The Researching and Teaching Communication Series

Journalism, Representation and the Public Sphere

edition lumière
Bremen 2015

Bibliographische Information der Deutschen Bibliothek

Die Deutsche Bibliothek verzeichnet diese Publikation in der Deutschen Nationalbibliographie; detaillierte bibliographische Daten sind im Internet über http://dnb.ddb.de abrufbar.

ISBN: 978-3-943245-37-0

JOURNALISM, REPRESENTATION AND THE PUBLIC SPHERE

Edited by: Leif Kramp, Nico Carpentier, Andreas Hepp, Ilija Tomanić Trivundža, Hannu Nieminen, Risto Kunelius, Tobias Olsson, Ebba Sundin and Richard Kilborn.
Series: The Researching and Teaching Communication Series
Series editors: Nico Carpentier and Pille Pruulmann-Vengerfeldt
Photographs: François Heinderyckx (section photographs)
Print run: 600 copies
Electronic version accessible at: http://www.researchingcommunication.eu and http://www.comsummerschool.org

The publishing of this book was supported by the University of Bremen, the European Communication Research and Education Association (ECREA) and the Slovene Communication Association.

The 2014 European Media and Communication Doctoral Summer School (Bremen, August 3-16) was sponsored by the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) and significantly funded at the expenses of the Federal Foreign Office (AA). It was also supported by the University of Bremen, ZeMKI, Centre for Media, Communication and Information Research, the „Communicative Figurations“ research network, the Graduate Center of the University of Bremen (ProUB) and by a consortium of 22 universities. Affiliated partners of the Summer School were the European Communication Research and Education Association (ECREA) and the International League of Higher Education in Media and Communication (MLeague).

Table of Contents

SECTION 3: Public Sphere, Space and Politics

SECTION 4: Rethinking Media Studies

SECTION 5: Academic Practice

PART 2
The European Media and Communication Doctoral Summer School 2014 and its Participants

The rumbling years. The communicative figurations approach as a heuristic concept to study – and shape – the transformation of journalism

Leif Kramp

Abstract

The chapter dicusses the profound transformation processes which are driven by the digitization of media and the 'mediatization of everything', and that challenge journalism on various levels. It is described how journalism as a cultural practice becomes successively marginalized by other sources of information and an overall change of media use and appropriation. It is further argued that journalism as a professional field and the institutional and organisational structure that has sustained and nourished it for decades is undergoing a radical re-orientation in addressing the public. With references to the heuristic concept of "communicative figurations" and the operational concept of "organisational learning", it is proposed how overarching issues of media and societal change can be considered to analyse and shape newsroom innovations. Empirical insights and observations of recent developments on the German news market complement this argumentation.

Keywords: digital journalism, transformation, mediatization, communicative figurations, organisational learning, newsroom innovation, participation

---

Kramp, L. (2015) 'The rumbling years. The communicative figurations approach as a heuristic concept to study – and shape – the transformation of journalism', pp. 23-55 in L. Kramp/N. Carpentier/A. Hepp/I. Tomanić Trivundža/H. Nieminen/R. Kunelius/T. Olsson/E. Sundin/R. Kilborn (eds.) *Journalism, Representation and the Public Sphere*. Bremen: edition lumière.

> "Journalism is not a profession to be defended but a practice to be shared"
> (Alfred Hermida, cited in: Shaw, 2012)

1. Introduction

Not a month passes without bad news on the economics of the printed news media. Loss of revenues, decline of circulation, editorial staff cuts — deteriorative trends have intensified in recent years and have had inevitable consequences for the institutional and organizational constitution of journalism. A focus on economical challenges tends to dominate theoretical considerations and practical reflections on this change. At the same time, however, more fundamental questions arise about the transformation of journalism as a profession and cultural practice: What are the socio-cultural challenges of journalism in our rapidly changing digital media culture? Are they based on general societal transformation processes in people's information behaviour and their media use? What is the role of technological innovations and broader changes of attitude towards the traditional agents of the public? Or should we focus on institutional questions such as editorial reform processes or the re-invention of traditional newspaper publishers as multi-platform corporations? Or are journalists themselves primarily drivers of innovation? There is no clear answer to the initial question of what challenges, churns or changes journalism most. The transformation of nearly all core parameters on the macro, meso and micro level of journalism practice is in full swing. This calls for integrative approaches to describe, analyse and explain the tectonic shifts, turbulences and reinventions that journalism is facing.

A focus on the *communicative construction of social reality* provides such an integrative explanation frame. In a deeply mediatized world, where technical communication media shape all of our everyday symbolic interactions and constructions of meaning, journalism is no longer the dominant source for current information on world affairs. A multitude of new actors have complemented the former widely exclusive privilege of news organization to disseminate up-to-date information and opinion. This development has implicated an altered status of news: News has become less a commodity – and more a common property that is shared by millions. News can be found not only on classical news websites, but also in social networks, collaborative knowledge platforms, e-mail portals, search engines and so forth: As a consequence, the definition of news has become more floating, referring more diffusely to a journalistic product, fabricated along a defined set of rules and criteria. News in the digital ecosphere is disseminated mainly by "digital intermediaries" (Foster, 2012: 6) that provide access to a cornucopia of contents which in turn makes it rather difficult to identify professionally produced journatlistc news

content. Therefore, in the 21st century, journalism increasingly competes more intensively than ever with this potpourri of contents of various provenance (lay communication, interest-driven PR, propaganda, gossip etc.).

This poses a profound issue for journalism itself, and journalism research as well: How do the new dynamics of social interaction in mediatized communities and societies at large relate to the perception and value of professional newsgathering. This is not solely a question of cost efficiency in order to stop the economical downturn in the news industry. More fundamentally, it is about how journalism can build stronger, more honest and credible relationship with its audiences. The urgency of this imperative is documented strongly by recent occurrences of distrust, suspicion and even hate against journalists and the mass media in Germany.[1]

2. The mediatization of everything

The spread of the Internet has greatly strengthened social meta processes of individualization, globalization and commercialization, pushing mediatization of all areas of life forward. Following Krotz (2007; 2009), the term mediatization refers to a metaprocess of social change, the moulding of everyday social worlds by a variety of technical (communication and information) media:

> The ambition of mediatization research is not, primarily, to understand the changing media in their own right, nor to chart forms of mediation in different places and times. Rather, as for globalization or urbanization or individualization – the claim is that something which always existed in one form or another (the world, towns, individuals – and media) has come to constitute an organizing principle for other spheres of life. (Livingstone/Lunt, 2014: 706)

Under the influence of all these metaprocesses, culture and society change with and through the transforming media that are applied in them. Thus, media and the significance of particular media for their users are also subject to constant change. Due to the ubiquity of technical communication and information media, the dependence on single media dwindles; but it can be assumed that the relevance and function of media technologies in total increases in all areas of life.

Mediatization research shows how fundamentally the conditions of use and appropriation of media and publishing activity have changed the processing, dissemination and perception of information as well as the dynamics of interpersonal communication. Just as the unbridled technological evolution once made the rise of journalism possible, another change now forces it to to adapt and develop new forms, while trying to maintain its strengths and duties (cf. Conboy, 2013: 148-168; Gordon, 2012). This changes the conditions for the use of media content radically: Journalism has always been in an intermedia competition with other sources of information, but the types

of media were clearly separated. Content was bound to specific 'containers' like the newspaper, the book, the TV or the radio receiver. In comparison, the Internet offers multimediality in an integrated media environment: Merging media and converging newsrooms represent an ongoing process of rebuilding the technical contexts in which journalism is produced (cf. Fioretti/Russ-Mohl, 2009; Kolodzy et al., 2014).

In this change, the availability, scale, diversity and effectivity of content and search aids provided by the digital media environment are a key factor. The saturation of everyday life worlds with information and communication technologies, especially with digital mobile devices, allows users to be connected anytime and anywhere. Large parts of the population have accepted the digital media sphere as their preferred and comfortable habitat (cf. Deuze/ The Janissary Collective, 2012). Therefore, today the levels of individual and social activity depend largely on technological and economic imperatives. It comes as no surprise that such mediatization processes put journalism under constraints for action. But unlike during the advent of print media, photography, radio or television which initially made possible the rise and differentiation of journalism as a new kind of social self-observation and self-understanding, journalism now has a lot of catching-up to do.

Many old rules, routines and habits prove to be quite stable in the newsroom in spite of the radical expansion of the media world (cf. Anderson, 2013: 159). In newsrooms around the world, individual behaviour patterns prove to be stable particularly with respect to the reluctant use of new media technologies in journalistic work (Himelboim and McCreery, 2012; Reich, 2013). The cautiousness and reluctance of established news organizations to adopt new media technology and the Internet as a whole can be ascribed primarily to its asynchronicity, non-linearity and communicative pluri-dimensionality – and therefore the absence of classical mass media characteristics.

As early as in 2000, John Hartley described the formative power of media technology as stronger than ever and the fate of journalism as being marginalized to one source of information among many:

> Individuals will exercise their right to communicate – but won't bother with other journalism, whether individual or industrial. The public will comprise more writers than readers. Such an eventuality contradicts the historic achievement of journalism itself as a textual system, namely the creation of the most important reading public of modernity – the public itself. The prospect of the democratization of public writing is therefore a serious threat to journalism as we know it. (Hartley, 2000: 43)

Over the years, this development has proven itself to be highly ambivalent. Information practices change, but audiences have not entirely turned their back on the news industry: The news websites of publishing houses and broadcasters in fact experienced a steep increase in users and are used as complemen-

tary or alternative information source to the regular printed or broadcasted products. In a sense, then, there are more users of journalism today than ever: The usage figures of news sites exceed the circulation decline of their sister newspapers and magazines considerably. Furthermore, there is an additional huge market supply of non-journalistic websites and services that adds up to the exuberant variety of destinations for information on the Internet. Undoubtably, as Ryfe (2012: 198) states, audiences are confronted with an *embarras de choix*: "For citizens, this is a golden age of news, a time when people have never had greater access to more news and information."

