

Television News Construction in Converging Environments:
Emerging Paradigms and Methodologies

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the difference made to local television news production by the introduction of convergence and changes in production methodology. By considering the change in the technique of production from the traditional method, in which individuals were trained in a specific craft, to the present climate, where individuals are required to carry out a number of tasks, it contributes to the discussion of the impact of advancements in technology and various forms of convergence upon journalism. The research is based on an ethnographic study I completed between 2006-2010 in the United States at two separate local television news stations. During the ethnographic study I conducted interviews with external and internal participants in the news production process. I also observed how the news organizations were utilizing similar production techniques. From the archives of WKYC-TV, one of the news organizations in the ethnographic study, a textual analysis was conducted from a sampling of news stories from the 1970s to the present day. As a framework for analysis, grounded theory method was used to analyse the qualitative data from the case studies and ethnographic findings. This method was chosen to minimize implicit or explicit assumptions made prior to and during the ethnographic study.

I was aware of explicit assumptions, based on current research, that technology is changing the final product presented to the audience (Farhi, 2002: 5) (Kolodzy, 2006: 15), (Hemmingway 2005: 8-26), and, in terms of newspapers converging with television news organizations, that they are creating new multi-media products (Dupagne et al., 2006: 247-249), (Patterson et al., 2008: 99-105). Unless the research text is practitioner-

based (Boyd-Hinds, 1995), (Machin et al., 2006), (Medoff, 2007:15-38), the majority of research also reflects implicit assumptions that specialized craftspeople provide support to journalists but do not make independent decisions. Grounded theory does not start with a hypothesis; I chose not to make any assumptions and tried to avoid any prejudices before I attempted the fieldwork of this study. To help facilitate the study, I attempted to be critical of my methodology in both the context of discovery and the context of validation.

The quantitative research of the finished news stories was conducted without any hypothesis, but the gathering of data was conducted with specific variables used for comparisons.

This study finds that the differences in tasks or technological advancement do not change the fundamental method of how a local television story is produced, nor does technology change the structure of the finished product. These issues are particularly relevant to local television news journalists and management when they discuss how the future of their industry may be affected by the changes in production methodologies. While there may be speculation about journalistic objectivity and production quality based on the new model, this study focuses primarily on the impact of the change in production methods and upon the ability of local television news organizations to complete the daily tasks of journalism. These core questions are conceptualized within the thesis by reference to relevant dimensions of production and business, and interpreted in the terms of an ethnographic study.

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Author's declaration

This thesis represents the original work of Dean Cummings unless explicitly stated otherwise in the text. The research upon which it is based began at the University of Stirling, under the supervision of Dr. Jairo Lugo-Ocando, Dr. Richard Kilborn and Dr. Stephanie Marriott. The research was concluded at the University of Sheffield, under the supervision of Dr. Jairo Lugo-Ocando. The research was conducted between September 2006 and December 2012.

1. Introduction

“The new journalists that are being trained are being trained to do it all. You’ve got to be able to do it all. If you do it all and you do it all well, you are going to be great. The minute you say you are not going to do it all, you’re done.”

– Jason McKay, Syracuse University, Syracuse New York. (2009)

This study examines the models of local television news production and the introduction of convergent media and the related technology.

To put it simply, the technology of television news field production has advanced to such a degree that it is no longer necessary to have a specialized craftsman videotape or edit a news story. However, a reporter is now required to use the new technology in order to complete the same tasks required before the technological advancement. This thesis attempts to look at this transition theoretically, analysing the changes to the field production of local television news caused by economic, cultural and technological forces. Whilst there are several perspectives and attitudes with regard to converging media and multi-platforms (Dupagne & Garrison, 2006), (Kolodzy, 2006), (McChesney et al., 2005), (Scott, 2005), (Ursell, 2001), this study focuses on the production methodology of the new style of television journalist.

The new form of television journalist under examination has various names, such as ‘solo-journalist’ or ‘video-journalist’ (Martyn, 2009: 197), ‘Personal Digital Production operator’ or ‘PDP’ (Hemmingway, 2005), ‘backpack journalist’ (Huang et al., 2006: 228)

or ‘one-man band’ (Sites, 2007: 12). In the newsrooms of the ethnographic study, the term, “Multi-media journalist” or “MMJ” was used as the definition. In an effort to avoid confusion, I will refer to this new profession with the definition utilized by the newsrooms of the ethnographic study. The MMJ is in the process of integration into traditional newsrooms. There are several studies measuring the impact of this integration, mostly from the convergent perspective (Kolodzy, 2006), (Hemmingway, 2008). It may be concluded from these studies that the new profession can alter existing organisational structures, including the traditional model of television journalists (Hemmingway, 2005: 26).

It was once thought a ‘MMJ’ was fantasy, as seen in the television series *Max Headroom*. The hero of the show was a journalist who videotaped his own stories, reported live from anywhere but was also seen as a stalwart of the fourth estate, a ‘hero’ of society. Today, it is possible for a journalist to technologically be a *Max Headroom* reporter, yet what are missing from the fictional television series are the economical considerations put in place to make such a character viable. Whilst an assessment of the MMJ should be based on theory and not fictional characters, the contrast between the truth and fiction may assist in explaining the anxiety journalists feel in the process of changing their culture and profession. They may wish to be heroic, but they often express great frustration with the idea of being labourers (Martyn, 2009: 201). In the real world, there may be limitations in implementing the multi-skilled journalist. This thesis will examine the abilities of modern ‘*Max Headrooms*’ in order to better understand the boundaries of journalism, science, and economics.

This study observed the beginning of what could be described as the *Max Headroom* phenomenon appearing in the news organizations under examination. For example, the observed news station WKYC-TV reported a breaking news story on 28 February 2012. The story involved a young gunman who shot and killed four classmates in Chardon, Ohio. With the aid of a cellular-based video transmission system, they were able to report live from the chaotic scene. Whilst it would have been possible for a reporter to use the system without assistance, a photographer was used to shoot and transmit the signal. Previously, a microwave live truck or satellite truck would have been used, limiting how near they could get to the crime scene. In this case, the reporter and photographer were able to gather information and go live without being tethered to a vehicle because of the new transmission equipment nestled in the backpack of the photographer. The crew were then free to report wherever they wished and transmitted their coverage live and raw, like the fictional character, *Max Headroom*. In this case, the crew followed the school superintendent as he performed his job of securing the school building and the police arresting the suspect. The WKYC-TV live transmission was re-transmitted by CNN and the video was viewed around the world. The event highlights the convergence of both economics and technology. CNN and WKYC-TV share video and this allowed the national cable network access to the local news organization's material. It is also an example of how the technology is reconstructing roles and methodology.

The news organizations under scrutiny in this thesis each have historical significance in the market areas where they broadcast their news. Each was chosen for various reasons

and each provide a level of comparison. The cross-examination of their structures and comparisons of operation help to enable a broader understanding of the introduction of the MMJ into traditional environments. WKYC-TV in Cleveland, Ohio is the focal point of the ethnographic study, it was chosen due to access as well as the journalistic reputation the station holds in the Cleveland market. WKYC-TV is viewed as a news organization utilizing traditional crews and methods to produce news stories. The station, founded in 1948, has a long history of programming and journalistic innovations. In 1961, WKYC began one of the first half-hour newscasts in the country, which later became the convention throughout the country. Originally owned by the network, NBC, it has experienced various ownership changes until the present owner Gannett purchased it in 1995. After introducing multiple daily newscasts of 5:30am, noon, 6pm and 11pm in 1998, the television station secured the #1 rating in all newscasts. While it was a milestone, the impact of competition and a dwindling market ranking, created various financial concerns. The news station introduced a limited number of the MMJs to their productions in 2005. The tradition crew model of a reporter, photographer and tape editor conducts the majority of WKYC-TV's news production.

WSTM-TV is the second station under scrutiny and has a similar historical record as WKYC-TV. WSTM-TV in Syracuse, New York began in 1950 and was owned by the Newhouse family and was sold in 1980 to Times Mirror, which was the first of many sales in the history of the NBC affiliate. In 1986, Times Mirror sold the station to SJL Broadcast Management. In 1992, the station was sold to Federal Broadcasting and that company was bought by Raycom Media in 1997. In 2006, Raycom sold the station to

Barrington Broadcasting. The sales of WSTM-TV are an important dynamic in the background of the station as it indicates a frequent change in management and a degree of instability in the past two decades. The MMJs were introduced as the preferred model in 2009 during a period of time when once rival station WTVH-TV declared bankruptcy and Barrington Broadcasting signed a dual operating agreement with Granite Broadcasting, eliminating the staff at WTVH-TV. In the context of WSTM-TV's history, the MMJ is now an important and dominant method of news production.

WTVH-TV and WEWS-TV are used in this study as a comparative station to both WKYC-TV and WSTM-TV. WTVH-TV was once a powerful competitor to WSTM-TV. Debuting in 1948, the CBS affiliate was owned by Meredith Corporation and was sold in 1993 to Granite Broadcasting. With only two owners in its history, it contrasts the other stations, however once the original owner sold the station in 1993, ratings plummeted and by 2009, the station no longer had a working news staff and eventually their building was closed as they entered into an agreement with WSTM-TV. The subsequent dismissal of employees due to the financial agreements led to a merging of staff at WSTM-TV, which led to the formation of a majority of their MMJs.

WEWS-TV is a competitor to WKYC-TV with a very different ownership history. WEWS-TV was originated by the E.W. Scripps Company in 1947, becoming its flagship station. The station is still owned by the Scripps Company. The management began to introduce the MMJs around the same time as WKYC-TV, utilizing a different method of

inception, as it required all staff members to be trained. Since the introduction of the MMJ, WEWS-TV has significantly more MMJs than WKYC-TV.

Despite the various histories, deregulation played a large part in each of the station's development and in the introduction of the MMJ. In the early 1980s, cable television began to create competitive issues with terrestrial television broadcasters and the United States Congress began to redesign the telecommunications policy (Prager, 1992: 349). In response to the growing cable television industry, the redesign of the government positions on regulations began to reposition boundaries of ownership. Broadcasting regulations were changed in the 1980's and three of the four stations in this study underwent ownership changes, impacting their operations. In the case of WTVH-TV, ownership changes as well as the desire of their corporate leadership to acquire other stations resulted in bankruptcy and closure of the facility. In a historical perspective, stability was decreased as corporations with the intention of creating station groups purchased local stations. It seems the impact of deregulation on television profitability created an adverse effect upon the economic environment within local television news stations (Ferrall, 1989: 27). Each of the stations in this study, found turbulence in the 1990s as deregulation was creating competition and redistributing the market shares. Immediately upon deregulation, there appeared to be a change whereas deregulation was seen as an economic response 'to the recognition that telecommunications and its related informatics and communications sectors have come to occupy a central place in the capital accumulation process (Mosco, 1988: 119-220).' Financial considerations took a more prominent role in the decision-making processes at local television news stations as

the pressures for economic viability were increased. Meanwhile, the combination of the expansion of channels and consumer desires for more products created an inherent problem of overproduction. In the end television news became a commodity shaped by the forces of supply and demand. The creation and distribution of the news product depends on the market value determined by media owners, who analyse the characteristics of their goods in terms of variables including fixed and variable costs (Hamilton: 2004: 7-8). The production of television news may be viewed as part of the fixed and variable costs.

The MMJ appears to be an approach for management to address the disparity between costs and profits at the local level, and advantageous at the corporate level as it adheres to the neoliberalism view of economic growth. Due to expanding market and the spread of the neoliberalism incentives there seems to be a focus on efficiency to keep up with demand. Utilizing the technology available both the consumer and the producer use technological innovations to address what seems to be a ‘time squeeze’ inside and outside the newsrooms (Moshe, 2012: 69). The newsrooms look to find ways to keep up with the 24/7 cycle while consumers disperse their attention to multiple platforms and methods of obtaining information.

Neoliberalism stances transformed the broadcast television news from an informative social entity to a free market, competitive, industrialized and privatized business. The consumer’s need for information created a desire for multiple outputs and products, such as the increase in newscasts shown by the stations in this study. Since the 1980’s most

television news stations increased the number of their newscasts in each broadcast day as well as the production schedule to become a 24/7 enterprise. The 24/7 incentives underscore the impetuosity of both the consumer and the producer to be fixated on time perception, 'the faster the better' approach to news, meanwhile, media regulators' intentions of creating a more 'enterprise society' are finding difficulties adjusting to the evolving environment of television and new media (ibid: 80). The threats to a more diverse and continuingly prosperous media seem likely to affect journalistic endeavours of local television news in the future. McChesney (2001) identified the appearance of a global oligopoly involving national media firms, yet there is a sense the local news organizations are being enveloped by media firms in a national oligopoly (McChesney, 2001: 4). Corporations own all the stations in this study, as well as multiple news organizations in many states and cities. Gannett Corporation owns twenty-three television stations, including WKYC-TV. Scripps owns seventeen television stations, including WEWS-TV. Barrington Broadcasting owns twenty-four television stations, including WSTM-TV. Granite Broadcasting owns nine television stations, including WTVH-TV.

Witnessed by the examples of the stations in this study, the MMJ was implemented in times of economic restructuring and technological availability. This study will provide a perspective into the extent the managerial decisions of the local television news organizations were dictated by corporate directives, leading to the utilization of the MMJs in efforts to limit costs. The local management would apply new methods to personnel in attempts to insure the desires of corporate officials were met. Management constructs new methods of production to facilitate their needs in the present business

climate of hyper-competitive survival, which may indicate the consequences of media deregulation can be viewed in the ratings wars between channels, as well as between oligopoly companies resulting in a change in journalism standards (Hallin, 1994). This may result in desires to find ways to be economically strong as the number of competitive elements increase with expanding channels and platforms.

Whilst new technology is providing new opportunities, economics is driving other forces in journalism. Unfortunately for the television industry, a variety of factors have created a quickly eroding marketplace, causing fundamental business strategies to be applied in order to stabilize the erosion. It can be referred to as ‘production shock’, where there is a fluctuation in the use of inputs and outputs of an organization (King et al., 1988: 221). Although the ‘shock’ is not random and appears to have a lasting effect, the basic neo-classic model of business demonstrates that the changes in production are based on business cycles and growth, especially when there is a ‘production shock’ to a business (ibid: 197). The television news industry may be suffering from a ‘production shock’ due to the expansion of markets and consumer migration, as well the convergence of media. News organizations are attempting to combat shrinking revenue with lower overhead and fixed costs (Webster, 2005, 378-380).

The division between those who view television journalism as a business and those who see it as a societal institution seems to be creating friction as both struggle to find a solution to the apparent erosion of audience and revenue. Because of the pressures, Kuprius (2003) stipulates local television news satisfies the market-driven requirements

of the business of television. There is a profit motive driving the decisions of management (Kurprius, 2003: 78). Staffing and news coverage is predicated upon productivity and expense.

“Because a high percentage of our operating expenses are fixed, a relatively small decrease in gross revenues could have a significant negative impact on our results of operations.”

– Barrington Broadcasting Corporation – Annual Report, Dec. 2008, p. 15.

The aforementioned quote from the Barrington Corporation Annual Report suggests that the slightest cost incurred by news organizations is evaluated in terms of profits and, with it, comes a reaction from employees. There seems to be a distinct awareness amongst researchers that news operations are owned by corporations, who view the news product of their local stations as a commodity (Houston et al., 2011: 328), (Dunaway, 2008: 1194), (Napoli et al., 2007: 53). Crafts individuals and television reporters seem to have a more personal vision of the relationship between their audience and their work, for this reason they may view their individual work as integral to the success of the corporation. Therefore, in the viewpoint of reporters and crafts individuals the downsizing of staff results in both losses in quality and in the value of the company. The conflict between reducing costs and improving or maintaining a level of quality leads to self-evaluation of news management. Rosenstiel et al, (2007) utilized their research to write a handbook for news organizations promising them they can improve their local news and win the coveted stakes of ratings by utilizing strategies independent from downsizing staff (Rosenstiel et al., 2007: 49). It may be utopian to view strategies without regard to changes in staffing. For example, those who adopt the convergence model of journalism,

via multiple platforms, see it as an opportunity to reach a larger audience despite the increased pressures caused by less staff and increased work. Early adopters such as Kolodzy (2006), Paterson et al. (2008), and Halpern Wenger et al. (2008) appear to be excited about the potential of the convergence of media. Their excitement about inspiring young journalists does not seem to come from a management perspective but from a journalistic view. Downsizing seems to be an afterthought to those who regard the MMJ as an inevitable result of the transformation of the modern day journalist. Despite the fact, cutting staff creates ‘substandard’ journalism (Killebrew, 2005: 23) downsizing is happening on a large scale throughout the industry, with no indication that downsizing the news staff of organizations is a method of improving local news and winning ratings. In the end, managing the newsroom seems to equate to financial factors, as much as journalistic factors. The business and economic perspective of an operation’s management techniques and how they apply to journalism production is important in the context of this study’s finding. It appears corporations view the local newsrooms as the production level, where a product is manufactured and sold to specific audience (Schudson, 2003: 3-5). The management techniques are based on traditional marketing, organizational behaviour, financial and operations management (Doyle, 2002: 3-4). Production is defined as the conversion of resources into goods and services. Media organizations appear to be alike in that they are involved in producing, packaging, or distributing media content. With regard to this study, significant changes are taking place because of the convergence of ‘underlying production and distribution technologies (Albarran et al., 2006: 32).’

From this study it may be concluded that economics is causing a restructuring of the working environments of local television news stations (Jackson, 2009: 155). It may also be concluded that local television news stations in the United States are becoming more similar to a manufacturing business specializing in products of information than an entity of the fourth estate (Anderson, 2004, Hesmondalgh, 2006: 220, Karam, 2009: 117, Örnebring, 2010: 61). There are fears that the closeness of media ownership and corporations may be altering the fundamental premise, that the media should be a watchdog of government and business corruption (Houston et al., 2011: 327). It might be said, after examining the findings of this thesis, that the pursuit of economic stability and increased competition has more of an effect upon television news production than the convergence of technology.

There seems to be a shift in the financial strengths of news organizations. Local television news stations are facing an escalating loss of viewership and profits due to competition from other television stations, as well as the increased number of cable, online and other new media outlets providing local news (Gentzkow et al., 2008: 133-154). These changes seem to directly impact the size of the labour force (Ursell, 2000: 805). Originally, researchers like Ursell (2000) believed that entry into the workforce was becoming more difficult, but the restructuring of staff appears to have made it easier for younger and lower-salaried employees to enter the television news market (Dickinson, 2007: 196-197). It is more senior workers and higher-salaried employees who seem to be more vulnerable at this stage in the convergence timeline. However, research has demonstrated that it is not stress or lack of ability that makes older

employees vulnerable. Maslach (1982) maintained that older workers, not necessarily those with greater longevity on the job, tend to suffer from burnout less frequently, finding that with increased age, comes stability and maturity, and a balanced perspective on work and life issues (Maslach, 1982: 59-60). Therefore, a younger work force may mean a less stable work force within news organizations. Inevitably, it appears the work structures in news organizations are altered in response to the economic and financial concerns of corporations owning the news organizations; (Scott, 2005), (Anderson, 2004), (Pavlik, 2004), causing new production techniques to be formed because of the converging media (Hemmingway, 2008, Dupagne & Garrison, 2006, Koldozy, 2006).

It may be seen that local television news, in the United States, focuses heavily on the need to make profits, sometimes in opposition to the professional ethic it may espouse. This study can conclusively state that the business actions of the corporation dictate the methods of the production of local journalism (Jones, 2009: 21). At the corporate level, the missions of reducing costs, maintaining a profit margin, and attracting a specified market demographic affect the transition to the MMJ. It may appear that deregulation allowed for the cross-ownership of television stations and in return, financial necessity has catalysed the implementation of multi-skilling (Thussu, 2007:11).

The conventions developed to facilitate the construction process of the news product appeared to be created to facilitate various needs, both in the production process and in the creation of the work groups (Allen, 2001: 6-20). The traditional conventions were developed by trial and error. The outcomes appeared to result in a methodology

distinctly suited to using the specific technology to create a product of storytelling, within a limited construction time, and delivered in similar structures. The conventions of newsgathering seem to be challenged by the acceptance of convergence in television news organizations (Kolodzy, 2006).

The early television newsgathering may have been conducted utilizing the organization model and work production chains linked to the industrial production methods of the time. In that environment, the conventions of television newsgathering were created. The division of skills and responsibilities were divided by tasks (Boyd-Hinds, 1995: 75). It is possible the present conventions of production began with the division of labour of the crew. Each member of the crew was assigned a skilled task and they concentrated on completing those tasks. One individual was not required to do all of the tasks. Before there was a formal arrangement of assigned technical workers to create a 'crew', reporters would share technical tasks. Companies like CBS believed each reporter could perform tasks for each other. The multi-skilled and technically trained reporter existed at the very beginning of television news (Hemmingway, 2003: 2, Boyd-Hinds, 1995: 75).

Eventually, it was realized productivity increases when the reporter is free of technical responsibilities. A new paradigm between reporter, photographer, soundman and film editor was formed to distribute tasks. These four individuals completed four required skill sets in tandem. They were restricted by the time requirements to assemble the story quickly. For each job they were required to produce a similar product of the relatively

same length using similar elements. This became the convention of television news production (Boyd-Hinds, 1995: 135).

The conventions of television news influence producers and audiences' expectations of how a television news story is told or presented (Boyd-Hinds, 1995: 8). In terms of the MMJ, it may be argued the product itself has not significantly changed as the field production crews have only reduced workers from two or three individuals to one individual. Whilst the various differentiations can be used to identify the divisions of labour suitable to define the structure of the television news crew, the intention of the various structures may have been to facilitate the Fordist approach to constructing a television news story (Boyd-Hinds, 1995: 8).

For many years, television news production was based on the conventions of pre-1970 Fordism, a term used to refer to the system of production created during the second industrial revolution of the late 1800s (Nadesan, 2001: 260). By creating an assembly line, Henry Ford applied scientific management to the act of labour. Fordism reflects the assembly line attributes of construction, where defined tasks are carried out during the process of producing a news story. Fordism is also seen as a larger-scale production philosophy, encompassing the standardization and mechanization of production; scale economies, oligopolistic competition; protected national markets; vertical integration; coordination of the institutions of banking, industry and state; mass consumption; and rising rates of capital concentration (Amin, 1994).

From the nature and definition of their occupation, it may be assumed that the motivation of a journalist is to research a news story and objectively relay the information to the public (Schudson, 1967: 3-11). However, managers may attempt to change the nature of journalism (Jackson, 2009: 147) by the process of commodification of a journalist's work and this may threaten the ideologies of journalists (Deuze, 2005: 445), in regards to what is deemed the most important outcome whether the goal is attracting an audience or informing the public. For that reason, the individual goals may include both but efficiency appears to threaten accuracy and integrity. Television news organizations are facing ethical challenges and they are being evaluated as to whether privately owned or public funded news organizations are better adapted at identifying and reporting corruption (Dunaway, 2008: 1194-1195). The impact of the new field production methods upon news coverage of government and business may be difficult to determine until a significant period of time has elapsed and further study can be carried out on newsrooms that have converted to MMJs. This study focused on television reporters who were asked to change their methods of newsgathering, with the intention of discovering if the motivations of journalists were changed by the new paradigms.

Practitioner journalists, news organization management and academics each provide a different viewpoint as to the changes in the structures, operations and tasks of the evolving journalist. The opinions of these three groups seem to vary, based on the point in time of their experience with convergence of media. Each group had an expectation of the impact prior to and during the implementation of the new methods of production. During the process of this study, each perspective altered as new production techniques

were implemented. At the end of this study, separate perspectives remained as to the impact and significance of the converged modes of production (Saltzis, 2008: 219-220). The news organizations involved in the ethnographic examination approached convergence with a variety of strategies. It may be concluded that the convergence of media impacted the organizations under study and appeared to change the paradigms in the respective newsrooms, in a similar way to other news organizations who experienced change (Duhe et al, 2004),(Kolodzy, 2006),(Martyn, 2009).

It is often argued that the audience is changing rapidly and that the media has to change with it. 'Media convergence has nothing to do with technology or architecture. It has everything to do with mindset' (Quinn, 2004: 119). The introduction of the Internet and other media into an existing newsroom involves the acceptance of new requirements: consumers wanting news twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week, online and available when they want. New positions are created to allow for flexibility and the expanded coverage necessary to remain competitive with the new demands (Quinn, 2004: 119).

Unique to this study is the examination of the crafts individuals who perform the tasks of acquiring audio and video for television news stories. This study questions the assumptions made about television journalism and the lack of research on crafts individuals. It does not assume imagery is random and inconsequential in journalism. This epistemology of television news field production is based on the contrast between the practitioner and the theoretical interpretations. Theoretical studies frequently focus

on broader topics of convergence in a rationalist stance; the intention may be to find reason in the sequential changes within a news organization created by different forms of convergence (McChesney et al., 2005). Practitioners seem to be empiricists, basing their knowledge on their personal experience (Anderson, 2006: 1-6), (Fenton, 2006: 51-79). The contrast may lead to a conflict between the groups. In the realm of empirical studies, the practitioner photographer and videotape editor are often marginalized and are not viewed as contributors of knowledge (Meltzer, 2010: 3-4). It may be possible to take a position, which regards the crafts individuals as an enhancement to journalism and not merely labourers. The photographer of a traditional television news production crew acquires the video imagery based on the event or news story, considers the framework of the story being produced while capturing imagery and applies editorial decisions based on a variety of circumstances, known or unknown (Underwood, 2006: 141-143), (Potter et al., 62-80). The videotape editor will choose specific shots for editorial reasons, sometimes with direction from a reporter and sometimes upon his own discretion (Underwood, 2006: 251-267), (Halpern-Wenger, et al., 2008: 153-156). It may be concluded, therefore, that the professional news photographer and videotape editor capture and select images within a journalistic framework.

It appears researchers make assumptions that the imagery of a news story is supplementary to the journalist text. It is the intent of this study to further exam the role of crafts individuals by examining the significance of their elimination to the news production process. Hemmingway (2008) profiles the flow of news production in terms of the actor network theory, and her study examines the interactions between the reporter

and the cameraperson. Actor network theory is an approach meant to critically examine the process of mediation between various actors, both human and technological, within a newsroom. There is a tendency of media research to see the wider conceptual perspective whereas media as a phenomenon becomes representations of the social, political and cultural forces. The newsroom activities are not viewed as worthy of prolonged study. Using inspiration from Van-Loon (2007), Hemmingway diverts from traditional approaches and views the newsroom as an interaction between technologies and humans. Furthermore, she contends, 'the human will no longer be conceived of as an integral and unchanging entity, but more as an actor within a network of other actors, both human and nonhuman, who by themselves may be of little consequence, but in complex associations with one another have the capacity either to adapt to changing conditions by translating situations and manipulating others into action, or to become translated by the associative actions of other actors with in the same network (Hemmingway, 2008: 13-14).' From this perspective, she draws the connection between human and machine as technologically embedded, with an interconnectedness of a multiplicity of agency, wherein the human subject may not be any more or less significant than machine. This may be the crux of the development of the MMJ, as the human may have become equivalent to the machine in gathering news, from the management's perspective. Hemmingway (2008) studies the relationship between the individuals (Hemmingway, 2008: 49-69), the culture and the paradigm of interrelationships (ibid, 175-204), yet concludes that the specific shots and acquisition of the video are not attributed to the cameraperson as an act of journalism but part of the process of the interaction (Hemmingway, 2008 70-91). In her view, convergence is a technologically initiated

restructuring of the production crew. This view is similar to that held by this author, except this study intends to focus on the product created and assumes each element in a news story is purposely chosen. Kolodzy (2006) looks at the acquisition of video images as a part of a distribution of material (Kolodzy, 2006: 77-83). Her view of convergence is based on interactions between interdependent groups. She views the news story from the perspective of the media platform from which it is intended to be distributed and does not analyse the specific elements of the media being distributed. The impact of technology and the redistribution of tasks affect the culture of the newsroom and the productivity of the organization. As Hemmingway and Kolodzy have pointed out, the paradigms of the newsrooms appear to be a focal point of change. The 'reshaping of the newsroom' is a consistent theme in these studies (Aviles et al., 2006: 98-99). In similar studies, adaptation of the types of convergence is measured by organizational acceptance and efficiency. The quality of the output may be threatened by newly established routines caused by the need for speed, while, ironically, creating more work for the individual journalist (Aviles et al., 2006: 99).

This study is similar in attempting to examine efficiency and establish to what degree it is influenced by organizational acceptance. Most importantly, this study attempts to discover if the elements of the news story are affected by technological change. The intention is to treat each element of the television news story as if it is created with intent, utilizing the technology available and reflecting the production standards of the time when it was created. The removal of technically skilled employees from the traditional television news crew requires non-technical employees to complete the tasks to create the

final product. The significance of the transition and applications upon the final product is worthy of study. With regard to the implementation of the new structures of production and newsrooms, journalists may be more willing to adapt to the changes because of the nature of the journalistic culture than technology (Aviles et al., 2006: 99). With convergence of media, the reporter is asked to take on roles once restricted to the television journalist. Traditional television reporters are often reluctant to take on crafts roles (Hemmingway, 2008: 84) as they learn that the act of creating visuals for a news story is often more difficult than they expected. Visual news presentation has been neglected as a study in the past, in comparison to film and television (Machin et al., 2006: 35-38). The familiar phrase, 'Jack of all trades, master of none,' is used to describe the impact of requiring journalists to take on crafts roles (Aviles et al., 2006: 96). Traditionally, reporters were allowed to ignore the technical side of news field production and concentrate on writing.

The removal of crafts individuals may reveal some aspect of their skills are required and contribute to newsgathering. There may be a consequential residual effect when reporters deal with the technical and procedural complexities. It appears the act of videotaping and editing requires moments of spatial and temporal meanings impacting the reporting of television news. The physical and mental acts of selecting specific visual and aural elements are a prerequisite for any television news story. The decisions made about the exactness of the visual and aural elements appear to be selections with editorial consequences. Due to the contribution of the crafts individuals and the vagueness of their role when analysing a television news story, the idea of 'authorship' is elusive in the

construction process (Underwood, 2007: 131-143). ‘The authorship or ownership of production is lost in the transmitted product, and the multiplicity of meaning and interpretations is handed to the viewer’ (Hemmingway, 2004: 418). Authorship contains a set of assumptions, beliefs and values. Without the contextualization of those entities, no story can be told (McNair, 1998: 5-6). Whilst authorship may appear to be lost in transmission, it seems very important to researchers to know who is the journalist constructing the story. A news story produced by a traditional television news crew may not reveal the true author of the story, or whether multiple contributing authors are involved in the process. The absence of the television photographer and the videotape editor seems to eliminate external influences on the report being produced by the reporter presenting the news story. This study will examine whether or not that is the case. Knowing who is the author is important for critical examination, as it involves issues of authenticity and transparency (Pavlik, 2001, 63).

The use of a MMJ, by its nature of one person, may dictate a single author of a news story, but that does not necessarily mean there are no external influences upon the story or ensure the integrity of facts. It is in the process of reporting that journalists seem to construct their narratives with a barometer of ideals, which may be latently or purposely projected (Anderson, 2004:127-131), (McNair, 1998: 6). It may seem having a single author may be beneficial to the journalism process in identifying the integrity of the reporting, or at least accountability of the information. The process of the MMJ reveals levels of craftwork alongside of acts of journalism. Whether or not craftwork is a journalistic process, there seems to be little doubt the MMJ is responsible for the work,

therefore there should be no question of supplemental contribution during production. The interviewing, videotaping, writing and editing can be attributed to the MMJ. Attribution of the elements and information used in a news package can be directly applied to the MMJ however, there may be no accurate method of detecting the attributions of material in a traditional crew without projecting the contribution upon one individual when performing a textual analysis of the final product. The significance of the production method of the MMJ may revolve around accountability. The TV journalist can accurately be given credit or blame for inaccuracies or fraud caused by the crafts work.

The conclusion of this thesis is based on whether or not one person can be accountable for all the information in any particular television news story, and are there any extraneous influences they may be unseen. The conclusion will also determine whether the MMJ is a product of advanced technology or an application of business design. Moreover, the conclusions will attempt to argue whether the introduction of the MMJ will lead to new conventions of television news journalism.

Television journalism took the traditional practice of the reporter and blended it with visual representation of events. It was quickly apparent that the strength of television was its visual imagery and that in effect; some stories are produced only because there is footage (Cohen et al. 1996). The method of acquiring material in the process of newsgathering is superficial to the presentation of the information acquired. In other words, because the audience can not see the process, only the results, the production

process of acquiring video is largely moot to the viewer, despite the fact the methods of acquisition of imagery have taken on various forms (Medoff et al., 2012: 6). The technology seems to be redundant when it comes to defining journalism (Kovach et. al, 2001: 1-14). Technology does not seem to define journalism. Journalism appears to be defined without regards to the media platform, but by the legitimacy of the news gathered and dispersed. From the perspective of a journalist purist, technology is independent from the final product; journalists of the past were able to acquire the elements of a story and create a product capable of mass distribution regardless of the quality of technology.

Communication theory demonstrates technological factors are only part of the adoption of a medium. According to McQuail (2010), the significance and effects of *time*, *place* and *power* are important to the discussion of the social origins, significance and effects of communication, therefore the field of media theory can be characterized by widely divergent perspectives (McQuail, 2010:11). The viewpoints have less to do with the utilization of technology by reporters and crafts individuals and more to do with critique or episteme of the transmitted information. This, of course, leads to numerous approaches and theories attempting to assess the intended and unintentional outcomes of mass communication. Broadly, there are two approaches generally used to mitigate the intensions of news organizations. On one hand, is the progressive or liberal view of the power exercised by the media in the hands of the state and global corporations, meanwhile on the other hand is the conservative view there is a observable bias of the news and the result of the bias leads to a destruction of traditional values. There is also a difference between a critical and a more applied approach to theory, whereas critical

theory intends to find faults in the media practice and find relationship between the faulty practices and social issues.

Applied theory attempts to find an understanding of the formulated processes creating mass communications (McQuail, 2010: 11). Therefore, applied theory may appear to be best suited for the study of the MMJ, as the news production process hidden from view yet demonstrably important in the final products consumed in the quotidian collation of mass communication. Yet, there are also two other theoretical variations, the 'media-centric' and the 'socio-centric' approaches to consider as triangulation points that help to codify the actions of created and distributed mass media. 'Media-centric' approaches see the mass media as a catalyst of social change, fuelled by the irresistible forces caused by the developments of technology, paying close attention to the content of the media and the different kinds of media. Furthermore, two planes of contrast, culturalist and materialist, enable a more precise focus on the intentions and perspectives of the episteme and techne of news production, in relation to the changes of technology. The difference in the culturalist and the materialist poles range from the influential culture of ideas to the importance of material forces and factors.

For those reasons, this study may be classified as an applied theory approach with a media-materialistic perspective because this research examines the formation of media content and its effects, caused by the nature of the medium in respect to the technology with regards to the social relations of the production involved and implicated. This study can also be defined as media-materialistic, as the episteme of the news study defines the

influence of the specific organizations dynamics as well as the influences of the techne upon the production and results of the mass media (McQuail, 2010: 12-13). In summary, the craft processes of journalism have direct links to technology as both a tool, operated by the journalist, and as a platform of display, operated by the consumer. However the product of journalism appears, the prevailing technology of the time appears to be 'state of the art' during the period it is the dominant science, and despite the limitations and regardless of the nuances of the technology, journalists can create quality journalism (Anderson, 2004: 4-23). For those reasons, technology does not seem to affect the message directly; while audiences utilize the technology available in order to obtain the information they are looking for (Pavlik, 2004: 28), (Hartley, 2004: 8-9), (Morris, 2005: 57), (Hemmingway, 2005: 23), (Chen et al., 2005: 358-378), (Allan, 2006: 170). Therefore, the adoption of the technology aids the creation and delivery of the information, as well as the reception of information, however the adoption of technology is gradual, as the formation of new technology becomes a social interaction (Chen et al., 2005: 360). In regards to the adoption of the technology, it appears as if those who use the technology as a tool to gather news and those who receive the news believe the technology they are interacting with is the vanguard.

The film camera was the first form of technology used to capture images. Whilst the film cameras were 'state of the art' in their technological era, they had limitations that affected how news events were covered. Events that may at first seem to be easily reported are still crucially entangled with whatever available technologies we may have at our immediate disposal (Hemmingway, 2008: 7). Today, although journalists have the ability

to record video and simultaneously transmit the signal, it is human limitations that impede the process of television journalism (Medoff et al., 2012: 40). The technology may make it technologically easier, and therefore seem to elevate some of the human errors in the operation of the equipment; however there appears to be a counterbalance of increased workload on one individual, in terms of the MMJ. For that reason, the journalist is reconstructed into a blend of crafts worker and correspondent, with the apparent craftwork invisible, as the craftwork remains exiguous to the practice of journalism. Therefore, the increased workload of performing craftwork appears not to aid in the act of journalism but impedes the ability of the reporter to concentrate on journalistic process. For that reason, the newly formulated television journalist, the MMJ, appears as an effluvium, hard to define by appearance during the act of journalism, as the tasks seem extraneous. Concurrently, the translucent final product is devoid of evidence of the craftwork. Because of the elusiveness, the alterations to the production process are worthy of study and while the production processes of the MMJ have been previously examined (Hemmingway, 2008), (Kolodzy, 2006), this study is unique in its approach to the subject matter. There seems to be very little research conducted specifically looking at the contributions of the news videographer and the tape editor, which are the crafts individuals replaced by the MMJ. My intention was to question the absence of the two crafts individuals. The absence can be examined by focusing on the implementation of the MMJ or what can be defined as the MMJ. A traditional television production crew is established with various individuals (units) who create different products in the process of making a final product (Underwood, 2007: 38-52). Utilizing operations management theory, the individuals can be viewed as workstations who, when

a production order is requested and the information shared, each produces a segment of the product (Leseure, 2010: 223). The construction approach can be termed a discrete process, in which the products are made to order (ibid: 99). Traditionally, television news organizations have used the law of specialization: in order to mitigate risk and to benefit from synergistic system effects, firms specialize tasks. Utilizing this philosophy, workers can concentrate on what they are best skilled to do and the increased specialization leads to increased performance levels (ibid: 9). A traditional television news crew contains three individual news production units, synergistically creating a product by carrying out specialized tasks. The MMJ of this study refers to the MMJ, who creates a product with one unit, or in terms of discrete process, one workstation. Another way of comparing the traditional news production crew and the MMJ is to look at assembly line layouts. 'Line balancing' is the apportionment of sequential work activities into workstations (Monks, 1987: 133). It is used to gain a high utilization of labour and equipment and therefore minimize idle time. Compatible work activities are combined into approximately equal time groupings that do not violate the order (or precedence) in which they must be done. Analysing line balancing problems involves determining the number of stations and time available at each station, grouping the individual tasks into amounts of work at each station and evaluating the efficiency of the grouping (Monks, 1987: 134). The single unit may be as efficient if the time at each workstation (or task) is shortened or if idle time is eliminated. In terms of production efficiency, travelling to and from the different locations to gather information adds idle time for both types of production units. The idle time is significant to the MMJs as they cannot work during the act of driving, as opposed to the traditional television reporter

who can write scripts or make phone calls while the television news photographer transports the crew from location to location.

The impact of changing the production model for field producing local television news is not limited to employees at a local television station. The impact seems to be widespread from universities, to business, as well as the impact to the fourth estate¹ (Dupagne et al., 2007: 245-250). While the budgets of news organizations are affected, the impact of convergence will have an effect on journalism education. Many schools have adapted their curriculum to the trends of media convergence (South et al., 2002: 5-10). Significantly, the process of producing news quickly, over multiple platforms, has allowed external organizations more access to newsrooms. This study observed a significant use of solicited stories from business and government offices. Businesses are using press releases to entice news organizations to cover stories created by public relations departments (Stryker, 2002: 519-530), (Schwartz et al., 2002: 2859-2863), (Bushee et al., 2010: 1-19), (Davies, 2008: 84). In *Flat Earth News*, Davies (2008) provided empirical evidence that fifty-four percent of news is derived from, or has some connection with, public relation sources. Journalists follow up rumours and allegations by approaching organisations under scrutiny for comment, while public relations professionals organize the comments given to the journalists (Phillips, 2010: 373). Davies and Cardiff University researchers found news agency copy within seventy percent of the stories surveyed (Davies, 2008: 74). The reasons for the amount of agency copy and public relations influence may be due to the convergence of media as journalists are

¹ As defined by Carter, T.B., Franklin, M.A., and Wright, J.B., (1988) *The First Amendment and the Fourth Estate: The Law of Mass Media*, New York: The Foundation Press.

expected to work faster and to fill more space, in what Davies describes as ‘churnalism’ (Davies, 2008: 60). The need to lower idle time, increase efficiency and improve productivity would appear to make the traditional television news crew the ideal practice to facilitate increased production, whereas the multifarious journalist seems designed to thwart the intention of management to improve efficiency and quality. The redesign of the news crew appears to affect both efficiency and the role of journalists. The role of the television journalist seem to be rapidly changing as the profession of the television journalist appears to be being redefined by the tasks of the MMJ (Aviles et al, 2008: 229-230). Whilst the traditional roles were conducive to single defined tasks, the television journalist is now asked to complete multiple tasks. It appears technology is causing the roles to change; yet that may be a presumption as management of news organizations apparently changes the models of production (Kolodzy, 2006: 10). Technology itself does not seem to significantly change the process of television journalism: sourcing a story, acquiring the media and then constructing the story. A reporter still needs to source a story, drive to a location, interview individuals on camera, write a script, and edit the material into a final product. Technology does, however, seem to alter the way media is acquired and constructed (Underwood, 2007: 195-210). The process of television journalism appears to be unchanged, but the mode of performing it seems to be altered as crews are replaced and new media formats are implemented. The specialization of skills in the traditional crew is replaced by a post-Fordist practice. Post-Fordism is part of Labour Process Theory, whereas the means by which workers’ labour power is articulated to material aspects of production, such as machinery, or in this case a video recording/editing system, in order to secure capital accumulation. In the case of news

production, the capital accumulation is circuitous, as the product cannot be sold directly for a specific price, compared to traditional goods, therefore the valorisation of the employee, or the surplus value created by the conversion of raw materials into an exchange of goods is difficult to access by direct analysis of the specific products. In the labour process, workers and technology results in various types of deskilling whereas the worker is given equipment to negate specialisation and terms of deskilling, as it will be discussed in this study, it can be viewed as a linear and unified trend resulting from the current phase of capitalism termed 'monopoly capitalism' (Thursfield, 2000: 16) and even if the new production processes give rise to new skills, management will eventually appropriate these skills and the linear processes of deskilling will continue. For this reason, the indivisibility of technology from the imperative for management control seems to be a tenet of the deskilling thesis, whereas management ensures control over the labour process. However, the main differences between Fordism and Post-Fordism occur in the flexibility of production, whereas Fordism utilizes standardisation and inflexibility, Post-Fordism encourages a flexible specialisation. As can be shown by the shift from the traditional television news crew to the MMJ, it is the newer technologies that allow the implementation; the re-organization of work involves the reconstitution of fragmented tasks and reskilling of the workforce. Optimistically, under the flexible specialisation, defined as Post-Fordism, work is organised around craft principles, the separation of conception and execution is rescinded, workers are given more responsibility and autonomy, and workforce skills are restored. The contribution of the computer is seen as an example of how this flexible specialization occurs with the introduction of technology. Yet this example may overestimate the extent to which flexible production technology

influences work, as technology alone is not responsible for shaping patterns of work. For that reason it seems technology is important, but its effect is dependent upon the configuration of machinery with the social organisation of work (Thursfield, 2000: 26-31). Technology, for all its expectations, does not seem to reduce the rigid demarcated, semi-skilled nature of work occurring in the process of electronic newsgathering. Post-Fordism utilizes functional flexibility to aid the work process by multi-skilling workers, attempting to replace rigidity with wider classifications, allowing workers to perform any task. For example, the MMJ removes the rigidity of tasks and allows the worker to perform any task involve in the production of news, however, the criticism of functional flexibility is that on the one hand it implies a shift toward multi-skilling of the core workforce, whilst on the other hand it implies increased managerial controls over workers' activities in which synergistic relationships between management and workers enable the steps of production to be completed. This may cause rifts in the design of the methods of news production (Quinn, 2005: 29-38).

Determinism is a vague assumption applied to progressive states of change and not grounded by a specific or predictable nature. Practitioners seem to accept the deterministic view of the future will reveal advancements in their work methods and in their tools. It is the view of both practitioners and researchers the future will lead to advancements in both technology and practice, the measure of which is not certain but the inevitability of change is without doubt. In this context, technological determinism may distract researchers from the main task of gathering information in a systematic construction model for the daily television news. There may be assumptions linked to the

progress of technological change. While some may say we need to understand the routines of news making as technologically embedded, but not indifferent to meaning (Hemmingway et al., 2010: 166-168), this is not necessarily the case. While research has led to greater understanding of media organizations, content and consumption (Klinenberg, 2005: 49) (Stromback et al., 2010), there has been less work done on the process of gathering material and constructing the media for dissemination. This ethnographic study and textual analysis of news stories seems to indicate technology does not change the format of news stories, nor does it indicate the process of producing the story is superficially affected by the technology itself. From examining the relationships of traditional and converged news crews, it appears that technology has no bearing on the meaning of a news story. From that perspective, researchers who contend that the medium is the focus of examination, the content of the message or the ‘phenomenology’ and not the ‘apparatus’ (Marriott, 2007: 4) would be correct, yet in this study it is argued that the apparatus impacts the authenticity of the medium. The apparatus can be viewed as the camera, or other acquisition technologies, in cooperation with the editing and delivery platform. In that sense, the apparatus can be the term for the media production and distribution collective. The interconnectedness of the entities, within the apparatus, impacts storytelling in terms of language, selectivity of information, and presentation (Underwood, 133-143). However, if those controlling the apparatus manipulate the meanings representing the phenomenology, it would seem the apparatus has some influence in the message. The apparatus dictates the message, just as nouns and verbs dictate meaning to a sentence, with exclusions and inclusions of information based on selected elements of a visual language. Exclusion of thoughts, facts, and events seem to

be as evidentiary as live events are impactful for their 'liveness' or 'immediacy' (Marriott, 2007: 52). The apparatus is not exclusive of technology; it includes the gears of management intertwined with labour forces. This study found the structure of the news story is fulfilled whether the technology is new or old. It may also be argued that the changes in the technology do not impact the message. It is the mediations between humans and machines that have a greater impact (Berkowitz, 1997: 107-122). The routines of news making can be recognized as technologically embedded, as if the humans are connected with their technological partners in a machine-like state (Hemmingway, 2008: 14). The attempt to produce news quickly and efficiently inspires the construction process to be integrated with the technology, the crafts individuals and the producer of the news. The episteme of constructing a local news story seems to be much more integral to the differences in the changes between traditional and converged television news crews.

It may be concluded from this study that the culture surrounding the news gatherers has a greater impact on the act of journalism than the technology they use to perform their jobs (Singer, 2004: 5). There are also other factors, which may influence the applications of the technology, such as time. Time management may influence the decisions needed to complete the tasks and construct the product; in that way the culture may appear to be returning to a different time in journalistic history, when newsgathering was not a profession but a process of gathering news and disseminating the information (Örnebring, 2010, 67). Catalysed by the process of gathering news, the production model of the MMJ may have a latent influence upon journalistic standards due to the multi-skilling of

reporters and attempts to cut production costs (Saltzis et al., 2008: 216-217). The state of local television journalism is facing significant challenges because of staff reductions (Abramson, 2010: 39-44). It appears that staff cuts and salary reductions are the most common ways a local television news station can lower overhead costs but these cuts are leading to ethical challenges in the news organizations. While there may be an argument that the traditional news crew is better adapted to gather news, it is apparent that the MMJ is replacing the traditional crew. The application and adoption of the new work processes seem to revolve around efficiency and maintaining the efficiency of the production model, and the culture of the newsroom adapts in various ways (Pruijt, 1997: 13), (Saltzis et al, 2007: 225). It may also be concluded that universities are providing a curriculum to educate a work force capable of fulfilling the needs of the television news organizations and their new work model (Skinner et al., 2001).

This study will attempt to detail the observed practices and organizational cultures arising from the transition from the traditional television news crew to the MMJs. There appear to be gender, financial, ethical, and other issues created by the changes in the production model of local news. Specifically, this study looks at the impact of financial and corporate influences on a newsroom. As an example, the community of Syracuse, New York seems to be facing an institutional collapse because of the burdens of two corporations. The MMJ was introduced to Syracuse during the bankruptcy of one of the television news stations in the city, WTVH-TV as a costs saving. Another station in the city also took over a bankrupt station, WSTM-TV, and implemented the MMJ to cut costs, while operating two stations out of the same building.

From a post-modern perspective, the MMJ presents a challenge to the prevailing system; the change in political arrangements has led to the traditional values of journalists being displaced by new ideologies (Simons et al., 1994). This may be the reason why the television news organizations attempting to convert to the MMJ have undergone cultural shifts, as will be demonstrated in this study.

2. Convergence and Journalism: Multi-skilling

“Today, no one thinks twice about being able to get information and news at any time of the day or night.”

(Kolodzy, J. (2006: 14)

2.1 Introduction

This chapter attempts to outline the existing research examining the challenges upon broadcast journalism. It appears as if all forms of media are beginning to be affected by what is termed ‘convergence of media’ (Baldwin et al., 1996). Many critics speculate that all forms of media will eventually ‘converge’ together into a single form, but no one is sure when or how this convergence will take place or the form it will take (Noll, 2004: 1). Besides the generic and accepted definition of convergence – ‘blending or merging’ – the application of other definitions is appropriate to better define the types of convergences that may occur in the structure of business, the working environment or in the tools of work. Rich Gordon of Northwestern University identified the five forms of convergence that involve the implementation of the technology (Quinn, 2004: 112) while Kolodzy (2006) created similar definitions. She identifies *Economic, Technological, and Journalistic* forms of convergence. Her definitions are based on the various entities impacting the changes in media. Economic convergence involves the managerial decision process of sharing resources between two or more companies (Kolodzy, 2006: 6). This can include the financial merging or the cross-promotion of companies. The result can be monopolies or oligopolies in which decision-making is centralized. While economic convergence may help businesses share resources and stabilize their capital (Dunaway, 2008: 1195), (Doyle, 2010: 434), economic convergence places pressures

upon journalists, to conform their practices to adhere to the third party demands of the converged organization. For example, a television station may be asked to provide additional versions of news stories for the website of the partnered organization, this increases workload, that can also impact the implementation of technology as it influences the amount of work and the processes of work between the two entities (Scott, 2005: 115). Journalists are encouraged to use the resources available to them regardless of whether they would like to pursue their own material independently. Significantly, the adoption of a technology may not be judged purely by technological standards.

Television news management seems to look at technological convergence as a business opportunity and in a different way from a technologist. While the technologist focuses on the integration and development of the science, the manager looks at the application of the technology, which may explain why a high proportion of developed technology does not get diffused but is rejected on economic and social grounds (Pavitt, 1999: 4). In this sense, the use of smaller cameras and portable editing equipment is used to implement the MMJs for business operations and not specifically because of the new equipment. The manager views the adoption of the new technology as a process with financial benefits; in the case of this study, there is a desire to eliminate redundancies, thus lowering overhead costs. Besides the financial imperatives, there are social ramifications to the technological convergence of the new equipment and management utilize various styles in response to the existing culture's resistance (Ilgen et al., 1988: 341-342). Seen by the various news organizations, the new methods were introduced differently, partly because the implementation of the new ways of work alters the power structures as well

as the methods of production. The managers apparently seemed to have an understanding of the power structures in their news organizations and it appears the goal of management is to minimize negative and damaging reactions (Killebrew, 2005: 125). This may explain why WKYC-TV is implementing the MMJ slowly, and presently the traditional and MMJ models co-exist in the organization, ‘the beginning of one paradigm approximates to the end of a preceding one. There is rarely an instant in time when one replaces another (Taylor et al., 2012: 547).’

Innovations are meant to improve the effectiveness of the employees work and it is the intention of management to utilize the technology to create innovations or achieve production goals by applying the technology. The convergence process begins a life cycle with emphasis on three entities, application, paradigm and generation (Taylor et al., 2012: 550). The rate of change seems to vary by how the culture attempts to reject or accept the convergence forces. The social forces can intercept the ability of the manager to implement the technology in the form of paradigm repair and other reactionary responses by employees. A manager will become an early adopter if the outcomes result in the desired outcome despite some of the present constraints either economically or socially. Early success or reward for the manager may lead to an increase in pressure on the employees, and this was witnessed at WSTM-TV where the early success has lead the news director to abandon traditional models. Any given technology allows some variation in organizational forms trying to exploit it (Pavitt, 1999: 4) and managers seem to need a level of understanding of how the forces of technology interact with the forces of the culture within the organization. The economic outcome seems to be in a status of

uncertainty until there is an adequate synergy between the technology and the individuals using the technology. The objectives of managers seem to revolve around improving efficiencies and enhancing sustainable competitiveness in their organizations (Dodgson et al., 2008). All four news stations in the study accomplished the application of the new methods of the MMJ differently, yet they all had the intention of establishing a new paradigm within the culture as well as a new paradigm of production. The managers intended to create a sustaining method that will evolve in future generations of employees. There is some evidence the future generations will adopt the new methods as the technology and the paradigms 'ferment' in the process of change (Taylor et al., 2012: 550). Yet, adoption may be the variable, which predicates whether the MMJ will be a sustainable production method.

A desire to fulfil a variety of needs may instigate adoption (Parikka & Sampson, 2009: 199); those needs may come from other sources other than the journalists. The audience's desire for certain material and information may influence newsrooms to adopt certain types of media or the way material is utilized. Management may encourage journalists to find news stories that are popular on the web and discourage news reports involving less titillating video or information. This may create a need for material to be viral, thus selecting the media enhances the viral nature of the material as it is proven to have an audience and with it a value is added (ibid: 85). The economy of news production favours the use of viral media as it attempts to maintain productivity and attract audiences. Buiani (2009) defines this as the ecology of media, whereas the condition of 'being viral' implies the presence of qualities proper to viruses that may

enable individuals to appropriate them and 'become viral' themselves (Parikka & Sampson: 85). A news package produced by a news organization can become viral by itself or it can utilize existing viral media to attract users to their own product in the quest of an audience. It may be an attempt to be part of the viral nature of the original material. The hope of becoming viral encourages open-ended use to manipulate the trajectory of the viral (ibid: 85). In this way, newsrooms may have become amplifiers of the viral media. If idle time and efficiency are important in the production process, viral media provides an inventory of material to help expedite production needs. It may be that in this realm viral media can reach beyond the computer universe and affect cultural areas (ibid: 84). The cultural areas of the newsroom look upon viral media as an auxiliary resource that may either aid in the alleviation of the 'churnalism' of news or relieve some of the burden on staff and equipment. The traditional culture of the television newsroom and the pool of resources needed to maintain the culture may help facilitate a financial burden placed on the company or on workers to maintain the technology (Dickinson, 2007: 189-192). While expensive equipment is replaced by cheaper but higher quality new equipment, the savings on equipment costs do not translate directly to staffing issues. The cash flow does not translate to increased wages or staff. Management views the changes in equipment as an opportunity and less of a risk (Chapman et al., 2003: 5-9). A rise in capital is viewed as calculated investment and despite the capital savings, staffing is being reduced and staff are required to take on more tasks while maintaining their core work (Dupagne, et al., 2007: 250-251). The management approach seems to be based on financial restructuring, with the belief that a smaller workforce does not impact the product in an unmanageable way, as there are benefits to greater employee

involvement when new methods are adopted as part of a consistent whole (King, 1995: 29). Management places the burden on the workers to adapt to the new approaches. The 'best practice' strategies of managers may conclude that a leaner staff can actually make the workforce more productive, with fewer people doing more work (Marchington et al, 2000: 1110). The strategy may be based on traditional methods. In some cases, economic performance can improve by meeting three conditions. Firstly, employees must possess knowledge and skills that their managers lack. In this case, the MMJ creates a new methodology and skill set when innovating the new production model. Secondly, employees must be motivated to apply this skill and knowledge. To make the innovation work, the MMJ must learn to manage the innovation, doing so independently. Thirdly, the firm's business and production strategy can only be achieved when employees contribute through discretionary effort (MacDuffie, 1995: 199). This means that if the workers are not motivated to adapt to the innovation, it may not succeed. Discretionary effort is apparently needed in order to learn a new technology, utilizing a new work model to make the transition beneficial to the economic performance of the company. It seems that in the case of the MMJ, skill and effort is essential to the success of its implementation.

