing it. One journalist also noted that sometimes there are higher stakes to reporting than harming credibility. Working in politics and economics, she has seen financial markets react to news that breaks via Twitter, only to see the information later be proven false.

Quality. Participants said they were somewhat frustrated by the quality of information that is on Twitter, not just in the wealth of misinformation, but also in grammar and sentence structure. Participants knew that the information they tweet out is short, and therefore cannot have the depth to which they are accustomed. In their minds, such limits make it unlikely that Twitter can serve as a medium for in-depth reporting or meaningful interaction with their followers. They do not see the platform as being conducive to long conversations. Instead, respondents said they tend to further those conversations via telephone calls or email. Likewise, character limits can make Twitter "tedious to try and convey complex thoughts."

Participants believed that good grammar carries over to Twitter. Some of the respondents say they check their tweets for punctuation and Associated Press style. For many, such habits are "drilled into my mind." One reporter said he is frustrated when the medium's character limit forces him to use a numeral when he should spell out a number. While most didn't mention the quality of a follower's tweets, the reporters said in their own tweets they carry over to Twitter many structures of what they believe constitutes quality writing. One editor lamented the quality of the writing on Twitter, saying: "Sometimes the things that I see are just, 'My God. Please.' So, I think you need to recognize that this is your public face."

Conversely, one social media editor said journalists who are so focused on quality grammar and spelling of Twitter interaction miss some of the beauty of communicating via the medium: "Facebook is prose and Twitter can be poetry if you need it to be. So don't worry about grammar all the time. It just has to make sense."

Civility. One reporter laughed as he was asked whether he had ever seen interaction with the public backfire on a journalist. One of his colleagues, a reporter on a prominent beat, once "lost his cool and challenged somebody to a fistfight" via Twitter.

His colleague was not fired. He did, however, have to delete the tweet and apologize. "We are humans, too," the study participant said. "And we can be provoked and antagonized and lose our tempers."

Professionally, journalists indicated that they believe that their interactions with the public—and each other—on Twitter should be civil. They said civil tweeting can be difficult because members of the public are not always civil to them. The interviewed journalists acknowledged that they are human and sometimes make mistakes. However, the fighting that can happen on Twitter can be a deterrent to their desire to interact on Twitter. "I guess I look for reasonable people who are serious about interacting and learning," one social media editor said, "and reasonable is a very important part of that. If the first word is, 'Screw you, your article is bulls---,' then no, I probably won't interact with them because it doesn't seem like there's anything to talk about." One editor argued that some of the incivility he saw on Twitter takes place in an exchange between two journalists in interactions that exclude the public entirely.

When a member of the public is "courteous and respectful and are genuinely interested," participants said they are far more likely to interact with them—and maybe even follow them. One social media editor said it is important to "kill them with kindness" when someone attacks them on Twitter. Journalists indicated that politeness is the key to responding to incivility, not only because journalists represent their employer, but also because engaging with incivility hurts credibility among readers and spins out of control—there are no winners.

Some participants believed that professional courtesy extended to at least acknowledging tweets, and maybe even responding to them. Several respondents said that they try to respond to all Twitter replies and mentions. Others will use the "favorite" button to make sure that tweeters know they are not being ignored, even if the reporter does not have time to reply to all of the mentions he or she receives. Several of the interview participants said they make an effort to check their interactions every day to make sure they acknowledge those who reach out to them. One reporter, who said that a reader taking the time to reach out to him was "flattering," compared ignoring that interaction to snubbing a person who has asked him on a date.

> If a girl in high school talks to me or something like that, I'm not just going to walk away. I'm going to reply. I'm going to say something. So I think that was the first value: was general politeness and also trying to learn from this person. Why are they interested in Twitter? Why are they interested in sports? Why are they interested in what I do?

When used well, Twitter offers participants civil dialogue, so participants said they try to respond whenever they can to followers who engage with them on Twitter. Participants said when they do so, they attempt to do so with civility and politeness, and they hope for and expect the same treatment from their followers—even though the reporters do not always receive it. Interviews indicated that civil dialogue allows journalists to meet new people, expand their reach, and build a brand. While acknowledging that many journalists only use Twitter as a reporting tool, one social media editor said he advises journalists to expand and take advantage of dialogue. He advises journalists to divide Twitter activity into thirds: one third involves engagement and personality, a second involves promoting stories, and a third involves live reporting.

Wall Breaking. In any discussion of the advantages of having a platform, such as Twitter, in which journalists could interact more fully with members of their audience, interview respondents consistently cited the medium's strength in allowing them to remove the traditional curtain between them and their audience. Garrett, a business reporter for a niche publication, said the particular strength of social media for a journalist is "it lets the audience know who you are a little more and kind of breaks down this wall of, 'I'm the journalist, and you're the audience, and you have to read what I say.'"

Some participants said that wall breaking involved dialogue and discussion, but it also extended to the ability to lift the traditional curtain that separated the journalist from the report and allow a reader to get to know the reporter on a more personal level. While respondents admitted there are some dangers to personal safety or credibility inherent to such openness, interaction via Twitter allows the journalists to show that there is indeed a person, a human being, who is producing the news reports. Interview participants said some wall breaking involves humor, and some allows members of the public to provide honest feedback.

Personality. Shawn now works at a major legacy newspaper with a rich tradition. Before he was hired by this publication, he had worked at a much different type of publication, one born of the Internet that had a much less formal style. While at his previous publication, he developed a significant Twitter following by evincing a distinct personality, where he tends to "blend both my professional and personal lives, if you will, or personas." He said he often tweets sarcastically about mainstream topics that are different than the beat he currently covers. After arriving at his new employment, Shawn decided to use more caution but continues to show personality in his tweets.

> I would have felt uncomfortable, but because they had known what they were getting when they hired me. I kind of felt like, "I'm just going to be myself and you knew what you were getting." It does make me nervous, sometimes, because

> I tweet stuff that's not on my beat, and I kind of wonder, "What are they thinking?"

For Shawn, the risk of alienating some of the leadership at his publication is vindicated by the success he might build in his personal brand. As he sees it, he has built up a personal following that he hopes to keep long term. In addition, he said that the personality he conveys through his tweets draws attention to the work he is doing for his current newspaper. He is somewhat worried that tweets might be taken out of context, but he said that if he is careful and aware of the consequences to such expression, his personality can continue to work to his advantage. For Shawn, that personality allows him to be more authentic, and as a result, readers come to better understand him on a deeper level.

> In the newspaper, unless you're a really well known columnist, people don't really read your byline. And so, when they read a story . . . they read it as, it's your news organization, not some person, and so you need to take that into account. But on Twitter, people are able to have a relationship with you. And so you're able to kind of show who you are, and I feel like that's helpful because people just don't want to follow someone who's really boring.

One of the greatest strengths participants say they see in Twitter usage involves removing the wall into the journalist as a person. In their view, Twitter offers a journalist the opportunity to place him- or herself on display for the audience—in other words, putting a human face on the journalist. In the words of one participant, on Twitter there is no need to be "a mindless automaton."

As I shared earlier in this chapter, one editor of a major metropolitan editor was adamant that decades of research showed that journalists were out of touch with their readers. Some of the participants seemed to indicate that Twitter interaction allows journalists to bridge that gap by showing personality and insight into their personal lives.

This desire to connect with followers on a more personal level seemed especially potent among newspaper journalists, some of whom expressed admiration for their television colleagues who had been able to make more personal connections with their audience because of the nature of the medium. In the case of print journalists, short of a byline or the occasional column mug, there is little information to indicate just who is writing the story. As Daniel indicated: “For so many years before social media, if you think about it, you got your newspaper delivered to your front door. You saw the name on the story. What more did you ever know about that reporter other than the name on the story?”

Noah once attended a public event at his local civic center. He was enjoying the event, and he tweeted that he was there with his brother. “And this guy turned around from the row in front of me and said, ‘Are you [Noah]?” The moment was a startling recognition for Noah. “This guy follows me. He knows who I am. And it was the same time that people started mentioning, ‘Oh, I read you all the time in the paper.’ Not, ‘I read the [newspaper],’ but, ‘I read you.’”

Participants indicated that there has traditionally been little window to who a journalist is. One reporter indicated that her newspaper would print branded advertisements for its reporters, but as a whole, participants saw Twitter as having far more potential to allow readers to acquaint themselves with the individual behind the news reports. Participants believed that such insight into a journalist’s identity could come from many sources, whether it involves the tone of a tweet or the personal details journalists share.

My interviews showed that Twitter allows the journalist to demonstrate personality in several ways. First, respondents indicated they are able to cast aside some of the traditional modes of detachment and objectivity, allowing for more of their personality to shine through. Participants saw Twitter as a means to enable them to share opinions, although respondents said they still walk a fine line in what they feel is appropriate to share. Many respondents said they believe that the stakes involved, in other words, the relative importance of the story, dictate whether it is appropriate to tweet opinions. Others said that the appropriateness of tweeting opinions might be tied to whether they are adjacent to their own beat. "If your beat is politics, and you love to garden," said one social media editor, "I think you should be out there talking about gardening because I think that says, 'Oh, political reporter here actually likes the same flowers that I do.' I think that is what makes the person human."

Some reporters, for example, said that Twitter allows them to experiment more with humor. "I am a little bit snarkier. There is a tone on Twitter that doesn't, maybe, go over well in a print publication." Participants recognized that many other Twitter users, including those outside of the industry, use Twitter as a means of poking fun, and said the atmosphere on Twitter may account for their using humor. Garrett, who likes to use Twitter to promote his stories, indicated that he believes he might find more success in catching attention if he tweeted headlines in a more playful way. He also uses Twitter in a playful way when in engaging in live tweet events. For example, when he was covering Congressional hearings, he might have tweeted out something similar to "7 out of 12 Congressmen are wearing red ties."

Although some said humor can be difficult, and others said balancing personality and objectivity may be a challenge, some participants were adamant that showing personality on Twitter was not a threat to objectivity, and by doing so, they might reach a wider—and younger—audience. Ben shares an example of when he was covering a college basketball game. One team "went on a big run and turned a three-point lead into like a 25-point halftime lead." Rather than simply tweeting out the score, he tweeted, "well, that escalated quickly,"—a reference to a popular film, *Anchorman*. Ben said the tweet was one with which he saw a lot of interaction from his followers.

> If I probably wasn't my age or hadn't seen that movie, obviously, I would have just said, [team] made a big run. But because I did that, I think I probably got an extra follow or two. And that all dives back to trying it get people to our website. I still see it as a business side of things, but I can still be objective through being personal.

In addition to humor, some respondents said they allow their personality to shine through Twitter by showing some insight that is necessarily related to their job but to their personal lives. One reporter uses a hashtag that clearly indicates she is a working mom, and she does so during humorous situations involving her children. "I tweeted on my tenth anniversary about my darling husband. In fact, I got that, kind of, from our social media director—kind of saying people want to know a little bit more about your life and your personality and your background." Ben will tweet about his golden retriever puppy. "I think most of [my followers] know by now that that's a big part of my life. I think some of those things probably make it a little bit easier if you're going to follow a particular person . . . it makes it a little easier to want to continue to follow them."

Javier also said that showing personality and a human side can benefit a journalist, not only with personal detail, but with news coverage as well. In a previous city, Javier's television station covered a story where a young boy's parents were both murdered. According to Javier, in the past, when covering such stories a journalist might seem unemotional and detached. However, by covering a story via Twitter, they can also tweet out human interest—and that, according to Javier, can "show a little bit of humanity in you."

> When you get to the scene of the crime and say, "Hey, I'm working on this. This is sad. I just saw little boy walk out of a house with police officers. I think his parents are dead." In that sense, you can be just as human as they are without being biased or showing off that you're going one way or another.

Showing personality, whether in their own interests or when covering a story, can help make journalists more "approachable," as one television journalist described it. That kind of humanity can build trust, credibility, and loyalty. "You never know what that means. The people then will reach out to you if they have a story idea or will tune in or tell their friends to tune in." In essence, respondents said adding that approachable personality and humanity can be, in effect, branding and marketing for a journalist and a news organization. The key, for the journalists, is to show that personality and humanity in a way "that's still professional."

Transparency. On the morning of her interview with me, one of Sarah's colleagues had been sent to cover the scene of a car fire and an automobile crash. The reporter was tweeting updates as part of her coverage of the story. In addition to getting the story out to her audience, tweeting served a double purpose. While her followers were getting up-to-the-minute information, her colleagues at the radio station were, too. Sarah, knowing the story needed to go on the air, was able to copy the reporter's to a script and hand them to the on-air host. "They read out loud, 'Hey, we're getting reports that traffic is backed up for a mile and [reporter] is tweeting that the flames are pretty high.'"

Sarah's story illustrates another use of Twitter's interactivity: Not only can reporters interact with and report to their followers, they can instantaneously communicate with their colleagues. While this reporter could have just as easily used her phone to call the office, perhaps tweeting saved a step, allowing her to report and gather information without being sidelined by the need to call in to report to the newsroom what was happening.

Noah had a similar experience while working at a metropolitan newspaper. Noah's colleagues were sent to the scene of a hostage standoff at a local post office. While the reporters covered live and took photographs, Noah was able to tweet out information using the official newspaper account. "We had just like a little chain to get back to the newsroom."

One of the advantageous uses of Twitter for the participants of this study is that in many ways it has replaced the traditional reporters' notebook. While legacy reporters' notes were mostly closed during the newsgathering process, participants said they often use Twitter as a new form of public reporters notebook. This allows followers to examine the newsgathering process in real time, as the reporter gathers facts. In an industry that stresses transparency, one interview subject said reporting on Twitter gives readers more of a "behind-the-scenes" look at the journalistic process. "It's made me get to the point quicker," one reporter said. "You get the information out that you specifically need to get out and you don't waste time on the other stuff." As Brock pointed out, most of the information would be public when printed, anyway, so he believed using Twitter as a public notebook did not cause any "harm." In addition, journalists can bring followers into the newsroom to discover for themselves the types of personalities involved in the publication.

While followers can often watch information unfold themselves at events such as sports, city council meetings, or public events, the journalistic function of live tweeting gives readers more transparency into the behind-the-scenes aspect of the event itself because the journalist has access to areas and people that the public does not. “I think it kind of allows people to take the ride with you when you’re gathering information to put together a story together, if you’re taking them along with you,” a television reporter said.

In addition to improving the end result, one reporter said using Twitter as a notebook allows the reporter to compile information more quickly when he returns to the office. Brock said that, originally, many of his colleagues were upset at the extra work they were expected to do when told they should begin live tweeting. For Brock, however, live tweeting became a great help. “I realized I could go back to the office, copy and paste out of Twitter. My notes are already there; the quotes are already there. In a lot of cases [tweets] have been spellchecked.” Twitter also helps him report additional information that won’t fit into his articles. Brock also said Twitter can be more reliable than tape recordings because it is backed up on a different server, whereas tape recordings can be unreliable.

However, beyond simply fulfilling Brock’s duty to report information, having a public notebook can facilitate important forms of interaction with sources. Some of his followers may be sources from the school districts he follows. As he live tweets school board meetings, he will often receive emails and texts from sources following him on Twitter. They tell him when he’s made a mistake or when he should dig deeper for more information. Therefore, simultaneously, he can report, be transparent and accountable, and receive story tips, all by making his reporter's notebook more public. "Letting those people look at my notepad as I'm writing it has been really useful in that regard."

Participation and engagement. Shortly after he started using Twitter, Tom, who has been a journalist since the late 1980s, saw a published article rating the participation and interactivity of local journalists on Twitter. As he looked at the rankings for his market, Tom saw that he had been rated very low. "That was kind of a wakeup call for me. Hey, I mean this thing is about interaction. If you're asking for people to follow you, then you need to reciprocate." Tom, who now has nearly 13,000 followers on Twitter, has since resolved to be more interactive. He follows fans of the team he covers, and he tries to respond when fans send him mentions—although he acknowledges the difficulty of reaching out to that many people.

Erin, on the other hand, is a millennial who was trained to use Twitter while in her journalism program in college. Erin's epiphany about the importance of interaction did not happen in the midst of a class, however. She followed a famous journalist from a national outlet. Erin noticed that the journalist asked questions of her followers, both in what they thought of stories her outlet was producing and about what followers thought her outlet should cover. "I noticed that she replied to every response she got," Erin said. That journalist's consistent responses to followers who reached out to her made Erin feel like she was more than a number on the follower list, and it made her want to interact and follow that journalist even more. "That really helps knowing you're going to get a response."

Participants in this study do not always open their tweeting up to participation from the public. In fact, for many of them, it seemed as though Twitter was most specifically a reporting tool for them. However, most participants said they saw the value in allowing followers to become involved. Although they do not fully give up the gatekeeping role, many journalists did say they invited at least minimal participation through Twitter.

Respondents said they often use Twitter to answer questions the readers pose, and often invite readers to submit questions for sources. Respondents said they can see the power and possibilities of crowdsourcing, though some admitted they had not personally had success with it. Owen said he will sometimes tweet and ask readers what they would like to see in the newspaper. Sarah, who as a broadcast journalist is used to some amount of viewer participation, gave a pair of examples in which she had been involved in crowdsourcing.

Her first example involved legacy practices, instead of social media. On a recent day, Sarah's city was hit by a severe storm. "I was producing that day, and I had the host say on the air, 'Hey, here's the newsroom number. Call us and tell us what you're experiencing out there.'" Listeners responded with a host of phone calls, telling their fellow audience members what was happening in their area. For her second example, Erin said that her city, in an effort to improve local air quality, placed a ban on burning wood. Erin posted on her Facebook page and asked her followers to respond and share potential sources for her to interview. Not only did her followers respond in comments, some also tagged others that she could interview.

Rarely, however, did journalists say they used Twitter to ask questions of their readers. "I would probably, say roughly once a week, I will pose a question on Twitter for an article I'm writing to try and test the waters, try to kind of see what Joe Public sentiment is out there on a certain topic," one sports reporter said. "When you do that, be prepared for your timeline to just be flooded." Some admitted they aren't actively seeking out audience members for interaction, but instead waiting for the audience members to reach out to them with questions. In fact, when it comes to engagement, most freely admit that while they can see the possibilities involved with engaging with the public, most do not invite participation.

The most common Twitter interaction in which they engage involves talking to other journalists. Participants said interacting with other journalists, which might include sharing colleagues' stories, retweeting their posts, or complimenting other journalists on their work, helps build a community of peers. "It's nice to connect to them," one television reporter said. Participants said they believe that Twitter provides a means to discuss industry-specific issues, as well as allowing them to foster friendships with former coworkers. "I tweet about journalism issues because I know that some of my followers are past, present or future employers or coworkers," Noah said. "I want to have a level of engagement with them or at least show them that I'm thinking about these things or discussing these things as well."

Another reporter joked that she mostly interacts with journalists and doesn't even follow her own sisters. Most of the journalists I interviewed indicated that the list of people they follow is composed largely of other journalists and news organizations. Austin, for example, has a strong interest in media from an Asian country. As a result, the list of accounts that he is following contains a host of media outlets from that country. A few reporters, however, said that, although they follow many other media outlets, including their competitors, they are still uncomfortable retweeting or acknowledging competitors because they are uncomfortable with driving attention in a competitor's direction. One interview respondent called Twitter "A bar journalists hang out at."

Journalists indicated that the greatest danger of confining many of their interactions to other journalists involves limited diversity in voices. Shawn, who has nearly 11,000 followers on Twitter, said, at times, his feed can resemble an "echo chamber"—a sentiment shared by several other participants. Recognizing the problem, Shawn tries to follow people from outside the industry "and just see what they are tweeting." Shawn follows more than 1,000 Twitter accounts.

Most journalists said they try to respond to as many @mentions as possible—as long as the people tweeting them are polite and civil. Some respondents said they receive many @mentions. Others said they do not. However, most of the interaction the journalists themselves initiate tends to be with other journalists or with sources.

Journalists interviewed for this study tend to reserve retweeting for information they deem "relevant" to their followers, their articles, or their own interests. "I think it depends on who the person is and what the story is," one reporter said. "If it's a person who is either involved in my story or is a writer or I know from around town or something, I will respond. If the person doesn't have very many other tweets, and they respond to me, and they say something kind of weird or not productive to my story, I won't respond."

Some sports journalists, for example, find it useful to follow athletes they cover because they said text messaging has previously been a major part of the athletics industry, and text has now carried over to Twitter. One business reporter said Twitter helps her because she can find a way to reach a source through family members with whom she has previously connected on Twitter. Reaching out via Twitter can make it easy to not only keep contact with a source, a sports reporter said, but to contact them for potential interviews—or even conduct an interview via social media.

> It was really easy for me to get back in touch [with a source] because I could follow her on social media real quick and say, "Hey, do you have 10 minutes for a phone interview . . . or we could exchange a few direct messages." Because sometimes people are more comfortable typing rather than writing. They like to think out their thoughts, and they can hit the delete key and send it.

That said, participants mostly said they are not likely to follow members of the public. Respondents said they want to know if potential follows have relevant or interesting information. They admit to mostly following other journalists, news organizations, or newsmakers, such as sources, agencies, businesses, athletes, or politicians. Some of them believed Twitter was a good way to reach out to potential sources who were among their younger audience.

A few participants did say that they follow members of the public. For Matt, following people boils down to one thing: "If you're any good or not." He wants his feed to be entertaining, and so he decided to "follow people who I think say interesting things." Matt was rare among participants in saying he believed that following a lot of industry people on social media—in his case Facebook—frustrated him because "think pieces" began to clog out the things he really wanted to know: what was happening in the lives of his "circle of friends," and family members.

Matt indicated that journalists' tendency to avoiding following or interacting with members of the public indicated there might still be a disconnect between journalists and their audience. Twitter is a chance to reach normal people, but journalists do not always do that. "At some point, you've got to connect with the people—quit connecting with the think tanks. Find out what they're really talking about."

Feedback. When Alex worked as a sports reporter, he also volunteered as a little league coach. He said one thing was certain: He was going to hear from parents. Much of the time, that feedback was negative, coming when a team would lose a game or when a child had not played as much as a parent would have hoped. Rarely did Alex receive positive feedback for the job he was doing. Alex brings up little league as an example of a form of interaction he craves from his readers: He wants to know how they think he is doing.

Feedback is one form of engagement that journalists interviewed for this study said they particularly appreciate. Respondents indicated they generally would like more feedback. In fact, when I asked what responsibility participants believed their audience had to them, the most commonly cited responsibility was to provide feedback. Participants said they welcome feedback in any form, whether via email, phone calls, comments, in person, or on social media. Participants did not seem to mind whether the feedback is positive or negative, so long as readers provide it in a "constructive" manner, as Alex described it.

> I dread the reader that just wants to be angry, and sometimes, hey, they need to let loose . . . But I think it's important, anymore, especially in this day and age of Twitter, I think it's so easy to be accessible, and I think there's a lot of good things about that. I think it's important to be constructive with your criticism. It doesn't mean you necessarily give your name and address, all that stuff like you're mailing me through snail mail, but I think if you're going to write—and you should write, you should have a point to it.

Twitter feedback can come in many forms, whether through comments, mentions, or favorites. Several reporters said it can be gratifying to see readers retweeting or commenting on a story because it shows that people are paying attention to their reporting. Sarah, who works in radio, said seeing Twitter interaction can show her that she has "physical followers" and can confirm people are listening—"beyond the standard ratings information." In addition to knowing they are paying attention, respondents said they can get feedback on what types of stories their audience expresses interested in, what kind of a job they are doing, and what they can be doing better. They can answer further questions that their readers or viewers have and garner story tips.

One caveat to their desire for feedback, however, is that respondents said they simply ask that readers are civil, respectful, but most of all—informed. They noted that when readers give feedback, especially when they're angry, it is often apparent that they haven't read the whole story. "Sometimes I'll get emails and it's like, did you even read the story beyond the first graf?" said Natalie, a reporter at a niche publication. The desire for feedback to be informed, whether it comes from social media, phone calls, or email, stems from a frustration that journalist are doing their "due diligence," as Austin described it. They said they expect no less from their followers.

> If they're going to step forward and complain about the quality or the content of the work, they should do their due diligence, as well. There are a number of times you'll get a phone call from somebody who will complain about an element of your story, and the first question I'll usually ask is, "Well, did you read the whole thing?" Because it's pretty apparent that they didn't. And they'll be like, "Well, I read enough."

One participant suggested that readers make a deeper examination of published facts, and reading information from multiple sources—including competitors—in order to fully understand the issue, before reaching out and giving feedback.

Expectations. As I detailed in the first part of this chapter, journalists had myriad expectations for what they should be accomplishing in the field. In this section, I will discuss how respondents said their aspirations, their desire to tell stories, their traditional gatekeeping role, and their cognizance of their position as journalists all interact and either discourage or encourage social media use.