However, the global network also provides access to significantly more non-journalistic sources of information that target users, including freely accessible encyclopedic resources (e.g. Wikipedia), subject-specific databases (e.g. Internet Movie Database), discussion forums (e.g. Gaia Online, 4chan), aggregation services (e.g. Flipboard, BuzzFeed), social networks (e.g. Facebook, Linkedin, Xing), communication services (e.g. Twitter, WhatsApp), interactive location-based services (e.g. Google Places, Foursquare), sales portals (e.g. Amazon) and countless other types of source for thematically, geographically or target-specific tailored content. There seems to be a satisfactory solution available in the digital environment network for all information needs. However, this does not need to be journalism in a strict sense of the term. So, among the strong contemporary suppliers of information, news brands like "New York Times", "The Guardian", "Liberation", "Der Spiegel" or "Gazeta Więcborska" are accompanied by platforms like Google, YouTube, Facebook, Twitter, Instagram or Whatsapp without, necessarily, any journalistic expertise.

That is not to say that for some cohorts it is still common to read the newspaper as they were used to for decades – or watch TV and listen to the radio, depending on their retained habits of news consumption. However, media users realign their take on which media best fulfil their needs at any onetime. Today, users worldwide spend more time with their digital mobile devices than – for example – sitting in front of the television set or reading a newspaper. A survey by WAN-IFRA (2014) revealed that smart phones and tablets superseded location-bound devices, offering opportunities to increase usage, advertising and sales revenues, diversify product portfolio, and engage with users' genuine lifeworlds. One result of continued mediatization processes is, among other things, that there are hardly any places or occasions where mobile media communication is a taboo. New areas of everyday life, which were previously largely the domain of analog media – like public transport, the garden or gastromony – have become digitally mediatized. For journalism, this means that the potential of mobile media use can be exhausted extensively for the dissemination of news content – and for the interaction with it. Here, the concept of

mediatization enables us to describe, apprehend and anticipate the change of media and communication as well as the subsequently driven change of culture and society in its interdependence:

> With regard to quantitative aspects, mediatization refers to the increasing temporal, spatial and social spread of media communication. That means that over time we have become more and more used to communicating via media in various contexts. With regard to qualitative aspects, mediatization refers to the role of the specificity of certain media in the process of sociocultural change (Hepp/Hasebrink, 2013: 4)

It has been shown that today changes in media practices are guided more by transforming everyday habits – also due to the possibilities of asynchronous and interactive media use – and less by a strong system or field logic of the mass media. (cf. Kaun/Schwarzenegger, 2014; Peil/Röser, 2014; Storey/McDonald, 2014). A consequence of this is reflected in the economical development of the press sector: According to the World Press Trends report by WAN-IFRA (2014), newspaper circulation in the United States dropped over 10 percent and in Europe over 23 percent in the course of five years. Print advertising revenue declined 13 percent worldwide, in the United States nearly 30 percent, and in Europe circa 18 percent in the same period of time. In contrast, digital business is strongly on the rise, accounting for a revenue growth in advertising of 47 percent and in paid digital subscriptions even over 2,000 percent globally over these five years. This level of revenues, though, is still way below the print standard with only a tiny market share in the digital economy compared to non-journalistic ventures (cf. Grueskin/Seave/Graves, 2011).

News organizations are also struggling with the monetarization of their digital journalism ventures (cf. Kaye/Quinn, 2010; Franklin, 2014). Whereas the competition between media companies for the attention and time of users intensifies, media usage becomes tendentially parallel. Such a densification of media use calls for a higher level of efficiency, otherwise media appropriation threatens to become superficial and unsatisfactory. Jeff Jarvis argues the case for a qualitative re-evaluation of usage metering: He does not see the duration of usage as the most important factor, but the efficiency (and effectivity) of the gratification of usage motives:

> Instead of measuring our success by how much more time we can get them to spend with us, we should measure it by how much less time they need to spend with us to reach their own goals. ... If the problem is that young people spend less time with news, where is the opportunity in that? I say it is in helping anyone of any age spend even less time, getting more information more efficiently. (Jarvis, 2013)

However, this is not how success is measured in the media industry, and the news sector is not likely to be an exemption: News as a product has to sell; journalism as a cultural practice and has to function. This constellation is not without tensions, as Robert Picard puts it:

> This is producing competing and colliding logics of professional journalism, commerce, and participation, and the tensions between these is forcing negotiations of values, norms, and practices. As of yet, however, those changes have induced few new policies and editorial guidelines in established news organizations [...]. News providers of all sizes are now employing multiple platforms for reaching and engaging with the public. They are reconceiving the nature of audiences and rethinking what information the public needs in different places, at different times, and the methods in which that information is conveyed. These are all indications of the appearance of new journalistic relations and practices. (Picard, 2014: 278)

3. Communicative figurations of journalism

"Communicative democracy" and "redactional society" are the keywords in John Hartley's (2000) perspective on the future of journalism. A "redactional" society challenges the traditional social institutions and their selection defaults by prefering individual skills for the selection and production of information that is deemed relevant. Hartley no longer sees journalism primarily as a profession, but as a form of media literacy for everyone. He underlines people's collective creative ability to gather, select, articulate and publish. This manifests in direct forms of communication on the Internet, where people can demonstrate, interact, respond or pose their own ideas and views, e.g. on social network sites.

Although individual popular social networking platforms (such as Facebook) may vanish in a while (like some precursors: MySpace, for example), the general phenomeon of wide citizen activity and participation through the Internet form a sustainable "Social Web" (critically: van Dijck, 2013). The social media, then, signify an evolution mark in public communication, and it is unlikely that media will jump back. For journalism, this implies far more profound consequences than those caused by previous milestones in media history, such as the introduction of live-broadcasting or the mobile phone. The Social Web not only means a change of distribution technology, but also a major reorganisation of media producers and media audiences. The rise of the "produser" (Bruns, 2008), is not the end, but the beginning of the end of how the media and especially the news industry functions under the auspices of mediatization. Of course, not all media users actually produce media content; but they participate as actors within a social online infrastructure that provides new mechanisms for the dissemination of information. Chris Anderson, former editor in chief of the technology and lifestyle magazine "Wired", sees

the resounding advantage of interpersonal network communication vis à vis traditional news content in the credibility and perceived authenticity of the personal circle of friends: "There are ways to get a strong reputation without a professional affiliation. It's a marketplace out there, and you can earn trust with having New York Times on your card, or you can earn trust by having done a great job for a long time and be respected for that by many people." (quoted from: Weichert/Kramp/Ockenfels, 2011) According to Anderson, earning trust is connected to certain principles, e.g. entering into a dialogue with the audience at eye level, being consistently open with respect to one's own mistakes and correcting them transparently. Helena Sousa, who once worked as a journalist, sees the underlying structural changes for the public as irreversible:

> The exponential proliferation of information production centres and the extraordinary expansion of audiences' participatory power appear to be at the heart of the paradigmatic shift. In this irreversible structural reconfiguration of the public sphere, journalism has lost its monopoly as the principal narrator of the present in the public sphere. Journalism might well maintain its core professional values and techniques but the digital age has fundamentally eroded its role as the actuality storyteller. (Sousa, 2006: 380)

Starting in the United States, the term 'participatory culture' has been used in academia and media practice to denote the willingness of citizens to share their attitudes and opinions with other citizens through the Internet. Many observe an enormous potential for strengthening civil society engagement (cf. Jenkins, 2009; Rosenbaum, 2011). This "mass self-communication" (Castells, 2010: xxvii-xxxi) can be cultivated productively for the construction of a critical public. It does not necessarily have to lead to an undermined professional journalism, as innovative concepts that aim for forms of cooperation between journalists and cititzens who are there and ready to take a part in newsgathering are developed. Ideally, citizens can help journalism in its endeavor to perform its duties more effectively by participating, contributing, appropriating, seizing, sharing, reinforcing or casting doubt.

Without committing to a normative agenda, what can we learn from this rebalancing of roles, the shift of publicising hegemony and the erosion of media boundaries? Here, the concept of 'communicative figurations' provides a heuristic that can help journalism research as well as practicioners of journalism. It offers a number of analytic tools to find the fundamental question that keeps reappearing: "What does the understanding of media contribute to the understanding of life?" (cf. Wieselter, 2015)

The true strength of 'communicative figurations' as a concept lies in its ability to stride through the relatively static analytical levels of micro, meso and macro perspectives in order to comprehend the interweaving between people, media, culture and society (cf. Hepp, 2014; Hepp/Hasebrink, 2014). In this view, journalism is faced with changes on multiple levels, affecting

both the concrete *conditions* of journalism practice as well as the *options* for action. Journalists work not only under the conditions of interdependencies in institutionalized hierarchies which are totally ruled by power structures, but also in varying relations to audiences and other external actors and factors. Building on the intellectual work of Elias (1978), these interdependencies can be conceptualized as communicative figurations that change along with with the structural transformation of the public sphere.

Habermas (1989) has suggested how communicative action has changed in society under the influence of the mass media. With the spread of mass media, people gathered less often face-to-face to participate in discussions, but preferred the usage of media contents. The media became detached from the political system and subordinated themselves under market conditions. This had far-reaching consequences, to some extent the determination of media activity as a consumptive one and a strong institutionalization of professional public agents who were responsible for the production and dissemination of commodified content. For decades, this historically evolved figuration was relatively stable between mass media actors and their audiences: roles were clearly assigned. The journalistic power was reserved for the journalists, but the audience was certainly not powerless and decided by demand which medium was particularly popular. Recent "mediatization waves" (Hepp/Hasebrink, 2013: 13), though, have caused an imbalance: Potentially every media user can participate directly in public discourse. Theoretically, this opens up a chance for a deliberative society to come to life, honouring the normative promises of democratic theory. This assumes that journalism continues to be responsible for "maintain(ing) the fairness of widespread deliberation by resisting the influence of better organized and better funded interests" which means the guarantee of "equal opportunity to influence deliberation" against e.g. "threats or rewards offered by socioeconomic elites" (Dzur, 2002: 333). Hence, the corporate mass media have not automatically lost their status, even though they find themselves under increasing pressure to fulfil their duties as the 'Fourth Estate' within society (cf. Allan, 2013: 261): Alternative information services increase choices, the Internet helps people in many ways to talk to each other directly, to communitize, to set a topic that is picked up by others, and even to construct "personal public spheres" (cf. Schmidt, 2013: 371). Therefore, the general public sphere is no longer organized solely by the mass media, but is also complemented, shaped and often fragmeted by citizens with their sovereign opinions and attitudes.

This does not necessarily mean the proliferation of an overpowering and unreadable cacophony of voices. With the heuristical approach of the communicative figurations concept, journalism research can analyse systematically, how demands, needs and preferences change against the background of individual sozialization, the formation of relationships and collectives as well as

institutional and organizational processes. The analysis of communicative figurations can focus on questions related to *media ensembles, forms of communication, constellations of actors,* and *thematic framings* (cf. Hepp, 2013: 623-624).