The demand for additional discretionary effort seems to be excessive, as journalists believe it takes degrees of effort to perform the job and that the additional pressure from external forces is counter-intuitive to the process of journalism; it is believed it should be carried out without undue stress or influence from external pressures as they can work in freedom and isolation (Deuze, 2005: 448). There seems to be a sense of frustration

demonstrated in studies over how media companies are adapting to financial pressures. The size of the organization and the dictates of the corporation put a strain on the individual entities by applying the additional pressure of advertising sales based on commercial rates incorporated with the popularity of the local newscasts (Dickinson, 2007: 196-198), (Gray, 2001, 196). The whole is greater than the sum of the parts (Crocteau et al., 2006: 3). The public service values of the media are being relegated as commercialization of journalism rises in what McChesney (1999) calls a 'hypercommercialized society' (McChesney, 1999: 48). In that context, society has grown more dependent upon buying and selling. Local television news seems to have become very dependent upon advertisements. 'News is a manufactured good, the product of a set of social, economic, and political institutions in practice (Schudson, 2003: 13)'. Whether or not television news is a manufactured product, journalists do not deliberately construct a physical product to sell, but they do create a physical reconstruction of time and information in a designed sequence of events and actions, used by corporations to attract consumers (Jackson, 2009: 147). Besides the individual news stories, the product itself may be the whole of the news organization, based on the individual entities that are visible to the audience, such as presenters, as well as the content of the news. From that perspective, the single news production itself may be a product of the corporation, as the individual journalist is an entity the consumer uses to differentiate the news organization from others (Rosenstiel et al., 2007). However there are unseen entities constructing the veneer and substance of the saleable product (Boczkowski, 2010: 6). In this way, the newsrooms are production plants creating complex products (Bantz et al, 1980: 46-48). There is an inferred textual complexity in the substance of the product because there is no

physical creation the consumer can acquire or purchase. The 'branding' and 'credibility' of the news products creates a value to audiences and the value is used to sell to advertisers in the exchange of commerce (Oyedeki, 2010: 89). The issues involved with convergence seem to revolve around how the production plant can be more efficient while maintaining credibility of the product. The inability of news organizations to continue operating with the same staffing, while maintaining the desired profit margin, is compounded with the increase of other platforms. Twenty-four hour news and the Internet increase the workload of reporters. It may be evident that advertising revenue drives news organizations to create cheaper products because they acquire greater value due to profits. This dilemma poses moral dilemmas to news workers, as they must decide their allegiance between the public and the advertisers (Jackson, 2009: 155). For television news, time is an extremely rare commodity (Bourdieu, 1996: 18). The scarcity and the rigidity of time created by the newscast magnify or delete social meanings. There is a sense that 'empty air' is created, as much of the newscast time is spent on information, and in wasting time; the newscast neglects relevant news that may be information citizens ought to have in order to exercise democratic rights (ibid: 18). Television newsrooms barter with time in terms of attracting audience and determining production needs. Headlines and teases stimulate interest in news stories and in many cases, news producers hide by showing. They may choose the path of least resistance, utilizing titillating video or tabloid presentations and ignoring relevant information. By doing so, the newscast puts the event on a stage, exaggerating the significance and even the character of the event (ibid: 19). The role of the traditional news crew and the MMJ is to capture the elements of the news story. The presentation and the impact of the final product are

dependent upon the news organization. The MMJ could provide avenues of change toward a more focused provision of information for the audience, yet it seems it may go in the direction of human interest stories, where the focus is on those things which arouse curiosity but require no analysis (Bourdieu, 1996: 51). The argument presented to news organizations to increase more in-depth reporting is answered with economic and marketing responses. It seems that in order to maintain operations, news organizations could counter the increase in workload without decreasing staff size, but apparently they are not doing so. Although more work is required of the employees because of the multiple platforms for product distribution, it is also because companies are reducing staff. Productivity and efficiency appear to be necessary in maintaining the workload. It seems as if the financial wellbeing of a news company competes with the efficiency of its workforce and the quality of its journalism. 'Financial imperatives' outweigh the need to cover areas that were traditionally covered (Anderson, 2006: 6-9). There appear to be many instances when previous travel considerations were viable in order to cover a story specifically branded by the news organization. Instead, today it is common to share the resources of other news affiliates in the region of the news story, or take a network feed, and, in some instances, to not report the story at all because of the complexities of the coverage. To journalists, it is essential to increase staff because of the exponentially rising amounts of workload. To managers, it is counter-productive to increase staff, as it leads to higher fixed costs and impacts the corporation's financial standing (ibid: 150). Whilst the MMJ may be viewed as a news production methodology, its existence may be synchronistic with the downsizing of existing news organizations. Considering downsizing is a powerful tool of management (Thornhill et al. 2000: 255), it cannot be

ignored as an incentive for the adoption of the MMJ. Thornhill et al. (2000) stipulate that downsizing can occur because of events, which lead to restructuring, redundancy and redeployment. This suggests that downsizing can be viewed as a primary lever to introduce organizational change, or as a link in a chain of events (Thornhill et al. 2000: 255). To achieve the intended change, there needs to be a proactive facilitation – the multi-skilling of the reporter and the restructuring of the news crew – without which the result will be poor production and inefficiency.

There may be other proactive facilitations to aid in the downsizing, such as the penetration of market principles and marketing projects into the editorial decisions of news organizations in order to satisfy the desire to attract consumers (Klinenberg, 2005: 60). In the quest to find an audience, many corporations veered away from informing the public and toward entertaining them. It is the hunger for ratings that pushed television news executives to become more commercial in their search for an audience (Underwood, D. 1993: 64) When conglomerates and publicly traded companies took over news organizations and entered the journalistic field, they imported corporate managerial techniques and developed new strategies to increase the productivity, efficiency, and profitability of news businesses (Squires, 1993; Underwood, 1993; Dugger, 2000; Downie and Kaiser, 2001). As corporations take a larger role in the structure of news organizations, the management appears to be changing. Managers with business backgrounds seem to be putting their philosophies into the production of news. Their view of the audience has become an economic science, as the need to give the audience what they want overrides the need to tell them what they need to know (Underwood, D.,

1993: 112). It may be possible to equate the influence of corporations with moneychangers in a temple, as the ideology and ethics of news are circumvented for profits. Television has become little more than a marketplace for the promotion of goods and services (Underwood, D., 1993: 66). Advertisements become the focal point of programming, protected by entertainment designed to fit sponsor needs and bordered by a fringe of successfully neutralized public service elements. Promotion managers are regular visitors in newsrooms, as promotions of stories are often titillating and exploitive of emotions, designed to excite viewers to watch. It appears that manufacturing a news product is dependent upon manufacturing a demand for it (ibid: 66). The synergy of technology and business seemed to encourage the multiple fields of convergence (Crain, 2009: 214). The result was economical, technological, and ethical challenges imposed upon existing methodologies and ideologies of journalism (Choi, 2010: 55-58). There is a sense that journalism is weakened by the lack of attention given to the societal concerns caused by government and business, as news becomes a commodity that can be presented as ‘something interesting or original’ (Underwood, D., 1993: 145). Journalism appears to be moulded into a homogenized form, resulting in choosing stories to report that are ‘very safe, very predicted (Underwood, D. 1993: 163).’ The outcome has affected the lives of news workers as they have become increasingly circumscribed by performance standards and management systems designed to ensure greater productivity, by managers trained in new techniques of scientific management, and by news directors who have joined the marketing team (ibid: 163). All those pressures appear to be applied to the MMJ as well as the news organization, as the structure and workflow is altered. The transition of work from a self-regulating group of traditional news crews to an individual

journalist appears to be economically driven and technologically enabled, as it impacts profitability (Doyle, 2002: 55). In this context, the economies of scale in production methods impact the overhead costs.

While the availability of new technology may allow managers to cut costs and restructure their organization (Klinenberg, 2005), the restructuring may affect the work methods and workers in other ways than productivity; it may also affect morale. Psychologically, the conversion to a new type of work group and organizational structure can alter the effectiveness of the production method (Cummings, 1978: 632-634). Cummings (1978) was able to identify that the self-regulating work groups are more task-effective than individual job designs. In reference to this study, the traditional news production unit is seen as a self-regulating group of individuals, while the converged single production unit creates an individual job design. Apparently, the climate of organizations affects the implementation of the work groups, impacting the reward system, power relationships, communication flow, work flow and status hierarchies, and workers must be capable of dealing with these issues if work is to be redesigned effectively (Cummings 1978: 631). In terms of the traditional news crew, the structure of the group may assist other members to control the variances beyond their individual knowledge and skill. In terms of the MMJ, it may mean the adoption of the new production model relies on acceptance within the organization. In terms of convergence and changing the group production methods to individual job design, it seems the success of adapting the newsroom to the new paradigms relies on management placing emphasis on the psychological effects of the radical change (Aviles et al., 2009: 233). Aviles (2009) found that management

motivates their staff by appealing to personal success and professional reward to aid in the transition of the production model. While it may be debated whether all convergent news operations reward their employees for adopting the new system, the successful transition of the work group may depend on these incentives.

Despite the additional workload, there is a form of discretionary effort in the workers' reaction to the perception that the new environment has forced them to take on additional responsibilities in the same work period (Klinenberg, 2005: 54). Workers may experience greater pressure from the increased workload than from learning the new skills. The pressure might be causing frustration and the inability to adapt, but it might also build a sense of community for those forced to take on more responsibilities (Dupagne et al., 2006: 251).

As will be discussed throughout this study, the traditional television news station involves the dynamics of various electronic newsgathering crews. The emerging paradigms and cultural changes significantly impact the newsroom in the form of roles and tasks (Machin et al, 2006: 7). The productivity and the effectiveness of delivering news content is an important part of the newsroom culture and the effectiveness of the implementation of change may be measured by the changes in productivity and effectiveness of the group (Aviles, et al, 2009: 286).

2.2 The Crafts of Newsgathering

‘Convergence, defined in terms of the integration of media forms in a digital environment, fostered by both technological and economic forces, is exerting profound influence on these relationships, both in subtle and not-so-subtle fashion.’

– Pavlik, J. (2004: 21).

In general terms, technological convergence is seen as a positive step in making a technically higher quality broadcast (McNair, 1998: 135, Jenkins, 2006). The picture quality of digital broadcasting is evidently superior to analog. The transmission of the image itself shows no degradation. Each copy of a digital production is an exact copy of the original, unlike in the past, when significant quality loss was noticeable as more copies were made. This is significant in news construction, as file footage does not wear. Sharing the video does not require a ‘dubbing’ down of footage. Files can be shared via computer files (Dennis et al., 2008: 581-583), (Zettl, 2012: 272-284). However, technological innovations impact institutions by challenging their structures. The existing paradigms appear vulnerable with the advent of convergence, despite the fact they have shown resilience and adaptability throughout previous technological advances (Storsul et al., 2007: 284). The paradigms are vulnerable to change because the relationship between worker and production method is altered. While television news appears to be an example of an industry adapting to constant technological innovation, the changes in the workflow and productivity seem to be controversial for researcher and journalist alike. What may be challenging the institution of local television news is not technology but the redistribution of tasks creating additional new roles for journalists

(Wahl-Jorgensen, 2009: 140). The new roles do not seem to lessen the burdens of the present traditional news crews. Time pressures have increased, along with media platforms, as news production is now expected to be a continuous cycle. The growing speed of covering the news puts journalists in a position of weakness (Benson et al., 2005: 53). There is little time to listen and comprehend the events the journalists are covering. The ability of a journalist to react quickly and to produce instant commentaries becomes paramount. To react more quickly, journalists are finding compromises. It is because of time constraints, as well as limits in staffing, that news organizations are enticed to utilize the offerings of public relations representatives (ibid: 54), who have agendas favouring the companies and organizations they represent. The access to news journalists allows public relations a platform that enhances their message because news organizations convey legitimacy with their presentation. The public sees the particular story, unaware of the influences or origins of the information, and is exposed to an imposed vision of the political field (Bourdieu, 1996: 2). In terms of producing the news, nuanced views and unique approaches are neglected, whereas the tangential significances of events are neglected in the effort to create familiar narratives. Stories are created with 'structural amnesia' as the pressure to create products streamlines the production methods to shorten time. The journalist tends to show a lack of interest in expanded meaning and information because it is deemed unnecessary to the goal of efficiency. Eventually, journalists cannot do what is necessary to make events really understandable (ibid: 7). The journalistic field represents the world in terms of a philosophy that sees history as an absurd series of disasters, as it is difficult to break free from the working conditions, the mindset and the goals of news organizations. It may not

a deliberate effort to censor events; it may be implied by the demands of production. As technology allows the changes in the practice of electronic newsgathering, there is a sense of ‘economic censorship’ (Bourdieu, 1996: 16). As the pressures on television are economic, decisions are made based on financial considerations, leading to staffing issues and workload difficulties, and thus the information presented is constructed by compromise. The difficulty in the relationships between ownership and journalists leads to a sense of manipulation. The competition for market share leads to a structural corruption, both in the content and the practice of journalism (ibid: 17). It is apparent that owners determine television news budgets and that although revenue is generated from advertisers or government subsidies, there are subtle mediations created by ownership.² Owners determine the size of the staff and the amount of profit they wish to maintain. The dichotomy between the journalistic field and business interests puts a strain on the production practices. There is a need to defend the production conditions necessary to fulfil journalism’s mandate to provide the public with necessary information. Yet, it seems as if journalism is victim to its own economic interests. The audience rating system should be contested in the name of democracy (ibid: 66) as it causes a ‘catch-22’ situation. The consumer inadvertently rejects important political information in return for entertainment and amusement that in turn encourages news organizations to avoid politics and produce more entertainment and amusement. In that sense, the technology may not have an influence on audience satisfaction.

² General Electric owns NBC. Westinghouse owns CBS. Disney owns ABC. TF1 belongs to Bouygues.

This study acknowledges technological change as a seemingly significant catalyst for the advancement of production equipment, providing for lower capital expenditure and overhead (Zettl, 2012), yet it also views the evolution of business thinking as a strong influence on the development of the MMJ as an integrated production methodology for local television news (Klinenberg, 2005: 52). The purpose of this restructuring seems to be to lower labour costs. Compared to the regulatory and business drivers of convergence, the MMJ can be viewed as a micro-driver of convergence (Ursell, 2001: 179). Although economic convergence involves several media corporations sharing services and products (Kolodzy, 2006: 8) at the ground level of individual production units, economic considerations may be weakening journalistic values. The demand for employees to learn more skills may appear to lessen the precision and focus of the occupation, and counter the idea journalists are not technicians (Ursell, 2001: 176). It might be possible to view the creation of the MMJ as a fabrication brought on by the influences of media corporations trying to secure their financial standings. Such a fabrication may be well intended but misguided, as it appears to be altering the quality and credibility of their news products (Quinn, 2004: 110), (Crain, 2009: 229). Regardless of the intentions, if the installation of the MMJ is based on financial decisions, then the actions within the MMJ are worth investigating to see if there is a new set of standards in the field production of news. It may appear to be obvious, but are the specific actions of the various actors involved in the process of producing news relevant to the act of journalism? Crafts individuals appear to be irrelevant as their roles are deleted from the process of producing news, in that context what becomes of the relevance of their tasks? Those questions are not easily answered as the standards continue to evolve over various

media platforms due to multiple reactants caused by both internal and external forces. While the construction process of making television news is changing (Wahl-Jorgensen et al., 2009: 131), it appears the technical staff, such as the videographer and the tape editor are not included in any analysis of the changes in the industry. However, the new technical requirements of journalists are the subject of study, with scrutiny focused on the work design (Ursell, 2001, 194). The multi-tasking, or 'multi-skilling' of reporters appears to be a challenge and a threat to the process of journalism (Servaes, 2009: 372). Although multi-tasking is taking place, the elimination of traditional staff is less of a concern for researchers. The crafts individuals are not included in the research discussions. It seems their contributions are redacted from specific discussions about journalism throughout most research involving television journalism. It is assumed the tasks of the crafts individuals are completed under the direction of the perceived journalist, the television reporter, yet it may be an assumption closer to the media-culturalist perspective than the media-materialist approach, for that reason it may be a precipitated hypothesis, based more on perceptions and cultural projections than actual ethnographic observation. Therefore studying the actions and interplay between the crafts individuals and the reporter is worthy of considerable study as it may affirm or contradict previous research. The tasks of the crafts individual seem to inspire research, but it is not the fact that the crews are relegated and deemed redundant that inspires research; instead it is the fear that additional manual tasks caused by multi-skilling will result in a generational decline of journalistic integrity (Hemmingway, 2005),(Kolodzy, 2006),(Dickinson, 2007),(Gray, 2001). They each view multi-skilling as an irresistible force upon the nature of journalism, a hindrance at the moment but inevitable in the

course of advancement, whereas the decline of integrity will occur if the present relationships and methodology are used, and instead of focusing on journalism standards they become distracted by conventional technique, therefore adoption and acceptance of alternative practices should be considered. Their point is well made, yet it would seem that the process of crafts has some bearing on the act of journalism. In that sense, the crafts individuals appear to be lost in the analysis and their contribution negated, as they are not mentioned in the discussion of convergence or multi-tasking.

In the paradigm of the traditional television news crew, the crafts individuals provide the skills now transferred to the MMJ. Hemmingway (2004) identified two zones inside a television newsroom: a newsgathering zone and an output zone. Between them are the decision-making desks or 'the silent heart of news.' It is in these newsgathering and delivery areas that the 'world in news' differs from the events taking place in the 'world itself.' In reference to this study, the 'world of news' before convergence involved a larger body of individuals contemplating and deciding how the representation of the 'world itself' would be represented in a news story (Hemmingway, 2004: 413). Hemmingway's concept of the 'silent heart of news' might suggest the decisions of news production will still be driven from this central area in the newsroom. The nature of my study is to see if this area is affected by a restructuring of the newsgathering and output zones.

While the two zones are independent, they both know what the final product should look like (Hemmingway, 2004: 412). The production of television news can be dissected into

the various processes required to create the final product. In the case of television news, the typical product of one story is labelled 'package' (Boyd-Hinds, 1995: 135), using a single story about a single news event. By examining the various methods of production before convergence and what is occurring during the present period of convergence, the contribution of the television news photographer can be outlined using traditional viewpoints on creating the new products. Most media researchers are interested in the product of news but the production of the news story seldom inspires prolonged studies (Baisnee et al, 2006: 100). Primarily, it may be hard to evaluate the impact of imagery upon an audience or qualify images. Most audience members are unaware of the influence of visuals or the context in which they are created. To the audience, the visuals seem to be a 'reality' and few realise it is a 'constructed reality' (Boyd-Hinds, 1995: 146). It may be more accurate to measure the contribution of crafts individuals through the evaluation of the production process and how the exclusion impacts the final product.

In the context of this study, the analysis of the work group and production methodology may require examining the status of the craft individuals. There are several ways to differentiate work in organizations, according to Gordon (1987). Horizontal, vertical, personal and spatial differentiation can define the structure of an organization and the inter-relationships between members (Gordon, 1987: 524-525). The television news crew can be viewed using all four definitions. It may be argued that the television news crew of three individuals involves a horizontal differentiation of work, in which they all work on different parts of the product and are on an equal plane. Each is responsible for a particular department. The reporter is the designer of the project, the television news

photographer is the manufacturer of the raw materials and the videotape editor is the constructor of the merchandise.

It may also be argued that the television news crew involves a vertical differentiation of labour (Gordon, 1987: 524). The reporter may be viewed as being of a higher standing, passing tasks downward in order to achieve the goal of constructing a news story. It is common among most researchers to view the traditional crew in this manner, for they rarely acknowledge the presence of other individuals who contribute material, input and editorial functions into the television news story. Most researchers believe the crafts individuals are not journalists and consider the reporter is of higher standing. However, with each craft, some aspect of journalism seems to be taking place (Underwood, 2007), (Zettl, 2012).

In terms of making a product, within the unit of the traditional crew, the crew can be viewed in terms of horizontal differentiation. Each individual acts independently, with no desire to perform the tasks of the other; in this way, the culture confers equal status based on tasks in a cross-functional manner (Krietner et al., 2010). In this study, my approach viewed members of the traditional crew in a horizontal differentiation if any differentiation exists.

The omission of the crafts individuals from the discussion of acts of journalism may reflect a general consensus that they are not journalists. Research at a theoretical level views journalism as a process within a culture of reporters and management (Schlesinger,

1978), (Turow, 1983), (Ursell, 2001), (Schudson, 2003). Crafts individuals are viewed as part of the larger organizational culture, but not as direct catalysts of the processes. They appear to be appendages to the body of production. From the practitioner stance, the crafts individuals influence the product but do not necessarily impact the intellectual properties of journalism (Tirohl, 2000), (Underwood, R., 2007), (Hemmingway, 2008). Research appears to categorize crafts individuals as cultural units with little power to make decisions. In this sense, crafts individuals are part of the ideology of a news organization, yet have little influence upon it. Some research suggests news production is influenced by a dominant ideology (Tuchman, 1978), in which news is seen as the social production of 'reality' and consequently does not actually reflect reality but is determined by those who hold power in society (Harrison, 2006: 32). In this case, the crafts individuals are not mentioned as 'creators' of reality, but as part of a larger collective ideology. In contrast to the academic viewpoint, the practitioner views news production in terms of objectivity norms and other 'neutral' factors, such as the constraints of time, or the practical necessity of layout and design, which actually override the ideological intentions of journalists (Harrison, 2006: 34). It may be the crafts individual has a role in the social order and therefore influences the practices. The social organization of news production seeks to understand the actual practices involved in producing news (ibid: 31). It is an area where the organizational structures and workplace practices occur. The production processes are seen to be features of journalistic organization, which ultimately affect output or news content. It may be concluded the job of the news organization is to deliver, within the constraints of time and space, the most acceptable news product to its audience in the most efficient manner

(Harrison, 2006: 141). The production of news needs to be carried out efficiently and impartially. Even when the research study details the practice of news production, the crafts individuals are not labelled journalists. News is traditionally produced by a team of actors, each with a core craft or skills to contribute to the final product, and is now replaced by the notion of the single-authored news production (Hemmingway, 2008: 79). Hemmingway (2008) defined the traditional crew as a journalist, a camera operator and a VT editor. The journalist is assumed to be the reporter. But this stance seems semi-hypocritical: prior to single-authorship were any of the crafts individuals considered having a part of the authorship? They must have made some contribution to the journalism. It may be argued the contribution of crafts individuals is significant in acts of factual representation of events and they may be responsible for maintaining credibility, which is a concern of the MMJ and multi-skilled journalists (Quinn, 2004), (Deuze, 2005), (Oyedji, 2010). Both the videographer and the editor frame the factual information with representative media. It is their responsibility to construct meaning that relates to the facts, represent them fairly and convey a visual connotation to the words spoken (Medoff et al, 2007: 295).

However, as technology is able to transmit images throughout the world into various languages and cultures, the image is 'worth a thousand words', as seen in Syria, Libya, and other places of revolution (Stepanova, 2011: 3). The ability to capture images of journalistic quality, with intellectual reflection and intention, reflects the contribution of a photojournalist who can tell powerful stories that may take the lead in the process of journalistic discovery (Hargreaves, 2003: 53). From that perspective, a television

journalist who does not have a picture that accurately portrays the events reported is not accurately reporting the news. If the image captured by the photographer is juxtaposed with the image possibly ignored by the photographer, in the same textual environment, it is similar to an editorial decision making writers and reporters misrepresent the facts (McNair, 1998: 51), (Webster, 1980: 21). A film photographer would 'edit' in the camera to insure the maximum usage of the film stock allowed. In this sense, a film photographer would make decisions about content while shooting film. The film photographer was part of the editorial process. The ethics of a photojournalist are important, not only in the acquisition of media, but also the interpretation of an event (Mitchell, 2000: 6). The culture of the person taking the picture and the embedded cultural codes affect the images captured (Banks, 1994: 129) and sometimes the 'truthfulness of the picture' is in question. The news narrative is reflected in the text of the story and so, if the pictures are part of the narrative would it not be considered to be part of the communicative exchange between narrator and audience (Woodstock, 2002: 40).

The majority of research assumes visuals are dependent upon the on-camera journalist for interpretation, by ignoring the lack of crafts individuals in the analysis of journalism (Deuze, 2005), (Meier, 2009), (Fenton, 2010), etc. When studying the reporting of the September 11th attacks, the visuals of the attacks are viewed as important to the impact but there is little reference to the individuals capturing the imagery (Lester et al, 2003: 51- 55). Moreover, the image itself is discussed in the context of what it conveys, not the photographer, although the presenter of the information may be a part of the dichotomy

of analysis or given credit for the context of the imagery, believing it to be ‘phenomenologically now’ and the interplay between machine, human and time irrelevant to the message (Marriott, 2007: 26-30).

With regards to the 1989 image of the lone man confronting tanks, the photograph is listed as ‘Tank Man’ and as one of Life Magazine’s, ‘100 Photographs That Changed the World’. Many views of the same shot were captured.



Jeff Widener of the Associate Press or Charlie Cole of Newsweek captured the still image in 1989, but BBC and CNN crews also captured a similar image of a lone man standing up against a row of tanks. The individual photographers of the BBC and CNN are not mentioned and it is difficult to find the names of any of the television photographers who captured the historic image for television. In a sense it seems still photographers are viewed as photojournalists, while television news photographers are not, yet television news photographers use the same conventions as still photojournalists (Underwood, 2007: 113-130).

While still pictures might be viewed as photojournalism, video of the same image appears to be treated differently. It seems television news imagery is generally hard to define. The television news image appears as a moment of captured reality and not manipulations or representations of moments (Fenton, 2005: 63). Even harder to define is the role of the person capturing the image. Based on the lack of research regarding television news photographers, it appears researchers feel the person capturing the video image is a news gatherer, not a journalist. Even practitioners struggle with the definition of their own craft, calling it an 'art form' although labelling themselves photojournalists (Underwood, 2007: 52). Despite them not being considered journalists, the television news photographer's contribution is important to the story's content and structure. 'Coming up with the pictures may be the most difficult part of the assignment' (Boyd-Hinds, 1995: 134). The ability to operate a camera seems to be more important than the intention of how it is used when describing operators. However, television news photographers capture newsworthy events with a journalistic integrity (Underwood, 2007: 81-93). They approach the victims of fires and other individuals during tragic events and often perform the tasks of a journalist. They interview the people and record the 'facts' of the event by videotaping the calamity. They talk with victims and approach officials to gather information. Despite these instances, it appears that the ability to capture an image is deemed insignificant in most journalism studies. The ability to capture significant imagery is credited to reporters as part of their job (Deuze, 2005), (Forte-Duhe et al, 2004), (Dickinson, 2007), (Aviles et al, 2008), (Baisnee et al, 2006). It seems to be either a naïve assessment of the television news production process or those

researchers believe imagery is disassociated with connotations or semiotics or labels applied by synchronizing with language. As a practitioner, it is evident to me that there are certain images produced without human intervention, such as surveillance cameras, and there are also images captured by machines operated by human beings with a degree of training and experience (Newton, 2001: 21-15).

Multi-skilling of journalists can be a contentious issue for both the practitioner and the academic as skills are transferred to one person, now defined as a journalist (Hemmingway, 2008: 86). Multi-skilling eradicates individual skills; tasks are assumed by a reporter with the goal of developing a more autonomous role in producing news with the goal to increase production efficiency. Hemmingway (2008) describes it as ‘adopting a radically altered chronogrammatic axis along which to gather and report news (ibid: 86).’ It is assumed this altered axis provides synergy of effort during the production process and that synergy improves efficiency. However, multi-skilling impacts news content and information and it may not improve the quality of journalism in terms of information value (Harrison, 2000: 51). At best, multi-skilling is viewed as a way of improving efficiency but in general, the motives for multi-skilling seem rooted in economics (Paterson et al., 2008: 161). The convergence process that is occurring due to multi-skilling is a challenge to both the culture and the process. There is negativity toward multi-skilling, as it seems to devalue the reporter by distracting him or her. Departmental news organizations are challenged and threatened by a news culture that prefers individual expert systems and ‘group think’ over teamwork and knowledge-sharing (Deuze, 2005: 451). Multi-skilling is also seen as lowering the quality of the

writing or visuals, and the merging of jobs may cause a loss of perspectives, expunging a system of checks and balances (Duhe et al., 2004: 87). The argument for and against 'multi-skilling' may revolve around the use of the apparatus and the resulting editorialized view, but it seems to be directed at workflow and the amount of work relegated away from reporting. The BBC is using informational convergence in many of their regional centres to convert staff members to multi-skilled personnel (Hemmingway, 2005: 8). The intent is to enable one person to do the job traditionally completed by two or more individuals. At BBC Nottingham, for example, six staff craft crews, made up of technicians, have been reduced to three. The technical logical group at BBC Nottingham consists of staff craft members but they allowed three craft camera operators to join the MMJ ranks, so that the technicians were, in effect, allowed to become journalists. The purchase of thirty-three laptop-editing stations replaces four full-time editors, who were also assigned as MMJs (Hemmingway, 2005: 18). Most researchers and practitioners share a significant amount of concern over adapting to the new technology and new skills. It may appear those concerns will diminish over time, as seen in previous implementations of new technology (Keirstead, 2005: 26-27). In the past fifteen years, different types of video tape formats and cameras have been introduced into newsrooms, and after their introduction and a learning curve, the technology was used effectively. The changes to the crews at BBC Nottingham result from a convergence in the structure of the newsroom. Structural convergence is important because it affects news production; managers of separate news departments from newspaper, online and television create new communication routes as they determine the distribution of duties (Cottle, 1999: 29-32). Some journalists see the changes as a blessing (Kolodzy, 2006);

others see it as a curse (Anderson, 2004). The changes that occur may affect the individual by making his or her position redundant or obsolete. The hierarchy may be affected as the organization's structure is changed. Some journalists will be given additional duties on top of an already heavy workload (Kawamoto, 2003: 4), whereas others may enjoy a higher status in the new environment. Some reporters may enjoy total authorship of stories without the additional editorial contributions of the camera operators and editors (Hemmingway, 2004: 20), while others feel the contributions improved the standard of work (ibid: 26).

It seems that personal interaction and discretionary application of the technology determines the purpose of change. The technology itself is irrelevant to some researchers, whereas the ramifications of personal responses to the technology are considered worthy of study (Dickinson, 2007: 196). The MMJ involves personal responses because of the use of technology by one individual. Some MMJs find the smaller equipment helps to get interviews in difficult situations, such as war zones or heavy crime areas (Underwood, 2007: 328-344). Others feel that having one person conducting an interview helps them to get more intimate interviews because of the personal interaction. The subjects are not as concerned about being on television because there are fewer people staring at them (Dickinson, 2007: 200-201). It seems the adoption of the technology is based on the willingness of the journalist to adapt and on the situation in which the technology is used.

Further study of the television news photographer is important to the understanding of the television news production process. The network of individuals and tasks are mostly unseen by the untrained eye (Hemmingway, 2008: 35). The network consists of interconnected relationships that are not even apparent to all the participants at all times. As Hemmingway (2008) points out, there is a significant advantage in a study on television news photographers being carried out by someone who was once a television news photographer because of the complex unseen networks.

Emma Hemmingway's study (2008) on PDP or Personal Digital Production looks into areas seldom explored by media researchers. Her study assumes that one person can construct news and she describes the individual tasks required of the newly converged reporter or PDP in great detail. In her particular study, television news photographers and editors were given the same training as reporters. Her ethnographic study revealed several attempts by the newly trained journalists to 'paradigm repair' (Ruggerio, 2004: 93), that is, to revert to old behaviours or maintain the existing structures. The reluctance to adapt to different forms of convergence might be an attempt to preserve the interdependent relationships needed for production (Killebrew, 2005: 51-53). In Hemmingway's case study and in the case of many local television news stations, the process of change involves more than job definition. It involves a culture of individuals attempting to achieve specific goals. In the case of television news, the goal is to complete a number of separate tasks by specific deadlines (Boyd-Hinds, 1995: 137). Changing the workflow or the construction process directly affects the goals of the culture. Transforming the culture can be difficult. It may be that the transformation of a

company involves an openness to change, whereas the process of change examines what they were, what they are, what they need to be and how to make the necessary changes (Mink et al, 1993: 11). One conflicting issue for some television journalists is that they began their careers as MMJs because they worked in small cities with smaller budgets and staffs. The cultural change appears to them as a retrograde step in their career plan (Underwood: 2007: 1997-199). However, contrary to what is assumed, more changes in the news organizations are accepted than resisted; resistance to the changes probably arises from situational factors, such as the added pressure of deadlines. It seems the work force needs to be less rigid and accept new structures because flexibility increases the likelihood of success when implementing changes to a work force (Pruijt, 1997: 38-40). Management can also contribute to this flexibility. In Hemmingway's study, time constraints were removed from the participants of the PDP project (Hemmingway, 2005: 26). BBC Nottingham provided the example of a paradigm shift within a traditional news organization, in which technicians were trained to be journalists and journalists were trained to be technicians. In the process, Hemmingway found a mixture of acceptance and resistance. Removing the technician increases the number of skills required of the journalist, for example, he must now do two things and decide what to do first. The process of capturing interviews is now dependent upon a person capable of overall view is of technological determinism. It may be an assumption based on accrediting the new technology as the catalyst, yet there may be other factors involved which facilitate significant influences. It is difficult to specify one cause or assume inevitability for the structural changes of the television newsroom. Moreover, it seems as if acceptance occurs because the participants believe they are creating a journalistically

sound product. Much like the pioneers of MMJ, it appears the technical decision-making is secondary to the journalistic decision-making (Hemmingway, 2008: 112-113).

Compared to the equipment of today's video journalist, the television news equipment of the 1960s and 1970s was crude and extremely difficult to operate (Farhi, 2002: 29). For the most part, television news organizations utilized skills according to need, not costs (Fenton, 2005: 65). The early days of television news was very profitable, and each local station could afford many skilled employees. Although the first reporters were able to multi-task, it was not encouraged for several reasons. Productivity was important. One person performing the task would have to stop one job to finish another. Dispersing tasks helped efficiency. Labour unions were involved in the early days of television and their influence continues today (Rogers, 2007: 99-107), (Haiven, 2006, 100-103). The unions represented the soundman, film editor, photographer and the reporter. The intent was to separate work duties in order to create more jobs and better working conditions.

With technological change comes the belief some technical skills are being made irrelevant by technical innovation. The ability to capture an image journalistically seems to be easily learned (Halpern-Wenger et al., 2008: 54-71). Advancements in technology seem to encourage an optimistic adoption of technology, as if all things created determine outcomes, regardless of the cultures of the news organizations. This view can be seen in many studies of online news, as there seems to be an acceptance the Internet will change journalism immediately and dramatically (Paterson et al., 2008: 1). As for approaching journalism research from a cultural perspective, the view that technology changes society

or leads to an information society is very close to a technological determinist position (Harrison, 2006: 35). From that perspective, a technology-led theory of social change sees technology as a causal factor and often the single or main cause of transformations in society. There does seem to be a correlation between technology and changes in society or other cultural constructions, yet they are not fundamentally bound to explicit cause and effect relationships. There is a topological approach whereby a composition of forces affect each other, not restricted in deterministic underpinnings but complex in the synergistic interplay of multiple factors (Parikka & Sampson, 2009: 5). Technology is a catalyst upon the cultural and societal structures with variable outcomes based on the reactions of the combination of forces. With regard to this study, there is no assumption that technology impacts the practice of news production.

There is little argument over how an image or audio is captured. The presence of the image or audio is viewed as part of the practice and theoretically part of the function of work (Hemmingway, 2008: 79) Most researchers and practitioners acknowledge the importance of imagery in the acquisition of newsworthy events. While the image created by a television news photographer may be viewed as ‘this is exactly how it is’ and that the interpretation is neutral, it can be argued that the individual capturing the image is interpreting events with a subjective view. Webster (2005) states ‘Photographers interpret the world of ‘reality’ just as much as those using words. In point of fact, of course, both frequently work in unison, generally with the cameraman taking a secondary role to the writer (Webster, 1980: 235).’ The events captured on videotape are electronic interpretations of facts. Television news requires images. Unlike, newspapers, radio or

the Internet, the medium must include imagery. The editorial decisions of the person choosing the imagery must be aware of the individual subjectivity (Webster, 1980: 256).

'If you compare visual language to literary voice, a subjective camera represents first person and illustrates the vision of "I," a personal experience shown as the main subject sees it. As the camera moves away from a direct depiction of an individual's visual experience and swings away from that person's eye line, it illustrates less what "I" might experience and more what someone else, "You," might experience. In literary terms: second person. In television news, this view is often the point of view for standard interviews. The camera is close to the interviewee, but her attention is drawn off-camera toward the reporter.'

– Lisa Berglund, *Television News Photographer* (Underwood, 2007: 147-148).

Despite visuals being literary, very few researchers give credit to the television news photographer for creating journalistic literary meanings. There is little debate over subjective or objective photography (Underwood, 2007: 149), except when discussing fakery or manipulated images. A reporter can be accused of misrepresentation by excluding facts or putting the story in a particular context (Goldberg, 2002: 81-102) but a television news photographer seems protected from scrutiny. A television news photographer may miss important images at a scene or compose shots in such a way as to expose personal feelings about the subject (Collier, 1967: 3-4). Little outcry is made when a politician is photographed or videotaped in such a way that he appears dominant or weak. Photographic composition seems to be taken for granted (Webster, 1980: 5). Throughout the history of television, images have caused great reaction and, in certain circumstances, informed as many individuals as the written word. (Lester et al, 2003: 9-19).

The evaluation of the twenty-four hour news cycle does not seem to include the television news photographer or editor (McDonald and Lawrence, 2004: 329). McDonald (2004) maintains that the breaking news style of journalism is cheaper and more easily produced than scripted. What is not included in their study is the greater need for research centred on visual journalism if the amount of breaking news is increasing. Again, the television news photographer seems redundant in the process. Reporters, anchors and the organization have more interpretative powers according to most studies (Meltzer, 2010, 24-25), yet it might be argued that it is the crafts individuals who now have more interpretive power. Professional television camera operators capturing images are not recognised as news journalists; however, researchers such as McDonald et al (2004: 330) make the case that visual images make important impressions on viewers. It seems there is a dissonance in the comprehension of visuals with regards to news stories. On the one hand, there are imagery and events uncontrolled by journalists, as the moment reveals itself (Marriott, 2007: 13). Marriott (2007) says ‘the developers, manufacturers and managers of particular technological forms, in other words, cannot altogether prescribe what their equipment will be used for. Nor can they control the kinds of behaviours, which will accompany its use (Ibid: 13).’ However, there are moments created by the journalist’s use of equipment and skilled techniques that are not staged but that show control of the event (Underwood, 2007: 213-248). It may appear the crux of my ethnographic study reveals a paradox between the previous scenario, where technology was not used to produce the news, and the present situation, where there is a fear that the operator of the new technology will be compromised, unmanageable, and uncontrollable

due to all the extraneous factors involved (Quinn, 2005), (Ruggiero, 2004). From a theoretical perspective, the ‘behaviours of its use’, once controlled by crafts individuals, are now the ‘behaviors’ that seem to become a concern of those not wanting ‘multi-skilling’ (Ursell, 2001), (Deuze, 2005). It is a strategic function of present-day journalism that journalists must plan for capturing images and editing them (Holm, 2012: 5). Fundamentally, there seems to be a disassociation between photojournalism and the act of journalism that is superseded by the perception of the contributor. Viewers and those not directly concerned with news production may value the presenter’s appearance more than the unseen crafts individual (Hemmingway, 2008), that is, the television news photographers, who interpret the event, capture the images and influence the interpretation. Pierre Bourdeau (1996) lamented, ‘Journalists – the day labourers of everyday life – can show us the world only as a series of unrelated fresh photos. Given the lack of time, and especially the lack of interest and information...they cannot do what would be necessary to make events...really understandable, that is, they cannot insert them in a network of relevant relationships (Bourdeau, 1996: 7).’ In this respect, the complexity of situations reporters deal with is too complicated for reporters to fully illustrate.

The videotape editor is another example of a craft worker who has lost his traditional role. The task of editing a news story has been relegated, as the first wave of convergence for many local television news organizations has been the elimination of the videotape editor (Underwood, 2007: 267). The videotape editor was seen as a redundant component in the process of constructing a news story, and the television news photographer began to edit

most of the material (Underwood, 2007: 67). For several reasons, it appears this form of convergence did not alter the news construction process and, in some respects, it seems to have increased efficiency (Medoff et al., 2007). Editing could be completed in production vehicles or in edit bays. Editing could be performed on the scene of an incident and therefore expedite the process of reporting the story (Boyd-Hinds, 1995: 142). For some, this arrangement was believed to be beneficial. The television news photographer knew what he or she videotaped and could easily find it on the videotape. Time became a significant factor in the production of news (Singer, 2004: 3-18) and the ability of the photographer to edit quickly was seen as an advantage to the task of editing. Knowing what images and sound were on the videotape and where the contents could be found allowed the reporter and television news photographer to work in tandem to construct the story quickly. Both individuals could perform skills simultaneously (Underwood, 2007: 66). The discussions between the photographer and the reporter in the field about shot selection and story construction continued during the editing process. The end result was a collaborative effort between the two individuals (Zettl, 2012). Reporters were not required to learn new skills during this convergence process. The television news photographer was asked to take on the additional tasks of the videotape editor. Today, the two-person crew of the reporter and the videographer/editor is the most common work group of the traditional television news organizations.

2.3 Multi-Skilling of Journalists

'What is inevitable is the inevitability of economics. Local television news must always struggle to compete for audience, because good ratings are considered to be the ultimate measure of good television news. Local television news is not likely to change in any institutional way. The owners of television stations have a vested economic interest, which means they do not want to risk losing in the ratings by experimenting with new forms of news (Boyd-Hinds, 1995: 145).'

Although all forms of media have been affected by digital technology, this review focuses on television news and specifically, on the television news crew. The cultural production of journalism may fall into the same category of examination, as it involves the creation of a commodity through aesthetic production. The creation of the 'news package' may be viewed as an ascendancy of cultural production in terms of a visual and aural language (Kim, 2009: 139).

Without the social burden of journalism (Deuze, 2005: 444), is television news really just an industry with a particular production method like any other capitalistic enterprise? As already discussed, the construction process of news involves multiple individuals with individualized tasks. Is the idea of lean production a step toward a post-Fordist state? Does the process of news construction differ from other forms of production, which are attempting to become more efficient? These questions would enrage the research-journalist who considers journalism a pillar of society (Anderson, 2004: 233-235). With

the blending of media and technology, journalism is no longer about one mode of media over another; there is interconnectivity between them (Huang et al. 2007: 105-115). Each medium has to be learned and utilized by individual journalists. Having re-evaluated the crew and team structures, the social construct of newsrooms is being redefined. Convergence appears to be changing the structure of paradigms in newsrooms around the world as technology allows for a transformation of both infrastructure as well as operational construction (Aviles et al. 2008: 221), (Duhe et al.: 81-102). The new arrangements in the production of news create flexibility and competitiveness. Workers may compete against each other and their self-management leads to over-involvement and consequently to self-exploitation (Pruijt, 2003: 93). The desire to compete against other journalists may drive some MMJs to completing more work than those who are not working autonomously. Workers who are self-managed and flexible will strive to find solutions to meet production needs. They will invent complex exceptional solutions to ensure production targets (Lomba, 2005: 84). With regards to television journalists, time pressures and the immediacy of news will cause the same extreme pressures that the MMJ frequently faces. While managers see the financial benefits of having staff expand their expertise in different formats, journalists in those organizations may argue that the changes are secondary to maintaining the quality of their news product and paramount consideration in any change should be journalistic integrity (Quinn, 2004: 111). While practitioners question whether quality can be maintained by restructuring their production methods, many understand the reasons for the application of the MMJ in certain circumstances (Underwood: 2007: 337). Journalists are expected to concentrate on the story, investigating the facts, being accurate and not distracted by 'unnecessary normative

baggage' (Dahlgren, 1992: 8). It seems prophetic that the 'unnecessary normative baggage' comes in the form of technology for the modern MMJ. The result of the distraction may be the increase in tasks that lowers the ability of the journalists to perform independent acts of journalism. The fear of labour exploitation may be valid, however, the view that the 'unitary core' of journalism principles and practices are compromised because of technology (Ursell, 2001: 176) might be a false assumption. Technology may distract but the increased workload may have a greater impact on the compromised performance. To create a television news story, the requirements of journalism are not only the 'unitary core' but also the structural elements of the visualization. The view is sometimes expressed that the de-skilling of journalists will lead to their positions being no more than machine hands and extensions of the computer, and they would be best described as media technicians with words. 'None, however, will be journalists as such (Bromley, 1997: 346).' The question raised is whether technology impairs the act of journalism.

Although the theoretical knowledge of the field production process may be difficult to observe, Hemmingway (2008) shed some light on the process with her use of the Actor Network Theory application to news production. In the approach toward the inter-relationships between human and machine, the Actor Network Theory stipulates the human will no longer be conceived of as an integral and unchanging entity, but more as an actor within a network of other actors, both human and non-human, who by themselves may be of little consequence, but in complex associations with one another have the capacity to adapt to changing conditions by translating situations and

manipulating others into action, or to be translated by the associative actions of other actors within the same network (Hemmingway, 2008: 13-14). Hemmingway understands the interactions between equipment and the human reporter. In the case of the MMJ or, as she calls it, the PDP (Personal Digital Production), the interaction signifies how technology can become an actor in the process of production and the events of production. The equipment of the MMJ appears to become a surrogate for the missing craft individual as the operation is still integral to the completion of the tasks.

Hemmingway (2008) explains how the process of implementing the MMJ can be successful, by comparing it to the implementation of the pasteurization of milk. Pasteurization was not merely a scientific discovery but was instead a series of translations between many actors who became aligned with one another and who, in their association with one another; all enabled the successful innovation of the pasteurization process (Hemmingway, 2008:117). Besides the technology, it seems human interaction is vital to the adoption of skills, but paramount is the ability of the human to interact with technology and use it properly. 'It is the relationship between the human and the nonhuman actor – the technology – that is seen to be absolutely crucial to the ability to construct news (Hemmingway, 2008: 119).

Also important to the process seems to be the way the management actors correspond and react to the MMJ. The relationships between manager and employee seem to have changed in the process of reconstructing the method of production, but this is common when there is a new relationship between the worker and the raw materials needed to

construct the product (Gordon, 1987: 64-68). The reporter, videographer and editor apparently had different relationships with the raw material than the MMJ.

Depending on the worker and the environment, multi-skilling can be viewed as damaging or enhancing (Hemmingway, 2008) (Ursell, 2001), (Kolodzy, 2006). It appears the perceived success of the integration of the new work model differs between worker and management (Aviles et al., 2008), possibly fuelling the argument that knowledge appropriated by management is necessarily lost to the worker. The type and level of knowledge differs between groups, and the evidence suggests that for the majority of production workers, higher-level forms of abstract knowledge are appropriated by management or are built into the machinery (Gray, 2001: 337), whereas according to Gray (2001), managers choose to use information used through automation to reduce the level of skills required in the job. This is referred to 'de-skilling' and is done to tighten the control of workers (ibid, 2001: 337). This action is intended to fragment work, to create routines and even eliminate jobs. The 'de-skilling' perspective might be applied to journalists who become MMJs. The connotation of de-skilling is that it is degrading their ability as journalists (Saltzis et al, 2008), (Cottle, 1999). Bob Franklin refers to it as the 'McDonaldization' of journalism (Allan, 2005: 137). The fear is that efficiency is compromising the integrity and quality of journalism by making journalism dependent upon the production process and less open to flexibility. Routines seem to evolve under the increased pressures from the amount of product a news worker must create. The routinization of the journalistic practice helps to create successful outcomes (Harrison, 2006: 141). News management's opinion of a successful news organization may be

based on the ability to perform work in a timely manner, most often with the goal of reporting a news story before the competing news organization has reported the same story. Journalistic freedom may often be limited as reporters use deadlines as milestones of successful reporting instead of exclusive information (Harrison, 2006: 141). Standardization of information from news wires and feeds help to maintain the expediency of news delivery with the least amount of effort. This also includes the sources reporters use for certain types of stories. Returning to familiar, available and camera-friendly sources aids the reporter in fulfilling the production needs quickly. Difficult sources may be avoided as they impede the process of collecting necessary material such as sound bites and information (ibid: 142). In the systemized way of reporting, journalists seek a beginning, middle and end of a story, which they convert into a product, utilizing elements from sources; in trying to expedite their work, there is a tendency to minimize conflicting possibilities as it complicates the presentation and requires additional work (Ibid: 145). It may not be technology that creates these stress factors of production, but the increased amount of product required of the news worker. Yet, it is evident technology does change the news production culture in certain ways. Multi-skilling over multi-media platforms increases pressure on journalists to find shortcuts or increase their control of their work processes in the search for efficiency. It seems the process is dependent on the mastering of the technology (ibid: 149).

The idea that a skilled journalist is de-skilled by requiring the journalist to perform craft operations may be naïve or presumptuous, as the newer generation is eager to perform the craft skills and sees them as part of the job. The journalist is now part of a “sub-system”,

working independently (Gordon, 1987: 22). Older journalists may have difficulty with the new skills as they feel they demean them, lowering their position in the hierarchy. Younger individuals may be able to perform multiple tasks more readily because they have not been fully integrated into the traditional culture. For the younger journalist, the technical skills may be less of an issue than the lack of journalistic experience. Taking on these skills at a younger age will not stigmatize jobs presently viewed as ‘demeaning’ by experienced journalists. In other words, there may be a viral nature to the growth and the application of the multi-skilled journalist, in this case what spreads in a collective group, as individuals become part of the news industry they will tend toward thinking in the same mental images (real and imagined). Their experience will allow the MMJ to be seen as the norm at the present, and as collective memory negates the methodology of the past and it will elevate the present methodology as superior. The result is the reasoned individual is overpowered by the unity unique to the crowd, which may render all forms of contradiction as derogatory and counter-intuitive to the advancement of change (Sampson, 2012: 61). Many times, the phrase “old school” is used to describe the traditional methods now deemed antiquated, yet at the same time there seems to be a reverence about the past. Defining a reporter as “old school” indicates the reporter has integrity, yet approaches journalism in an unusually out-dated or old-fashioned manner, suggesting the reporter is unable to change and progress causing younger reporters to be dismissive of the reporter’s skills.

While horizontal differentiation seemed to be present in the manufacturing of a television news story, the vertical differentiation of traditional roles seems to affect the acceptance

of new roles (Gordon, 1987: 524). Within the framework of Post-Fordism, altering the production methods and networks of production may change the code of practice for journalists. At the other end of the spectrum is the view that journalists will be gaining greater expertise by learning additional skills. 'Up-skilling' refers to the additional knowledge that is required, and the increase in the intellectual content of work (Gray, 2001, 368-382). In terms of the MMJ, 'up-skilling' has led to an expansion of jobs and greater empowerment for employees.. The significance of the 'skilling' may be viewed in terms of outcomes; the perceptions of skill appear to be narrowly defined perceptions that focus on task competence (Hodson, 1996: 719-720). While it seems the journalist must acquire increased intellectual content by learning new tasks, will the new behaviour lend itself to producing journalism of a higher intellectual quality?

'If a station's full newsgathering personnel are all backpack journalists and they're number one in their market, the station has achieved the Holy Grail of news production: top ratings with half the labour costs. However, if ratings are slipping, the staff reduced to cut costs, the remaining are forced into backpack journalist positions or lose their jobs, all in the hopes of regaining profit margin before quality (Underwood, 2007: 198).'

There is a belief among some researchers that managers adopt convergence for two reasons: improving the quality of journalism and tightening production costs (Aviles, 2009: 286). However, the integrated newsrooms require multi-skilled journalists to produce news for multiple formats, which would seem to hinder quality of production (Martyn, 2009: 200-201). It may indicate that managers believe the multi-skilling has a

limited impact on quality, or the additional skills are not directly impairing the act of journalism. Tightening production costs is relative to the individual news organization and may be difficult to define or quantify so is therefore worthy of investigation.

The transition from a few media outlets to hundreds creates numerous economic complications for local television. One of the most long-lasting prerequisites during this period was a high profit margin (Crain, 2009: 225-230). Many researchers believe the maintenance of profit margin is the reason for the changes in television news crews, as well as the recent desire to eliminate the television news photographer and tape editor as separate staffing positions. Crain (2009) follows the root of many of financial changes and economic convergence to private equity firms, leading many of the news organizations to restructure in order to improve profits for the shareholders of the news corporations (ibid: 214).

The technological convergence of cable broadcasting and satellite broadcasting allowed for more competition. Hundreds of reception options became available to audiences. The network affiliates, once enjoying enormous profits, were facing a resizing of the entire marketplace. According to Ahlers (2006), in the United States, advertising dollars spent within cable programming went from 2.1% in 1994 to 8.1% in 2004, while the advertising dollars spent on media for television dropped from 20.8% to 17.4% of all advertising dollars spent (Ahlers, 2006: 42). According to Rosenstiel (2004), audience has dropped significantly for local television news: a 6.7% share in the morning and 7.9% at early evening. The late news has grown, however, by 6.3%. For national news, the

network has dropped from an average of a 19 share to a 12 share since 1993. The revenue was shrinking from the network affiliates as the new media choices began to emerge and take hold. The industry began to react quickly as the levels of the audience dropped. Several options existed but the hope was the industry would reinvest in its product and reach new audiences (Rosenstiel et al., 2004: 1).

Television news has been affected by the fragmentation of the audience caused by cable, satellite, and the Internet (Webster, 2005: 368.) It is difficult for the original network affiliates to maintain the same attention from the audience it had when there were few choices. In the wake of the changes, terrestrial broadcast television needed to find solutions to maintain the profit margin they had expected since the beginning of the medium. With the loss of revenue and audience, another type of convergence began to take place. Some terrestrial broadcasters began to share resources with newspapers and cable entities to help stabilize their market share and profit margin (Kolodzy, 2006).