Aspirations. Matt has worked hard to innovate throughout his career. Perhaps that is part of the reason why he currently serves as the editor at a major newspaper. But his desire to work in the field goes much deeper than that. Matt said he loves the journalism industry. During his interview, he spoke many times of his passion for "committing acts of journalism." He said he decided as a third grader that journalism would be his chosen field, and he stuck with that plan. "Some little dudes want to be firefighters or baseball players, or architects . . . I've had aspirations of nerdery since I was a wee one."

He came by the desire honestly enough. Matt's parents subscribed to three newspapers, with publications arriving in the morning, the afternoon, and on a weekly basis. He was a particular fan of Major League Baseball, and he admits that he "would just pore over the sports pages" of the newspapers in his household. When he attended college, he worked for regional, state, and national newspapers in order to help pay for his schooling.

Matt admitted that he does not think he is particularly good at Twitter. He believes that some reporters on his staff "get it," while others did not. He is perfectly fine with that. He believes that it is good for journalists in his newsroom to have different strengths and different skills. While some might be good at Twitter, others are better writers or good reporters. For Matt, Twitter is about personal interests. He likes to follow his favorite baseball team and know "if the [team] are going to suck or not." And while he understands the strengths of connecting with others on Twitter, perhaps Matt's desire to mostly use it for his own interests lies in the fact that being a journalist is "all I ever wanted to be." In the climate in which he was raised, interacting with readers Twitter was not among a journalist's duties. "I don't know that somebody like me who in the third grade began reading great sports journalism [would say], 'You know what I want to do? I want to interact with people on Twitter.'"

Few of the participants of this study said they had come to the journalism field by accident. Like Matt, many of them stated that it was what they had always dreamed of doing; whether they came to the dream in childhood, high school, or college, most of the respondents showed an affinity for the journalism industry and the ideals for which it stands. Reasons for their early attraction to the field were varied, ranging from having an early attraction to reading the newspaper when they were young, a passion for knowing information and what was happening, a need for variety on the job, the "fun" they saw in it, the opportunity to meet new people, and the chance to tell stories. Even for millennial participants, some of whom graduated from college since journalistic Twitter proliferated, not one mentioned social media interaction as a motivation for becoming involved in the industry.

Many of the respondents who worked for a newspaper said they were attracted to the field because they had always been good writers or generally liked writing. Although a handful believed the brevity of Twitter could make them a better writer, more often journalists believed the character limit could prove a hindrance to telling a story in-depth.

Other journalists enjoyed the fact that they did something different every day and weren't tied to the office—journalism is not a "desk job," as Ruth described it. Lisa, who works in broadcasting, said one of the reasons she was attracted to the field was "the chance to, kind of, have a different experience every day. You're not really sitting at a desk. You're kind of going out meeting different people and doing different things."

Likewise, participants said they enjoy meeting new people in their jobs. As one journalist put it, "I like that you get a chance to talk to people you might not normally be able to sit down and talk with them for an hour." The journalist said it is gratifying when she meets people in the community and is told that her new acquaintances follow her on Twitter or enjoy reading her tweets.

Storytelling. Tara has worked for newspapers in the past, but most recently has been working as a curator of online news. Her mode of storytelling is quite different than many of the other respondents, as she works to gather others' stories into one place. But like many journalists, the chance to tell stories was one of the attractions to the field for her. She believes that a journalist is like many other humans in enjoying an innate desire to share stories. While she thinks that being a storyteller on Twitter is difficult and "takes talent," she also believes that brevity can make a journalist a better storyteller.

Tara follows the account of a prominent Jesuit priest, Father James Martin. She noted that he once tweeted out each of the Beatitudes from Jesus's Sermon on the Mount because each of them is less than 140 characters long. "That's one of the most famous pieces of writing there is. So yeah, absolutely, conciseness will make you a better storyteller—a better writer."

I've detailed extensively in the first half of this chapter how participants were drawn to the field, partly because of their desire to share others' stories. The idea that a source would trust a reporter with their own human story, and the chance to tell diverse and meaningful news attracted many of them to the industry.

I asked some of these respondents whether they could still tell stories on Twitter, and the response was varied. Some of them believed the platform was not well suited because of the character limit. Instead, it was better to use Twitter to tease to media platforms in which the story could be better told. One journalist jokingly called Twitter a "bait and switch" to get followers to read the story in a more in-depth area on the website. Other participants, however, believed the best stories were often brief, anyway, and that there was no rule on Twitter that a journalist couldn't follow up a tweet, or connect a series of them through specific Twitter practices that allow the story to be told. The same reporter who called Twitter "bait and switch," said that a story could be told in a form as short as a haiku, so why couldn't it be told through 140 characters on Twitter? Another pointed out that a photograph could tell a story, and Twitter allows for the use of photographs. Even if that is the case, those who believed storytelling was possible on Twitter acknowledged, like Tara, that it required talent and practice.

There are ways, beyond tweeting successively, by which respondents said they can tell a story via Twitter. Noah likes to respond to his own tweets in a series. He will hit the reply button and remove his name, noting that Twitter will keep that Tweet organized with the ones to which is replying. As a result, it helps him to keep all tweets for a particular story organized topically and "chronologically."

Gatekeeper. Most respondents said they saw that their role as journalists involved alerting the public of information necessary to either participate in the community or to provide the watchdog role. They said these roles carried over to social media. Regardless of Twitter's interactive capabilities, social media in general seemed to be used mainly as reporting tools, whether in alerting the public, building sources, or getting story ideas.

Ruth described her social media preferences as, “I use Twitter to alert; I use Facebook to convert.” For Ruth, the decision to tweet boils down to a simple criterion: “Do people need to know this right now?” Even some of the journalists—particularly millennials—who started using Twitter as a social tool had since abandoned such practices and mostly use it for professional reasons, as Erin described:

> My role on Twitter used to be like entertaining and educating my friends who weren’t up on the news. But now, it’s definitely not so much entertaining as in what I am thinking, what I am doing, as it is trying to promote and share information, news, and trying to discover little things that people haven’t really seen and find tips.

Whether that information was personally gathered, or whether it was derived from other news sources (whom they were most likely to follow), journalists could then pass that information along to their own followers. Monitoring competition or even national news gave them a wealth of story tips. Some were afraid that even during our interview they may have missed something, and therefore they always have Twitter open.

Some of the more reluctant Twitter users admitted they infrequently use the platform throughout the day. A good portion of interview respondents, however, said that they constantly have Twitter—or a third-party application such as Tweetdeck—open on their screen. Being consistently aware of their Twitter feed helps participants to fulfill their gatekeeping roles because they can be sure not to miss anything. Logan follows competition to ensure he won’t be “scooped,” but he also follows national and statewide publications. Tom also follows competitors specifically to make sure they do not report something he missed. Others echoed that they, too, covered both competitive and non-competitive outlets. Following statewide, national, or international outlets helps them stay in the know of what is happening throughout the world. Curation also serves a gatekeeping function because journalists can follow agencies that tweet out information that might be of interest to a reporter's followers. One reporter said following agencies helps her be sure that she can quickly break news: "Everybody is posting information first on Twitter. Something's going on, you check hashtags."

Retweeting, the process of sharing someone else's tweets with your own followers, also serves a gatekeeping function for the participants of this study. A handful of journalists expressed interest in retweeting those things that were simply of interest to them. They may retweet members of the general public if they say something interesting, or, as Shawn said, if those people are adding to the conversation about which a journalist is tweeting. Although many of the journalists said they were hesitant to retweet their competitors, many of them say they will retweet their colleagues in an effort to promote their own news organizations' efforts. In addition to promotion, some participants said they saw retweeting as a means of filtering information that may be of use to their followers—especially information that is beat specific. Logan said he tries "to operate at the principle that maybe people follow me because they know that I follow certain things." Because he primarily writes feature articles, he said that those who follow him are likely interested in the types of articles that he writes. Ruth was hesitant to retweet information that had not come from a trusted, vetted news organization, but she also said she will occasionally share tweets that have local interest. For Rachel, a retweet is rarely a coincidence. It is a calculated decision of what her audience needs to see: "Everything I retweet has a purpose to the public. I'm not just going to retweet something that's silly or stupid. For me it has to have a purpose."

Journalistic cognizance. Logan didn't hesitate when I asked him whether he thinks about the fact that he's a journalist when he is using Twitter. "Every time. Every time I'm on Twitter, Facebook—everything I post—I'm always thinking, 'Should I post that or will it call into question my objectivity as a reporter.'" Logan's response mirrors the thoughts of a television journalist, whom I quoted earlier in this chapter, who said that she thinks about being a reporter "every time I step out of the house." Not every reporter said he or she consciously thinks about being a reporter each time he or she posts on Twitter, but several said they have an active awareness that their Twitter profiles promote their status as a reporter and that they work as a representative of their employer.

Respondents said they are aware of the meaning of their position and role as a journalist. Many are idealists, suggesting that they believe journalists a) hold the powerful accountable; b) change/save lives; c) document the history of their town or city. Javier asserted that the one of the disadvantages of interacting with the public on Twitter might be "not behaving in a way that is worthy of your calling as a journalist. You get too silly or you show your biases. I think viewers can then get an idea that maybe you don't take your job as seriously."

Participants said they understood that as journalists, they are public figures. People know who they are, even if it is only their byline (in the case of newspaper journalists). This is especially true for the respondents who were television broadcasters, who said they often meet people who recognize them because the people saw them on TV. Journalists from all media acknowledge that they recognize they represent their employer and the profession as a whole, and that their public persona is often represented in their Twitter handles or in their profiles. They know that they cannot afford to engage in unprofessional behavior. Only two of the respondents indicated that they try to balance professionalism with Twitter interactivity by having separate work and personal Twitter accounts. Instead, others said they are just "mindful of what you're doing and who you're doing it for when you're tweeting."

Advantages and disadvantages. Most of this chapter has been dedicated to answering the first research question: Identifying journalism structures that might encourage or discourage journalists from interacting with their followers on Twitter. The final section of the chapter, consisting of the final branch of the illustration in Figure 2, will attempt to answer the second research question: exploring the advantages and disadvantages do the participants see in using a platform such as Twitter to interact with followers.

Journalists clearly could see the utility in both the reporting use of Twitter and in interacting with followers. However, while they could see the utility, they also showed some resistance and skepticism—expressing some inherent disadvantages. Although there were a handful of interview subjects who did not seem to appreciate the need to use Twitter, especially for interactivity purposes, almost all of the interview subjects said they generally liked Twitter and could see the advantages. However, they could see the inherent limitations to the platform itself, using it to report, and using it to interact.

In this section, I will begin with the utility of Twitter and its interactivity, which include audience building, reader engagement, improved journalistic skills, instantaneous news, and crowdsourcing. Following that discussion, I will focus on the disadvantages that cause journalistic resistance, including platform limitations, follower incivility, motivations for becoming involved in Twitter—sometimes including forced participation—privacy, and distraction.

Utility. The utility of Twitter was pretty obvious to participants. They see the ability to build an audience that is more global, younger, and more news savvy. The instantaneous nature of the social medium allows them to focus on breaking news. Twitter also allows the journalists to show some personality and break down walls, as discussed in an earlier portion of this chapter, and such interaction also helps them to better understand the needs and interests of their audience.

Audience Building. The first time Logan recognized the potential power of Twitter, he traveled to cover a significant religious event. While covering the event, Logan decided to live tweet, and he was "blown away by the response that I got from people I didn't know." He said in a two-day period, he gained dozens of new followers on Twitter. While this influx of followers is perhaps not a lot compared to some Twitter users, it was significant for him. Since then, Logan has seen social media help him reach potential readers that would not have been available before.

> The primary thing is, we're useless if we don't have readers. We're meaningless. There's no point if we don't have people reading us. And so we need to know what they're interested in. I definitely think you can build that audience with Twitter. Like I said, it's another venue for connecting with a certain segment of the population and finding out their interests and what they want to read about.

Participants most commonly saw two significant utilities for Twitter: the ability to break news quickly, and the ability reach new audiences. Although many participants were unclear whether Twitter use was likely to build traffic to their organizations' websites, many of them believed Twitter could drive potential readers to a particular story. Participants said they believe the ability to build an audience on Twitter extends beyond their typical coverage or broadcast area, expanding to a potentially global audience. Several participants also believed that promoting their work via social media had a chance to attract a younger audience.

Some of the participants, especially those who had a relatively older audience, believed Twitter's younger target audience might be part of the reason they do not receive as much interaction on Twitter. However, the reporter's newfound ability to build an audience extends beyond a younger audience to one that is more news savvy. "Those people tend to be more influential or more connected than the average person," Brock said.

Much of the audience-building opportunities participants reaped by using Twitter centered on their having tweeted out their own stories to a "much wider, bigger net." Some of the respondents said they also recognized the potential for Twitter to build audience through interactivity. Shawn said he believed that Twitter users wanted engagement and if they knew a journalist would interact, they may be more likely to share stories. Conversely, Austin said being on the receiving end of an interaction with followers can be gratifying in building a connection for the journalist. "Twitter's so large, and there's so many voices that I do think it does feel good . . . I think other people would agree, it is nice when you sort of get plucked out of obscurity by somebody who saw something you threw out into a cacophony of voices."

In general, Shawn said, getting a story out on Twitter is vital because it has become "the new paper route" in story delivery, especially because of an unbundling that has happened with readers who are less likely to read everything in "package" form from a newspaper. "People don't do that anymore. Stories are independent. People get their news from all different sources, and so social media is the outlet by which you deliver it now." Rachel believed that interaction on social media could build loyalty.

> I've noticed that people do attach through social media. Whether it's Facebook, Instagram, or Twitter. I have certain followers who constantly respond to me, and tweet me, and I love that. For me, it's a little bit different because I am a TV journalist. I need that interaction from them. We need people to feel like they know us and will want to watch us. If their platform of communicating with us and connecting with us is through social media, then it's our responsibility to be on social media.

Sarah believes that Twitter's younger audience provides a reporter with an opportunity to connect with a younger segment of viewers. "It's kind of a cool way to interact with this new generation of folks that, if you called them, they wouldn't pick up the phone, but if you tweet or text them they'll respond immediately," Sarah said. "They're too busy to actually talk on the phone, and if it's a voicemail, I don't have time to listen to it, but if you tweet or text them, then they write back."

Brock sees definite utility in building a younger audience through Twitter, especially because he works on a beat where he covers education. Although he doesn't expect the teenagers whom he covers to retweet him because "I think it's pretty not cool to retweet journalists," he does get interactions from them through direct messages, email, and phone calls. Brock's presence on Twitter gives him an opportunity to find story ideas and sources because interacting on Twitter is such a common behavior for teenagers. "I'm not going to kid myself that a 16-year-old kid is reading the newspaper very often—or even the website—but if we're out there where they live, on Twitter, that will often provide leads."

Interacting with followers on Twitter allows journalists to sidestep public relations personnel, instead allowing them to contact sources directly. A reporter for a wire service said she often will send direct messages on Twitter to save her the time and delay of waiting for a return phone call. "They [direct message] me within five seconds because people are on their phones all the time."

In addition to reaching and building a larger audience, Twitter interaction also allows journalists to act on personal connections that they might make with their followers and understand what their readers or viewers really are interested in. "It's always good to know what your audience is interested in," Logan said. "Because, to an extent, we do stories that we feel are important, that . . . other people need to know about it. But at the same time, the primary thing is we're useless if we don't have readers."

Better journalist. While working on a graduate degree, Garrett interned at a major metropolitan newspaper. He was assigned to write an article about local veterans who faced difficulty finding jobs. Garrett reached out to a friend who told him of certain groups on Twitter that tweeted about veterans' issues. Garrett sought out these lists, while also tweeting from his personal account and his publication's official feed, asking for referrals to find veterans who were struggling to find a job. As a result, Garrett found the sources that he sought. Crowdsourcing through Twitter helped make his story better.

Participants were split on the necessity of Twitter for modern news professionals, and, likewise, could not come to a consensus on whether the use of Twitter improved their journalistic endeavors. Tom, for example, called Twitter literacy a "have-to," while Austin indicated Twitter was "nice to have" but that journalists could do their job without it. However, some respondents did see ways in which Twitter use, and interactivity, could make them a better journalist. Twitter interactivity had the potential to offer crowdsourcing opportunities and news tips, and the brevity of the medium's character limit could, in essence, make them better writers.

With the emphasis employers are putting on social media use, Brock has a hard time understanding why some journalists resist Twitter use. “I have sat in training sessions before where the next job everybody gets, how good you are in social media is going to impact that. And there are people who just don’t want to hear that and want to stick their fingers in their ears.” Brock and a coworker previously worked together at a newspaper where the editor was vehemently “hostile” toward social media. Both Brock and the coworker had to covertly work on building a social media presence, but both of them were eventually picked up by a larger newspaper chain. “Some publications, they sort of mean it. But in my experience, they mean it more and more, and they’re pretty serious about it now.”

Participants mostly agreed that if they could make crowdsourcing work through social media—and some of them expressed disappointment in their results—that it would be a major addition to their skill set. Some reporters, especially those from TV stations or markets with older demographics, indicated they had more success in crowdsourcing through Facebook rather than Twitter. But some of the journalists genuinely embraced Twitter crowdsourcing. One reporter said Twitter enabled journalists to have “boots on the ground” anywhere. Tom agreed, saying that one of the most powerful forces of Twitter interaction is that “everybody is a source, in a way.”

> I’ll be totally honest with you. People that I only know . . . from interacting on Twitter—I’ve never seen them face-to-face, I’ve never talked to them live—have given me tips that turn into legitimate news stories—have been on the money. It’s like having an extra set of eyes and ears and just in different places that I couldn’t be.

Respondents said that Twitter interaction can improve stories by helping journalists find and interview the friends and relatives of those people who are directly affected by the news. Matt said that a reporter covering a car accident can reach out for the truth via social media, asking to find out names, details, or contact information for those who are affected, allowing a journalist "to be able to talk to people who really know, and we can find them via social media, and then we use that to talk to them in the real world." For Noah, reaching out via social media interaction and crowdsourcing makes his journalism better in another way, allowing him to recognize "diverse points of view."

Several participants said the short bursts of Twitter interaction can make a journalist a better reporter because of concision. Twitter also allows journalists to get information from public relations professionals in a condensed form, Daniel said. Daniel also said that Twitter's condensed form of communicating can improve a journalist's own writing. "I think it makes you stronger. I think it makes you a better headline writer. I think it makes you a better everything." Similarly, Alex compared effective tweets to a good news lead, while Owen compared the skills of concise reporting that journalists develop over Twitter interaction to a traditional reporter's ability to create a nut graph—a concise paragraph journalists often use to sum up many key parts of a story. Using Twitter and its concision can also benefit a reporter in his or her offline reporting, Owen said. "That'll teach you how to write shorter and sometimes punchier."

As a broadcast reporter used to summing up information in short time windows, Lisa said she is "always kind of trying to boil down a story," anyway. Twitter, however, forces her to avoid the extravagance of extra words, and as such, she believes it can help her in her broadcast reporting. "It makes you stop sometimes and think about what you're saying, and that's, I think, always a good process." Rachel, another broadcast reporter, agreed, saying that Twitter has "made me get to the point quicker. You get the information out that you specifically need to get out, and you don't waste time on the other stuff."

Instant news. Javier admits that he did not originally understand the power Twitter could have. Javier started his Twitter account out of curiosity. At the time, he felt Twitter was full of banal details about people's lives and didn't seem to have much utility for a journalist. When Michael Jackson died, however, Javier's opinion of Twitter changed quickly. He saw the story before many of his colleagues, and realized that he was learning the news before it was covered on major legacy news outlets. The instant realization that "Holy crud, the King of Pop has died," showed Javier the potential power of an instant news platform.

Garrett had a similar realization. While working in his first job out of college, Garrett was covering a local professional sports team. During this time period, a former player—who had an established legacy with the franchise—became disenchanted with the team's ownership. One evening, the player attended a game in person, and Garrett mentioned that members of the media could feel the tension. While in the media room, the local journalists observed the player and the owner walking into a side room, where they began arguing with each other. Garrett could not hear the argument, but as he and other reporters tweeted about the situation, he began to see a spike in interactions from his followers.

In both of these cases, the journalists' realization of the power of Twitter came from breaking news, although with Javier the experience involved consuming news, and with Garrett it involved reporting and interacting with followers. Both experiences pinpoint Twitter's increased focus on the alerting role of the journalist. Participants in this study indicated their preference of using Twitter mostly as a reporting tool, rather than an interactive network, by the fact that for most of them, the greatest utility of Twitter was its ability to deliver the news quickly. Breaking news and the alert function is what Twitter was "made for," according to a television reporter.

Most participants recognized the utility of live tweeting. Knowing that they can share what they are "seeing" when they are "close to the scene" has allowed reporters to be able to share a story as it develops, particularly new territory for print reporters—who are used to a slower new cycle. The journalists I interviewed said they use Twitter primarily for breaking news, whether it is news that they are reporting or news that they are consuming.

Some respondents said they tend to focus exclusively on the alerting and not on the medium's participatory nature. One exception was Ben, who was working in his first position out of college. As a sports reporter, he broke important news about a football coach who worked for the school he covered as his primary beat. The coach left the team to return to a previous job, which made news on a larger level than Ben's community newspaper. The original tip came from one of his social media followers. Ben recalls beginning a hashtag as he covered the story on Twitter, allowing other reporters, and followers, to join the conversation. While the story and the hashtag did not become trending topics, Ben recalls gaining a couple hundred new followers that day—a particularly large number at a community newspaper.

Respondents said the instantaneous nature of Twitter also allows them to cover a story as it develops, coverage which could also prove interactive. Javier said he will often show up at a news event, such as a house fire, and will tweet pictures and his observations as they come. “I’ll tweet out, ‘Hey, I just got to this. Strong smell of smoke. Lot of flames coming out of the windows right now. Working to get more information.’” As he shares many of these “nuggets” of information, he is able to tell his readers that they are not yet receiving a complete story but that he is doing his best to gather it. Later in his interview, however, Javier indicated that another major utility of the instantaneous nature of Twitter is “real-time clarification,” in which he can engage in some sort of interaction. “There have been moments when I’ve been tweeted during the day or in the middle of a broadcast or right after a broadcast because somebody saw or said something, and they had a question or didn’t think what I said was accurate.”

The danger in pushing for instant news is the possibility of tweeting out incorrect information. Lisa said to guard against misinformation on Twitter, reporters have to be clear that news is developing. “It’s hard because the straight journalism rules that you kind of learn and go out doing is that, well, I don’t know anything, so I don’t know if I should be reporting it. I think you have to be careful that you’re not giving the wrong impression.”

Limitations. While most of the journalists said they saw the value in engagement with their readers, and several of them said they check their interactions on a daily basis, few of them said they actively seek out interaction with others on Twitter. Daniel, a social media editor who adamantly expresses that journalists need to interact with their followers, is an exception. He actively seeks out hashtags in which he is interested and responds to questions people might have. For example, Daniel is a big fan of the iPhone, and he will often search related hashtags to begin discussions. But Daniel was the only reporter who said he does so. Although some journalists do follow Twitter for their own interests, and many of them like to engage readers and interact, most indicated that it was a reporting tool for them—and most of the engagement they cited involved newsgathering or commenting on the news. Several reporters even said they still see resistance from their colleagues toward Twitter use in general.

The preceding section of this chapter explored half of the second research question, namely examining the advantages and utility of Twitter interaction and how it facilitates journalistic work. Participants generally liked Twitter, but they saw some inherent problems with it—especially as it pertained to interaction with followers. Partly because of various limitations, such as small audiences, limited follower engagement, incivility, privacy concerns, and distractions, participants generally have limited interaction with their followers. These disadvantages are explored in depth throughout next section of this chapter.

Limits. Logan believes that loyalty is the foremost expectation he has of his audience. He hopes that social media interaction could help him build that loyalty. Personally, he is a bigger fan of Instagram use. He believes that his audience is more present on Facebook, but he does believe that Twitter is useful in reaching potential readers. However, while he tries to interact with those who reach out to him, he doesn't receive many interactions—sometimes only "a few a week." Logan believes readership demographics may be at least partially responsible for a perceived lack of interest. His community of readers skews older, and therefore he said readers are also more likely to be on Facebook if they are at all active on social media. Twitter is "not as big in my area among readers as I think we pretend that it is."

Logan is not alone in perceiving such limitations. As a business reporter, Garrett sees similar patterns: Those of his readers who are on social media are also more likely to be on Facebook. Some reporters said they had seen their colleagues who covered beats with passionate followings, such as sports or politics, having success, while their own beats had limited interaction. Several television news reporters expressed a concern that their audience is more likely to engage in platforms other than Twitter. Lisa, expressed concern that the constantly changing atmosphere of social media might make a specific platform irrelevant in the future.