1) *Media ensembles* change: Which media are used frequently and intensively, and for what purpose, is subject to sustainable change in many age groups. Traditional mass media are to an extent marginalized, complemented, and in some age groups even substituted by online information services that gradually take up more time across all age groups. Questions deriving from that include: How and why do audiences rearrange their preferences for specific media? What media characteristics serve information needs best? How do news organizations connect various media in their journalistic product portfolio? And to what extent and variety do innovative forms of journalism emerge with the emergence of new media?

2) *Forms of communication* change: It is difficult to keep track of the many trends and hypes that come along with emerging digital devices, online platforms and services that all contribute to a perpetuation and intensification of mediatization processes, i.e. the expanding role that media play in our lifes. The challenge lies in identifying underlying patterns, e.g. the growing importance of online social networking and direct communication, i.a. through messaging services, whether it is SMS, Whatsapp, Threema, Twitter, Facebook or other platforms. Questions may include: What are the primary reasons for the success of new forms of communication? How do they facilitate the dissemination of news? Do new forms of communication change information habits? Do new communication roles arise? And what impact do journalists' activities in social media, sharing of contents among users and follow-up-communication have on the appropriation of information and social self-understanding?

3) *Constellations of actors* change: Journalists have lost their hegemonial role as privileged interpreters of world affairs to 'the people', speaking in terms of the Cultural Studies tradition (cf. Nelson/Treichler/Grossberg, 1992), meaning the average citizens who use the media in their technological variety to blog, tweet, post, tag, produce content themselves, in short: contributes to the heterogeneous mixture of information and opinion that constitute nowadays public spheres. The Internet and social media provide the communicative infrastructure, enable new forms of classification, dissemination and mediation of information (e.g. search engines, collaborative encyclopedias, blogs), which were developed independently from news organizations. Thus, the relationship between journalists and the public changes: The equalization of opportunities for publication online has led to a diversification of the actors involved and voices heard in the public discourse. However, also new institutional actors have arisen like Facebook or Google who filter, select and target content ac-

cording to their corporate interests (e.g. advertisting, competitive stragegies). Journalists face the challenge to assert their importance as professional communicators and make their work valuable for the permantly empowered audience.

4) The *thematic framing* changes: Journalism as a profession that was exlusively tied to mass media over decades and thus a privileged cultural practice, mainly oriented towards the dissemination of news, now starts to detach itself partly from institutional boundaries and tends to become a more dialog-oriented and procedural practice with a substantial share of citizen participation. The evolution of journalism as an (occupational) ideology (cf. Deuze, 2005: 444-447) has shown that a considerably strong set of ideas, views and perceptions of what journalism is and how it functions has sedimented in most democratic society, serving as a backbone of journalism's legitimacy and credibility. This already prompts the destabilization that is engendered by the "demystification of the profession" (cf. Donsbach, 2009) and the re-orientation of a hegemonial to a more collaborative and participatory authority of public discourse. The transformation of thematic framing might embrace a higher degree of transparency and therefore better understanding of how journalism works: To learn about the power of journalism and the media to construct reality does not necessarily require an institutional 'watchdog' (cf. Babcock, 2012), but an educational effect that comes with an advanced responsiveness and self-reflexitivy of journalists and news organizations.

Applied to the current transformation processes that affect journalism, these four attributes of a communicative configutation approach show that we are witnessing an exciting scenario. It can be frightening for journalists: The potential for interaction is at an all time high, as are the audience numbers for online news, as are the numbers of households that are connected with the Internet, as are the numbers of adolescents who possess a smartphone. Over the past decades, the economic uncertainty in journalism has never been more profound than today. The professional discourse in the news industry is shaped by two strong, but conflicting narratives: the diagnosis of crisis and disruption on the one hand hand (cf. Edmonds, 2014; Tran, 2014), and an optimistic emergence into digital modernity, embracing innovations and spurring creativity on the other (cf. Christensen/Skok/Allworth, 2012; Lepore, 2014). While especially the newspaper industry – after the market success of tablets and phablets – continues to put high hopes in the market introduction of further innovative devices such as ultra-thin, flexible displays ('electronic paper'), and thus continues to rely on a definitive digital news(paper) product[2], the current transformations point towards a much more fundamental break with solidified conventions. Structures, roles, routines, tools, contents, outreach: Everything that constitutes journalism is at issue and is subject to change. To be more explicit, the communicative figuration approach offers an analytic toolkit to

make progress in determining and understanding exemplary patterns of how and why information preferences change and how journalism can perform an integral function in these transmedial transformation processes.

4. Lessons from recent developments

To shed only a tiny light on the magnitude of what journalism might have to face in the near future, the German press sector – one of the biggest national news markets in Europe – lends itself to an inspection of recent developments that include spectacular market drop outs, radical makeovers, organisational experiments, much-noted market entries and a remarkable newsroom showdown between the online and print staff of Europe's highest selling news magazine. Some of these developments offer a glimpse of what is at stake:

1) *Detachment from mass media institutions*: With the business newspaper "Financial Times Deutschland", the German press market experienced its first major newspaper loss in recent history. Compared with the economical situation in the United States for example, where since 2001 over a dozen newspapers vanished or ceased their print editions, Germany has retained relatively stable market conditions. However, over the course of only a few months in 2013, several newsrooms were closed or merged. As a consolidating measure, however also broadly perceived as an alarming sign of things to come, a number of major newspaper publishers cut their staff significantly, including newsrooms regarded internationally as newspapers of repute or quality press like "Süddeutsche Zeitung" and "Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung". Many of the journalists who were laid off found new missions – quite a few as self-employed freelance journalists starting their own media outlet providing various forms of communication services (e.g. consulting, lectures, public relations etc.), using various ICTs and social media. This also plays a part in how the thematic framing of journalism's communicative figuration varies step by step. What seems like a looming *érosion institutionelle* has been envisioned – among others – by Clay Shirky (2009a), who argued that journalism does not need to be tied to organizations (newspaper companies, radio stations, news agencies etc.) in order to perform its function. Funding models for journalism with revenues coming from user fees, advertising, or donations (cf. overview at: van der Wurff, 2012) are already tested by journalists who use digital media technology and the online infrastructure to circumvent or minimize fixed publishing costs and build a strong relationship to their target group(s). Needless to say, this demands from journalists both entrepreneurial and self-organization skills which also transcend formerly segregated domains of editorial work, business strategy, marketing, distribution and so forth.

2) *New organizational identities*: The Axel Springer SE, formerly the biggest newspaper publisher in Germany, has sold nearly all of its German newspaper and magazine titles to a competitor. It continues to publish only the tabloid "Bild" which is on rank eight among the top 50 paid-for daily newspapers with the highest circulation worldwide, and the national newspaper "Die Welt". The tradition-rich newspaper publishing company strives to focus on its international expansion and digital business strategies. One of the lessons from this re-orientation has been the more flexible business practices of news organizations which understand themselves as multi-platform corporations that aim to diversify their business operations even more. This, in turn, entails a change of strategy, letting the journalistic core business crumble and investing in allegedly more future-oriented ventures, not necessarily connected to journalism. As the market development for news is expected to be furthermore susceptible to uncertainties and deficits, the pursuit of an integrated approach becomes even more necessary: investing in digital journalism to probe and realize its potentials, to shape and cultivate and advance new media with journalism and claim a prominent role in transforming media ensembles, has not yet become a great vogue in the industry.

3) *Alternative funding for journalism* and with it *alternative organisational models* gain currency. Where the free market cannot guarantee the maintenance of integral journalistic functions, a mix of institutional and individual actors can compensate and ensure a proper supply of news, e.g. critical reporting. In Germany, several initiatives have started to undertake journalism projects that act like counterparts of the conventional business model of news that was and still is built mainly on advertising and distribution revenues. For instance, in 2014, an online magazine and author collective named "Krautreporter" (a pun referring to the term "crowd" and the German word "Kraut", meaning "cabbage", and light-heartedly used by foreigners to denote German nationality) collected over one million Euros with a crowdfunding campaign. Following the successful role model "De Correspondent" (in the Netherlands), it promised innovative digital quality journalism for free and offered subscribers (for a monthly fee of five Euros) access to additional source material and editorial formats. Most importantly, these added features included the opportunity to participate in discussions with authors who e.g. share drafts of their stories with the readers (www.krautreporter.de) (cf. Doctor, 2014; Tjaardstra, 2015). "Crowdspondent" is another example. It was founded by two freelance journalists who were supported by their readers and viewers with donations to travel through Germany and report about the country and its people. The duo received suggestions directly from their audience and distributed their written and filmed stories through their website, social media channels and a TV format on public television (www.crowdspondent.de). In the same year, the project "Correct!v" launched its website and began its editorial work as an

investigative reporting unit, funded mainly by a journalism foundation (Brost Stiftung). The main objective ("investigations for society") is described as reporting in the interest of the citizens. They have prompted their readers with the question of "what good journalism means", inviting readers to participate, to communicate directly with the staff, to become a member of the non-profit-association that forms the organisational structure of the project, and stressing the critical and revealing function of journalism to help people understand complex processes in politics or economy and recognize mismanagement, abuse of power, and other important public issues (www.correctiv.org) (cf. O'Donovan, 2014a).

It may turn out that such commercial and philanthropic funding models from civil society are in general not a sufficient solution against the recession trend on the affected news markets (cf. Jarvis, 2009; Shirky, 2011). Thus, also business models that originate from journalism itself and follow the prior aim to invest in and secure the editorial work are crucial. The independent newsroom of ProPublica, an often referred to non-profit project in New York, is one outstanding, but not singular example of how newsrooms operate successfully, detached from media corporatios, while achieving a broad outreach, local differentiation and professional liability in their reporting. In each year of its existence, ProPublica, which was founded in 2008, set innovative milestones in the progression of what journalism can accomplish, including award-winning long-term investigations, big data analysis, an informant database of contributing citizens, and extensive collaborations with newspapers, broadcasters and blogs, to name only a few (cf. Encyclo, 2015; Lichterman, 2014; Tofel, 2012).