The development of the Internet further complicates the situation for news organizations and managers. Television viewers began to adopt the new Internet technology. It was first seen as an element of social media and not a competitor as it catalysed the next step in the convergence process (Bucy, 2000:59). Then, as consumers adopted the technology, the Internet became competition to television news as audiences began to use it for information (Chadwick et al., 2009: 301). In the development and acceptance of the Internet, some researchers see the Internet as the ultimate in audience participation

(Pavlik, 2001: 31), (Allan, 2006: 9-10), (Palmer, 2006: 99-106). They found Internet users were not being passive but active members of the communication process.

Managerial aspects of news production have been studied in great detail (Schlesinger, 1978), (Born, 2004). The influence of management is established as a major factor in the decision-making process of news construction. Anderson (2004) witnessed and participated in management. She had a direct hand in coping with profit margins resulting in layoffs, restructuring, and promotion-based news decisions (Anderson, 2004: 43). Management seems to be greatly affected by the economics and changing technology. My study narrows the process of news construction in a similar way to Ericson (1987). Ericson believed journalists themselves were highly influenced by their motivation and aspirations. The emphasis in my particular study is to see if the work process of the individual reporter changes after technology and convergence are introduced (Ericson, 1987: 45).

Some reporters, television news photographers and editors may not adapt to the new paradigms and empowerment. Lean production crews will be under greater stress to complete tasks and they will resist the empowerment of high involvement. Union-represented workers have been proven to be historically resistant (Vidal, 2007: 268). Any success in changing the business of transforming the construction model may come from the willingness and enthusiasm of the work force. Younger and ambitious employees will be eager for the opportunities and there will be a fresh supply of workers willing to take the jobs. In this sense, Ursell (2000) calls television a 'vampire' for

‘Ingesting youngsters at low prices from a large pool provided by the education system, working newcomers and established hands remorselessly, and discarding the older and less accommodating at will (Ursell, 2000: 816).

Besides the ability to gather video, producers and reporters frequently use proven sources to guarantee a story will be viable; the reason for this is what Singer (2004) identifies as ‘time.’ Using Diffusion Theory, ‘time’ is an element of social change (Singer, 2004: 5). There appears to be a diffusion of innovations. Utilizing diffusion theory, there are four key elements of social change that seem to impact the adaptation of the MMJ.

- 1) The innovation itself. The advantage over whatever it is intended to supersede, its perceived complexity and the extent to which its results are visible to others in the social system, whereas complexity is a negative influence on the likely rate of adoption. For traditional reporters in this study, the transition seemed complex and difficult and they were less likely to be adaptors, but for the less experienced reporters, it seemed less complex and they adapted well with less problems.
- 2) The communication channel through which the message about an innovation is shared. Most people depend on subjective evaluations by others like themselves who have adopted an innovation. For example, the MMJ at WSTM-TV, peer pressure appeared to instil a need for adoption while in Cleveland at WKYC-TV; the static of negative conversation about performing the MMJ tasks seemed to reinforce negative perspectives.
- 3) Time, which affects the diffusion process in several ways. News organizations that made distinct timetables for the adoption process seemed to adapt more

quickly. When the group was forced to adopt, the social system adjusted to the innovation much faster. For example, in Cleveland, WKYC-TV news workers were hesitant to adopt meanwhile WEWS-TV gave ultimatums to staff that seemingly allowed successful integration of the MMJ principles into their daily field production.

- 4) The social system forms a boundary within which the innovation diffuses. Management in all of the observed newsrooms outlined tolerable behaviour. The variance was what level of adoption was tolerated under certain circumstances. For example, WKYC-TV management was not aggressive in applying the standard of behaviour; WSTM-TV management required that existing MMJs and those hired in the future would all have to work under the single news production model.

It is the ability of news gathers to effectively manage time that makes them successful (Schlesinger, 1978), (Hemmingway, 2004). Routines in news research and newsgathering revolve around finding sources and material quickly. Kurprius (2003) agrees with McManus (1994) who stated a decade before ‘the path of least resistance leads to a consonance of coverage’ (McManus, 1994: 85). The consonance of the coverage shows the inability to cover news broadly and thoroughly. Routines in field production help to decrease the chances of missing deadlines or not completing required tasks. Local news organizations put staff in places they know will result in stories they can complete, such as meetings or publicized events (Boczkowski, 2009: 100). In that context, it may be possible to say the news production unit treats an event as either a

'hard' or 'soft' news story, based on how they frame their coverage in relation to the temporal rhythms of their work practices. Turow (1983) found that the coverage of an event could move from 'hard' to 'soft' and vice-versa, partly as a result of the temporality shifts (Turow, 1983: 117). Some see the need to increase staff as a good reason for the MMJ (Hemmingway, 2008: 115-141) as this may decrease the likelihood of avoiding events or framing stories to fit their needs. Whether or not local stations will train existing personnel to cover news with more journalists or cut staffing and save revenue is an important facet of the convergence of media.

The fundamental question in the adoption and application of convergence may revolve around the ability of managers to implement the new conventions of newsgathering. Managers adopt convergence with two main goals: improving journalism and tightening production costs (Quinn, 2005, 29-38). They seem to be opposing goals, because there seems to be a correlation in the number of employees and the ability to produce quality journalism. Tightening costs would seem to lower the number of journalists or require journalists to perform tasks which impede their ability to concentrate on a specific skill. Quinn's assumption of 'quality of journalism' offers management a subjective viewpoint. In the managerial framework, quality of journalism can remain while costs are lowered because quality is essentially an aesthetic difference or productivity issue (Killebrew, 2005). Killebrew contends managers are creating the conventions of post-modern journalism by implementing convergence in order to be more efficient. There seems to be an assumption at the managerial level that the production of the product is inherently adaptable by the producers of the product. There are assumptions the multi-platforms

lead to more creative journalistic story telling but also add to the pressure on editors and reporters (Meier, 2009). It appears the developers of the new conventions focus on the platforms of distribution over the contents of the product or the production methods. Quality control in the news industry may be changing the perceptions of quality in order to facilitate the adoption of convergence of media.

2.4 Fordism and Post-Fordism Perspectives

'In the end, broadcast stations have been able to keep their revenues healthy despite declining viewership for a simple reason: In a fragmented media market, their audiences are still large and diverse enough to approximate the closest thing TV advertisers can still get to a mass audience.' (Brady et al., 2004: 10)

Katz (1996) identified three drivers of convergence: technological change, evolution of business thinking and the evolution of regulatory thinking (Katz, 1996: 1082-1083). Utilizing those identifiers, business and marketplace regulations are influencing the convergence process as much as the technology. McChesney (2005), Scott (2005), and Anderson (2004) concur with the frustration that external forces with suspect intentions influence newsrooms. Choi (2010) agrees with the drivers of convergence but adds the additional driver of consumer demand for news as another catalyst of change (Choi, 2010: 55). It may be best to analyse the influences by contemplating whether convergence would take place if technology did not provide the tools to provide new

forms of production, or if the marketplace was not expanding because of deregulations, or if the demand for more products over multiple platforms did not expand with the aid of both the expanding markets and technology. Convergence and the rate of convergence may be dependent upon the advancement of technology and they accelerate the applications, as well as foster a growth of potential consumers (Klinenberg, 2005: 54).

Kolodzy (2006) seems to believe the convergence of organizations strengthens news organizations. Ownership convergence refers to linking large media companies together. This convergence brings together separate media sources to help reduce the costs of both the converged companies. For example, CNN converged with 'partners', Time Magazine, Sports Illustrated, and Entertainment Weekly for news coverage and exclusives (Kolodzy, 2006: 18). They are all large companies benefiting from each others' attributes. CNN can use the resources of Time Magazine to create news stories while Time Magazine can do the same by using CNN experts. Critics point out that the only advantage of this relationship is the opportunity to cross-promote (Doyle, 2002: 70). However, the sharing of raw material aids each news organization in completing their temporal demands and expedites news production (Mico et al., 2009: 129-133). In the United States, the convergence between large media companies is regarded as an acceptable practice (Scott, 2005: 104). American companies see the cross-promotion as adding to the marketing value of their product, thus enhancing their identity. Additionally, American companies apply convergence of ownership as a way of cutting operational costs (Kolodzy, 2006; Scott, 2005). The business of television news uses convergence to join forces, extend markets, share resources, lower costs, and make cuts to staffing. Ben Scott (2005) is an outspoken critic of this form of convergence. He

believes no positive results can occur from the cross-corporate arrangements. Other researchers back up the sentiment. Quinn (2006) believes the reason business convergence is taking place is largely due to the shrinking audience resulting from expanding media options for the public while the organizations want to maintain their profit margins (Quinn, 2006: 97). By pooling resources, large companies can lower costs by not replicating work. In that sense it seems the incentive for ownership convergence is profit driven. There is a feeling among interview subjects and with the existing research that convergence has become a corporate strategy to ward off market decline. The result, however, is that quality journalism is sacrificed for corporate stability (Scott, 2005: 109). This sacrifice is causing frustration between journalists and organizations (McChesney et al, 2005).

It seems many researchers and practitioners (Scott, 2005; Anderson, 2006; Kolodzy, 2006; Underwood, 2007; Fenton, 2005) view economics as the reason for the structural changes in the newsroom and thus, the reason for the change in visual authorship. Evidently, with regard to the expanded use of the MMJ, managers feel profit margins are being served by restructuring the traditional television news crew. The adjustment of capital from eliminating staff is helping lower operating costs. It appears the decisions are made in response to the loss of revenue due to the expanding media outlets and shrinking profit margins.

The development of the MMJ removes the traditional division of labour and changes the hierarchy of the newsroom (Erdal, 2009: 225). Hierarchy is dependent upon the skills to

manufacture promptly and skilfully. Crafts individuals and journalists work together in groups, which can be labelled 'logical groups' and were formed to complete tasks quickly (Mink et al, 1993: 130) and to achieve a specific goal or purpose. In this sense, the goal is the construction of a news story. The members of the logical groups may be viewed as equally capable of achieving specified goals but dependent upon each other to complete the task. In theory, the group does not have a hierarchical structure, giving certain members more importance or power. Everyone's roles are similar and all crafts individuals are expected to be equally capable of performing their task.

It can be argued that reporters form logical groups in the newsroom, and are linked with the functional work groups of crafts individuals. According to Mink et al. (1993), five requirements must be fulfilled in order for the functional group to be highly productive. The team members have to work together in a harmonious fashion. Each person must function at a high level. The team must assess its progress regularly through feedback. Problems must be solved in a productive manner. Adjustments must be made along the path toward the goal (Mink et al., 1993: 133). This was traditionally how the crews operated.

It may be argued that a television news crew fulfils the requirements of a functional group by utilizing Rensis Likert's Linking Pin Theory (Likert, 1961). Likert (1961) maintains that successful managers form a link between two groups: those they supervise and those to whom they report. Individuals within organizations connect to each other by 'linking' individuals (Mink et al., 1993: 18). Journalists in a television news environment

are the link between the news director and the functioning group of crafts individuals. The MMJ links with the news director, who delivers tasks to the function group in a supervisory capacity.

It may also be possible to view the reporting staff, as a whole, as a logical group. The 'on-air' individuals view themselves without hierarchy within the group and both the management and the consumer of the product share this view. The product created by certain reporters is a 'branding' of the news organization. Local television news reporters are significant in that they represent the news organization with the creation of their product (Tunstall, 1977; 82). The television news reporter is not only the supervisor of the product, but also is part of the product's identity.

The reporting staff creates its own logical group. The 'on-air' individuals view themselves as equal. The crafts individuals view their group as equal in responsibility to the 'on-air' but seem to be treated as lower in status than the 'on-air' individuals. This treatment seems to be a significant reason for the dismissal of crafts individuals and the retention of 'on-air' personalities. The reporter is given greater status by both management and the consumer of the product. It seems as if the product created by certain reporters is a 'branding' of the news organization. Local television news reporters are significant in that they give representation to the news organization with the creation of their product. Historically, the journalist is the storyteller as well as the iconic representation of the news organization (Tunstall, 1977; 82).

It seems as if technology and television news journalists conjointly managed to create new conventions of journalism. Journalists developed new styles of story structure and delivery, in part because of changes in equipment (Farhi, 2002: 28-33). One example: wireless microphones allowed interviews to be conducted in a less rigid manner, allowing subjects to continue with an activity while they were interviewed. It also gave flexibility to the reporter, who was now free to 'walk and talk' and interact without the distraction of a large microphone and cable (Davis et al, 1989: 139).

While the various differentiations can be used to identify divisions of labour suitable to define the structure of the television news crew, the structures themselves may have been designed to facilitate the Fordist approach to constructing a television news story (Boyd-Hinds, 1995: 8). Fordism is commonly referred to as the scientific approach to the use of labour. The reorganization of capitalist industry has been accepted as an early reaction to historic changes in consumption and production practices (Kim, 2009: 132). Cultural industries such as television news may fall into a category of industry where Fordism can be accurately used. Horkheimer and Adorno (1972) witnessed the rise of the culture industry, where economic innovations resulted in the expansion of 'industrial mass production'. They concluded that culture, specifically ascendant mass culture, was increasingly created according to Fordist principles. It appears that making information a cultural commodity was enabled by industrial modes of production (Horkheimer, M. & Adorno, T, 1972). The traditional Fordist model is based on the Taylorist division of labour, which required the process to be carried out without individual input from the workers. The knowledge of the workers was systematically collected and operations

were simplified into parts. The management rigidly supervised the process to ensure workers completed their tasks (Vidal, 2007: 248). Fordism was created to ensure productivity and quality control. It reflects a standardization and mechanization of production; scale economies; oligopolistic competition; protected national markets; vertical integration; mass consumption and rising rates of capital concentration (Nadesan, 2001: 260). In that sense, local television news can be seen from a Fordist perspective. All the criteria are met in the production process. The product is produced daily, using certain routine methods apparently similar in all television news stations. The final editing of a news story is the mechanized construction of material. Television news is constructed within the markets of national corporations, where local stations are affiliates of national entities. Vertical integration occurs, with the corporations owning the local station receiving material from other affiliates of the same ownership. Monies travel vertically to corporate ownership. Meanwhile, oligopolistic competition is occurring, as large corporations own multiple affiliates and concentrate the capital investment into the corporation instead of the local management schemes. The conglomerations are now focused on cost-cutting and production strategies that reduce corporate risk (Christopherson, 2008: 77). The 'local' in local television news describes the content of the news, but not the company producing the news.

In the traditional crew, the television news photographer acquires sound and pictures detailing the event or subject under scrutiny. The reporter interviews subjects to obtain their personal comments, which bridge the elements of the story (Underwood, 2007: 101-111). The tape editor puts the physical pieces together on a skeletal structure called a

timeline, using a non-linear method of sound and pictures as blocks (Underwood, 2007: 267). Once constructed, the timeline is played, forming a linear story told in the traditional manner of a story with a beginning, middle and end (ibid: 21-36). The final construction seems to be no different from assembling parts on an assembly line. In a sense, traditional television news production is 'Fordist' in its nature. Whilst Horkheimer and Adorno concentrated on art forms, the cultural production of journalism may fall into the same category of examination, as it involves the creation of a commodity through aesthetic production. The creation of the 'news package' may be viewed as an ascendency of cultural production in terms of a visual and aural language (Kim, 2009: 139)'. Some television news crews may produce the individual product, 'the package', in a 'Fordist' manner, which may be due to union contractual agreements. A union employee may only perform certain tasks and will not perform the task of others. However, other television news crews can be viewed as created in a post-Fordist model. In this model, television production encourages individuals to construct in flexible ways (Bratich, 2006: 66-67). Tasks may sometimes be interchanged between workers in the effort to construct and finish a product. Television news crews understand each member's tasks and each member supports the other in performing their job. News construction is usually completed in a team environment with a division of labour. The rigidity of the work-defined rules of strict Fordism may not be applicable to some television news crews. Instead of a strict workflow of defined tasks, the 'team working' (Pruijt, 2003: 77) of a work crew creates lean production. As Pruijt (2003) explains, team working means intensification of work without the rigidity of the Tayloristic division of labour. The transferring from a traditional television news crew to a MMJ requires

flexibility in order to complete required tasks. Lean production calls for learning more professional skills and applying them creatively in a team setting rather than in a rigid form (Pruijt, 2003: 79). In true anti-Taylorism reform, television crews are meant to be autonomous. Crews separately working on individual products construct news stories. Each crew, however, must satisfy story requirements such as ‘piece to cameras’, interviews, and ‘b-roll’. They are the widgets in the construction process (Boyd-Hinds, 1995: 141).

Taylorism can be described as an industrial method of creating a product. In its classic form, there is strictly no integration of production and management. Managers make all the decisions. Technical discipline is adhered to, in an assembly line fashion (Pruijt, 2003: 84). Television production is anti-Taylorist, in that the supervisor is not with the team. However, supervision is carried out at several intervals during the production process. Television crews work alone in their group away from the management group. All team members can participate in decision-making, not only management.. The assembly line process is often rejected in the hope of creating autonomy and sharing the decision-making (Pruijt, 2003: 84). The parts and design of the product are created autonomously without supervision. The final product is constructed in a working structure similar to a factory or assembly line, where each member constructs a part of the final product and it is passed along to the next worker. Photographers give imagery to reporters and reporters write the script from the images.

It may be argued that television news production is based on a Neo-Tayloristic approach, by those who feel the essential elements of Taylorism remain intact. With technical skills becoming more automated, as well as the organizationally reconstructed separate work units, workers are fettered to management. The production process actually increases the fragmented tasks and the control of management (Lomba, 2005: 72). The control of management is shown by the story selection, suggestion of sources, and other elements that are dictated to the journalists because of time constrictions. The neo-Fordist may claim the quality of jobs for most workers has declined in the past twenty years, that job security has dropped while workloads have increased and that workers are expected to work more without a commensurate rise in pay. Meanwhile the unions' influence has deteriorated, compounding the ability of the workers to maintain stability and longevity in the work force (Handel, 2005: 68). Television workers would attest to these findings. The unions have lost their power, with conglomerations able to fight against contractual obligations. Others, like Peci, (2009) view the plentiful numbers of low-paid young workers as a new opportunity for the exploitation of Taylorism practices (Peci, 2009: 291; Handel, 2005: 70). The extended work force is being further defined by the restructuring of the media industry since the 1980s; technological innovations and the expanding labour supply (Christopherson, 2008: 75). Christopherson (2008) believes the higher education training of potential MMJs is allowing the work force to expand. Training programmes in New York and Los Angeles train students to produce on extremely low budgets and to work very rapidly within time constraints. They learn to work efficiently as a 'hybrid' production worker who is flexible and independent (Christopherson, 2008: 83). Most of the students graduating from such schools have

more in common with new media colleagues than the elders of broadcast television (Batt et al. 2001).

Taylor strongly believed the core attraction of his production method was how it promised the 'one best way' would be used. The 'one best way' may be questioned for all methods (Pruijt, 2003: 89). However, television news traditionally created a 'one best way' of constructing a story once it arrived at the processing plant. The adherence to the way in which the story was eventually constructed has been maintained (Boyd-Hinds, 1995: 61-85). The product consists of sound clips from interviews mixed with audio track and video images. The 'one best way' of constructing a story may be labelled 'package', a term utilized by television news journalists to define their story. A package is a combination of audio clips from interviews, video portions called 'b-roll' and a narration track.

Tape editors take the script and the images and construct the 'package'. The 'assembly line' method of work may be argued to be the best model for news construction; however, productivity is much higher with leaner post-Fordist or neo-Tayloristic work groups (Pruijt, 1997: 112-113). In this regard, if the traditional television news crew is creating products according to the Fordist or Tayloristic approaches, it may not be a more efficient approach than the MMJ. It is an argument many practitioners and researchers eagerly contradict (Underwood, 2007), (Hemmingway, 2008), (Cottle et al., 1999), (Aviles et al., 2008). In this sense, there seems to be disbelief that traditional manufacturing can be less productive than post-Fordist production methods. Whether or

not this is the case, is the crux of the ethnographic study. The paradigm repairing of television journalists may be a result of the anxiety over the MMJ changing fundamental methods of construction. In that sense, television news might be entering a post-industrial phase of production.

3. Methodology

3.1 Introduction

'The fragmentation of labour in the factory made it possible to break down work into simple operations which gradually came to require new and specialized tools, and those tools were finally combined to form a machine-tool which rapidly displaced the worker to the periphery of productive labour.' – Doray, B. (1988: 4)

The purpose of the ethnographic study is to compare and contrast the newsgathering between the traditional and converged journalists. The ethnographic study creates qualitative data identifying paradigms within the news crews. The paradigms will be examined for variations between the traditional and converged journalists.

My approach is a mixed method approach (Creswell and Piano-Clark, 2006), combining quantitative and qualitative methods to evaluate changes to the production methods of local television news gatherers (Deacon et al, 1999, Emerson et al., 1995, Hansen et al., 1998). It was my intention to be a reflective practitioner (Machin & Niblock, 2006: 25);

in such a way, I can step back and contemplate the events presented before me and contemplate the wider forces at work around me.

Working groups of both the converged and traditional models create a similar product, yet the impact of the change in the production model can be seen as a threat to the product as well as the industry (McChesney et al., 2005: 310-355). This thesis studies the working groups of local television news in the attempt to analyse the impact on the product caused by technological and structural changes.

My comparison of the working groups is based on various criteria established during the formative phases of this study. In the production of news or the production of any manufactured product, time management is extremely important (Schlesinger, 1978:79), (Schudson, 2003: 134). Deadlines in news production are viewed as one of the most important criteria and it is vital that each working group completes the task within the same period of time. External (Monks, 1987: 20-21) and internal influences can affect both the work group and the product itself (Kreitner et al., 2010: 538). Habitual behaviour seems to be a by-product of various criteria and inter-relationships from internal and external influences (Kreitner et al., 2010: 309); most notably to improve coordination between groups. To improve efficiency and output, ritual behaviour seems to be developed. What forms of habitual behaviour are found in both the traditional and converged working groups? Completing the tasks in order to create the expected product can be viewed in several ways: capacity and increased output (Monks, 1987: 72) or quality assurance (Gordon, 1987: 640). What are the varying perspectives of each

working group as to their ideal of the successful completion of their tasks? Are those expectations the same as those of their supervisors or other management? By what criteria do the work groups or management judge success?

This research was carried out using multiple integrated methods of analysis to examine and compare the textual and environmental factors, of television news construction by local television journalists. The various methods were used in order to obtain a reliable collection of data that could be replicated in similar circumstances. The goal of the methodology was to triangulate the findings in order to have the most accurate record of the events (Hansen et al, 1998: 44).

An ethnographic study was conducted in two news organizations and included thirty-four interviews with managers, television reporters, videographers and tape editors. The qualitative interviews helped to confirm or redefine my observations. Textual analysis between the various subject groups was used to compare the news stories that were created. A quantitative study examined television news stories from various periods of construction, from the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s to the present day. The goal of the textual analysis was to determine changes in construction over a forty-year span.

Ethnographic study observed the control group (traditional news crew) and the variable group (the converged news crew). While other forms of methodology such as questionnaires or surveys look for one-way communications, the ethnographic interview is multi-dimensional. The researcher can be examined as well as the research subjects

(Bourdieu, 1996; 18). This study compares the similar tasks of the two observed groups. The ethnographic study within both environments compares how the tasks are completed between the two groups. I challenged the ethnographic findings by using qualitative interviews. I tried not to become a direct participant in the activities so that I would not influence the environment and the relationships between the tasks and the crew members. I was aware of my own prejudices and guarded my interactions with the members of the observed news organizations. In order to prevent my own transfer or projection of my own ideologies, I conducted qualitative interviews with substantive questions to better understand their perspective and marginalize my own views.

Their response may not be taken as an absolute. The subject may not be in a position to study his or her own behaviour (Deacon et al, 1999: 254). The interviews helped me to identify attitudes and the impact of both the external and internal environments.³

I conducted this methodology as a practitioner-researcher utilizing participant observation. This approach is demanding (Hansen et al., 1998: 36) and I was fortunate to have access to my subject for an extended period of time, from 2006 to the present day. Officially, the field study was completed prior to 2011. In addition, my experience in the local television news industry gave me access and contacts to various television news organizations in the United States. Access is considered the most challenging element for the ethnographer researcher (Schlesinger, 1980). Fortunately for my study, I had unlimited access to the main organization under study: WKYC-TV in Cleveland, Ohio.

³ 'As a rule of thumb, field notes should aim principally to record, not comment or rush to make wider interpretations or theoretical connections (Hansen et al, 1998: 55)

This provided opportunities but I had to be aware of my personal routines and assumptions. In order for any ethnographer to be successful, the ethnographers must be able to perceive themselves as part of the environment and prevent themselves from affecting or becoming a part of the culture under study (Deacon et al. 1999: 258). Schlesinger (1980) believes anthropological and sociological traditions must be integrated into ethnographic methodologies in order to better understand the minds, cultures and practices of media producers (Schlesinger, 1980: xxxi-xxxii). I attempted to incorporate various disciplines while creating this methodology.

Participant observation seemed the strongest approach for analysing the differences in the production methods of the two types of news producing units.

Hansen et al. (1998) listed six strengths of participant observation: it records and makes the invisible visible; it counters the ‘problem of inference’; it improves upon other methods by triangulation; it qualifies or corrects speculative theoretical claims; it reminds us of the contingent nature of cultural production; it provides evidence for the dynamic as well as the embedded nature of cultural production.

While the position of practitioner-researcher makes it difficult to ensure detachment from the subjects, misinterpretation or misreading of material during the ethnographic study is less likely (Deacon, 1999: 256). Interpretation of procedures and jargon can be more difficult for a researcher who has no prior experience. The interpretation of the practitioner’s behaviours can lead to assumptions that may or may not be relevant to the study.

Domingo (Patterson & Domingo, 2008: 5) outlined the benefits and weaknesses of ethnographic methodologies. They can provide a huge amount of very rich first hand data as researchers can directly witness actions, routines, and definitions of technology and social relations. They can obtain an insider's view. Researchers can watch the evolution of behaviour caused by the introduction of a stimulus and interpret it, which is important to the study. Ethnography is a practice developed by anthropologists. It requires researchers to immerse themselves into the culture being studied, getting to know the people intimately and recording their actions in a natural setting (Deacon et al., 1999: 6).

Domingo (Patterson & Domingo, 2008: 5) understood the weakness of ethnographic methodologies to be similar to those highlighted by Schlesinger (1980). The ethnographic methodology was found to be time consuming and the actors were often disturbed by the presence of the researcher. In some instances in my study, especially with management, there seemed to be a greater awareness of my presence. The responses may not have been genuine as they attempted to gauge my intentions.

Some of the subjects and actors in this study may not want me to quote them and in most instances they wished to remain anonymous. Results should not be generalized but seen in the context of specific cases and circumstances. My pilot study in 2006 helped create the appropriate research model for subsequent studies. The study revealed trends and

behaviours of the intended subject group adapting to influences. The further study attempted to see if the trends continued.

In the process of the pilot study and subsequent participation, I believe I was able effectively to take a scientific view and witness the construction of a news story without my own personal beliefs interfering with the interpretation. I base this on the answers to the interviews as well as from a collective of similar observations.

It is typical of ethnographic study to involve an in-depth investigation of a small number of cases, even a single case, rather than trying to represent general trends (Atkinson and Hammersley, 1994). In this case, I focused on a few organizations, but examined and witnessed numerous news constructions within those organizations.

After the pilot study, it was determined that the focus of this study would narrow to the process of constructing a news story. As was observed in the pilot study and from the literature review, very little research has been conducted on the visual acquisition (news photographer) or editing construction (video tape editors) and their contribution to the editorial natural of the story. This research attempts to establish if the MMJ will result in different outcomes due to fewer individual gatekeepers directly involved in the creation of a news story.

3.2 Ethnographic study

I conducted a pilot study examining the external factors that influence the selection of the news assignment. The pilot study took place at a traditional news organization (WKYC-TV) in May 2006. From this study, a compiled number of external factors were developed through the ethnographic work. After a refinement of the pilot study, the ethnographic study started in earnest in February 2009.

The first stage of this research consists of an ethnographic study. There are many reasons to use ethnographic study to answer the research questions. According to Deacon et al (1999), Huang et al (2004), and Hemmingway (2004), the use of ethnographic study is particularly suited to identifying paradigms within work groups. Paradigms are the relationships between a specific task and the journalist performing the task. Identifying paradigms allows for comparative studies. If two groups perform a certain task, the difference in the performance of the task will be measured. For instance, the journalist interview of a news story subject will be observed. How does a traditional crew interview a subject and how does a MMJ? What are their respective approaches to the subject? How does each journalist cultivate information? Can I identify any external environmental forces upon their work?

To construct the methodological criteria, I used an integrative framework model designed by Terreberry (Terreberry, 1968; 590-613). The model demonstrates the evolution of organizational environments. Terreberry's model was created with the following criteria:

firstly, organizational environments are increasingly turbulent; secondly, organizations are increasingly less autonomous, and thirdly, other formal organizations are increasingly important components of organizational environments.

I considered the individual television news crew as a single organization that is dependent upon other organizations and external pressures. The model (figure 1) is the skeletal structure of a living system representative of television journalism. The input and output regions are partially permeable with respect to the environment, which is the region outside the system boundary. The model consists of four parts. (1) Represents the external environment and other organizations. (2) Represents the input that is created by the external environments that is then transformed in (3). (3) Represents the production process. (4) Represents the output.

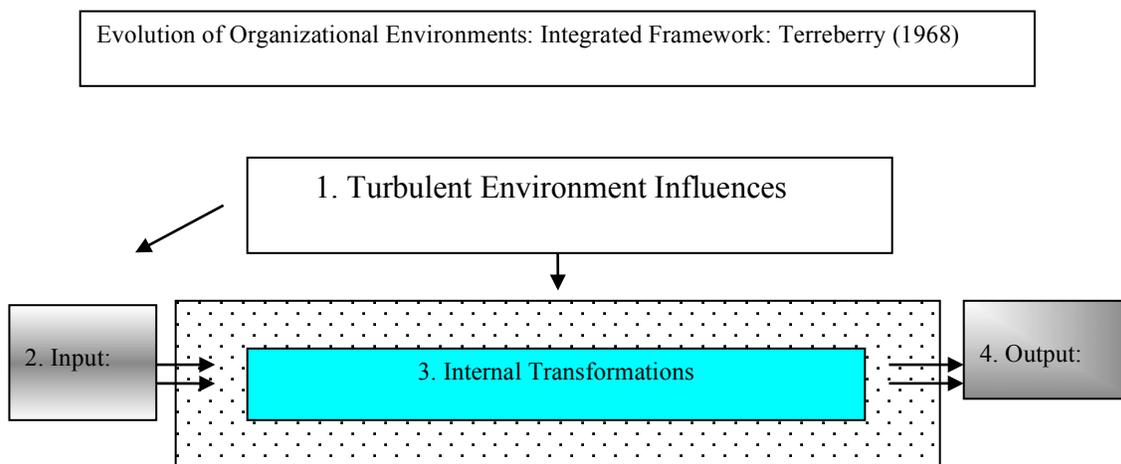


Figure 1: Structure of living systems such as a formal organization in a turbulent environment.

‘This schematization shows only one-way directionality and is meant to depict energetic inputs (e.g., personnel and material) and output (e.g., product)’ (Terreberry, 1968: 610). Terreberry concludes that her model is designed for manufacturing and not necessarily adaptable to informational organizations. ‘Informational inputs are not well conceptualized although there is no doubt of their increasing importance in environments which are more complex and changeable (ibid: 610).’ [...] ‘The empirical task here is to identify organizational changes, and the internal or external origins of each change (ibid: 613).’

Terreberry’s model may be useful in combination with Hemmingway’s Actor Network Theory, the external environment of socio-, chrono- and technogrammatic positions for either the traditional crew or socio-, chrono- and technogrammatic decisions to be made by the single individual (Hemmingway, 2008: 188-190). In regards to newsgathering there is the world that is, or in other words, the linear real world where events occur, as opposed to the world presented to an audience as captured slices of the linear real world, weighted by implied importance. In this context, the world that is and the demands of management becomes the input for the working group where the internal transformation occurs to produce the output of the news package. For example, Hemmingway (2008) argues news production should not be viewed as shaped and conditioned by a series of external forces and I agree, to a certain extent. In terms of examination, the story is redundant. The events happening in the world are unconnected to the process of producing the news. As Hemmingway concludes, news should be recognized as a non-reducible, semi-autonomous constellation of forces that are not merely phenomena of

more generic societal-structural logic, but whose socio-logic operates on interpersonal levels within a whole range of network actions (Hemmingway, 2008: 27). This study attempts to identify the interpersonal levels showcasing the range of network actions taking place during the production phases of newsgathering. The external forces of management, public relations of companies and government, and time itself all play a part in the work of the MMJ.

Ethnography is the method of producing a written account of a particular group or institution (Gillham, 2005: 39). Observing subjects in a 'natural' setting gives validity to the detailed observation of a group or individual's behaviour. However, the observer is not neutral but selects and interprets what he/she sees. 'The meaning of behaviour is not self-evident: motives are the hidden dimensions (ibid: 166)'. Observation is a method to provide clues to behaviour but inquiry is essential. Asking the observed subjects questions about what is observed will lead to more complete and guided interpretation. The purpose of this ethnographic study is to compare and contrast the newsgathering between the traditional and converged journalists. The traditional journalists will serve as the control group. The pilot study with the traditional journalists will be used to formulate the ethnographic criteria.

This ethnographic approach will be useful in understanding the various players and factors involved in the cultural exchanges made in creating new forms of production. Instead of assuming the particular ideologies for the convergence process, the

ethnographic study will attempt to find reasons for convergence and identify any impact on the news organization (Miller et al., 2004: 337).

According to Creswell, (1998) ethnographers study the meanings of behaviour, language and interactions among members of a culture-sharing group. The traditional television news crew is such a group but the MMJ is not. How are the influences of the managerial and external forces applied to the non-cultural sharing group? Pavlik (2000) believed technological change affects how journalists do their work. Each of the news organizations in this study has the latest in newsgathering technology.

By using ethnographic study we can identify similarities and differences in a first-hand account and examination. This study will not focus on the broader applications of convergence, such as those found at The News Centre in Tampa, Florida. The Centre has been a focus for numerous studies (Koldozy, 2006; Quinn, 2006). Instead, this study will focus on the process of television news construction – the production of the necessary video and audio material, the construction of acquired material, and the presentation of the final product.

The study commenced at WKYC-TV in Cleveland, Ohio. The station consists of traditional newsgathering crews comprising one reporter, one photographer, and an editor for each story created. The staff members are union represented. The newsroom and the news crew were studied under the specified methods.

Additional ethnographic study was conducted at a converged newsroom of MMJs (WSTM-TV) in Syracuse, New York. The purpose was to identify the variables existing in the production process and the effect of external forces upon the individual production unit.

The research setting included the news facility, the editorial meetings, the news crew, the story location, the journalist's desk, the edit facility, and the final product. I followed the story from idea conception, to the assignment of the story, through the production of the news story to the result of the aired news story. I took on the role of observer and did not participate. I maintained my stance as a practitioner investigating the practices of other journalists.⁴

3.3 Qualitative interviews

A total of twenty-three interviews in Cleveland, Ohio were conducted; ten observed subjects were interviewed. Seven external influential subjects were interviewed, which includes management, sales, and producers. Six other interviews were conducted with other journalists and management from other stations or departments at WKYC-TV. A total of eleven interviews in Syracuse, New York were conducted: four observed subjects

⁴ I attempted to limit the 'Hawthorne Effect' or the fact my presence brings 'unnatural behaviour' to my subjects (Deacon et al, 1999; 266) by minimizing my interference during the production process. However, it was noted when my presence may have created an unnatural situation affecting the behaviour of the subjects.

were interviewed. Two external influential subjects were interviewed. Five other interviews were conducted with reporters, producers, and management from WSTM-TV, as well as WTVH-TV.

The purpose of the interviews was to verify or substantiate what I observed. The interviews also provided context and motivation for performing tasks in a certain manner or with a particular method. In a similar way to Hemmingway's (2005) study of the PDP operator, questions were asked based on events, routines and perceptions of the subjects.

It was important to carry out interviews with the observed subjects in order to gain the appropriate insight into the validity of the data (Gillham, 2005; 166). My observations alone could have proved to be one dimensional when seen outside the context of the atmosphere of the particular news organizations. Because the study involved various cultures, questions needed to be asked to clarify references that I may not have understood. The interview was intended to clarify my observation and limit assumptions. Further questioning might also have revealed an element of 'paradigm repair', an attempt to protect the cultural authority of the profession of journalism by maintaining the existing cultural boundaries (Ruggerio, 2004; 92). Therefore any disparity between the observation of the researcher and the answers of the participants needed to be highlighted in order to identify any existing 'paradigm repairing'. A disparity could illustrate a weakness in the qualitative interviews, if, for example, the interviewee was not being open but defensive. The resulting interview answers could have resulted in an attempt to maintain norms or protect long-standing beliefs resulting in 'circumstantial evidence'.

Information based on what people say as opposed to what is observed first hand is ‘interrogative’ evidence, which is collected by observing and deducing (Deacon et al, 1999: 62-63). My intention was to use the ‘circumstantial’ and ‘interrogative’ evidence together to evaluate the attitudes of the news journalists.

In a similar way to Ericson et al. (1987), I found the crews were sometimes concerned about how my findings would be used. Many were concerned their work habits would be communicated to management. Some also found my presence generally made it more awkward to work. It encouraged me to observe from a distance and approach them after they had performed their tasks (Ericson et al. 1987: 86-90).

I guided the interviews by relying on my list of questions. I used my list to ensure that certain questions were asked of all participants to gather collective opinions. The list contained open-ended questions about the tasks that were completed in the construction of news.⁵

A strength of semi-structured interviews is that the same questions are asked of all those involved. It gives a relative assurance of an equivalent coverage of the topics with each subject and also ensures the same approximate allowance of time with each subject (Gillham, 2005; 70). The benefit is that one opinion is not granted more space and time to unbalance the resulting interview data.

⁵ A semi-structured list of questions (see Appendices 1 and 2) was used for the pilot study. I chose the semi-structured interview as a matter of convenience as well as for the quality of the information (Deacon et al, 1999; 65). I wished to create an open dialogue with the subjects. Semi-structured interviews may seem like a conversation but it is a controlled conversation (Deacon et al, 1999; 65).

The intent of the interviewing process was to critically approach each phase of the framework model described previously. According to Mason (1996), the interviews should allow the research to be argued evidentially, interpretively, illustratively and reflexively (Mason, 1996; 175). Evidentially, the interviews demonstrate a methodical approach to verifying observation. Interpretively, they create a narrative with the intention of broadening the understanding of the phenomena. Illustratively, the process of news construction can be seen as multi-dimensional, multi-paradigmatic, and evocative to the understanding of television journalism. Reflexively, the subjects can be given a chance to contemplate the meaning of their actions and clarify any misinterpretations.

Besides the ethnographic subjects, additional interviews with reporters, television news photographers, converged journalists and news managers were conducted. In contrast to the observed subjects, these interviews concentrated on industry concerns and perceptions of the converging journalists. Theoretical sampling determined the interview subjects. In this way I found external interview subjects capable of expanding the discussion of converged journalism (Deacon et al, 1999; 52-53). The theoretical sample included a sample representing the variations in the theoretical argument. Based on the literature review, the subjects had positions in some of these categories of convergence (e.g. economically driven/technologically driven, journalistic opportunity/journalistic degradation, improving the public interest/impairing the public interest.) By using the categories, the interview subjects were deemed appropriate because of their direct

relationship to the research subject. The intent was to identify trends or adaptation issues in the new technology, the new form of journalist or other external influences not yet identified.⁶

For these interviews with external contributors, theoretical sampling suited this study more than other forms of sampling. However, if, in the process of interviewing, there appeared to be momentum building by interview subjects suggesting other interview subjects, then snowball sampling became a part of the process of selecting interview subjects (Deacon et al, 1999; 53). In this manner, if an executive expressed a particular opinion that could be better articulated by someone they suggested, and then I approached the recommended subject.

One of the external influences relevant to the additional interviews was the economic constraint. According to Ursell (2000), economic pressures to hire on revolving contracts influence the newsroom paradigm that benefit younger employees more adapted to change (Ursell, 2000; 815). It is a key contention many observed subjects believed to be true. I enquired about the labour market and the restructuring of news responsibilities. Questions based on ethnographic observation and on the groundwork of Ursell's study are included in the interviews. I enquired whether the application of the converged journalist is economically motivated or whether the converged journalist would create a different economic environment not perceived by the researcher.

⁶ 'The media should be seen not in isolation but as one set of social institutions, interacting with other institutions within the social system (Hansen et al, 1998: 19)'.

Despite the supported use of videotape and still pictures (Pink, 2001; Collier, 1967; Clifford, 1986) by some ethnographers, I did not feel it would support this study. I agree that visual anthropology methods are capable of enhancing fieldwork. I also believe that because of my position of being a practitioner, the use of video and still pictures would be detrimental to the project. My reasons for this are outlined in the supporting material. Photography is an extension of our perception and photojournalists' are certainly edited ones (Collier, 1967; 3-4). My style of photography is essentially an editing process. What is included in the shot is consistent with the rigours of photography training. It eliminates items from view for aesthetic purposes. My particular fear is that my photography creates transference of my own thoughts. 'Transference, the return of the repressed in new forms, and repetitions with their distortions are all mechanisms through which ethnicity is generated,' (Clifford, 1986; 207). Knowing that the photographer and the subject create a new paradigm with the introduction of a camera, it is impossible to videotape anyone without disturbing the natural environment (Pink, 2001; 79). Forming new paradigmatic relationships because of an additional camera may impact the legitimacy of the other observed paradigms. I am afraid my photography will be too subjective. In order to properly conduct this study of a field with which I am extremely familiar, I had to approach this with a critical and detached eye. The photography would not give me a critical eye, but a subjective viewpoint. Also, because of my experience as a participant in others' videotaping, I understand that the demeanour of the subject changes when a video camera is present. To maintain as much integrity as possible, the crew should not be hindered by their self-inspection. I used audiocassette recording, only for accuracy and only during the semi-structured question interviews where the

interviewee was aware an interview was taking place. All other comments in the field were taken from conversations and actions without any mechanical device intruding into the environment. If a participant wished to remain anonymous, they were allowed to be so.

3.4 Textual analysis of Television News Stories.

Perhaps the case Sampson (2012) makes about contagion behaviour can be used to articulate the approach of this study toward the textual analysis of a television news story over periods of technological change. Sampson (2012) utilizes the argument of biologist Gabriel Dover to stipulate that the product of the gene is not necessarily designed by a master evolutionary mechanism; it is more likely shaped by a 'programless search space.' 'It is the interaction that evolves, not the gene (Sampson, 2012: 78).' Although the use of his argument may not directly apply, as his study involves social interaction of a different variety and scale, the reason for the textual analysis of this study is to examine the 'gene' of the interaction, or in this case the act of journalism, to determine if the gene is changed by the evolutionary applications of technology. Therefore, the purpose of the textual analysis is to establish whether the evolutionary changes in producing television news directly affects the consistency of final product. In this context, it is important to understand the interactions taking place that may be affecting the product, therefore ethnographic study and the qualitative interviews will demonstrate the process from which the text is created. Just as important, the study of the construction of the news package, as the 'gene' of television journalism is examined through the textual analysis.

The unit of analysis for this research is the individual news story constructed by traditional and converged journalists during the ethnographic study. The texts of the individual stories were examined as a self-sustained, freestanding work of journalism. The story was analysed individually and compared to other stories using variables of the characteristics of a television news story. Those characteristics are length, elements (edits), and structure. Other characteristics such as genre were used to measure the validity of equivalent sampling. Most content analysis studies tend to confine themselves to the analysis of one or two types of medium (Chapman, 1986) and Troyna (1981). Ericson (1991) sampled three types of mediums. I sampled one type of medium, television, created with four types of technology.

Textual analysis was helpful in addressing the basic assumptions that the change in the news structure would impact the output. Hemmingway (2005) did not conduct a textual analysis of the work completed by 'PDP operators'. This study aimed to bring to light the work of journalists and compare the outputs (the news story) based on similar inputs (the assignment). If a traditional crew and a converged crew were assigned a similar story, what was the eventual output generated? By textual analysis, a measure of productiveness of the storytelling could be determined if both stories appeared to be of a similar topic or genre. If the stories were dissimilar in structure and in context, the observational studies might shed light on why the stories were created differently.

The textual analysis was intended to focus on genre, construction and structural elements. Genre is dictated by type of story. Construction elements are raw materials gathered by

the news production model. The elements can be defined as voice-over, sound bites, and piece to camera, and can be measured by length, frequency, and structural arrangement. The purpose of doing so is for comparative studies between the different forms of production as well as comparing the impact of technology upon the unit of study (the news package).

Huang et al. (2004) asked whether the quality of professional activities such as writing and photography would suffer from multi-tasking. It seems one of the central issues of convergence is 'quality'. It is hard to define and is subjective to the observer (Huang et al, 2004: 78). From that stance, as an observer, I pursued the list of activities as paradigms. Each paradigm was isolated and judged by its own standards. Each paradigm was placed within the framework separately and discussed accordingly.

To verify the components of local television news stories, 400 stories from WKYC-TV's archives were examined in terms of construction patterns, size and frequency of elements.

The news stories were retrieved from the WKYC-TV tape archives. The tape archive consisted of daily television news stories from 1975-2010. Included with each archive tape was a logbook, which gave a date and title of the story. One hundred stories from each decade were collected and compared. Twenty-five MMJ 'news packages' were also analysed and compared to the traditional stories created at the same news organization.

Because the logbook only included date and story title, the stories could not be chosen without visual inspection. Using matched random sampling, stories were chosen

randomly by year and the tape was played until the story was determined to be a 'package'. A 'package' is a self-contained story, with voice-over narration from a written script. Frequently on the archive tapes, many 'VOs' were archived. A 'VO' was strictly images with natural sound. A news presenter would use the video in correlation to a story read on a set or during a live remote. Many 'VO/SOTs' were also archived. A 'VO/SOT' is similar to a 'VO' because a presenter would provide the narrative voice-over separately in a studio or at a live remote location. A 'news package' records voice-over and uses the voice-over as an integral element in the construction of the news story. The 'news package' describes the work produced by a traditional news crew as well as the MMJ. Any television news story in the archive without voice-over narration recorded on the tape was rejected. The criteria did not go any further. It was not necessary for the story to have a 'piece to camera' or 'stand-up' to qualify but did not need to have 'sound-bites' or interviews. The story had to be self-contained, with a narrative voice track. Only one news story was chosen from a single archive tape. Each archive tape represented an average of two weeks of news stories.

After applying matched random sampling to choose the stories, I tested various key elements when viewing sample stories from various decades. From the tests, I constructed a list of variables present in all news 'packages'⁷. Sampling error may have occurred because of biased parameters, in that the context of each 'package' was unknown. There was no definable way to know how each 'package' was ultimately presented or used by the news station. There was no way to determine how many

⁷ Keller, T & Hawkins, S (2002); *Television news: a handbook for writing, reporting, shooting and editing*, pg 387, Holcomb, Hathaway, Scottsdale, Arizona.

individuals participated in the making of the package. The time of day the story aired might have had an impact on the length. It was difficult to assess the manner in which the stories were constructed or presented based on simple sampling.

Some of the unseen variables might have involved the use of live remote broadcasting. Some of the stories in the analysis might have had a component of presenting in a live remote location, which might have replaced the 'piece to camera' or the 'stand-up.' To avoid speculation, an on-camera presentation by the reporter was not necessary in the selection process.

To compare the differences of four decades of television news stories of various technologies, random samples were taken from the archives of WKYC-TV. Four hundred news 'packages' in total were analysed. One hundred 'packages' from each decade were collected, from the film days of the 1970s, through the three-quarter inch video days of the 1980s, to the beta video of the 1990s, to the digital DV of the present decade. The most notable similarity between them all was the length of the story. There was also a fundamental structure, which has become more complex over the decades. The textual analysis of the collected data gives a comprehensive picture of the elemental nature of a television news story. Like a DNA chain, the television news story has building blocks of a reoccurring nature. Under scrutiny it is possible to identify television news stories as linear chains. The chains are built by three elements: the voice-over, the sound bite, and the piece to camera (or standup). Imagery is used in

conjunction with these three elements. Each image consists of different lengths. The total size of the combined elements is restricted.

Accordingly, the analysis used a population of thirty thousand packages produced per decade. Applying a confidence level of 95 percent and a confidence interval of 9.78 (based on using 50 percent as the percentage), the sample size needed was determined to be one hundred.

A 'news package' consists of the VO (voice over)⁸, SB (sound bites)⁹, SU (stand up)¹⁰ and TRT (the linear time of the 'package' from beginning to end). The tests reveal the VO, SB and SU are constructed in a pattern unique to the story; however, the TRTs of all the news stories were found to have a consistent average length. The elements VO, SB, and SU are arranged within the fixed structure of the TRT.

After the tests, a worksheet was constructed and random samples were collected. Twenty-five news stories from each decade – the 70s, 80s, 90s, and 00s – were analysed. After the first hundred stories were collected, the decades were compared and the results noted.

A second sampling of another twenty-five news stories per decade was completed, and this time the samples were taken from different tapes and different times of the year. A

⁸ Keller, T & Hawkins, S (2002); *Television news: a handbook for writing, reporting, shooting and editing*, pg 391, Holcomb, Hathaway, Scottsdale, Arizona.

⁹ Keller, T & Hawkins, S (2002); *Television news: a handbook for writing, reporting, shooting and editing*, pg 9, Holcomb, Hathaway, Scottsdale, Arizona.

¹⁰ Keller, T & Hawkins, S (2002); *Television news: a handbook for writing, reporting, shooting and editing*, pg 390, Holcomb, Hathaway, Scottsdale, Arizona.

third and fourth sampling was completed using the same methods. In total, four hundred stories were analysed and one hundred stories from each technological era were examined. In addition, the existing MMJ stories were collected and a sample of twenty-five was collected and analysed.

WKYC-TV's tape archive begins in 1975, when the news organization used videotape for archiving and editing. Film was transferred to tape and edited on videotape. The crews consisted of a reporter, a camera operator, a soundman and the tape editor. At the time, the news organization was an NBC-owned and operated station. One hundred stories were chosen from the archive, based on the previously mentioned criteria.

The more recent decades of the 1990s and 2000s contained complete archives. It appeared as if all of the news packages from those decades were archived and were available. As more newscasts became a part of the daily production schedule, the more news packages were created. In the 1970s, there were fewer daily newscasts. There may have been one or two newscasts a day depending on the day of the week. In 2010, there were five daily newscasts produced at WKYC-TV. The amount of news packages per day significantly increased with the additional newscasts. It is hard to approximate the number of total news packages produced over the four decades. Based on the number of newscasts each day and the number of packages per newscast, it may be possible to approximate that during the 1970s through the 1980s, 1100 news packages were created each year. From the 1990s to the present day, it may be possible to approximate 2500

news packages were produced each year. From those approximations, a total of 66,500 news packages may have been created during the forty-year span at WKYC-TV.

3.5 Conclusion

This chapter outlined the various features of the research design and methodological framework that were the guide during the ethnographic fieldwork and later analysis. It was argued that the pilot study is an important part of the research. From the pilot study, the paradigms of the traditional news organizations were identified. Those paradigms were compared and contrasted to the other news organizations. Questions for the qualitative interviews were tested during the pilot study for relevance and importance. A semi-structured list of questions for further interviews was created from the pilot study interviews.

The type of participant observation used in this study to analyse journalists requires time, commitment and self-reflection, especially when the participant-observer adjusts his or her stance to the positions held by others in the field. It seems at times there was participation and sometimes observation (Cottle, 2007: 5). The relationships with the individuals in the study developed through time and effort. The anthropological approach can give important insights into the nature of news, its informing practices and its cultures. The act of participant observation is reflexive and open to the likelihoods of the field experience and is less bound to the linear execution of others studies (Bromley, 2001). The strength of this study may rest in the access and relationships developed via the participant observation.

The framework that is proposed in this chapter was a guide through the processes of analysis. The relationship between the organizational structure, the news environment and the process is an integral part of each stage of the methodology. The methodology approached the MMJ and the traditional television news crew as if it were an individual organism. From that perspective, the methodology was created. ‘The evolution of the individual production unit is accompanied by the improvement in the ability of the unit to perform according to contingencies in their environment (Terreberry, 1968; 612).’ The goal of this methodology was to measure the stage of evolution that was occurring and the response of the external environment. It seems the environment exerts the selective pressure. Under that hypothesis, the output of the production unit and subsequent textual analysis may indicate the impact of convergence upon the organisms of journalism.

Schelsinger (1978) provides a historical chapter (Scheslinger, 1978: 14-46), a chapter outlining basic news processing (ibid: 47-82), three newsroom-related themed chapters (ibid: 83-162), a chapter that widens its sights to the level of the corporation, (ibid: 163-204), a case study chapter (ibid: 205-243) and a conclusion (ibid: 244-272). Harrison (2000) examined terrestrial British television in a similar fashion to Scheslinger (1978). In Harrison’s study, she outlined the public spheres and news genres (Harrison, 2000: 18-42) and found television news is a blending of separate genres influencing the presentation of news. Her goal was to avoid defining news with one simple definition, and she views news as a kaleidoscope model created by the overlapping of events, messages, entertainment, magazine programmes, education, information and current

affairs (Harrison, 2000: 35). She also includes chapters on the public interest and democracy (ibid: 43-61) where she associates the changes in news production practices with the decline of society and the emergence of a consumerist and post-Fordist society. Further on, she examines the impact of deregulation and expanded markets upon news organization (ibid: 62-78). Like Schlesinger (1978), Harrison includes a study of the structure and practices of news (ibid: 79-107). The majority of her study examines the culture of the newsroom and the journalistic values of those who create the news products (ibid: 108-204). Ericson Baranek, and Chan adopt a more straightforward approach, with introductory, theoretical and methodological chapters on the news institution, the news process and a conclusion (Ericson, Baranek and Chan, 1987). Hemmingway (2008) presents her findings with historical perspectives, subjective perspectives of news practitioners, and her observations within the context of her Actor Network Theory. This study will be straightforward and will contain interview perspectives combined with my own interpretations (Hemmingway, 2008). As Simon Cottle (2000) described, we need a 'second wave of news ethnographies'. The previous findings of other research need to be complemented with continued forms of analysis, highlighting the analytical frameworks of the past (Cottle, 2000: 19). Past studies have approached journalism in terms of 'political-economy', of 'social organization of news' or of 'cultural practices' (Schudson, 2002: 249-269). The three approaches should rather be seen as different moments or aspects of news production, approaches from different angles using different methodologies. 'News is both a permanent social structure and a means of social reflexivity and contestation; a product as well as a productive process' (Tuchman, 2002: 90).