> I don't know if that's going to be the platform that really is going to be popular with viewers a year or two down the road . . . You kind of worry that you are throwing all your eggs in one basket, and it might not be worth your time down the line. But right now, I think it's the best tool for us out there.

For some of the participants, what is most concerning about the continued emphasis on Twitter is that employers or journalists are sacrificing time that could be devoted to larger print and television audiences. While Twitter affords new opportunities for growth, sometimes on a global scale, a social media following is not necessarily representative of a reporter's audience. "It's not a substitute for the public," Owen said. "The people who show up on Twitter are not necessarily the people who show up at city council meetings. I just think you can sometimes forget that Twitter is not just general society." One television reporter said many of her followers are from a city where she previously worked. When she covers news or interacts with those in her current city, her tweets might not be as relevant for the former viewers, and vice versa.

In addition to not being representative, many participants' Twitter followings are also much smaller than legacy audiences. Noah has fewer than 2,000 Twitter followers.

The newspaper he worked for until recently has a circulation of more than 100,000 subscribers. “It can feel like you’re getting a lot of good feedback, when in reality you’re not actually reaching that huge of an audience.” For Sarah, the difference is even more pronounced. She has several thousand followers, but she works for a radio station that can reach potentially “half a million listeners out there.”

Many participants also have seen limited engagement and interaction from their sources. Some have attempted crowdsourcing projects in the past but have seen little response—a fact that some respondents attribute to their small numbers of followers. Those who boasted large numbers of followers did seem to indicate they have more interactions than those who do not. David, for example, notes that he has just more than 2,000 followers, and he expects that may explain why he has not had much luck crowdsourcing through Twittter. “I just don’t get that many people that will tweet me a question or a response.” Brock works for a news operation in a major market area, but he only has approximately 1,000 followers. With so few followers, Brock said participatory newsgathering, such as crowdsourcing, is difficult. “If you’re the *New York Times* and you have 100,000 followers, yeah, you can crowdsource. If you’re a regional reporter, which is most of us, that’s really a lot harder.”

While acknowledging the potential of reaching new readers and driving traffic to their websites, many journalists believe it is unclear how much traffic they are really generating for their news organization through Twitter interaction. Sarah noted that her news organization placed major emphasis on promoting stories through Twitter during the layoffs that followed the 2008 recession. She notes that she felt she was already “working as hard as I can, and now you’re telling me to tweet as well,” while not clearly indicating “the numbers that say if I tweet this many times, our internship will go up and we’ll get money.” As an editor who embraces advanced traffic numbers, Matt has not seen that Twitter significantly impacts traffic to his website.

> I can mathematically tell you that Twitter does nothing for us. It’s not done anything for every other site I’ve done. Facebook can push big numbers. None of them can push numbers the way Google can, though. I feel that Twitter is really great at telling you what’s happening right now. But it’s not going to get somebody to click through on that story to read your story.

Participants also felt the Twitter platform was limited in its lack of complexity. The character limit especially imposed limits on the amount of depth. “It has to be very telegraphic, very staccato sort of work,” Andrew said. In addition to placing limits on reporting complex thoughts, some participants felt the character limit made Twitter interaction a flawed practice. Some of them felt as though Twitter was a good place to begin an interactive discussion, but it was not conducive to longer conversations. “Take it to email,” Owen said, “if the conversation is not valuable to the public—the wider audience.”

Incivility. Matt has long championed reader interaction, particularly through reader comments on news articles. But recent trends of trolling and incivility have caused him to rethink his position. Perhaps in part because of Internet anonymity, the discussion that he thought “could be free and thoughtful” has instead turned ugly.

> If we have a 9-year-old Hispanic kid die in a car accident, the very first thing I have to say is, ‘Turn the comments off. This is a human, and people are hurting because this person died, and I’m going to read about how their mom and dad got here illegally and it’s good that they’re dead? There’s no part of that that feels civilized to me.

Matt notes that in no way does his or any other newspaper have the resources to continually monitor such uncivil comments. With Facebook and Twitter, however, he sees a platform that can, to some extent, be self-policing. Commenters might be less likely lack civility if their friends and followers know who they are when they post, and other Twitter users can "take over and beat the dog crap out of them."

> To me, Twitter and Facebook are just a much more interesting place for that discussion to happen. I have a finite amount of resources, and now I don't have to figure out how do I make sure that somebody doesn't say it's a good thing that that 9-year-old kid is dead.

What Matt does acknowledge, however, is that just because he no longer has to host the discussion on his site—and moderate it—does not mean that incivility does not happen at all. He acknowledges that posters on Twitter will also do malicious things, sometimes directed at reporters. "The next thing you know, somebody says, 'You know what, those people were posting my home address, and I'm done with Twitter. It's not a safe place, dude . . . It's a landmine, and at some point you get tired of stepping on dog poop."

Participants indicated that this lack of privacy and safety might account for some of their reticence to interact on Twitter. Followers say negative things about respondents' reporting, might call reporters names, and can sometimes be "hateful." Shawn remembers one of the first times he saw the negative side of Twitter interaction. While in college, a university affiliated with his passed a new rule that expanded the school's dress code. Shawn wrote a story and shared it over Twitter. He was criticized from angry readers who "thought it was making the university look bad. That was kind like the first time people were being mean to me on Twitter." Shawn indicated that experience is dwarfed by what happens now that he is a professional reporter, but it was interesting at the time to have people "yelling" at him. While he genuinely likes to interact with his Twitter followers, one social media editor indicated that Twitter interaction can devolve—especially if journalists do not handle the criticism well. “People are going to complain about you. They are going to insult you. They are going to say things about your writing that you don’t like, and how you respond means everything.” Journalists indicated that they were not only frustrated with the incivility, but it was possible that through interaction they might react in an unprofessional manner. “You see every three weeks or so there’s some kind of blow up where a reporter was a real a------,” Owen said. “And Twitter doesn’t prevent you from being an a------.”

Journalists interviewed for this study said they at least have some measure of control over uncivil responses. Some said they will block abusive followers, and what they see on their main feed is limited to those whom they follow. “I can get chewed out by my wife or my boss,” one reporter said. “I don’t have to have somebody that I don’t even know kind of ruining my day.” Participants indicated that interactions can spiral into arguments, especially when followers want to fight. One reporter indicated that in addition to anonymity, such arguments could develop because of the instantaneous nature and convenience of the medium.

> It’s just an instant way to kind of get back at people. You no longer have to look up a phone number or call the person back and then you’re actually thinking about it . . . You can just reply, hit post, and then you think about it later. As I read through my Twitter feed, sometimes I do say to myself, “I wonder if this person actually thought about what they were saying before they posted it?”

Participants said incivility is not always limited to followers. Andrew said he often sees Twitter wars developing between journalists. Participants indicated that they believed the fear of such arguments with sources, followers, or other journalists might limit some of their colleagues’ desires to get involved with social media. Andrew, mentioned that it can also be awkward when he witnesses arguments online. "You feel like it's these two people having this private argument, but they're doing it in public. Because it's like, 'Wait a minute, could you guys just take this offline somewhere? Because we don't need to be privy to this."

Some of the incivility of Twitter also makes some of the journalists interviewed for this study reluctant to share information about their personal lives. Although many participants saw that having personality and allowing readers to get to know them can be a major advantage to interaction, others expressed privacy concerns of oversharing. Lisa, for example, realizes that as a TV journalist, she has "a job that is in the public eye." Yet Twitter's frontier-style lack of "really any rules" causes her to use caution in what she can share: "For me, finding that balance that I was comfortable with, that I can share these things but I'm not giving too much of my life away to the audience, I think that was another thing that took me a little bit to figure out." To Lisa, these changes are "jarring." She expects that those who train to become journalists in a social media environment might be more used to it, "but for those of us who were doing the job sort of in a vacuum before, it's a little intimidating to say, 'OK, now let's hear what everybody thinks.'"

In the end, respondents say it is essential to find balance in their Twitter interactions with what they feel safe to share. Brock, for example, is nervous about using Twitter to share information about his children. "I've done stuff that makes people mad . . . I don't think anyone's ever going to threaten my children, but I also don't want to put them in a situation where I have to worry about that question." Andrew offered that adding personal details to Twitter interactions can be beneficial as long as it is something that doesn't seem identifiable. For example, he might share about interesting people that he meets or troubles with his bus commute. "I don't have a book of hard and fast rules about it, it's just sort of like my own internal sensibility of what I'm comfortable with."

Motivations for involvement. Rachel remembers why she became involved with Twitter: Her husband first recommended it to her. Rachel said her husband's involvement with social media clued him in to the medium's potential to be of great use to a journalist. At the time, he was using Twitter mostly to keep up with sports and music. After his recommendation, Rachel began to pay attention to the news on Twitter. "I was probably one of the first in this market to really jump on Twitter and start using that as an avenue for news. And once I got into it, that's the first place I would go to look for news." David, on the other hand, began his Twitter account for a much simpler reason: "My editors told me to join Twitter."

While most participants either liked Twitter or could at least see its value, not all of them recognized its value at first. Some of them still indicated, somewhat jokingly, that they still hadn't figured out the point or utility of Twitter. "As journalists we're very busy," Ruth said. "And there's multiple platforms that we're already reporting to in our news organization. It is another platform, and the other thing that concerns me is you've got to get things in the 140 characters, and so sometimes that can take up a lot of extra brainpower." Lisa, who had expressed serious reservations about balancing Twitter and privacy issues, said although she felt Twitter was "beneficial," she admitted "I would be lying if I didn't say there were times I wish we could go back to the pre-Twitter world." For one thing, Twitter and competition causes some "second guessing" from her management.

> Now, I think managers and other people at the station can call you up in the middle of your workday and say these people are talking to that person. How come you're not? . . . I just wish that I could do my job and not have to worry about everybody else.

Some of the interview participants came to it reluctantly because of requirements from management, while others did it because they could see if they wanted to advance their career, they would need it. Few respondents said they started Twitter accounts for personal, non-journalism reasons—and most of those who did were millennials. Some of these millenials began their Twitter participation as a requirement for classes. Only a handful said they used Twitter, in the beginning, for social interaction, and since that time even those millennials have begun to strictly use it for professional reasons and as a reporting tool.

Those who were already in the field also had varied reasons they became involved in Twitter. Daniel, for example, became involved with Twitter before his managers or others in his organization. He created all of the official accounts for the newspaper. Brock was always interested in new platforms and digital media, so he became involved quickly and of his own volition—despite backlash from management. Javier, a millennial, laughs as he recalls that when he first arrived at a news station in a previous market, his station managers automatically assumed that because he saw value in social media that he was an expert.

Tom had colleagues or editors who suggested that Twitter had great potential for journalists, and they became involved early on. Still others were more reluctant, coming to it later than fellow staffers or only because management required it of them. Alex, for example, waited until 2011 to begin his Twitter account. Of the participants of my study who had worked in journalism before social media, Alex perhaps took the longest to become involved in Twitter—mostly because he saw little value in a platform that he believed mostly involved arguing and incivility, a stance he has completely changed since discovering he liked social media.

Distraction. Tom tweets a lot. He started his Twitter account in the medium's early days, and has since reached nearly 20,000 tweets. He sees great value in Twitter and notes how the Internet in general has changed his job, a fact with which he seems content. Twitter is a necessity for him, and he does not seem to be frustrated by that. But Tom is a sports reporter, and he covers a beat about which his followers can be passionate. He also has more than 12,000 followers on Twitter. He tries to respond to followers when he can, but he is clear that sometimes the need to respond can prove overwhelming. When he does try to crowdsource or poll his followers, he knows that his feed is about to "just be flooded." He likes interaction, but he knows that he just does not have the time to respond to them all.

> I try to respond as much as I can on Twitter when I am asked questions. It does get very overwhelming, so I can't say I'm great at it. If I just spend all day answering questions and looking up my notifications and mentions on Twitter, I would spend all day doing that. I wouldn't get any reporting done.

Some participants indicated that they are paid to report the news for their news organization, not necessarily to interact on Twitter. With layoffs haunting the industry since 2008, some of the interview subjects already felt overworked, and tweeting and interacting has become just another thing in a busy schedule for them. "I think, in the beginning, it felt more like an obligation adding another thing that became a job requirement," Lisa said. "Now I'm going and doing my story, I'm posting things to the

Web, and now I'm also having to tweet while I'm doing it. So [in the beginning] in felt more of an obligation than anything else."

Respondents said tweeting can also take away from their personal time, and Sarah, who has children, said she has to be careful not to become so involved in social media that it takes away from her time with them. For Tom, interaction on Twitter can spin out of control when "you can kind of go down a rabbit hole with people where there's a lot of back and forth arguing and just wasting time." Natalie said sometimes when she is working on deadline, followers want to continue interacting with her—but she simply doesn't have time for it. "Sometimes you do have the people who want to fight or they just want to constantly comment, and it's like, 'Hey dude, I'm on deadline. I can't sit here and have a long conversation with you.'"

Shawn finds himself constantly on Twitter, checking it in the morning and having Tweetdeck open at work. "The only time I ever close Tweetdeck is if I'm on deadline, and I'm getting easily distracted. And even then, I feel blind without it." However, checking Twitter constantly can prove a distraction for him, especially in the morning when he clicks on links to read the news of the day. As a result, he said he is more of a "lurker" on Twitter than someone who is heavily involved in engagement. "It's just so much to go through. If I start responding to things, then, you know, I would just like lose myself." Daniel, however, argues that those journalists who use Twitter "correctly" will find that it doesn't slow their reporting efforts. For example, he suggests using third-party applications, such as Tweetdeck, that allow users to sort their feed into manageable columns and can help them make sense of the many voices.

Logan said although he tries to use Twitter for work-related reasons, he finds his own interests sometimes snag his attention, and he finds himself "reading about superheroes" as much as he does news. Tom is afraid that distraction of even engaging in live reporting on Twitter can sometimes cause him to miss important news that he needs to follow. As a sports reporter, he is expected to tweet at games. "I'll freely admit it that there will be times when I've been tweeting something, live tweeting during a game, and I'll miss a play or I'll miss something because I've been tweeting about the previous play. That's a hard balance to learn—when you should be tweeting and when you should be watching or listening."

Perhaps the best analogy of how quickly Twitter moves came from Andrew, who called a tweet "water dripping out of a out of a faucet into the bucket." Although he used that analogy, not to describe distraction, but how constant Twitter use can eventually fill that bucket and build a personal brand, one can use his analogy to see how overwhelming Twitter might be for some journalists. Natalie said keeping up with Twitter could be daunting. "I know there's tons of things on Twitter that I miss because you would have to sit there every second of your life reading your Twitter feed."

Respondents indicated they may hesitate to follow their audience members or followers on Twitter because doing so could fill their feed with useless and irrelevant information. Irrelevant information may crowd out news and their own interests. "I try to be really selective," Logan said, "because it's easy for me to get overwhelmed in just scrolling through just post after post. If somebody posts too much, I might drop them because, unless it's really relevant to what I need to learn, I just don't have time to sift through all those posts." While Twitter's lists, which allow users to sort people into groups based on the subject, has helped them avoid the cacophony of voices, some of them expressed "I don't like to get [my feed] clogged up with information I don't need."

In the end, Twitter and interaction requires a fine balance between many traditional journalism rules and resources. The next chapter of this dissertation will explore which structures encourage or discourage participation, how they relate to Giddens' structuration theory, and how this research fits with previous research on journalists, participatory journalism, and Twitter. In addition, I will present three additional models, including one that will address the final research question: Whether social media practices may weaken or strengthen walls between journalists and the public.

Chapter 5

Discussion

This dissertation filled a research hole by using qualitative, in-depth interviews to examine journalists' Twitter interactivity through the lens of Giddens' (1984) structuration theory. I identified traditional journalism rules (Figure 1)—such as professionalism, transparency, and accuracy—and resources—such as motivations, learning, roles, and routines—that journalists identified in their newsgathering. I also identified which of these practices journalists say carry over to Twitter (Figure 2). The results suggest that although journalists do see theoretical advantages to engagement, a lack of tangible evidence may combine with long-established norms to discourage involvement with their followers.

Journalists especially put emphasis on translating the norms of objectivity and verification to social media, but they also believed that the quality of their work should carry over to the 140-character world of Twitter. Interview respondents said they should also act in a professional manner by being civil and polite to their Twitter followers. I also identified structures that proved to provide advantages—such as wall breaking, personality, and feedback—and disadvantages—such as practices that conflict with journalists' roles and aspirations as well as their cognizance to their role as journalists.

This dissertation presents two models to examine both the dualities present in journalists' Twitter use (Figure 3), as well as a cognitive dissonance journalists feel toward structures that encourage or discourage Twitter interactivity (Figure 4). In addition, the dissertation offers a third model (Figure 5), in an attempt to ascertain structural walls that continue to block journalists' engagement on social media.

In the first two models, I identified practices that are reified through Twitter use, such as storytelling, the gatekeeper and watchdog identities, objectivity, sourcing, professionalism, and a propensity to learn by experience.

Respondents also showed conflict between the platform's utility in building an audience, gathering information, and providing transparency and community; and the limits of the platform, such as the conflict between their roles and aspirations in the field, traditional journalism ethics, a limited audience, and the incivility that can often be bred in an anonymous form.

In the end, most of the journalists I interviewed had positive feelings in general toward Twitter interactivity. They could see its benefits, even as they didn't always engage with their followers. Twitter is a thriving community in which they can continue to build a brand, one that is perhaps more transparent and participatory. However, scholars argue that journalists do not always follow through on social media engagement (Deprez et al., 2013). As a result, though there are more participatory elements involved in social journalism, it is possible that the news field remains, as Gillmor (2004) termed it, a "lecture."

Having established the journalistic structures that carry over to Twitter, as well as the advantages and disadvantages journalists see in using Twitter to interact with their readers, my discussion now turns to how these findings relate to Giddens' structuration theory. Giddens (1984) defined structuration theory as a system of behavior in which human beings make agentic choices by drawing upon known patterns of behavior,

Giddens (1984) defines these patterns as structures, composed as rules—precepts that govern behavior—and resources—material and nonmaterial properties human beings can use to guide compliance with rule structures (Poole & McPhee, 2004). By drawing upon these structures, Giddens argued that humans also reinforce these patterns, strengthening them by routinizing them (Scott et al., 1998).

The first section of this chapter discusses what respondents cited as the structures of news production and how they carry over to journalists' Twitter use (figs. 1 and 2). The discussion then examines how the presence of many of these structures on both newsgathering and Twitter practices represent an illustration of the duality of structure—reinforcing traditional practices through Twitter use. Next, this chapter examines the structures apparent in the advantages and disadvantages journalists see to Twitter interaction, specifically how my interview subjects expressed a level of cognitive dissonance in seeing the advantages of interactivity while still failing to engage in it. Finally, the discussion will turn to the third research question. As one respondent claimed that Twitter had the potential to "break down" walls between journalists and the public, I attempted to identify walls that continue to block interactivity, as well as those that have been breached by social media.

It is useful to describe how the journalists interviewed in this study use Twitter, and how their practices fit in with previous research. It was clear from respondents' descriptions of their Twitter practices that they mostly use it as a reporting, not a social networking, tool. Such a finding is consistent with much of the previous literature on journalists and Twitter use (Reed, 2012; Deprez et al., 2013; Kian & Murray, 2014; Verwij, 2012).

While most of the journalists who were interviewed generally liked using Twitter, a few were not fond of their newfound professional social media responsibilities and mostly said they were involved because management required it or because they knew they had to use social media in order to advance their own careers. The journalists whom I interviewed mostly used Twitter to alert followers of breaking news, promote their own work, or monitor the work of local competitors or national media for story tips. Again, these practices are consistent with previous studies (Lariscy et al., 2009; Schultz & Sheffer, 2010; Parmelee, 2013). Though the journalists I interviewed reported seeing some distinct advantages to interacting with their Twitter followers, they do not directly engage much with anyone but other journalists. Indeed, it would appear conflict exists between the structures that encourage and those that discourage interaction.

However, the interview respondents did make note of some interactive practices that are also consistent with previous literature. As with previous studies, my interview subjects often retweet other news organizations (Russell, 2015), use Twitter to provide transparency (Lasorsa, 2012; Posetti, 2010), and to clearly identify themselves as reporters in their profiles (Cozma & Chen, 2013). Similar to other studies, my interview subjects also mentioned using Twitter as a means to express humor (Holton & Lewis, 2011), some measure of opinion or commentary (Lasorsa, 2012), and to follow sources (Parmelee, 2013).

Rules

The first research question asked which journalism structures may encourage or discourage journalists from interacting with audience members through Twitter. The standard rule structures identified from analysis of the interviews can be found in Figure 1. Respondents generally said "all" of the professionalism and the ethics of the trade carry over to Twitter, but those to be discussed here can be found in Figure 2.

The two most commonly cited rules of journalism production cited by interview respondents were objectivity and accuracy. Perhaps the prevalence of these two primary journalism structures is unsurprising, considering they are among the ethics that have been adopted by the industry at large, especially in the Code of Ethics of the Society of Professional Journalists.

As the literature suggests (Deuze, 2005; Kovach & Rosenstiel, 2007; Schudson, 2001), objectivity is a key rule that scholars have identified in connection with the production of good journalism (Schudson, 2001), and it is an ethical standard for American journalists—one that interview respondents for this project continually referenced. When I asked participants what the rules of good journalism were, almost all of the respondents mentioned some form of objectivity. Although qualitative researchers generally avoid quantitative measures, it should be mentioned that objectivity was by far the most referenced code in my data. Perhaps this general prevalence indicates that objectivity is the primary rule journalists consider when conducting their journalistic work. Twitter interaction perhaps presented a major challenge to the standard of objectivity. In an atmosphere where journalists may be asked questions directly by their audience, and where they might be asked to display some humor or personality, journalists talked about measures they must take to ensure that Twitter interaction does not betray their biases.

Second, journalists cited the need to tell the best version of the truth they could find. They knew that their credibility depended on providing accurate information. As I mentioned before, while objectivity was the most commonly cited structure by interview respondents, accuracy was by far the structure about which they were most adamant.

Journalists I interviewed realized they had no credibility if they did not have the loyalty of their readers, and accuracy was drilled into them during the early stages of their careers. Providing accurate information meant seeking out facts, double-checking information with a variety of sources, and providing attribution to the appropriate sources. Having established accuracy as a traditional structure of journalism, interview respondents said the speed and timeliness of Twitter made it ideal as a reporting tool, but the speed of the network makes it difficult for them to verify information. In that context, one could see how the instantaneous nature of Twitter may discourage interactivity. Journalists would likely be reticent to retweet or respond to information that they were not sure they could trust. According to almost all of the journalists I interviewed, speed is not as important as getting the facts correct. Some of the journalists stated they believed it was important to continue to attribute information online, even if it becomes difficult to do so with the medium's character limits.

Finally, respondents said they believed in transparency—they knew that they had to represent themselves in a way that did not harm their credibility or embarrass an employer. They believed that they should be open about their intentions and who they are. Many respondents mentioned that their employment status with a news organization was prominently displayed on their Twitter profile. Such a finding is consistent with other research (Cozma & Chen, 2013). Because of the need to represent their employer and the fact that they are public figures with an important societal role (Deuze, 2005), respondents said that they are aware of the fact that they must be civil, professional, and representative of their employer's interests when tweeting. One could surmise their journalistic cognizance can make discussion with readers or viewers—many of whom often abandon civility—difficult.

Resources

Giddens' (1984) structuration theory includes structures defined as rules and resources upon which people draw when making decisions on how to act. While rules are precepts that govern behavior and the rewards and consequences for adherence to proper conduct, resources are material and nonmaterial assets upon which agents can rely in order to carry out an action. Therefore, in order identify structures that might encourage or discourage journalists from interacting with audience members online, I needed to identify readily identifiable resources—both material and nonmaterial—that my participants believed facilitated their newsgathering.

While these material resources may include such things as compensation or technology, the result of this research identified mostly nonmaterial resources that journalists draw upon in order to successfully complete their work. Many of these resources carried over into their Twitter use, suggesting that journalists use the platform mostly in the same ways they have conducted previous newsgathering efforts.

Analysis identified four categories of nonmaterial resources under which other categories could be linked (see Figure 1). Respondents listed their motivations for becoming involved in journalism, the methods by which they gained an understanding of the journalism process, the roles they believe they fill in society, and the expectations they have for how the newsgathering process works. Among the motivations for becoming journalists, respondents mentioned a desire to tell stories, their penchant for writing, their desire to know what is happening, wanting to meet people, and hoping for a job that provides variety.