4) *New players, new concepts*: Furthermore, the launches of national subsidiaries of "The Huffington Post" and "Buzzfeed" in Germany can be regarded as aspects of a transcultural powerplay in the business of journalism that transcends language borders even more easily than ever before and account for rapid market assimilation of imported concepts, formats, or brands. The "HuffPo principle" (cf. Warren, 2012: 3), standing for the concept of a "blog hub" (Pfister, 2014: 73), publishing a high number of articles per day, many from under- or unpaid writers, has managed to prevail also on the quite dense and saturated German news media market. It has quickly climbed up the ranks of the most frequented news websites (cf. TomorrowFocus, 2014). Beside Germany, the popular news brands have conquered several other European countries like France and Spain with their own newsroom staff that produce original content or translate it into local languages. With HuffPo and Buzzfeed, Europe imported a new style and understanding of what journalism can be – following, (not exclusively), criteria like emotionality, sensationalism, or comedy. New formats like 'listicles', a term mainly connected to articles that come

in the form of top-lists that include compiled and commented pictures, video clips, memes as well as other animations and visualizations, is an interesting example of this.

5) *Reluctance to accept editorial reformation*: The most important innovation issue in journalism relates to how to develop journalism for the digital sphere in the given organizational structures or outside of them (cf. Downie, Jr./Schudson, 2009; Grueskin/Seave/Graves, 2011; Anderson/Bell/Shirky, 2012). For most of journalism, corporate success is a basic requirement for accomplishing this. It is therefore not surprising that there is still a dominant economical and business-oriented understanding of innovation in the news industry. Hence, news organizations as enablers and marketers of journalism react to market changes first of all with a reconfiguration of their business strategy. It is also not very surprising that especially the big, old, established news organizations wrestle with the challenges posed by transmedial transformations. Such challenges were recently vividly expressed by the escalated internal tensions between the newsroom of the German print magazine "Der Spiegel" and the editorial staff of its sister company "Spiegel Online". When newsrooms turn out to be a nexus of contestation, where enthusiasm encounters reluctance, constrasting working perceptions and newsroom cultures can become involved in dramatic conflict. Long-cherished habits and routines are more difficult to rearrange than workflows and mentalities in organizational contexts that emphasized the conditions of online communication from the beginning. In 2014, editor-in-chief Wolfgang Büchner failed to putt across his reform scheme "Spiegel 3.0", a digitization concept that involved merging print and online staff – a plan that met the resistence of the print journalists that still play a privileged and decisive role in Hamburg's long-standing news organization. Despite all the hassle, the "Spiegel-Verlag" publishing group continues to be one of the most reputable news organizations in Europe, which is also the main reason for a widespread perplexity in response to the inability of the publishing powerhouse to approve not only cosmetic changes e.g. of the magazine's design or with sophisticated multimedia projects in the online section, but changes that prepare for the overarching requirements of digital modernity (cf. AFP, 2014; Langley, 2014).

A figurational research approach overcomes but does not neglect the historically manifested dual structure of the news economy: journalism responsible for news production and media institutions for generating revenue. Recent developments show an accelerated pace in the innovation cycle, technology-wise and with respect to new forms of communication that are adopted by a massive number of media users. News organizations try to react with adaptations of their portfolio, but struggle to promote (radical) organizational transformation in the newsrooms. As Ryfe (2012: 195-196) describes for the United States, a fixed set of work routines makes it difficult to conduct

editorial experiments and test new ideas. Paradoxically, then, journalism is astoninglishy well prepared to report on the day-to-day transformations of culture and society, but the journalists themselves are comparatively restitant to change. It seems difficult to change editorial habits and mentalities, accompanied by a crisis discourse whose central point of reference is the preservation of existing structures and newsroom cultures:

> There is another interesting phenomenon that is typical also for other well documented revolutions which is that a part of the elite, in our case professional elites: journalism, has already lost believe in itself, yet is so invested in its old professional self-conception and role models that it would actually rather go down in perish and disappear than change its practices or renew its relationship to its newly empowered audience. (Blau, 2013)

What makes the situation for news organizations even more complicated is the absence of a major single disruption that is solely responsible for the unrest in the news industry, a powerful disruptive factor that can be worked against strategically and that can be made responsible for all the upheaval and unrest in one of the formerly most stable industries of the western world.

5. Organisational learning as an operational concept for journalism transformation

Journalism does not find itself challenged for the first time by technological and social transformations. In earlier transformations, the mass press remodeled the newsroom organization and distribution, the telegraph and telephone revolutionized communication and news transmission in the 19th century, and as two electronic mass media – radio and television – broadened the mass media stage in the 20th century. During these times journalists were initially baffled by the possibilities provided to them by new technology – and quite a few saw a threat in them (cf. Glade/Lowrey, 2011). Journalists first reacted by transferring their established work routines and forms of presentation into the new media. For instance, only after a lengthy process of individual and collective adaptation and learning did radio and later television journalism develop their own languages and forms. It seems obvious that history might repeat itself in the case of the current development in digital journalism practice.

The concept of organizational learning lends itself quite well as an attempt to make sense of the required or actual measurable transformations of journalism deriving from the theoretical heuristic concept of communicative figurations. By investigating the determinants, constraints and the potential that is inherent in organizational structures (e.g. hierarchies, training opportunities, working time models, project management), change can be diagnosed

and also anticipated and shaped. In many news organizations, journalists tend to ignore how organizational, economic and cultural structures are fundamentally affected by mediatization and digitization. As Clay Shirky aptly puts it:

> When someone demands to know how we are going to replace newspapers, they are really demanding to be told that we are not living through a revolution. They are demanding to be told that old systems won't break before new systems are in place. They are demanding to be told that ancient social bargains aren't in peril, that core institutions will be spared, that new methods of spreading information will improve previous practice rather than upending it. They are demanding to be lied to. There are fewer and fewer people who can convincingly tell such a lie. (Shirky, 2009b)

It is debatable, of course, how the significance of each one of the ongoing transformation processes for the future of journalism should be assessed. The news industry mainly focuses on business strategies, trying to find a promising way out of the regressive economical development. Structural (instead of cyclical) market crises threaten the economic existence of news organizations, and therefore trigger compensation measures. However, the most serious problem for journalism lies in the inefficient responses of organizational management to the structural changes taking place in the news economy.

Exploratory strategies in implementing a model of "open innovation" (Chesbrough, 2003; 2006) into the newsroom have not yet become common practice. This is mostly due to existing working contexts that do not allow a model that "emphasizes purposive inflows and outflows of knowledge across the boundary of a firm in order to leverage external sources of knowledge and commercialization paths, respectively." (Chesbrough/Bogers, 2014: 16) However, some examples show that organizational practices that build on this idea can foster a dialogic relationship between newsrooms and their news brands, on the one hand, and their constituent audiences, on the other, to create "an arena for inbound and outbound innovation" (cf. Thorén/Ågerfalk/Edenius, 2014). Especially in the United States, some news organizations established research and development units to face the need for editorial innovation as well as marketing innovation (cf. Aitamurto/Lewis, 2013). However, the very potential of open innovation is connected to *lowering* the communicative distance between journalists and external actors – first and foremost to the audience. News organizations can respond to the structural change with a gradual as much as all-emcompassing reconfiguration of their strategy. Constellations and courses for action are therefore sorted and recombined as a conscious act. The difficulty is that institutional consistency is difficult to produce in times of change. In such moments, the process of reconfiguration can build on insights from figurational analysis, taking into account patterns of media use and information preferences deriving from an intertwined transmedial analysis of media ensembles, forms of communication, actor constellations and thematical framing.

The web of dependencies and influences which characterizes editorial work and creates the requirements for the implementation of innovations, both by individual actors as well as on the organizational level, is central for the effectivity of learning processes. Thus, reconfiguration calls less for the implementation of specific technical innovations, and more for a general social readiness for change. The organization-sociological concept of the *learning organization* (Senge, 1990; Argyris, 1999) suggests implementing innovations as planned and controlled transformations in the newsrooms. It also provides explanations of how the renewal or even reinvention of aspects of journalism can be analyzed as result of their organisational contexts of dependence and interaction.

For the innovation capability of a given newsroom it is important how the learning environment enables the staff on various levels to contribute to the innovation of work and structures. It is crucial to see that both the management and the editorial organization level in newsrooms depend on innovation efforts that include an assessment of training successes, difficulties and frictional losses incurred with respect to the conciliation of the overall strategic aims and individual needs and interests of the staff. Here, following the figurational approach both the personal requirements of the actors – especially habits and aims, but also feelings – as well as organizational and structural determinants and constants with their interdependencies have to be considered.

Cooke (1997) and Cooke and Morgan (1998) have identified *institutional reflexivity* as a signifier of organizational learning. Institutional reflexivity – the "systematic process which combines learning and intelligence such that, in a number of feedback loops, the system receives guidance." (Cooke/Morgan, 1998: 73) – points to the willingness and ability of actors in an institution to critically observe and question their field of own action and its organizational framing. With its institutional reflexivity, the innovation capability of an organization can be increased for example by trying to reduce learning barriers (e.g. in terms of further training) or by the installation of free (creative) spaces (i.e. providing time and organizational flexibility) for creative processes:

> At the heart of a learning organization is a shift of mind – from seeing ourselves as separate from the world to connected to the world, from seeing problems as caused by someone or something 'out there' to seeing how our own actions create the problems we experience. A learning organization is a place where people are continually discovering how they create their reality. And how they can change it. (Senge, 1990: 12-13)

In her empirical study on human resource development in newspaper publishing houses, Pühringer (2007) came to conclusion that "a structured staff development in newsrooms is rather an alien concept" (ibid: 223 – translated by the author). Such deficiency, especially in knowledge-intensive companies such as newspaper publishing houses, has hampered the transfer of knowledge, and thereby the core business. Learning processes in newsrooms have predomi-

nantly depended on individual and social experiences that manifest themselves in norms and routines, but less on systematic learning concepts that are tailored towards the newsroom.

Organizational learning correlates directly with individual learning on the part of the staff (cf. Edmondson/Moingeon, 1999: 160-162). In situations of crisis, organizational learning aims at drawing lessons from the difficulties faced. A common objective is to develop a new understanding of the organizational identity, to experiment constructively with existing knowlege and skills and to mould the feelings, attitudes and the behaviour that led to turmoil (cf. Antonacopoulou/Sheaffer, 2014: 10). In such moments, the conditions for organizational learning are determined on three different but closely interwoven levels: The individual as an agent of organizational learning, the group as the social context and intermediate collective to pass on knowledge, and the organization itself as the overall context in which knowledge sediments as organizational knowledge (cf. Nonaka, 1994). In terms of organizational hierarchies and decision-making powers in journalism, this concerns the individual journalist, the department as narrow and the newsroom as broader type of group, as well as the news organization as a whole.