4. The Product of Local Television News

'Competently crafted news content is contextualized in media frames constructed through persistent patterns of cognition, interpretation, and presentation, of selection, emphasis and exclusion.' – Ruggiero, T. E. (2004: 95)

4.1 Introduction

The television news story is a collection of raw material (Borden et al., 1998: 9) crafted into a product of a regimented structure. The product is a linear presentation utilizing audio and video, which has not structurally changed since the beginning of television news, as demonstrated by the following analysis of television news products. This analysis will use Electronic News Gathering or Television News Production, a mechanism for processing raw data into an explained form (Gripsrud, 1999: 55).

The production of the television news story progressed through various changes in technology (Underwood, 2007), (Zettl, 2012), (Medoff et al. (2007), at different times in the history of television. The impact of technology upon the news story may need to be clarified according to the time and place of the technology. Quinn (2004) maintains that television journalism changes due to technology and that the more technology advances, the more the product changes (Quinn, 2004: 113). In the case of local television news, and from the textual analysis of this study, the structure of the product does not seem to change despite technology. The media platforms may elicit future redesigns of

presentation; however, currently it does not seem to be the case. In order to establish whether or not technology has affected the structure and methods of storytelling, it is the intention of this research to detail the structure of a television news story.

I agree with Hemmingway (2008), that there should be more analysis of the micro view of television news to gain a greater understanding of the macro (Hemmingway, 2008; 15). Before research can assert that technology is making changes in the newsroom, can it be determined that technology changes journalism? It is likely from this analysis that we will learn that the greater changes to the process of journalism do not come from technology but from other forces, both internal and external. Technological convergence may not have as great an impact on journalism as the other forms of convergence.

The anthropological approach to the technology helps to find meaning in the production process (Cottle, 2007). Technologies are linked to the product, but so are the social implications (Lemmonier, 1993: 6-9). In that regard, it seems technology is a process of selection of technical features for an invented artefact or one imported from another social group (ibid: 6-9). In the process, social actions determine the uses of technology, the working routines and the skills required to use it. Lemmonier (1993) called this technological choice. "All techniques are thus simultaneously embedded in and partly a result of non-technical considerations (ibid: 6-9)."

The purpose of the textual analysis is to examine what has been created in the past and how it relates to the present state of converging media. While technologies changed

throughout the decades, is there a significant change in the structure of what is produced? Does convergence change the method of storytelling or the presentation of material?

The textual analysis of my data presents an illustrative picture of the structure of a television news story. While conducting an ethnographic study at WKYC-TV, in Cleveland, Ohio from 2007-2010, textual analyses of news stories were conducted. WKYC-TV is a local television news NBC affiliate. The news organization has been in existence since 1948. Full access to the news archives was granted. Viewable local news stories, produced by WKYC were examined, dating from the mid-1970s to 2010.

4.2 Textual Analysis – Capturing Time and Spatial Elements

Many journalists believe that because that technology makes it relatively easy to convert and distribute any form of content into another, it is impossible to produced new forms of storytelling and consequently do better journalism.’ – Quinn (2004: 109).

Television news production may be a patterned and routine assembly of information, technical items and structures (Kolodzy, 2006: 151). It is the daily work of journalists to construct a seemingly different fabric of information from a familiar pattern of presentation. Despite Halpern-Wenger’s and Potter’s (2008) assertions that technology changes content (Halpern-Wenger et al, 2008: 7), it may be preferable to say that technology creates new forms of presentation. The extra parts are trimmed from the original news package and are repurposed and formatted to different platforms. Potter

and Halpern-Wenger (2008) agree that the genesis of a story used in multiple platforms begins with the foundational package, which is repurposed. Ultimately, the pressures of freshness and updates steal time from creating interactive content and there is a sense of ‘production determinism’ (Patterson and Domingo, 2008: 100). In this context, the use of the word determinism asserts inevitability that the product is pre-determined, vague in regards to the platform of delivery, and yet it seems the platform dictates the form. What is implied is the changes in media platforms will evolve the product. It is an assumption made with technological deterministic roots. There are inherent pressures on media output created by technology, but it also incorporates influences of job function and newsroom sociology. From that perspective, changing the method of production from the traditional Fordist crew, where jobs are delegated to several individuals for expediency, to the single journalist seems counter-intuitive. Would convergence not be better served by utilizing more individuals than by downsizing the production staff to create the same product, as well as additional by-products? Yet there are those who applaud the ‘multi-skilling’ as if it were advancing the methods of production (Kolodzy (2006), Halpern-Wenger & Potter (2008), which seems to be under the guise of technological determinism. It may be more likely that the constraints of time and story length create conventions of news presentation (Machin & Niblock, 2006: 61).

Under scrutiny is the ‘news package’, the constructed product of local television news (Postman & Powers, 1992: 66-67), (Kolodzy, 2006: 144). Regardless of the information gathered, the structure of the “news package” is uniform and consistent with mainstream local television news organizations (Keller & Hawkins, 2002: 249). Using the definition

from Keller and Hawkins, ‘The news package is a report produced and edited prior to broadcast time, typically consisting of a reporter’s recorded voice telling the story, pictures with accompanying natural sound to cover the narration, sound bites, and usually a stand-up’ (Keller & Hawkins, 2002: 249). Textual analysis indicates there is a pattern to the construction of the various elements, blocks of narration, sound bites and stand-ups, which are used to construct a final product of a certain length.

By examining news stories over a forty-year span, constructed utilizing different types of technology at different stages of the structures and cultures of local television news, it can be concluded that the story structure of a television news story forty years ago is similar to the structure of television news stories today. It can also be said that the news package produced by the MMJ has the same structure as the news package produced by the traditional news crew. Identifiable patterns required to label a news story a “package” are comparable between 1975 and 2010.

The uniformity of the news stories will help examine whether the look of local news is one of form dictating content (Rosensteil, 2007; 47) and how the construction process has affected the content (Kolodzy, 2006: 140-141). While the created products are similar, the production process is varied, based on the number of workers and the technology used to create the individual elements of each ‘news package.’

4.3 The News Package: Length

'Time limits make it highly unlikely that anything can be said.' – Bordieu, 1996: 15

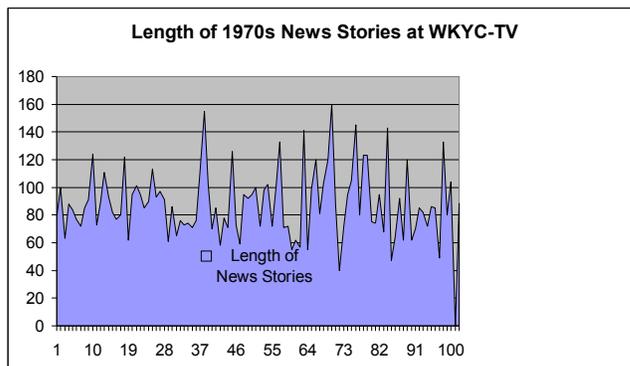
In the sense of linear size, the empirical data suggests the structure of the television news package remains consistent regardless of the technology. As a viewer, there may be an expected amount of time given to a particular story. As a journalist, there may be a delegated length given to the news package by management, dictated sometimes by topic or urgency (Tuchman, 1973), (Turow, 1983), (Boyd, 2001), (Hemmingway, 2005). In terms of production, there are a certain amount of materials required to fulfil the needs of the viewer, the journalist and management. Regardless of expectations or hypothesis, the textual analysis reveals little change in the size of news packages despite technological changes.

The length of the news package reflects the amount of time and information given to a news story and may be an appropriate place to start to examine the effects of technology upon the television news story. The textual analysis deconstructs the news stories into elements, measures them and concludes whether significant changes to the structure of the news story resulted because of technology. This analysis is not intended to critique aesthetic qualities, as they are subjective, but to identify the physical qualities of the news story. The results of the textual analysis indicate a marginal spectrum of lengths of the news packages. From these findings, the average length of a news story in the 1970s is only slightly different from the stories the MMJ produces in 2010. In the 1970s, stories

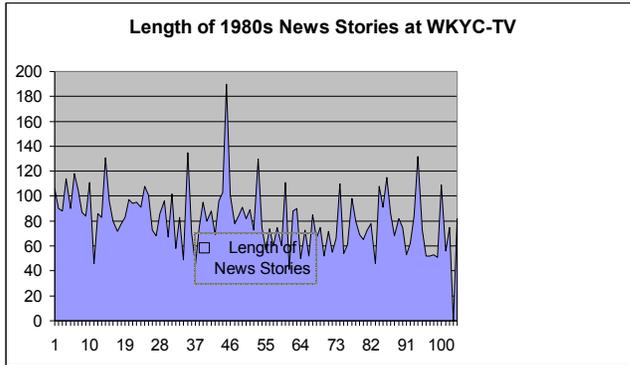
at WKYC-TV had an average length of 88.07 seconds (see graph L1). In 2010, the MMJs produced news stories averaging 89.92 seconds (see Graph L5), with the traditional crews averaging 86.83 seconds per news package (see Graph L4). At WSTM-TV, the observed news stories produced by MMJs averaged 93 seconds.

The significance of these findings suggests the MMJ creates an identical product to that of the early traditional crews. Looking at the graphs L1 – L5 (below) it can be shown that the lengths of news packages fluctuate between the maximum and the minimum lengths, however, the mean and mode is consistent. Despite the slight changes in the mode and mean in the 2000s, the average length remains the same. It appears the stories have a more consistent length in the 2000s.

Graph L1: 1970s

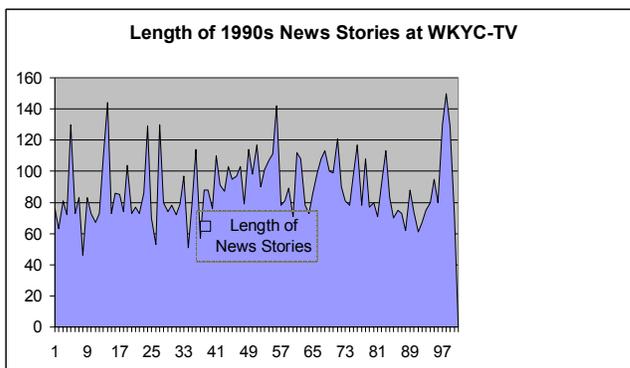


Average Length: 88.5
 Max: 160
 Min: 40
 Mean: 85.46672
 Mode: 72



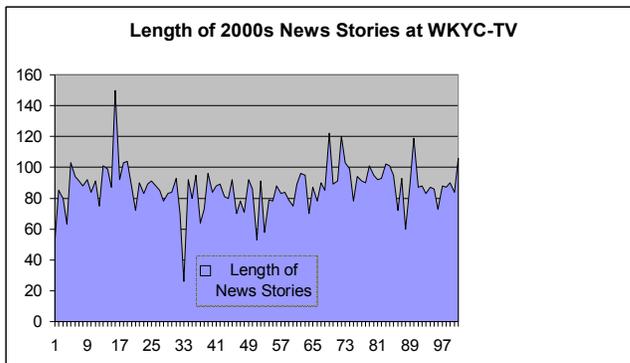
Graph L2: 1980s

Average Length: 82.137
 Max: 190
 Min: 41
 Mean: 78.98
 Mode: 75



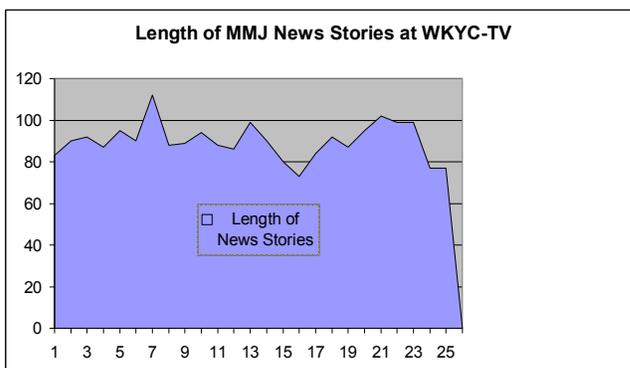
Graph L3: 1990s

Average Length: 89.25
 Max: 150
 Min: 46
 Mean: 86.92
 Mode: 73



Graph L4: 2000s

Average Length: 86.83
 Max: 150
 Min: 26
 Mean: 85.35
 Mode: 91



Graph L5: MMJs 2010

Average Length: 89.92
 Max: 112
 Min: 73
 Mean: 89.52
 Mode: 90

Stories selected from the years 1975-1979 were limited. A number of stories were taken from the year 1978, which was a significant one in the technological state of WKYC-TV. Film photography and separate sound recording were still in use. The newer technology of Betamax was not introduced until 1980 (Abramson, 2003:186) and was implemented at WKYC-TV in approximately 1983.

While length is one comparative factor in the examination of the television news package and the effects of field production methods upon the story, the structure of the story itself can assist in the examination. It may be possible to conclude that the local television news story has a prescribed length or a pre-determined size. The news package can vary widely as seen from the discrepancies between the maximum and minimum lengths of the selected stories. From the mean, mode and the average length, there does seem to be a pattern of consistency.

4.4. Technology and Editing - Elements

The structure of the news packages of the 1970s shows a pattern of sound bites and voice over, which was still being used several decades later. By connecting voice-overs with sound bites and stand-ups, a news package consists of a series of parts, or layered segmented configurations organized to simultaneously transmit representative imagery and sound. Audio and video of an event or persons are crafted by recording methods and then separated into small pieces of thoughts and imagery. Those pieces are organized

into a framework of a script to create a standardized structured story, utilizing the pieces of audio and video and then simultaneously transmitted in a deliberate process. This work is not unlike any other work that is dependent upon gathering materials, constructing a product and selling it in the open market. Despite the way it is presented and viewed, as a non-physical structure, a phenomenal action of time, aural and visual properties, it has a physical structure in the edit suite, like a DNA chain. The individual constructions of news stories may have consistency unseen by the viewer but more identifiable to a forensic researcher attempting to understand the composition of news stories between decades and over various forms of technology. By identifying the most common patterns of the stories of 1970s, they may be used in comparing production methods of stories utilizing other technologies or production methods in practice today.

While length remains consistent through the decades and despite changes to the technology used to create the news package, the number of elements in each news package significantly changes from the 1970s to 2010. There may be several factors causing the changes. At WKYC-TV, linear editing was converted to non-linear editing around 2004; until then, the news stories were edited in a step-by-step process. In a linear fashion, from beginning to end, the editor would first lay down the audio track on one channel, then cut the video and audio of sound bites with the voiceover, and continue this until the story was completed. The length of the story was laid out on videotape. The editor would then go back and insert video on the video track and accompanying natural sound on the second audio track. To modify a story after it was edited was difficult. The news package had to be re-edited if any changes needed to be made. Non-linear editing

allows for significant re-editing and changes to be made quickly, as the computer timeline is a flexible work area. Audio and video are viewed as 'blocks' of material, capable of being moved, re-positioned, re-structured, altered, duplicated and managed. Both forms of editing required experience in order to become efficient. My personal experience as an editor allows me an insight into the changes and the impact the change in technology has had on the process of editing and the tasks of the editor. The mental process for the editor changed. More flexibility in the editing did not remove all of the constraints of time. Linear editing could be performed quickly tape to tape, with no 'ingesting' of videotape into a computer. Non-linear editing is dependent upon computers and video is required to be placed into the computer, usually into a mainframe drive. Both forms have their strengths and weaknesses but non-linear allows for changes, corrections of mistakes, and re-purposing for other forms of media. Using a computer ftp site, or File Transfer Protocol, journalists are able to upload media files in various forms, some of the files can include finished products formatted for other users to download or look at the files or some of the files can be raw material intended to be sent directly to other news media outlets in order for them to use the material in one of their finished products. The ftp site is a central point where material can be moved from one user without limitations that previous satellite transmissions may have posed because expensive specialized equipment was necessary. The ftp site can be accessed anywhere by a computer where the Internet is available, allowing media to be transmitted to any place in the world capable of utilizing the same ftp site (Kawamoto, 2003: 49). The ftp site might seem to be a more convenient and less demanding way of sharing news packages, but there are limitations to ftp sites, which may result in a long upload and

download of material, as well as impact the technical quality of the material. For example, the greater the resolution of the video, plus the larger the size of the file, increases the transfer time of the material, as well as impacts the amount of storage, transmission and rendering required to efficiently use the ftp site.

What can be seen from the textual analysis is the number of edits in the news package. The tape editor of today uses two to three times more clips to tell a story of the same length. This may be because the contextual nature and structure of the news story has changed. The structure of today utilizes the framework of the conventions of earlier news packages but the news packages have more complex structures. The textual analysis of the news stories at WKYC-TV indicated repeated patterns, but no specific pattern was dominant during different eras of technology. The WSTM-TV ethnographic study in 2009 revealed twelve observed television news stories, produced by MMJs and there were no similar patterns. What may be attributed to the changes may be the non-linear editing or it may have been that the nature of the MMJ gives flexibility to the story structure. During the process of adapting to the new technology and production model, new conventions may have been created. Reporters may have adapted their storytelling skills to match the advancement in the technology.

The intention of examining the structure of the news package is to compare and contrast the stories throughout the decades at WKYC-TV. It seems the story telling conventions of videotape editing created in 1975, are utilized up to the present time. Scripts written

by reporters are likely to use the voice-over to bridge sound bites, in order to create an edited news package with a narrative consisting of a beginning, middle and end.

By examining each news story selected and breaking it down into components, there are more similarities for comparison. A news package may be viewed as a construction of building blocks.

A news story consists of a number of variables:

1) **Voice-over (vo):** The voice-over is the narration of the script used to tell the story and for most news stories, the body of the voice-over script is broken into four elements linked with sound-bite interviews and stand-ups (piece to cameras). The voice-over script requires writing skills intended to blend the sound elements with corresponding factual information, however the writer may or may not be the reporter seen in the package, in some instances it is a producer in the field or at the news organization. In a few instances the news videographer may write the script, as the videographer is the one who gathered the information and sound elements in the field. For example, a videographer at the scene of a fire or other breaking news will collect interviews and video at the scene, write a script, and relay the script to the producers at the news station, who will have a news anchor provide the narration. And many times, the voice-over may be written by someone who was not at the scene or conducted the interviews, therefore it is difficult to assess the division of labour in a news story based upon the examination of the news story from an archive tape. For those reasons, this study does not assume the

reporter has written the story, however in most cases, the writer is the reporter who investigated the story and interviewed the subjects (Keller et al., 2002: 391).

2) **Sound bite (sb):** A sound bite is an audio clip from a subject who is interviewed on camera or someone who is speaking and happens to be recorded, for example a politician giving a speech. However, all the sound bites are collected with either a camera, by audio recorder or by other means such as a phone to gather the audio clips. For those reasons, the audio recordings are important to the structure of the story, as most often they become integral to the context of the story and verifies the source of information as the image of the subject interviewed usually accompanies the audio. In some instances, audio may be used without the image of the interviewed subject, for example, the sentence of an interview may be covered with video imagery in order to demonstrate what the interview subject is describing or audio is edited in such a way to eliminate gaps in the discussion or pauses. This study revealed, through textual analysis, most stories were constructed utilizing the interviews of two individuals and subsequently, four sound bites are used in the structure of the story (Keller et al., 2002: 390).

3) **Stand-up/piece to camera (su):** The stand-up is used for a majority of news stories labelled, 'packages', whereas a package is a self-contained news story which does not need additional information or presence from another location, such as a live shot or a studio location. According to news management, the stand-up is used to show presence of their reporters in the field, to showcase the fact the reporter was on location, for that reason stand-ups and live shots are very important to news organizations. The image of

the reporter affirms the reporter was at the location at the time the story was reported, it does not confirm the reporter was the only one at the scene reporting the story, for example, a reporter who was first on the scene of a breaking news story will leave after a certain period of time and a second reporter will continue the coverage. The appearance of reporters on the scene of news stories is important to create branding of the news product. News personalities are coveted as being a part of the product line used to sell the commodity of news and stand-ups are a good way for news departments to brand their news in various ways, for example, the news stations in this study often referred to their reporters as part of the community, trusted to cover important news in their community and frequently promoted them as vigilant investigators meant to help the community. It was important to both the management and reporter to be seen on camera for those reasons. In a practical sense, a reporter will often use the stand-up in the structure to go from one location to another or one side of an argument to the other side. Sometimes stand-ups are not put on tape and are substituted with 'live shots' or studio appearances (Keller et al., 2002: 390).

In a majority of the news stories under analysis, the story would be constructed by using a voice-over narration, followed by one or more sound bites of interview subjects, and finish with a voice-over narration. The stand-up is used to end the news package, to 'tag' the story with the reporter's name and news organization. 'Tagging' a news report seemed to be an important way for the reporter to identify the news package as his own work and that of the news organization.

The 1970s news package sample identified 36 separate patterns in the 100 stories selected.

The most popular structures of the hundred news stories from the 1970s were as follows:

- 13 percent used the vo-sb-vo pattern
- 13 percent used the vo-sb-vo-sb-vo pattern
- 10 percent used the vo-sb-vo-su pattern
- 9 percent used the vo-sb-su pattern

Some of the patterns were relatively simple, utilizing only a voice-over, while others were complicated extensions of the vo-sb connection. The longest pattern identified connected four (vo-sb) connections with an ending vo, to create the pattern: **vo-sb-vo-sb-vo-sb-vo-sb-vo**

From the 1980s, the analysis identified 55 separate patterns from the 100 stories selected.

The most popular structures of the 100 new stories were:

- 10 percent used the vo-sb-vo-sb-vo
- 9 percent used the vo-sb-vo
- 6 percent used the vo-sb-vo-sb-su

It appears sound bites are important to the structure of the news package regardless of the genre. Only 4% of the news packages did not have a sound bite included in the story.

The 1980s news package shows the conventions of the news package changing as the number of structural patterns increase. The increase in patterns may indicate the influence of editing on the structure as videotape recordings of Betamax are now edited directly to tape.

The most complex structure of the 100 stories involves a 15-segment strand.

vo-su-sb-vo-sb-vo-sb-vo-su-vo-sb-vo-sb-vo-su

The story was a general news story from 1988. At this point in the history of WKYC-TV, the camcorder and videotape editing was fully implemented. Whether or not the increase in structure complexity reflects the change in technology is uncertain, but it is important to point out the next decade of selected news stories reveal 57 patterns in their structure. It may be that the conventions of editing linear stories during these two decades created particular patterns of writing and reporting in collaboration with the technology.

From the 1990s, the analysis identified 56 separate patterns in the 100 stories selected.

The most popular structures of the 100 news stories were:

9 percent used the vo-sb-vo-sb-vo-sb-vo

7 percent used the vo-sb-vo-sb-vo

5 percent used the vo-sb-vo-sb

The decade seems to show that the structure of the news story is changing by adding more sound bites to the news package. The length remains relatively the same, but sound bites are used to create a longer pattern.

From the 2000s, the analysis identified 60 separate patterns in the 100 stories selected.

The most popular structures of the 100 news stories were:

9 percent used the vo-sb-vo-sb-vo-sb-vo

9 percent used the vo-sb-vo-sb-vo-sb-vo-sb

6 percent used the vo-sb-vo-sb-vo-sb-vo-sb-vo-sb-vo-sb

The decade seems to show the same number of patterns, but the popularity of using multiple patterns of the voice-over and sound bite exemplifies the additional number of

sound bites used in each story, detailed earlier. The new packages are the same length but the number of edits and elements have increased significantly from the 1970s.

WKYC-TV identifies their MMJs as MMJs.

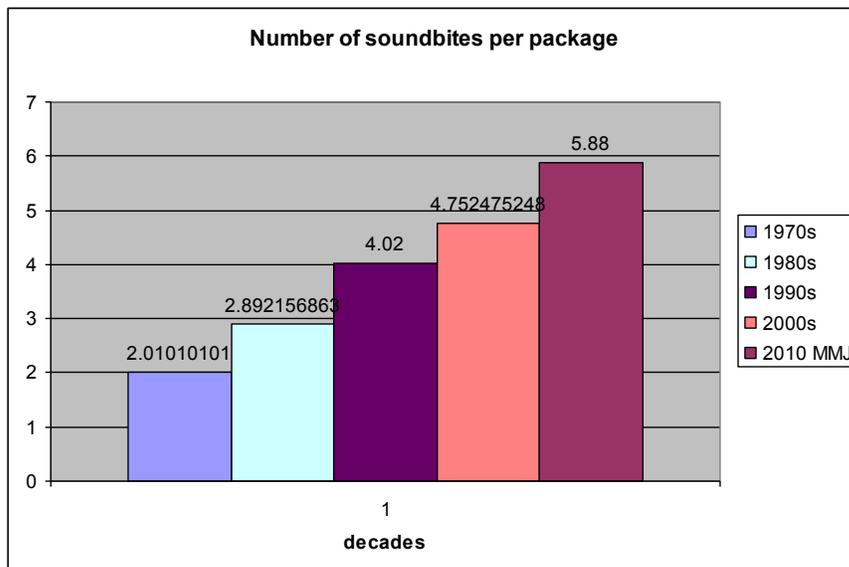
In 2010 (MMJs), the analysis identified 16 separate patterns in the 25 stories selected.

The most popular structures of the 25 stories were:

- 12 percent used the vo-sb-vo-sb-vo-sb-vo-sb-vo-sb-vo-sb-vo-sb
- 8 percent used the vo-sb-vo-sb-vo-sb-vo-sb-vo-sb-vo-sb
- 8 percent used the vo-sb-vo-sb-vo-sb-vo-sb
- 8 percent used the vo-sb-vo-sb-vo

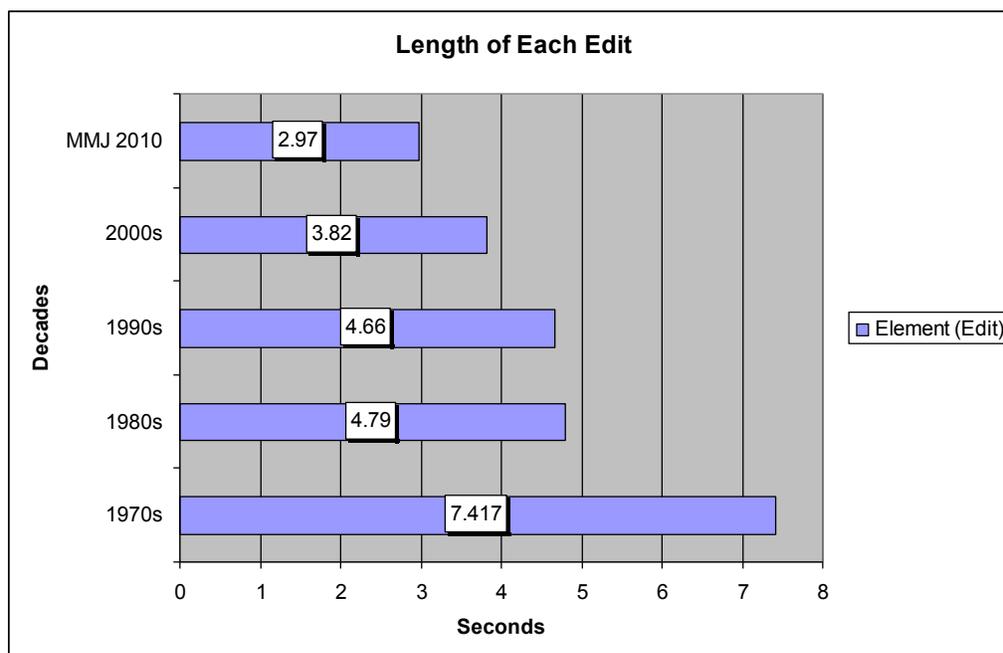
The MMJ news packages show the patterns of the news stories increasing while the length remains the same. The editing is more involved as there are more elements and edits per story.

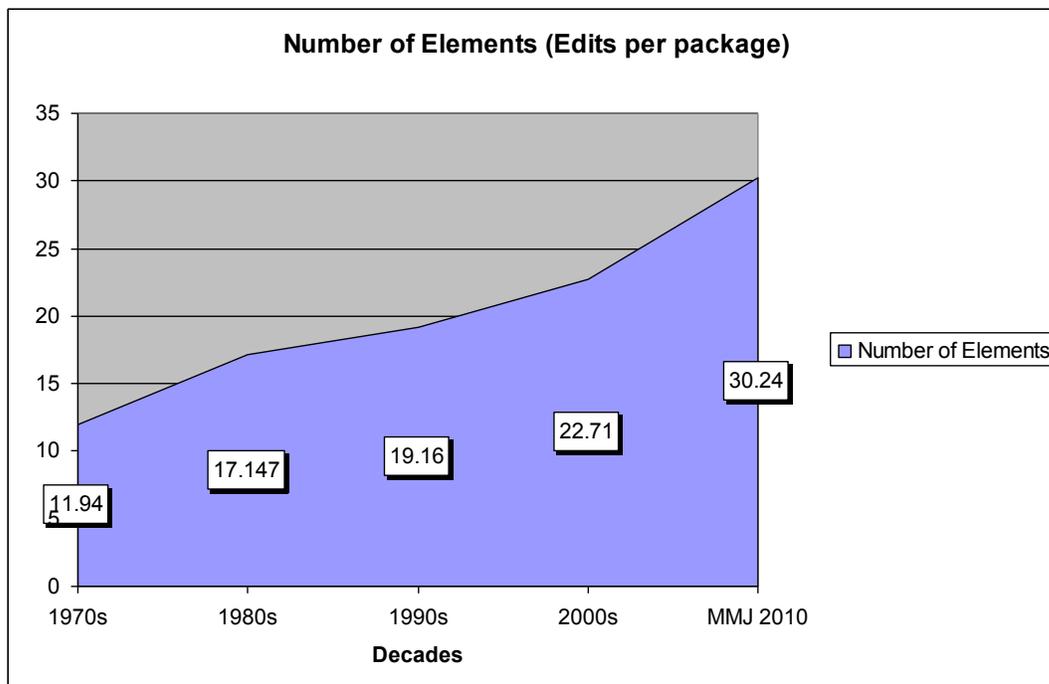
By the 2000s, news packages use more than twice the number of sound bites in a news package. The MMJ uses nearly three times the number of sound bites.



There are several areas of significance in the use of sound bites. Sound bites incorporate attributed source information (by the presence of the interviewed individual who directly attributes information) into a news story. As we have seen the length of the news story has not changed; it is the internal structure that has changed. The MMJ uses more sound bites than the traditional reporter. It may be the result of researching stories. As dictated by the ethnographic subjects, and discussed in the next chapter, the news crews of the 1970s had less products to produce daily than today's news crews.

The number of edits has more than doubled since the 1970s. The reasons could be directly linked to the technology used. In the 1970s, film stock was transferred and editing was completed in a much cruder method in comparison to the standard of today. It may be the result of a 'postclassical' breakdown of spatial continuity also witnessed in filmmaking.. The visual trends of Hollywood and television may have mirrored themselves, as audiences are attracted to the particular style of the day (Bordwell, 1006: 123-124).

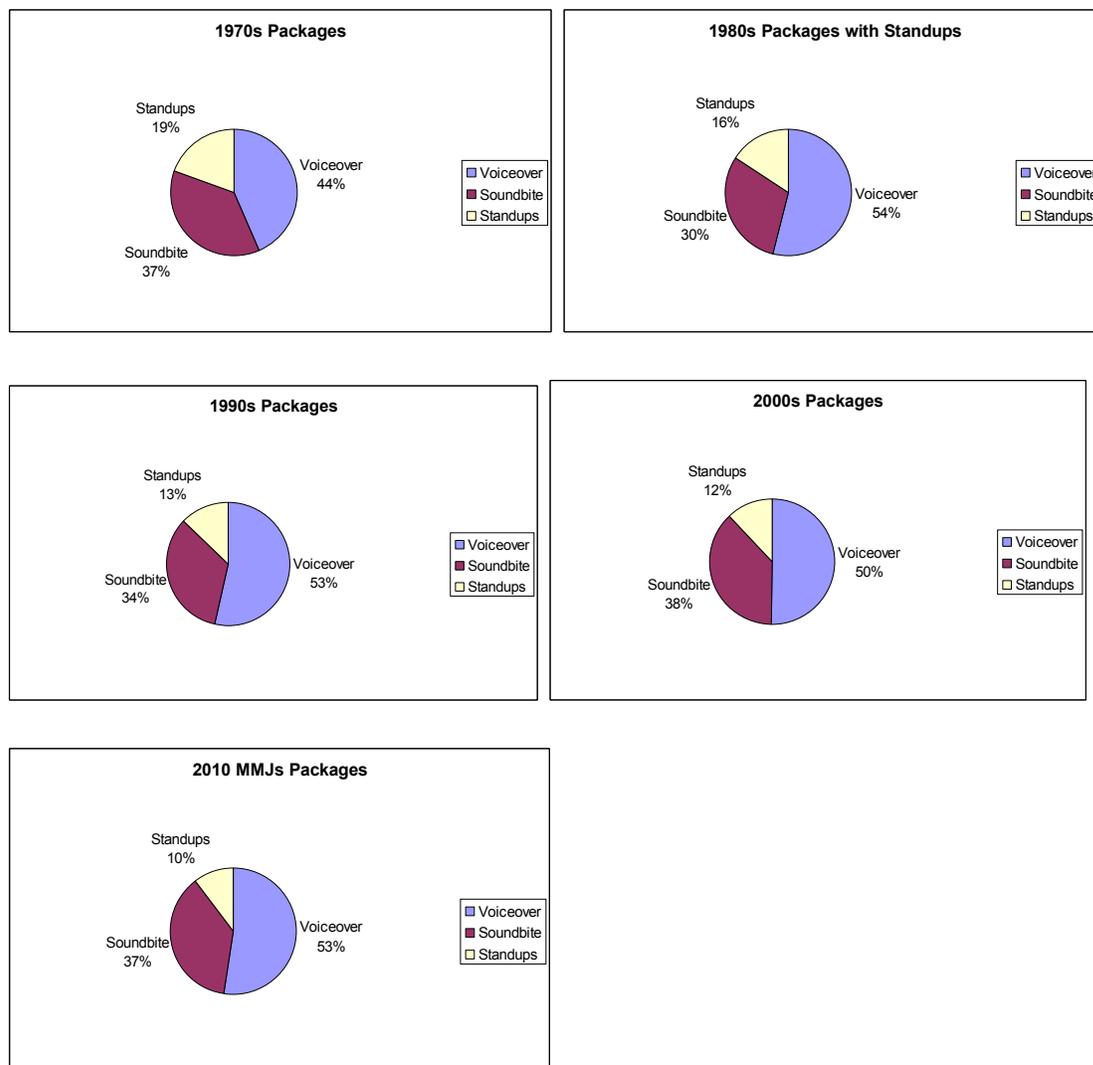




From the 1970s sample, 58 percent of the news stories included a ‘piece to camera’ or a stand-up. Of those stories using a stand-up, 19 percent of the length of the news package consisted of the stand-up. The significance of the percentage is the amount of time taken with one element attributed directly to the reporter on camera. A stand-up and the voiceover is a creation of the producer of the news package. The reporter collects a ‘sound bite’ by interviewing another individual. Using the graph below, the typical news package was constructed with 37 percent of the final product consisting of information directly attributed to a source by using the interviewed individual’s voice.

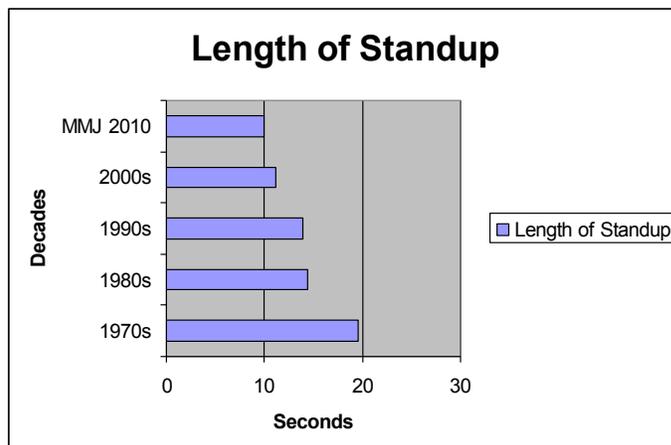
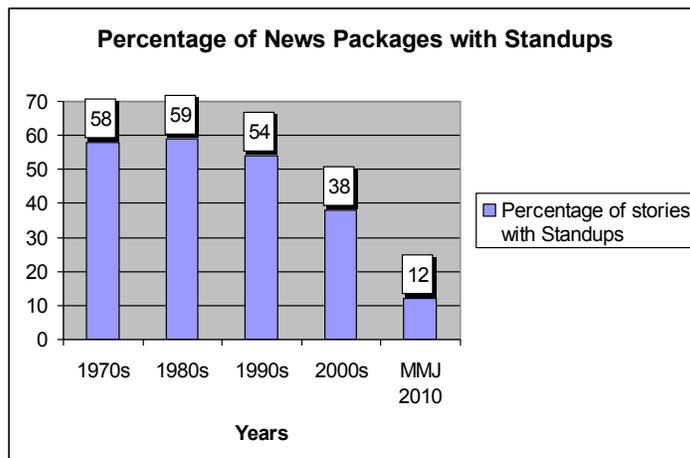
Stand-ups are also considered difficult for MMJs, as it requires the journalist to record the element in front of a camera without an operator. Newer cameras have a built in monitor which flips out in order for the reporter to use it to better perform a variety of skills. The flip out monitor should encourage MMJs to record and use more stand-ups,

despite the difficulty of recording themselves in front of the camera. This may be reflected in the decrease of stand-up and why only 10 percent of the sample of 2010 MMJs used a stand-up in the structure of the news package.



The stand-up seems to be used less with news packages produced by MMJs. Often, it is difficult to videotape a stand-up as an MMJ because of the awkwardness of shooting the element. Reporter involvement with an interview subject is also difficult. They may also be using the package to front a 'live' shot in the field or present the story live on the set. In that case, a stand-up may not be viewed as necessary.

'Most times, reporter involvement is not necessary, it's just to say, "Hey there's a reporter here." With 95% of the time, reporter involvement meaning the reporter needs to be on camera.' - News Director, WSTM-TV (Syracuse, New York) - 2009.



4.5 Conclusion:

The type of technology used in constructing a news package does not seem to alter the length or size of a news story significantly. The size of the news package has not changed significantly since the 1970s at WKYC-TV. What has occurred over time is the number of edits (elements) per package. There is a gradual increase in the number of edits per package, with the MMJ utilizing twice as many edits as the 1970s traditional crew. The MMJ also incorporates more ‘sound bites’ than the traditional crew of the 1970s.

	1970s	1980s	1990s	2000s	2010 MMJ
Type of technology	Film to ¾”	Betacam	M2	BetaSX/DV	DV
Number of packages:	100	101	100	100	25
Ave. total length (in seconds):	88.07	82.14	89.25	86.83	89.92
Number of edits per package	16.6	18	19.16	22	30.24
Soundbite length (in seconds):	20.4	9.3	8.0	7.4	6.20
Number of sound bites:	2.0	2.9	4.0	4.75	5.88
Ave length of edit:	7.27	4.79	4.65	3.82	2.97

Based on the findings of the textual analysis it seems technology has not changed the structure of a television news story but it influences the creation of the elements within the structure, such as the structure of the story, stand-ups and the number of edits. Stories from the 1970s consisted of fewer elements connected together. Sound bites were longer in the 1970s than today. More edits are made in today’s local television news stories.

While stories vary in total time with live shots or on-set pieces, the individual ‘news package’ has a fairly consistent length. The ethnographic study revealed the present

television news crew is required to limit their news package to 85-100 seconds. The textual analysis revealed the time restraint of the news package has been similar for other decades. This study concludes the structure of the product has not changed despite the differences in methods of construction. The conventions of storytelling do not seem to be altered by technology. Acquiring the necessary material to fit the structure is a requirement of both construction models.

As Schlesinger states in 1978, ‘...each news organization constructs news in identifiable ways, in terms not only of the selection of stories, but also their angling and mode of presentation. To put a construction on the news, impose a meaning on it, is inescapable; since the production process is one that at all stages involves the making of value judgments (Schlesinger, 1978: 135).’ It appears the television news stories have perimeters similar to a constructed piece of literature or presentation. Within those perimeters a rigid structured flexibility is found. Much like a sentence, it seems the re-arrangement of the elements of a television news story creates meaning and the meaning can be unique to a particular way of presentation.

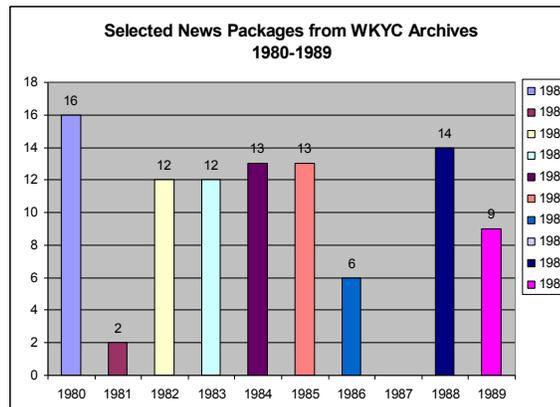
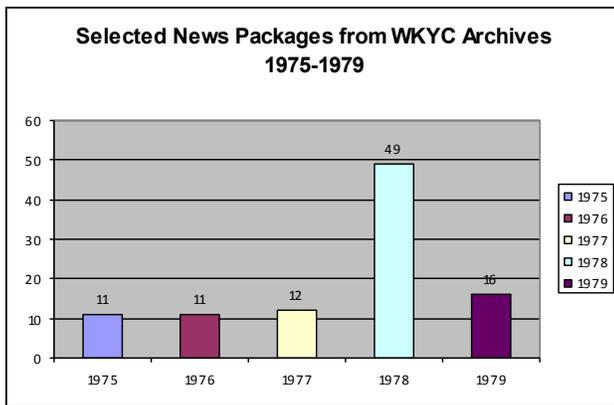
In comparison to the MMJs of 2010, the length of the news package is extremely similar, yet there are considerable differences from previous decades. Interview subjects are shown on camera for shorter periods of time in this decade than in the past four decades. Sound bites from the 1970s averaged 20.4 seconds while today’s sound bites average 4.7 seconds.

There are three times as many visuals (shots) used by the MMJ than by the traditional crews in the 1970s. The MMJ acquires three times as many visual elements in order to satisfy the needs of the structure of the news story. 31 elements are used within 83 seconds of a story from 2010. In the 1970s, 11 elements were used within 99 seconds. Sound bites were longer and the stand-ups (piece to cameras) were longer. In respect of the number of elements, it can be hypothesized that technology increased the ability to acquire more material.

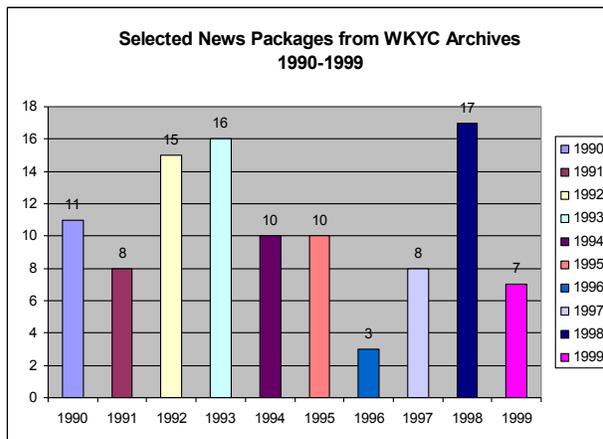
A story from the 1970s is fundamentally equivalent in length and structure to the stories of 2009. It appears changes in cameras and equipment do not affect the structure of the television news story. It may seem that the structure is independent of technology. The elements within the structure have multiplied but the structure remains fundamentally the same. If the stories were affected by technology, then the transition from a traditional crew with traditional equipment to a MMJ with advanced equipment would indicate the technology would also need to be examined. Technological convergence may not be the strongest influence in the era of media convergence. It might be possible to show a correlation to an increased workload for the MMJ, as structure and the number of elements per news story has increased. The writing and editing of the story may appear more complex by requiring more elements.

As demonstrated by the graphs below, it was intended that the sample of news packages be evenly spread across the decades. However, in 1987 the news organization was

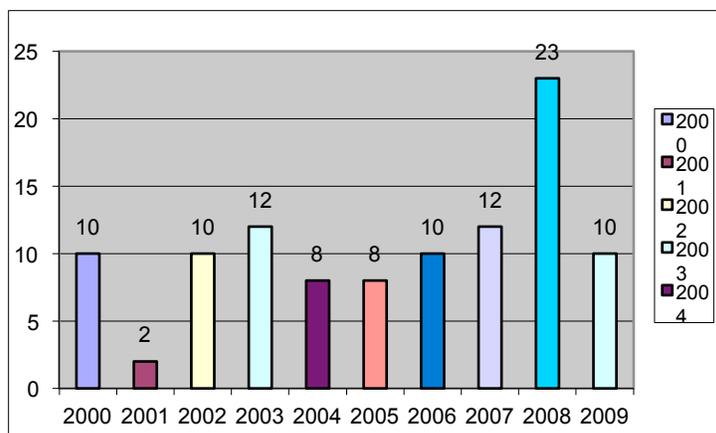
involved in a labour dispute, and it appears the archiving during the period was not well maintained. It was, therefore, difficult to find stories from that particular year and there is a significant portion of the archives missing from 1987.



[---- Film recording transferred to video tape-----Betacam-----]



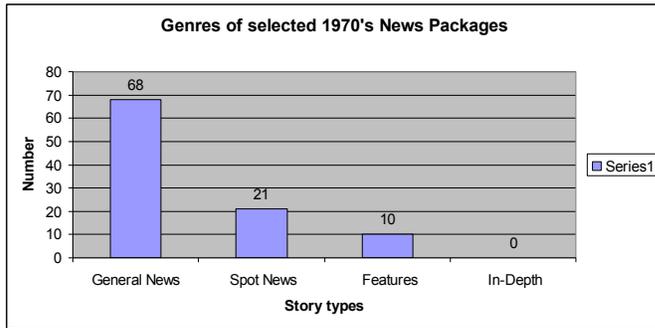
[.....MII camcorder.....BetaSX.....]



Beta SX.....MiniDV.....]

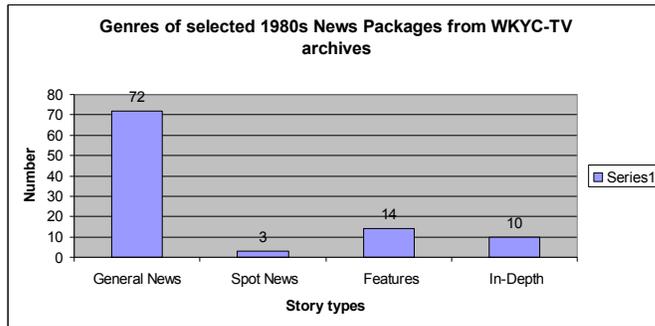
Stories were selected randomly but consideration was given to the various types of genres included in the selection. News story genres reflect different styles of newsgathering and the attempt was made to be consistent with each decade and the selection of the one hundred stories.

The genre may affect the length of the news package. The 1970s selections included the largest number of spot news stories, whereas the analysis of the WKYC-TV MMJs of 2010 did not include any spot news stories. It is unlikely the MMJs were used to report breaking news. While there may be several reasons for the discrepancies, it may be unfair to speculate on the reason, but the random selection did not intentionally select more spot news stories than any other type of genre. For the 1970s news packages, 68% of the stories were general news, 21% were spot news, and 10% were features. There were no in-depth stories selected. It is unclear why an in-depth story was not randomly selected, other than it appears very few were archived during the years of 1975 – 1979. Whether it is a function of the film transfer or news editorial decisions is uncertain.ⁱ



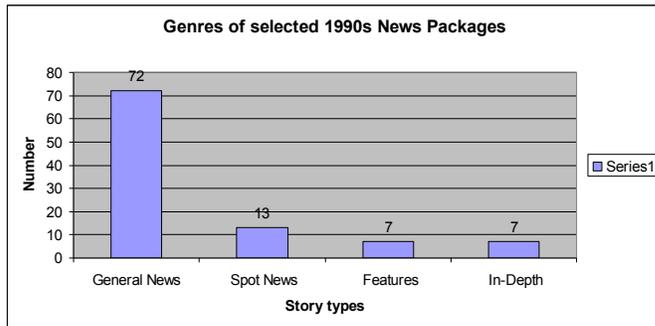
Graph G1: 1970s

General news: 68
 Spot news: 21
 Features: 10
 In-Depth: 0



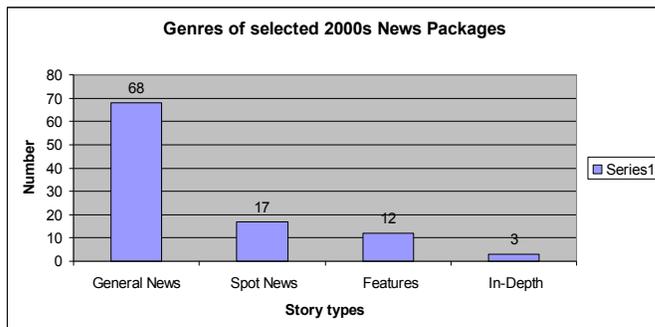
Graph G2: 1980s

General news: 72
 Spot news: 3
 Features: 14
 In-Depth: 10



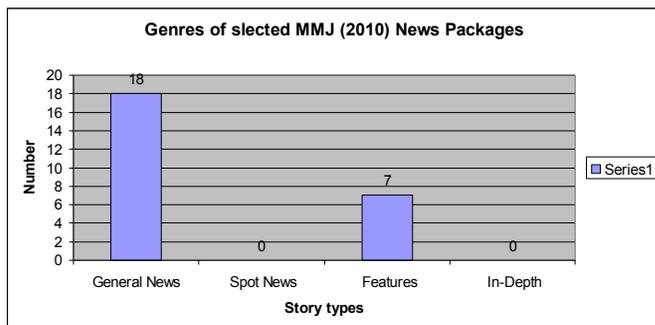
Graph G3: 1990s

General news: 72
 Spot news: 13
 Features: 7
 In-Depth: 7



Graph G4: 2000s

General news: 68
 Spot news: 17
 Features: 12
 In-Depth: 3



Graph G5: MMJ (2010)

General news: 18
 Spot news: 0
 Features: 7
 In-Depth: 0

There may be some correlation between the MMJ and the genre to which their model of production is best suited. From the WKYC-TV observations, it seems their MMJ is not utilized for spot news or in-depth pieces. This may be a trend or it may be the management does not feel the single news production is suited for spot news or in-depth news stories. Ethnographic study subjects concluded that in-depth news stories would be difficult to complete for MMJs and that feature stories would probably be their strength.

Whilst there is debate over whether a MMJ can report a spot news story with efficiency, at WSTM-TV a MMJ was observed doing so and the unit fulfilled the criteria for completing the story with the required elements. This demonstrates that is in fact possible. Also, it is not uncommon, as will be described in the next chapters, for a television news photographer to perform newsgathering on a spot news story without a reporter.

5. The Transition from Fordist to Post-Fordist Production Methods: Local Television News Production

5.1 Introduction

'There is no other way to define an actor but through its actions, and there is no other way to define an action but by asking what other actors are modified, transformed, perturbed or created by the character that is the focus of attention.' - Latour (1999: 122)

The transition from the Fordist to post-Fordist methods may not be so clearly defined as strictly a post-Fordist method, as the new production model may require additional supervision in order to complete the goals of management. It seems managers are utilizing several methods to insure production is efficient and timely. By using several methods there seems to be a hybridization of production methods into a post-Fordist/Taylorist managerial position. The hybrid finds its roots in the management's quest to maintain production at lower costs as well as create a product of a determined value. It may be since deregulation, the news story is viewed differently, as its value has changed in the corporation's perspectives. Commodification may seem like a straightforward approach to the television news story, as it is a product with a monetary value that is produced and delivered into the modern market society (Jackson, 2009:148). However, the action of placing a monetary value on the individual news story may not be accurate or reflective of the true value of journalism. It is the belief of Radin (1996) that commodification can pose a conundrum in a democratic society if it restricts or corrupts liberties or personal freedom (Radin: 1996: 30). To that degree, Radin (1996) believed journalism represents a right to public interest news and information. It is embedded in

the domain of political rights and has significance in the nonmarket social order (Jackson, 2009: 149). While new media technologies and shifting society dynamics are exerting disruptive and transformative pressures on the news industry, the need to conceptualize news as a contested commodity and to reconsider its unrestricted subordination to the market has become more urgent than ever (ibid: 149). This study will look at the product of news production as a commoditized entity and examine the process by which it is produced.

The advent of cable and non-network affiliate competition put pressure on television stations to maintain the economic standing of the network affiliates (Collins, 2004: 3). Cable established news networks targeting specific audiences; meanwhile local television news stations began to compete with non-news programming. Alternatives to news became available to audiences during the traditional news hours, giving viewers more options, such as syndicated programming, 'infomercials', cable news networks and sports programming. This meant that the audience was fragmented by the numerous alternatives now available and ratings declined for all networks and network affiliates. Competition rose and the pursuit of maintaining a television news organization resulted in 'bottom-line' approaches (Collins, 2004: 85-87), (Fenton, 2005: 77), subsequently local news was no longer the only programme available, allowing the audience to leave it for more entertaining material.

Legislation regarding the ownership of local media has changed since the beginning of television (Napoli et al, 2007: 53). When the strict government regulations were lifted,

the deregulation was the stimulus for a consolidation of media. In 1996, the Clinton administration loosened regulations so that, for the first time, a single company could own more than twelve television stations. It also became possible for companies to own stations that could reach as much as 35 percent of American television viewers. Before that, companies could not own more than one station in the largest cities and they could not own both a newspaper and television station in the same city (McPhail, 1982: 77). This new situation, where one individual organization is allowed to dominate the media, has been argued as detrimental to the state of journalism and damaging to the public.

News organizations were faced with depleted audiences and draining revenues. In an effort to maintain their profits, management tried many different approaches, such as converging with other organizations and sharing staff to cut costs (Fenton, 2005: 77), (Kolodzy, 2006: 7-9). Within the organizations, finding new ways to cut staff yet maintain productivity became increasingly important. 'At the heart of the matter is money' (Anderson, 2004: 6). The MMJ is a by-product of the staffing cuts (Underwood, 2007: 198); the move is not seen as a reinvestment in staffing, but as a cost cutting method.