Secondly, the journalists interviewed for this dissertation had different sources of knowledge when it came to learning about the field. Although they believed they could gain important basic knowledge, such as elementary story construction, and an understanding of legal processes in a classroom, almost all of the respondents believed that the finer points of journalism were best learned through experience. Such feelings carried over to their use of Twitter, where few of the participants received formal training. Most said they learned how to use it by observing other journalists' actions on the platform or through personal experimentation.

A third resource upon which respondents draw in both news construction and social media use is the roles they see that they fulfill for society. Journalists identified gatekeeping roles of providing information, idealistic watchdog roles of holding powerful institutions accountable and saving and protecting lives, community-building roles of providing historical documentation, and entertainer roles of storytelling. Many of those roles carried over to Twitter. The social network was used mostly as a reporting tool, specifically in alerting followers to breaking news; seeking out information for stories; curating information to share; following officials, sources, or agencies; and promoting their own work.

Finally, respondents indicated they draw upon established sourcing practices. While many of these resources have been explored in depth through previous research (Gans, 1979, 2004, 2004; Sigal, 1973), it is instructive to establish them here and see how or whether journalists consider them as they engage with the new frontier of digital journalism. The connection with how these structures carry over into Twitter, namely how they work with the duality of structure, is what sets this research apart from other studies. Respondents' following practices exhibited strong indications of dualities. While some journalists followed their personal interests or people they generally found interesting, a majority of them reported not having followed regular citizens. Instead, many of them reported having followed agencies, sources, or others they found "relevant."

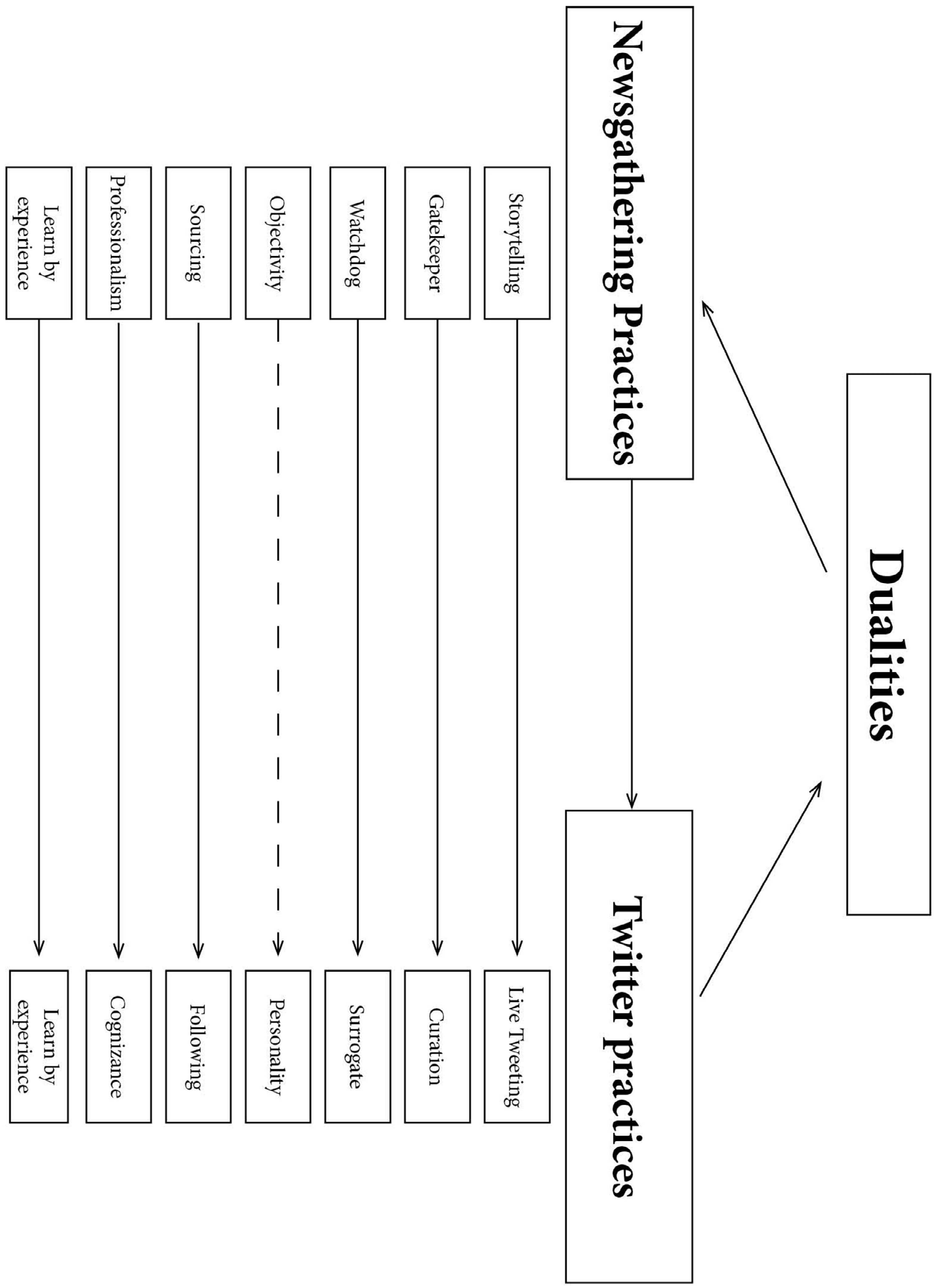
Having established the structures journalists used to construct news and how these structures have carried over to Twitter, the discussion turns toward how they are represented in Giddens' idea of the duality of structure. It appears clear that in addition to journalists' assertion that "all" of their rules carry over to Twitter, analysis of their reported Twitter functions show that many structures do, indeed, translate to Twitter. These structures are present in the advantages and disadvantages that journalists recognize with regard to Twitter interactivity.

Dualities

Dualities present in journalists' Twitter practices are examined in the model found in Figure 3. In this model, the traditional newsgathering practices can be found in the left column. The corresponding Twitter practices are found in the column to the right. The cycle represented in the triangle of arrows shows that by carrying traditional practices over to Twitter, journalists may be reinforcing routines through the duality of structure, further cementing structures into the American journalistic practice. The seven traditional structures identified all have corresponding Twitter structures. Six of the traditional structures—storytelling, gatekeeper, watchdog, sourcing, professionalism, and learning by experience—correspond significantly to the Twitter structures, and one, objectivity, corresponds in part to its counterpart, personality. This partial correspondence is represented in the dashed line.

Storytelling and live tweeting. In the first part of the model, the structure of the journalist as a storyteller matches up to the Twitter practice of live tweeting. Telling stories was among the respondents' most common reasons for becoming involved in the journalism industry. Many of the respondents were intrigued by the prospect of having a source trust them enough to allow them to share that person's own story with the public. As respondents saw themselves primarily as informers, storytellers, and entertainers, it can be inferred that this storytelling is somewhat one-sided, but involves the journalist attempting to get the latest news to members of the public in a timely fashion.

When considering their roles on Twitter, many of the respondents also said they believed that informing and alerting the public of breaking news was the most important role they could play. In other studies, live tweeting has not been among the most common types of tweets (Noguera Vivo, 2012), but participants of this study at least mentioned that the alert function of Twitter was among their primary social media responsibilities Although the pattern of storytelling was not evident until later in the interview process, I was able to ask the later interview respondents whether it was still possible to tell stories on Twitter. Most of these participants agreed that the medium was not conducive to telling stories in depth because of the platform's limited characters and the steady stream of information. However, some of the participants did say that tweeting could make them stronger storytellers because they would have to learn to tell stories in a shortened form—and that should be possible even among the shortest forms of text-based communication.



F*igure 3.* Dualities in Newsgathering and Twitter Practices.

What none of the respondents mentioned, however, was a participatory form of storytelling that could be performed on Twitter, projects that could mimic Richard Deitsch's Single Best Moment project (Romney et al., 2015). Deitsch asked people to share their best moments. Although those who responded to his call for interaction couldn't go discuss the moments in depth, they shared visuals and short tweets explaining why the selected moments were meaningful. Perhaps viral storytelling phenomena like the Deitsch project are rare, but it would seem that were it possible to duplicate that feat, this may be an effective form of telling someone's human story. However, none of the journalists acknowledged having attempted in-depth forms of participatory storytelling on Twitter. In fact, when it came to Twitter engagement, most participants said their interactions were either with other journalists or rare in nature. When they talked of storytelling on Twitter, they instead implied traditional means of gatekeeping, sourcing, gaining information, tweeting it out en masse—but they did not mention asking others to participate.

Gatekeeping and curation. On the second comparison of the duality of structure model in Figure 3, the gatekeeper (White, 1950) model and identity of journalists is matched up with the practice of curating and retweeting. What respondents lack in engagement, many of them make up for it in information sharing. Though few journalists I interviewed used the term "gatekeeping," their practices show they see gatekeeping as being among the most important utilities of Twitter for a journalist—even though some respondents said they still had yet to identify the "point" of Twitter.

Many journalists said their primary role, in both their writing and their tweeting, involved sharing important information with the members of their audience. This would appear, for some of them, to include information that is shared by other journalists. The journalists interviewed for this project said a large portion of their Twitter use involves following other news organizations. In some cases, they follow their competitors out of fear that they might miss something. What they appear to be reticent to do is retweet the posts of their competitors, not wanting to drive attention or traffic toward other news organizations. However, they monitor other local journalists to ensure that their competitors do not beat them to an important story.

Respondents also said they sometimes retweet their own colleagues, although some who were not interested in particular beats said they were less likely to retweet those coworkers. In addition, some of the journalists interviewed for this project indicated that they also follow a lot of national, statewide, or regional media, especially the tweets of those who share their interests or beat responsibilities. Although not all respondents said they retweet only items that closed related to their beats, many continued to use terms such as “relevant to the discussion” as motivations for retweeting and sharing with followers. Other journalists did say that they are aware that those who follow them are likely doing so because followers have an interest in a journalist’s work or beat. Therefore, curation and retweeting can serve a gatekeeping function because journalist may see social media as a tool to further share relevant, beat-related information to new audiences.

Such a finding is consistent with previous research, which has shown that journalists often retweet other news organizations (Russell, 2015). Previous research has also explored curation and retweeting as a form of gatekeeping (Parmelee, 2013), a responsibility to which journalists are clinging on to as one aspect of their professionalism (Lewis, 2012). Research has confirmed that a primary use of Twitter for journalists is in *surveillance* (Lariscy et al., 2009), with more than 74% of surveyed journalists using it to monitor the news (Willnat & Weaver, 2014)

Watchdog and surrogate. Watchdog journalism, or in which journalists place an emphasis on keeping in check those in power (Kovach & Rosenstiel, 2010), is a hallmark role of the professional journalist. Also called "accountability journalism" by some (Hermans & Vergeer, 2011), watchdog journalism allows the reporter to act as a surrogate for the public in uncovering actions of and information about government or business officials. The participants whom I interviewed listed the watchdog position as one of the more important roles of the journalist. One particularly pointed out that people in power could not always be trusted. Another said it was important for journalists to get powerful people "on the record" and then hold them accountable for what they said.

Several participants in this study said Twitter usage was a way that they could act as a surrogate in a watchdog role for the general citizenry. Because public meetings are often held at times when the general public may be unable—or unwilling—to attend, one interview subject in particular said a key advantage to Twitter is in live tweeting these public meetings. Such action opens up the ability for citizens who cannot attend a live meeting to follow it in real time, comment, and even suggest questions for the journalists to ask. Live tweeting as a surrogate for the reader can therefore allow a journalist to serve as a watchdog on public meetings and hearings.

Objectivity and personality. Twitter use presents a challenge to one of the most prevalent journalism structures: objectivity. Although objectivity has been called unattainable by some scholars (Deuze, 2005), it remains one of the foremost rules of the journalism industry (Schudson, 2001). Journalists should, therefore, report in a fair, detached manner (Kovach & Rosenstiel, 2007). Interactive features of the Web, such as blogs, however, have somewhat challenged objectivity by presenting reporters' opinions in the open (Singer, 2005).

The interviewed journalists were still highly concerned with objectivity. They believed that sharing their opinions could harm credibility. Even the perception of bias seemed to be a risk they were unwilling to take. Yet, Twitter use in itself presents a challenge to an entrenched journalistic structure because in addition to live reporting, respondents said they understand that the medium requires them to interact, answer questions, and evince some personality. Studies have shown that journalists do indeed use Twitter as a way to share opinion, analysis, or commentary (Deoprez et al., 2013; Lasorsa, 2012; Price et al., 2012; Schultz & Sheffer, 2010; Vis, 2013). Because of this challenge, the line between objectivity and personality on Figure 3 is represented by a dashed arrow, rather than a solid line.

Twitter presents a unique opportunity for the respondents to brand themselves and expose their humanity to their followers. Although some respondents were uncomfortable sharing personal traits, interests, opinions, and information, others saw it as an opportunity to bridge traditional divides with the audience and form loyalty and trust. One social media editor said that journalists should spend up to at least one-third of his or her tweets on building a personal connection, and those who don't do so are missing a great opportunity to build a rich community experience.

Other respondents agreed that journalists, who have traditionally been detached from their readers—who often know the journalist only by name and byline—can use Twitter to allow readers to know more about who they are as a person. Journalists can also take advantage of the somewhat snarky atmosphere of Twitter as an opportunity to connect with the readers through humor (Holton & Lewis, 2011). Research has confirmed that interactivity may serve as an advantage in building a following and connecting with readers. Journalists who interact with readers have more credibility (Brown et al., 2014) and gain more followers (Greer & Ferguson, 2011). Studies also show that younger journalists are more likely to use Twitter to share opinions, while older journalists say they are more comfortable using Twitter for promotional purposes (Schultz & Sheffer, 2010).

However, my respondents said they also understand that they represent themselves, their employers, and the journalism industry. They cannot afford, therefore, to be, as one respondent said, "completely bombastic or provocative just for the sake of being provocative." In addition, they understand that their credibility can be tainted if they show bias through an unwary tweet. As a result, objectivity, fairness, balance and independence remain important despite the change in the tone with Twitter use. One could see how the difficulty in maintaining balance with such divergent structures and with responding to questions and comments from the community on Twitter. Professionals who have generally been trained to keep their own opinions and ideas out of the story are being asked directly to share what they think.

In the interviews, sports reporters seemed to have an easier time with sharing their opinions, perhaps because analysis has been a part of sports reporting for a while. Though they may often share analysis and opinions on Twitter, the sports writers understand they must balance opinion with a firm directive to avoid rooting for or attacking the teams they cover.

Some respondents said they found it easier to share opinions and personality when tweeting about their personal interests rather than beats they cover professionally. For example, a political reporter might be able to share an opinion about his or her favorite professional sports team or his or her opinion on gardening. However, that same journalist would be hesitant to share political opinions on a Twitter feed because such tweets might show bias. If a reader were to see and perceive the bias, future coverage might be tainted by the perception of impropriety.

Some respondents even struggled with the directive to share opinions unrelated to their own beats. It seemed that they were afraid their publication or station colleagues might have a more difficult time building credibility if journalists not on a particular beat shared opinions.

Sourcing and following. Numerous studies have shown consistent patterns of sourcing among journalists. As a general rule, journalists rely heavily on powerful people, organizations, and experts to give them information. Daily newsgathering largely ignores average members of the public (Gans, 1979, 2004). My respondents said they rely on many similar sources. Although some said they enjoyed talking with those who are directly affected by the news coverage in question or interviewing a "real person," respondents largely reported that they use people with expert knowledge, authority, or relevance. They also have a tendency to use many of the same or similar sources—either those who have been vetted by the journalists or their colleagues or those in positions similar to those sources.

Interestingly enough, participants' Twitter following practices largely mirror those they use for sourcing—with one notable exception: Respondents also like to follow accounts that tweet about their own personal interests. Therefore, sourcing and following practices are the fifth pair in Figure 3, illustrating the dualities of newsgathering and Twitter use.

Although a handful of interview subjects said they may follow friends, members of the public, or simply interesting people, respondents more heavily cited other journalists, colleagues, agencies, and sources as those whom they choose to follow and as those with whom they interact. Respondents spoke of relevance and civil discussion as motivations for following, retweeting, or replying to a tweet. Similar to sourcing practices, the journalists I interviewed also said they tended to vet the track record of potential follows before deciding to add them. Although they could see the benefits of crowdsourcing among their followers, many participants said they personally had seen little success with the practice, and as such, they did not tend to employ it often.

Professionalism and cognizance. The literature review chapter of this dissertation has established the longstanding debate about whether journalism is a profession (Lewis, 2012). Regardless of whether the industry is officially recognized as a profession, one professional attribute remained clear from the interviews I conducted: Journalists continue to believe in ethical conduct consistent with professional standards.

Lewis (2012) and Singer (2004) argued that interactive technologies threaten the professional boundaries that journalists have built up to ensure their market share as the informer of the public. Participants, however, still believe that they should adhere to ethical and quality standards. Respondents were nervous that the speed of information sharing often required publication before journalists could verify facts. Others said they believed they still needed to attribute sources and provide balanced reporting where possible. Some respondents lamented the lack of quality tweets, while others said they still held themselves to the same standards of grammar, punctuation, and AP style that they required of themselves in print.

Because journalists are carrying over these standards, professionalism and journalistic cognizance are the sixth comparison dualities model in
Figure 3. Several respondents said that conducting themselves in a professional manner was second nature to them and not something about which they consciously thought, whether in representing themselves in the public or on Twitter. Others, however, said they consistently thought of themselves as a journalist with a higher calling, and as such, they knew that their Twitter behavior should mirror the professional behavior in which they engage in traditional newsgathering. Such routine could show that after experiences of reflexively drawing upon the structures of journalism, the duality of structure may be in play, reinforcing the structures until they become routine and second nature.

Respondents said they were aware that their Twitter biographies stated that they were journalists, and that they were affiliated with a particular news organization. Because it would be clear to their followers who they were and for whom they worked, respondents knew that they needed to be careful in expressing opinion, tweeting about personal interests, representing themselves in a professional manner by not tweeting about unprofessional behavior, and tweeting quality content.

Learning by experience. Perhaps the most obvious duality in the interviews I conducted, most respondents said the industry required a heavy amount of on-the-job training. While most interview respondents attended a journalism program at a university, and some had internships or worked for their college newspapers, almost all of them said they learned most of what it meant to be a journalist by working on the job. Respondents tended to believe that some facets of the industry, such as the basic writing structures and law and ethical standards, could be learned in a school environment, but hands-on learning taught them far more than they could ever learn in a classroom. Perhaps such a result should be unsurprising, but this process could illustrate a facet of the duality of structure, as could the fact that journalists learn so much on the job. This finding is interesting because scholarship has shown that students enter universities with preconceived notions of newswork (Ball et al., 2006)—notions often reproduced through internship and newsroom exposure (Hanna & Sanders, 2012).

When asked to whom they go for advice, respondents also said they most often sought direction from colleagues and the leadership of their news organizations. When participants approach how to employ their trade, they said they draw on the proven experience of others. They also draw on their own experience. This is clearly an avenue for the duality of structure in that by employing their own experience and others' experiences, they both use and reinforce those structures, whether those structures include objectivity, experience, or ethics and professionalism. Such a finding is consistent with published research (Battistoli, 2008).

On Twitter, journalists also said they mostly learned through experience. Few of them said their organizations provided training in how to use the medium—some said *they* were the ones who provided the training. While many news organizations did have some meetings or handouts on best practices, for the most part, some respondents said they picked up the fairly intuitive platform on their own, thereby reinforcing the structure of learning by experience. Some respondents said they used Twitter in the way they saw other journalists doing it. Therefore, if journalists saw a good response from audience members in using Twitter as a reporting tool, and if reporters saw Twitter used that way by other journalists, one could see why journalists perhaps would continue to use the platform for reporting news. If respondents saw limited interaction as they built their Twitter followings, one could see why participants might be hesitant to seek out interaction.

Cognitive Dissonance

In interviews and subsequent analysis, a pattern of cognitive dissonance emerged from the transcripts in the utility of both the reporting use of Twitter and in interacting with followers. In an ideal world, participants can see that the practice has merit. However, while respondents could see the utility, they also showed some resistance and skepticism—expressing some inherent disadvantages. By picking the word "resistance," I do not mean to imply that participants said they are always resistant to using Twitter. Although there were a handful of interview subjects who did not seem to appreciate the need to use Twitter, especially for interactivity purposes, almost all of the interview subjects said they generally liked using Twitter and could see the advantage in audience engagement. However, they could see the inherent limitations to the platform itself, the disadvantages in using Twitter to report, and its limitations as an interactive tool—hence the term "cognitive dissonance." The model for this cognitive dissonance discussion, which ultimately explores both the first and second research questions in identifying structures that encourage and discourage interactivity and the advantages and disadvantages, can be found in Figure 4.

Utility. Although many of the interview subjects did not actively seek out engagement with followers, they did their best to interact when others reached out to them. It is possible that respondents did so because they saw the benefits that interactivity could bring to them. It was clear that even though participants did not regularly reach out for interaction, they could see advantages, such as the possibility of building an audience, gathering more information for stories, breaking down walls and making more personal connection with their followers, and building community.

Audience building. Other than Twitter's ability to break news quickly, the most obvious benefit respondents could see in using the plaform was its ability to reach new people, promote stories, and build a loyal following. Many of my interview subjects imagined their Twitter audience to be younger, more news savvy, and less focused geographically than their legacy media audience.

Studies have shown that younger journalists are more comfortable using Twitter (Kian & Murray, 2014; Reed, 2012; Schultz & Sheffer, 2010). It is difficult to draw conclusions from my interviews about whether age makes a difference in whether respondents were more likely to be interactive. Some journalists who worked in the industry before the advent of Twitter were excited by the prospect of engaging with readers, while others saw little value in doing so. Some millennials did say interaction was important, while others mostly use Twitter as a reporting tool or for their own interests. However, those who came to Twitter reluctantly did seem more hesitant about interaction with followers than those who found the medium themselves or recognized its value early on—even if they began using it under direction of management.

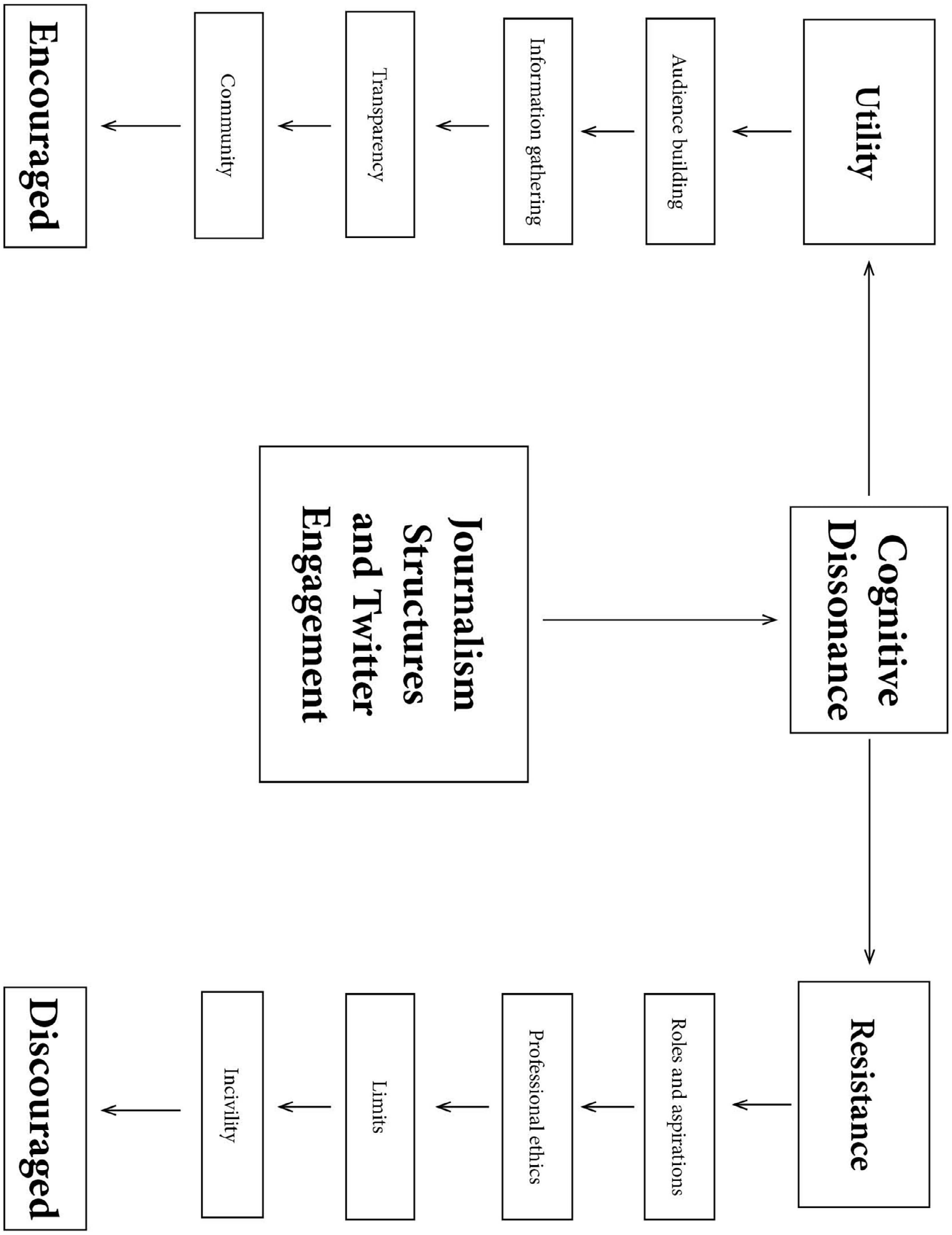


Figure 4. Cognitive Dissonance of Journalists' Twitter Engagement.