In a transmedia working context and in addition to their basic professional skills, journalists need greater flexibility in the application and adaptation of innovative practices and tools. Moreover, given the structural transformations, organizational, strategic and learning skills gain relevance for the editorial work. The increasing interaction within integrated newsrooms and with participating media users furthermore calls for social skills such as leadership and team skills (cf. table 1).

Table 1: Relevant competences of journalists in digital modernity (based on Senge 1990)

Area of competence	Competences	Background
Professional skills	Organisational skill	Working independently, project management skills, everyday balance between different working levels (e.g. writing for the newspaper/social media activity)
	Economical skills	Knowledge about sensitivity and engagement for the marketing of journalistic content
	Strategic skills	Knowledge about the development of personal (specialized) professional, anticipatory determination and testing of emerging publication potentials
	Learning skills	Learning independently, willingness to participate in ongoing vocational training, openness and ability to appropriate and adapt to new practices
Social skills	Leadership skills	Self-reflection skills, recognizing personal strengths and weaknesses, responsiveness and willingness to cooperate within the newsroom and with the audience, team-oriented delegation of tasks
	Team skills	Project work including different professional expertises, creation of dossiers, collaborative investigation projects

6. Empirical insights on newsroom innovation strategies

In many news organizations, economical rationalisations have dominated over investment in the editorial domain in recent years. This has caused an unfavorable climate for innovation, which is commonly driven by employee motivation and incentives, job satisfaction and willingness to change (cf. Bilton, 2007: 28). In a recent survey of German newspaper newsrooms, nearly three quarters of the journalists interviewed demanded more responsibility for themselves in the development of new business strategies for their publishing (Weichert/Kramp/Welker, 2015).

The study also sheds interesting light on one of the primary questions connected to newsroom innovation, namely how newsrooms approach their audiences (and engage them) to encourage dialog and knowledge exchange and to also boost participation and interest in their reporting. Lowering the communicative distance between journalists and citizens seems to be one of

the biggest difficulties newsrooms face. However, "user participation" does not seem to be prioritized by journalists. Although more than two thirds of the interviewees say that social network sites like Facebook are important for their editorial work this does not seem to have significant consequences for newsroom routines. Social media use by journalists is mainly directed towards investigations and not primarily towards reader dialog. Thus, whereas one third of the interviewed journalists believe in the value of "low distance" to their recipients, their statements on user participation paint a different picture. The notion of a low communicative distance could be related to the fact that the surveyed newsrooms include mostly regional and local newspapers, which due to their distrubition area are supposed to be closer to their readers than most other news organizations. From the perspective of the journalists, these audiences apparently do not need additional participation opportunities to engage with the reporting. De facto, the openness of newspaper journalists towards the inclusion of their readers has obvious limits: While the participation of citizens in journalistic inquiries is generally deemed important or taken into consideration by a clear majority of the respondents, a more extensive and intensive participation is appreciated only by a minority. A systematic involvement of the audience in editorial work processes is therefore still not a part of common newsroom culture. At the same time, newsrooms make strong efforts to support further vocational training. Training opportunites are used regularly and the aspiration of life-long-learning is widely accepted. Nevertheless, the study also indicates a rather individual exercise of further education with a plethora of external training services and formats (ibid.: 225-228).

These results are similar to those of a transnational study for which journalists in eleven European countries were interviewed six years earlier. The beneficial potentials of the Internet were welcomed and utilized, but more profound consequences for the editorial culture were largely negated:

> The profession has striven for its status among other professions in society since the 1800s. Even now, there seems to be an internal need to adhere to practices which ensure that status, and to maintain the particular values that both generate and legitimise those practices. Newspaper journalists appear to want to stay newspaper journalists. This is not to say that they are recalcitrant technophobes, but they welcome the Net when it suits their existing professional ends, and are much less enthusiastic about, and unlikely to promote, radical change in news work. (O'Sullivan/Heinonen, 2008: 368)

A number of further studies on media management strategies have made a similar diagnosis: Change management in news organizations is still at an early stage (e.g. García-Avilés/Kaltenbrunner/Meier, 2014; Kreutzer/Land, 2013: 209-248; Järventie-Thesleff/Moisander/Villi, 2014). Two of the biggest German publishing corporations – Axel Springer and Gruner+Jahr – have recently gained attention by sending executives to Silicon Valley on "innovation field trips", hoping to get inspiration from aspiring pioneer companies. This

has taken place in the middle of incisive cost cuts in their newsrooms (cf. Kontakter, 2015; Waters, 2013). Amid these somewhat inconsistent and selective change management schemes, a leaked internal innovation report by the the "New York Times" also caused a sensation. The report was immediately ranked among "the key documents of this media age" (Benton, 2014) because of its noticeable account of institutional reflexivity. The report, which was not meant to be published in the first place and bore the title "Innovation" (Ellick et al., 2014), revealed that even the NYT with its strong technology, consumer insight and R&D departments sees itself as a divided company[3].

Rigorously, the report stresses how even leading news organizations have to fight for their audience, promote their journalism for appreciation and most importantly connect with their recipients: The report names the readers of the NYT "our greatest untapped resource" (Ellick et al., 2014: 26) who expect a two-way relationship with the newsroom. On its strengths the report recognizes quality journalism that is continuously provided by the paper. On the weaknesses it urges the staff to pursue user-generated content, events and "other forms of engagement" – without dropping its high standards and values. Moreover, the staff is advised to invest more effort in training to make the most of social media and to enhance the user experience. This means enabling readers to personalize their news consumption or to follow news stories as they develop over the length of time or become relevant again long after their initial publication.

In its intriguing explicitness, the report highlights the transforming *constellation of actors* (e.g. user-generated content), the transforming *forms of communications* (e.g. social media), the transforming *media ensembles* (e.g. digital first, de-emphasize print), and transforming *thematic framing* (e.g. re-assessment of newsroom flexibility and orientation) from the very perspective of the news organization's editorial heart. Specific suggestions include the appointment of a task force to examine the needs and implications and to reassemble the transformation plans as well as an intensive idea exchange with scholarship and digital companies. All signs seem to be pointing towards becoming more adaptive, more accessible, more cooperative.

The British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) follows a similar approach with its "Future of the News" project, collecting experiences, assessments and predictions by researchers and business insiders, including journalists. The summarizing report that was published in early 2015 highlights three main strategic steps. Also these steps correlate with the four figurational aspects of transformation. In order to sustain its status as a trusted, responsible and reliable news source, the report suggest: 1) offering more personalised and location-based news to audiences (deriving from a changing *constellation of actors* with digitally empowered media users); 2) developing online widgets to improve understanding of the news and leading innovation in data journalism

(deriving from changing *media ensembles* with more productive digital media technologies); 3) creating ways to engage our audiences in our coverage (deriving from changing *forms of communication* and *thematical framing* that constitute dialog requirements) (cf. Harding, 2015: 44).

Looking further into the scientific discussion on current transformation measures in the news industry, the following areas of innovation can be identified:

Management: i.a. business models (e.g. paid content, diversification, location based advertising); cultivation of entrepreneurial thinking in newsrooms, involvement in business strategies (cf. Gillmor, 2010; Briggs, 2012) – in newsroom contexts, journalists are increasingly encouraged to consider the economical aspects of their work and market their output strategically.

Presentation formats: i.a. personalization, automatization (cf. Morozov, 2012); visualization of big data (cf. Gray/Chambers/Bounegru, 2012); interactions: dialog-orientatation, digital storytelling (cf. Blaine, 2013), interactive documentaries (cf. Linington, 2013), messaging (cf. O'Donovan, 2014) or newsgames (cf. Bogost/Ferrari/Schweizer, 2011) – multimedia, interactive and mobile aspects gain importance in journalism and demand more sophisticated technical skills from journalists to handle digital tools creatively and purposefully.

Working processes: i.a. digital investigation methods (e.g. crowd sourcing, social media research, big data analysis, drones); various concepts for open, collaborative and flexible working processes: liquid journalism (Deuze, 2008), process journalism (Jarvis, 2009), network journalism (Heinrich, 2011), connective journalism (Lowrey/Glade, 2011), participative journalism (Singer et al., 2011) or engaged journalism (Batsell, 2015) – media users can occupy different roles and functions and thereby can participate in the journalistic working process, e.g. as corrective, whistleblower or publication partners.

Newsroom organisation: i.a. further development of integrative concepts (collaboration between print and online as well as media developers and designers); joint vocational training (e.g. transmedia workshops); transparency and opening: e.g. open newsroom (cf. Santo, 2011) – promotion of cooperation via appreciation of project management in order to realize specific newsroom purposes jointly.

Institutional collaboration: i.a. with non-profit projects (funded by foundations, donations, scholarships) or with institutions of higher education – institutional collaborations between the newsroom and the classroom promise practical synergies and sustainable impulses for media companies (cf. Kramp/Weichert, 2012)[4]: Besides the exchange of content, newsrooms can benefit from innovative ideas from research and development, from stimuli and support to test business models and funding concepts, from cost reductions through third-party-funded projects for concept development, from endurance

and independence in the preparation of long-term strategies as well as from the constant availability and active inclusion of motivated students who again gain an easier entry into professional life.

In the light of such transformation processes that have to be managed, the need for more intense collaborations between journalism practice and journalism studies are obvious: The paradigm of change also occupies journalism research and characterizes a whole series of newly established or tradition-rich academic journals such as "Journalism", "Digital Journalism", "Journalism Practice" or "New Media and Mass Communication". Hence, journalists, media managers and scholars are quite close to each other in their similar efforts to make change tangible and calculable. It applies to both sides to find methods to detect change, to understand mechanisms of change, and thus to determine their own bias in a new way (cf. Picard, 2014; Steensen/Ahva, 2015, and the other articles in the special issue of "Digital Journalism").

At the moment, the idea of a newsroom culture that merges transmedial presentation forms, interactive and fluid elements of online communication and links them flexibly to individual interests and skills, corresponds with a more normative conception of a newsroom than to actual conditions. Some time ago, Pavlik (2001) predicted a considerable push for the breadth of communication modalities, hypermedia, heightened audience involvement, dynamic content and customization (personalization), which in all would promote a further "contextualization" of journalism.[5] But today, the scope for journalistic actors is still essentially contingent on the conditions of the mass media organizational structures that shape their attitudes and practices.