In the United States, as a result of government legislation, the infrastructure is changing. Local news is not necessarily local, but controlled by a corporation in another city different than the one represented in their broadcast. In many cases, one corporation owns many local affiliates and dictates their actions based on various business functions, and concurrently attempting to maintain local television news as a physical, technological

and institutional entity, where ideas are shared among the various working groups of owners, technicians, politicians, and the public (Sterne, 1999: 505). The entity of local news appears to be suffering from a decrease in the sharing between the various working groups caused by the oligopoly of corporations controlling numerous news organizations. Oligopolies create labyrinthine challenges to local television news affiliates, as the actions of the news organization's attempts to maximize their revenue margins. For example, homogenization of news occurs at various news stations in part because the corporations owning the news organization share services or material in efforts to decrease expenses. WKYC-TV, is a member of Gannett Corporation, and they were directed by the corporation to dismantle their art department, as were all the Gannett affiliates, and instead of local affiliates creating their own art, graphics, maps and other elements, the corporation created a central 'hub' making all of the graphic material for all the affiliates. The subsequent graphics created a similar look for all the affiliates, removing uniqueness or individual branding of their graphic material used in the station's broadcasts. However, production methods are not the only consequence of oligopoly control, localism is in decline. For example, the local content and local control is eroding, as there are less news crews to gather local news, causing news producers to rely on news feeds to choose stories needed to fill their newscasts. The stories they choose comes from a feed provided by the corporation, shared by the competition, and therefore creating homogenized local media outlets, as the media outlets begin to look alike. The challenges of the affiliates is to separate themselves from the competition, yet their recourses appear to be providing similar content, and therefore, the affiliates apparently attempt to differentiate each other by choosing to air stories with sensational video or

popular trivial news and lean away from less glamorous substantive news (Croteau et al., 2006: 163-164). McChesney (2010) suggests the decline of journalism can be traced to the deregulation of media ownership permitted by the Federal Communication Commission and impacting journalism on the local level. His view that communities suffer because of the number of essential local news stories are replaced with material provided by the corporations suggests there is no evidence that the media consolidation correlates to better, more local or more diverse media content and he strongly suggests that media ownership rules should be tightened and not relaxed (McChesney et al., 2010: 62). The concentration of one company's influence on such a large portion of the audience quells the dissenting voices or diverse views, due to the monopolistic control outside the community, whereas seeking independent local information is much more difficult.

The deregulation has many critics (Scott, 2005), (Huang, Davison et al. 2006), (Morris, 2005). The clash of profit seeking and public service can be seen as the quandary facing many news organizations. In the 1980s, the U.S. Federal Communications Commission (FCC) began to deregulate broadcasting. The FCC increased the number of stations the networks could own, and dropped the requirement for public service broadcasting (Fenton, 2005: 57). In the effort to ensure public access to the airways, the Communications Act of 1934 created three categories defining the public's access rights: the *equal time provision*, the *fairness doctrine* and the *right to rebuttal*. The equal time provision requires that broadcasters who permit a candidate for political office to campaign on their stations airwaves must give equal opportunities to all candidates for

the same office. The right to rebuttal requires that an attack on the honesty, character, or integrity of an identified person or group entitle the targets of the attack to a reply. Under the Fairness Doctrine, broadcasters who air controversial issues of public importance must provide reasonable opportunities for the presentation of conflicting viewpoints, therefore the Fairness Doctrine has a broader reach than the equal time provision because it is not limited to candidates for political office. Under the Fairness Doctrine reasonable time must be given for the expression of opposing views if a highly controversial public issue is discussed. During the application of the Fairness Doctrine, in an average year, less than ten percent of the fifteen thousand charges of unfairness were sustained (Graber, 1989: 114-117). For example, in 1982, the Democratic party officials demanded air time to rebut Republican television commercials that supported President Ronald Reagan's economic policies, the networks declined. The FCC upheld the networks' position, ruling that oppositions to Reaganomics had been fully aired in regular newscasts. As Samples (2009) accounts, the history of the Fairness Doctrine suggests that federal officials who make and enforce such policies are more concerned with limiting political debate than they are with advancing local concerns or the public interest (Samples, 2009: 1). In 1985, the FCC published a report arguing that the Fairness Doctrine did not serve the public interest and instead, had a significant chilling effect on freedom of speech. In 1987, the Fairness Doctrine was abolished and the experience may indicate that imposing localism mandates on broadcasters is unlikely to serve the public interest in constitutional propriety and uninhibited political debate. The broadcasters insisted that the Fairness Doctrine in fact hampered local and national discussion programmes from discussing civic issues and its repeal would increase these

community debates on serious matters (Bagdikian, 2004: 139). The Reagan administration determined the Fairness Doctrine was not necessary and argued that it actually worked to limit controversial speech. In the wake of the ruling, talk radio increasingly used right wing hosts without presenting any alternative views (McChesney et al., 2005: 81). After the repeal, civic discussions on the air dropped 31 percent, and since then they have disappeared in major markets (Bagdikian, 2004: 139). To critics, it seemed as if the deregulation changed the nature of the news business, from being a public service to one, which was driven by profit and based on ratings (Fenton, 2005: 57). The deregulatory approach is based on the market assumption that supply and demand is the only appropriate way of evaluating the public interest (Croteau et al., 2006: 71). The Telecommunications Act of 1996 became a showdown between commercial broadcasters and the government. The commercial broadcasters wanted to control digital television and did not want to have public debate over the assignment of the new channels and under what terms they could operate. Technological advancements created more frequency spectrum for broadcasters to use, and commercial broadcasting companies viewed the expansion as potential growth industries (McChesney, 1999: 151). In 2003, the U.S. Federal Communications Commission rescinded a set of thirty-year regulations changing the rules of cross-ownership of newspapers and broadcast outlets in the same market. The owners of media organizations felt the old rules were too restrictive, with the emerging new media platforms creating more sources of information (Killebrew, 2005: 139). The change in the rules appears to be about economics, 'a desperate attempt to hang on to the huge profits news had earned over the years. And that is far more important to the corporations than the people's right to know, even more important than a

healthy democracy (Anderson, 2004: 22).’ Media companies have become much bigger, often taking over other media firms to form larger conglomerates. The mergers show how the growth of new media technologies strengthened the power and influence of new media conglomerates (Croteau et al., 2006: 77). Many seem to view the difficulty of achieving the right balance as the essential dilemma facing journalism. On the one hand, convergence can be seen as a facilitator of economic growth and as an equalizer of societal voices (Scott, 2005: 121). New technologies produce opportunities for wealth creation, playing a pivotal role in establishing low entry barriers for new actors (Lugo and Sampson, 2008: 105). An informal economy is created in places where access is limited. In Peru, a large and growing informal economy has been created from the inability of the state to satisfy the basic needs of the masses (ibid: 105). But it can also be the reason for cutting costs and increasing revenue by eliminating jobs (Morris, 2005: 59). For all these reasons, the MMJ has an impact on the infrastructure of news organizations, as the workloads grow and the numbers of journalists are diminished. On a local level, the use of managed media content from corporate hierarchy and the resulting infrastructure of the news organizations will not be able to fully serve the public (Quinn, 2004: 110). However, viewed as a business model, the MMJ and the act of convergence appear to some editorial managers and publishers as an attractive possibility. They perceive that a converged multi-skilled journalist should be able to produce more news for the same or only slightly more money, which means that media organizations should be able to cut costs through increased productivity.

'The direction of the changes is administrative, and its raison d'être is profit. Positive or negative results in the quality of journalism are largely externalities'

- Scott, B., (2005: 101).

The costs of staffing, infrastructures and technology make television news expensive to produce. The network television news crews of 1968 cost \$500,000 each per year. One network could afford to employ ten crews in five selected major centres who were responsible for producing 80 percent of the network news. Their deployment, therefore, determined what was in the news as much as any other news value. During that time, between 30–40 percent of programme budgets was spent on sending pictures back from remote locations (MacGregor, 1997: 60). Today the cost of satellite transmissions has decreased as more satellites have become available; other means of transmitting information are also available, such as fibre optics and the Internet (Underwood, 2007: 269-299).

'The "financial imperatives" have also resulted in cutting professional corners, adding entertainment to news, and getting rid of older correspondents in favour of younger, more attractive ones. If to achieve higher ratings also means going after the majority of viewers, who are white, by hiring white anchors and correspondents, that's considered just good business (Anderson, 2004: 18).'

The labour process of television news production was formulated with the intent to minimize the amount of time necessary to complete the news product while completing the required tasks, in other words, production time was a key factor and a crew of four,

could work expeditiously (Boyd-Hind, 1995: 138). The goal seems to be to shorten the gap from gathering news to presenting the information. Hemmingway (2008) explains that prior to the advent of digital transmissions, the process of capturing an image and broadcasting was a lengthier process. By the time a story was photographed, and the film processed and edited, the story was essentially old news (Hemmingway, 2008: 7). Productivity and efficiency continue to be important elements in the daily routines of television journalists. The ability to meet deadlines is still a vital issue to modern television journalists despite improved technology to support their efforts. With the advent of cable and the Internet, the news cycle is constant and the 24-hour news cycles create a constant deadline. Despite the need for more news stories and increased productivity, more crews have not been created. The existing staff is asked to complete more work in the same period of time. In some instances, the MMJ is seen as a way to maximize staff. Tasks completed by a crew now have to be completed by one person. To complete the tasks in the same period of time requires even greater efficiency than what was expected in the days of a full crew (Kolodzy, 2006:12). The MMJ requires a change in the production method in order to be implemented into a news organization.

Television newsrooms, like many production facilities, may not be strictly analysed in terms of both Fordist and post-Fordist paradigms. Within television newsrooms there is an amalgamation of structural characteristics commonly associated with both paradigms. Especially, with the advent of the MMJ, the flexible production technologies and the rigid Taylorist managerial strategies become part of the framework of the production.

'Newsrooms like factory floors, have been a laboratory for technological innovation and a battleground of economic and social interests for over 100 years; current arguments concerning specific adjustments of the editorial workforce to electronic news processing technologies continue the traditional confrontation between news workers and the management of media industries. They are evidence of the impact of technological change on the lives of news workers as a historical problem of understanding the internalization of technology in the practice of journalism (Hardt, 1990: 355).'

Bantz et al. (1980) described the newsroom as 'The News Factory,' within which there are stages of production (Bantz et al., 1980: 56-57). It may be argued that transformation of work starts with the realm of production, where it is driven by technology and acclimated by corporate restructuring (Doogan, 2009: 114). In this sense, television news production is no different from any other industry. The production methods of the past forty years have changed frequently. The product has not changed but the methods have changed in various ways, some subtle and some dramatic. The recent transformation from the traditional multi-person crew to the one-person video journalist is a dramatic switch from a division of labour to autonomous constructionist. The changes may be driven by technology but most of the journalists and managers in my study, conclude that the impetus of the transformation is economics.

The primary focus of this study was WKYC-TV, an NBC affiliate in Cleveland, Ohio. The ethnographic study of WKYC started in 2007. The station has maintained a traditional method of constructing news since it was founded in the 1940s. Multiple

person crews collect the raw materials of newsgathering and construct a product similar to that of today. At one time, the city of Cleveland was considered one of the top ten largest cities in the United States. Today, the city has decreased in size but still remains one of the top twenty largest media cities. Between 1970 and 2000 the population of metropolitan Cleveland diminished by 7.4%. The size difference has impacted the economics of the community and the revenue of the television station. The local television news stations of 1970 were fortunate to have limited competition for revenue dollars. In 2010, the impact of cable, Internet and other forms of media increased the competition for viewers of local news. The amount of revenue collected by WKYC-TV in 2010 was significantly less than the previous decades.

'Their original intent was to increase their profits, but now it's a question of survival. They know that with the economy, they do have to make these kinds of cuts and I think it's a shame. Technology is not leading it. Technology is the excuse for it.'

– 40-year veteran television news reporter, WSTM-TV, Syracuse, New York.

They are commercial businesses regulated by the federal government, with questionable intentions (McChesney 1999: 304-314). The sales of advertising time and the competition for viewers are vital ingredients to the health of a local television station, yet the monopolization of ownership may be viewed as having a negative effect (Bagdikian, 2004: 6-17). The economic survival of many local television news stations, in the United States, was a consistent concern for each of the individuals observed in this study. All

the observed individuals regardless of their title or occupation seemed to cast doubt on the sustainability of the present structure of their organizations. Similarly, the writings of Ben Scott (2005), Robert McChesney (2005), Bonnie Anderson (2004) and others reflect a concern over the tidal change in the infrastructure of local television news.

'I think journalism is adjusting to and coping with market forces and business imperatives – [but] I don't think journalism is leading the charge (Quinn, 2004: 111).'

Besides journalist's perceptions of their own work and the integration of other workers into the process of their work, the news workers' labour power is affected by the changes in structure as the dependency and synergy of other workers influences the efficiency of production. For example, introducing new methods of production and equipment created by implementing the MMJ adjusts the valorisation of the worker, as the labour power is articulated in the material aspects of production, such as machinery and raw materials, in order to accumulate capital (Thursfield, 2000: 14). In this context, the value of the journalist can be based on the amount of raw material created, the ability to operate the machinery and the final product that is produced. In other words, the power of the labour to acquire raw materials increases with the MMJ, as it is less costly and more profitable for the MMJ to produce the raw materials. Therefore, it would appear there is less labour power in the traditional crew.

Braverman (1974) believed that the introduction of new methods and new machinery are part of a management effort to destroy the labour process as a process conducted by the

worker and reconstitute it as a process conducted by management (Braverman, 1974: 170). However Braverman also believed that capitalists disassembled the craft and returned it to the worker piecemeal, so that the process as a whole is no longer the province of any individual worker. In the case of the single news production worker, it seems the management has rearranged the craft and put it in the hands of one individual worker, with more supervision.

Braverman (1974) also argues that the division of labour and the subsequent deskilling engendered by Taylorism is intensified by the application of technologies, which allow for greater managerial control over workers' activities (Thursfield, 2000: 16). The application of the technologies seemed to deskill the subjects of this study and greater managerial control was evident.

Multi-skilling seems to be a trend that will increase in the near future, mainly for economic reasons (Hemmingway, 2005: 11). In my study, I have found many managers who believe the new production paradigm is based on economics. The methods of production are chosen to lower costs, not improve quality. In the view of the managers, technology enables the 'one-person' crew to increase productivity. I witnessed the 'one-person' crew was able to perform the tasks of the traditional crew at the same speed. Whether or not technology alone expedites the production process can be determined by observing various crews of different skill levels.

This study attempts to look at one of the implementations meant to save costs for local television news stations. Converged journalists, ‘one man bands’, ‘MMJs’, and ‘solo-journalists’ are all different brandings for a method of construction not unfamiliar in the history of television, but one that proves to incite emotional responses and visceral discussions.

‘Staff cuts to save money, faster turn rounds short cuts, imagined greater productivity, multi-skilling, bring a further drop in standards.’ – Cameraman (2000: 815).

‘...labour-saving production technologies, multi-skilling and the consequently reduced opportunities for team working have a ‘de-skilling’ effect.’ – Dickinson R. (2007: 196).

Today news organizations are under even greater financial pressure than the American networks were in the 1960s. Rather than paying for expensive crews and links, there is a tendency to make greater use of pooling and agency pictures, which can result in different media outlets having the same pictures.

‘...With economic short-falls afflicting most news organizations, the need for increased productivity is a pressure felt acutely in a growing proportion of newsrooms, and this sometimes translates to journalistic shortcuts.’ – Pavlik, J.V (2004: 28).

The MMJ makes crews smaller and therefore cheaper, allowing news-gatherers to deploy more crews for less money or, more probably, the same number of cameras for less money (Farhi, 2002: 32), (Forte-Duhe, 2004: 87).

'The form and content of journalism is crucially determined by the available technology of news gathering, production and dissemination.' - McNair, B. (Cottle et al., 1999: 24).

In attempting to manage the convergence of media and to increase efficiency, WFLA-TV created a building housing three interdependent media outlets, not unlike Westinghouse and General Motors (Dugpaigne et al., 2006: 238). Dupaigne contends the new types of arrangements do not increase the workload and employment becomes stable. However, questions need to be asked about the wages of the employees, as well as the wisdom of replacing older, more expensive workers with less experienced and less expensive staff. What was witnessed during the ethnographic studies at WKYC-TV and WSTM-TV was a reduction in staff or positions left unfilled if an employee left the organization. The staff reductions occurred passively. In the period of the study, a number of crafts individuals retired and they were not replaced. These positions were union employees working in the newsroom as photographers, studio crew and video tape editors. There were five employees in the WKYC newsroom, at the time of the study, who were not replaced after they retired or left the organization. The positions remain vacant and continue so as of the writing of this thesis. It does not appear any new personnel were hired in other departments in lieu of maintaining the payroll as it was and management expressed it, the decrease in payroll was beneficial to the corporate office.

Some companies view the reduction in jobs as a method of maintaining the health of the company because it creates leaner production. There is also a belief that workers are happier because the changes in their jobs are seen as improving their quality of life. ‘Companies get better production, and the workers get more interesting jobs (Monks, 1987: 677).’ In this scenario, the multi-skilled employee is thankful for a more complex job.

Today, local television news appears to be owned by corporations with a similar approach to the production of television news. If the technology can eliminate jobs, the production will be leaner and workers will have more diverse work experiences. This study approaches the production of news and the trend of the MMJ within the framework of lean production.

The volatility of competing news outlets and the introduction of convergent forces empower management to create a game plan by developing supportive organizational arrangements (Mink et. al, 1993: 107); these arrangements include the production methods. Workers are trained to be self-sufficient. The traditional news crew is being evaluated in terms of productivity and the changes directly impact productivity. The conventions established in organizations and industries (Boyd-Hinds, 1995: 134) are altered not because of productivity, but because of cost (Underwood, 2007: 337).

The implementation of the MMJ would not be possible it seems, without a new code of practice (Binkley, 2004: 72). The decline of manufacturing and the rise of service industries following the economic slump in the United States, reflect a long process of decentralization in American economic, social and cultural organizations. While the traditional television news crew reflects the vanguard of Fordist ideology, the new production method reflects a post-Fordist work ethic. In other industries, a shrinking economy encouraged flexible employment and rejected union representation. The same seems true of television broadcast news.

Other industries adopted ways of compartmentalizing tasks and increasing supervision of such tasks under a hierarchical management bureaucracy, and there emerged a body of educated middle management professionals, possessing supervisory authority over the entire manufacturing process on the basis of non-experiential knowledge (Binkley, 2004: 75). The new work differential of the MMJ seems similar in the way it has originated. Management has little experience of producing material under the restrictions of the new processes, yet they are heavily involved in its direction. The ideologies of the MMJ seem to be under a didactic cerebration of both workers and supervisors, as they try to fill the gaps in the production handbook.

It may be argued that the local television news industry's growth is similar to any other business organization and is experiencing a life cycle similar to many other industries. In the early days of television broadcasting, the entrepreneurial stages created the conventions of the industry (Gordon, 1987: 602). During the entrepreneurial stages, the

organization builds a network that centres on the inception, diffusion, and adoption of a set of ideas among a group of people (Keitner et al., 2010: 513-528.) The pioneers of television news adapted to new technology and created new ways of working in an evolving visual medium. The customs that developed out of trial and error have been passed on to subsequent generations of television journalists and they have come to be expected of the visual news story (Boyd-Hinds, 1995:8).

The rapid growth of an organization takes the life cycle of the organization into the collectivity stage. Innovation and expansion continues, with attempts to stabilize and create routines within the organization (Gordon, 1987: 603). As technology challenged staff and the differentiation of work, the collectivity stage of the organization helped the organization stabilize, as changes in construction techniques were adopted

Some studies acknowledge that the restructuring of newsrooms and modifying roles will make a significant impact on organizations (McNair, 1998: 125). According to organizational behaviour researcher Wilson (1999), the success or failure of convergence will occur with the restructuring of a 'strategic choice' rather than the failure to adapt to new technology. Strategic choice is described as a deliberate decision using solutions found outside the organization. This fits with the ownership and tactical convergence model. By using other resources and bringing them into the organization, the organization must modify the new accommodations. Technological convergence can be viewed in this way, as new technology comes from outside sources and is implemented on different personnel. Structural convergence occurs where the strategic choice and the

implementation meet (Wilson, 1992: 21). 'Organizational success has become directly attributable to its ability to handle and sustain strategic change' (ibid: 3). He believes management should give extensive consideration to the sociological aspects of the planned change and not just the installation of new equipment. Researchers such as Dickinson (2007) believe more research is needed to investigate the sociology involved in news construction. Delinquent journalists exemplify the need to probe into the social actions and status of the television journalists (Dickinson, 2007: 196). In light of the MMJ, the definitions of delinquency may change as well as the implied rules of acceptability of their actions, by the increased demands of the occupation. As MMJs produce material and gather information there is no other editorial voice in their social structure other than news management, as opposed to the traditional model that implies at least one other individual witnesses the actions of both the reporter and the event simultaneously. Additional research may provide the answer as to whether the news videographer or tape editor, by their social actions, contribute to the delinquent behaviour of reporters or by their interaction with reporters aid in reducing delinquent behaviour. In this context, the MMJ is not only a change of technique and technology but also a change in the social structure meant to check and balance journalistic actions. Moreover, institutions frequently look at change as a simple process, when in fact change requires sophisticated analytical reasoning. This oversight can lead to failure. Newsrooms are complex (Pavlik, 2001: 99) and have a complex integration of duties. There is a specific hierarchy within them that has separated work groups. Reporters, television news photographers, editors, engineers, assignment editors, news directors and studio crews all combine to complete the task but within their groups, separate cultures exist. When

confronted with new applications, there is a tendency in those groups within organizations to attempt paradigm repair (Mink et al, 1993: 113-127). For example, the Internet holds the potential to be unique or supplemental to news production but originally it was seen as a way to take news scripts from television or news stories from newspapers and place them directly onto the website without any changes to the material. This process was called 'shovelware'. Shovelware required the least amount of effort for an existing newsroom to contribute to the new entity of a website. Shovelware maintained the traditional news structure of television and newspapers, while the Internet was viewed as an outside repository. It was largely an attempt to maintain the current structure and methodology, thus maintaining roles regardless of the new paradigm (Ruggiero, 2004: 93; Scott, 2005: 110; Kolodzy, 2006: 118). Kolodzy's 2006 ethnographic research into the converged media organizations in Tampa, Florida examined how a successful adaptation of convergence occurs by creating a structure that emphasizes common goals and values (Kolodzy, 2006: 57).

Unfortunately, commercial ownership seems to encourage decentralized production and consumption points, and recentralizing information production (Scott, 2005: 111). In essence, local news is no longer local news, but a mix of nationally manufactured consumable information delivered to a local market. While information and media is shared and exchanged, so are production elements within corporations. Gannett Corporation 'hubbed' the graphics departments of the company's twenty-three television stations, including WKYC-TV, to a central location. The intention was to reduce the costs of redundant graphic packages for the separate stations. Essentially, all of the

stations had a similar graphic look after the centralization occurred. Six individuals at WKYC-TV were released when the centralization reduced the staff. Their positions were never filled, nor were they transferred to another department. Only one employee remained after the cuts and his position will be left vacant after the employee retires.

It may appear that the use of material, other than the material gathered by the field production crews can fill newscasts. Mobile devices have increased user-generated content and are becoming more acceptable to use in reporting (Halpern-Wenger et al., 2008: 302-306). Video feeds and media exchanges appear to allow news producers and managers to use material they did not have to ask their staff to produce. Business convergence creates the avenues for news organizations under the same corporate umbrella to trade news material freely between each organization (Kolodzy, 2006: 9-11). The real goal may be to reduce production costs by eliminating overlapping coverage, and to re-package the multiple media channels (Scott, 2005: 113). The use of video feeds and exchanges leads to what Kurpius calls 'consonance of coverage' (Kurpius, 2003: 78). Profit motives forces stations to the path of the least coverage resistance and this leads to the consonance of coverage. The impact of the ideology upon the worker seems to be more physical labour and less emphasis on intensive journalism. Cottle's prediction that 'There will be more work overload. There will be more short-term contracts and part-time work as staff jobs are cut to a minimum (Cottle, 1999: 26)' does appear to be the case.

The transformation of the new code of work requires the individual worker to reassess priorities, from a tendency toward self-orientation to a culturally higher value of other orientation. In terms of the MMJ, this means the converged journalists appears to look at their self-interest in regards to the increase in tasks as a negative force meant to impact their career and productivity. A self-orientation that overemphasizes our own wants is an important dimension of our productivity problem. Successful application of the MMJ may involve a cultural orientation whereas the individuals are supported in a way that increases their self-esteem and confidence; therefore their self-orientation is linked to the group's affirmation of the individual. Japanese manufacturers using post-Fordist principles had greater success when individuals had the opportunity to contribute on a level where the use of their knowledge, skills and decision-making abilities helped confirm their individual worth. The transformation from the traditional reporter, working in a social unit, to the single news production worker, working alone, may require the support of the group to fulfil the needs once supplied by working with other individuals. In a post-Fordist perspective, the MMJs may require flexibility as well as engagement in the decision-making processes of the organization, to aid in self-orientation. Similarly, Japanese manufacturers benefit from the participation of their workers in decision-making by having more satisfied workers and by capitalizing on the resulting suggestions and improvements (Monks, 1987: 629-682).

'In nearly every aspect of local television – from viewership to economics to ownership structure – there are mixed signals of health and challenge. The next few years may determine whether the industry ultimately heads up or down.'

- The Project for Excellence in Journalism, 2004: 1

What may appear to be a rich expansion of journalism may be a narrowing of scope and access. While Internet journalism may at first reveal potential growth for journalists to practice the craft of journalism, the traditional news organizations seem to be facing some extremely dire decisions. What model of production will best fit the environment of high productivity and low cost without affecting quality?

In this regard, the issues facing local television news are heavily influenced by the maximization of profits. The production of the products the local television news stations sell is directly influenced by the ratings. In this context, it appears as if television journalism is viewed as a business servicing the community and not as a community service. In the end, while individuals are more satisfied by reinforcing their own beliefs, there is a deep neglect of the complex issues, with little relevancy to the consumer (Fenton, 2005: 118-119). In the end, the method of production utilized by television news is a business decision and not a journalism decision (Anderson, 2004: 231), (Underwood, 2007: 191-207), (Boyd-Hinds, 1995: 145).

5.2 Implementing Change: Max headroom and Post-Fordism

'Too often the complex and multi-dimensional nature of media production is short-circuited by those holding a priori theoretical commitments, or rigid political views and expectations (Cottle, 2003: 4).'

The development of the MMJ may appear to be a complex exchange of methodologies between two different managerial practices. Whether intended or not, what appears to be occurring is a mix of post-Fordism and Taylorism. The construction process of the MMJ, as a unit, is an example of post-Fordism flexibility, yet the management has increased their influence upon the worker, with direct supervision at the beginning and end of the process, in order to increase efficiency and obtain decisive goals. Management at the observed stations gravitated to a Tayloristic supervision in order to ensure the product, the television news package, was completed on time and within the pre-determined specifications of the manager.

Previously mentioned, practitioners seem to be empiricists, basing their knowledge on their personal experience (Anderson, 2006: 1-6), (Fenton, 2006: 51-79). This study observed this behaviour as practitioners based their response to the MMJ as a threat and showed an unwillingness to accept the new production model. Often, the news workers would deny the MMJ could perform the tasks required of television news.

In the realm of empirical studies, the practitioner photographer and videotape editor are often marginalized and are not viewed as contributors of knowledge (Meltzer, 2010: 3-4). It was observed management often times treats the practitioner photographer and videotape editor in the same manner. There is a marginalization, shown in the acceptance of the MMJs by managers with little regard to the crafts skills as exemplary of the individuals already employed and easily adapted by any reporter. Marginalization was also seen in the process of choosing stories or discussing the newsworthiness of the day's assignments. Management did not request the input of crafts individuals.

Local television news is constructed in an insular environment. Each news organization strives to keep information inside the organization. Access is limited and information is guarded because of competition. As Wallace found (2009), criticism is cautious in newsrooms, as the personalities seem prone to authoritarian rule and management seems to be defensive over the implantation of the 'videojournalist' (Wallace, 2009: 694-695). Anonymity was important to the observed and interviewed news workers; therefore, many of the findings of this study use aliases to protect those who spoke freely, knowing their identity would be protected.

In ethnographic fieldwork, it is critical that the researcher pays particular attention to the political views of those being observed or interviewed (Hansen et al., 1998: 61-62), especially with regards to the roles and expectations of the producers of news, whether reporter, videographer or editor. The experienced traditional reporter seems to exude negativity toward the newsroom environment when he or she is amongst other reporters

(Wallace, 2009: 693) but it seems the converged journalists show more positivism about their profession. While convergence seems to be a threat to traditional journalists, the converged journalists are younger and without a frame of reference from other newsrooms or production methods. They are learning the craft as they go and this particular arrangement of new journalists seems to be defining the mores of a new form of journalism.

From participant observations in this study, news management seems to be content with the MMJ. They have adapted to the model and are content with some of the limitations. They believe the new model achieves many of the goals they wish to accomplish; most importantly to them, the product does not seem to change and the work is efficient.

'They do have to get back (to the station) a little earlier from a story. Maybe they don't get that last sound bite because they've got to get back and they have to edit and they have to write and I'd have to adjust my thinking...(being a MMJ) takes time out of their day to make phone calls for their story. I had to take that into account....I was a little leery of it when we first were gonna do it, but I think it's a really good thing. I haven't seen any problems with it, like in any difference in the product, so for me, I actually like it.' – News Director, WSTM-TV (Syracuse, New York)

From the findings of this study, it seems that individuals who attempt converged journalism seem to rely on a particular personal strength. Former news videographers, now converged journalists, rely on the skills of a videographer to tell the story. Stories

are told in a weighted visual style with less text. While there is ‘multi-skilling’ involved, the MMJ favours the skills of their previous role and constructs other skills from those experiences. There is a tendency for the converged reporter to use text or script as the most significant skill, with visuals being minimized in specifics. The term ‘wallpaper’ was used to describe this kind of visualization. The ability of a journalist is defined by the strengths of the particular skills. In particular, older journalists with little technical experience struggle with adapting to the converged model as their particular strengths of writing or interviewing are challenged by the interference of technology. Older journalists seem to suffer from technophobia in learning how to use new equipment, particularly the Internet (Ruggiero, 2004: 102).

‘You are actually going to shoot all your own stuff all the time and you’re going to be asked to edit it all the time, and you’re going to be asked to do a couple of packages. And it’s basically being asked to accomplish something that one person shouldn’t be asked to do.’ – Jason Makay, Former WTVH-TV photojournalist and adjunct professor at Syracuse University.

While Hemmingway’s study cites British news organizations using converged journalism to put more journalists in the field to report more stories (Hemmingway, 2005), in the United States there seem to be other intentions behind the shift in production. There is a consistent plan among local television news management to use the converged journalist as a cost-cutting device. Ben Scott (2005) and others see the transparency of the actions of management in a similar fashion. The traditionalists will argue the converged

journalist cannot do a similar job effectively. WKYC employees would argue the traditional crew is a better mode of newsgathering because of efficiency and because of safety.

'When you have the ability to work on a project with three or more people, you just objectively have a better product in my estimation.' - Reporter, WKYC-TV.

'I think if you have a group with you it's a: safer, and b: you tend to get more information.' – Reporter, WKYC-TV.

The methodology of the MMJ seems to be the basis from which future journalists will evolve. If television, radio and web journalists are meant to become multi-skilled, how does the body of journalism adapt to the vicissitudes? 'A social science informed by postmodern thought would make it evident that objects, norms, and persons and events are inseparable from the processes of representation by which they are formed (Simons et al., 1994: 32).' Management may be writing the standards and rubrics of the converged journalists. The processes seem to be based on economics, productivity and efficiency. Performing acts of journalism in the future may be secondary to the assembly line desires of management.

While the convergence of media involves multiple platforms and technology, there seems less concern about the aesthetics of the news construction and more that the products be delivered on time under strict deadlines. It appears the acquisition of raw information by

either the traditional or converged methods is conducted in roughly the same manner, regardless of the convergence of media or advancement in technology. There is a methodology to acquiring news that is both sequential and routine. Like an assembly line, the process is a step-by-step gathering of parts and pieces. The final construction is a matter of building a story upon a structure using the pieces and parts gathered. Further examination suggests the structure of the news package is no different today from how it was forty years ago.

Whether or not the television news crew is a traditional three-person crew or the MMJ, they are both bound by time constraints (Wallace, 2009: 687). Initially, it seems the three-person crew is more efficient at constructing a news story by virtue of delegating tasks in a Fordist construction model. The Fordist model of reporter, videographer and editor involves the three individuals carrying out a sequence of delegated tasks. After examining the methods of a traditional crew to complete a television news story, it can be concluded that additional workers do not significantly improve the speed of completion of certain genre types. However, in the view of management, productivity is increased (Wallace, 2009: 695-696).

The character of Max Headroom, created in the 1980s, was an example of post-Fordist news construction. He was automated by technology. Although a fictional character, he was independent, assertive and investigative. His deadline was consistent and it appeared as if he could reach the masses as soon as he finished gathering his news. His stories often led to a judicial act or a social victory. Max Headroom might be a symbol of the

higher authority of journalism, but his model of production is not necessarily nirvana. The MMJ was not seen as a hallmark in journalism in the observed newsrooms, or the Wallace study (Wallace, 2009: 696-697). At the beginning of this study, the ideal of Max Headroom was not seen at WKYC-TV. The MMJ was viewed as a villain, as opposed to a hero. WKYC-TV viewed the single news production as a supplementary unit, whereas the more substantial stories went to the traditional crew. At WSTM-TV, the MMJ was viewed as the norm, neither glamorous nor heroic. However, they adopted a new technology called Live-U, the commercial name for a direct IP-based mobile-to-mobile communications unit (Davies et al., 2006: 90). It allows reporters to go live from virtually any location via a multiple mobile phone correlated signal. It has allowed the station to go live in moving vehicles to do road reports, ski down hills to demonstrate skiing to viewers, and cover spot news (Zhang et al., 2006: 1-4). The quality of the equipment is improving and it has allowed the ideal of Max Headroom to become a reality in the WKYC-TV newsroom.

The work is accomplished, in the case of WSTM-TV; they performed double the workload of the traditionalists at WKYC-TV. While WKYC-TV's traditional crew would produce one package for a newscast, WSTM-TV's staff would produce two. The reason for the disparity is neither a simple case of effort or ability, but an adopted paradigm of integrated actors. Whether the quality and standards of journalism are

compromised is debatable, as neither station seems an authoritarian realm of ethical championing of the fourth estate, very unlike Max Headroom.¹¹

Kuhn (1962) maintained that each paradigm will be shown to satisfy more or less the criteria that it dictates for itself and to fall short of a few of those dictated by its opponent (Kuhn, 1962; 348). In such a way, the paradigm of the traditional television news crew views the converged crew as an opponent. The traditional news crews seem to continuously reinforce the idea that their method of constructing news leads to a superior product, yet textual analysis shows there is little to support the assertion in regards to the construction method. While it may appear the traditional crew is best suited to deal with logistical concerns of immediacy, the trained converged crewmember is capable of equal work, indistinguishable from traditional crews except for minor textual markers. In general, the idea that more individuals working in concert creates a superior product is purely subjective. It seems local television newsrooms have a preconceived notion of themselves, constructed by the separate cultures processing the data and creating credible presentations of events. Each newsroom has an ideology transforming and reinforcing the members in the group. The traditionalists' view of news quality revolves around an ideal seldom reached and rarely introspected. Criticism of their behaviour is not

¹¹ *'Whether journalists are prepared or not, technology is fast eroding the previous assumption that the fourth estate possesses an exclusive constitutional mandate. What Haiman calls the 'monopoly of traditional media coverage' may be rapidly disintegrating. Increasingly, mainstream journalists may face an uphill struggle if they wish to conduct paradigm repair.'* - Ruggerio, T. E. (2004: 101)

encouraged and those who question the habitual behaviour are discouraged and threatened. The outcome is beliefs and procedures reinforced by self-preservation.

The traditional crew has some distinct advantages over Max Headroom and the MMJ. Traditional television newsgathering occurs within restrictive parameters (time and space) and overlapping relationships. The logistics of an assignment greatly affects the time it takes to travel to the location and the amount of time needed to complete the assignment. Individuals performing tasks dependent upon each other create overlapping relationships; a tape editor can work independently from the reporter and the photographer. The photographer can also work independently from the reporter. In the case of the converged journalist, the overlapping is invisible to the observer.

From the findings of this study, the traditional crew has the potential for efficiency as individuals can work independently on particular elements. The skills of each individual influence the particular epistemologies required to craft a television news story. Each member utilizes his or her particular skill to create his or her required work. The traditional crew seems to be more efficient than the MMJ when the news coverage involves immediacy, such as an accident or breaking news. The differentiation of jobs makes it possible for tasks to be completed simultaneously.

Observed management gauges the ability of journalists by the strengths of their particular skills. At present, management wants television journalists who write but can also operate cameras and edit their own material. The management looks to replace existing

reporters as opposed to training them. The goal is to replace existing employees with multi-skilled employees. WKYC-TV is doing so passively, while WSTM-TV (Syracuse, New York) and WEWS-TV (Cleveland, Ohio) have made direct changes in the type of employee they wish to maintain. WSTM-TV and WEWS-TV created a mandate to no longer hire traditional reporters and will only hire MMJs.

Older journalists, with little technical experience, struggle with adapting to the converged model as their particular strengths of writing or interviewing are challenged by the interference of technology.

“I’m trying to actually adapt myself to become multi-faceted. It is difficult when you’re set in your ways, so to speak.”

– 40-year veteran news reporter – WSTM-TV, (Syracuse, New York)

According to the management interviewed in this study, it seems younger journalists adapt to converged roles because they do not have preconceived skills but incorporate the role of journalism into a multi-skilled role, where they are defined by the ability to perform all tasks sufficiently well.

News content does not seem to be altered by technology. As John Ellis believes, ‘The quality of the footage is hardly relevant; news will accept poor-quality images and poor quality speakers if the immediacy and the importance of the events will justify them’ (Gripsrud, 1999: 56). It appears the aesthetic quality of television news is protected from criticism or critical expectations based on the genre’s limitations and the strengths of its

immediacy to important events. This ethnographic study revealed that the expectations of the traditional crew were much different from those of the converged crew. In many instances, in terms of the MMJ, it seemed that the local television news stations justified adjusting standards and expectations in order to produce news more quickly. However, this ethnographic study reveals the difference in news quality produced by traditional and converged crews to be a myth at the observed facilities. It seems practitioners view the traditional television news crew as working faster at constructing news stories and more independently from management than the converged crew. However, it appears to this researcher that the traditional crew processed their material at the same rate as a converged crew and was equally influenced by management in the process. The idea separate individuals performing separate tasks equals better 'quality' work is subjectively inaccurate. The traditional crew involves layers of editorial, leading to assumptions and personal influence, even bias. The converged crew can provide the same imagery and it is difficult to detect how many individuals work on a particular story in many instances. In lieu of the indictment, there is a verified ambiguity over the process of retrieving information. Observed crews and management at WSTM-TV had a 'just get the job done' approach to their production. In crafting this mantra, there seemed to be no questions raised about the behaviour of those in the field. Both the management and the MMJs observed shortcutting approaches. Several veteran journalists told me that shortcutting was not limited to the converged crews, as the emergence of the internet and the 24 hour news cycle make it difficult for reporters to verify facts in the same manner used decades earlier. What the observed reporters conveyed was, 'We used to triple check facts, but now we just put it on air and retract wrong statements later.' It seems the

speed and efficiency demanded by news producers creates the need to find a shortcut in production (Hobsbawn, 2006: 217).

'I don't care who you are, what you think about the media; as a journalist you are not objective...period, you're not. You're seeing the story through your eyes, your experience, how you were raised, whatever. That's where you need a second set of eyes. The more eyes you have on the story...the better the story is going to be when it comes to accuracy.' - Reporter – WKYC-TV (Cleveland, Ohio)

To the news directors in this study, the audience was a key factor. WSTM-TV seemed more interested in traditional news stories such as town hall meetings, court reporting, and spot news, such as accidents. WKYC-TV seemed to be moving away from traditional news as it catered to its demographic audience. If the news directors showed personal interest, the story was given greater importance. There were several examples of how the news director envisioned the newscast and how the newscasts were created. At WKYC-TV, it was observed that when the new story was presented by the news director, it was implied how the story would be crafted and how it would be reported by direct discussion. The news director would 'massage' the message to make it more 'attractive' to the chosen demographic group. There is a certain amount of 'impregnation' or 'genetic manipulation' of news stories to make the product suited to a particular audience; in a theoretical sense, it was a matter of gatekeeping, agenda setting and framing (Scheufele, 2006: 11). There appears to be a strong correlation between the emphasis the news organizations placed on certain news stories and the importance the

stories were given. Certain reporters were given certain stories to highlight the importance of the stories. In a practical sense, the management used gatekeeping to increase the efficiency of the production machinery. In business terms, gatekeeping eliminates the cost associated with returning products that should not be returned or the cost returned to the inappropriate destination; it is a matter of logistics (Rogers et al., 2002: 5). The duties of the news directors in these studies were the distribution of resources and ensuring crews returned to the newsroom with the proper story; in this context, raw material or product. The news director performed this form of gatekeeping by ruling on the importance of stories and used his or her personal feelings to gauge the importance of the news story. If a news director were not attracted to a story, it would probably not be produced. Significant argument would be necessary and in many cases, reporters were not present when news stories were conceived or debated.

It seems as if the moral guidance of WKYC's newsroom comes from the news director and several other managers. As a group, it seems they prefer their story selection to be based upon the interests of their particular target audience. The target audience was created by market research conducted by sales personnel. Staff meetings outlined the age type, gender, region, and financial standing of the audience members they wanted to attract. The reason for this targeting is based upon sales of the station's available commercial time. While management does not blatantly express it, the need to maintain and cater to the particular target audience is deemed important to the success of sales of commercials. ⁱⁱ

The reporters who were not present at the newsroom meeting were given the sources and told the premise for the story. There seemed to be many reasons for this procedure. Efficiency promoted a sense of creating a path of least resistance. Reporters would want to please the news director and not debate the importance of the news story and the news director wanted efficiency. Utilizing a Tayloristic approach, the news director maintained control of the story, supervised the employees directly, and when the finished product suited the original intention of the story, the news director believed it was a success.

In comparison to the MMJs, the reporter and the MMJ receive instruction in the same manner. Both journalists are given necessary information to accelerate the crews' progress. Time management becomes extremely important to both the traditional and the MMJs.

'We ultimately get our stories from the paper now. When I started here, if you suggested a story from the paper in the morning meeting, you would have been gone. You wouldn't have been around long. We do not check sources like we should be. We don't have the resources now because I don't have the time to pursue possible stories.'

– Reporter, WSTM-TV.

Mediation within the traditional news crew seems to increase when converged crews are introduced. The traditional crews at WKYC-TV would substantiate claims of their productivity and downplay the successes of the single production units. While the traditionalists would produce news stories, which they assumed to be superior to the

MMJ, it was difficult for the WKYC-TV crews to comprehend the work output of the WSTM-TV crews. From the ethnographic study, the WSTM-TV MMJs produced significantly more work in the same period of time. Some of the mitigating circumstances revolved around the Post-Fordist management style of the news director. WSTM-TV's news director encouraged the reporters to participate and act independently to create news stories. Supervision was significantly detached during the production phase as compared to the WKYC-TV management. Despite younger reporters, the WSTM-TV news director seemed to focus on one or two reporters and their stories, leaving the rest to produce their product independently. The veteran reporters at WSTM-TV were not supervised at all, and, instead, they told the news director what story they were working on. To maintain supervision of less experienced reporters, press releases, newspaper articles or wire service reports were used as the guide of factuality for the news director and the MMJ. There was little encouragement to go outside the text of the press release; if they did, the news director was careful to question the reporter about attribution. In that sense, the news director was able to supervise the content of the news story.

It was observed during this study, that in the daily process of producing news, many reporters did not create or research the story assigned to the traditional crew. In many instances, the reporter would be given the story idea and notes from management or, frequently, it was based on an article from the local newspaper. In the discussion between the reporter and the assigning manager, the angle of the story, the components of the story and the desired length of the story were discussed before the reporter made any

contacts with the sources of the story. It was witnessed by the ethnographic study that the local television reporters under scrutiny do very little independent research on stories. Management provided the research for reporters, specifically the assignment desk manager and the news director. Regardless of the production method, both traditional and non-traditional crews were handed information to pursue from a manager or they would use sources supplied to them by management. Reporters would use their own sources or supplement them. Newspaper articles and press releases provided names and contacts for a variety of stories. In the gatekeeping mode, waiting for the ideal source is a luxury as the clock ticks closer to the hour when the package needs to be on the air (Machin and Niblock, 2006: 6).

'Competently crafted news content is contextualized in media frames constructed through persistent patterns of cognition, interpretation, and presentation, of selection, emphasis and exclusion.' – Ruggiero, T. E. (2004: 95)

When the study began, WKYC produced news exclusively with crews of three individuals. The crews were considered traditional. They consisted of one reporter, one videographer and one editor. The three individuals used a Fordist construction methodology. Each individual had a specific task to complete. The reporter was responsible for arranging interviews and finding locations for subsequent video to support the story. The videographer assigned to the reporter was chosen from a group of videographers by management. The criteria for choosing the videographer, was based on availability. Management assigned the tape editor from an existing pool of editors. The

tape editor was chosen based on availability at the time the story was ready to be constructed. These three individuals worked in a Fordist model, making a product in an assembly line fashion with the various workers contributing at various stages. The local television news crew used technology as an extension of their individual skills (Doray, 1988: 47).

The present paradigm of the traditional local television news crew consists of three workers: the reporter, the videographer and the tape editor. The traditional crew was evaluated according to the components of each actor. Ten crews from WKYC-TV were observed performing the daily tasks of constructing local television news.

In the process of building a television news package, the work of the traditional television news crews involves three editorial processes beyond the external influences of news management. The reporter creates a story based on the assumptions and selection of news managers. The videographer selects imagery based on the shorthand version of the story given by the reporter. The editor makes editorial decisions based on personal preference and styles depending upon the genre of the news story.

Human actors are important in adopting new technologies but the adoption is not driven technologically, but by pre-existing paradigms. The actors using the technology experience difficulty in coping with new mediations. News constructionists, either reporter or videographer or editor, mediate in order to successfully complete their tasks. The mediation occurs between human but also between human and machine.

Hemmingway (2008) categorized the three areas important to news constructionists as technogram, chronogram and sociogram. She used Actor Network Theory (ANT) to outline the behaviours of news organization personnel, who create local news products (Hemmingway, 2008: 13). Within Actor Network Theory, the technogram is the relationship between a human and technology. The reporter in a traditional crew mediates with a human (videographer, editor) in order to have a relationship with technology. The relationship of a traditional reporter and technology is passive, minimizing the technogrammatic relationship. The videographer and editor have a strong bond with technology and the technogram of their relationship is dependent upon their ability to use technology. The videographer and editor rely on strong technogrammatic necessity for their significance in the construction of news. A traditional reporter is less apt to be dependent upon technology but dependent upon the relationship with the other members of the crew. The relationships between humans in the newsrooms can be gauged by the sociogram, measuring the hierarchy of individuals categorized by tasks, roles, and social position. The sociogram of a reporter is significantly higher than the technical staff. The reporter uses the visibility and influence of his or her higher social standing to legitimize the lack of technological knowledge. All members of the crew are intertwined in the chronogrammatic actions of their interdependent work. Time becomes imperative, as each member of the crew is dependent upon the other to complete the product efficiently.

Each crew began each day not knowing what their assigned tasks would be. They were asked to acquire the necessary materials from 11am to 5pm each day. The WKYC-TV

crews were asked to complete one 'package' a day, with a subsequent web posting of the particular story. In contrast, the WSTM-TV MMJs were expected to create two news packages as well as web material.

In general terms, traditional reporters are credited with the performance of journalism needed to complete a television news package. The study reveals that all the members of the traditional crew perform journalism in some manner and the final product is collaboration. The traditional crew involved a co-dependency between workers. In a Fordist model, each member of the traditional television news crew specializes in a certain craft (Doray, 1988: 34). The reporter facilitates the news story under construction by acting as the architect. The videographer creates the materials in order to create the product. The videotape editor builds the product from the specifications and materials of the other two workers. In many instances, and as this study will demonstrate, the making of a news story is a routine activity building equivalent products.

Post-Fordist television journalists (MMJs) will be defined by the entirety of the product they produce. They perform all the acts of journalism, as well as the crafts. Their product created is judged by timeliness and structure. In many instances, it seemed management judged the ability of MMJs by whether they 'make air' or made deadlines. The converged worker (MMJ) is a step toward an anti-Taylorist or post-Fordist work force. Anti-Taylorism encourages job enrichment by giving workers more flexibility and responsibility. Removing the division of labour means the worker experiences a reduction in the separation of conception and execution (Pruijt, 2003; 79). Local

television news management is encouraging journalists to become self-sufficient. Management wants to increase efficiency. Autonomy decreases the stages between conception and execution (Pruijt, 1997; 3). The MMJs observed during this study agreed their concepts were produced more efficiently due to the lack of friction between individuals. It appears, therefore, that the MMJ works more efficiently because of this autonomy.

Traditionalists may find it uncomfortable to be viewed and be transformed into a 'multi-skilled' Taylorism-styled employee or specialist. The ethnographic study observed the detailed division of labour and how the model describes workers as performers of routine tasks. While the reporter may argue their tasks are not routine, it is evident that they construct stories in routine ways. One of the principles of Taylorism is that management should not leave it to the workers to decide how they go about their duties. Instead, management should prescribe exactly how, and how fast, the tasks must be performed. The main reason for this is to prevent workers from limiting their output (Pruijt; 1997; 3). The traditional crews of WKYC-TV produce fewer products because they seem to limit their output, whereas the WSTM-TV MMJs created twice as much work under the gaze of the direct manager, the news director.

It may appear that what is beneficial about the traditional crew is the number of other work projects that can be completed simultaneously. Television news photographers will work on other stories or obtain supplemental video while the reporter writes a script. Tape editors will edit other stories in a day, as well as the one the crew constructs. The

crew uses the deadline as a finish line and paces its work accordingly. Additional tasks do not necessarily influence the outcome of the news product in structure or timeliness. The inability to reach deadlines is in direct relation to the adoption of new skills and time management. If the same type of story is being constructed, the MMJ is able to perform at the same rate with the same results.

There is a common belief at WKYC-TV that the traditional crew could do more work than a MMJ. The ethnographic study revealed that is not necessarily the case. For many daily news stories, traditional crews and MMJs produce news at the same pace and meet the same deadlines. The MMJ crews of Syracuse, New York would construct two ‘packages’ per day. The traditional crew of WKYC-TV would create one package and modify it for other entities, but they were not required to produce an additional package on a separate topic. On a typical day, WKYC-TV crew would shoot additional stories, not in package form but in less complex forms such as vo/sots.¹²

‘Everyone I think was mired in the traditional and the thought was, “Oh my God, it can’t be done because the product is going to go downhill, there’s not going to be enough time, you’ll never get two packages.” But here we are and people are doing it.’

– News Director, WSTM-TV, (Syracuse, New York)

The process of constructing a television news story based on a Fordist model brings with it the influences of environment and the individuals working on the product. As outlined

¹² Vo/sot is a common term for a short news story constructed with voice-overs and a sound bite (sound on tape). Usually their length does not exceed 1 minute.

by Machin and Niblock (2006), the work of the individual journalist is affected as it is passed down the 'conveyer belt of editorial decision making and packaging (Machin & Niblock, 2006: 42).' The news package is greatly influenced by unseen editorial decisions made by the traditional television news crew.

For many of the crews, the Fordist model of television news construction is widely accepted as the normal production model. One experienced videographer, now manager, says, 'It's just cut and dry, factory work. Nothing against it, it was just making widgets.' While flippant about the way news is constructed, it was common for all three members of traditional crews to practice a regimented methodology. Schudson (2003) contends television news is a manufactured product. The construction of a news story is a plotted effort with time restrictions and the structural design of each news story is maintained with delegated tasks (Schudson, 2003:12).

What was observed in the separate local news stations and from the interviews conducted in the ethnographic study was a desire to improve efficiency and increase productivity. In doing so, it appeared many shortcuts are being taken in order to integrate the MMJ into the traditional setting of an existing newsroom. The shortcuts ranged from the small decision making of the production unit to the large decision making during the editorial meetings. The goal was to 'make air', as many reporters and managers would confess in their interviews.

“There are less people doing the same amount of work. And we were told that we were going to be doing a lot more with a lot less.” – Tom Genovese, WKYC-TV videographer.

‘There is a great deal of pressure to do things quickly and it’s more like skim the surface journalism, I’m sorry. They’ll go out, they’ll get a story, they’ll get a topic, they’ll go out, they’ll find somebody to interview, maybe two if they’re lucky. Spray (video tape) whatever they can, set it up, the camera so that they can do a stand-up to make it appear they have a presence, and then come back here, slap it all together, edit it, put it on the Internet, that’s a lot of responsibility, and there’s no way on a daily basis they can really dive deep behind a story and get to the issues because they’re under a lot of pressure, time pressure.’ – 40-year veteran news reporter, WSTM-TV, (Syracuse, New York)

In the discussion with the WKYC-TV subjects about the MMJs, they felt that under the present model, the MMJ would not be able to produce news packages efficiently or in some cases, did not believe they could make deadlines. It is important to point out that the interview subjects at WKYC-TV view the potential success of the MMJ within the existing paradigm and production model. It was difficult for the interview subjects to comprehend the changes in the paradigm and model to accommodate for the adoption of the MMJs. Under the present system and the structure of the knowledge management, it would be difficult for the MMJ to perform tasks, just as it is difficult for the traditional crews. The difference is the time required and the distance needed for travel. In a traditional crew, the television news photographer drives the car, giving the reporter opportunities to write, make phone calls, and gather information. The MMJ does not

have those opportunities; therefore the time lost during meetings exacerbates the situation. WSTM-TV seems to acknowledge the situation by conducting their meetings an hour earlier.

'The biggest thing is that a traditional crew just in a typical aspect, when they get on a scene, the photographer would start immediately shooting, whereas the traditional reporter would immediately try to, whether it be talking to an official or just a random person there try to grab the facts and find out what happened. The biggest thing is when you would go out on a story (as a traditional crew), you always had a 360-degree view of everything and now you don't. It's 180 and if something is happening on the other side...they have to hope that they get it.'

- Jason Makay, Former WTVH-TV photojournalist and adjunct professor at Syracuse University.

Schlesinger (1978) defined the news culture as a 'stop watch' culture ruled by deadlines and news cycles (Schlesinger, 1978: 81-105). Since the 1970s news programming has grown, while increased deadlines have been created by increased news production. Time becomes increasingly compressed and the system created only exacerbates those anxieties. As in a manufacturing production process, productivity is defined by how much is produced in a fixed period of time. The fixed period of time is evolving into a constant deadline and is ruled by the amount of time required for production. The efficiency and speed of production seems to be an important measure of success for news management. Television newsgathering takes on the attributes of manufacturing in terms

of division of labour and time management. The relationship between management and the field crews is essential to the process, as well as the relationship between the field crews and technology (Hemmingway, 2008: 8).

At WKYC-TV, the reporting skills are focused upon acquiring information and writing a script. It appears the traditional crew is constructed so the reporter can concentrate on information acquisition and not on the technology used to acquire the information.

'I'll sit there and see shots and I'll mention it to a photographer and sometimes it gets translated in the camera and sometimes it doesn't. You have to be a team. And you have to know who you are working with that day and what their strengths and weaknesses are. If you are working with somebody who is not into the story and doesn't "write" a story the same way with the camera as you write it, doesn't get natural sound, everything from a tripod fifty feet away, my story is going to be different. I'm going to have to work around that.' – Reporter – WKYC-TV, (Cleveland, Ohio)

Technology in the field is not exclusive of the crafts individual.