Many of the respondents recognized the audience building capabilities of Twitter. Brock, who covers an education beat, saw particular value in using social media to reach out to a younger generation that didn't read the newspaper. Studies have shown that younger audiences are indeed getting news from social media (Holcomb et al., 2013), as are minorities (Holcomb et al., 2013). Audience building from social media could also be a good way to reach those who are not interested in reviewing legacy news forms, as most Twitter news consumers do not read print newspapers, watch cable news, or watch local television news broadcasts (Holcomb, 2013). Brock indicated that he believed that by being interactive on Twitter, he might build sourcing relationships with some of these younger readers.

What is clear from scholarship, however, is if journalists want to reach out and connect with these younger audiences, they may have to increase their interactivity. Minority Twitter users, for example, have been shown to care more about using Twitter for relationship building (Brown et al., 2014). The authors of that study found that these Twitter users also like to consume news, but news consumption is second to interaction. Perhaps it is of little surprise then that the same study showed that increased interactivity builds credibility for journalists. Likewise, broadcast outlet accounts that are more interactive have more followers, even though they tweet less (Greer & Ferguson, 2011).

Information gathering. Singer et al. (2011) noted that the avenues of participation most journalists have opened involve crowdsourcing and story tips, while story selection and production remain largely closed. Most of the participants in my study engaged in practices consistent with this finding. Even when they did engage in interaction, much of their engagement involved newsgathering or promotion. However, some respondents said that they believe having a medium like Twitter could help them perform their gatekeeping role. One interview subject said Twitter means journalists have ambient “boots on the ground.”

By no means did any of the participants offer to give up their traditional gatekeeping role. In fact, the journalists interviewed for this study appeared to hold steadfastly to the importance of disseminating important information to a public that they believe needs a surrogate. Although many were happy to use Twitter interaction as a means to generate story tips, possible suggestions for sources, or even as a means of setting up interviews or keeping track of sources, they did not volunteer to open the newsgathering process to citizen participation.

While interview subjects do not fully give up the gatekeeping role, many respondents did say they invited some participation through Twitter. Respondents said they often use Twitter to answer questions the readers have, and they often invite readers to submit questions for sources. Journalists can see the power and possibilities of crowdsourcing, though most admitted they had not personally had success with it. Scholarly research has, in the past, shown that even in cases where journalists may have success with crowdsourcing, they still rely mostly on traditional newsgathering (Knight, 2012).

Some respondents reported a belief that Twitter could be beneficial for them in discovering the interests of their audiences. Journalists have often been accused of distancing themselves and discounting the interests of the audience (Burgoon et al., 1995; Netzley & Banning, 2011). Perhaps such knowledge might help them overcome the historical disconnect perceived between reporters and the public.

In addition, journalists saw Twitter interaction as a perfect information-gathering tool when it came to following agencies and sources. One reporter noted that it was easier to contact sources directly through social media, rather than dealing with public relations professionals. Another said Twitter usage provided a quick way to reach out to sources. Other participants indicated that agencies could share information that journalists could use, without the need for an in-depth news release. Studies have shown that the Internet and interactive technologies have made it easier for sources and organizations to release news directly without the aid of the media, and therefore journalists have to follow sources in order to manage a new form of competition—the sources themselves (Clavio & Kian, 2010; Hambric et al., 2010; Hutchins, 2011).

Transparency. A great strength respondents saw in Twitter interaction involved breaking down walls between journalists and the public. Some respondents, especially those who work in newspapers, noted that audience members do not always know much about the individuals who actually produce news. Twitter provides a reporter a chance to give deeper insight into his or her personality, putting a human face on the journalist. In their view, Twitter offers a journalist the opportunity to place him- or herself on display for the audience. One participant claimed he had seen decades of data that talked about how out of touch journalists are with their readers. Twitter has a chance to open a window to readers, providing them a glimpse into the journalists' lives. Reporters can share their interests, their likes, their humor, and their personalities. Journalists can share information on their personal lives, including sharing insights about their families. Respondents said they hoped such behavior could help make a more personal connection with readers. While some are concerned about safety issues, and others about objectivity and detachment, the hope is that seeing personality might build a brand and a loyalty in the audience. Some journalists indicated that they can balance traditional notions of objectivity with the need to connect on a personal level by understanding the stakes involved in a particular story or issue.

Respondents saw other benefits in transparency that could come from Twitter interaction. Journalists can make corrections and stand accountable for their mistakes. Reporters can give a behind-the-scenes look at news production, and bring their followers into the newsroom. Journalists can share stories as they develop, and they can also use Twitter as a public reporter's notebook that allows followers to see what they are working on. Such a finding is also consistent with previous scholarship (Parmelee, 2015). Many journalists admitted that many of their interactions are with other journalist.

Community. One respondent, who works for a community newspaper, noted that one of the roles of a newspaper is to build community among the citizenry. Although respondents did not directly mention community building as an advantage of Twitter interactivity, participants' desire to connect on a more personal level through displaying their personality shows that community building proves to be an advantage to Twitter interaction. In addition to building an audience and being more transparent, by personally interacting via Twitter a reporter may, as one respondent put it, allow readers to know that they are not just a number on a follower lists. Respondents saw interaction as a polite means to acknowledge their followers, even if all the journalist did was favorite a tweet. Studies do indicate that Twitter interactivity increases loyalty to a journalist (Greer & Ferguson, 2011; Brown et al., 2014).

One of the best ways that Twitter can create community for respondents, however, is in building relationships among journalists. Some journalists indicated that a large number of the people whom they follow, retweet, or interact with are fellow journalists. Twitter allows many journalists to reach out to others of their craft, share their colleagues' work, discuss issues pertinent to journalism, and to keep up with coworkers with whom they no longer work.

Respondents said they appreciated one form of engagement and seemed to indicate they would like more of it. They are appreciative specifically of well-meaning and civil feedback, as long as the respondent is well informed and has read, watched, or listened to the entire story on which they are giving feedback. Journalists genuinely want the public to reach out to them on Twitter and let them know how they are doing and what they can be doing better.

Resistance. Respondents do not actively seek engagement with their readers. Participants said they regularly attempt to interact when readers reach out to them, but, with the exception of one social media manager who uses hashtags to find new people with whom he can interact, most of the respondents only mentioned answering when followers would initiate contact.

Though most respondents said they generally liked Twitter, there was also some frustration toward the medium. One anchor joked that she wished journalists could go back to pre-social media practices. However, most interview subjects said they knew they had to be involve themselves in Twitter activity if they wanted to stay relevant. Therefore, the second branch of the cognitive dissonance model, found in Figure 4, is titled "resistance" because in spite of the advantages, some respondents see significant disadvantages to Twitter interactivity.

Roles and aspirations. I asked each journalist whom I interviewed to share why they were originally drawn into the journalism industry. Each had a somewhat unique story, but several patterns were prevalent throughout responses. Many respondents said they were excited about the opportunity to tell stories. Others said they liked to meet people and engage in a variety of work responsibilities. Many journalists had a passion for the industry and for telling stories, an attachment to the field that has been well documented (Russo, 1998). Many of my interview subjects were drawn to the field at an early age and may have had preconceived ideas of what the field ought to be. Although the industry changed around them during the digital revolution, many of their practices on Twitter echo older structures learned through formative journalistic experience. As one editor put it, he had dreamed of working in journalism since the third grade, and Twitter was never a part of that dream.

One could also see how the research subjects' desire to tell stories might inhibit their desire to engage with audience members on Twitter. The Twitter platform may not be conducive to long-form discussions or storytelling. Although some of the respondents said that the platform's brevity might actually improve their storytelling product, others said longer conversations should be moved to other media. In addition, one of the draws of storytelling that some of the participants mentioned involved the trust associated in a source's sharing a story with the journalist, which the reporter then has the opportunity to share with a far wider audience. Interacting on Twitter would perhaps minimize that storytelling role.

While few of the participants termed it as such, when asked what the role of a journalist in society is, almost all of them echoed gatekeeping theory. Journalists saw themselves as informers, watchdogs, and public servants whose job it was to alert the public to important news. That role carried over to Twitter in many of the respondents' comments. Perhaps an attachment to their profession focuses the efforts they put in to Twitter to limit its use to that of a reporting tool.

Because the "alerting" or "informing" function of the journalist is so prominent in the responses of those whom I asked about their role, one can see why journalists perceive breaking news as the greatest utility of Twitter. Their curation and retweeting practices also echoed gatekeeping theory, in which some journalists talked of relevance to the subject as criteria for retweets. Retweeting as gatekeeping has been documented in previous literature (Coddington et al., 2014). Some respondents said they used Twitter sparingly throughout the day, but others said they were constantly connected to the network because they were afraid that if they were not, they might miss something.

Perhaps the reporters' reticence to interact can be attributed to the reasons they became involved in the field in the first place. If journalists wanted to meet new people and have variety, perhaps the demands of sitting at a desk and staring at a computer screen is unwelcome. While discussions might change on Twitter, and the mobility of the platform could mean they could tweet from anywhere, perhaps tweeting might limit the variety journalists might experience throughout the work day. Twitter, on the surface, would be an effective tool for meeting new people, but perhaps it is not "real" enough for journalists to feel as though they make a connection.

Professional ethics. When asked what ethics or journalism rules carry over onto Twitter, many respondents stated that "all of them" carry over. From the interviews it is apparent that many respondents believe they will never be able to report on Twitter with the kind of depth that they've come to expect on other media, but participants do believe that good journalism should carry over to social media. In my interviews, the two ethics about which they were most vehement in porting to social media were those of objectivity and verification.

For journalists trained to remain objective—and keep themselves out of the story—the possibility of sharing an opinion too quickly and tarnishing their reputations may prove to be a detriment to Twitter interactivity. Journalists also shared a frustration with the speed of information sharing on Twitter. In order to keep up, respondents said some journalists put an emphasis on reporting things first, rather than verifying information before publication. One reporter had been burned by an interaction, retweeting information from what he thought was a source but turned out to be an imposter. It is possible that with the wealth of bad information out there, journalists who believe that verification is an important ethic may be nervous about the possibility of sharing misinformation.

However, it did not appear that these two journalism ethics were completely incongruent with Twitter interaction. Respondents said it was important to let their readers know that stories were still developing. Some said attribution could help with verification, and others said they were more likely to interact with a follower if that person had a solid track record of sharing accurate information. Respondents also said that, depending on the stakes involved in a story and how close it was to their beat, sharing the occasional opinion on social media could actually help brand them as individuals. Respondents said they were aware of the public nature of their jobs and the fact that their employer and their position as a journalist was represented on their Twitter account. As such, they felt it important to responsibly represent their employer through professional behavior.

In addition, a few respondents expressed concern that something they tweeted might get them in trouble with management. One reporter said a colleague had accidentally posted an unprofessional comment to the publication's official account. Another said although he often shared a distinctive personality via Twitter, and that his employers knew that when they hired him, he often did wonder what his editors would think if he posted something. Another reporter expressed disgust at fellow journalists who engaged light-minded social media interaction at the scene of a story. He also wondered whether journalists' posting of information about their personal lives—sharing potentially unprofessional behavior—could damage their credibility in the community. Perhaps using Twitter strictly as a reporting tool, eschewing interaction and personality, could be buffer for journalists from the fallout of unprofessional behavior.

In addition, however, several respondents echoed that journalism is a public service. Such insight is also consistent with published literature (Deuze, 2005) and is a traditional hallmark of occupations that scholars have identified as professions (Hall, 1968). Some journalists echoed the belief that their tweeting with personality or humor, or their engaging in interaction that could possibly devolve into arguments, which would be incompatible with the ethical conduct of a public servant.

Limits. Although respondents saw plenty of utility in Twitter interaction, especially in its ability to potentially provide sources or build audiences and loyalty, it was clear that many of them saw specific limits to the practice. For one thing, a finite structure, particularly a resource, upon which journalists can draw is their time. Since 2008, there have been many layoffs in the journalism industry (Reinardy, 2011). Even before the financial crisis of 2008 led to layoffs, journalists had been asked to take on new roles and skills, which many of them saw as a drain on their time to produce quality journalism (Liu, 2006). The respondents, particularly those with a larger number of Twitter followers, said they wanted to interact with followers where possible. However, doing so could be draining on their already limited time. Especially as many of them said they had their Twitter feeds open constantly, respondents said using Twitter can be distracting. Even lurking and clicking on links—or live tweeting a story—can be distracting. But interacting with readers can be a sort of "rabbit hole" because once drawn into a conversation, readers often wish prolong interaction despite the fact that a reporter is on deadline.

Respondents also expressed frustration at the continued emphasis management places on social media and interaction because they felt their audience on such platforms may not be as large as management imagined. In some cases, respondents said that Twitter, perhaps because of targeted demographics, was unpopular in their area or among their readers. The few broadcast journalists I interviewed believed that their audience was more prominently on Facebook. Those respondents who had larger followings were more likely to say they received many interactions, including crowdsourcing opportunities, coming from followers. While several respondents had more than 10,000 Twitter followers, most averaged between 1,000 and 5,000 followers. Indeed, although celebrities and national journalists may have significantly large numbers of Twitter followers, most newspapers in the United States, approximately 97% according to Smith (2008), fill a community niche. Most American journalists likely will not have large followings that lead to consistent reader interaction. Such was the case for many of my participants. Some of them said they had attempted crowdsourcing or follower interaction before, but the lack of response discouraged them from participating further in those actions.

Respondents also believed that their Twitter audience is not representative of their audience as a whole. As some of were quick to point out, if their newspaper has a circulation of 200,000, but the reporter only has 2,000 Twitter followers, why would they spend so much time reporting to or interacting with such a small fraction of their audience? Even that small Twitter following may include people other than their readers, such as followers from cities in which they previous worked, other journalists, work colleagues, or agencies. Such trends are consistent with previous research, which shows that in general, social network followings are smaller than traditional measures such as print circulation or website visits (Ju et al., 2013). One of my respondents said she was also nervous that, with how quickly digital technology changes, journalists may be putting significant time and effort into building a following on a platform whose popularity may eventually decline.

Finally, some respondents asserted that although they had been told and generally believed that Twitter could do wonders for building a larger audience—especially a younger, news-savvy and global audience—several were largely skeptical that Twitter interaction would help them drive traffic to the website. Most said they had not seen any concrete figures that could definitively show that Twitter interaction increased readership. One editor, in particular, who said his news organization places heavy emphasis on tracking traffic measurements, said that Twitter does little to build an audience for his news web site. Previous research has confirmed these sentiments, showing that news website referrals are more likely to come from other news sites and search engines than from social media (Sonderman, 2011a). In addition, those readers who come to a website from social media are less engaged, have higher bounce rates, and look at fewer average pages than readers who are referred from other sources (Sonderman, 2011a).

Incivility. The respondents who participated in this study said they welcomed honest feedback in any form and appreciated hearing from their readers. Twitter provides an easy opportunity for readers to do so because it makes journalists more easily accessible. However, the feedback that they receive is not always well informed, and it often comes in the form of mean-spirited, uncivil comments. Participants said they will often receive feedback that eradicates any hope that the commenter read the whole story. Others said followers will argue, call them names, and engage in dialogue that is "hateful." As a result, some respondents expressed concerns of safety issues that many of them feel result from frequent interaction with readers online—or even in sharing any personal details online.

The prevalence of ill-informed feedback could perhaps explain why journalists are hesitant to interact on Twitter. When uncivil feedback comes in response to an incomplete review of reported facts, and is somewhat intensified by the brevity and instantaneous nature of social media, it is perhaps little wonder why journalists frequently eschew Twitter interactivity.

Even though many of the interviewed journalists said they work in a field that is essentially public, some respondents said they believed that their personal lives ought to remain private. In interacting with people online, they sometimes get nervous about losing their right to privacy. Other respondents also lamented that followers will get in fights with each other or even post uncivil dialogue in such forms as racist or misogynistic comments. Although one editor believed that social media is more conducive to allowing readers to police themselves in discussions, others said they had not seen such patterns online. Indeed, in 2015, Twitter CEO Dick Costolo said his platform had not done enough to curb online abuse (Dewey, 2014).

Because online interactions are often cloaked with anonymity, some journalists believed it was too easy for readers to troll and engage in personal attacks. Most reporters did not feel as though engaging with such commenters was worth their time—and others seemed to feel like fighting back was unprofessional. One reporter said a colleague had been disciplined after he challenged a follower to a fistfight. Another interview subject said that he had seen Twitter fights break out between two journalists. Most respondents indicated that such behavior is unbecoming of a professional journalist and public servant, and they seemed to believe that the brevity and instantaneous nature of Twitter might make it easy for someone to tweet something he or she might quickly regret.

Journalism's walls of social media engagement

Having established the dualities of newsgathering and Twitter reporting, as well as the cognitive dissonance journalists feel, my discussion at last turns to the final research question: exploring the reasons why journalists, despite seeing the advantages of Twitter interaction, mostly reify old journalism practices through their social media use. To explain the phenomenon, I offer the model in Figure 5, which addresses what I call "journalism's walls of social media engagement." This model is the most significant contribution of this study. The name for this model comes from an aforementioned quote from Garrett, who recognized that social media engagement "breaks down this wall of, 'I'm the journalist, and you're the audience, and you have to read what I say.'" I have taken that quote for the title of this dissertation because I believe these walls are central to the reason the dualities of newsgathering and Twitter use persist.

As journalists move online, they move into a more social forum that expects three things: Personal connection (boyd & Ellison, 2008), participation (Gee & Hayes, 2011; Jenkins et al., 2009; Kiousis, 2002;), and a forum where all voices can be shared equally (Curwood et al., 2010; Gee & Hayes, 2011, Lammers et al., 2012). Because of the field's nature and long-held practices, the path to these three concepts has been blocked by three walls: objectivity, storytelling, and routine news values. As the diagram suggests, some aspects of social media have begun to force cracks into the wall of objectivity that blocks journalists from showing personality. Although journalists still profess to be objective in their coverage of the news, they have begun to use Twitter to brand themselves, either as public brands or as "normal" people. Despite the assault of social media, however, the other walls, storytelling and routine news values, remain intact. The difficulty journalists face in breaching the walls of reporting routine and practice is consistent with a wealth of research in how news professionals adapt to changes in new technology (Singer, 2004; Usher & Lewis, 2012).

The "objectivity" wall to "personality." Objectivity has been defined as the standard rule of journalism (Schudson, 1989). And yet, as Singer (2004) noted, interactive technologies, by their nature, challenge that standard. Journalists who have long been told to detach themselves from their story (Kovach & Rosenstiel, 2007) are now asked to place themselves and personal information into a public sphere—one in which the journalist is expected to both clearly identify himself or herself as a reporter. In addition, the journalist must use the public tool in a role as gatekeeper and watchdog of the public trust.

Even the terms “social media” or “social networks” denote personal connection. The most commonly cited definition of a social network comes from boyd and Ellison (2008). The authors place emphasis on a social network’s need to allow users to place personal information into a “public or semi-public profile” (p. 212) in a database that allows users to see others’ personal moments and thoughts. Networks therefore put emphasis on such personal terms as “friends” or “followers” that also connote personal connection (boyd & Ellison, 2008).

Previous research has shown that journalists are uncomfortable blending their personal and professional lives on Twitter, choosing instead to use Facebook for their personal issues and Twitter as a reporting tool (Reed, 2011; 2012). However, many of my participants recognized the benefits of using Twitter to publicly express a more personal visage. Daniel, a social media editor, suggested that journalists will not be able to connect and engage with followers if they are not willing to use social networks to show a personal side. He believed that journalists should dedicate up to a third of their time on social media as a forum to share personal interests. Those who did not would find their experiences to not be as rich as those who engaged with followers.

Objectivity and personality do not mesh as a duality (see Figure 3) in newsgathering and Twitter use. Therefore, in order to show personality, participants have

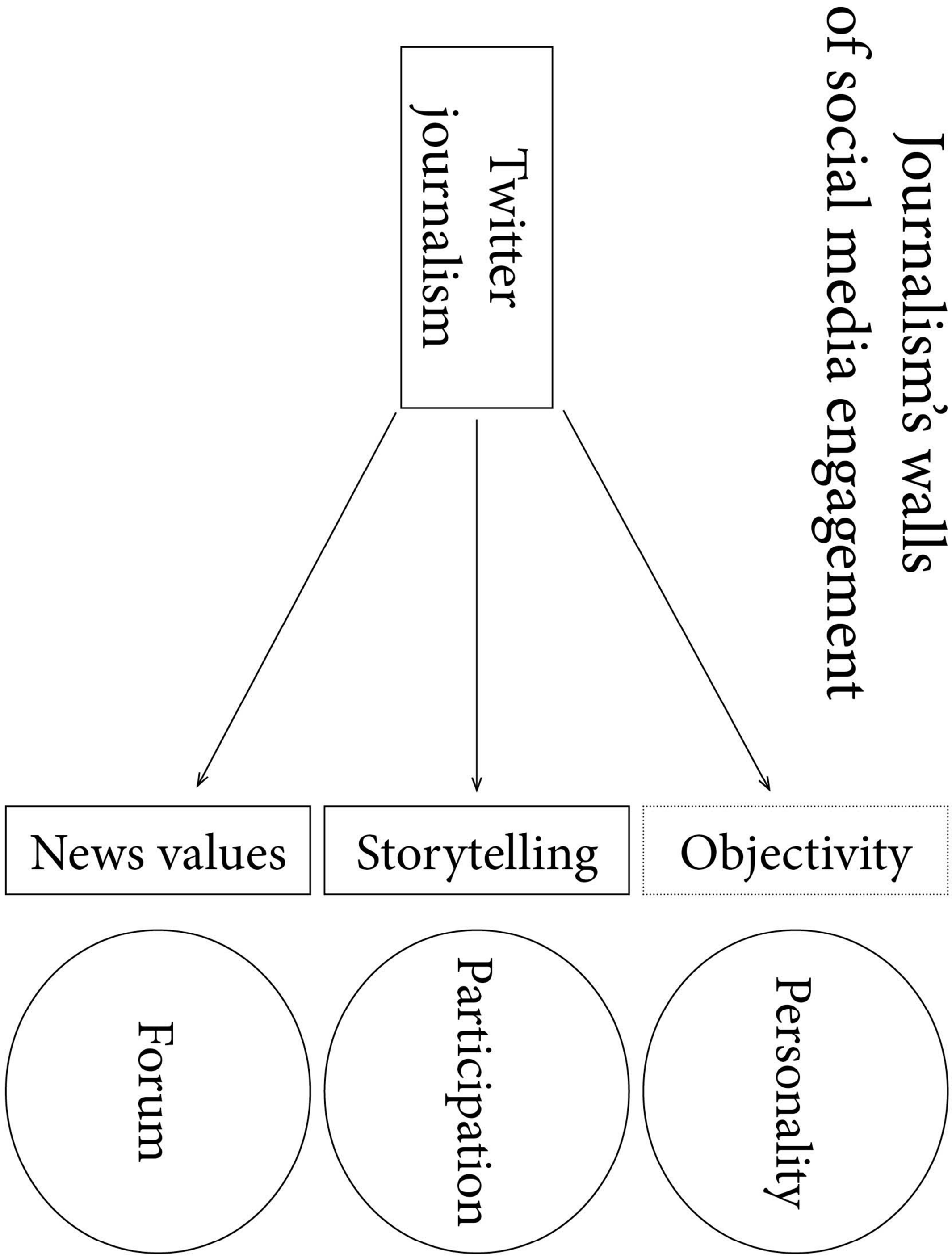


Figure 5. Journalism’s walls of social media engagement

had to chip away at the wall of objectivity that blocks personality. This is not to say that objectivity will yield its position as a journalism norm. It was the most cited standard my participants noted when asked about the rules of journalism. Many of them believed that objectivity on Twitter was just as important as a printed or broadcasted story. However, the cracks in the wall of objectivity are around aspects of their personal, rather than their professional selves.