Journalists rely both on a solid framework and sufficient freedom of action in order to provide substantiated, reliable and creative work. Innovations such as the establishment of news desks, or later of integrated newsrooms for print and online staff, already led to changes in newsroom cultures because they reorganized working routines, forms of communication and ways of thinking as well. Such a reconstruction of newsroom structures is usually associated with the intention to increase the efficiency of editorial processes, which also means to ensure ever more and ever faster reporting (cf. Blöbaum, 2011; Meier, 2007; Phillips, 2012; Saltzis/Dickinson, 2008; Tameling/Broersma, 2013). Following the introduction of news desks as an innovative centralized organizational structure, the duration of editorial operations has decreased significantly. The rebuilding of newsrooms into integrated transmedial-working contexts and centralized news desks strived for greater cooperation between the different editorial personnel, flatter hierarchies, and a higher responsibility of the staff in order to stimulate innovation (cf. Hollifield, 2011). Yet, such organizational innovations do not automatically provide journalists with the required time and inclination to conduct elaborate and thorough investigations. On the contrary, innovative research tools have actually increased the pressure of expectation

to deliver more even more quickly. From the perspective of journalism, the blessing of technology can thus quickly develop into a "tyranny" (Witschge, 2012), as more and more aspects of reporting are no longer possible without technological tools and thus generate new dependencies.

New constellations of actors, new forms of communication, new organizational concepts and an altered thematical framing are all key elements of a new newsroom culture: The culture of editorial cooperation is shaped by values and beliefs, as well as roles, practices and routines. The problem of the transformation of a newsroom culture is only secondarily connected to the allocation of new roles, the implementation of new practices and the enforcement of new routines. The premise for change is a process of rethinking; the acceptance of a change affecting one's professional identity and by this a much more fundamental transformation process:

> The difference between online news and its print and broadcast siblings is that it can be interactive, it can be linked and searched, and it can be multimedia. Playing to those strengths requires a different mindset about the journalistic process, which is only just now undergoing exploration. (Kolodzy, 2006: 188)

Concerning these transformations, the risks and opportunities lie closely together: Previously unknown and partly unimaginable journalistic roles like 'community manager' or 'curator' gain currency. They can enhance the dialogic relationship with the recipients, perhaps not producing contents on their own but compiling and arranging content that is professionally produced or user-generated elsewhere (on the web) (cf. Bakker, 2014).

7. Conclusions

The future of journalism will depend critically on how journalists and entire newsrooms are able, keen and ready to connect to the evermore complex and heterogenous information ecosphere and build, deepen and strengthen their relationships to "the people formerly known as the audience" (cf. Rosen, 2006). Although the transformation of newsroom cultures might continue more slowly than radically, there is no turning back: For journalism, a century of stability is over. Journalists can benefit from listening carefully to what their users care about and where they move, from seeking contact with them and learning from them and their appropriation practices. To stimulate and drive these learning processes, change managers are needed who have an evident journalistic qualification and connect openness with proficiency. Movers and shakers in journalism must not lack sensitivity to the concerns of their own. On this foundation,

journalism research and journalism practice can contribute their share to push forward trend-setting progresses, following thorough observations of continual transformations of media, society and culture.

Notes

1 The credibility of the news distributed by established news organizations is distinctly contested by members of specific social movements who use social media (e.g. Facebook, Twitter) to organize protest rallies and criticize an alleged manupulation of public opinion by conspiring mass media. Against this background, the term "Lügenpresse" (English: "Lying press"), which was used frequently in German history by several actors like the National Socialists as a combat term to intentionally discredit and villainise the free press, was revisited by the protesters (cf. Chandler, 2015).

2 Matthias Döpfner, CEO of publisher and media corporation Axel Springer SE, expects that digital respecitively eletronic paper might widely substitute paper made from wood, but preserving the "intellectual charm" of the printed product (cf. Elkman, 2014; kressreport, 2014, referring to an invention by Samsung, cf. Eletronics Newsweekly, 2014).

3 The report was written by an eight-person team around A.G. Sulzberger which was assembled by the publishing company as a step to "reflect[.] a critical shift from the original mission" and to help the company "adjust to this moment of promise and peril" (ibid: 8), meaning: raising awareness and making suggestions about what the digital future holds and demands from everyone involved in the news organization.

4 There are, however, also dysfunctional developments in corporate management that threaten to undermine these potentials, as seen in the United Kingdom where a publishing group charges journalism students for their work published in its newspapers (cf. Greenslade, 2015).

5 On the historical dimension of "contextual journalism", see the conceptualization by Fink/Schudson, 2014.

References

AFP (2014) 'German news weekly Spiegel splits with chief editor'. Downloaded on 12 December 2014 from http://www.globalpost.com/dispatch/news/afp/141204/german-news-weekly-spiegel-splits-chief-editor

Aitamurto, T., Lewis, S. C. (2013) 'Open innovation in digital journalism: Examining the impact of Open APIs at four news organizations', *New Media & Society*, 15(2): 314-331.

Allan, S. (2013) 'Afterword', pp. 255-262 in R. Scullion, R. Gerodimos, D. Jackson, D. G. Lilleker (Eds.) *The Media, Political Participation and Empowerment*. London, New York: Routledge.

Anderson, C. W., Bell, E., Shirky, C. (2012) *Post-industrial Journalism. Adapting of the Present*. New York: Tow Center for Digital Journalism. http://towcenter.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/11/TOWCenter-Post_Industrial_Journalism.pdf

Antonacopoulou, E. P., Sheaffer, Z. (2014) 'Learning *in* Crisis: Rethinking the Relationship Between Organizational Learning and Crisis Management', *Journal of Management Inquiry*, 23(1): 5-21.

Argyris, C. (1999) *On Organizational Learning*. Massachusetts: Blackwell.
Babcock, W. A. (Ed.) (2012) *Media Accountability. Who will watch the watchdog in the Twitter age?* Oxon, New York: Routledge.
Bakker, P. (2014) 'Mr. Gates Returns. Curation, community management and other new roles for journalists', *Journalism Studies*, 15(5): 596-606.
Batsell, J. (2015) *Engaged Journalism. Connecting with Digitally Empowered News Audiences*. New York, Chichester: Columbia University Press.
Benton, J. (2014) 'The leaked New York Times innovation report is one of the key documents of this media age', NiemanLab, 15 May 2014, http://www.niemanlab.org/2014/05/the-leaked-new-york-times-innovation-report-is-one-of-the-key-documents-of-this-media-age
Bilton, C. (2007) *Management and Creativity. From Creative Industries to Creative Management.* Malden, Oxford, Carlton: Blackwell.
Blaine, M. (2013) *The Digital Reporter's Notebook. Reporting with Online Media*. London, New York: Routledge.
Blau, W. (2013) Media Transformation: What Your Future CEO Needs to Know. Speech held on the occasion of the Graduation Ceremony for the Master's Programme "International Media Innovation Management" (IMIM), *forum for journalism and media, Vienna*, 2 October 2013, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rLA1WXTH4QA
Blöbaum, B., Kutscha, A., Bonk, S., Karthaus, A. (2011) 'Immer mehr und immer schneller – Journalistische Handlungen in innovativen Redaktionsstruturen', pp. 43-60 in J. Wolling, A. Will, C. Schumann (Eds.) (2011) *Medieninnovationen. Wie Medienentwicklungen die Kommunikation in der Gesellschaft verändern*. Konstanz: UVK.
Bogost, I., Ferrari, S., Schweizer, B. (2011) 'Newsgames. An introduction', pp. 84-98 in G. Meikle, G. Redden (Eds.) *News Online. Tranformations and Continuities*. Basingstoke, New York: Palgrave.
Briggs, M. (2012) *Entrepreneurial Journalism: How to Build What's Next for News*. Los Angeles, London, New Delhi, Singapore, Washington DC: Sage.
Bruns, A. (2008) 'The Active Audience: Transforming Journalism from Gatekeeping to Gatewachting', pp. 171-184 in C. Paterson, D. Domingo (Eds.) *Making Online News: The Ethnography of New Media Production*. New York: Peter Lang.
Castells, M. (2010) *The Information Age. Economy, Society, and Culture. Vol. 1: The Rise of the Network Society. Second Edition*. Chichester: Blackwell.
Chandler, A. (2015) 'The "Worst" German Word of the Year', *The Atlantic*, 14 January 2015, http://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2015/01/the-worst-german-word-of-the-year/384493
Chesbrough, H. (2003) *Open Innovation. The New Imperative for Creating and Profiting from Technology*. Boston (MA): Harvard Business School Press.
Chesbrough, H. (2006) 'A New Paradigm for Understanding Industrial Innovation', pp. 1-12, in H. Chesbrough, W. Vanhaverbeke, J. West (Eds.) *Open Innovation: Researching a New Paradigm*. New York: Oxford University Press.
Chesbrough, H./Bogers, M. (2014) 'Explicating Open Innovation: Clarifying an Emerging Paradigm for Understanding Innovation', pp. 3-28, in H. Chesbrough, W. Vanhaverbeke, J. West (Eds.) *New Frontiers in Open Innovation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Christensen, C., Skok, D., Allworth, J. (2012) Breaking News. Mastering the art of disruptive innovation in journalism. *Nieman Reports*, 66(3): 6-20.
Conboy, M. (2013) *Journalism Studies*. The Basics. Routledge: London.
Cooke, P. (1997) 'Institutional Reflexivity and the Rise of the Region State', in G. Benko, U. Strohmayer (Eds) *Space and Social Theory: Interpreting Modernity and Post-Modernity*. Oxford: Blackwell.
Cooke, P., Morgan, K. (1998) *The Associational Economy: Firms, Regions, and Innovation.* Oxford: Oxford University Press

Deuze, M., The Janissary Collective (2012) 'Mobile Media Life', pp. 296-308 in: P. Snickars, P. Vonderau (Eds.) *Moving Data. The iPhone and the Future of Media*. New Yor, Chichester: Columbia University Press.

Deuze, M. (2005) 'What is journalism? Professional identity and ideology of journalists reconsidered', *Journalism,* 6(4): 442-464.

Deuze, M. (2008) 'The Changing Context of News Work: Liquid Journalism and Monitorial Citizenship', *International Journal of Communication,* 2(2008): 848-865.