It seems rudimentary to the crew, yet the reporter seeks out the microphone, places it properly during interviews and appears to need to have control over it. The photographer expects the reporter to know how to use the microphone and communicates with the reporter if there is a problem with the microphone. For example, a 'stick' microphone is used when interviewing someone quickly, as in the case of interviewing a politician as they walk in and out of a building on the way to an important event. In contrast, the

lavalier microphone is placed on a subject with the implication the interview is casual, lengthy and more in-depth as the reporter is less invasive and the apparatus of the equipment does not appear as threatening to the interview subject. The method used by the reporter is dependent upon the videographer. The videographer determines what type of microphone, location, and approach is taken for a particular interview. In some cases, reporters request a certain type of microphone, to facilitate a method of interviewing. A lavalier microphone is used during a 'sit-down' interview and a stick microphone is used in less formal situations. The 'sit-down' interview takes more time to complete, but is a preferential way of gathering 'sound-bites.' A reporter must use a microphone and know the applications of the tool, using the microphone to collect thoughts, expressions and pieces of sound as elements for the story being created. The reporter will use the collection of elements to construct the script. The crews under observation used the microphones according to their situation. The interviews with sitting subjects would be done with the lavalier. The standing subjects would be given the stick microphone. The significance of the microphone use in this study is to point out the various multi-skills required of the two production methods. The traditional crew requires the news photographer to choose the microphone and monitor the sound. The MMJ is required to pick the appropriate microphone and monitor the audio while operating the camera, and interviewing the subject.

MMJ Haley Hinds prefers to use the lavalier microphone because it allows her a free hand to concentrate on the camera operations, not the microphone. The MMJ often does not use headphones; therefore on occasion they will videotape an interview with no audio

because they were not able to hear the audio being recorded. This was observed with Joel Roetz, one of the WSTM-TV MMJs. The impact of this scenario usually makes the story, ‘unairable’ or at best, the news package will not have any sound bites, which affects the attribution mentioned in the previous chapters.

Technology allows the MMJ to shoot elements of a news story that would be very difficult to perform by one person. The ‘flip out’ viewfinder allows journalists to see themselves while they record ‘stand-ups’ or ‘piece to cameras’ and they can use the flip out viewfinders during interviews to monitor the videotaping. Before the innovations, MMJs used a variety of different ‘tricks’ to help them produce the stand-ups (piece to cameras). Reporters with experience as MMJs prior to digital technology described how they would use light stands to frame their shot, lock down the camera on a tripod, and then remove the light stand. The reporters would walk into the frame to the same spot of the light stand and usually the framing would be relatively accurate. They would also interview subjects using the handheld camera on their shoulder. They would have one eye in the viewfinder and one eye out, as they conducted the interview. In this way, they could monitor composition and insure proper exposure. The goal of a MMJ was not to draw attention to their technique and in doing so they adapted their production methods. However, the interview subject is directly aware of the technology perched upon the shoulder of the MMJ.

Without prior knowledge of how the story was constructed and knowing how many individuals were involved in the production process, it is difficult to identify the news

packages constructed by the MMJ. The product created by a MMJ and a traditional crew is extremely similar. There are some signs and hints to the identity of the producers of the product but it is circumstantial at best. However, there are certain aesthetical elements found in news packages that help to identify the MMJ. The traditional crew will often shoot a stand-up (piece to camera) involving a moving camera. The MMJ will put a camera on a tripod and play to the camera. The traditional crew will sometimes have both the camera and the reporter move simultaneously. One person cannot do this camera move. However, a traditional crew will sometimes shoot a stand-up with a static camera on a tripod. Only the simultaneous moving of both the reporter and camera can positively identify a traditional crew has produced the news story.

The interview subjects look just off to the left of frame. Viewfinders are placed on the left side of the camera. Most MMJs will stage their interviews so they can look in the viewfinder while interviewing the subject. This helps keep the subject inside the safe zone of composition. Very few single production units will perform an interview with someone looking in the other direction, because the journalist would have to shoot “blind” and hope the parameters of the composition are not violated. However, a traditional crew may shoot all the interviews with the subject looking left as a matter of choice. It is hard to positively ascertain a MMJ has produced the piece by the composition of the interview subject.

For a typical television news package, the voice of the reporter asking a question usually is not visible on screen nor can the question be heard. Sometimes a reporter will voice

over material another MMJ has produced. In these cases, the journalist is not visible in the frame, nor do we hear the ‘natural sound’ of questions being asked. If the reporter voicing the material is present in the video, it can be assumed a traditional crew has completed the news product. However, sometimes a MMJ will use a tripod to shoot an ‘establishing shot’ or ‘cutaway’ during the interview. It is difficult but some MMJs will attempt to achieve the same aesthetic quality of the traditional crew.

Without an immediate deadline, traditional crews seem to be less efficient due to habitual behaviour. A traditional crew appears less motivated to maximize their efficiency than the MMJ. One of the reasons stated is that if the crew returns to the news station earlier than expected, it is likely they would go back out to cover an additional story. In the Tayloristic approach, management wants to control output, but in the present paradigm of the traditional crew has direct control of the output. The traditional crew slows the process in order to avoid having to take on more work. Despite the observed behaviour, there is groupthink behaviour; they believe they are constantly pressured to work quickly.

‘It’ll be the slam, bam, get it done people because that’s exactly what you’re expected to do. The in-depth reporting, the having the luxury of investigative reporting, developing a story, spending time is another issue. There are stories that you just can’t do in an hour, or in 2 hours, or 3 hours, and that’s where we’re you, you know? You gotta bang this stuff out, and you gotta bang it out quick. It doesn’t work.’

– Senior Photographer, WSTM-TV, Syracuse, New York.

When on location at a news story, the traditional crew will perform separate tasks. They do so, believing it increases their speed of newsgathering. In the case of spot news, this may be true. In general news stories, there seemed to be little disparity in the length of time at a location, interviewing a subject and acquiring the raw material for the news package.

According to the traditional crews, the aesthetic value of the imagery suffers when the MMJ videotapes interviews. To the videographer, the difference in the two crews revolves around the lighting of the interviews. The videographer will attempt to use lights to enhance the quality of the videotape. They are an extra piece of equipment and many traditional and MMJs do not like carrying them. For a MMJ, the amount of equipment to take into an office building or location becomes a determining factor on how an interview is conducted. If no artificial lights are possible, depending on the situation, a videographer will determine a location that best utilizes light and background. The observed MMJ was very hesitant to use artificial lights. Using overhead fluorescent lights, desk lamps or light from a nearby window was the preferred method to conduct an interview. The cameras were able to produce a relatively good picture despite the lack of lights. The 1970s video shows deep, dark, contrasting video. Despite using lights, the aesthetic quality of the video is affected by the technology. In regards to the advancement of technology and the impact on journalism, the newer cameras' ability to be used in natural light, compared to the 1970s and 1980s, is significantly better. It makes interviews possible, which would not have been achievable in the past. A MMJ in

the earlier decades would struggle with efficiency under today's standards, based on the amount of equipment needed to perform a single interview.

The MMJ seems to approach a subject differently from the traditional crew. Efficiency is as important as accuracy and content that cannot be obtained in an efficient manner is consequently ignored. From the interviews with news directors and MMJs, it was clear that it was more important to have a story completed on time than the story being complex, thoroughly resourced, or visually stunning. Meeting deadlines was the essential gauge of success for both the MMJs and the management. Driving to a location to get a second source or a third was not efficient and instead of a videotaped interview, the source would be contacted by phone to gather the information. Methods of field production for the MMJ were dependent upon the time allowed for videotaping, their physical capacity to carry equipment, and the ability of the reporter to operate the equipment. Carrying and using additional stand lights was not considered important in the videotaping of interviews, as it would be for a traditional crew. The physicality of the labour increases, with the MMJ, as equipment needs to be moved in and out of locations. Producing a news story without additional support from crafts individuals puts a burden on the MMJ to maintain a flow of production. The MMJ approaches the public and the subject of a news story differently from the traditional news crew. Depending on the situation, the MMJ meets the subject with a camera in hand, for security and expediency reasons. The traditionalists can approach a subject without a camera and casually ask the subject to appear on camera, and then bring the camera operator into the situation. The MMJ cannot do this; if the MMJ leaves a camera in the car, it seems to complicate the

tentative relationship between a subject and the reporter. The moment of gathering essential information or capturing a sensitive sound bite can be jeopardized.

The traditionalists were observed many times at WKYC-TV performing a method of newsgathering, which required a team approach. Paul Thomas, a reporter at WKYC-TV, went to speak to a family about a deceased child. Videographer Mike Leonard waited outside. Thomas went in the home and spoke with the family first, then waved to Leonard to come into the home. While Leonard was setting up his equipment, Thomas was able to maintain a conversation with the distraught family. The expediency and intimacy of the interview was significantly improved by this method. The intention was to keep the technology out of sight, in order to secure an interview. The appearance of a television camera may have thwarted their efforts during a sensitive moment.ⁱⁱⁱ

Joe Roetz of WSTM-TV is a MMJ. He would either leave his camera unattended on the street or carry the camera with him when he approached individuals to interview. Once he found an individual to agree to the interview, he would get his tripod, set it up and then do the interview, while holding a microphone or placing a lavalier on the subject. The microphone selection was dependent on the willingness of the subject he intended to interview. If the subject was in a hurry, the stick microphone was used; if not, the lavalier was preferred.

The reporter is the focus of most journalism studies. Bourdieu (1996) speaks of the journalistic field without mention of any crafts workers, but describes journalists as day

labourers (Bourdieu, 1996: 7). Bourdieu examines the roles of management in the journalistic field and the final product of news production, yet, by excluding the crafts individual, it seems as if he believes they have no effect upon the product. Kolodzy (2006) examines the convergence of newspaper and television newsrooms, with only a passing mention of the convergence process upon photographers (Kolodzy, 2006: 42) as her research emphasizes the changes in journalist practices for reporters. Aviles et al. (2004), approaches technological changes of news organizations with a broader focus on the implications of workflow in the newsroom, with a focus on 'journalist practice.' The crafts individuals are not mentioned in the scope of defining journalists, yet the labour process is significant in their findings (Aviles et al., 2004: 87-90). Harrison (2006) views the television news photographer as an adjunct to journalism. News photography offers support to the reporter and is not seen as an extension of news reporting (Harrison, 2006: 62). Machin et al. (2006) support Harrison with their theories of visual news presentation. The use and context of the photography is not attributed to the photographer, but responsibility is given to the journalist. Photojournalism is viewed as an extension of journalism and without meaning until the journalist gives it context, usually in terms of semiotics, news framing, and the conventions of news presentation (Machin et al., 2006: 35-38). Practitioners cannot define the crafts individuals as journalists; in fact, they are not deemed journalists until they are configured into a MMJ. They appear to be promoted to the status of reporter and reporters are demoted toward a multi-skilled status (Halpern-Wenger et al., 54-80), (Hemmingway, 2008: 70-114). In a sociological setting, the crafts individuals are part of the process of the 'manufactured good' yet they are given little status in the culture or recognition for their role in the

impact of journalism upon society (Schudson, 2003: 12-105). Reporters are viewed as performing journalism and crafts individuals are not. The importance of the reporter to particular news stories is significant. In any working group, a leader is specifically needed to craft the final product. The reporter in a traditional crew is viewed as the leader both by co-workers and management.

It was observed how deadlines affect the production method and the division of labour. The production schedules were intensified for the MMJs, as they were unable to take breaks while elements were being produced. The traditional crewmembers have 'down time'. Reporters are able to sit and contemplate while riding from the newsroom to the story and back. The MMJs are unable to stop their momentum for fear of not making deadlines.

'When you start looking at the one-man, the concept of the one-man band, just looking at how it's more efficient because these (traditional) crews waste time, but other issues come up when it's used. We aren't really serving the community like I think local news should be.'

- MMJ, WSTM-TV.

In a traditional crew, the reporter would take the information, call the sources and set up an interview. The videographer and the reporter would then drive to the location. In transit, the reporter would often be making additional calls in regards to the story. The videographer is given the responsibility of driving to the news story locations. In all the traditional crews studied, the photographer was the driver of the news vehicle. The

intention was to allow the reporter to make phone calls and/or write notes. In some instances, the reporter would look at videotape by playing it back via the camera while returning back to the station.

“I was able to edit all the sound, write up the story, phone it in ahead of time, have somebody here take my dictation for the story so it was put into the rundown. When I got here, I was immediately...able to track the stories, they were edited, put on the air in time and we were able to pull it off. That’s how a team operates. I don’t think multimedia journalists or whatever you want to call them pull off something quite like that.”

- Jim Kenyon, traditional TV reporter, WSTM-TV, Syracuse, New York

5.3 Television News Gathering: The Videographer

In a postmodern context, products are created and labelled without identifying the individuals responsible for creating them. ‘Made in Taiwan’ is printed on goods without mention of the worker who made the product. Television news production is similar in that ‘the discontents of production are to be separated from the contents of consumption (Simons and Billig, 1994: 169).’ This study focused on traditional crewmembers that go unseen in the production process. The viewer is unconcerned about the crafts people who make the product. In such a way, the traditional crew and the MMJ can exist without much demarcation. The ‘one person’ crew is now common (Christopherson, 2008: 73-95) as the demand for lower cost production influenced the method of production. This

study concludes that certain types of news stories would be best served with a traditional crew but both crews could construct a similar news story that would be equal in structure and within deadline restrictions. The end product's methodology is invisible to the consumer.

During the ethnographic study, the videographer was examined as an independent variable during the process of news construction. While much research excludes the videographer as a journalist, the ethnographic study revealed the videographer is a technician who performs acts of journalism. The videographer is not solely responsible for factual information, but his contribution is essential to the types of information gathered.

'I think when you're shooting you have to be thinking like a journalist. How is this going to factor in with the story? How is this going, how is this shot going to tell a story without any words next to it? You know when you are shooting it, thinking about different sounds that you can get that will add a little something to the story, so I think photographers, not only are technicians, but they are definitely journalists, and they have to be.'

– Videographer, Syracuse, New York.

Observations and interviews with WSTM-TV and WEWS-TV revealed that the videographer seems to transform to the MMJ more easily than the reporter. The operations manager of WEWS-TV and the news director of WSTM-TV concluded that

learning the technical aspects of the job was difficult for the reporters. The difference seems to be that the videographer participates in multiple aspects of producing a news story during the making of a news packages.

WSTM-TV trained videographers to be MMJs over a two-month period. The reporters were trained over a four-month period.

'We've learned that the technical aspect of it was much harder, so it took him (the reporter) longer, but now he's got it.' – News Director, WSTM-TV.

Initially my incentive for this thesis was to understand the impact of losing the videographer in the process of creating the MMJ. However, it seems that the videographer is not lost in the process but can easily adapt to other roles. Videographers find it difficult to appear on-air but in the case of WSTM-TV and WEWS-TV, the videographer can be trained. Reporters at both WKYC-TV and WSTM-TV who work in traditional crews were eager to discuss the benefits of a videographer to the production of a news package.

'The photographer can point out things actually, in a better way to tell the story, for instance. If he sees something that I'm not really paying attention to or he shot something that he wants to bring to my attention it helps me tell the story. That happens very often. He also catches my mistakes.'

- Jim Kenyon, traditional television reporter, WSTM-TV, (Syracuse, New York.)

It seems the MMJs approach the news process as journalists who perform technical functions. The decisions made by MMJs mirror those of videographers, filtering imagery by necessity. There is a minimizing of videotaping to make the editing more efficient. While a traditional videographer can obtain a variety of shots and be as selective as possible, the MMJ is able to visually edit the story while shooting. The MMJ can merge the scripting with the shots acquired to maximize efficiency.

‘You don’t have to say, tell the photographer, “Okay, I want you to take this shot and do it exactly like this.”’ - MMJ, Syracuse, New York.

To fulfil the needs of the story structure, elements need to be acquired. In many ways, the MMJ can fill the story structures much more quickly than the traditional crew. The average news story at WKYC-TV, in 2010, consisted of 31 shots of 3 seconds each. In other words, taking out the interviews and piece on cameras, only a minute of video is required to fill a news story. A traditional crew will, on average, shoot 20 minutes of video to incorporate into a particular news story. The reporter will have to review the tape before writing. This additional step is not necessary for the MMJ as, by the nature of videotaping, they review the video while capturing.

The substantial difference between the MMJ and the traditional videographer is the amount of attention given to the aesthetics of the news package. The technical skills of a videographer ensure that audio will be recorded properly during an interview that the

images can be steady and well composed and that eye contact can be made with the interview subject. The reporter is then free to concentrate on questions and responses during the interview. Wallace (2009) found the most difficult part for the MMJ was concentrating on the various technical operations, which they felt compromised the quality of the story, ‘you have to compromise. It is all a big compromise.’ (Wallace, 2009: 694)

There seems to be little communication between management and videographers. The videographers do not attend the morning meeting and by not doing so, there appears to be more disconnection with management than with the reporting staff. This may be the reason there is a resistance to change (Keitner et al., 2010: 549).

“Most of the managers have never been in the field, so they don’t know what it takes to get a story. From getting there, to getting it, to getting it back, to getting it edited. They have very little, their concern is where does it fit in the show...they’re just playing checkers with the blocks trying to figure out what goes where and how it might work together.” – Dave Hollis, videographer, WJW-TV, Cleveland, Ohio

The lack of communication may create problems with the videographer hierarchy in the newsroom. The status differences may also lead to a denial of the videographer’s role as being unique and important in the making of the product. The videographer is judged by the end product, not the methodology. In this scenario, if the MMJ creates a similar product, the methodology of the videographer is viewed as unimportant or redundant.

Some of the fundamental differences in status can be attributed to differences in education, experience or background (Gordon, 1987: 334). Real or perceived differences about the relative status of the two groups influence their interactions. In the observed cases, the videographer was not treated with the same status as reporters or MMJs.

Aesthetic quality appears to be subjective and not easily defined by management. Yet it was observed that videographers are aware of how they present interview subjects. There were other reasons the traditional crews added stand lights, according to the videographers of the traditional crews. Videographers felt the interview subjects would be treated fairly.

'TV is such a subjective medium; if you angle the camera down on someone, it gives a certain feeling. If you light them from below or from above or flatten their face, it makes them appear one way or another, so I made sure that it was the same way, gave them equal opportunity. The homeless guy had as much to say as the mayor, you know. I'm not here to make this person a villain and this person a hero. They will do that on their own.'

– Former videographer, WEWS-TV.

It seems the technical operation of a camera is a matter of habit. It was witnessed that the reporters who excelled at telling stories struggled as MMJs due to the distractions of the new technology.

‘It’s not that anybody wants to do bad quality; they just can’t do good quality because they have to worry about 10 different things at the same time. They’re worried about the operation of the camera that they’ve losing their story. And the photographers side, they’re even worrying so much about the story that their technical side is failing, that we’ve had some critiques lately where a couple of photographers were like, they were so worried about getting that story, getting that interview and getting that information.’

– MMJ Instructor, Cleveland, Ohio

5.4 Television News Gathering: The Tape Editor

The contribution of the tape editor seemed to be taken for granted by management. As far as story construction goes, the editor was given a large amount of freedom to construct the story.

‘The photographer tells the story, the reporter is sort of the conduit, and the editor makes the story. It can be poorly shot out in the field, I can write it better than it is shot and the editor can either sink it or make it sing in the edit bay.’

- Reporter – WKYC-TV (Cleveland, Ohio)

The tape editor has a hidden layer of editorial control, as he is the last person to decide the look and content of the news story. There are many individuals who are invisible in the process of constructing a news story, and, in this particular study, the tape editor is perhaps the least visible. Hemmingway believes, ‘It is the very invisibility of the

network to specific actors at specific times that is fundamental to the overall success of the production process (Hemmingway, 2008; 35).’

‘Basically it is up to me. I can do whatever I want with the piece. Rarely do they (reporters), tell me what they want. Pretty much I look through the video find what matches, what I am hearing. It’s up to me pretty much as far as pacing. And what video I lay down. It is really up to me. They rarely say, ‘I want it to be’. I probably cut 15 packages a week. And I mean, maybe once every two or three weeks a reporter might say, I want to do this with the piece.’

– Tape Editor, WKYC-TV

The tape editor seems to affect the story’s content. Unlike a reporter, who is scrutinized for maintaining the balance of a story, to not show bias or invoke an emotion, the editor is insulated from such criticism. In some cases, the tape editor will manipulate the sequence of imagery in order to present what the editor believes to be a ‘better’ story for dramatic appeal. In the opinion of the videotape editors in the study and of Machin and Niblock (2006), ‘News must be dressed up so that it conveys a relevance to particular groups (Machin and Niblock, 2006: 21). And while the news industry continues to be criticized for bias, distortion, inaccuracy and lack of context, it may appear as if the editors have a hand in the results (Machin and Niblock, 2006: 23).

One particular editor at WKYC-TV openly admitted to manipulating video:

'One piece that stands out, that I remember doing there was a rapist that was being sentence to prison time, and the first part of the (raw tape) the first fifteen minutes or so, he was sitting there, and he was all smug, smiling and looking around, but then when they started sentencing the guy, he started crying, you know his face was all red, he looked upset. He looked scared because he knew he was going to prison for a long time, so, as an editor, out of respect for the victims, when I showed that guy I showed more of the shots of him looking scared than the shots of him looking all happy and smiling. So, I didn't want the people at home, and (laughs)...whether it being ethical or not, hey, I didn't want this guy to look like it was no big deal...I wanted the people at home to say at the end of the piece, 'Good, you got what you deserved.' And I wanted them to say, 'Good, look at him, he's scared.' So, I wanted the guy to look bad. So, I showed him looking bad. And I even, I remember thinking about it when I was doing it, so it was definitely deliberate that I showed his, every time I showed him, it was in that light. You know, you had to stay in chronological order too, I mean, you can't bounce back and forth, it would look silly to show him one minute with tears coming down his face and then cut away to the judge and come back to him and there is no tears and his face isn't red and he's smiling and laughing. So, you have to keep continuity there so I chose that continuity of that whole package, maybe him walking in, maybe we started with him walking in but from that point on, the rest of the piece that guy was upset. He was crying, he was scared, he was nervous for the rest of that piece. So I mean, I definitely did...'

– Editor, WKYC-TV.

Management did not condone this behaviour but it did not seem to have any repercussions on the tape editor. The manipulation was unseen; except for the videographer and the reporter, no one else would understand the juxtaposition. The agenda setting and framing of visuals (Scheufele et al., 2006) may be the work of the videotape editor and not the reporter or management. The unseen force of the tape editor may direct personal bias into the story without the knowledge of those who claim authorship. As far as the technical crafts are concerned, management does not directly criticize stories for their editing. However, if some of the visuals used in the story involve commercial clients of the television station, management intercedes to prevent the client being directly implicated.

“Seeing several stories not run because an advertiser might be offended, or offended by the fact that we showed up there because he was involved in something lotharios. We’ve given away our ethics.” – Dave Hollis, Videographer, WJW-TV, Cleveland, Ohio.

It seems the relationship between the management’s editorial decisions and the distance between idea development and final editing weakens the role of the tape editor. The supervisor for the tape editor is the operations manager, yet the operations manager does not have any contact with the news story. The news director controls the story selection from the beginning of the morning meeting and until the script is approved but the final edit is left in the hands of the tape editor. There is little or no interaction between the traditional tape editor and the news director.

'I can change the way it looks a little bit, but as far as the message of the story, it is already pre-conceived before it comes into this room (edit room). We really don't have the time to change it.' – Tape Editor, WKYC-TV.

It is very rare that the news director confronts the tape editor about manipulating the images of the story. The news director may not know what video, or what alternatives exist. The process of construction would be severely hampered if the management took a vested interest in the editing of each story. Logistics management may appear as a rationalization (Rogers et al., 2002: 10). It would be a form of 'avoidance' if the news story failed to air. The loss of the package to a newscast could jeopardize the newscast.

The substantial difference between the MMJ and the traditional videographer seems to be the amount of attention given to craft skills. Yet there are some benefits in eliminating the videotape editor. The removal of the tape editor may in fact bring more accuracy to a story, as he may not have all the factual information or understand the dynamics of the event because he was not on the scene or involved in the interviews.

"Sometimes we don't have enough time to gather the facts that we need and aren't able to present the best product that we can because we don't really know enough about it, because we weren't there." – TK, Tape Editor, WKYC-TV.

"Sometimes the reporter will come back and say, 'I trust you've looked at all of my tapes?' And I'll say, 'I just found out I'm doing your story, 'What is your story called?'"

I don't even know what you are doing.' All of a sudden they drop it in your lap and you've got thirty five minutes to put it together and you don't even know what it is called."

- CM, Tape Editor, WKYC-TV.

The crafts individuals seem to affect the quality of the product, as seen by their removal. Traditionalists contest the quality of the product produced by the MMJ and look to their peers for their validation. (Wallace, 2009: 699). Yet, as seen by this study, there are hidden agendas and lack of appreciation for the collaboration of crafts individuals. Management seems to be more open to the audience's expectations of the quality of professional output (ibid: 699). There seems to be a 'constant negotiation' between journalists, crafts individuals and managers over the concept and application of 'quality.'

5.5 Conclusion:

Kuhn and Hughes believe technologies develop in more than one way and that different groups of technologies may alter the same paradigm shift differently (Kuhn, 1962; Hughes, 1983). The differences between WKYC-TV, WEWS-TV, and WSTM-TV show three distinct differences in how new technologies are introduced to create new paradigms. While the paradigm is maintained and repaired by WKYC-TV, rejecting the new, the other two news organizations adapt their culture to fit the new criteria of news production.

The MMJs of WSTM-TV seem to be creating their own standards, based on the coaching of management and a new set of parameters for judging quality (Wallace, 2009: 699-701). News management determines the standards incorporated within the production methods, as they seem to be using direct supervision to acquire coordination (Gordon, 1987: 526).

The standardization of work processes at WKYC-TV and WSTM-TV is done differently. Whether the production values are impacted by the influences of the culture at either station is not conclusive based on the textual analysis. While the methods of producing a news package were different, their products remained the same.

Production methods at WKYC-TV and WSTM-TV reflect a desire to be efficient. At WKYC-TV, the methods reflect a habitual behaviour reinforced by the crafts individuals as well as the reporters. At WSTM-TV, the MMJs value efficiency over aesthetic considerations. Management appears to be reinforcing the productivity of the MMJs by building confidence and allowing individual styles to be created (Kreitner et al., 2010: 314).

In-depth coverage on any topic that requires time, effort and money to produce will be ignored because of the need to maintain productivity (Scott, 2005: 114). Adding to the crisis in journalism, fewer journalists locked in a perpetual cycle of speedy production will produce less accurate, more speculative, and cross-promoted work, in order to reduce the time and space of actual journalism (Quinn, 2004, 2006), (Singer, 2004), (Servaes,

2009), (Saltzis et al., 2008), (Pavlik, 2004). Unfortunately, it seems that diversity and enrichment of the public sphere via digital journalism involves more resources, not less. ‘Why build a sophisticated content management network if it will not streamline production and reduce costs (Scott, 2005: 115)?’ The strategies in place do not prioritize public service unless it returns the company a profit.

The economic realities of digital journalism seem to create paradoxes in relation to the technology itself (Carlson, 2003), (McChesney et al., 2005). It seems news organizations are using expanding technology to chase fewer stories. More content takes more labour and resources to produce. The trend in local television news industry is toward cutting staff, costs, and extraneous content (Scott, 2005: 120); cuts in staff will continue for the sake of costs and expediency will take the place of depth.

‘We are facing the possibility that independent news will be replaced by self-interested commercialism posing as news (Kovack & Rosenstiel, 2001: 13).’ The reasons for such a state may lie in the changes in the mode of production. The new methodology favours cross-media talent who can quickly produce a prefabricated, repackaged and multimedia friendly content.

6. Conclusion: The Outcomes of Change: Making Air

“News must be dressed up so that it conveys a relevance to a particular group.”

Machin, D. & Niblock, S. (2006: 21)

6.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the theoretical areas identified in the previous chapters. The significance of changing the production process seems to have an effect upon the general principles of journalism. While technology seems to be advantageous in creating the changes demanded by management, technology itself does not seem to promote that change. Streamlining the process does not necessarily correlate to inaccuracies in factual information; it encourages production shortcuts to increase efficiency. As was shown by the textual analysis, it seems the production needs can be met with either a traditional crew or a converged crew. The product of the news package has not significantly changed with the advent of the MMJ and can be produced identically.

Schudson (2003) claims, ‘one can stress that news is a manufactured good, the product of a set of social, economic, and political institutions and practices (Schudson, 2003: 13).’ From the observations and results of this study, it may be possible to agree with Schudson without reservations. It may also be possible to look at the final manufactured goods as the results of a process geared toward efficiency and saleability. It may be a contentious perspective to both practitioners and academics, to view journalism as a commoditized exchange of information and not an ideal of social enlightenment or democracy (McChesney et al., 2010: 11-18). Moreover, as journalists, now converged

into the MMJ, concentrate their time and energy on production needs, they can be expected to take the path of least resistance. Consequently, production values may descend to the lowest common denominator of television news, encouraging more profit-driven content decisions (Scott, 2005: 114).

The ethnographic study appears to reveal a combination of Taylorist and Post-Fordist methods forming a hybrid model used to manage the MMJ. The hybrid model seems specific to the MMJ and not the traditional crew. The hybridization may be occurring because the new model is attempting to fit into the previously existing post-Taylorist, Fordist models and there might not be an adequate substitution, causing what appears to be needed additional supervision in order for the model to satisfy management. WSTM-TV management was motivated to apply direct guidance upon the crews in order to facilitate the production requirements of their news stories. The middle management relied on intimate supervision to instruct and direct the MMJ with the intent to increase efficiency, while attempting to utilize technology to best support the production. Whilst the supervision is Tayloristic in its application of assignments, the lighter and more portable equipment enables management to introduce new divisions in the labour, specifically the new divisions include a post-Fordism application on the MMJ. Utilizing the post-Fordism methods of production supplied to the MMJ worker, the MMJ will create work in a flexible specialization whereas the process of constructing a news package is self-sufficient in collecting the raw materials and processing the materials. The framework of the separate news stories is created by the MMJ independent from other individuals, whereas the individual product patterns, identified in the textual

analysis, are created by the MMJ without managerial intervention. There is flexibility in the modes of creation and in the structure within the restraints of the news package. Whilst the news package appears to be unchanged in its length and dimensions, each news product has a unique design created by the MMJ. The MMJ constructs a news package from design to the formation of the individual elements independently from supervision. Apparently, after constructing the patterns and frameworks of the assigned product the MMJ appears to be a portfolio worker, whereas within the context of the production model, the MMJ exhibits various roles and moves from task to task in a synergistic division of skills. It seems this process also creates what Negri (2005) refers to as “self-valorization” which allows the MMJ to balance the internal divisions of the portfolio worker. In that context, the technogrammatic skills are measured in relationship to the ability to complete the assigned work much like the crafts individuals were judged for their contribution. The MMJs appear to be self-aware of their work and in terms of the production processes, manage themselves internally with recognition of the balancing between various variables of their work model. Along with the technogrammatic skills, the sociogrammatic interactions of the MMJ coincide with the chronogrammatic pressures to realize a post-Fordism model formulated to balance the production requirements. In the efforts to balance the skills, interactions and pressures, the MMJ relies on flexible specialization weighted toward their individual strengths. In summary, the factory model of the MMJ is one that requires flexibility and direct supervision, in what appears to be a hybrid of management techniques of Taylorist and Post-Fordist models.

This study contends that the production methods of the traditionalist crew may or may not have encouraged gatekeeping by the need for profit, but there is considerable evidence that journalists seek the path of least resistance. For this reason, this study contends that the MMJ increases the use of gatekeeping of news stories and events because of the limitations of the methods of production.

The issue of production impacting journalism seems to reside in experience, interactions, time, research and training (Machin et al, 2006: 4-9). It seems as if the process of change in the production methods allows for tight control of management through the phases of adoption (Killebrew, 2005: 108-115), resulting in new working methods, combining the old culture with the new technology (Hemmingway, 2008: 206-207). The new production models apparently create a number of compromises whereby the business of creating a news product becomes significantly greater than the theoretical underpinnings of journalism (Croteau et al, 2006: 162). Whether or not it is the managerial adjustment to an expanded marketplace, a de-skilling of staff, or corporate mandates, there seems to be a growing fissure between the standards of production and the costs of production (Klineberg, 2005: 55). While the audience may ultimately determine the value of a news product, they are not aware of the deskilling of the journalist during the transition to an assembly line production of information. Ursell (2000) refers to the eagerness of young workers (Ursell, 2000: 816): 'The television production apparatus, as vampire, (ingests) youngsters at low prices from a large pool provided by the education system, working newcomers and established hands remorselessly, discarding the older and less accommodating at will.' The worker becomes commoditized, not just for labour power,

but also as a commoditized personality or commoditized source of a particular aesthetic for audience consumption. The consumption by the audience enhances the market status of the individual's labour power (Ursell, 2000: 818). In the end, what is the commodity of television news? Is the worker the product or is journalism the product?

It appears the management of local television news would answer those questions in a neoliberal perspective. Managers contend local television news has a value determined by audience share and commercial sales, with the corporations demanding a specific profit to expenditure. The MMJ favours a positive profit versus cost ratio and so the MMJ adheres to the neoliberalism view as it allows economics to determine the value of both the worker and the work performed. The product made cheaper, allows for flexibility throughout the corporation addressing the 'time squeeze' inside and outside the newsrooms (Moshe, 2012: 69).

As the management of news stations becomes comfortable with a 'corporate philosophy,' it seems the workers have become labourers. Post-Fordism seems to be the model that must be followed by the journalist of the future. To some degree, the MMJ has a dual personality. Part Taylorism, performing a series of standardized operations, carried out on a standardized object with standardized tools, the technical task is a repetitive cycle, which can be transposed into other areas (Doray, 1988: 128); it is also part Post-Fordist, whereupon the process involves flexible specialization (Beck, 2003: 19). The MMJ seems to utilize the post-Fordist process of producing television news stories drawing from flexibility and efficiency. The number of subsequent products created out of the

same raw material can be calculated as the reciprocal value of the news product, as well as the inferred value of the worker as a personality, and the cost of labour decreased by the de-skilling of the technological process (Cottle, 1999: 26). These changes caused by convergence are not designed to increase the information power of media outlets but to increase their earning power. Technology is driving these changes at one end, while increased profit motivates the changes from the other (Killebrew, 2005: 7).

Researchers may have anticipated the feelings of the practitioners in Cleveland, Ohio as they warned of the integration of business and journalism, especially in regards to the entrance of inexperienced journalists. Machin (2006) asks the questions most concerning to converging news journalists, 'However well-educated the new entrant might be, are they fully prepared for the barrage of personal and professional compromises they may face? Will they achieve their goal of being autonomous, independent, authoritative roving reporters, or does a successful career in journalism mean abandoning those thoughts as mere idealism? (Machin et al., 2006: 160).' Whether or not a young journalist's aspirations are met, it appears the skills and tasks of the MMJ are the most likely future requirements of any television journalist (Saltzis et al., 2008: 226). Newsgathering technology will be an appendage to the work of a journalist.

Flexibility is a requirement for modern television news journalists (Kolodzy, 2006; Halpern-Wenger et al., 2008; Killebrew, 2005; Underwood, 2007). It appears what is integral to flexibility is the notion of multi-skilling. Multi-skilling appears to be a form of work organization formed by political factors rather than core characteristics of

technology (Cottle et al, 1999: 33-34). The work is, as Nichols and Beynon (1977) argue, organized around technology in a way that suits capital, that is, in a way that best facilitates the creation of profit (Nichols and Beynon, 1977). Therefore, the perceptions of skill that are generated by interaction between particular technologies and division of labour can be argued to be a direct outcome of the capitalist drive for increasing profitability (Thursfield, 2000: 63). Structures and styles of management, and the constraints built into various types of technology are extremely influential factors in the generation of perceptions of skill (ibid: 21). The structure of management, in which less experienced workers are brought in and put under greater managerial control, aids in the collective perception of skills within the news organization.

Profitability implies there is a value to a news package, whether in terms of the individual unit costs or whether as a collective within the product of a local newscast (Rosenstiel et al., 2007). The distinguishing feature of human societies is the ability to make labour circulate in the form of objects, and to turn traces of individual activity into a social product which can be exchanged, and perhaps even accumulated as a social patrimony (Doray, 1988: 123). By itself, the news package seems to be a social product with an undetermined value. Fiscally, to the corporation, it has a quantifiable cost as a manufactured product and part of a large corporate structure (Crain, 2009: 209). The value to the community or to the viewers may be incalculable.

The impact of convergence on the MMJ might be evaluated by analysing the content of the final products. There seems to be fewer workers producing more work and without much consideration for how much time and effort is required for high quality news content (MacDonald, 2006: 751). Whether or not working conditions have deteriorated as individual journalists experience job expansion, increased tasks and lack of interaction with other members in a work group might be determined by further study.

In some respects, the new production model and altered culture affect the editorial decision-making by creating non-traditional alliances (Anderson, 2004: 199). Marketing and advertisers have now found a more receptive newsroom, which may threaten the integrity of the product (Klinenberg, 2005: 53). Journalists, searching for a diverse audience, may stray from the premise of objective news reporting and replace it with subjective viewpoints without realizing it as the integration of business into the newsroom blurs the boundaries (Crain, 2009: 208). Anderson (2004) believes journalists need a sense of purpose beyond supplementing their individual needs, in order to prevent external influence, while it seems there is a tendency for MMJs to expedite production and in doing so, lower their standards in order to attract audiences and complete the tasks quickly (Halpern-Wenger et. al, 2008: 8-9), (Kolodzy, 2006: 57-63). Efficiency seems to be extremely important to MMJs (Wallace, 2009: 690-701).

6.2 Adapting to the Production Model: Creating the MMJ

The first action of change in an organization is to recognize ‘what is the problem’ (Mink et al., 1993: 54-55). In the case of television journalism, the problem seems to exist in the realm of economics. The expanded marketplace and the increase in media platforms spread audiences and lower revenue, which competes against the companies need to deliver goods and services at a lower cost (Croteau et al., 2006: 17). The innovation of the MMJ is meant to offset the loss of revenue, by downsizing staff and demanding ‘multi-skilling’ (Aviles et al., 2008: 221-231). Technological change involves phases of adaptation to the innovation (Singer, 2004: 16). The diffusion of innovations does not have a specific timetable for the acceptance and it seems assumptions are made about the current paradigm (Kolodzy, 2006: 14-15) as to whether it can sustain the changes of convergence. Thomas Kuhn describes two phases of science: normal and revolutionary (Kuhn, 1970). During the normal phase, the level of consensus is high and most scientists working in the field accept the validity of the current paradigm. There is a level of acceptance that the present paradigm arrives at the present state because it appears to be adequately tested and is the ‘best method’, which causes a cultural resistance to the new innovations (Singer, 2004: 4). My ethnographic research finds the traditionalists view their construction model in such the same manner. The traditionalists see their methodology and epistemology as being more valid in both acquisition and presentation. They base their criteria on time management effectiveness and quality control. There is a Fordist belief among traditionalists that the new method is less efficient, ‘If something is emerging, it is not really a thing, but a new dynamic expression of the contradiction in the form of industrial sociality imposed by the dominant mode of

production (Doray, 1988: 166).’ In certain circumstances, it is evident that the division of labour in the traditional crew successfully outperforms the converged journalist. Those circumstances involve breaking news stories, requiring logistical manoeuvres at a location. Both converged and traditionalists agree that when immediacy is the goal, the division of labour effectively enhances the speed at which duties are performed. On a daily news story, the traditional crews do not utilize time in the same way as the MMJ. Traditionalists produce at a slower pace than the MMJs. In most instances, the stories of traditional and converged crews are completed and delivered at the same time. This is independent of quality and only on the basis of efficiency.

Thomas Kuhn contends that in normal science, scientists accept almost without question the dominant scientific theories in their research areas, even if there are observations that the theory is unable to explain or which suggest the theory is wrong (Kuhn, 1970). In such a way, traditionalists and converged journalists observe the construction of a news story by a division of labour as more productive, yet it was observed during the ethnographic research to not be the case. In fact, the converged journalists were observed as more productive. I myself, being a practitioner, had to fight the constraining view of my experience. In truth, on a non-immediate or ‘breaking news’ story, both crews appear to perform the task of construction at the same pace. The mitigating circumstance needed to make the processes equivalent seems to revolve around the amount of time spent producing the package. Based on morning meetings, WSTM-TV MMJs had two more hours to produce their work, compared to WKYC-TV. Kuhn (1970) contends the observer, the theory, and the equipment are all an expression of that point of view under observation. From such a perspective, most journalists consistently repair the traditional

model as a paradigm. As in the past, industrial change involves clashes of paradigms (Doray, 1988; 165). In this study, the clashes of paradigms were created by the transition from the Fordist construction of traditional television news crews to the converged MMJ.

Paradigm repair occurs when the groups, such as WKYC-TV's staff, try to maintain the status quo, making it difficult for management to fully implement the changes. Stations successfully adopting the new paradigms do so based on how they introduce it to the existing paradigm (Ruggiero, 2004: 92-106). This study observed WSTM-TV successfully implementing the new paradigm. The advancement of the technology helped in the adoption of the paradigm.

In Cleveland, Ohio, two competing television stations adopted two different strategies to adapt to the MMJs. WEWS-TV is an ABC affiliate owned by Scripps. They wanted to convert every station in their broadcast group to a 'MMJ-only' news operation. Their goal was to remove the traditional crews in the hope of making more products and simultaneously lowering costs. WKYC-TV is a NBC affiliate owned by Gannett Corporation. They were attempting to change from traditional crews to 'backpack journalists' and were making the transition very slowly. While WEWS-TV trained the entire staff to perform MMJ tasks and created 8 full time MMJ crews, at the same time, 2006-2010, WKYC-TV created only two crews, used only for speciality news, such as health coverage and feature stories. WKYC-TV's method of training was completed in small groups or on an individual basis. There was no mandate from the corporation's management; the adoption of the production method is suggested. In doing so, crafts

employees and reporters practised defensive methods in order to slow down the transition of the new production methods (Kotter and Schlesinger, 1979; 106-114). There appears to be four reasons why certain people are resistant to change. (1) Parochial self-interest: how it affects their own interests. (2) Misunderstanding: lack of information. (3) Low tolerance for change: certain people crave security and stability at work. (4) Different assessments of the situation: some employees may disagree on the reasons for change and the advantage and disadvantage of the change process. In the case of WKYC-TV, all four reasons seem to be evident. There is a desire to protect the stability of their environment and the implementation of the changes seems to be performed with a large amount of misunderstanding.

More often the conversation about the transformation to converged journalists involves a common thread. Technology is enabling the transformation (Kolodzy, 2006), (Hemmingway, 2008) (Quinn, 2004: 110). When asked why the transformation is occurring, there are common responses. The equipment is smaller. The equipment is easier to use. The equipment is lighter. The MMJ is assuming the roles of the videographer but some of the tasks are not transferring. Lighting equipment is largely unused for most of the MMJ. Traditional crews frequently complain they are unable to use lighting equipment because of the perceived lack of time to set up the equipment. If management demanded the equipment, the perception of necessity might be altered (Killebrew, 2005, 96-97). It leads one to conclude that if the traditional crews believe they do not have enough time, then it seems rational that the MMJ has even less time. None of the observed single news production crews used lights for interviews. The

traditional crew used lights sparingly in circumstances when they were not pressed for a deadline. In many instances, however, lights were not used, even if time was not a concern. It was a matter of effort by the videographer.

In the 1970's, crafts individuals, such as television news photographers, were considered journalists.

“There was very little infrastructure. Everybody was essentially a reporter and a producer. The photographers who went out also acted in many cases as reporters. In some cases they were on-air.”

- News Anchor, WSTM – TV, (Syracuse, New York).

From the observations of the ethnographic study and the textual analysis, there is a perception and a reality of the influence of the production model. Traditionalists believe the method of production affects the ‘quality’ of the news package (Huang et al., 2004: 75 - 78), (Forte-Duhe et al., 2004: 87-88). News professionals may not view the MMJ as an inferior product but the traditional crew is considered better able to produce quality. In that sense, there is a persistence of indiscriminate deception by most newsrooms. The self-fulfilling prophecy that the traditional crew makes better news is a myth as the MMJ is capable of making news packages efficiently and, by the standards of today's newsrooms, equal in content to the traditional crews (Hemmingway, 2008: 110-111).

WEWS-TV, in Cleveland, Ohio, used several models in their adaptation of the new technologies and organizational change. They have adopted the MMJ as a corporate mandate. All members of the staff were required to be trained and undergo a week's training session together. They used a concerns-based adoption model that focused on the individual's personal growth (Mink et al, 1993: 17). The staff was introduced to the new paradigm with the expectation that they would adapt to their new roles based on their strengths. Television news photographers proved to adapt more quickly to the expectations of being a MMJ, while reporters struggled with learning the crafts of photography and editing. WEWS-TV also used an 'Open Organization' model to help unify the employees (Mink et al., 1993: 16). Training was completed in a group setting with the expectation that members would support each other. The cohesive nature of the instruction was intended to unite the group and encourage the paradigm change. With the training sessions came the threat to the employees that they were required to learn the new skills or would no longer be employed. WEWS-TV trained all employees over a period of a week and encouraged individual employees to help each other. Reporters encouraged photographers to write and perform. Photographers and editors tutored reporters on technical crafts.

'I had to rely on the photographers a lot to train them (reporters) because there was just no way that I could get it done.'

– Operations Manager, WEWS-TV.

Despite the training, the operations manager does not believe a fully trained MMJ can complete a television news story efficiently or effectively perform journalism.

'It's not that anybody wants to do bad quality; they just can't do good quality because they're having to worry about 10 different things at the same time. (Reporters trained as MMJ's) are so worried about the operation of the camera that they're losing their story. And on the (Photographers trained as MMJ's) side they're even worrying so much about the story that their technical side is failing.'

– Operations Manager, WEWS-TV.

There is evidence of de-skilling in some of the newsrooms. At WEWS-TV in Cleveland, Ohio, the entire staff was trained as MMJs. The trainer, the operations manager, noticed the individuals were losing their strengths as they learned new skills.

"Photographers who have been shooting for 20,30 years, are forgetting to get sequence shots, cutaways because they're so worried about getting back and writing the script...the reporters, they're so worried about the camera stuff that they're forgetting about this interview, they're forgetting about the story."

– Operations Manager, WEWS-TV, Cleveland, Ohio.

The operations manager noticed the difference in the younger employee in comparison to the experienced reporter or photographer. It was difficult for experienced workers to adapt to the new tasks, while the younger staff adapted quickly.

"The reporter, they're losing the story. You're noticing that their story telling is lost. The ones who had shot before, and, and we have 2 younger ones, they're in their 20s, they've shot before, so it really hasn't been a problem for them. I mean, not that their

story telling is that great, but I didn't think it has diminished, they just jumped back into the role of the MMJ. And so they continue doing what they do."

– Operations Manager, WEWS-TV, Cleveland, Ohio.

Specifically, the management of WEWS-TV mandated that the staff be transformed into MMJs. It was extremely emotional and difficult for the staff to adjust.

"I've had grown men crying. They just, "I can't deal with this. I can't do this. I can't do this. And I've turned into the big cheerleader going, 'Yes, you can'. I don't sell them the corporate line, but I tell them, 'this is what corporate has told us to do. So, you've got to do this. I will help you do this. We have to do it, one way or the other.'"

– Operations Manager, WEWS-TV, Cleveland, Ohio.

Journalists confronted with the requirement to change production methods hesitate to conform to the management policies because as Breed (1955) revealed, the expectations of their colleagues and strong attachment to the group is a force in the adoption process (Breed, 1955; 326-355). At WKYC-TV, although management is encouraging the use of the new production method, the culture is discouraging adoption.

'I don't like it. Don't like it. You put a 20 year old that just got out of college and they are all eager, they will run straight into a train just so that they can, "Hey, man I was there. I got it...uh huh", but you wait two or three years down the line and you realize that you are just another cog in a big machine and a machine that does not care about you.' - Television News Photographer, WKYC-TV

'I think the viewer suffers. I think the quality suffers. I think the temptation to cut corners, becomes so great the truth that you are telling on TV may only be a half truth because you, you had half your attention to the task at hand.'

– Reporter, WKYC-TV

According to the subjects of the ethnographic study, the technological advancement of the production equipment creates new opportunities for management to utilize more staffing options. It seems the transition to smaller equipment has removed gender classifications. Technology is considered a gendered entity (Oldenziel, 1999: 11) because of social norms and physical reasons. Traditionally males were the crafts performers as it was considered 'laborious'. This study observed a reluctance to train female reporters in traditional modes of production, but eagerness to train them in utilizing the new technology. Newer, lighter technology liberates the technology from being a laborious activity to an accessible tool for any individual regardless of physical ability (Wyler, 2001; 153-155). Therefore, those who were hesitant to use heavy, constraining equipment are much more readily adapting to the lighter, smaller and easily transported tools.

At WKYC-TV, one 'backpack journalist' was implemented with limited results. After starting in the news department working on features, she has been delegated to the sports department, where she does not have the pressure of completing daily assignments. She

has since been training young producers in the skills of ‘backpack journalism’ for website news stories. In private conversations with management, she has failed to live up to the expectation but ‘she can’t fail.’ Gannett Corporation is mandating more ‘backpack journalists’ to be implemented into the organization.

‘She couldn’t shoot. She barely knew how to edit. She knew enough to be dangerous. I think she’s gotten better but neither work group respect her, or let her, she was just shunned to the corner of the room.’

– Former WKYC-TV photographer.

The backpacker in question appeared to be ‘shunned’ by her peers. Management moved her from the news department to the sports department in the hope that she would adjust to the stress. During the ethnographic study, her direct supervisors in the sports department felt the backpacker was enabled to do ‘her own thing’ and she was allowed to create her own stories independent from the rest of the group. When asked to cover daily sports assignments, she refused, citing she was working on her own projects. One of her supervisors confessed:

‘She scares me. She is the type who would sue you. I just let her do her own thing. I have no idea what she’s doing on a daily basis.’

– Manager, WKYC-TV, Cleveland, Ohio.

This lack of control is counter to the MMJs at WSTM-TV, where close supervision was part of the structure of the production model. The traditional crews at WKYC-TV are

also heavily supervised. It is uncertain why there is a difference, except it seems that the new model has not been introduced and implemented in the same way as the other stations. Comparing WKYC-TV's attitude toward the MMJ to WSTM-TV or WEWS-TV reveals a significant issue of resistance to change, as well as the implementation of new production models. Casual implementation seems to lead to hostility by fellow employees and noncommittal managers. Putting a MMJ into a paradigm of traditionalists, without cultural restructuring, does not seem to be a successful way of changing the production model.

'The backpacks are eliminating a photographer and an editor and there are so many people who want to do this job, you will want to find enough people that want to be a backpack journalist that don't know what they are doing and they are going to get on the job training. It comes down to strictly money. It is as simple as that. You cut two positions out and I don't think you raise the quality that much.'

- Reporter-WKYC-TV, (Cleveland, Ohio).

Throughout the history of producing television news stories, the time required to produce a story seems to be a key factor in the process. In the days of film, the time it took to gather a news story and getting it on air was increased, by the processing of film (Hemmingway, 2008: 4-10). In those days, there were fewer newscasts. Today's electronics may make it possible to produce stories quicker, but deadlines are ever present and seem to negate any technological advancement by increasing the pressure to complete the job more quickly.

Understanding the economic significance of the MMJ as economically more viable in the current economy may prove that the economy trumps social institutions. The newsrooms under observation seem to foster the belief that minimal abilities and information are acceptable. Deadlines and filling the needs of the newscast make a news package comparable to any commercial transaction.

In the past, it appeared young journalists were mentored in the work place about ethical and journalistic values. The news director was involved in the education process and veteran reporters were peer advisers. It was a function of leading creative people (Mumford et al., 2002: 714-715). Today, it seems in the observed newsrooms that there is less time for journalism, yet news directors appear to provide personal mentoring. With fewer veteran reporters in television newsrooms, the news director plays a direct role. Management seems to cope with the possibility of ethical dilemmas in two ways. Firstly, the management has become dependent upon known sources, such as press releases with attributed material that can be used to verify information presented in the news packages (Tanner, 2011: 6-8). Secondly, the news directors mediate the emerging values of the group. Management encourages the reporters to band together, to support each other, creating an insular group (Hemmingway, 2008: 15).

The values of the management and the MMJs may also be expressed in convergent material used on multiple platforms. In 2010, at WKYC-TV, the news stories were promoted by a 'cinema verité'-style video preview on the station's Facebook site. The intention was to attract younger audiences to the news programmes by utilizing

YouTube-style videos. The videos showcase the young producers in the context of young people enjoying their jobs, discussing upcoming stories and messing around in the newsroom, with little concern about the serious delivery of information. The resulting videos seem amateurish and similar to videos produced by college students. In this sense, what was taught at the university is directly transferred to the work place. The videos are passed along to viewers in the form a link on Facebook. While the goal of attracting a young audience may or may not be successful, it may be argued that the videos play a valuable role. The perception of the promotional videos by older traditionalists differs greatly from that of the younger convergent journalists. Previous generations of news journalists would fear that their credibility would be compromised by such a casual display of information. The seriousness of the veteran reporter was largely contrasted with the casualness of the younger employees. It was observed that the young journalists might be more interested in peer notoriety than traditional journalistic ethics or values. It is hard to determine if that is so, by the eagerness which they produce the web videos. The assistant news director encouraged the young journalists to broadcast the promotional clips by participating in the videos, as well as producing them. When criticised, the news director supported the assistant news director and the staff. The news management believes the future of the news organization is dependent upon the social networking sites and younger audiences, therefore they encourage producers to mimic their intended audience. It appears that within the environment of WKYC-TV, there is limited subjectivity with regard to their performance.^{iv}

A growing number of journalism schools have modified their curricula to adapt to trends in media convergence (Dupagne and Garrison, 2006: 241). There appears to be a need for schools to adapt to the demand of students who are ‘street’ ready as soon as they graduate, and, in some cases, before they graduate from college. A large number of universities and schools acknowledge that ‘Convergence is the future of mass communications (Duhé and Tanner, 2003: 8).’ In fact, 72 percent of the school administrators surveyed in the 2003 study felt so, while in 2005 another study of school administrators revealed that nearly 85 percent reported that their curriculum emphasizes either cross-media learning or both. Cross-media and specialization learning determine what new practices, if any are being implemented in convergent newsrooms (Lowrey et al, 2005). In the study, it was found the perception of the industry hiring was the most important predictor of faculty interest in pursuing a convergence curriculum.

‘You hire a kid out of school, that kid may be very intelligent and may have a lot of potential, but that person hasn’t lived very much, and hasn’t seen other places very much. What kind of background does that person have? Because essentially what you put in your stories is the background you bring to them. And if you don’t have much to put in, you don’t get much out. There’s always a learning curve, but sometimes the learning curve gets higher and if the curve is higher, the quality is not going to be as good, quite frankly.’ - Laura Hand, veteran reporter, WSTM-TV (Syracuse, New York).