In the model in Figure 5, the line around objectivity is dashed because journalists recognize the strength of upholding portions of that wall—such as their opinions about topics they cover—but have also seen the advantage to removing parts of the wall and allowing personality and branding to shine through the cracks. Many of my participants shared some hesitation in even sharing opinions that were not relevant to their beats. Lisa, for example, believed that if she openly cheered for a local football team, it could reflect negatively on her colleagues who covered the team. Logan's story about a potential source who took offense over a political comment Logan had made on a controlled-friend social network post—even though Logan does not cover politics—shows the power social media can have to affect credibility.

However, many of the respondents recognized the strength in allowing their readers to understand who they are as people. As long as reporters refrained from sharing opinions about things they covered, these participants believed that sharing their opinions on gardening, their favorite restaurants, or their families would express a human face that might build loyalty among readers. Noah's story of the time he was recognized at a local concert exemplifies this concept. While in the past, reporters may have been known solely by their bylines or an occasional picture, Noah believed that using social media allowed his readers to create a bond of loyalty with him, not necessarily with his articles or his publication. He was particularly impressed that the person who followed him on Twitter told him “Not, ‘I read the [newspaper],’ but, ‘I read you.’”

The “storytelling” wall to “participation.” Even as the objectivity wall begins to crack, the dualities in Figure 3 imply that the other two walls in Figure 5 remain intact. Interactivity and participation are the defining characteristics of online communication (Kiousis, 2002; Jenkins, 2006). Social networks and other participatory cultures are becoming passionate affinity spaces largely because they draw people of similar interests who all have the option of participation (Gee & Hayes, 2011). Gee and Hayes argued that people want to participate in the creation of their own content or the dissemination of their own ideas. If news professionals do not understand that, the authors said, they risk alienating many potential consumers. In order to draw consumers, online content must spread. In order to spread, content must be participatory (Jenkins et al., 2013).

Wide-scale participation, however, is somewhat of a foreign concept to journalists and perhaps makes it little wonder that the wall of storytelling, which also could be supported by a foundation of gatekeeping, is blocking participation. Many of the participants cited storytelling as a major draw for the journalism industry. Historically, storytelling in the journalism industry has largely been one-sided—even described as a “lecture” (Gillmor, 2004). Certainly, some media companies have used interactive elements, such as photo submission, letters to the editor, or radio or television call-in shows. Even the use of regular citizens as sources, though rare (Gans, 1979), also connotes some form of participation. Participants in my study cited pre-Internet times in which they fostered participation, such as town hall meetings or feedback. However, as a whole, their storytelling proceeded under their own efforts, and journalists have traditionally held most parts of the newsgathering process under their own power (Singer et al., 2011).

Previous research has shown that some journalists have embraced, or at least attempted, modes of participatory storytelling. Bruns et al. (2009) examined an affinity space-style, pro-am relationship between journalistic mentors and citizen journalists in the creation of a news project chronicling the 2007 Australian elections. Richard Deitsch, meanwhile, used Twitter to showcase photos that told stories of his followers best moments (Romney et al., 2015). However, scholars have indicated that such instances are relatively rare, as most of the storytelling process remains closed to nonprofessional participation (Singer et al., 2011).

Responses from the participants of this study indicate that journalists recognize the power of storytelling online, but participatory storytelling continues to be blocked by a wall composed of the following bricks: Journalists have always wanted to be storytellers, they see their role as the gatekeeper of stories, and they have seen major limits to tearing down this wall, such as not having a big enough following, not getting enough responses, and facing incivility directed at themselves or them, their followers, or their sources.

The chance to tell stories was a major motivation for participants' becoming involved in the industry. Sarah, for example, told of how as a child she saw the "Mary Tyler Moore" show and thought that telling people's stories would be a fun and interesting career. Logan said that his motivation for changing his major from photography to journalism came from an instance when a minority student at his university trusted him to tell her story. Andrew, as a child, was so interested in documenting the news and storytelling that he took a camera to the scene of a crime so that he could take pictures.

Some participants were not sold on the possibility of telling stories on Twitter because of the limitations of the medium: Tweets are too short and become lost in the shuffle too quickly. Others saw that despite the limitations, Twitter could be a good way of giving readers a closer examination of the newswriting process. However, from their responses, it is clear that journalists have been trained that they are the gatekeepers and the surrogate in sharing important stories with the public, rather than having the public tell its own story.

By citing that role and that training, I do not want to portray the surrogate role in a negative light. Brock, for example, saw that because of logistical issues, many of his readers would be unable to arrive at meetings. David said that the role of a journalist was vital in society because people in power could not always be trusted to tell the public the truth. However, by limiting the people they follow or retweet, participants continue to see themselves as the gatekeepers of information. They see the strongest advantages of having Twitter feeds to be the ability to grow the audience for online news reports, reporting the news quickly, and gaining feedback or sources for stories they are working on themselves.

Although most of the journalists could see an advantage in participatory storytelling, particularly in crowdsourcing—as one participant said, it puts “boots on the ground” at all times—most of my participants indicated that their followings, while larger than many members of the public, were not significant enough to garner significant crowdsourcing participation. Most of them said they have had little luck with this practice in the past, and many of them expressed they felt their time would be better spent catering to much larger followings in print or over the airwaves.

The "news values" wall to the "forum." Finally, a third characteristic of a participatory space, such as the Internet, is that it should serve as a public forum where all voices can be heard equally. Such a forum is seen in the idea of distributed knowledge and flexible leadership found in affinity space research (Curwood et al., 2010; Gee & Hayes, 2011; Lammers et al., 2012). In a true participatory community, emphasis is placed on a shared interest rather than upon a participant's credentials (Gee & Hayes, 2011). Those members of the affinity space who have proficiency in the production of content can form pro-am relationships with other members, allowing for tutoring and mentorship (Gee & Hayes, 2011). As cited previously, the Australian election project in participatory citizen journalism training is a good example of how news can integrate these pro-am relationships (Bruns et al., 2009). However, previous research that has found that journalists mostly engage online with other journalists (Parmelee, 2015), along with the findings of this study, indicate that this public forum of shared credibility has not quite become a thriving marketplace of ideas. Gillmor (2004) remarked that he knew that his "readers know more than I do." And yet, despite this distributed knowledge, journalists continue to cling to the gatekeeper role in disseminating information, rather than using the Internet as a gatewatcher to provide a more open forum (Bruns, 2008).

The third wall, which blocks the community forum, is held up by the ethical standard of accuracy and by two particular traditional news values and practices: timeliness and prominence. After objectivity, participants most commonly and emphatically cited accuracy as a rule of journalism. Research has shown that the public cares most about a journalist's accuracy, above any other attribute (Heider et al., 2005). In fact, some scholars have argued that accuracy and fact-based reporting are a major reason that journalists employ objectivity itself (Soloski, 1989). Journalists certainly place significant importance on accuracy as a standard. It is the one universal standard of journalism throughout the globe (Elliott, 1988; Hafez, 2002). My participants echoed the standard. Andrew, for example, cited that accuracy is drilled into journalists at the earliest of stages. In his first reporting class, one misspelled name would automatically result in a failed accuracy grade for that assignment.

Journalists have carried over this standard for Twitter. Although timeliness is important, almost all participants indicated that just because Twitter has increased the speed of communication does not mean that journalists should not confirm the facts before tweeting. In addition, many of my respondents indicated that the increase in speed over accuracy may be the biggest weakness of instantaneous platforms, such as Twitter.

I believe that a fear of incorrect information may be a reason that participants do not actively promote the open community participation forum. Some of the journalists had been burned by bad information on Twitter, such as when Tom retweeted a fake professional athlete account. Some participants indicated that in deciding whom to follow or what to retweet that they make sure to examine a person's history or credentials in order to understand whether to trust that information. While such an approach to follower selection does not conform to affinity space practices of emphasizing shared interest over credentials, it does protect a journalist's credibility from the harmed of sharing bad information.

In addition to accuracy, typical news values of timeliness and prominence have sustained the wall that blocks the true open forum. In early stages of their careers, journalists are often taught six traditional news values of “prominence/importance,” “human interest,” “conflict/controversy,” “the unusual,” “timeliness,” and “proximity” (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996, p. 111). About the timeliness standard, Shoemaker and Reese write that readers “have limited attention and want to know what’s happening now. Timely events are also more likely to require action” (p. 111). This standard of timeliness in news selection predates the Internet. In addition to news selection, timeliness also plays a role in the dissemination of news. Deuze (2005) mentions immediacy as one of the five “pillars” of journalism ideology. Immediacy as a standard reporting practice also predates the Internet (Weaver & Wilhoit, 1996). Interestingly, though the Internet allows for the production of instant news (Brannon, 2008), the number of journalists who report “getting information to the public quickly” to be of great importance has declined from 68 percent in 1992 to 46 percent in 2013 (Willnat & Weaver, 2013).

Although my participants also consistently stated that accuracy was more important than immediacy, they also consistently cited the instantaneous nature of Twitter as one of its greatest advantages. Such immediacy increases the possibility of reporting incorrect information and curtails the ability to fact check, which would therefore hurt their credibility or do damage to the public. Yet, Twitter was a reporting tool that allowed participants to share information live from the scene. Rachel said Twitter was “made for breaking news.” Ruth said the biggest key advantage to Twitter was its “alert” function. Another participant said that while Twitter wasn’t the best platform to drive traffic to a story, it is “really great at telling you what’s happening right now." Such sentiments could explain why Twitter may be used as a mode of one-way storytelling, rather than a participatory one. In addition to wanting to report accurate information, journalists know they have to report quickly, perhaps trusting either their own newsgathering efforts or those of credible, vetted sources or news organizations.

When deciding whom or what to follow or retweet, the participants overwhelmingly cited those of personal interest, relevance to their beat or story, or other journalists. Such expressions echo the traditional news value of prominence. Of prominence, Shoemaker and Reese (1996) write that the "actions of the powerful are newsworthy, because what the powerful do affects the general public." Journalists overwhelmingly cite prominent people as sources in news reports (Brown et al., 1987; Gans, 1979; McDonald, 2008; Sigal 1973; Stempel & Culbertson, 1984; Tanner & Friedman, 2011).

Participants showed similar patterns in their Twitter following practices. Although some said they would follow their own interests, many respondents tended to follow or retweet sources, agencies, celebrities, or other journalists. They sometimes said they looked at follower lists to see if a person was worth following, or they examined the relevance a person had to a story when deciding whether to retweet them. By far, journalists tended to follow and retweet other journalists, which relates to the "echo chamber" effect of journalists that other scholars have documented (Parmelee, 2013). A few participants said they followed readers, but most did not. Daniel, a social media editor, said he actively searched hashtags to find conversations in which he could connect with people. He was the only respondent who mentioned such activity.

Prominence and relevance are key values to both story and source selection. Studies show that journalists overwhelmingly cite sources who are elite members of society. Is it any wonder, then, that their following and curating practices would mirror this, with journalists saying they follow agencies, sources, and people with "relevant" things to say?

Therefore, even as Garrett described Twitter as breaking down the walls between journalists and the public, it has not been fully successful. Much of participants' Twitter interaction happens with other journalists. Such behavior seems evidence enough that reporters are continuing to maintain walls between themselves and the public. Engagement with other journalists on Twitter may be taking place in a public sphere, but such conversations still remain somewhat closed to participation. I return to the comment by one respondent, who compared Twitter to a "bar that journalists hang out at." This respondent used the bar metaphor because it showed that even if journalists are using Twitter as a means by which they interact with each other, they are still doing it in a transparent way. At this virtual bar, journalists can meet and discuss the news, and other bar patrons, such as sources and audience members, can listen to the discussion.

Yet, even with the public having more transparency to newsgathering and news discussion, followers are still perhaps asked to sit at another table. A journalist's branding through the sharing of personal details and interests has perhaps somewhat breached the wall of objectivity to personality. However, as journalists continue to fortify the walls of storytelling and news values, the walls between the journalists and public remain, at least partially, intact.

Limitations and Future Research

Like any study, this research has limitations. Because the study is not quantitative, nor does it have a representative sample, it cannot be generalized to the population (Babbie, 2009). However, by including varied backgrounds in both experience and roles and continuing the interview process until reaching saturation, I hoped to provide enough of a variety to provide results more indicative of a journalist's experience.

I took this methodological approach for specific reasons. First, there is already a plethora of quantitative studies on journalists and Twitter use (Coddington et al., 2014; Cozma & Chen, 2013; Deprez et al., 2013; Holton & Lewis, 2011; Lariscy et al., 2009; Lasorsa, 2012; Messner et al., 2011; Russell, 2015; Russell et al., 2014; Schultz & Sheffer, 2010; Sheffer & Schultz, 2010; Willnat & Weaver, 2014). To date, there have been far fewer qualitative studies on the same topic (Kian & Murray, 2014; McEnnis, 2013; Parmelee, 2013; Reed, 2011, 2012; Sherwood & Nicholson, 2012). In-depth qualitative studies allow for more "social context" because of they "are by their very nature intensive" (Crouch & McKenzie, 2006, p. 495).

The pool of participants consisted of 23 journalists. Because of the intensive nature of qualitative research, Crouch and McKenzie (2006) argue that such studies necessitate smaller number of respondents than would be used in quantitative research. Because participant selection was purposive, I was able to ensure that the participants of this study could provide useful context on Twitter practices because I could choose active users of the platform (Wimmer & Dominick, 2006).

Many of the interviews were conducted over the phone. In-person interviews are preferable because they allow the researcher to study nonverbal cues as well as interview transcripts (Lindlof & Taylor, 2011). As I wished to have a more national pool of participants to provide additional insight, I decided that conducting the interviews in person would not be feasible. I attempted to compensate for this limitation by conducting interviews, when possible, by video chat.

However, many interview respondents were either unable to use video chatting software because of time constraints or uncomfortable with it, stating they much preferred to speak via the phone. Several of these interview subjects were individuals who could provide important insights, and, as such, I conducted more than one-third of the interviews via telephone. This lack of consistency in format is perhaps another limitation of this study. However, these interviews were conducted in this manner in order to gather respondents with a wider diversity of context than in-person discussions would afford.

The pool of participants was limited to journalists currently working in the United States. Only one of the journalists was not originally from the United States. Studies have shown that many journalistic values are the same in other countries, but others are often interpreted differently (Hafez, 2002). Having respondents that included more journalists from other countries could have provided deeper insight and would be a suggestion for further research.

In order to provide different contexts, I included journalists of varied backgrounds, including newspaper and broadcast journalists, as well as journalists from outlets of varying sizes. Perhaps it is difficult to compare journalists working in such disparate circumstances. However, doing so allowed me to gather participants with a diversity of experience. In addition, as the pool of respondents from specific media was small, I do not intend to compare the typical experience of different types of journalists, such as broadcasters or newspaper reporters, but including journalists with varied experience was meant to add additional perspectives.

Because some journalists came from large, national publications, while others worked at regional, metropolitan, or community news organizations, interview respondents also had varied Twitter followings. While journalists at national outlets may have larger followings on Twitter, perhaps allowing for more interactivity, most of my interview subjects had between 1,000 and 5,000 followers, with only a few having more than 10,000. However, while studies of major news organizations may be common in the academic research on journalism, such studies are not necessarily representative of the general population of journalists, either. Approximately 97% of American newspapers are community-based organizations (Smith, 2008). Studies have already been completed on the ways in which influential journalists use Twitter (Hermida, 2013). By interviewing journalists with varied Twitter followings, I was able to find respondents who could share a diversity of experience in interacting with followers. It also allowed me to find journalists who had significant experience in the field before widespread use of Twitter, as well as some who entered the industry after the platform was widely available.

In addition, with the help of the Atlas.Ti software, I conducted the coding on my own. Although I attempted to increase the rigor of the study by sharing key points, as well as some of the codes and transcripts, with my dissertation chair, the findings came from my own interpretation of the interview transcripts. Shenton (2004, p. 67) offered as a method for improve rigor the "frequent debriefing sessions between the researcher and his or her superiors," (p. 67)—in which I engaged with my dissertation chair, an accomplished researcher with both practical newsroom experience and qualitative research expertise. Shenton (2004) offered methods of improving credibility of qualitative research, including using methods that are "well established" (p. 64). The constant comparative method has a long history in scholarship (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Corbin & Strauss, 1991). In addition, Shenton (2004) offered as another method to ensure credibility that the researcher compare findings to previous research, which I have also attempted to do.

The findings I have made here offer interesting subjects for future study. Future research could focus specifically on the storytelling function of journalists as expressed by many of my interview subjects. Journalistic storytelling through audience interactivity via social media could be a field that is ripe for academic study. In a previous study, two coauthors and I examined storytelling aspects of Richard Deitsch's Single Best Moment project (Romney et al., 2015). That particular research was done as a case study. Following up with a journalistic social media storytelling study via survey research or in-depth interviews might be interesting. Studies could also examine how social media might offer opportunities for journalists to improve their storytelling skills and how social media storytelling could include participatory journalism with the audience.

In addition, the study could perhaps be replicated with journalists with much larger Twitter followings. As those respondents who had larger followings were more likely to have many interactions, but also to say that Twitter interaction was a strain on their time, it could be worthwhile to examine whether journalists who have significant Twitter followings give different answers for their participation—and to study whether they interact more or less than other journalists. The findings for this study could also perhaps be tested through quantitative survey methods.

It might also be worthwhile to compare journalists from nontraditional, digital media with those at legacy publications. Perhaps those whose news organizations have arisen in the age of participatory media may have different insights than those who work for legacy media.

References

About. (2015). Twitter. Retrieved August 24, 2015, from https://about.twitter.com/

Ahmad, A. N. (2010). Is Twitter a useful tool for journalists? *Journal of Media Practice*, *11*(2), 145-155.

Allaire, Y., & Firsirotu, M. E. (1984). Theories of organizational culture. *Organization Studies, 5*(3), 193-226.

Aldridge, M., & Evetts, J. (2003). Rethinking the concept of professionalism: The case of journalism. *British Journal of Sociology, 54*(4), 547-564.

Alexander, A. (2010, August 31). Post columnist Mike Wise suspended for fake Twitter report. *The Washington Post.* Retrieved on August 10, 2014 from http://voices.washingtonpost.com/ombudsman-blog/2010/08/post_columnist_mike_wise_suspe.html

Althaus, S. L. (2003). When news norms collide, follow the lead: New evidence for press independence. *Political Communications, 20*, 381-414.

Althusser, L. (1971). "Ideology and ideological state apparatuses," in *Lenin and Philosophy and other Essays.* London: New Left. Cited in McQuail, D. (2010). *McQuail's Mass Communication Theory* (6th ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Altmeppen, K. D. (2010). The gradual disappearance of foreign news on German television. *Journalism Studies, 11*(4), 567-576.

Alves, R. C. (2001). The future of online journalism: mediamorphosis or mediacide? *The Journal of Policy, Regulation, and Strategy for Telecommunications Information and Media, 3*(1), 63-72

Arceneaux, N., Weis, A. S. (2010). Seems stupid until you try it: press coverage of Twitter, 2006-09. *New Media & Society, 12*(8), 1262-1279.

Armstrong, C. L., & Gao, F. (2010). Now tweet this: how news organizations use Twitter. *Electronic News, 4*(4), 218-235.

Andronikidis, A. I., & Lambrianidou, M. (2010). Children's understanding of television advertising: A grounded theory approach*, Psychology & Marketing, 27*(4), p. 299-322.

Atton, C., & Wickenden, E. (2005). Sourcing routines and representation in alternative journalism: A case study approach. *Journalism Studies, 6*(3), 347-359.

Atwater, T., & Green, N. F. (1988). News sources in network coverage of international terrorism. *Journalism Quarterly, 65*, 967-971. Cited in Shoemaker, P. J., & Reese, S. D. (1996). *Mediating the Message: Theories of Influences on Mass Media Content* (2nd ed.). White Plains, NY: Longman.

Aviles, J. A., Leon, B., Sanders, K., & Harrison, J. (2004). Journalists at digital television newsrooms in Britain and Spain: Workflow and multi-skilling in a competitive environment. *Journalism Studies, 5*(1), 87-100.

Babbie, E. (2009). *The Practice of Social Research*. (12th ed.). Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.

Bailey, G. A., & Lichty, L. W. (1972). Rough justice on a Saigon street: A gatekeeper study of NBC's Tet execution film. *Journalism Quarterly, 49,* 221-229.

Ball, A., Hanna, M., & Sanders, K. (2006). What British journalism students think about ethics and journalism. *Journalism & Mass Communication Educator, 61*(1), 20-32.

Barber, B. (1963). Some problems in the sociology of professions. *Daedalus*, *92(*4), 669-688.

Barge, J. K., Lee, M., Maddux, K., Nabring, R., & Townsend, B. (2008). Managing dualities in planned change initiatives. *Journal of Applied Communication Research, 36*(4), 364-390.

Barney, R. (1996). Community journalism: Good intentions, questionable practice. *Journal of Mass Media Ethics, 11*(3), 140-151.

Bartol, K. M. (1979). Professionalism as a predictor of organization commitment, role stress, and turnover: A multidimensional approach. *The Academy of Management Journal, 22*(4), 815-821.

Battistoli, B. (2008). Transmission, translation, and transformation: Communication of ethical codes in the newsroom. Paper presented at the annual conference of the International Communication Association, Montreal, Quebec, Canada.

Baym, N. K. (2010). *Personal Connections in the Digital Age: Digital Media and Society Series*. Cambridge, MA: Polity Press.

Beam, R. A. (1990). Journalism professionalism as an organizational-level concept. *Journalism Monographs, 121,* 1-43.

Beam, R. A. (1993). The impact of group ownership variables on organizational professionalism at daily newspapers. *Journalism Quarterly, 70*(4), 907-918.

Beam, R. A., Weaver, D. H., & Brownlee, B. J. (2009). Changes in professionalism of U.S. journalists in the turbulent Twenty-First Century. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly, 86*(2), 277-298.

Becker, H. S. (1970). *Sociological Work: Method and Substance*. Chicago: Aldine Publishing.

Becker, H.S., & Carper, J. (1956). The elements of identification with an occupation. *American Sociological Review, 21*(3), 341-348.

Becker, J. A. H., & Stamp, G. H. (2005). Impression management in chat rooms: A grounded theory model. *Communication Studies 56(3)*, 243-260.

Berg, B. L. (2009). *Qualitative Research Methods* (7th ed.). Boston: Allyn & Bacon.

Bergstrom, A. (2008). The reluctant audience: Online participation in the Swedish journalistic context. *Westminster Papers in Communication and Culture, 5*(2), 60-80.

Berkowitz (1987). TV news sources and news channels: A study in agenda-building. *Journalism Quarterly, 64*, 508-513.

Berkowtiz, D. (1990). Refining the gatekeeping metaphor for local television news. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media, 34*(1), 55-68.

Berkowitz, D. (1992a). Routine newswork and the what-a-story: A case study of organizational adaptation. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media, 36*(1)*,* 45-60.

Berkowitz, D. (1992b). Non-routine news and newswork: Exploring a what-a-story. *Journal of Communication, 42*(1), 82-94.

Berkowitz, D. & Beach, D. W. (1993). News sources and news context: The effect of routine news, conflict and proximity. *Journalism Quarterly, 70*(1), 4-12.

Bennett, W. L. (1996). An introduction to journalism norms and representations of politics. *Political Communication, 13*, 373-384.

Bisel, R. S., & Barge, J. K (2011). Discursive positioning and planned change in organizations. *Human Relations*, *64*(2), 257-283.

Black, J. (1998). Journalism nethics. *Convergence: The International Journal of Research into New Media Technologies, 4*(4), 10-17.

Boczkowski, P. J. (2009). Rethinking hard and soft news production: From common ground to divergent paths. *Journal of Communication, 59*, 98-116.

Bogaerts, J. (2011). On the performativity of journalistic identity. *Journalism Practice, 5*(4), 399-413.

Boyce, C. N., & Neal, P. N. (2006). Conducting in-depth interviews: A guide for designing and conducting in-depth interviews for evaluation input. *Pathfinder International Tool Series: Monitoring and Evaluation, 2*, 1-12.

boyd, d. m., & Ellison, N. B. (2008). Social network sites: Definition, history, and scholarship. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication, 13,* 210-230.

Boykoff, M., & Boykoff, J. M. (2007). Climate change and journalistic norms: A case-study of US mass-media coverage. *Geoforum, (38)*, 1190-1204.