Doctor, K. (2014) 'The newsonomics of European crowds, funding new news', *Niemanlab*, 26 June 2014, http://www.niemanlab.org/2014/06/the-newsonomics-of-european-crowds-funding-new-news

Donsbach, W. (2009) *Entzauberung eines Berufs. Was die Deutschen vom Journalismus erwarten und wie sie enttäuscht werden* (Demystification of a profession. What the German expects from journalism and how they get disappointed). Konstanz: UVK.

Downie, Jr., L., Schudson, M. (2009) *The Reconstruction of American Journalism*. New York: Columbia University, Graduate School of Journalism, http://www.journalism.columbia.edu/system/documents/1/original/Reconstruction_of_Journalism.pdf

Dzur, A. W. (2002) 'Public Journalism and Deliberative Democracy', Polity 34(3): 313-336.

Edmonds, R. (2014) 'Naysayers are swarming on Clayton Christensen and his "gospel of innovation"', *Poynter*, 19 June 2014, http://www.poynter.org/news/media-innovation/255392/naysayers-are-swarming-on-clayton-christensen-and-his-gospel-of-innovation

Edmondson, A., Moingeon, B. (1999) 'Learning, Trust and Organizational Change', pp. 157-175 in M. Easterby-Smith, J. Burgoyne, L. Araujo (Eds.) (1999) *Organizational Learning and the Learning Organization: Developments in Theory and Practice.* London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi: Sage.

Elctronics Newsweekly (2014) 'Samsung Display Co., Ltd. Patent Application Titled "Electronic Paper and Method of Displaying Image on the Same"', *Electronics Newsweekly*, 12 November 2014, 1715.

Elias, N. (1978) *What is Sociology?* London: Hutchinson.

Elkann, A. (2014) 'Interview with Mathias Döpfner, Axel Springer SE', *AlainElkmanInterviews.com*, 03 December 2014, http://alainelkanninterviews.com/mathias-doepfner

Ellick, A. B., Bryant, A., Sulzberger, A. G., O'Leary, A., Phelps, A., Gianni, E., Story, L., Duhigg, C., Galinsky, J., Peskoe, B. (2014) *The New York Times Innovation Report*. New York: New York Times.

Encyclo (2015) ProPublica, http://www.niemanlab.org/encyclo/propublica

Fink, K., Schudson, M. (2014) 'The rise of contextual journalism, 1950s-2000s', *Journalism*, 15(1:, 3-20.

Fioretti, N., Russ-Mohl, S. (Eds.) (2009) *Merging Media, Converging Newsrooms*. Lugano: Università Della Svizzera Italiana.

Foster, R. (2012) *News Plurality in a Digital World*. Oxford: Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, https://reutersinstitute.politics.ox.ac.uk/sites/default/files/News%20Plurality%20in%20a%20Digital%20World.pdf

Franklin, B. (2014) 'The Future of Journalism. In an age of digital media and economic uncertainty', *Journalism Practice,* 8(5): 469-487.

García-Avilés, J. A., Kaltenbunner A., Meier, K. (2014) 'Media Convergence Revisited. Lessons learned on newsroom integration in Austria, Germany and Spain', *Journalism Practice*, 8(5): 573-584.

Gillmor, D. (2010) *Mediactive,* http://mediactive.com/book

Glade, P., Lowrey, W. (2011) 'Reshaping the journalistic culture', pp. 22-42 in W. Lowrey, P. Glade, (Eds.) (2011) *Changing the News. The Forces Shaping Journalism in Uncertain Times*. New York,London: Routledge.

Gordon, J. (2012) 'Ambient News and the Para-iMojo. Journalism in the Age of the iPhone', pp. 211-222 in Snickars, P., Vonderau, P. (Eds.) *Moving Data. The iPhone and the Future of Media*. New York, Chichester: Columbia University Press.

Gray, J., Chambers, L., Bounegru, L. (2012) *The Data Journalism Handbook*. Sebastopol: O'Reilly.

Greenslade, R. (2015) 'Newsquest/Gannett plans to charge students to write for its titles', *theguardian.com*, 10 February 2015, http://www.theguardian.com/media/greenslade/2015/feb/10/newsquestgannett-plans-to-charge-students-to-write-for-its-titles

Grueskin, B., Seave, A., Graves, L. (2011) *The Story so Far. What We Know About the Business of Digital Journalism*. New York: Tow Center for Digital Journalism, http://cjrarchive.org/img/posts/report/The_Story_So_Far.pdf

Habermas, J. (1989) *The structural transformation of the public sphere*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Harding, J. (2015) 'The Future of News. Report', *BBC News Magazine*, 29 January 2015, http://newsimg.bbc.co.uk/1/shared/bsp/hi/pdfs/29_01_15future_of_news.pdf

Hartley, J. (2000) 'Communicative Democracy in a Redactional Society. The Future of Journalism Studies', *Journalism*, 1: 39-48.

Heinrich, A. (2011) *Network Journalism. Journalistic Practice in Interactive Spheres*. New York, London: Routledge.

Hepp, A. (2013) 'The communicative figurations of mediatized worlds: Mediatization research in times of the "mediation of everything"', *European Journal of Communication,* 28(6): 615-629.

Hepp, A. (2014) 'Communicative Figurations: Researching cultures of mediatization', pp. 83-99 in L. Kramp, N. Carpentier, A. Hepp, I. Tomanić Trivundža, H. Nieminen, R. Kunelius, T. Olsson, E. Sundin, R. Kilborn (Eds.) *Media Practice and Everyday Agency in Europe*. Bremen: edition lumière.

Hepp, A., Hasebrink, U. (2013) *Human interaction and communicative figurations. The transformation of mediatized cultures and societies. Communicative Figurations Working Paper No. 2*, April 2013, http://www.kommunikative-figurationen.de/fileadmin/redak_kofi/Arbeitspapiere/CoFi_EWP_No-2_Hepp_Hasebrink.pdf

Hepp, A., Hasebrink, U. (2014) 'Human interaction and communicative figurations. The transformation of mediatized cultures and societies', pp. 249-271 in K. Lundby (ed.) *Mediatization of communication*. Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter.

Himelboim, I., McCreery, S. (2012) 'New technology, old practices: Examining news websites from a professional perspective', *Covergence*, 18(2012): 427-444.

Hollifield, A. (2011) 'Changing perception of organizations', pp. 193-212 in W. Lowrey, P. Glade, Peter (Eds.) (2011) *Changing the News. The Forces Shaping Journalism in Uncertain Times*. New York, London: Routledge.

Järventie-Thesleff, R., Moisander, J., Villi, M. (2014) 'The Strategic Challenge of Continuous Change in Multi-Platform Media Organizations — A Strategy-as-Practice Perspective', I*nternational Journal on Media Management,* 16(3-4): 123-138.

Jarvis, J. (2009) 'Journalism as capitalism: Now that's God's work', *Buzzmachine*, 2 October 2009, http://buzzmachine.com/2009/10/02/journalism-as-capitalism-now-thats-gods-work

Jarvis, J. (2009) 'Product v. process journalism: The myth of perfection v. beta culture', *Buzzmachine*, 7 June 2009, http://buzzmachine.com/2009/06/07/processjournalism

Jarvis, J. (2013) 'Maybe news is just more efficient', *Buzzmachine*, 6 October 2013, http://buzzmachine.com/2013/10/06/maybe-news-is-just-more-efficient

Jenkins, H. (2009) *Confronting the Challenges of Participatory Culture*. Cambridge: Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Kaun, A., Schwarzenegger, C. (2014) '"No media, less life?" Online disconnection in mediatized worlds', *First Monday*, 19(11): http://uncommonculture.org/ojs/index.php/fm/article/view/5497/4158

Kaye, J., Quinn, S. (2010) F*unding Journalism in the Digital Age. Business Models, Strategies, Issues and Trends*. New York: Peter Lang.

Kolodzy, J. (2006) *Convergence Journalism: Writing and Reporting Across the News Media*. Lanham: Roman & Littlefield.

Kolodzy, J., Grant, A. E., DeMars, T. R., Wilkinson, J. S. (2014) 'The Convergence Years', *Journalism & Mass Communication Educator,* 69(2): 197-205.

Kontakter (2015) 'Frank Stahmer zieht es ins Silicon Valley' [Frank Stahmer is drawn to Silicon Valley], *Der Kontakter*, 28: 05 February 2015.

Kramp, L., Weichert, S. (2012) I*nnovationsreport Journalismus. [Journalism Innovation Report]. With Theses and Recommendations in English*. Bonn: Friedrich-Ebert-Foundation.

kressreport (2014) 'kress meint' [kress reckons], *kressreport*, 4: 03 October 2014.

Kreutzer, R. T., Land, K.-H. (2013) *Digital Darwinism. Branding and Business Models in Jeopardy*. Heidelberg, New York, Dordrecht, London: Springer.

Krotz, F. (2007) 'The meta-process of 'mediatization' as a conceptual frame', *Global Media and Communication,* 3(3): 256-260.

Krotz, F. (2009) 'Mediatization: a concept with which to grasp media and societal change', pp. 19-38 in Lundby, K. (Ed.) *Mediatization: Concept, Changes, Consequences*. New York: Peter Lang.

Langley, A. (2014) 'What happens if paper and online staff merge? Spiegel journalists say disaster', *Behind New Eyes*, 31 October 2014, http://behindneweyes.com/2014/10/31/what-happens-if-paper-and-online-staff-merge-spiegel-journalists-say-disaster

Lepore, J. (2014) 'The Disruption Machine', *The New Yorker*, 23 June 2014, http://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2014/06/23/the-disruption-machine

Lichterman, J. (2014) 'How ProPublica uses a "reporting recipe" to cook up collaboration', *Niemanlab*, 05 August 2014, http://www.niemanlab.org/2014/08/how-propublica-uses-a-reporting-recipe-to-cook-up-collaboration

Linington, J. (2013) 'Interactive documentary and the future of journalism', *i-Docs*, 31 July 2013, http://i-docs.org/2013/07/31/interactive-documentary-and-the-future-of-journalism

Livingstone, S., Lunt, P. (2014) 'Mediatization: an emerging paradigm for media and communication research?, pp. 703-723 in P. Lundby (Ed.) *Mediatization of communication*. Berlin, New York: Walter De Gruyter.

Lowrey, W., Glade, P. (2011) 'Connective Journalism', pp. 270-286 in W. Lowrey, P. Glade (Ed.) (2011) *Changing the News. The Forces Shaping Journalism in Uncertain Times*. New York,London: Routledge.

Lülfs, R. (2013) *Nachhaltigkeit und organisationales Lernen. Eine transdisziplinäre Analyse*. Wiesbaden: Springer Gabler.