Requiring new employees to be multi-skilled may be, in part, a way to raise productivity and reduce costs but may also increase labour exploitation (Ursell, 2001: 176). ‘Burnout’

is a term used by many of the interview subjects with regard to the new model of the converged journalist. The newsrooms had a significant number of individuals under 30 years old and very few individuals over 40 on their staff. Management and news anchors were older but the majority of the news staff, especially at WSTM-TV, was a few years removed from college. Ten years experience was deemed as highly experienced in all of the newsrooms observed. There did not seem to be the sense that local television news was an industry for employees over the age of 50.

'I think the news business burns you out no matter what you do, to be honest with you. I have never met anyone in the news business that has said they were not burned out. I think if you are a photographer, a reporter, if you are a one man band, we definitely have to watch for that in one man bands but I think that everyone, the producers, every producer here will tell you they're burned out.'

– News Director, WSTM-TV.

WSTM-TV, in Syracuse, New York, went from the traditional model to the MMJ quickly, with wholesale changes. They maintained a few traditional crews, mostly veteran reporters and photographers, but the rest of the staff was eliminated and replaced by the MMJs.

The research reveals that the relationship between the traditional crewmembers cannot reach the synergy a single person achieves by virtue of being just one person.

‘Controlling the product’ is much easier for one person and the MMJ is not dependent on others to make decisions during the process (Pruijt, 1997: 3).

From a textual analysis perspective, the observed MMJ performs the job to the same level as the traditional news crew, in terms of achieving the required length, structure and ingredients of the story. What is lacking in her performance, as well as the other MMJs under scrutiny, is aesthetic quality. The composition of the single news production consists of unsteady shots, poorly framed at times, and editing without sequencing. This may be caused by the multi-skilling required, or by lack of experience. It is likely that she was not trained in photographic or editing skills sufficiently. Those MMJs, who were originally trained or had experience as photographers, seem to adapt to the new production model much more easily according to the management and crew. Proper training in using the equipment, both technically and aesthetically, seems to be the key to the success of the MMJs, as determined by peers and by management.

“He (WSTM MMJ) was a photographer that became a reporter...before he was a one-man band, he would come to the reporter with scripts and point out problems, so I knew he knew how to put a package together and I wasn’t concerned about that...(he) got better very quickly.” – News Director, WSTM-TV.

Management at WSTM-TV is more concerned about ‘making air’ than aesthetics at this point. It is important to the news organization to train the MMJs to be efficient, factual, accurate, independent and multi-skilled.

WSTM-TV was one of the first local television stations in the United States. Formerly WSYR-TV, the station began operation in 1950 as an NBC affiliate. Similar to the Fordist construction models of other industries, the unions affected the division of labour at WSTM-TV. While the early days of television allowed reporters to perform multiple tasks, the WSTM-TV was soon to limit the roles of reporters and divide the tasks among different crafts people. Union representation of the crafts individuals made it impossible for reporters to use technical equipment. In some cases, reporters were not allowed to use technical equipment to ensure job security for crafts individuals.

“The union contract specified that photographers could not ask questions and so on, so that changed the relationship in this community, in this station especially, because all of a sudden, you had to have a reporter if you wanted to ask anything, and that changed the way we covered stories, quite frankly.”

- News Anchor, WSTM – TV (Syracuse, New York).

The NABET (National Association of Broadcast Engineers and Technicians) union represents the photographers of WSTM-TV. The union’s strength peaked in the early 80’s but concessions in 1989 resulted in a buyout of many experienced employees. Management and workers at WSTM-TV revealed during interviews that the union’s strength has eroded slowly ever since. MMJs were introduced to the news organization as a concession of the labour union in 2008.

WSTM-TV originally had 8 MMJ's but the difficulties of the job seemed too much for four of them, and they were released because of 'burn-out', although management did not feel this was a problem with the new paradigm. According to Schaufeli et al., burnout can be described as exhaustion, cynicism and a lack of professional efficacy (Schaufeli et al., 2008: 175). Burnout was not observed at the news organization at the time of the study. The MMJ's at WSTM-TV did not seem to be exhausted or to be experiencing a draining of their mental resources. There was cynicism among traditionalists who were being retrained to be MMJs, but the other MMJ's showed very little cynicism. And all of the MMJ's, even the cynical one, looked at their performance in positive terms and expressed a desire to improve their work. This study observed the remaining crews as efficiently meeting deadlines and performing rigorous tasks, such as creating two packages a day, as well as material for the website. The strain of producing news at a non-stop pace was seen in the behaviour of the MMJs, where there was a sense of urgency and an inability to slow down during the process of producing the assigned news package. Burnout may occur in the future, but there did not seem to be any at the present time. Age did seem to affect the attitude toward the job.

'A 22 year old, is that going to help them keep their job? No, because if you suck at what you do, you don't keep your job.'

– MMJ, Sports Reporter, Syracuse, New York.

'I think they can handle it, but I also think when they get to that point, they realize that they might not want to do it anymore.'

- Jason Makay, Former WTVH-TV photojournalist and adjunct professor at Syracuse University.

Even with supervision, there is a tendency for reporters to report only the most extreme examples of misconduct (Dickinson, 2007: 190). The MMJ's observed during this study were closely supervised by the news director or supervising producer. There seemed to be additional pressure put on the supervisors to cross check factual information. In the past, conforming to the editorial policies of the news stations was not the result of managerial coercion but of their colleagues' expectations and a strong sense of group attachment (Schaufeli et al., 2008: 191). The MMJ may adapt to editorial policies more frequently as a result of managerial coercion, due to the fact that there is limited contact with other colleagues and direct contact with management.

The ethnographic study reveals that technology is adapted at different rates because of several variables: the age of the journalist, technological savvy, prior experience and time management skills. The process of construction is not improved by technology itself but is dependent on the adaptability of the individuals applying the technology. Those workers trained in traditional newsrooms seemed to have more difficulty accepting the transition; they enjoyed being specialists. Job demarcations based on craft can offer workers some protection (Danford, 1998: 409-431). In the case of older traditional journalists, they have used demarcations to protect themselves from an abundance of work responsibilities. Crafts individuals, such as the television news videographer and tape editor, used the demarcation to protect their jobs; they isolated the journalists from the skills, either in a formal way, through unionization, or in informal ways. ^v

This study concludes that technology is not the only instigator of the paradigm shift to MMJs. The economic pressures applied to local television news are causing the industry to change the production processes (Killebrew, 2005: 6). Traditional workers accepted delegated roles and defined their occupations by singular tasks. They become specialists in their crafts and hesitated to take on other roles. Television news photographers' roles represent a step in the production process, as well as the work of the videotape editor. This study concludes that their influence on the product is much more than a technical skill, but that the product itself is not inherently affected by their contribution.

There is a sense the valorisation of the employee is changing with the development of the new production model, as the elimination of two individuals raises the importance of the remaining worker. We often do not look at journalism as labour, with a commoditized entity attached. In this sense, the reporter can express frustration to be known as labourers (Martyn, 2009). While management may view the shift in valorisation and status for reporters as an acceptable and beneficial change, the MMJ may view the alteration as erosion of status, importance and quality. In this context, management takes on risks of modernity in forms of control and success is viewed by fulfilling the criteria of production, with each action of the MMJ as a savings of production costs (Van Loon, 2007). The actions of each MMJ are viewed as capital, from carrying the equipment, to lighting an interview, to interviewing a subject, to writing a script, to appearing on camera, and to editing the story. The same actions by the traditional crew appear to involve more expenditure of labour and in comparison the value of the MMJ may be greater than the traditional crew. Using Labour Process Theory, it appears the surplus

value of the MMJ is the difference in wages from the traditional crewmembers, as well as the costs for each task required to complete the production. An exchange of 3 for 1 gives management a surplus value. Each action can be seen as a value and a form of concrete labour. With the new model, the exact same amount of product can be created at a third of the cost, and with it the operational expenses drop.

Management is aware that the development of their production model is dependent on the workers accepting and implementing the new technology. According to managers interviewed in the study, the adoption is as political as it is scientific. There is pretence the science and the construction model is the variable in adaptation, however, the ethnographic study reveals it is a dynamic synergy of political and technological factors. As is suggested by Ruth Hubbard (Wyer et al., 2001: 159), 'If we want to integrate politics into our science, we must insist on the political nature and content of scientific work.' In other words, management seems to approach the new technology aware of the political ramifications of changing the roles of the existing workers. The workers' hesitation towards the new model seems to be viewed in political terms, as if there is a loss of status and position. Acceptance of the technology seems to require the newsrooms to shift their existing paradigms.

Despite the technology, workers find the adoption of the MMJ a matter of political and professional manipulation more than scientific advancement. WSTM-TV has a long history and it was evident in the ethnography there was a sense of pride about the work the news station was performing as well as homage to the legacy created. Employees felt

the iconic employees who went on to national acclaim would not tolerate the new production model. The below statement demonstrates how current employees desire to repair the paradigm. It also indicates the workers have an awareness of how the journalist is being treated, as a labourer, as well as the lowering of perceived quality. It is suggested by workers the change in the production model would not be “acceptable” in the previous paradigm.

'Here's the problem, take Steve Kropft, Jim Axelrod, um Bobby Costas, there's people that went on to be big name people in this country in media, that never would have got into this business if they had to be a one man band. Steve Kropft never would have taken a camera and gone out and done the things that he did. Never would have done it. Never would want to have done it, he'd have got the hell out of the business. Jim Axelrod, they're not gonna be one man bands. They were reporters; they were trained to be reporters. They did it well. Bobby Costas, you think he was gonna grab a camera and go out and do his own sports? You know? Have to run around and get 6 different football games and, you know, 2 soccer games, and everything else? No. Bobby wanted to be what he was. A reporter, a damn good reporter, damn good sports person, he was like a sports computer, a library of information. Those people aren't going to happen anymore if this industry is taken over by one man bands.'

– Veteran photographer, WSTM-TV, Syracuse, New York.

It appears the reporter is fearful of the changes caused by the MMJ, as they perceive the quality of reporting will suffer, not just by the new method but also by the dynamics of

the profession, or the sociogrammatic implications of the new hybrid model. The technogrammatic skills seem insignificant to the traditional reporter, as if they do not define journalism and traditionalists appear angered to have their roles restructured to include technological responsibility. The desire to maintain the present traditional configuration is evident in all the observed stations, for it is seen as the definition of journalism, and the new role is viewed as a degradation of status.

6.3 The Galatea Effect: Self-Fulfilling Prophecies

With the concerns over framing news stories and news agendas, the MMJ appears to encourage gatekeeping of news stories based on production. The limitations of the converged MMJ due to 'de-skilling' or downsizing the crew, and the 'multi-skilling' of the individual who must perform the act of production alone combine to instigate managerial changes designed to ensure the success of the new process of producing news. In the case of the MMJ, the news stories are not only framed based on ideological and theoretical hierarchies (Schudson, 2003: 47) or economic factors of importance (McChesney et al., 2005: 65) but they also appear to be framed by multiple factors of efficiency (Fallows, 1997: 144). Unlike Herbert Gans's view of television news production in the 1970s, when he concluded journalists were not pressured to choose news to attract the most profitable audience (Schudson, 2005: 120), today the journalist is pressured by both management and owners (Preston, 2009: 92). The gatekeeping of news stories is not only based on the content of the stories directly but also on an observed awareness of the ability of the production crew to produce the story efficiently.

Stories are more apt to be chosen or ignored based on the criteria of production needs, with the emphasis placed on timeliness and efficiency. The element of time is a diffuser of innovation, and in the case of the MMJ is the measure of success (Singer, 2004: 5). In terms used by the observed MMJs and by management, as long as the story is capable of “making air” or “makes its slot,” the story is a success. The objective – and the measure of success – is to get the news story on the air on time. This is nothing new; deadlines have always been the driving force of news, and Schlesinger denoted the newsroom as a ‘stop watch culture’ (Schlesinger, 1978: 83-105). Hemmingway (2008) found the application of the MMJ into a news organization required the management to make adjustments based on the structure of the crews: ‘planners have got to fit jobs to the crewing, whereas before you sent the crews to the job, I think that has now reversed. They know what time the crews start so they know they won’t get the jobs covered. (Hemmingway, 2008: 99).’ As the MMJ is initiated, what may be occurring is an escalation of news stories with reoccurring sources, within a specific geographic range, and relying on press releases for information. The reason for this gatekeeping technique appears to be to ensure the production process is efficient (Killebrew, 2005: 109). As newsrooms converge their crews to the MMJ, the management has changed their approach to benefit the ‘multi-skilling’ element of the journalist. The geographic range, from the news organization, is shortened in order to minimize drive time for the MMJ, as they cannot work while driving. Reduction of production time, leads to greater probability the story will not “make air” on time and viewed as a business model, convergence should be able to produce more news for the same or little more money, which means that media organizations should be able to cut costs through increased

productivity (Quinn, 2004: 110). The use of press releases helps to increase productivity and also appears to ensure the variables for efficiency are in place (Pavlik, 2004: 28). The press release usually includes contacts, location and information (Stryker, 2002: 519-520). The MMJ and management will use the press release from familiar sources instead of researching new sources and making contact with unfamiliar entities, as a way of saving production time. It could be that the transition to news production in the 24/7 news cycles creates a supply chain management approach (Simchi-Levi et al., 2003: 4-8). Again, efficiency is the criteria and many of the factors of agenda setting and framing are the result of the need to maintain the production process at a quick and consistent rate (Kleinman, 2009: 268-269). Managers fear an empty inventory of news as they produce products for mass consumption. In dealing with the de-skilling, businesses tend to broaden roles, automate, and utilize the post-Fordist principles (Saltzis et al, 2008: 224). Television news has entered a phase of the business life cycle in which the core principles of journalism are loosely applied in order to facilitate the best means of production; however, the product may look the same but the quality suffers (Killebrew, 2005: 23).

As stated earlier, the traditional crew appears to create a translucent final product devoid of evidence of the craftwork (Hemmingway, 2008), (Kolodzy, 2006). It is difficult to comprehend the contributions of various individuals working on a television news story, and the methodology used to create the news story by analysing the story because of the multiple contributions of work. Yet, the MMJ may expose evidence of craftwork the traditional crew does not, as there appears to be one author, and all elements of

production are crafted by the one individual. In that sense, the elusiveness of accountability is removed and within that perspective, the quality may improve, as MMJs will be held responsible for all facets of production. However, this study indicates, there are other forces within the newsroom that aid in the production of a news story, that is not craftwork, and those forces are placed upon the MMJ. The influence upon the MMJ creates a different type of elusiveness, whereas the story sources, such as press releases, may hide the journalistic value of the information. Also, the production contribution of the Taylorist management strategy to the news story may be invisible to the audience, and to some MMJs who were observed to perform habitual work without questioning supervisory decisions.

Stated in the introduction, it is in the process of reporting that journalists seem to construct their narratives with a barometer of ideals, which may be latently or purposely projected (Anderson, 2004:127-131), (McNair, 1998: 6). It was observed having a single author is beneficial to the journalism process in identifying the integrity of the reporting, or at least accountability of the information. The process of the MMJ from interviewing, to videotaping, to writing and to editing can be attributed to the MMJ. The question of whether or not one person can be accountable for all the information in any particular television news story is still debatable. From the observations, it appears the MMJs have extraneous influences upon their process of newsgathering that are unseen.

There are those in the WKYC-TV newsroom who admonish those journalists who did not adhere to the values of their culture. It was witnessed by the ostracizing of the newly

implemented MMJ units. WKYC-TV appeared to be an insular environment fuelled by negativity created in part by the implementation of the MMJ, pay cuts for union and non-union employees, reduction of staff size due to attrition and non-hiring, as well as the activities of their management, that is evident by the website of their union leadership, nabet42.org. The website details the on-going negotiations of the contract with WKYC-TV's parent company Gannett and provides a platform for union leadership to criticize the actions of management. For example, a web posting on 21 April 2012 of the NABET 42's executive board meeting angrily denounces a sales trip to Tahiti taken by the general manager, that included several sales people, clients and their spouses in the wake of pay cuts for union workers. In retaliation union workers wore Hawaiian shirts to work in protest, as well as donated money to the source that leaked the information. The source was a website, gannettblog.blogspot.com, created by a former Gannett Corporation employee that chronicles the actions of Gannett management. The website is meant to watchdog the corporation and support the employees with information as well as provide a forum for discussion. For example, the decrease in pension contributions, posted on 9 July 2012 warns employees of the change in the pension plans. The post outlines the change in Gannett's 10-K statement with the U.S. Securities and Exchange Commission that would leave their pensions underfunded. The actions of the employees and the website bloggers may seem trivial, yet it shows distrust for the managerial environment and suspicion of corporate activity as well as indicate the nature of the culture in the news organization. The lack of MMJ acceptance at WKYC-TV may be a result of the ill will manifested by the other activities of the corporation that workers view are derogatory toward their status. However, WSTM-TV appears to be a station with the potential of

extreme negativity from external forces, due to the economic state of their parent company, Barrington Broadcasting, as will be discussed later in this chapter, nevertheless it appeared the employees were highly motivated with positive attitudes. It seems the values and ethics of the MMJs of WSTM-TV are not as rigid as the traditionalists of WKYC-TV; therefore it appeared that less gatekeeping was occurring at WSTM-TV.

Utilizing some of the graphs from the methodology, the ethnographic study attempted to understand some of the behaviour at WKYC-TV and WSTM-TV.

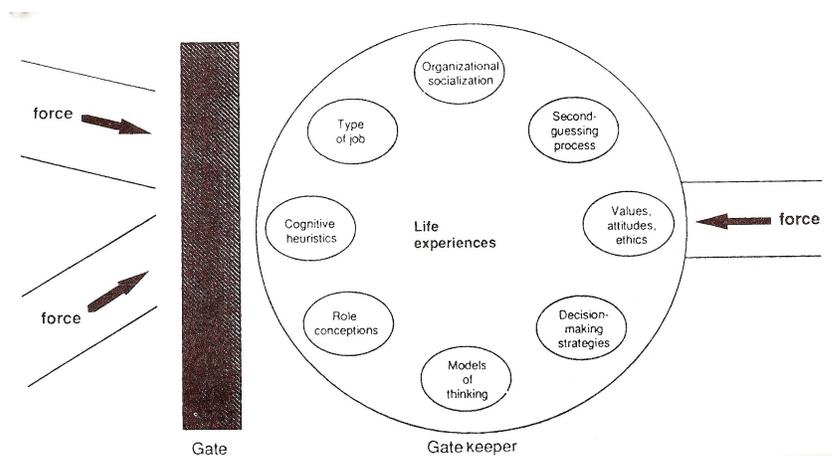


Figure F1: Forces upon the production model – Traditionalist and MMJs¹³

In the context of the news production crew, their individual life experiences have an effect on the production of the news story. The single news production crew appears to be younger, with less life and work experience. From this model, the differences can be

¹³ Source: Pamela J. Shoemaker, *Gatekeeping* (Newbury Park, California, London, New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1991).

compared in the way the traditionalists and the single news production deal with gatekeeping and external forces.

Several forces upon the news package and the production unit were observed during the ethnographic study, from the textual analysis and the interviews. Utilizing the above graph, we can view the gate as the news package and the gatekeeper as the production unit. Regardless of whether the production unit is a traditional crew or a MMJ, some of the forces are similar. Time and structure were recognized as factors in the textual analysis. The production model seems to filter the amount of time of the news package, which has a restricted length. News production units seem to be very aware of how much production labour is required to make a news package of a certain length. Crews experience gatekeeping of information based on fulfilling the need for raw materials, within the constraints of the labour capital. They routinely limit the amount of interviews and video acquisition when producing the news package in order to raise production efficiency. There may be a philosophical argument that the gatekeeping of production is a manifestation of the process. It was observed that crews acquire random interviews until they fulfil their expected 'quota'. Once a certain length or number of interviews is acquired, a gate is established and the crew no longer needs to gather sound bites. The gate is shut and information becomes internal; external influence is cut off. Regardless of the information or the complexity of the story, once the required material is collected, very few crews will seek alternative or supplemental material. The news package will be created by what they have collected; they then shut the gate, creating the news package from what they have at that particular point in time. The forces upon the story may be

continuing, as in changing information or facts, but the material itself is not going to change, once the story elements are collected. Sound bites and voice over video appears to be rigid, yet the scripted word appears flexible, as is the structure of the story. It is in the interest of the gatekeeper to shut the gate of collecting material and construct a news package around the rigid elements. The textual analysis revealed numerous structures used to construct news packages, utilizing rigid elements.

The news staff sometimes raises the ethical questions about the influences of external forces upon the news organization during the morning meetings but, on the whole, if the press release involves a 'non-profit' humanitarian or apolitical organization, then the press release is deemed worthy of consideration. For example, my ethnographic study observed press releases from health organizations used as a source.

Efficiency seems to be the reason for gatekeeping. A production unit has a limited amount of time to gather information. Therefore, the initial choice of the interview is important in the process. By selecting certain sources, some more reliably available than others, efficiency increases, despite the force upon the news package for alternative voices, as they are more difficult to obtain and more time consuming to produce. Management was viewed as encouraging efficiency and, at the same time, was not critical of repetitive sources. WKYC-TV frequently used the Cleveland Clinic hospital for a majority of their health stories. WSTM-TV frequently used the same psychologist for various stories, whether the story was about trivial or criminal matters. WSTM-TV would also utilize Syracuse University professors and experts in the news packages. In

both cases, personal relationships or public relations coordinators were utilized in order to obtain the interviews. Certain professors were regularly used because of their availability and their ‘camera friendly’ mannerisms. If a professor would provide a ‘good sound bite’, they were more likely to be chosen for an interview. Other opinions may have been excluded because of the habitual tendency to go to a known source, which would provide the needed rigid production elements and increase efficiency. It seems the gate is opened until the production requirements are met and the forces penetrating the gate are those forces that accelerate the production process. The MMJ uses those forces, reaching the gate quickly more rapidly. Known forces are let in more readily. Those forces slowing the process are met with hesitancy and avoidance. In the process, prejudice may be a part of the gatekeeping process. Some of the reasons for the gatekeeping were based, seemingly, on the age and professional station of the news managers.

‘You have basically middle class white guys running the news operation, and who knows what their point of view is? That may not be outwardly prejudice against any group. But still, they grew up in an environment where division was a part of life.’

– Fred Griffith – TV Personality, former news manager, Cleveland, Ohio.

There seems to be a daily set of codes established as a part of the decision-making strategies. Known forces, such as other news reports from competitors, put pressure on the group to respond and make decisions over the pressure they apply on the newsroom. The morning meeting would codify the importance of certain sources. Those codes would rank the importance of sources utilized during the production of the news package.

The sources were chosen for a variety of reasons. At WKYC-TV, stories affecting known sources would be attractive. It seems the attractiveness of the story would be based on the ease of production, as well as the personal interest. If the story affected the news management personally, it would be codified and highly ranked. The news management impressed their opinions upon the selection of all the stories chosen during the morning meeting. Some of the reasons were personal as well as strategic. It was observed that the news directors had preferences for certain individuals who they remembered from other news stories or experiences. The news directors would gravitate toward stories impacting their personal community, life style or strategic plan. The strategic plan may have been promoted by management to cover stories of their station partners; in the case of WKYC-TV, these were the Cleveland Clinic, Liberty Ford, Susan G. Komen Foundation, Mom's Like Me and Metromix. WSTM-TV had similar partnerships and relationships with management, which would enable production to be more efficient and receive the least amount of resistance. Those sources were passed to the reporter, who would then take the route established. The reporter was unlikely to take another path from the established route. In particular, if a particular medical study were revealed by a press release from the Cleveland Clinic, an alternative study or critique from another hospital would not be introduced. As it would be met with additional forces attempting to keep the production unit efficient, one force would be verification of the facts.

'So the decisions are made in the morning meeting as to the convenience. What story, it might not be the best story, but it might be the easiest story to get on the air? So, from that point of view, it's really cut into, I think the overall quality of news.'

– Jim Kenyon, news reporter, WSTM-TV, Syracuse, New York.

The journalists would not want to report the story because of its academic merits as that would be difficult, but it would probably promote the scientist or organization for its study. Instead of investigative journalism, it would be public relations journalism. The group seemed to accept what was presented to them, as opposed to questioning the validity of the information or the agenda of the organization supplying the information.

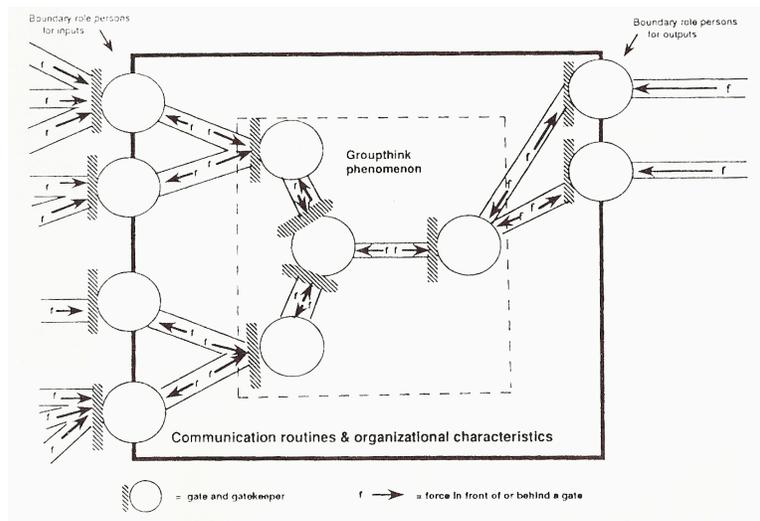


Figure F2: Groupthink Phenomenon¹⁴

The external influence of managers is evident at the morning meeting, when they create the original perspective, viewpoint, and direction of the story. Using Figure F2 above: the news director, assistant news director, the assignment editor and the managing editor

¹⁴ Source: Pamela J. Shoemaker, *Gatekeeping* (Newbury Park, California, London, New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1991).

formulate a 'groupthink' in which gatekeeping is conducted to ensure their private sphere is consistent with their beliefs. It is WKYC-TV's 'journalistic field' (Bordieu, 1996: 39). 'Journalism is a microcosm with its own laws, defined by its position in the world at large and by the attractions and repulsions to which it is subject from other microcosms (ibid, 1996: 39)'. It is in this structured social space that the field of forces predominates. There are permanent relationships of inequality, while, at the same time, various actors struggle for the transformation or preservation of the field (ibid: 1996: 40).' The reporters will adjust to that perspective, adjusting their viewpoint, and will then influence others to maintain that paradigm. The morning meeting seems to fulfil the definitions of groupthink. The news meeting is a group of individuals who create a cohesive "in-group" where members strive for unanimity, which overrides their motivation to realistically appraise alternative courses of action (Kreitner et al., 2010: 297). Some of the symptoms of groupthink were present at the morning meetings of WKYC-TV and WSTM-TV: The illusion of unanimity was common, and silence was interpreted to mean consent. There was peer pressure to be loyal, and dissenters were questioned as to their loyalty. There were "mind guards", or self-appointed protectors against adverse information; the news director usually took that role or, sometimes, the assignment editor. There was increased stereotyping of the competition, causing them to underestimate opponents. Overall, there was a sense of invulnerability, as if their decisions were ultimately the best decisions (ibid: 298). This was seen by the lack of numbers in the meeting who may have differing opinions.

“(I don’t go to morning meetings) because the morning meeting is the management people discussing what was in the newspaper because that’s the only way they know what news is. And they’ve already decide who’s doing what, when and where, and we have no input. If we show up at that meeting, they ask, “Why are you here?”

– Dave Hollis, News Photographer, WJW-TV, Cleveland, Ohio

Photographers who attend the morning meetings do not expect to be contributing story ideas. The gatekeepers often thwart the attempt. In the observed newsrooms, few news photographers go to the morning meeting. This phenomenon of the news management predetermining news stories was witnessed at WKYC-TV. Using the figure above, it seems as if the news management has a groupthink mentality in regards to the contribution of the news photographer. There is little input requested or desired from the news photographer. It may be the reason why the position is not regarded as journalistic or it may have evolved into a convention.

“I think their opinion is we’re just technicians and they have no idea what we do, how we do it. Most of the managers have never been in the field, so they don’t know what it takes to get a story. From getting there, to getting it, to getting it back, to getting it edited. They have very little concern. Their concern is where does it fit in the show? How does it play with the advertising we have today?”

– Dave Hollis, News Photographer – WJW-TV, Cleveland, Ohio.

From witnessing news meetings with MMJs, it can be seen that there is a difference in the amount of attention paid to the production of the news package. There seems to be a

general understanding of the needs of the MMJ. The WSTM-TV morning meetings start earlier and they are not as lengthy as the WKYC-TV meetings. The crews are out of the door nearly two hours earlier, giving them two more hours more for gathering news. Producers are under pressure to manage the lengths of the news package, conveying the length of time they feel best suits the story being produced.

'You're not having people who are out in the field saying, "Hey, this is what we should be doing, and this is how we're going to do it." You're having producers telling people, "Okay, you're going to have a minute and a half, and this is what I want."

– Laura Hand, Reporter, WSTM-TV (Syracuse, New York).

The gatekeeping of the management staff can also affect the MMJ during the process of gathering news and writing the story. There was concern by veteran reporters that the MMJ could be influenced into reporting false information or allowing a source to craft the message. The fear is that the premise of the story created in the morning meeting, plus the source of the story and the strict time restraints caused by the additional work of producing a story, will lead to overlooked facts or unheard expressions of concern.

'Certain people will try to tell you one thing and put a spin on a story that you may not have time to check out. You've got to worry about that. I think at some point it, if they cover a big enough story, they're going to have to put their foot down and say, "I'm not comfortable airing the story the way it is now. I've got to find out more." And that might be a difficult thing to get through to a producer or a news director, but those are the times we live in now.' - Jim Kenyon - Reporter, WSTM-TV, (Syracuse, New York.)

The use of external information to consider a news story was not limited to MMJs. The traditional crew would utilize the releases as well. Personal sources of news managers were also utilized to expedite the production process. Overall, the intention was to save production time. It seems news management considers time management to be the measurement of a successful journalist. Some regard is given to where sources originate but there seemed to be minimal concern about influence.

Reporter on WKYC-TV Facebook page:

“Clevelanders: Anyone work in an office willing to let our cameras come in (today) to videotape people’s workspaces? The story is about “What your desk says about you.” So we need a workspace willing to allow cameras, and employees willing to let us shoot their desks and talk with them about it. Lemme know. Thanks.”

What seems to be of little concern to the reporter in this case is the idea of the private sphere of individuals influencing the importance of news stories. In this case, the reporter was able to find a willing participant and completed the assignment. While it could be argued that the source of the story was not limited to his friends, it could also be argued that his source needed to be a registered viewer of WKYC-TV, who signed up for updates from WKYC-TV. However, without the social media of Facebook, would the selection be more or less influenced by the particular sphere of influence? The social networking tool allowed the reporter to find a willing participant quickly. It was of more concern to other newsroom personnel that the story about someone’s personal workspace took precedence over other news, as was indicated by a newsroom source:

“They had a double-homicide workplace shooting they buried in the show for that....you have to be kidding. There is no direction, no leadership, no plan, and no hope for any of the above.” – WKYC-TV, News Photographer.

While the attitude of the quoted news photographer reflects frustration, this may not be caused by the source of the story but the ranking of the story’s importance in comparison to other news of the day. In respect to the management, the challenges of adapting the production model and maintaining efficiency appear to be the prime concern.

The transition from traditional crews to MMJ showed many instances of groupthink. It was observed that the reaction to the MMJ was often one of denial. At WKYC-TV, many of the interview subjects denied the existence of the MMJ affecting them personally. It was not until three years after the first implementation of the MMJ, that there seemed to be acknowledgement of the MMJ as news gatherers equal to the task of the traditional crew.

‘They (management) associate the backpack journalist with the fiscal demands that makes you feel like if you are not shooting and editing your own stuff, you are going to be out of here because that’s what we are going to bring in here to hire.’

– Reporter, WKYC-TV.

'I just have a feeling. We have to have two bodies replaced with one backpack journalist. So, I draw the conclusion, if you want to save money (do it) by not hiring two people to replace two people.'

– Operations Manager, WKYC-TV.

Along with the denial, it seemed many of the interview subjects at WKYC-TV could not disassociate the present paradigm from the future implementation of the new production model. Their belief system, their routines, and their present status were projected onto the MMJ. In this sense, the MMJ was a threat to them personally.

"I just don't think it is a good use of equipment. I mean, I can be out gathering news while they are back here writing and then when they are done, can they edit? Sure, they can edit because it is their story, but...there seems to be a lot of road blocks that could screw things up. Because now you've got one person with multiple stories and they are screaming for stories over here, how can one person take care of everything? As a photographer, I can come back and I can ask the reporter, 'How are you going to write this?' And so if you want me to edit it then, to fit whatever you say, so when they are typing I can be editing...if it is a VO...both sides come together at the same time, it just seems quicker. I'm sure there are people out there who can do both jobs but I have not found many who can. I have a skill, they have a skill."

– News Photographer, WKYC-TV, Cleveland, Ohio.

It may be difficult for those interviewed to comprehend that the entirety of the transformation consists of more than replacing individuals, but it appears the

implementation of the MMJ involves the altering of all of the existing processes and behaviours in order to make the new production model successful.

“I was a backpack journalist, so I don’t know how many people here actually did it and did it to the degree that I did. I mean, let’s be honest. There are probably a lot of people who started out in a small market and their stories looked like shit. I did it to a degree, where I got pretty good at it, but I’m telling you I don’t want to go back to that, because the stress is very high.”

– Reporter, WKYC-TV, Cleveland, Ohio.

Even after full implementation, the traditional crewmembers denied the MMJs could perform daily newsgathering, despite the knowledge that other stations in the city were using the MMJs. WEWS-TV and WSTM-TV were in a similar position until management decided to eliminate the traditional crews and only use the MMJ. It caused traumatic events in the newsroom.

“We actually had a little, round of layoffs...we had to do it that way due to our union rules and how that works, so we would lay off the (union workers) and then we were able to offer him this one man band position.”

News Director - WSTM-TV, Syracuse, New York.

“They started throwing all the people out there that had been there for years...There’s still issues about their contract and things that haven’t been worked out yet, but basically, we took on all the work and it’s working. We’re doing it....One man band was a way for management to eliminate some of their staff.”

- Union Steward – WSTM-TV, Syracuse, New York.

“I think because of the fact that both groups were thrown into the same thing at the same time, I think they worked together better than if a reporter (was turned into a MMJ) separately.”

- Operations Manager – WEWS-TV, Cleveland Ohio.

Management at both television stations decided on a given date to change the traditional crews to MMJs and implemented the change. In the process, in order to survive, the workers banded together to support each other. The adoption of the system was viewed as a necessity and not an alternative. Meanwhile at WKYC-TV, the implementation of the MMJ was carried out in a slow process. The necessity to convert and adapt to the new production model was a suggestion. The first MMJs at WKYC-TV were not fully integrated.

A traditionalist crafts individual is part of a division of labour. The role is dependent upon the skills required. A reporter has a selected number of tasks needed to produce a news package. The job seems to be defined by the tasks. A MMJ is hard to define by the task. There are several ways of labelling the job but the label does not indicate the type of job as the job has multiple skills. It seems traditionalists will use gatekeeping to avoid doing unassigned tasks, such as tape editing or videotaping. The traditional reporter will

block external forces that require a differentiation in work. The MMJ seems to be more likely to take on external challenges because of the multi-skilling. As an example, a traditional reporter will not leave the building to report a story because the reporter does not have a photographer, whereas a MMJ will leave the station and report the same story, encouraged to produce the story without a crew, and without delay. The MMJs are becoming self-sufficient and, in the case of WSTM-TV, the news management encourages the MMJs to be independent.

'They've been doing it for a year or 2 now, they're really fast and I really don't have to worry about them at all.' – News Director, WSTM-TV.

The MMJ is extremely eager to promote efficiency, whereas the traditional crew does not operate with the same urgency. The gatekeeping is very similar and in most ways invisible. However, the MMJs of WSTM-TV had shorter morning meetings, less debate and many of the sources were given immediately to the reporter based on the fact that the sources were quickly available. “Man on the street” interviews were encouraged, as they did not require setting up or take up time pre-production. The culture in the newsroom did not view the “man on the street” interviews as inaccurate sampling of opinion or the habitual sources as skewed opinion or biased toward the intentions of either the news organization or the organization of the representative source.

At WKYC-TV the experienced journalists believe in a set of rules, established by the news organization as well as their own life experiences. The traditional production

model is comfortable as it fulfils many of the life experience nodules in the above graphic (F1). Firstly, the television reporter believes the type of job he or she has is exclusive of technical tasks. The force upon the reporter to learn and perform the tasks is negated by reluctant adaptation. This was viewed and acknowledged by management as well as by journalists.

“I would say pretty decidedly against that (MMJs). From an editorial and content standpoint, I understand that the realities of the business are changing for a lot of companies so I can appreciate it from a shareholders perspective but I think that for someone who values keeping the integrity, and by integrity I mean depth and quality and production quality and production values. I don't see an upside to it.”

– CT, Reporter, WKYC-TV

As other studies increasingly show enthusiasm for the converged media, it is necessary to point out the disadvantages of multi-skilling (Kolodzy, 2006), (Hemmingway, 2008). The product itself will remain the same, as shown by the textual analysis, yet the method of production is changing rapidly and in most cases, a shift in the culture producing the news is creating products with limitations. The speed of production needed hampers the ability of journalists to investigate or to find future sources as they are always producing work needed urgently (Robinson, 2011: 1136-1138).

The traditional reporter experiences the change to their social structure in an abrupt way. The nature of a reporter is to repair the paradigm. The crafts individuals fear redundancy and also a hierarchal change, a lowering of their status. Each member of the traditional

crew tries to maintain their status and influence others to believe their skills are a necessity. The traditional crewmembers create alliances with the other members within the crew.

“Ultimately if you are a professional, you can tell someone what your vision is and they can help you create that. You don’t have to worry about getting the shots when you are thinking about how you can better phrase a question. You don’t have to think, even the basic things, what if my camera breaks down or what if there is a technological problem? You know what I mean? You are not...you don’t have all those distractions, you can focus on the producing of the story and the storytelling of it.”

– DS, Reporter, WKYC-TV.

“And there may be things I don’t see that a reporter can point out to me. And you know, help the story come alive and then there’s things that a reporter may ask, not ask, or overlook that I can enlighten them to help, you know, tell their story.”

- ML, Photographer, WKYC-TV.

“It’s hard to have an old dog do new tricks. I think if you got people coming into the business now who can do all of it, that’s good but to have people who can’t do that, branch out and try to do those other things I think that is probably counter productive. I think that is going to slow things down.”

– CM, Tape Editor, WKYC-TV.

Along with the type of job, the role of each individual within a traditional crew seems to lead to a gatekeeping exercise. Previously at WSTM-TV and WKYC-TV, the union contracts would not allow videographers to ask questions during an interview. Only in breaking news or spot news stories was a videographer required to ask a question to report a story. Today, at WSTM-TV and WKYC-TV there are no such restrictions.

Tape Editors and videographers at WKYC-TV seemed to view their roles as crafts individuals and not part of the editorial decision making process of the morning meetings. The perceived roles limit their interactions with the external environment of management. The contribution to story sourcing is not considered one of their roles. The relationship with management seems to be blocked by certain gatekeeping of responsibilities.

The MMJs of WSTM-TV are expected to source stories and contribute to the morning meetings. There seems to be limited gatekeeping with management, as the relationship is dependent upon each other. The role of the MMJ is to work directly with management and limit the gatekeeping of the information from external sources. The newsroom consists of work groups with defined roles. The news director utilizes these roles to manage the group, whether the group produces news in a Fordist or post-Fordist production method. The news director, producers and assignment managers create a group within the group. Their behaviour seems to further break down the forces of news stories in the external environment. The internal transformations occurring during the selection of the stories come from a small group within the group. As previously mentioned, the individuals in the smaller group make their decisions based on many

criteria. It was observed that this group was a form of group thinks in which the smaller group would make critical statements of the organization amongst themselves but any criticism of their work was quickly countered with retribution. The retribution would come in the form of a formal warning or an informal public embarrassment.

The debate over multi-skilling of journalists was mentioned previously as a contentious issue for both the practitioner and the academic as skills are transferred to one person, now defined as a journalist (Hemmingway, 2008: 86). Observed in this study, multi-skilling impacts news content and information and it may not improve the quality of journalism in terms of information value (Harrison, 2000: 51) because it appears as if the process dictates the form and content. Efficiency is improved for the sake of economics (Paterson et al., 2008: 161). Mentioned earlier, the merging of jobs may cause a loss of perspectives, expunging a system of checks and balances (Duhe et al., 2004: 87), this is compounded by the interjection of perspectives from management.

As the work of the television journalist becomes more technologically simplified but task magnified, it can be argued that the journalist is 'deskilled' and the profession appears to become superfluous (Meikle et al, 2011: 169). It raises the question of how the trend is viewed both by the worker and by management, as well as whether it can be considered a successful business model by managers, and a mandate as well (Singer, 2006: 15).

In that context, management declares success of the business model by requiring it to be a mandate of the organization, whether or not the worker believes it to be attainable. If the worker creates the product under the new business model, utilizing management's

subjectively implemented goals, it would be considered a success to the organization. Therefore, it appears the success of the MMJ is measured by redefining goals adjusted to guarantee success. Observed behaviour during the ethnographic study indicates managers are creating self-fulfilling prophecies by hedging the workloads of reporters with research aids such as press releases, repetitive reliable sources, and video feeds supplied by other news organizations. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the news director at WSTM-TV showed a great emphasis on creating more ‘packages’ as the benchmark of successful production. Her stance was important in the selection and success of her MMJs. She readily admitted she released journalists unable to perform their job with efficiency and recruited younger employees capable of maintaining the energy required to produce the required amount of work.

“We are losing veteran reporters. We first lost veteran producers. Now we are losing veteran reporters who are going to find other lines of work. Because journalism really has to be a passion and a calling; and we’ve gone through an interesting time period when we brought one generation through who were more passionate about being on television than necessarily were about journalism making a difference, creating change, doing right from wrong, standing up for the little guy. That generation kind of got past by this MTV generation who, I’m on TV...hello!...and the holdovers that we have from that generation, which I kind of think started in a post Watergate type era.”

– Former News Director, WKYC-TV.

In terms of creating staff and managing their productivity, it seems to be a case of, 'we are going to make this work, no matter what.' The 'make it so' causes an increased amount of stress (Killebrew, 2005: 51). Structures and styles of management, and the constraints built into various types of technology are extremely influential factors in the generation of perceptions of skill (Thursfield, 2000: 21). The management practice, of bringing in less experienced workers, and putting them under greater managerial control, aids in the collective perception of skills within the news organization (Martocchio et al, 1994: 360).

Management views workers' skills in terms of what benefits the organization. The perception of a worker's skill focuses on workers' attitude, commitment, and motivation and on specific task competence (Thursfield, 2000: 85). Thursfield (2000) looks at the de-skilling process as way to replace the subjective will of humans in the methods of construction. Yet, it would assume de-skilling leads to automation, which cannot be said of the MMJ. It may be argued that the current application of technology serves to produce an electronically controlled division of labour, and in the process of learning the skills, the worker goes through five stages (Thursfield, 2000: 16). The stages necessary to learn a skill are novice, advanced beginner, competent, proficient and expert. It is by moving through these stages that the worker acquire skills and experience. It must be acknowledged that the evidentiary findings of this study may be based on observing workers who have not gone through the entire set of stages and are not expert workers. Similarly, the perceptions of the workforce by management may lead to misconceptions of skill as the management elicits the cooperation and consent of workers, which is necessary to the production of surplus profit and to managers' own performance at work.

Therefore, management perceptions of skill are ultimately shaped by their role in securing valorisation for the firm and securing their own position in it (Burawoy, 1978: 300-312).

Workers may also have an inflated opinion of their own sets of skills. The notion of fame is attractive for young reporters (Pearson, 1988: 132), (Ursell, 2000: 819-821) and it seems to be an alluring reward despite the amount of work required of the MMJ (Saltzis et al., 2008: 222). Young journalists are in the 'game' to become famous (Hobsbawn, 2006: 34). A young individual's drive and effort toward accomplishing goals can be referred to as the Galatea Effect (Kreitner, 2010: 199), (Eden, 1991: 770-780), (Martocchi et al, 1994: 358). In a Pygmalion manner, news directors have an expectation that their belief system will be adopted by the MMJs, and that this will ensure their behaviour and performance, are in line with the directors' expectations. A 'halo effect' affects their performance, as failures of the individual units seem to be interpreted as the failure of the news management, therefore it is greatly desired the employee succeeds (Gordon, 1987: 44). The MMJs are then judged by an equity theory of social comparison. They are compared with the performance of the other units (Gordon, 1987: 103), not with the traditionalists. The self-serving bias of the young MMJs limits their own perceptions of their inabilities (Kreitner, 2010: 205). The conclusion seems to be that there is little blame for any mistakes or shortcomings. Any criticism of the newsroom or the MMJs is viewed as an attack on the organization. The insular nature of the newsroom creates a groupthink rating of the external criticism as unjustified and false. There seems to be a striving to validate the perceptions of reality within a newsroom, no matter how faulty or

unrealistic they may be (Meier, 2009: 7-8). According to the observed veteran reporters, the enthusiasm of youth is important to the process of the idea of multi-skilling.

“I call them 20/20 kids. 20 years old, paying them 20,000 a year, work them twenty hours a day. When they finally wake up at age 27, and realize they don’t have anything, they will just plug another 20 year old in and start them at the bottom again. 20 years old paying \$20,000 a year and work them 20 hours a day. You don’t need a life kid, just listen to me, I’ll help you. Think of all the great places you are going to go. At their own expense.” – Brian Johnson, videographer, WKYC-TV

While the traditionalist feels threatened with dismissal from the organization if he or she cannot keep up the pace, the young reporters felt enabled by the coaching and direction of the news director. Because of the news director’s enthusiastic nurturing, productivity may increase and this may explain the observed differences between MMJs at the news organization in this study. The observed MMJs of WSTM-TV produced more work than the traditional crew of WKYC-TV. On a daily basis, the WSTM-TV MMJs would create two ‘news packages’ a day, while the WKYC-TV crews would only produce one. It could be argued that the technology may have enabled the single news unit to be more productive, but in observing the construction process, it was clear that the increase in production was due to other circumstances. Those circumstances seem to revolve around the social system created by the individual news organizations, in which feedback may influence the trainees’ motivation and attitude (Burke, 2008: 227-230). In the isolation of the MMJ, it is likely that the control over the performance of journalism will be

associated with higher positive affective states, and the lack of control and performance to be related to lower positive affect (Martocchio et al, 1994: 361). Trainees who believe they have control over performance seem to cope more effectively than those who do not.

Actualisation by young reporters demonstrates how self-esteem and self-actualization could motivate the need for achievement and for power, especially among peers and within the news organization (Gordon, 1987: 92). The actualisation may be the catalyst for the implementation of the MMJs, as both needs seem to be fulfilled by the amount of praise and acknowledgement they receive from management. In terms of Actor Network Theory, the young reporters value their technogrammatic relationships as much as they value their sociogrammatic standing. In most cases of the observed reporters, both MMJ and traditional, power was reflected in control of the product. In comparison to the traditional crew, the MMJ was able to control all aspects of the news story from beginning to end. The traditional reporter sacrifices control of the constructed elements to others in the crew. The level of productivity of the MMJ journalist seemed to be either equal to or higher than that of the seasoned traditional veteran, despite the additional work. Maslow's theory may explain the reason for this by detailing the prepotency of needs. Need motivates an individual to act to fulfil it; satisfied needs do not motivate. In the case of the MMJ, it may be a matter of 'melding' or belonging to the larger community (Shaw et al, 1999: 6-7). The veteran reporter has experienced recognition and esteem, and appears to be 'melded' and established. The MMJ seems to be a threat to traditionalists. The norms of the traditionalist, as is the norms of any group, are important to the cohesion of the group and those who join the group must match their

own priorities to those of the group as their agendas become fitted to each other (ibid, 1999: 9). The needs of the traditionalists are different from those of the younger journalist. They seem to want to maintain a sense of established hierarchy and within that hierarchy; certain tasks are below their position. Traditionalists feel comfortable with “team production” function (Alchian et al., 1972: 779-781) in their traditional crew. They believe that the more effort exerted by one person in the crew, the more productive the other members of the group. It may be considered a “social trap” whereas the routinized behaviour of the traditional technogram masks the actual relationships and interactions creating the differentiation of work, and stipulates the sociogram is unchanged by the technology, improperly creating status roles and inaccurately credits contribution of work from each individual (Miller, 1992: 31). For example, the videographer may be given less of a status role, yet in some situations may constitute more effort and greater contribution to the product. In terms of the traditional crew, it may appear the production of a story is created quickly within the group, as each member is active during the process in parallel synchronisation, yet in some instances all the processes do not occur simultaneously. The traditional crew may associate their chronogrammatic value with the synchronised group action despite the fact the product, in many instances, may be created in a linear time frame, similar to the MMJ. In other words, the two crews may finish their product at the same time, utilizing the same amount of time for production, indicating the traditional crew may not be as efficient, as each member may not be exerting maximum effort. Efficiency in either case requires coordination, even hierarchical interaction. Some of the older traditional journalists felt embarrassed to be seen operating a camera, as it felt to them like a loss of esteem, as if

their place in the hierarchy had been diminished; some considered it to be a retrograde step. It may be the impetus for the term ‘de-skilling’ or the derogatory connotation of ‘multi-skilling.’

‘If you look at how long people last, it’s really not that long. The turnover is pretty big because it is a pretty intense business and we’re asking them to do twice as much as they were doing before.’

- Veteran reporter, WSTM-TV, (Syracuse, New York)

The ethnographic study revealed the existence of the “20/20 kid” phenomenon at all the news organizations under examination. The amount of work demanded was increasingly ambitious. The new positions appeared to be high pressure and low pay. The observed units freely spoke of financial hardships they were willing to take in the hope of moving up the career ladder.

“They (management) think it is easy to do, and that might be another reason why the quality is falling and also that they are not going to pay high salaries. They’re not really going to put money into it because if they have this wide pool to be able to pluck, if someone says, ‘I want \$30,000 a year, I’m not going to work for \$25,000.’ Someone will say, ‘Screw you, I’ll just find somebody else to do it then, another pretty face.’”

- Former News Anchor – WTVH, Syracuse, New York.

'One-man-band can enhance what you can do, and I'd be all for it, and if I, especially if I could do special projects. But the grind of breaking news with no staffing and two stories because you know you need a VO/SOT, and it's just churn, churn, churn, no time, day in, day out, lead stories, you know what I mean? You'd go nuts.'

- MMJ, WSTM-TV, Syracuse, New York.

Haley Hinds is a MMJ at WSTM-TV. She has performed the job for nearly two years and began working immediately after graduating from university. She brings her story ideas to the morning meetings, but persuading the news director to accept them is a challenge.

'I can say this is a story worth doing, we should do it and I can win that argument. Haley is not mature enough to do that yet. And mature is not the right word, but not secure enough to go eye-to-eye with the news director and say, "Look, this is the better story." And it's easier to have someone give you orders in a lot of ways.'

- Veteran Reporter – WSTM-TV, (Syracuse, New York).

The news director considers Haley the model of the future journalists who will use the MMJ as a method of production. A recent graduate from Waynesburg University, this is her first job in journalism. She interned at WTAU-TV in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania where she was able to create 10 news packages to create a résumé tape. She started at WTVH-TV as a MMJ and was retained by WSTM-TV. She has one year of experience and is considered one of the better MMJ reporters on staff.

“The first couple of stories weren’t the best of quality, but I think when you’re out there, you’re forced to learn it, you know, audio, focusing, you just get used to it, then it is actually easy. I thought it was easier than having to go with someone, so having this job wasn’t a huge change.” – Haley Hinds, MMJ, WSTM-TV.

Haley is dependent upon news management for guidance. She’s enthusiastic about her job and capable of performing all of the multi-skilled tasks. She is also a model of the Galatea Effect (Martocchio et al, 1994: 360). Driven to succeed, her goal is to advance her career. She does not feel being a MMJ is a step down, in fact, she believes knowing how to perform all the tasks makes her a better journalist. When looking at the technical performance, she is capable of capturing the elements. She can record audio, she can shoot interviews while interviewing subjects and she can record her own stand-up. What she seems to be lacking is the aesthetic experience or training. It is not possible to judge whether it is her skills as a MMJ, which causes her work to seem unpolished, or if it is her lack of experience, which makes her final product seem substandard. The textual analysis proves she fulfils the requirements of the job and does it more quickly than the observed traditional crews. She is highly efficient. Her ability to be efficient is catalysed by her manager, who prompts her with the story, and gives her ample time and flexibility. The manager’s intention may be to fulfil production determinism (Paterson et al., 2008: 100). In this context, the workload of a manager is focused toward the completion of tasks, the inevitable need to have an inventory of products for distribution. The newscast or the media platform is the delivery system dependent on the flow of crafted work pieces. Deadlines and daily demands assert a form of production determinism that

accepts the inherent pressures on media output. The pressures created by technology and the voracious news cycle influences job functions and newsroom sociology to ensure production is completed. What is expected from her is accuracy and speed. On those levels she succeeds, primarily because what she is reporting on is already sourced and outlined before she produces the product (Patterson et al., 2008: 178-179).

With reference to the traditional crew, Haley believes that having to communicate with other individuals would slow her down.

“You get what you want, you don’t have to say, tell the photographer, ‘Okay, I want you to take this shot and do it exactly like this.’ You can go ahead and do it yourself. So, in that area, it can be more efficient. But when you have a time crunch, if you want to do a stand up very quickly, get your shot set up and leave, then it’s not efficient.”

- Haley Hinds, MMJ, WSTM-TV.

Journalism schools are feeling the pressure from profit-driven television stations and may have to adapt their programmes to adhere to the new model. It was a fear addressed in 2001 (Skinner et al., 2001: 356.) The success of university journalism programmes may also be dependent on internships and other partnerships with businesses. While the schools may think their programmes allow for broader base intellectual instruction, the schools may adopt a technical training platform, making it easier for students to enter the local television news industry immediately (Tanner et al, 2007: 223). Knowledge of

production and editing equipment is significantly more important for a student than it was ten or twenty years ago, say many of the individuals included in the study.

'Just because you can do it that way, does it mean you should? And I think no. I think that there's got to be, there's a reason why you do it in a team, and not for every story, again, but I think there's a reason, but again, no one agrees with that, so, the people that are making the, you know, financially, that's not, and that's why I say it's not going to change.'

- MMJ, WSTM-TV, Syracuse, New York.

The impact of younger journalists, who are 'street ready' MMJs, was observed as a massively disruptive force to the paradigms of news production. Because of the introduction of young journalists and the dismissal of veteran reporters, there seemed to be a cultural shift within the observed newsrooms. It was witnessed at WKYC-TV and WSTM-TV that there was a change of the dominant culture from senior reporters mentoring younger reporters, to a culture of management enabling younger journalists to be self-reliant. In the process it seems as if the younger journalists form a work group supporting their belief system and creating a new hierarchy based on the agenda of the single news production (Shaw et al., 1999: 8) whereby each member tries to convince the other members of their importance, and reject nonconforming members. There is either full adoption or partial adoption of the agendas. Flexibility and efficiency seem to be part of the agenda of the MMJ. The partial adoption of flexibility relates to the shortage of workers resulting from the decline in the apprenticeship system, and a firm's

unwillingness to invest in long-term training (Thursfield, 2000: 62). Management attempts to impose meanings on work, such as cosmetic changes in the organization of work. It seems they try to influence workforce perceptions of skill and support the ruling hierarchy being formed. Some research suggests autonomy and team working are largely superficial in nature and have a limited effect on subjective perceptions of skill (ibid: 63).