Bradshaw, B. (2009). Wiki journalism. In Allan, S., & Thorson, E. (Eds.) *Citizen Journalism: Global Perspectives*, 43-64. New York: Peter Lang.

Brannon, J. (2008). Maximizing the medium: Assessing obstacles to performing multimedia journalism in three U.S. Newsrooms. In Paterson, C., & Domingo, D. (Eds.) *Making Online News: The Ethnography of New Media Production*, 99-111. New York: Peter Lang.

Brewer, M. B., & McCombs, M. (1996). Setting the community agenda*, Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly, 73*(1), 7-16.

Brown, J. D., Bybee, C. R, Wearden, S. T., & Straughan, D. M. (1987). Invisible power: newspaper news sources and the limits of diversity. *Journalism Quarterly, 64*(1), 45-54.

Brown, C., Hendrickson, E., & Litau, J. (2014). New opportunities for diversity: Twitter, journalists and traditionally underserved caommunities. *Journal of Social Media Studies, 1*(1), 1-16.

Browning, B., & Sanderson, J. (2012). The positives and negatives of Twitter: Exploring how student-athletes use Twitter and respond to critical tweets, *International Journal of Sport Communication, 5,* 503-521.

Bruns, A. (2003). Gatewatching, not gatekeeping: Collaborative online news. *Media International Australia Incorporating Culture and Policy, 107*, 31-44.

Bruns, A. (2005). *Gatewatching: Collaborative Online News Production*. New York: Peter Lang.

Bruns, A. (2008). The active audience: transforming journalism from gatekeeping to gatewatching. In Paterson, C., & Domingo, D. (Eds.), *Making Online News: The Ethnography of New Media Production* (pp. 171-184). New York: Peter Lang Publishing.

Bruns, A. (2009). *Blogs, Wikipedia, Second Life and Beyond: From production to produsage*. New York: Peter Lang.

Bruns, A. (2011). Gatekeeping, gatewatching, real-time feedback: New challenges for journalism. *Brazilian Journalism Research, 7*(11), 117-136.

Bruns, A. & Burgess, J. E. (2011). The use of Twitter hashtags in the formation of ad hoc publics. Presented at the 6th European Consortium for Political Research, August 25-27, 2011, in Reykjavik, Iceland.

Bruns, A., Wilson, J., & Saunders, B. (2009). Citizen journalism as social networking: Reporting the 2007 Australian Federal Election. In Allan, S., & Thorson, E. (Eds.) *Citizen Journalism: Global Perspectives*, 43-64. New York: Peter Lang.

Burgoon, J. K., Burgoon, M., Buller, D. B., Atkin, C. K. (1995). Job satisfaction among newsworkers: The influence of professionalism, perceptions of organizational structure, and social attributes. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly, 72*(3), 125-132, 275.

Charmaz, K. (1983). The grounded theory method: An explication and interpretation. In *Contemporary Field Research: A Collection of Readings* (Emerson, R. M. ed.), Waveland Press, Prospect Heights, IL, 109-126.

Chen, G. M. (2011). Tweet this: A uses and gratifications perspective on how active Twitter use gratifies a need to connect with others. *Computers in Human Behavoir, 27,* 755-762.

Cheong, P. H., Huang, S., & Poon, J. P. H. (2011). Religious Communication and epistemic authority of leaders in wired faith organizations. *Journal of Communication, 61*, 935-958.

Clark, C. E. (2011). A case of conflicting norms? Mobilizing and accountability information in the newspaper coverage of the autism-vaccine controversy. *Public Understanding of Science, 20*(5), 609-626.

Clavio, G., & Kian, T. M. (2010). Uses and gratifications of a retired female athlete's Twitter followers. *International Journal of Sport Communication, 3,* 485-500.

Coddington, M., Molyneux, L., & Lawrence, R. G. (2014). Fact checking the campaign: how political reporters use Twitter to set the record straight (or not). *The International Journal of Press/Politics, 19*(40), 391-409.

Cohen, A. B. (2009). Many forms of culture. *American Psychologist, 64*(3), 194-204.

Corbin, J., & Strauss, A. (1990). Grounded theory research: Procedures, canons, and evaluative criteria. *Quantitative Sociology, 12*(1), 3-21.

Cottle, S., & Ashton, M. (1999). From BBC newsroom to BBC newscentre: On changing technology and journalist practices. *Convergence, 5*(1), 22-43.

Cozma, R., & Chen, K. (2013). What's in a tweet? Foreign correspondents' use of social media. *Journalism Practice, 7*(1), 33-46.

Crouch, M., & McKenzie, H. (2006). The logic of small samples in interview-based qualitative research. *Social Science Information, 45*(4), 483-499.

Curwood, J. S., Magnifico, J. S., & Lammers, J. C. (2013). Writing in the wild: Writers' motivation in fan-based affinity spaces. *Journal of Adolescent & Adult Literacy, 56*(8), 677-685.

Dailey, L., Demo, L., & Spillman, M. (2005). The convergence continuum: A model for studying collaboration between media newsrooms. *Atlantic Journal of Communication, 13*(3), 150-168.

de Bruin, M. (2000). Gender, organizational and professional identities in journalism. *Journalism, 1*(2), 217-238.

Deprez, A., Mechant, P., & Hoebeke, T. (2013). Social media and flemish sports reporters: A multimethod analysis of Twitter use as a journalistic tool. *International Journal of Sport Communication, 6,* 107-119.

Deuze, M. (2004). Journalism studies beyond media: On ideology and identity. *Ecquid Novi, 25*(2), 275-293.

Deuze, M. (2005). What is journalism? Professional identity and ideology of journalists reconsidered. *Journalism, 6*(4), 442-464.

Deuze, M. (2008). The professional identity of journalists in the context of convergence culture. *Observatorio, 2*(4), 103-117.

Deuze, M. & Paulussen, S. (2002). Online journalism in the low countries Basic occupational and professional characteristics of online journalists in Flanders and the Netherlands. *European Journal of Communication, 17*(2), 237-245.

Dewey, C. (2014, February 5). Twitter CEO Dick Costolo finally admits the obvious: Site has failed users on abuse. *Washington Post.* Retrieved on August 10, 2015, from https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/the-intersect/wp/2015/02/05/twitter-ceo-dick-costolo-finally-admits-the-obvious-we-suck-at-dealing-with-abuse/

Dickson, S. H. (1992). Press and U.S. policy toward Nicaragua, 1983-1987: A study of the *New York Times* and *Washington Post*. *Journalism Quarterly, 69*(3), 562-571.

Dickson, S. H. (1994). Understanding media bias: The press and the U.S. invasion of Panama. *Journalism Quarterly, 71*(4).

Dickinson, R. (2007). Accomplishing journalism: Towards a revived sociology of a media occupation. *Cultural Sociology, 1*(2), 189-208.

Dingwall, R. (1976). Accomplishing profession. *The Sociological Review, 24*(2), 331-349.

Domingo, D. (2008). Interactivity in the daily routines of online newsrooms: Dealing with an uncomfortable myth. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication, 13,* 680-704.

Domingo, D. (2008). When immediacy rules: Online journalism models in four Catalan online newsrooms. In Paterson, C., & Domingo, D. (Eds.) *Making Online News: The Ethnography of New Media Production*, 113-126. New York: Peter Lang.

Downes, E. J., & McMillan, S. J. (2000). Defining interactivity: A qualitative identification of key dimensions. *New Media Society, 2*(2), 157-179.

Durham, F. (2005). Public relations as structuration: A prescriptive critique of the StarLink global food contamination case. *Journal of Public Relations Research, 17*(1), 29-47.

Edmonds, R., Guskin, E., Rosenstiel, T., & Mitchell, A. (2012). Newspapers by the numbers. *Pew Project for Excellence in Journalism.* Retrieved December 5, 2012, from: http://stateofthemedia.org/2012/newspapers-building-digital-revenues-proves-painfully-slow/newspapers-by-the-numbers/.

Evetts, J. (2003). The sociological analysis of professionalism: Occupational change in the modern world. *International Sociology, 18*(2), 395-415.

Evetts, J. (2006). Short note: The sociology of professional groups, *54*(1), 133-143.

Flexner, A. (1915, 2001). Is social work a profession? *Research on Social Work Practice, 11*(2), 152-165.

Fortunati, L., & Sarrica, M. (2010). The future of the press: Insights from the sociotechnical approach. *The Information Society, 26*, 247-255.

Fournier, V. (1999). The appeal to 'professionalism' as a disciplinary mechanism. *The Sociological Review, 47*(2), 280-307.

Friedson, E. (2001). *Professionalism: The Third Logic.* Cambridge: Polity.

Gade, P. J. (2008). Journalism guardians in a time of great change: Newspaper editors' perceived influence in integrated news organizations. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly, 85*(2), 371-392.

Gade, P. J., & Perry, E. L (2003). Changing the newsroom culture: A four-year case study of organizational development at the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch, Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly, 80*(2), 327-347.

Gans, H. J. (1979, 2004). *Deciding what's news: A study of CBS Evening News, NBC Nightly News, Newsweek, and Time (25th Anniversary Edition),* Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press.

Garcia, E. P. (2007). Interactivity in Argentinean Online Newsrooms. *Zer*, 12(23) 7-25.

Gee, J. P., & Hayes, E. R. (2011). *Language and Learning in the Digital Age.* New York: Routledge.

Geertz, C. (1973). *The Interpretation of Cultures*. New York: Basic Books.

Giddens, A. (1984). *The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration.* Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Gieber, W. (1960). How the "gatekeepers" view local civil liberties news. *Journalism Quarterly, 37*(1), 199-205.

Gieryn, T. F. (1983). Boundary-work and the demarcation of science from non-science: Strains and interests in professional ideologies of scientists. *American Sociological Review, 48*(6), 781-795.

Gillmor, D. (2004). *We the Media: Grassroots Journalism, by the People, for the People.* Sebastapol, CA: O'Reilly.

Glaser, B. G., & Strauss, A. L. (1967). *Discovery of Grounded Theory*. New York: Aldine de Gruter.

Graber, D. A. (2002). *Mass media and American politics* (6th ed.). Washington, DC: CQ Press. Cited in Althaus, S. L. (2003). When news norms collide, follow the lead: New evidence for press independence. *Political Communications, 20*, 381-414.

Greenwood, E. (1957). Attributes of a profession. *Social Work, 2*(3), 45-55.

Greer, C. F., & Ferguson, D. A. (2011). Using Twitter for promotion and branding: a content analysis of local television Twitter sites. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media, 55*(2), 198-214.

Hafez, K. (2002). Journalism ethics revisited: A comparison of ethics codes in Europe, North Africa, the Middle East, and Muslim Asia. *Political Communication, 19,* 225-250.

Hall, R. H. (1968). Professionalization and bureaucratization. *American Sociological Review, 33*(1), 92-104.

Hambrick, M. E., Simmons, J. M., Greenhalgh, G. P., Greenwell, T. C. (2010). Understanding professional athletes' use of Twitter: A content analysis of athlete tweets. *International Journal of Sport Communication, 3,* 454-471.

Hanna, M., & Sanders, K. (2012). Perceptions of the news media's societal roles: How the views of U.K. journalism students changed during their education. *Journalism & Mass Communication Educator, 67*(2), 145-163.

Hanitzsch, T. (2007). Deconstructing journalism culture: Toward a universal theory. *Communication Theory, 17,* 367-385.

Hargreaves, A. (2000). Four ages of professionalism and professional learning. *Teachers and Teaching: History and Practice, 6*(2), 2000.

Haslett, B. B. (2013). Introductory remarks: Structuration theory. *Management Communication Quarterly, 27*(4), 596-598.

Hayes, D., & Guardino, M. (2010). Whose views made the news? Media coverage and the march to the War in Iraq. *Political Communication*, *27*(1), 59-87.

Heider, D., McCombs, M., & Poindexter, P. M. (2005). What the public expects of local news: Views on public and traditional journalism. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly, 82*(4), 952-967.

Heracleous, L. (2013). The employment of structuration theory in organizational discourse: Exploring methodological challenges. *Management Communication Quarterly, 27*(4), 599-606.

Hermans, L., & Vergeer, M. (2011). Journalism in the new millennium: Dutch journalists' role conceptions related to journalistic values and background characteristics. Paper presented at the annual convention of the International Communication Association in Boston, Massachusetts.

Hermida, A. (2010). Twittering the news: The emergence of ambient journalism. *Journalism Practice, 4*(3), 297-308.

Hermida, A. (2013). #Journalism: Reconfiguring journalism research about Twitter, one tweet at a time. *Digital Journalism, 1*(3), 295-313.

Herscovitz, H. G. (2004). Brazilian journalists' perceptions of media roles, ethics and foreign influences on Brazilian journalism. *Journalism Studies, 5*(1), 71-86.

Hickerson, A. A. (2011). Revisiting Abu Ghraib: Journalists' sourcing and framing patterns. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly, 88*(4), 789-806.

Hirsch, P. M. (1977). Occupational, organizational, and institutional models in mass media research: Toward an integrated framework. In P. M. Hirsch, P. V. Miller & F. G. Kline (Eds.), *Strategies for Communication Research*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Hoffman, M. F., & Cowan, R. L. (2010). Be careful what you ask for: Structuration theory and work/life accommodation. *Communication Studies, 61*(2), 205-223.

Hofstede, G. (1980/1981). Culture and organizations. *International Studies of Management & Organization, 10*(4), 15-41.

Holcomb, J., Gottfried, J., & Mitchell, A. (2013). News use across social media platforms. *Pew Research Center*. Retrieved June 26, 2015, from http://www.journalism.org/2013/11/14/news-use-across-social-media-platforms/

Holton, A. E., & Lewis, S. C. (2011). Journalists, social media, and the use of humor on Twitter. *The Electronic Journal of Communication, 21*(1-2), 1-22.

Hu, M., Liou, S., Wei, F., Wu, Y., Stasko, J., & Kwan-Liu, M. (2012). Breaking news on Twitter. In *Proceedings of the SIGCHI Conference on Human Factors in Computing Systems* (pp. 2751-2754). ACM.

Huang, E., Davison, K., Shreve, S., Davis, T., Bettendorf, E., & Nair, A. (2006). Facing the challenges of convergence: Media professionals' concerns of working across media. *Convergence, 12*(1), 83-98.

Huang, J. S., & Heider, D. (2007). Media convergence: a case study of a cable news station. *The International Journal on Media Management, 9*(3), 105-111.

Hutchins, B. (2011). The acceleration of media sport culture. *Information, Community, & Society. 14*(2), 237-257.

Iyengar, S., & Bennett, W. L. (2008). A new era of minimal effects? The changing foundations of political communication. *Journal of Communication, 58*, p. 707-731.

Jenkins, H. (2006). *Convergence Culture: Where Old and New Media Collide.* New York: New York University Press.

Jenkins, H., Ford, S., & Green, J. (2013). *Spreadable Media: Creating Value and Meaning in a Networked Culture.* New York: New York University Press.

Jenkins, H., Purushotma, R., Weigel, M., Clinton, K., & Robison, A. J. (2009). *Confronting the Challenges of Participatory Culture: Media Education for the 21st Century*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.

Johnson, P. R., & Yan, S. U. (2009). Uses and gratifications of Twitter: An examination of user motives and satisfaction of Twitter use. Paper presented at the annual convention of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication in Boston, MA.

Johnson, J. W., Slawski, E. J., & Bowman, W. W. (1972). The professional values of American newsmen. *Public Opinion Quarterly, 36*(4), 522-540.

Johnstone, J. W. C. (1976). Organizational constraints on newswork, *Journalism Quarterly, 53*(1), 5-13.

Jones, M. R., & Karsten, H. (2008). Giddens's structuration theory and information systems research. *MIS Quarterly, 32*(1), 127-157.

Journalism's changing norms of accountability: A study of corrections policies of major news websites. (2011). Paper presented at the annual conference of the International Communication Assocation.

Ju, A., Jeong, S. H., & Chyi, H. I., (2013). Will social media save newspapers? *Journalism Practice, 8*(1), 1-17.

Kaplan, R. L. (2006). The news about new institutionalism: Journalism's ethic of objectivity and its political origins. *Political Communication, 2,* 173-185.

Karlsson, M. (2011). The immediacy of online news, the visibility of journalistic processes and a restructuring of journalistic authority. *Journalism, 12*(3), 279-295.

Kian, E. M., and Murray, A. (2014). Curmudgeons but yet adapters: Impact of Web 2.0 and Twitter on Newspaper Sports Journalists' Jobs, Responsibilities and Routines. *International Symposium of Online Journalism, 4*(1), 61-77.

Kiousis, S. (2002). Interactivity: A concept explication. *New Media & Society, 4*(3), 355-383.

Knight, A. (2008). Journalism in the age of blogging. *Journalism Studies, 9*(1), 117-131.

Knight, M. (2012). Journalism as usual: The use of social media as a newsgathering tool in the coverage of the Iranian elections in 2009. *Journal of Media Practice, 13*(1), 61-74.

Konieczna, M. (2014). Do old norms have a place in new media? A case study of the nonprofit MinnPost. *Journalism Practice, 8*(1), 49-64.

Kovach, B., & Rosenstiel, T. (2007). *The Elements of Journalism: What Newspeople Should Know and the Public Should Expect* (2nd ed.). New York: Three Rivers Press.

Kovach, B., & Rosenstiel, T. (2010). *Blur: How to Know What's True in the Age of Information Overload.* New York: Bloomsbury.

Kramer, M. W., Dougherty, D. S., Pierce, T. A. (2004). Managing uncertainty during a corporate acquisition. *Human Communication Research, 30*(1), 71-101.

Kroeber, A. L., & Kluckholn, C. (1952) *Culture: A Critical Review of Concepts and Definitions*. New York: Vintage Books.

Kuhn, T., & Corman, S. R. (2003). The emergence of homogeneity and heterogeneity in knowledge structures during a planned organizational change. *Communication Monographs, 70*(3), 198-229.

Kurtz, H. (2010, August 31). Post sportswriter Mike Wise suspended for Roethlisberger hoax on Twitter. *Washington Post.* Retrieved on August 10, 2015, from http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2010/08/31/AR2010083104105.html

Laird, S. (2014, August 1). Sports media misogyny: What is fans' problem with female commentators? *Mashable.* Retrieved on August 10, 2015, from http://mashable.com/2014/08/01/women-sports-twitter/

Lammers, J. C., Curwood, J. S., & Magnifico, A. M. (2012). Toward an affinity space methodology: Considerations for literacy research. *English Teaching: Practice and Critique, 11*(2), 44-58.

Lariscy, R. W., Avery, E. J., Sweetser, K. D., & Howes, P. (2009). An examination of the role of online social media in journalists' source mix. *Public Relations Review, 35*, 314-316.

Larson, M. S. (1977). *The rise of professionalism: A sociological analysis.* Berkeley, CA: The University of California Press.

Larsson, A. O. (2012a). Interactivity on Swedish newspaper websites: What kind, how much and why? *Convergence, 18,* 195-213.

Larsson, A. O. (2012b). Understanding nonuse of interactivity in online newspapers: Insights from structuration theory. *The Information Society, 28,* 253-263.

Larsson, A. O., & Moe, H. (2011). Studying political microblogging: Twitter useres in the 2010 Swedish election campaign. *New Media & Soceity, 14*(5), 729-747.

Lasorsa, D. (2012). Transparency and other journalistic norms on Twitter: The role of gender. *Journalism Studies, 13*(3), 402-417.

Lasorsa, D. L., Lewis, S. C., & Holton, A. E. (2012). Normalizing Twitter: Journalism practice in an emerging communication space. *Journalism Studies, 13*(1), 19-36.

Latham, S., & Laxson, T. (2006). *Audience perceptions of the objectivity norm,* Presented at the annual conference of the Internation Communication Association.

Lauterer, J. (2006). *Community Journalism: Relentlessly Local* (3rd ed). Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press.

Lawrence, A. (2014, July 28). In the line of fire. *Play by Play Day by Day with Amy Lawrence.* Retrieved on August 10, 2015, from http://amylawrencepxp.com/2014/07/28/in-the-line-of-fire/#comments

Leyesdorff, L. (2010). The communication of meaning and the structuration of expectations. *Journal of the American Society for Information Science and Technology, 61*(10), 2138-2150.

Lewin, K. (1947). Group dynamics: II. Channels of group life; social planning and action research. *Human Relations, 1*, 143-153.

Lewis, L. K. (2000). "Blindsided by that one" and "I saw that one coming": The relative anticipation and occurrence of communication problems and other problems in implementers' hindsight. *Journal of Applied Communication Research, 28*(1), 44-67.

Lewis, L. K. (2007). An organizational stakeholder model of change implementation communication. *Communication Theory, 17*, 176-204.

Lewis, L. K., & Seibold, D. R. (1996). Communication during intraorganizational innovation adoption: Predicting users' behavioral coping responses to innovations in organizations. *Communication Monographs, 63*(2), 131-157.

Lewis, L. K. (2011). *Organizational Change: Creating Change Through Strategic Communication*. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.

Lewis, S. C. (2012). The tension between professional control and open participation. *Information, Community, & Society, 15*(6), 836-866.

Lincoln, Y. S., & Guba, E. G. (1985). *Naturalistic Inquiry*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Lindgren, S. (2012). "It took e about half an hour, but I did it!" Media circuits and affinity spaces around how-to videos on YouTube. *European Journal of Communication, 27*(2), 152-170.

Lindlof, T. R., & Taylor, B. C. (2011). *Qualitative Communication Research Methods* (3rd Ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Liu, C. (2006). De-skilling effects on journalists: ICTs and the labour process of Taiwanese newspaper reporters. *Canadian Journal of Communication, 31*(3), 695-714.

Liu, S., Palen, L., Sutton, J., Hughes, A. L., & Vieweg, S. (2009). Citizen photojournalism during crises events. In Allan, S., & Thorson, E. (Eds.) *Citizen Journalism: Global Perspectives*, 43-64. New York: Peter Lang.

Lowery, W. (2006). Mapping the journalism-blogging relationship. *Journalism, 7*(4), 477-500.

Martin, S. R. (1988). Proximity of event as factor in selection of news sources. *Journalism Quarterly, 65*(4), 986-989.

Martin, V. B. (2008). Attending the news: A grounded theory about a daily regimen. *Journalism, 9*(1), 76-94.

Marwick, A. E., & boyd, d., (2011). I tweet honestly, I tweet passionately: Twitter users, context collapse, and the imagined audience. *New Media & Society, 13*(1), 114-133.

McCombs, M. (2005). A look at agenda-setting: Past, present and future. *Journalism Studies, 6*(4), 543-557.

McCombs, M. E., & Shaw, D. R. (1972). The agenda-setting function of the mass media. *Public Opinion Quarterly, 36*, 176-187.

McEnnis, S. (2013). Raising our game: Effects of citizen journalism on Twitter for professional identity and working practices of British sport journalists. *International Journal of Sport Communication, 6*(4), 423-433.

McLeod, J. M., & Hawley, S. E. (1964). *Journalism Quarterly, 41*(4), 529-577.

McLeod, J. M., & Rush, R. R. (1969). Professionalization of Latin American and US journalist. *Journalism Quaterly, 46*(3), 583-590.

McDonald, I. (2008). “Parachute Journalism” in Haiti: Media sourcing in the 2003-2004 political crisis. *Canadian Journal of Communication, 33*(2), 213-232.’’

McGuire, J. P., & Murray, R. (2013). Attitudes of sport print journalists about developing electronic media skills: A case study of two major newspapers. *International Journal of Sport Communication, 6,* 464-477.

McIntyre, J. S. (1987). Repositioning a landmark: The Hutchins Commission and freedom of the press*, Journalism Quarterly, 4,* 136-160.

McManus, J. (1992). Serving the public and serving the market: A conflict of interest? *Journal of Mass Media Ethics, 7*(4), 196-208.

McQuail, D. (1984). *Mass Communication Theory*: An Introduction. London: Sage.

McQuail, D. (2010). *McQuail’s Mass Communication Theory* (6th ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Mendoza, D. (2013, July 11). The sportswriter who made Twitter cry. *CNN*. Retrieved August 10, 2015, from http://www.cnn.com/2013/07/11/tech/storify-best-moments/

Menanteau-Horta, D. (1967). Professionalism of journalists in Santiago de Chile. *Journalism Quarterly, 44,* 715-724.

Meraz, S. (2009). Is there an elite hold? traditional media to social media agenda setting influence in blog networks. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication, 14*(3), 682-707.

Messner, M., Linke, M., & Eford, A. (2011). Shoveling tweets: An analysis of the microblogging engagement of traditional news organizations. Paper presented at the International Symposim on Online Journalism in Austin Texas, April 1, 2011.