Meier, K. (2007) 'Innovations in Central European Newsrooms', *Journalism Practice*, 1(2007): 4-19.

Moldaschl, M. (2010) 'Depistomologie des Organisationslernens. Beiträge zur Wissenschaft des Scheiterns', pp. 81-92 in C. Heidsiek, J. Petersen (Eds.) *Organisationslernen im 21. Jahrhundert. Festschrift für Harald Geißler*. Frankfurt am Main.

Morozov, E. (2012) 'A Robot Stole My Pulitzer! How automated journalism and loss of reading privacy may hurt civil discourse', *Slate*, 19 March 2012, http://www.slate.com/articles/technolgy/future_tense/2012/03/narrative_science_robot_journalists_customized_news_and_the_danger_to_civil_discourse_.html

Nelson, C., Treichler, P. A., Grossberg, L. (1992) 'Cultural Studies: An Introduction' pp. 1-16 in L. Grossberg, C. Nelson, P. Treichler (Eds.) *Culturals Studies*. New York, Oxon: Routledge.

Nielsen, R. K. (2012) *Ten Years That Shook the Media World. Big Questions and Big Trends in International Media Developments*. Oxford: Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, https://reutersinstitute.politics.ox.ac.uk/fileadmin/documents/Publications/Working_Papers/Nielsen_-_Ten_Years_that_Shook_the_Media.pdf

Nonaka, I. (1994) 'A Dynamic Theory of Organizational Knowledge Creation', *Organization Science*, 5(1): 14-37.

O'Donovan, C. (2014) 'Around the world, media outlets and journalists are using chat apps to spread the news', *Niemanlab*, 10 June 2014, http://www.niemanlab.org/2014/06/around-the-world-media-outlets-and-journalists-are-using-chat-apps-to-spread-the-news

O'Donovan, C. (2014a) 'Germany is getting a data-centric nonprofit newsroom and hoping to build new models for news', *Niemanlab*, 17 July 2014, http://www.niemanlab.org/2014/07/germany-is-getting-a-data-centric-nonprofit-newsroom-and-hoping-to-build-new-models-for-news

O'Sullivan, J. Heinonen, A. (2008) 'Old Values, New Media. Journalism role perceptions in a changing world', *Journalism Practice*, 2(3), 357-371.

Pavlik, J. (2001) *Journalism and New Media*. New York, Chichester: Columbia University Press.

Peil, C., Röser, J. (2014) 'The Meaning of Home in the Context of Digitization, Mobilization and Mediatization', pp. 233-250 in A. Hepp, F. Krotz (Eds.) *Mediatized Worlds. Culture and Society in a Media Age*. Basingstoke, New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Pfister, D. S. (2014) N*etworked Media. Networked Rhetorics. Attention and Deliberation in the Early Blogosphere*. University Park (PA): Pennsylvania State University.

Phillips, A. (2012) 'Faster and shallower: homogenisation, cannibalisation and the death of reporting', pp. 81-98 in P. Lee-Wright, A. Phillips, T. Witschge (2012) *Changing Journalism*. New York, London: Routledge.

Picard, R. G. (2014) 'Twilight or New Dawn of Journalism? Evidence from the changing news ecosystem', *Digital Journalism*, 2(3), 273-283.

Pühringer, K. (2007) *Journalisten – Kapital und Herausforderung im Zeitungsunternehmen. Implementierung von Personalentwicklungsinstrumenten und deren Wirkung auf redaktionelles Wissensmanagement, Mitarbeitermotivation und Personalfluktuation*. Berlin: Lit.

Reich, Z. (2013) 'The Impact of Technology on News Reporting: A Longitudinal Perspective', *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 90(3): 417-434.

Rosen, J. (2006) 'The People Formerly Known as the Audience', *Pressthink*, 27 June 2006, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/jay-rosen/the-people-formerly-known_1_b_24113.html

Rosenbaum, S. (2011) *Curation Nation*. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Ryfe, D. M. (2012) *Can Journalism Survive? An Inside Look at American Newsrooms*. Cambridge, Malden: Polity Press.

Saltzis, K., Dickinson, R. (2008) 'Inside the changing newsroom: journalists' responses to media convergence', *Aslib Proceedings: New Information Perspectives,* 60(3): 216-228.

Santo, A. (2011) 'Experiments in the Open Newsroom Concept', *Columbia Journalism Review*, 17 November 2011, http://www.cjr.org/the_news_frontier/experiments_in_the_open_newsro.php

Schmidt, J. (2013) 'Practices of Networked Identity', pp. 365-374 in J. Hartley, J. Burgess, A. Bruns, (Eds.) *A Companion to New Media Dynamics*. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.

Senge, P. M. (1990) *The Fifth Discipline. The Age and Practice of the Learning Organization*. New York: Doubleday/Currency.

Shaw, G. (2012) "Keeping the "news" in the paper; In the future, printed newspaper may be niche product, but new technology will still deliver daily news to readers, experts predict', *The Vancouver Sun*, 11 February 2012, A5.

Shirky, C. (2009a) *Here Comes Everybody. The Power of Organizing. Without Organizations*. Penguin Books, New York.

Shirky, C. (2011) 'Why We Need the New News Environment to be Chaotic', *Shirky.com*, 9 July 2011, http://www.shirky.com/weblog/2011/07/we-need-the-new-news-environment-to-be-chaotic

Shirky, C. (2009b) 'Newspapers and Thinking the Unthinkable', *Shirky.com*, 13 March 2009, http://www.shirky.com/weblog/2009/03/newspapers-and-thinking-the-unthinkable

Singer, J. B., Domingo, D., Heinonen, A., Hermida, A., Paulussen, S., Quandt, T., Reich, Z., Vujnovic, M. (Eds.) (2011) *Participatory Journalism. Guarding Open Gates at Online Newspapers*. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.

Sousa, H. (2006) 'Information Technologies, Social Change and the Future. The Case of Online Journalism in Portugal', *European Journal of Communication*, 21(3): 373-387.

Steensen, S., Ahva, L. (2015) 'Theories of Journalism in a Digital age', *Digital Journalism*, 3(1): 1-18.

Storey, J., McDonald, K. (2014) 'Media Love: Intimacy in Mediatized Worlds', pp. 221-232 in A. Hepp, F. Krotz (Eds.) *Mediatized Worlds. Culture and Society in a Media Age*. Basingstoke, New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Tameling, K., Broersma, M. (2013) 'De-converging the newsroom: Strategies for newsroom change and their influence on journalism practice', *the International Communication Gazette*, 75(1): 19-34.

Thorén, C., Ågerfalk, P. J., Edenius, M. (2014) 'Through the Printing Press: An Account of Open Practices in the Swedish Newspaper Industry', *Journal of the Association for Information Systems*, 15(11), http://aisel.aisnet.org/jais/vol15/iss11/2

Tjaardstra, N. (2015) 'From crowd to community: Krautreporter's road to sustainability', *WAN-IFRA Blog*, 13 February 2015, http://blog.wan-ifra.org/2015/02/13/from-crowd-to-community-krautreporter-s-road-to-sustainability

Tofel, R. J. (2012) 'Keynote Remarks: ProPublica and Journalism in the Public Interest', *I/S: A Journal of Law and Policy for the Information Society*, 8(3): 639-647.

TomorrowFocus (2014) 'Interview with the editor in chief of Huffington Post Germany', *TomorrowFocus*, http://www.tomorrow-focus.com/jobs-careers/article/interview-with-the-editor-in-chief-of-huffington-post-germany_aid_1236.html

Tran, M. (2014) 'Revisiting disruption: 8 good questions with Clayton Christensen', *American Press Institute*, 23 January 2014, http://www.americanpressinstitute.org/publications/good-questions/revisiting-disruption-8-good-questions-clayton-christensen

van der Wurff, R. (2012) 'The Economics of Online Journalism', pp. 231-250 in E. Siapera, A. Veglis (Eds.) *The Handbook of Global Online Journalism*. Chichester: John Wiley & Sons.

Van Dijck, J. (2013) *The Culture of Connectivity. A Critical History of Social Media*. New York: Oxford University Press.

WAN-IFRA (2014) *World Press Trends Report 2014*. Paris: ZenithOptimedia.

Warren, C. (2012) 'Independent inquiry: Insecure work in Australia', *Media, Entertainment & Arts Alliance*, http://www.alliance.org.au/docman/view-document/487-insecure-work-inquiry-presentation

Waters, R. (2013) 'Valley visitors must bring back more than the T-shirt', *Financial Times*, 17 April 2013, http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/095ef6f0-a5d6-11e2-9b77-00144feabdc0.html

Watkins, J. W. N. (1959) 'Historical Explanation in the Social Sciences', *The British Journal for the Philosophy of Science,* 8(30), 104-117.

Weichert, S., Kramp, L., Ockenfels, I. (2011) 'Interview with Chris Anderson', *Vocer*, 6 September 2011, http://www.vocer.org/interview-with-chris-anderson

Weichert, S., Kramp, L., Welker, M. (2015) *Die Zeitungsmacher. Aufbruch in die digitale Moderne*. Wiesbaden: Springer VS.

Wieselter, L. (2015) 'Among the Disrupted', *New York Times*, 18. January 2015, BR1, http://www.nytimes.com/2015/01/18/books/review/among-the-disrupted.html

Witschge, T. (2012) 'The "tyranny" of technology', pp. 99-114 in P. Lee-Wright, A. Phillips, T. Witschge (Eds.) (2012) *Changing Journalism*. London, New York: Routledge.

Biography

Dr. Leif Kramp is a media, communication and history scholar. He is the Research Coordinator of the Centre for Media, Communication and Information Research (ZeMKI) at the University of Bremen. Kramp authored and edited various books about media and journalism. Previously he has worked as a lecturer and research associate at the Macromedia University of Applied Sciences for Media and Communications in Hamburg, as a lecturer at the Hamburg Media School and as a research fellow at the Institute for Media and Communication Policy in Berlin. He is founding member of the German Initiative
"Audiovisual Heritage" and of the Association of Media and Journalism Criticism (VfMJ) that publishes the online-portal VOCER.org. He also serves as director of the VOCER Innovation Medialab which promotes young journalists developing innovative projects and as a jury member for the German Initiative News Enlightenment (INA). Kramp was also an associate of the stiftung neue verantwortung in the project "Future of Journalism" (2010-2011).

Contact: kramp@uni-bremen.de