“I’m very much worried about it. I think every legitimate journalist in the country is worried about it. Think of where we’re going. Local stations have ‘skim the surface’ journalism. That’s all people are going to see is, what’s usually handed out as a news release or news conference or some meaningless kind of story or whatever...I’m afraid of where we are headed.”

– Jim Kenyon, Veteran Investigative Reporter, WSTM-TV, Syracuse, New York.

From the observations of the ethnographic study and the textual analysis, there is a perception and a reality of the influence of the production model. Traditionalists believe the method of production affects the ‘quality’ of the news package (Huang et al., 2004: 75 - 78), (Forte-Duhe et al., 2004: 87-88). News professionals may not view the MMJ as an inferior product but the traditional crew is considered better able to perform quality. In that sense, there is a persistence of indiscriminate deception by most newsrooms. A self-fulfilling prophecy that the traditional crew makes better news is a myth as the MMJ is capable of making news packages efficiently and to the standards of today’s newsrooms, equal in content to the traditional crews (Hemmingway, 2008: 110-111).

While the implementation of the production model may directly affect the final product, the flow of the work impacts the group dynamics. Individuals who enjoy working with others, sharing tasks, ideas, or collaboration are now required to be self-sufficient. It seems to be physically and emotionally overwhelming for some of the traditional reporters, who are required to do tasks they do not wish to carry out and have no experience of performing. In all the stations observed, the experienced reporters showed signs of paradigm repair. The reason why many experienced reporters showed negative tendencies toward the MMJ was their personal experience of working as a MMJ at the beginning of their careers. Many view the trend toward the MMJ as a setback in their careers and a sign of the decline of the television news industry. Disillusioned reporters are soon discarded or pressured to leave the organization. This was observed at WSTM-TV. An older traditional reporter was under scrutiny by the news director as to whether to keep the reporter on staff. The transformation from traditional to MMJ was difficult for this individual. In private, the news director wanted my opinion on his skills in the field while performing the ethnographic study. In fairness, I declined to offer any specific details about his skills or quantify my observations.

One individual was hired by WKYC-TV to be a MMJ and after being hired, was reluctant to perform the tasks of the MMJ and declined to work alone but worked as a traditional reporter. No action was taken against him and no reason was given; it was a sensitive situation which management resolved with no explanation. A second MMJ was loosely supervised while working in the news department and after poor results was sent to the sports department. She was originally supervised but after she appeared to lack

cooperation skills, she was not used for daily sports reporting but given feature stories. While she is still a part of the group, she is now independent of the managers of the sports department. She does what she wants with limited intervention from the sports management; suggestions are made instead of demands. Both management and other workers discussed the situation with me, and the reason she is allowed to go unsupervised is because she is a MMJ. The corporate management of the company 'needs' the implementation of the MMJs at WKYC-TV to succeed as it implements the new production model. Whether this is, in fact, the case is unclear, yet the perception of the staff remains. Therefore, the self-fulfilling prophecy is a directive from external forces. It appears the success of lower management depends on the success of the MMJs implementation or the MMJ implementation may indicate further corporate influence.

According to the subjects of the ethnographic study, the technological advancement of the production equipment creates new opportunities for management to utilize more staffing options. It seems the transition to smaller equipment has removed gender restrictions. Technology is considered a gendered entity (Oldenziel, 1999: 11) because of social norms and physical reasons. Traditionally males were the crafts performers, as the work was considered 'laborious'. This study observed hesitancy to train female reporters in traditional modes of production but eagerness to train them to utilizing the new technology. Newer, lighter technology liberates the technology from being a laborious activity to an accessible tool for any individual regardless of physical ability (Wyer et al., 2001; 153-155). Therefore, those who were hesitant to use heavy, constraining equipment are much readily adapting to the lighter, smaller and easily transported tools.

Gender seems to play a part in the hiring practice at WKYC-TV. The MMJ's hired at WKYC-TV are all women. It can be argued that the newer equipment is lightweight and not physically demanding and thus, managers feel it is suitable for all reporters to operate, not only men. However, there may be gender prejudice toward large traditional cameras as being unsuitable for 'reporters' to use in their transition to the MMJs. The smaller, lighter digital cameras are seen as a catalyst for implementing the new production model. The technological advancement of the production equipment creates new opportunities for management to utilize more staffing options. While studying traditional crews, it was noted that female reporters were reluctant to attempt craftwork while covering a news story. It was deemed inappropriate by both practitioners and the general public for female reporters to carry equipment. The craftsperson, usually a man, was expected to carry all the equipment and comments were made whenever a female reporter carried a tripod. In not only a gender specific way, but in a hierarchy of importance, the reporter was viewed as being 'above' manual work. As a participant observer, comments were made to me for not helping the female MMJ, but no such comments were made when observing males. It may be argued that the act of carrying a piece of equipment is perceived as the role of the less important individual, or of men. The belief system was not only the public's perception but also operated within the newsroom. It was clear that reporters believed that their position in the newsrooms was higher in status than the crafts individuals'. Asking a traditional reporter to perform craft skills was akin to asking the reporter to lower their status in the newsroom.

'She couldn't shoot. She barely knew how to edit. She knew enough to be dangerous. I think she's gotten better but neither work group respect her, or let her, she was just shunned to the corner of the room.' – Former WKYC-TV photographer.

The backpacker in question appeared to be 'shunned' by her peers. Management moved her from the news department to the sports department in hopes she would adjust to the stress. During the ethnographic study, her direct supervisors in the sports department felt the backpacker was enabled to do 'her own thing' and she was allowed to create her own stories independent from the rest of the group. When asked to cover daily sports assignments she refused, citing she was working on her own projects. One of her supervisors confessed:

'She scares me. She is the type who would sue you. I just let her do her own thing. I have no idea what she's doing on a daily basis.'

– Manager, WKYC-TV, Cleveland, Ohio.

Instead of firing her, the 'backpack journalist' contract was not renewed in 2011. Meanwhile, WKYC-TV was able to hire two additional backpack journalists, and 'multi-skill' two videographers to become MMJs. They have not given up on the idea of the MMJ as a means of production.

The lack of control that WKYC-TV seemed to encounter with the one particular MMJ, contrasts with the situation at WSTM-TV, where close supervision was part of the structure of the production model. The traditional crews at WKYC-TV are also heavily supervised. The reason for the difference is not known, although it seems the new model

has not been introduced and implemented in the same way as at the other stations. Comparing WKYC-TV's attitude toward the MMJ at WSTM-TV or WEWS-TV shows a significant issue of resistance to change, as well as implementing new production models. Casual implementation seems to lead to hostility by fellow employees and noncommittal managers. Putting a MMJ into a paradigm of traditionalists, without cultural restructuring, does not seem to be a successful way of changing the production model. Because convergence requires a high degree of change, managers need to be open about the speed at which those changes take place (Killebrew, 2005: 97). Several points should be understood by those undertaking converged new environments: training the staff, hiring the right individual to fit in the culture, taking enough time to create an excellent product, patience, evaluating consistently and constantly, avoiding quick fixes and using a set of "best practices" approaches throughout the evolving organization (ibid, 2005: 97). WKYC-TV seemed to fail at some of these points. Technical training appeared to be marginal. In the case of the MMJ they struggled to supervise, it indicates that they may not have found the right individual to fit into the organization. Time to create a quality product is an issue at WKYC-TV, as it is in all of the observed organizations.

'The backpacks are eliminating a photographer and an editor and there are so many people who want to do this job, you will want to find enough people that want to be a backpack journalist that don't know what they are doing and they are going to get on the job training. It comes down to strictly money. It is as simple as that. You cut two positions out and I don't think you raise the quality that much.'

- Reporter-WKYC-TV, (Cleveland, Ohio).

In other fields, women face marginalization because of the technical nature of the adapted craft. They face a stigmatized subculture and becoming an oddity among their colleagues because of their gender (Wyer, 2001: 122). Ethnographic research revealed several cases of gender bias in newsrooms but it was found to be less prevalent in the fully implemented newsrooms adapting to the MMJs. Based on interviews and observation, it is clear that it is the fear of additional tasks and loss of jobs that threaten co-workers rather than gender. However, gender bias was associated with the reluctance to adapt. The science of videotaping news stories is considered complex in traditional newsrooms and less so in converged newsrooms. If the science is perceived to be simple, then women are believed to be able to adapt (ibid: 124). Women who are portrayed as scientists, or in this case technologist, are often associated with the message of ease-of-use technical or analytical equipment. In this way, the technology is viewed as acceptable. However, gender does not seem to be the only reason for reluctance.

Converged journalists do not use additional equipment, such as lights, because they are not encouraged to do so. Very few lights are used in situations and the converged crew compensates by putting interview subjects in natural light settings. While a crafts person would articulate a need for the additional lighting, the paradigm shift is taking place where lighting is not part of the construction process. Most of the subjects would say that lights made the imagery more attractive, however, despite having an additional person, the traditional crew was reluctant to use lights because, 'There is not enough time to set up lights.' The value of the action is viewed as insignificant. Technology is not

necessarily part of the reason. The multi-tasked journalist makes a choice on what duties and skills are important. Converged journalists view lighting and audio skills as low priority. It is not that they neglect certain duties or skills, but in estimating the value of their labour, they feel that by concentrating on those skills, the other parts of the job are diminished.

The paradigm of the converged journalist attempts to remove the existing paradigm and requires all reporters to take on the manual work. It seems the acceptance of this paradigm comes with the advent of lighter and easier equipment, and a high rate of staff turnover. The use of lighting and audio recording are minimized to encourage the acceptance of the new role. If less technical skills are required to do the job, it makes it easier for the traditional reporter to accept the new role.

'The labour process can be incorporated into the abstract movement of the valorization of capital at every level. The translation of actions which are instantaneous (inscribed in time), unique and personalized (and therefore concrete) into quantitative units of abstract time which imply a system of equivalence applicable to all individuals and all activities is obviously a decisive moment in calculating how value can be realized in the form of concrete labour.' – Doray, 1998: 93.

6.4 Adapting to the Production Model: Economics of ‘de-skilling’

‘Enslaved by audience ratings, television imposes market pressures on the supposedly free and enlightened consumer. These pressures have nothing to do with the democratic expression of enlightened collective opinion or public rationality, despite what certain commentators would have us believe.’ – Bordieu, 1996: 67

Digital technology seems to accelerate the process of producing news. The technology itself has not caused the acceleration but combined with new business models, it has exceeded expectations (Scott, 2005: 93). It may be inaccurate to label the technology itself as the reason; it is likely that it is the convergence of business, technology and culture that creates the present state of local television news. Throughout the study, technology seemed to be less of a threat to those questioned than the business climate surrounding the industry of local television news. Technology was regarded as an inevitable transition, whereas the financial woes of local television newsrooms were regarded as a direct threat to the individuals of the study. Since deregulation in the 1980s, the buying and selling of local television stations created financial hardships. One particular videographer described the process as ‘flipping’.

‘When a company comes in to do a quick “flip”, that’s exactly what they are. They come in, they buy, they hope to get a cheap price, they’re going to own it for the minimum of years, they’re going to set themselves up with big salaries, they’re going to cheapen the place up as much as they can, and then flip it, sell it for a lot more money than they

bought it for, and everybody goes away with money in their pocket. And every time that happens, you see the quality of what we were diminished.'

- Union representative, WSTM-TV (Syracuse, New York).

According to a veteran reporter at WSTM-TV, the 1980s ushered in significant changes to the structure of the news stations in the United States. He witnessed the changes brought on by the Federal Communication Commission when they opened up licensing with deregulation.

"They opened up this entire industry and specifically local television to a business in which they are looking totally at profits as opposed to fulfilling FCC license requirements for community commitments, news, programming and that kind of deal. So, stations were bought and sold, bought and sold. Every time they were bought, they would buy for one price and then they would sell it for a higher price. Things were being flipped. I think I've been through maybe seven ownership changes since I started here. And each time the company comes in, they buy this station and they only have so much capital to work with because they've got so much debt and then overhead. Their goal is to basically sell the station within a few years, to flip it. So, they come in, they cut, and put very little back in to the station and off they go."

- Veteran Reporter – WSTM-TV, Syracuse, New York.

The traditional news production crew model is not the only part of news organizations that is faced with restructuring. Many stations are facing restructuring based on the corporate model. At WSTM-TV, Barrington Corporation bought the company and began to remove jobs because of technological advancements. The studio crews were

eliminated and replaced with automated cameras, which could be operated by the producer in the control room. During the ethnographic study, the observed subjects were asked about the impact of technology on their jobs and on the changes in their newsrooms.

'Their motivation is to make money. If technology allows them to cut people out of the process, they'll take it. And boom, what are they giving up? They are giving up a lot of local control, they're giving up quality.'

– Veteran Reporter- WSTM-TV, Syracuse, New York.

'The economy was one reason; I'm not going to sugarcoat that. With the technology that we have now, it's so much easier for a photographer, or a one-man band to gather everything, bring it back. The editing is way quicker than it used to be because of the computer. It just allows for so much more time to do these things.'

- News Director- WSTM-TV, Syracuse, New York.

Eventually, the company plans to open up a 'hub' at their corporate headquarters where they can control all of their studios from one location.

'They're going to be telling us how to run our local station. That's what their business plan is, it's to increase profits, their original intent was to increase their profits, but now it's a matter of survival.'

- Veteran Reporter – WSTM-TV, Syracuse, New York.

'It was business being business, it is survival of the fittest.'

– Reporter- WTVH-TV, (Syracuse, New York).

For WSTM-TV in Syracuse, New York, the goal was to remove all traditional journalists and hire MMJs. Management established 8 crews, eventually eliminated 4 of them and in future plans to hire only reporters capable of performing as an MMJ.

WSTM-TV changed to the MMJ model in a similar fashion to WEWS-TV. Management used mandates and ultimatums in order to implement the new paradigm model.

'(The General Manager) said, "You can quit, or you can leave and we'll give you a couple of months pay, or you can take this new position." And I have a mortgage so I kind of had to take this new position. And then, you know, he told me he thought it was great (the MMJ model) and I respectfully disagreed when we had this conversation and I told him, you know, I've done multimedia journalism, whatever you want to call it, and the model, I don't agree with it.' – MMJ, WSTM-TV.

It seems economics plays a larger part in the development of a production model than technology. While the news industry has been criticized for bias, distortion, inaccuracy and lack of context on a large scale (Machin & Niblock, 2006: 23), the local television news seems without critique of their production process. As this study has found, small private spheres of individuals dictate the news at local levels, not only in terms of its newsworthiness to their target audience, but also to increase productivity. Market-driven news drives managers to use press releases as sources, and to streamline the process to

cover 24-hour news cycles. Branding their product is important as they now treat viewers as consumers, not citizens (Machin & Niblock, 2006: 66).

'Left without sufficient funds from their primary market – selling audiences to advertisers – they are forced to think of ways to make the news itself a commodity worthy buying.'

- Scott, B. (2005: 98)

The lucrative nature of local television encourages entrepreneurs to purchase existing stations with the hopes of turning a profit. The goal of the majority of owners in the late 1990s and the first decade of the 2000s was to treat the television news station as a commodity. During the ethnographic study at WSTM-TV, it was clear the ownership of the station and the competitor station WTVH-TV were in financial hardship.

'I think they're still making money; the problem is they want the profit margins they made in the 70s. You know, you were around, even back then, there was no business had that kind of profit margin. And they're the only game in town. And I think that they're just trying to keep that, I think there's a little bit of that going on. They're refusing to accept a business, a profit margin that other businesses have. They're not tightening up their expectations, I don't think enough. You know, I mean, come on, how much, look at, and this is what happens. They fired, in our last round of layoffs; they're firing the teleprompter kid who makes like \$6 an hour or some ridiculous thing. You're going to tell me, I mean for crying out loud, when the executives came here for that week or whatever, their hotel bill would pay his salary for 2 years. So, what's the real reason?

They cut this many people so they could then get on Wall Street or whatever, get their credit rating, look at what we've done.'

– Veteran Reporter, WSTM-TV, Syracuse, New York.

Researchers who identified the same issues corroborate this statement. Business seems to be impacting the production process of making television news (Aviles et al, 2006, 91-92), (Saltzis et al., 2007: 218-219). It has been an important theme among many researchers and workers.

I really think it was just business being business. You know, it's survival of the fittest. We weren't financially fit. Barrington had a problem, you know, so they said, "Hey, how about this, let's get rid of our problems." "Okay, sounds good to me." And that's the way to live life. You can fight the good fight up until a point, but I think it's strictly business, it's just business. It wasn't personal.'

– Former WTVH-TV Sports Reporter.

The primary market for local television news appears to be disappearing on many different fronts. The audience itself is growing diverse, younger and less dependent on traditional means to gather information (Singer, 2009: 375-377). Other technologies are in direct competition for the audience, such as cell phones and Internet websites. It also seems that the boom days of the technology are waning as its life cycle continues. There are new business models being implemented and they rely on two different elements: firstly, restructuring news production by using technology to cut costs and secondly, the development of multiple micro-revenue streams that are insignificant on their own but

sustaining when taken together (Scott, 2005: 101). The ownership of the media seems to view news management as marketing experts and when they fail to produce content that people will buy, new marketers must be introduced to sell the product.

‘Convergence’ is a multi-faceted expression, sometimes used as an umbrella term for what seems to be a swirling mixture of synergistic fortunes. Convergence in journalism does not refer to the technological revolution, but to a new strategy in the economic management of information production and distribution (Scott, 2005: 101). The ethnographic study confirmed this state of affairs: while new technical equipment was still to be used, the business model was implemented to lower costs. New business models were created, new markets were targeted but the production process remains clearly unchanged. Despite the internal paradigm repairs seen in all the observed news organizations, objectively there is no change in the product. Cutting staffing levels did not change the manufacturing design of the television news story, only the differentiation of work. Whether or not the new model of production involves a social contract or diversity is a moot point when economics becomes the driving force of decision makers. From the ownership and managerial viewpoint, production costs need to be lowered. At the present time, the most effective way to lower these costs involves a business plan of hiring younger individuals, at a reduced salary, and requiring them to do more work. This post-Fordist state of television news relies on workers who craft the product demanded by managers. The vertical differential of the workflow has a significant impact on management’s influence on the product.

'There are monetary pressures for me. I'm a manager. I have a budget now. There's pressure with layoffs in the last year. That's something I had never thought I'd have to go through and I went through it twice, once as an assistant news director and once as the news director. There's a lot of pressure other than just putting on a newscast. I have a lot of support from the general manager and the people upstairs. It's pressure but it's like they let me do what I need to do.'

- News Director, WSTM-TV, Syracuse, New York.

The observed traditional crewmembers seem to have a set of values and ethics decidedly different from the MMJs. Based on their answers to the interviews, the traditionalists block out the implementation of the convergence as an attack on values and ethics.

It may be easier to examine the production of local television news and the converging of media in showcased venues such as WFLA in Tampa, Florida. Whilst the organization may run smoothly and their production models seem justifiably ambitious, there are areas where the adaptation of the production models is not so successful. In many cases, it seems that deregulation has made an impact on the newsrooms, corporation structure and the community. As news organizations cope with the loss of jobs, work experience and the increased pressure to deliver more goods, the shortcuts seem to cause more problems in journalism than the actual production method. The actual labour used to produce news products is not as great an issue as whether what they produce is worthy of producing. Whether it is the community or the corporation that is being served by the converged news environment is eagerly debated, but what seems clear is the decline in the numbers

of experienced journalists and the increase in workload for cheap labour. The impact of doing more work with less people should be a cause for additional research.

'I've been here 11 years and it just keeps going down and down. No one's come in and invested. We just keep getting cuts. So, at some point, you know, you get a million little paper cuts; you're going to bleed to death. So, you know, is it gonna change? I don't know. And I hate to be like the Mr. Negative, I mean, but I think any story, any report, that you're doing, I certainly, I don't think that my view is, you know, is isolated. It's certainly shared.' – MMJ, WSTM-TV.

There are those in the WKYC-TV newsroom who admonish those journalists who did not adhere to the values of their culture; this was witnessed by the ostracizing of the newly-implemented MMJ units. WKYC-TV appeared to be an insular environment fuelled by negativity. WSTM-TV appeared to be a station experiencing extreme negativity from external forces, such as economic pressure from the corporation, but the employees were highly motivated with positive attitudes. The values and ethics of WSTM-TV were not as rigid as the traditionalists; therefore less gatekeeping was occurring.

6.5 Journalism Practices Based on Economics: *Bankruptcy in Syracuse, New York*

'CBS had been there for 60 years. I just thought we would be sold, we would merge but we would still be our newsroom and our autonomy.'

– Former News Anchor – WTVH-TV, (Syracuse, New York).

Media ownership has changed in the wake of deregulation by eliminating local ownership of most local television news stations; meanwhile, the increased rise of private equity activity leaves them vulnerable (Crain, 2009: 209). The private equity activity can be contextualized as a component of the increased prominence of organized financial capital within evolving neoliberal capitalism. Neoliberal capitalism (McChesney, 2001: 3) has reacted to convergence by making specific media industries more and more concentrated. Radical improvements in communication technology have created global media empires, with neoliberal values. Television has suddenly become subject to transnational commercial development. The historic role of the press as the “fourth estate” of providing checks against government abuse of power and to disseminate to the public the informed opinions of the day is being threatened by a larger media system with questionable democratic ideals (Crain, 2009: 209).

There seems to be a triangulation between the private equity investment firms, publicly traded media companies and the loss of revenue of local television news stations in the United States. Equity firms use leveraged buyouts to assume

control of undervalued firms; they then restructure them and exit the investments by selling them for high profits (Crain, 2009: 208-209).

'To produce profits, corporate executives are demanding cutbacks in newsgathering and news-programming costs. At the same time, they're insisting that news divisions and networks do whatever they can to attract a larger audience, even if that means using entertainment values and lower standards to hook viewers. The aim is to make news or infotainment cheaper to produce while targeting the largest chunk of potential viewers.'

– Anderson, 2004: 42.

The term “leveraged buyout firms” has negative connotations and is being replaced by the new term of “private equity.” One third of all merger and acquisition deals brokered in the United States in 2006 were funded to some capacity by private equity (Crain, 2009: 214).

The argument seems to be made that the MMJ is a result of the economic times and individual situations of various news organizations. Syracuse, New York may be the best example of how the MMJ is viewed as a fiscal decision.

The events at WTVH-TV exemplify the decision of financially strapped corporations to cut costs and eliminate staff. In many of the discussions with the interviewed subjects, the idea that television local news is more of a business than a social institution seems contradictory to their intentions as journalists. Many of the reporters, videographers and

others observed in newsrooms pontificate about journalism and the fourth estate, the need for the community to be well informed and to be told the truth. It is frustrating for them to discuss the business of local television news. Most of those interviewed claim that the reason for the MMJ is purely economic. While management interviews support the claim, it is hard to give a specific example of how economics accelerates the implementation of the MMJ. However, a model was found at WTVH-TV.

WSTM-TV employees understand the implications of being owned by a financially struggling corporation. WTVH-TV began a long history of local broadcasting only a block away from their building on James Street in Syracuse. The CBS affiliate began operations in 1948. Meredith Corporation owned the station until 1993. The mid-90s deregulation of ownership and the sprawling cable and satellite channels created a difficult time for the new owner, Granite Broadcasting Corporation. As advertising revenue began to be divided into smaller and smaller pieces and a 24-hour cable news network was introduced to the city, it became apparent the market was providing lower than normal margins for the ownerships. On December 11, 2006, WTVH-TV filed for bankruptcy, which acknowledged the station was performing under the 38.3% average of similar television stations.¹⁵ The company sustained operating losses for three years, including failure to make dividend payments to preferred equity holders in 2005.¹⁶ In a costly exception to its business model, Granite purchased the two stations in large markets, namely San Francisco and Detroit, in an effort to gain the benefits of a new WB

¹⁵ United States Bankruptcy Court Southern District of New York, In re: Granite Broadcasting Corp., et al., Case No. 06-12984 (ALG) Chapter 11.

¹⁶ When Hedge Funds Compete, Dabney & Eisendrath, ABI Journal, page 80, December 2008, American Bankruptcy Institute.

network being developed. The purchase of these stations required a significant cash outlay and they have been a cash drain.¹⁷ The attempts to sell the stations were unsuccessful. Granite entered into an agreement in September 2005 to sell the Detroit and San Francisco stations for \$180 million, but the sale was aborted when Warner Brothers announced a plan to merge with United Paramount and in effect terminate the WB network. The company needed to raise capital in order to formulate a global restructuring of the company. Granite Broadcasting Corporation had a limited amount of time to raise cash for the June 1, 2006 interest payment on the Secured Notes and also close on a contract to purchase a station in Binghamton, New York.

The company still wanted to sell the San Francisco and Detroit stations and in May of 2006 announced a contract to sell the stations for \$150 million. The proceeds would have been enough to pay the interest payment on the Secured Note. However on June 7, 2006, one of the Preferred Holders (Harbinger) filed suit, seeking to block the sale as an alleged fraudulent transfer. Harbinger Capital Partners Master Fund is a hedge fund for Granite Broadcasting Corporation. Besides filing the suit, Harbinger attempted to prevent the sale by asking the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) to disapprove the assignments of the licenses for the stations and by intervening with an industry contact. The suit was eventually dismissed but it delayed the closing of the sale and ultimately the transaction was aborted. Granite still needed the cash to pay the interest payment that was due.

¹⁷ United States Bankruptcy Court Southern District of New York, In re: Granite Broadcasting Corp., et al., Case No. 06-12984 (ALG) Chapter 11.

With the deadline looming, Granite approached third party investors, none of whom proposed a viable financing. Eighteen institutional investors were propositioned, without success. Granite entered an agreement with a credit agency and negotiated a restructuring plan. In the process, the interest payment was paid and the Binghamton station was purchased. However, Granite missed making the \$19.4 million interest payment on the Secured Note due December 1, 2006 and failed to repay the \$70 million owed to the credit agency. Ten days later, the corporation filed for bankruptcy.

In the agreement, the President of Granite Broadcasting, Don Cornwell, agreed to terms for the termination of his employment. He was granted forgiveness of a \$3.3 million loan from Granite. He received a bonus payment of up to \$2.6 million to “gross up” his loan forgiveness and was given options to purchase 375,000 shares of common stock of reorganized Granite and up to \$400,000 of restricted shares of reorganized Granite’s common stock, plus a future salary and bonus for one year of employment.

The findings of the Examiner found that “the Granite Directors are potentially liable for breaches of their duties of loyalty because they allowed Cornwell to direct the process of seeking financial alternatives for the company without properly overseeing, supervising and controlling his actions.”¹⁸

The Examiner also found a possible claim against Cornwell. As reported by the Examiner, Cornwell knew that he had a conflict of interest in negotiating a severance

¹⁸ United States Bankruptcy Court Southern District of New York, In re: Granite Broadcasting Corp., et al., Case No. 06-12984 (ALG) Chapter 11. Page 10.

package for himself while simultaneously arranging financing for Granite. He had been informed that he should remove himself from all deliberations involving the restructuring options. The Examiner found Cornwell chose to actively involve himself in the process, keeping abreast of the restructuring process through communications with the financial advisor.

Harbinger objected to confirmation of Granite's plan on the grounds that it was not proposed in good faith and the plan undervalued Granite and paid the secured creditors more than the full amount of their claims. In its opinion, granting confirmation of Granite's plan, the court rejected both arguments.¹⁹

In the reorganization of the company, Granite Broadcasting Corporation signed a shared services agreement with Barrington Corporation, the owner of WSTM-TV.

Barrington Corporation's Chief Financial Officer, Chris Cornelius, had a history with Granite Broadcasting. He helped convert the ownership of WWMT-TV, in Kalamazoo, Michigan to Granite Broadcasting Corporation in 1995. Granite sold the station to Freedom Broadcasting in 1998.

Distressed industries, such as television broadcasting, are targets for hedge funds. The competition between hedge funds has increased and barring a major change in the financial markets, it is unlikely things will change. While hedge funds have the ability to offer reorganizations solutions, they also identify the same investment opportunities and

¹⁹ When Hedge Funds Compete, Dabney & Eisendrath, ABI Journal, page 81, December 2008, American Bankruptcy Institute.

fight to win ultimate control in what can prove to be a time consuming and expensive Chapter 11 struggle.²⁰

During the ethnographic study at WSTM-TV, the shared service agreement between WSTM-TV and WTVH-TV was witnessed. The WTVH-TV building was empty except for one news anchor, a few production personnel and a director. WSTM-TV controlled the production of the news, producing the news packages from their facility and utilizing their employees. WSTM-TV acquired their MMJs from the restructuring.

From the employee's perspective, little was known of the bankruptcy hearings and financial situations of Granite Broadcasting Corporation. They understood there was a decline in ratings, a difficult economic situation and that a popular news anchor had been lost.

In 2001, Ron Curtis, the celebrated anchor of WTVH-TV, retired after his contract expired. Many of his peers considered him to be the 'Walter Cronkite' of Syracuse, New York. His departure is considered the beginning of the decline at WTVH-TV. The ratings may have fallen due to the on-air absence of Curtis, but Granite's financial situation also led to a series of decisions affecting WTVH-TV's newsroom directly.

²⁰ When Hedge Funds Compete, Dabney & Eisendrath, ABI Journal, page 81, December 2008, American Bankruptcy Institute.

In 2002, the Washington-based private equity firm, Arlington Capital Partners, formed the holding company, New Vision Group, with the explicit intention to assemble a “strong portfolio of leading middle market stations” (Arlington Capital, 2002). Fifteen months later, New Vision acquired five mid-market television stations. Five months after that, they sold two of the recently acquired stations to separate bidders. One of the stations was WISE-TV, in Fort Wayne, Indiana. It was sold for a 220% return after fourteen months (MacFadyen, 2003).

By August of 2005, three years after its formation, New Vision sold all of its stations. Other private equity firms purchased some of the stations (Welch, 2007). WISE-TV was purchased by Granite Broadcasting, who immediately fired fifty-seven employees, and merged the news operation with another station, despite the public outcry (Leduc, 2005; Lipp, 2005).

In 2006, Granite went bankrupt and emerged six months later under the control of private equity firm Silver Point Capital (Crain, 2009: 216). WISE-TV continued to change ownership every year, being “flipped” by New Vision.

While Granite Corporation’s attempt to buy more stations inevitably led to the bankruptcy of the company, there was no immediate impact on WTVH-TV. Slowly, employees were let go and some positions were not replaced. They operated without a news director. A transitional crew of a minimum number of essential employees would remain. One news anchor, one director and a few production staff would be responsible

for transmitting the newscast. The public was unaware of the change due to the fact the broadcast appearance of graphics and channel transmission remained the same. In fact, the public was told the new arrangement would be better for the community as it would give broader coverage of stories. This appears to be false as the material produced during the service agreement at WSTM-TV was repurposed at WTVH-TV with little alteration or expanded coverage.

Approximately, one hundred employees were let go on March 2, 2009, including all the on-air staff. WSTM-TV retained the services of two of the MMJs. The others were let go. Ironically, WSTM-TV's ownership defaulted in 2008 and is \$303 million dollars in debt. WSTM-TV has four MMJs. The news director says only MMJs will be hired in the future.

When discussing the events of 2009, the former news anchors believed the financial situation could have been solved by a simple discussion with employees, and with the corporation declaring the financial situation to the newsroom. They claim no one talked to the newsroom about ways to save money. This seems to be a naïve assumption as the bankruptcy of the corporation was caused by the attempted purchase of two television stations, while a hedge fund attempted a takeover. The discussions with the newsroom in Syracuse would seem to have little effect on the millions of dollars worth of the financial transactions that took place.

But what did the public know and what do they know? CBS programming is provided by WSTM-TV but programming is still available on the same terrestrial channel. Watching the different channels, it would be possible for the viewer to believe there are two separate news organizations. However, the news department is the same for both channels, housed at WSTM-TV. There are two different sets in the same building, providing two different “looks” but in reality it is the same information, same news stories, and same editorial staff.

“What they did is they told the public that this is better for you, you will get expanded news. And what they got was crap, the same weather guy, same anchor, and it is just all fluff...it’s not journalism anymore. They kept the cheapest people and they got rid of the experienced journalists. Our community is getting duped.”

– Former WTVH-TV Anchor, (Syracuse, New York)

It appears some of those who lost their jobs find it upsetting the news management was not involved in the process to salvage the financially strapped corporation. Yet it appears as if the scope of ownership was beyond the comprehension of the employees.

‘Here’s where you dropped the ball; you stopped talking to your people. There were things you can do in the newsroom to save money. No one in management talked to the newsroom about ways to save money.’

- Former Employee – WTVH-TV, (Syracuse, New York).

Because the crux of the bankruptcy was due to owning two failing stations in San Francisco and Denver, it appears little could have been done at the Syracuse newsroom to solve the problem of the late tax payment.

'I didn't think it would ever come to, when they would just shut us down.'

- Former Anchor – WTVH-TV (Syracuse, NY)

During a meeting with the General Manager of WTVH, an employee was told, "I'm surprised that you aren't asking me about the rumours at Channel 3 (WSTM)," and the employee responded, "If there was something you ought to tell me, tell me?" The General Manager went on to say, "No...just rumours."

After the meeting on March 2nd, one news anchor, two MMJs and one director remained to work for the company now under the control of WSTM-TV in a shared services agreement.

'We were fighting to get crews to cover high school football games. I had 14 games, well I need three guys and we only have five, how do we work this out? Then you are fighting for it and you shouldn't have to fight for it in this business.'

– Former Sports Director, WTVH-TV, Syracuse, New York.

After the firings, the WTVH-TV building remained in use to house the studio and a few edit suites. It was observed during the ethnographic study that a small group of employees were left to maintain equipment but their positions were minimal to the

operation. Eventually, the building was closed, all employees let go, and now the news operations continues inside the WSTM-TV building. For all intended purposes, WSTM-TV employees produce work for two stations. WSTM-TV is facing their own economic troubles, as Syracuse seems to be unable to sustain the present number of news organizations.

'(WSTM-TV) 3 will disappear eventually. I mean, because, they have a company that's bankrupt; a company that's not making money. You know, I'm just looking at it, that's how it started with us. Our company went bankrupt, it was, "Well, we're going to emerge from bankruptcy and get the letter from the company. Everything's going to be hunky-dory, don't worry." Uh, I know what the ending is of the story.'

– Former WTVH-TV, Sports Reporter, Syracuse, New York.

6.6: Adapting to the Production Model: Conclusion

'What we're facing right now is a very difficult economic time, and local television especially is under a great deal of pressure to cut costs to basically stay in existence. And so, we're making sacrifices. It's showing on the air and that's kind of a dangerous thing. Eventually, hopefully, the economy will come back and we'll be able to go back to expanding staff, and I will be able to do more in-depth work again and we'll be back to where we were.' - Jim Kenyon, WSTM-TV, (Syracuse, New York).

From this research and my collection of previous research, the introduction of the MMJ can be clearly identified as economically driven. It may be difficult for corporations to manage their local news organizations without cutting costs. The corporations view the local news organizations as manufacturers of a news product. From that perspective, the cause and effect of their management appear to revolve around costs and profits. The MMJ lowers costs in two ways: by eliminating crafts individuals and utilizing a pool of lower-paid, younger reporters. The pool seems to be infinite as colleges produce waves of eager employees. The eagerness of the new recruits seems to revolve around the promise of fame. The intent of producing news stories seems less about the journalism and more about the acclaim of being on camera. Surprisingly, management seem to utilize these desires to motivate individuals, rather than the goal of maintaining high journalistic standards. In terms of the future of the MMJ, there does not seem to be a hesitation by younger employees to accept the production practice, as they view it as a necessity for acquiring a job. The practice seems to becoming a normal rite of passage and may lead to a higher standard in the future. However, standards may not be changing or being qualified as the viral nature of media is changing the measure of quality of journalism. It may be the more socially transmitted a news story becomes, the more worth and intrinsic value is created. In other words, it may not be the quality of the videography, the editing, nor the reporting that raises or lowers the value of the journalism, but instead the standard will be based on a technogrammatic relationship, which involves the audience as an actor. What may be regarded as exemplar journalism may be what Marriott (2007) believed to be the 'phenomenologically now (Marriott, 2007: 26).' Whereas the apparatus is not controlled by the journalist, but merely a

aqueduct of images crafting emotions and psychosis aiding to the implied importance as ratings become based on viral activity, and what spreads is due to the force of imitative encounters with events that elicit a kind of hypnotic social medium (Sampson, 2012: 90-91). It may be worth future study to see if in fact because of the changes in the desired viral effects of news, does the gene of the journalistic process change. In other words, does the news package evolve eventually? Presently, the technogrammatic relationships in newsrooms are altering, as the journalists trained to be MMJs may be the first stage in evolving a future when all television journalists are expected to perform all the tasks of production. Three factors will expedite the evolution: corporations, local management and standardization. Corporations do not view the news product in the same way as the journalist. They see the macro-production of news and evaluate success by the news organization's ability to attract an audience and sell advertisements. To the corporations who own news organizations, managing journalism is no different than managing a retail store or a McDonald's. In the world of the corporation, the idea of 'multi-skilling' is not deemed as derogatory but viewed as an assertive way to lower costs and create greater value. The local news management is subject to the corporations and they adopt management techniques to facilitate the corporation's demands. Local news management views the adoption of the MMJ as a necessary step in maintaining a congenial relationship with the corporation. Quality is viewed in the form of ratings, efficiency, and immediacy. Management will create new techniques to ensure their perspectives of quality are met regardless of the methods of production. The local news management will ensure the success of the MMJs if it appears corporations will not revert back to the traditional model. The standardization of the MMJ appears to be making it easier for

local management to increase efficiency. As local news organizations adapt to the new construction model, it will become easier to accept the limitations through trial and error. Eventually, there may be a time when the young staff of the MMJs will become management and the conventions of traditional television reporting will be drastically different from today's. The encouragement of universities to train young journalists, as MMJs, will create more of an acceptance and standardization of the production process. The MMJ is a viable production practice for local television news. The news package, as demonstrated by this study, is not significantly changed by technology or by the change in the method of production.

What does seem concerning, is the deterioration in the news product, reflecting a lowering of ethical standards brought about by the intense production workflow. The acquisition of raw materials, in this case videotaping, is seen as an inconvenience and not as a skill. Experience is low at the moment but obviously the experiential divide will change in the process of implementing the MMJ. The most concerning element of the transition to the MMJ is the idea those who practice this form of journalism will believe it to be the norm in years to come. There seems to be little turning back from this trend, and the MMJ will be used for some time. If the product of television news were a toy made in China, there would be safeguards against an inferior product. There is no peer organization or government body guarding the integrity of the contents of the product of journalism. What was revealed by this study is that the product, that is, the news package, is being made efficiently and with high productivity to appease the convergence of media. Business is satisfied with the disassociation of the fourth estate, in fact none of

the managers I spoke with knew the meaning of the term unless prompted to discuss the significance of journalistic responsibility. In the process of selecting news stories, some stories that are complex or less attractive to the audience are not gathered, in that respect the communities appear to be unaware of the ignored content the news organisation do not report. In some ways, it appears to be unintentional of the news stations because of the age and experience of the reporters on staff who are young individuals without homes, children, or vested interests in the community. The reporters, upon choosing what stories are significant to the community began to inject their editorial decisions based on their own experience. The exclusion of perspectives, the insistence on repetitive sources due to time constraints, and the lack of research will be encouraged in the name of productivity. Public relations will become the source of information, not enterprising journalism. Stories will be chosen based on the number of “hits” or the popularity of one age group over another. The inventory of ‘surveillance’ video and other visual trinkets will line the showcase of the ‘store.’

As was stated early, Kuprius (2003) stipulated local television news satisfies the market-driven requirements of the business of television. There is a profit motive driving the decisions of management (Kurprius, 2003: 78). From the newsroom level, witnessed by the journalists of WTVH-TV, it appears the corporation hierarchy is less concerned about the daily production of news and more concerned with shareholders with regards of the implementation of production methods. Kurprius (2003) alludes to local television news appeasing their corporate mandates. News directors, with directives from corporate executives, are building a culture of journalism by marketing. The news directors dictate

the story from the moment it is conceived in the morning meeting. It is passed down in a Tayloristic directive as they supervise the creation. Older and experienced journalists would not tolerate the heavy-handed enforcement of news stories, yet the younger and desperate employee is eager to please. The convention of the “20/20 kids” appears to be destined to become a successful business practice, and this will have a greater impact than technology or the creation of the MMJ.

As mentioned earlier in this thesis, Killebrew (2005) believed cutting staff creates ‘substandard’ journalism (Killebrew, 2005: 23) by downsizing and multi-skilling journalists. What was witnessed in this study was a latent form of downsizing, by eliminating crafts individuals and creating MMJs, and there was no indication that downsizing the staffs of television news organizations was used as method of improving local news. In each of the organizations in this study, the quality of work was not mentioned as the reason for the development of the MMJ. Yet, it appears new conventions are being created in the production methods that will impact the future of local television news journalism.

What is unsettling is the outsourcing of standards to inexperienced reporters who are now creating the new conventions. While the Federal Communications Commission is intent on licensing and ownership, there is little being done to prevent the re-emergence of the libertarian press, where business dictates information. Whether or not traditionalists of the 1970s had greater ethical control over their product is unclear and highly suspect, but

it seems the structures supporting the journalist of 2010 are decaying the integrity of the foundations of the socially responsible press.

The future newsrooms will be a changing staff of inexperienced, eager, and unsettled individuals seeking to find fame and fortune. Their salaries will be meagre, and they will need to find additional employment to make ends meet, or rely on the wealth of parents or spouses. This model will succeed despite the quality of the product they produce, as the corporations will regard the work of journalists to be day labour, sufficient enough to manufacture a product. The widgets will be made, the product will be bought, and the consumer none the wiser.

'There are people who can differentiate between (stations) but then there are plenty of people who just generally see you as the "media" and I think that is a frustration for me because I think we try hard to stand out...It gets frustrating at times because you should always treat the viewer like the customer is always right.' – VP, Promotions.

As news organizations try to please their customers in various ways, a further study could examine how or if audiences recognize a difference in the production method. Is there a significant difference in the way the audience views a news story produced by a traditional crew and the MMJ? This study focused on the construction patterns to find any significant changes in the product due to technology and the production methods. Whether or not the products were significant to the audience was not part of the study. In terms of the evolution of the production process, does the audience play a role? If there is

a significant decrease in the attractiveness of the product, created by the MMJ, does it affect the audience enough to increase the value of skilled crafts individuals?

A gender study is possible, arising from the changes in the production model. As most crafts individuals appear to be male, did their gender have any influence on the decision by management to make them MMJs? It appears the lighter equipment made it more acceptable for female reporters to be trained to be MMJs, so further study could verify whether the weight and portability of the equipment helped to influence the acceptance. Is the issue of multi-skilling a reporter a gender concern?

Future research will need to target MMJs as they grow into management positions or advance in status in the newsroom. If or when the MMJ becomes the standard, will previous research findings be viewed differently? The sociology of the newsroom would need to be further explored in a study similar to Schudson's (2003), in which the accountability of individuals and organizations for the production of news is explored (Schudson, 2003: 14). Hemmingway (2008) examined the process of change to the newsroom but what is the significance of the change? In the evolution of news production, what happens to the crafts individuals as they are promoted to journalists in a technologically embedded occupation (Hemmingway, 2008: 15)? Will success be based on journalistic skills or superficial skills? Many crafts individuals who become MMJs are faced with other thresholds other than learning reporting skills; their physical appearance and attributes will be considered important. Management wants to attract an audience, and the appearance of their presenters is important in their decision-making.

Previously, the crafts individuals were hidden from view. Their advancement into the role of journalist will expose them to the audience. Management's goals of attracting an audience may affect the future of crafts individuals who are trained to be MMJs. The economics of the local television news organizations may also be creating challenges for the MMJ. A sense of cooperation between news employees when confronted with difficult production situations has been witnessed but not examined in this study. Traditional lines of competition seem to be crossed by the MMJs, in order for individuals to complete their jobs. These exchanges are unseen by management, as they are informal exchanges of camaraderie. For instance, during a sporting event a MMJ will elicit the help of newspaper reporters or other television crews to record audio. The MMJ will give a microphone to a competitive reporter in the act of performing an interview. Occasionally media is shared informally between MMJs at large events, due to the pressures of time and workload. Determinism infers inevitability of the introduction of a catalyst will evolve the targeted paradigm in a progressive state of change. Technological determinism is grounded in the belief technology will improve over time and the resulting uses of the technology will create superior methods to the previous ones. While technological change and organization restructuring may be viewed as part of technological determinism, the unseen catalyst of change may come from the worker's personal arrangements and informal exchanges. The influence of economics on local television news organizations can be viewed as an implicit belief in technological determinism, whereas markets are created and revenues increase. New technologies produce opportunities for wealth creation (Lugo et al., 2008: 105). The neoliberal drive to free the forces of economic creativity and growth by means of deregulation are

instigated by new media technology. As was found during the ethnographic study, business convergence allows for the formation of groups meant to fulfil the needs of corporate affiliates. Graphics and video are shared with the aim of minimizing overhead costs and redundancies. Informal groups, such as Facebook or YouTube, are established as sources in order to increase efficiency. They help to offset the acquisition of raw material and assist reporters in finding material as well as information. They also form a network of collaboration in a flexible environment of supply and demand (Lugo et al., 2008: 112).

The nature of determinism is complex and it may appear to veil the causes and effects of systemic changes within institutions and in regards to technology. This study attempted to look at the changes to the systems of local television news without a deterministic view. In the process, this study acknowledged change from a variety of angles, perspectives and influences. Whilst technology does advance in measureable ways, it appears there are significant other factors involved in the development of introduced methods and the applications of technology. In the process of technological and production change in the television newsroom, there appear to be some elements unchanged and it should not be assumed the results are guided by one particular catalyst.

If, as this study suggests, the news product is not structurally changed by the method of production, then the method appears to be capable of fulfilling the requirements of journalism. In the observed news organizations, there seems to be a sense of the 'genie' being let out of the bottle. The corporations and local news management seem to have

released a force upon news production, which seems irreversible. In this study, the majority of crafts individuals and reporters believed technology was the excuse for the changes to the production model, and that the changes were not necessary. There was a sense that the act of journalism was difficult to perform in the traditional sense and the introduction of the multi-skilled journalist made it even more difficult. Theoretically, the negative trends of journalism (Schudson, 2003: 133), (Bourdieu, 1996: 26), (McChesney et al., 2010: 48) will not be eliminated because of the MMJ, instead there may be a rise in those areas of concern already creating fissures in the ethos of societal responsibility. It appears that, regardless of the theoretical implications of journalism, the MMJ is viewed as a viable business model.

7. END NOTES

ⁱ A general news story is a daily news story. Unlike spot news stories, the general news

A spot news story is sometimes considered “breaking news.” A spot news story is an unplanned event such as a fire, a murder or natural catastrophe. The spot news often includes a ‘live’ shot at the location of the story.

A feature story is a story concentrating on one subject or event. Usually it is a lighter story about a person. The story is not dependent upon the day it airs. In some newsrooms, the story may be considered “evergreen” as the story may be aired at any time and does not lose its relevance over time.

An in-depth story is a story, which broadens out a topic or event. Usually, it is a more detailed look at a daily story or cultural event. These pieces are usually longer than a general news story because of the broader aspects to the story. The main difference between a general news story and an in-depth story is the amount of information, the number of sources, and the style in which it is told. Usually these stories are meant to air during important ratings periods.

ⁱⁱ While technologies develop in more than one way, they can alter the paradigm to shift differently (Kuhn, 1962; Hughes, 1983). Local television news is altering the paradigms by applying new technology. Witnessed during the study was the mediation between individuals in the newsroom. There is a hierarchy, beginning with the position of the news director. At both WKYC-TV and WSTM-TV, mediation began with the news director. The worthiness of a news story was not necessarily the decision of the group. The news director was the gatekeeper, deciding on the news worthiness of stories. In the observed news departments, the criteria for a news story seemed to be based on efficiency, the audience, and personal interest. The news directors wanted stories which could be completed on time, dispatched to other media platforms and which would incur no additional costs, such as overtime or additional staffing. They also wanted them to reflect the target audience, dictated by the ratings and marketing trends of the sales department. WKYC-TV often defined their interest in a story by categorizing it as suitable for women, as shown by their desire to repurpose the stories for websites such as ‘Moms Like Me’ found within their website umbrella. Medical stories were also of particular interest, as relationships with hospitals maintain a flow of press releases and the availability of doctors for interviews. In particular, the Cleveland Clinic, the region’s largest employer, formed a partnership in which news stories were regularly generated by the hospital. Doctors would be given air time on the news set, incorporated with their particular study or service. The relationship with the hospitals in the area seemed to be a mutually beneficial exchange. The public relations department of the hospital were keen to supply stories and the newsroom was eager to accept the ‘easily’ produced segments. ‘Easily’ produced segments are those segments where a press release or a source provides a ‘one stop shop’ when reporting a story. The hospital provided the doctor to be interviewed, a patient, and a location. The crew would be able to produce the piece quickly. Scientific information was provided by the hospital and the hospital would be referenced as the source. No conflict of interest was disputed.

ⁱⁱⁱ Carole Chandler of WKYC-TV was observed performing the same approach at the home of a woman charged with embezzlement. She approached neighbours’ homes while Mike Leonard stayed a relative distance away. When a neighbour was willing to speak, Leonard was called forward and the interview took place, with a stick microphone, in natural light. It seems to be an expedient and effective method of gathering information of a sensitive nature.

“Think about a print reporter. Think about the scary situations of going up to door as a woman. One time, I went to the door of a murderer by myself. The photographer was in the car. The guy had kids in the background. His wife was ‘missing’ and here I was knocking on the door by myself. When you go to the inner city, it is always rough...I’ve been shot at. A one man band is more of a handicap.”

– Carole Chandler, Reporter, WKYC-TV

^{iv} The argument for performing local television news as a team is running up against the economics of local television news. Syracuse, New York, was once considered the 39th largest television market in the country and is now ranked 82nd in the United States^{iv}. Cleveland, Ohio was once a top-ten television market and is now ranked 18th out of 210 demographic market areas^{iv}. There are additional pressures placed on television stations in both cities, as they are apparently losing a sizeable amount of residents. The shrinkage of potential viewers is detrimental to the sales of advertisements and profits. With the traditional platform of television, local news is running into larger amounts of non-traditional platforms taking away audiences. The costs of operating expenses with the inexpensive camera equipment may be offset by computers for editing as well as maintaining a database of servers. The most immediate way to cut costs is to cut payroll. On January 29, 2010, WKYC-TV required union crafts workers to take an 18% pay cut. Non-Union workers took an 8% pay cut the previous year. The union has a contract but the management at WKYC-TV decided to bypass the contract and implement the pay cut, as well as the additional training of non-union represented workers to perform crafts skills, such as being a MMJ.

^v In a traditional crew, like those observed at WKYC-TV, members seemed to isolate themselves from the learning the technology or the crafts of the other members. The observed reporters did not wish to learn how to use editing or videography equipment. Technological changes must be made in conjunction with a strong social system: both social and technical aspects of the jobs must be considered simultaneously (Gordon, 1987: 31). At the beginning of this study, the observed television news videographer did not wish to learn to write or edit their material. The observed videotape editors did not wish to learn to report, write or photograph material for a story. Individual technologies become the propriety of the specific tasks. The adoption of the new technical skills was not supported by a change in the culture, as was the case at WSTM-TV.

8. Glossary of Terms

- ABC** – American Broadcasting Company: American Television Network
- Affiliate** – a term used to identify a television station with a contract to air network programming.
- Analog** – broadcast transmission based on a continuous signal, varying in amplitude and phase.
- B-roll** – video used in a television news story to illustrate the story or script.
- Backpack Journalist** – term for MMJ or Multi-Media Journalist (Huang et al., 2006: 228)
- Betacam** – Videotape camera format introduced in the 1980s.
- Betacam SX** – Videotape camera format introduced in the late 1990s.
- CBS** – Columbia Broadcasting System: American Television Network
- CNN** – Cable News Network: American Cable Television Network
- Converged journalist** – term for MMJ utilizing multiple platforms
- Digital** – Broadcast signals based on numerical code.
- DMA** – Designated Market Area – used to identify the broadcast area and size of TV station markets.
- Dubbing** - re-recording video onto another format or to make a copy.
- DV** – Digital video, a tape format introduced in the 2000s.
- Electronic News Gathering (ENG)** – Journalistic activity of videotaping interviews and broll on location.
- FCC** – Federal Communications Commission (USA)
- ftp** – file transfer protocol – computer website used for storage and transfer of files.
- Lavaliere microphone** – microphone that attaches to clothing. Sometimes referred to as lapel mic.
- Live U** – Portable live video transmitting equipment utilizing mobile phone technology.
A direct IP-based mobile to mobile communications unit.
- Local television station** - A station competing in a particular designated market area (DMA).
- M2** – videotape format introduced in the 1990s.
- Max Headroom** – fictional TV character who was an MMJ
- Multi-Media Journalist (MMJ)** – a journalist who reports, videotapes, and edits news stories.
- NABET** – workers union, National Association of Broadcast Engineers and Technicians.
- NBC** – National Broadcasting Company : American Television Network
- News Package** – a self-containing television news story utilizing voice-over and video b-roll.
- One man band**- term for MMJ or Multi-Media Journalist (Sites, 2007: 12)
- Personal Digital Production (PDP)** – term for MMJ or Multi-Media Journalist (Hemmingway, 2005)
- Piece to camera** – a reporter’s appearance in a news story, see also “standup”
- SB** - soundbite
- Solo-journalist** – term for MMJ or Multi-Media Journalist (Martyn, 2009: 197)
- SOT** – “sound on tape” or soundbite
- Soundbite** - an audio clip of an interview with or without associated video.
- Standup** – a reporter’s appearance in a news story, see also “piece to camera”
- SU** - standup
- Television News Field Production** - the process of collecting video and audio elements on location.
- Traditional crew** – term for a news crew consisting of a reporter, photographer and tape editor.
- TRT** - Total recorded time: the length of the news package or vo/sot.
- Videographer** - television news photographer
- Video-journalist** – term for MMJ or Multi-Media Journalist (Martyn, 2009: 197)
- Videotape editor** – edits a television news story for broadcast.
- VO** - voiceover
- Voiceover** – The audio narration of a television news story.
- VO/SOT** – “voice over with sound on tape”, a sound bite and narration, usually for on-set pieces or live shots.
- VT editor** - videotape editor
- WEWS-TV** – ABC affiliate in Cleveland, Ohio, owned by Scripps Media
- WKYC-TV** – NBC affiliate in Cleveland, Ohio, owned by Gannett Corporation
- WSTM-TV** – NBC affiliate in Syracuse, New York, owned by Barrington Broadcasting
- WTVH-TV** – CBS affiliate in Syracuse, New York, owned by Granite Broadcasting

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