Meyers, E. M., Erickson, I., & Small, R. V. (2013). Digital literacy and informal learning environments: an introduction. *Learning, Media, and Technology*, *38*(4), 355-367.

Miller, V. D., Johnson, J. R., & Gray, J. (1994). Antecedents to willingness to participate in a planned organizational change, *Journal of Applied Communication Research, 22*(1), 59-80.

Miller, K. I., & Monge, P. R. (1985). Social information and employee anxiety about organizational change. *Human Communication Research, 11*(3), 365-386.

Mings, S. M., & White (2000). Profiting from online news: The search for viable business models. In B. Kahn & H. R. Varian (Eds.), *Internet publishing and beyond: The economics of digital information and intellectual property. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.*

Mitchell, R. K., Agle, B. R., Wood, D. J. (1997). Toward a theory of stakeholder identification and salience: Defining the principle of who and what really counts. *The Academy of Management Review, 22*(4), 853-886.

Mitchelstein, E., & Boczkowski, P. J. (2010). Online news consumption research: An assessment of past work and agenda for the future. *New Media Society, 12*(7), 1085-1102.

Molotch, H., & Lester, M. (1974). News as purposive behavior: On the strategic use of routine events, accidents, and scandals. *American Sociological Review, 39*(1), 101-112.

Morrow, P. C., & Goetz, J. F. (1988). Professionalism as a form of work commitment. *Journal of Vocational Behavior, 32,* 92-111.

Murthy, D. (2011). Twitter: Microphone for the masses? *Media, Culture, & Society, 33*(5), 779-789.

Nerone, J., & Barnhurst, K. G. (2003). US Newspaper types, the newsroom, and the division of labor, 1750-2000. *Journalism Studies, 4*(4), 435-449.

Netzley, S. B., & Banning, S. A. (2011). Tomorrow's journalists: In-groups, out-groups, and news topic preference. *Journalism & Mass Communication Educator*, *61*(1), 39-53.

Nielsen, C. E. (2014). Coproduction or cohabitation: Are anonymous online comments on newspaper websites shaping news content? *New Media & Society, 16*(3), 470-487.

Noguera Vivo, J. M. (2012). How open are journalists on Twitter? Trends towards the end-user journalism. *Communication and Society, 26*(1), 93-114.

Noordegraaf. M (2007). From "pure" to "hybrid" professionalism: Present-day professionalism in ambiguous public domains. *Administration & Society, 39*(6), 761-785.

Olmstead, K., Sasseen, J., Mitchell, A., & Rosenstiel, T. (2012). Digital: News gains audience but loses ground in chase for revenue. *Pew Project for Excellence in Journalism, State of the News Media 2012.* Retrieved December 5, 2012, from: http://stateofthemedia.org/2012/digital-news-gains-audience-but-loses-more-ground-in-chase-for-revenue/

Orenstein, H (2013, July 9). 30 photos that capture the best moments of people's lives. *Mashable.* Retrieved on August 10, 2015, from http://mashable.com/2013/07/09/best-moments-tweets/

Orlikowski, W. J. (2000). Using technology and constituting structures: A practice lens for studying technology in organizations. *Organization Science, 11*(4), 404-428.

Paletz and Entman (1981). *Media, Power, & Politics.* New York: Free Press. Cited in Shoemaker, P. J., & Reese, S. D. (1996). *Mediating the Message: Theories of Influences on Mass Media Content* (2nd ed.). White Plains, NY: Longman.

Panagiotou, N., & Theodosiadou, S. (2014). News literacy: Learning about the world. *Journal of Digital and Media Literacy. 2*(1), 1-14.

Parmelee, J. (2013). Political journalists and Twitter: Influences on norms and practices. *Journal of Media Practice, 14*(4), 291-305.

Parsons, T. (1949). *The structure of social action.* Glencoe, IL: Free Press. Cited in Durham, F. (2005). Public relations as structuration: A prescriptive critique of the StarLink global food contamination case. *Journal of Public Relations Research, 17*(1), 29-47.

Paskin (2010). Say what? An analysis of reader comments in bestselling American newspapers. *The Journal of International Communication, 16*(2), 67-83.

Pearson, L. C., & Moomaw, W. (2005). The relationship betwen teacher autonomy and stress, work satisfaction, empowerment, and professionalism. *Educational Research Quarterly, 29*(1), 37-53.

Pickard, V. (2010). "Whether the giants should be slain or persuaded to be good": Revisiting the Hutchins Commission and the role of media in a democratic society, *Critical Studies in Media Communication, 27*(4), 391-411.

Plaisance, P. L., Skewes, E. A., & Hanitzsch, T. (2012). *Communication, 39*(5), 641-661.

Pollard, G. (1995). Job satisfaction among newsworkers: The influence of professionalism, perceptions of organizational structure, and social attributes. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly, 72*(3), 682-697.

Poole, M. S., & McPhee, R. D. (2004). Structuration Theory. In May, S., & Mumby, D. K., *Engaging Organizational Communication Theory & Research: Multiple Perspectives*, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 171-195.

Posetti, J. (2010). The #spill effect: Twitter hashtag upends Australian political journalism. PBS Mediashift. Retrieved April 23, 2015, from http://www.pbs.org/mediashift/2010/03/the-spill-effect-twitter-hashtag-upends-australian-political-journalism061.

Price, Farrington, & Hall l. (2012). Tweeting with the enemy? The impacts of new social media on sports journalism and the education of sports journalism students. *Journalism Education, 1*(1), 9-20.

Privitera, G. J. (2012). *Statistics for the Behavioral Sciences*. Los Angeles: Sage.

Reader, B. (2006) Distinctions that matter: Ethical differences at large and small newspapers. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly, 83*(4), 851-864.

Reader, B. (2012). Community journalism: A concept of connectedness. In Reader, B., & Hatcher, J. A. (Eds.), *Foundations of Community Journalism* (pp. 3-18). Los Angeles, CA: Sage.

Reader, B. (2012). Free press vs. Free speech? The rhetoric of “civility” in regard to anonymous online comments. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly, 89*(3), 495-513.

Reed, S. (2011). Sports journalists’ use of social media and its effects on professionalism. *Journal of Sports Media 6*(2), 43-64.

Reed (2012). American sports writers’ social media use and its influence on professionalism. *Journalism Practice, 7*(5), 555-571.

Reich, Z. (2005). New technologies, old practices: The conservative revolution in communication between reporters and news sources in the Israeli press. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly, 82*(3), 552-570.

Reinardy, S. (2006). It’s gametime: The Maslach Burnout inventory measures burnout of sports journalists. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, *83*(2), 397-412.

Reinardy, S. (2009). Beyond satisfaction: Journalists doubt career intentions as organizational support diminishes and job satisfaction declines. *Atlantic Journal of Communication, 17*, 126-139.

Reinardy, S. (2010). Need for speed onto Internet clashes with journalistic values. *Newspaper Research Journal, 31*(1), 69-83.

Reinardy, S. (2011). Journalism's layoff survivors tap resources to remain satisfied. *Atlantic Journal of Communication, 19*(5), 285-298.

Robinson, S. (2011). Convergence crises: News work and news space in the digitally transforming newsroom. *Journal of Communication*, *61*(6), 1122-1141.

Romenesko, J. (2011, September 29). A female columnist writes about football and is told to 'stay in the kitchen next time. *Poynter.* Retrieved on August 10, 2015, from http://www.poynter.org/news/mediawire/147661/a-female-columnist-writes-about-football-and-is-told-to-stay-in-the-kitchen-next-time/

Romney, M., Johnson, R. G., & Roschke, K. (2015). Life experience narratives in the digital space: Images in Richard Deitsch's Single Best Moment Project. Presented to the Visual Communication Studies Division at the annual conference of the International Communication Association on May 23, 2015, in San Juan, Puerto Rico.

Rosen, J. (1999). *What Are Journalists For?* New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Rosen, J. (2006). The people formerly known as the audience. Retrieved on September 26, 2014 from http://archive.pressthink.org/2006/06/27/ppl_frmr.html.

Rosenberry, J. (2005). Few papers use online techniques to improve public communication. *Newspaper Research Journal, 26*(4), 61-73.

Rosenstiel, T., & Mitchell, A. (2004). The impact of investing in newsroom resources. *Newspaper Research Journal, 25*(1), 84-97.

Roth, J. A. (1974). Professionalism: The sociologist's decoy. *Sociology of Work and Occupations, 1*(1), 6-23.

Rubin, H. J., & Rubin, I. S. (2004). *Qualitative Interviewing: The Art of Hearing Data*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Russell, F. (2015). Journalists, gatekeeping, and social interaction on Twitter. *International Symposium on Online Journalism, 5*(1).

Russell, F. M., Hendricks, M. A., Choi, H., & Stephens, E. C. (2014). Who sets the news agenda on Twitter? Journalists' posts during the 2013 US government shutdown. *Digital Journalism, 2*, 1-19.

Russo, T. C. (1998). Organizational professional identification: A case of newspaper journalists. *Management Communication Quarterly, 12*(1), 72-111.

Ryan, W., & Gilson, Z. (2013). Transforming game narrative through social media: Studying the mass effect universe of Twitter. Paper presented in the proceedings of the annual conference of the Authors & Digital Games Research Association.

Saldana, J. (2011). *Fundamentals of Qualitative Research*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Saldana, J. (2013). *The Coding Manual for Qualitative Researchers*. (2nd Ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Sanders, K., Hanna, M., Berganza, M. R., & Aranda, J. J. S. (2008). Becoming journalists: A comparison of the professional attitudes and values of British and Spanish journalism students. *Journalism & Mass Communication Educator, 23*(2), 133-152.

Schudson, M. (1989). The sociology of news production. *Media, Culture, and Society, 11*, 263-282.

Schudson, M. (2001). The objectivity norm in American journalism. *Journalism*, *2*(2), 149-170.

Schultz and Sheffer (2010). An exploratory study of how Twitter is affecting sports journalism. *International Journal of Sport Communication, 3,* 226-239.

Schuster, J. (2011, February 24). Ex-'Star' scribe fights Twitter-related firing. Retrieved on August 10, 2015, from http://www.tucsonweekly.com/tucson/media-watch/Content?oid=2568700

Scott, C. R., Corman, S. R., & Cheney, G. (1998). Development of a structurational model of identification in the organization. *Communication Theory, 8*(3), 298-336.

Seo, S. K. (1988). Source-press relationship: Major characteristics of sources which influence the selection of sources in news coverage. Paper presented to the Newspaper Division, Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, Portland, OR. Cited in Shoemaker, P. J., & Reese, S. D. (1996). *Mediating the Message: Theories of Influences on Mass Media Content* (2nd ed.). White Plains, NY: Longman.

Sewell, W. H. (2005). The concept(s) of culture. In Spiegel, G. (ed.) *Practicing History: New Directions in Historical Writing after the Linguistic Turn*. New York: Routledge.

Shedden, D. (2014). Today in media history: Mr. Dooley: 'The job of a newspaper is to comfort the afflicted and afflict the comfortable. *Poynter.* Retrieved on Nov. 21, 2015, from http://www.poynter.org/news/mediawire/273081/today-in-media-history-mr-dooley-the-job-of-the-newspaper-is-to-comfort-the-afflicted-and-afflict-the-comfortable/

Sheffer, M. L., & Schultz, B. (2010). Paradigm shift or passing fad? Twitter and sports journalism. *International Journal of Sport Communication, 3,* 472-484.

Sherwood, M. & Nicholson, M. (2012). Web 2.0 platforms and the work of newspaper sport journalists. *Journalism*, *14*(7), 942-959.

Shenton, A. K. (2004). Strategies for ensuring trustworthiness in qualitative research projects, *Education for Information, 22,* 63-75.

Shoemaker, P. J., & Reese, S. D. (1996). *Mediating the Message: Theories of Influences on Mass Media Content* (2nd ed.). White Plains, NY: Longman.

Shoemaker, P. J., & Vos, T. P. (2009). *Gatekeeping Theory*. New York: Routledge.

Siebert, F. S., Peterson, T., & Schramm, W. (1956). *Four Theories of the Press*. Urbana, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Sigal, L. V. (1973) *Reporters and officials: The organization and politics of newsmaking*. Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath and Company.

Silcock, B. W., & Keith, S. (2006). Translating the Tower of Babel? Issues of definition, language, and culture in converged newsrooms, *Journalism Studies, 7*(4), 610-627.

Singer, J. B. (2003). Who are these guys? The online challenge to the notion of journalistic professionalism. *Journalism, 4*(2), 139-163.

Singer, J. B. (2004). More than ink-stained wretches: the resocialization of print journalists on converged newsrooms. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly, 81*(4), 838-856.

Singer, J. B. (2005). The political j-blogger. "Normalizing" a new media form to fit old norms and practices. *Journalism, 6*(2), 173-198.

Singer, J. B. (2010). Quality control: Perceived effects of user-generated content on newsroom norms, values, and routines. *Journalism Practice, 4*(2), 127-142.

Singer, J. B., & Ashman, I. (2009). "Comment is free, but facts are sacred": User-generated content and ethical constructs at the Guardian. *Journal of Mass Media Ethics, 24*, 3-21.

Singer, J. B., Hermida, A., Domingo, D., Heinonen, A., Paulussen, S., Quandt, T., Reich, Z., & Vujnovic, M. (2011). *Participatory Journalism: Guarding Open Gates at Online Newspapers.* Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.

Small, T. A. (2011). What the hashtag? A content analysis of Canadian politics on Twitter. *Information, Communication & Society, 14*(6), 872-895.

Smith, R. (2008) How two veteran journalists in opposing media encouraged a sense of community in a Georgia Town. *Journalism History, 34*(2), 107-116.

Snider, P. B. (1967). "Mr. Gates" revisited: A 1966 version of the 1949 case study. *Journalism Quarterly, 44*(3), 419-327.

Snizek, W. E. (1972). Hall's professionalism scale: An empirical reassessment. *American Sociological Review, 37*, 109-114.

Sonderman, J. (2011, August 11). Study: Links from other news sites matter more than social networks. *Poynter Institute.* Retrieved June 28, 2015, from http://www.poynter.org/news/mediawire/142356/study-links-from-other-news-sites-matter-more-than-social-networks/

Sonderman, J. (2011, November 24). Women journalists confront harassment, sexism when using social media. *Poynter*. Retrieved on August 10, 2015, from http://www.poynter.org/news/media-innovation/153944/women-journalists-confront-harassment-sexism-when-using-social-media/

Stelter, B. (2010, July 7). CNN drops editor after Hezbollah comments. *New York Times*. Retrieved on August 10, 2015, from http://mediadecoder.blogs.nytimes.com/2010/07/07/cnn-drops-editor-after-hezbollah-comments/?_r=1

Steensen, S. (2009). What's stopping them? Toward a grounded theory of innovation in online journalism. *Journalism Studies, 10*(6), 821-836.

Steinberg, D. (2010, August 31). Mike Wise's Statement. *The Washington Post*. Retrieved on August 10, 2015, from http://voices.washingtonpost.com/dcsportsbog/2010/08/mike_wises_statement.html

Stempel, G. H., & Culbertson, H. M. (1984). The prominence and dominance of news sources in newspaper medical coverage. *Journalism Quarterly, 61*, 671-676.

Sturges, J. E., & Hanrahan, K. J. (2004). Comparing telephone and face-to-face qualitative interviewing: a research note. *Qualitative Research*, *4*(1), 107-118.

Tanner, A., & Friedman, D. B. (2011). Authorship and information sourcing for health news on local TV web sites: An exploratory analysis. *Science Communication, 33*(1), 3-27.

Tenore, M. J. (2013). Journalists featured on TIME'S 2013 list of "best twitter feeds." Poynter. Retrieved September 26, 2014, from http://www.poynter.org/latest-news/mediawire/208248/journalists-featured-on-times-2013-list-of-best-twitter-feeds/.

The 140 moments that made Twitter matter. (2013). *Time*. Retrieved on August 10, 2015, from http://techland.time.com/the-140-moments-that-made-twitter-matter/

Thornton, L. J., & Keith, S. M. (2009). From convergence to webvergence: Tracking the evolution of broadcast-print partnerships through the lens of change theory. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly, 86*(2), 257-276.

Thompson, B. (2008). How college freshmen communicate student academic support: A grounded theory study. *Communication Education*, *57*(1), 123-144.

Thompson, D. (2014). What the death of homepages means for the future of news. *The Atlantic*. Retrieved July 9, 2014, from http://www.theatlantic.com/business/archive/2014/05/what-the-death-the-homepage-means-for-news/370997/

Thurman & Schifferes (2012). The future of personalization at news websites: Lessons from a longitudinal study. *Journalism Studies, 13*(5-6), 775-790.

Tornatzky, L. G., & Johnson, E. C. (1982). Research on implementation: Implications for evaluation practice and evaluation policy, *Evaluation and Program Planning, 5*, 193-198.

Triandis, H. C. (1996). The psychological measurement of cultural syndromes. *American Psychologist, 51*(3), 407-415.

Tylor, E. B. (1871). *Primitive Culture*. New York.

Usher, N., & Lewis, S. C. (2012). Open source and journalism: Toward new frameworks for imagining news innovation. Presented at the journalism studies division of the annual conference of the International Communication Association, in Phoenix, AZ.

Van Dijck, J. (2011). Tracing Twitter: The rise of a microblogging platform. *International Journal of Media and Cultural Politics, 7*(3), 33-348.

Verweij, P. (2012). Twitter links between politicians and journalists. *Journalism Practice, 6*(5-6), 680-691.

Vis, F. (2009). Wikinews reporting in Hurrican Katrina. In Allan, S., & Thorson, E. (Eds.) *Citizen Journalism: Global Perspectives*, 65-74. New York: Peter Lang.

Vis, F. (2013). Twitter as a reporting tool for breaking news. *Digital News, 1*(1), 27-47.

Vujnovic, M., Singer, Paulussen, S., Heinonen, A., Reich, Z., Quandt, T., Hermida, A., & Domingo, D. (2010). Exploring the political-economic factors of participatory journalism: Views of online journalists in 10 countries. *Journalism Practice, 4*(3), 285-296.

Weaver, D. H., & Wilhoit, G. C. (1986). *The American Journalist: A Portrait of U.S. News People and Their Work.* Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.

Weaver, D. H., & Wilhoit, G. C. (1996). *The American Journalist in the 1990s: U.S. News People at the End of an Era.* Mahwah, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Webster, J. G. (2011). The duality of media: A structurational theory of public attention. *Communication Theory, 21*(1), 43-66.

Whitney, D. C., & Becker, L. B. (1982). “Keeping the gates” for gatekeepers: The effects of wire news. *Journalism Quarterly, 59*(1), 60-65.

White, D. M. (1950). The gate keeper: A case study in the selection of news. *Journalism Quarterly, 27*(3), 383-390.

White, L. A. (1959). The concept of culture. *American Anthropologist, 61*(2), 227-251.

Wiik, J. (2009). Identities under construction: Professional journalism in a phase of destabilization. *International Review of Sociology, 19*(2), 351-356.

Wilensky, H. L. (1964). The professionalization of everyone? *American Journal of Sociology, 70*(2), 137-158.

Williams, B. A., & Carpini, M. X. D. (2000). Unchained reaction The collapse of media gatekeeping and the Clinton–Lewinsky scandal. *Journalism*, *1*(1), 61-85.

Willnat, L., & Weaver, D. H. (2014). The American Journalist in the Digital Age: Key Findings. Retrieved on April 22, 2015 from http://news.indiana.edu/releases/iu/2014/05/2013-american-journalist-key-findings.pdf

Wimmer, R. D., & Dominick, J. R. (2006). *Mass Media Research: An Introduction*. Boston: Wadsworth.

Witmer, D. F. (1997). Communication and recovery: Structuration as an ontological approach to organization culture. *Communication Monographs, 64,* 324-349.

Witschge, T., & Nygren, G. (2009). Journalism: A profession under pressure? *Journal of Media Business Studies, 6*(1), 37-59.

Wright, D. K. (1974). An analysis of the level of professionalism among Canadian journalists. *International Communication Gazette, 20*(3), 133-144.

Wu, S., Hofman, J. M., Mason, W. A., & Watts, D. J. (2011). In *Proceedings of the 20th international conference on World wide web* (pp. 705-714). ACM.

Wu, W., Weaver, D., & Johnson, O. V. (1996). Professional roles of Russian and U.S. journalists: A comparative study. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly, 73*(3), 534-548.

Wynia, M. K., Latham, S. R., Kao, A. C., Berg., J. W., Emanuel, L. L. (1999). Medical professionalism in society. The *New England Journal of Medicine, 341*(21), 1612-1615.

Yang, J., Arant, D. (2014). The roles and ethics of journalism: How Chinese students and American students perceive them similarly and differently. *Journalism & Mass Communication Educator, 69*(1), 33-48.

Young, L. E., & Leonardi, P. M. (2012). Social issue emergence on the Web: A dual structurational model, *17,* 231-246.

Yuan, E. J., & Ksiazek, T. B. (2011). The duality of structure in China's national television market: A network analysis of audience behavior. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media, 55*(2), 180-197.

Zelizer, B. (2008). How communication, culture, and critique intersect in the study of journalism. *Communication, Culture & Critique, 1*(1), 86-91.

APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Questions exploring a journalist's background

1. How many years have you been involved in the journalism industry?
    - Can you describe the types of journalism positions you have worked in?
    - What are the types of outlets you have worked for?
2. What drew you into journalism?
    - What early experiences in the field have further shaped your career?
3. Did you attend a traditional journalism school?
4. What experiences taught you what it means to be a journalist?
5. What experiences taught you the rules of good journalism?

Questions exploring a journalist's perception of their role as a journalist

6. In your opinion, what is the role of a journalist in our society?
    - What does it mean to be a journalist?
7. In what ways do you consider your role as a journalist when conducting your newsgathering?
8. What is your responsibility to your audience?
    - What is their responsibility to you?
    - What experiences have you had with interacting with the audience?

Questions journalism rules

9. What are the rules of conducting good journalism?
10. Do you consider these rules during the newsgathering process?
11. Can you think of any time when the rules journalism changed your approach to a story?

Questions exploring a journalist's routines

12. How do you decide what sources you are going to use for a story?
13. Obviously, every story is going to be a little different, different sources, different circumstances. But how do you go about collecting information for a typical story?
14. Can you think of a time when the standard approach to gathering news would simply not work?
15. When you are covering your beat, how much, would you say, do you tend to quote the same or similar sources?
16. During your newsgathering in general (not speaking specifically of social media), how much do you involve your audience in the process?
    - Can you share any experiences where you involved your audience in the process?
17. To whom do you go for advice on stories?

Questions exploring a journalist's Twitter use

18. How long have you been using Twitter?

- Did you work for a professional news outlet before you had a Twitter account?
- Did you receive any training, either from your employer or your journalism school, on the use of Twitter?
- How long did it take you to understand the platform?

19. How much time in a typical day do you spend using Twitter?
    - How much of that is a part of work?
    - How much of that is done on your own personal time/efforts?
20. What is the utility of Twitter for a journalist?
21. Can you think times when you used Twitter to research a story?
22. How would you describe your Twitter timeline? How much time do you spend reporting, promoting or interacting with others?
23. What do you see as your role on Twitter?

Questions exploring whether Twitter use changes the roles and practices of a journalist

24. How necessary is Twitter to a your newsgathering and reporting efforts?
25. In your opinion, does Twitter use help you or slow you down?
26. What experiences can you think of that really taught you the point of Twitter?
27. What journalism rules carry over to Twitter? Do you report differently? Do you gather news differently?
28. How much engagement do you have with your audience on Twitter?
29. Do you think about the fact that you are a journalist when you tweet?
30. Has there ever been a time when you have had a crisis on Twitter?
31. In what ways does your journalism change when reporting on Twitter as opposed to offline reporting?
    - Have you noticed a change in your offline reporting because of Twitter?
32. How do you decide to follow someone? What is your criteria?
33. How do you decide whether to retweet something? What is your criteria?
34. What rules or ethics of journalism should not change on Twitter as opposed to offline?
35. How often do you solicit help or discussion from your audience on Twitter? Are there any specific times that has been particularly useful to you?
36. If you had an experience to sum up your thoughts of interacting with readers on Twitter, what would it be?

Questions exploring advantages of participation through Twitter

37. What are the advantages of a social network like Twitter?
38. What advantages do you perceive could there be with interacting with your audience on a social networking site like Twitter? Disadvantages?
39. What disadvantages do you perceive could there be with interacting with your audience on a social networking site like Twitter?
40. Have you seen any disadvantages in having your audience participate in the newsgathering process?