

Future of the Media

- Sights from the inside

Mikko Leppänen

Journalism

University of Jyväskylä

Department of Communication

31.8.2012

UNIVERSITY OF JYVÄSKYLÄ

| | |
|---|-----------------------------|
| Faculty HUMANITIES | Department COMMUNICATION |
| Author Mikko Leppänen | |
| Title FUTURE OF THE MEDIA – SIGHTS FROM THE INSIDE | |
| Subject Journalism | Level Master's thesis |
| Month and year August 2012 | Number of pages 129 + 14 |
| <p>Abstract</p> <p>Journalists as workers and makers of news are a very important stakeholder group for news media companies. It is vital for organizations to acknowledge the needs and expectations of their stakeholders, because fulfilled expectations lead to stakeholder favor and good organizational reputation. Unmet expectations lead to loss of stakeholder trust and bad organizational reputation.</p> <p>The purpose of this master's thesis was to map the expectations and experiences of journalists and freelancer journalists working for major Finnish media companies. The aim was to find out how journalists see the future of media and their own future roles as journalists, how social media has affected journalists' work and what do journalists expect from their employers or clients and the media in general. A total of 16 journalists and freelancers were interviewed for this study. The results were analyzed through qualitative theory-driven content analysis.</p> <p>The results of this study show that Finnish journalists are pessimistic about the future of media. They expect the media business to shrink. Some believe that media will divide into expensive quality media and cheap or free bulk media. Journalists predict that the future journalist must be multi-talented. Most journalists use social media but it hasn't had a big impact on their work yet. Journalists expect social media to become more important in journalistic work in the future. Journalists have various expectations towards their employers. They see the actions of media companies as unfair, because many companies have been reducing journalistic personnel to cut costs while they are making good profits. Journalists expect the media companies to invest in quality of journalism. It means hiring more workers and investing in technological and content development. The results of this study show that journalists' expectations are not fully met by their employers.</p> | |
| Keywords future, media, journalism, journalist, social media, expectations | |
| Depository University of Jyväskylä | |

INDEX

| | |
|---|----|
| 1. INTRODUCTION | 1 |
| 2. THE CHANGING MEDIA ENVIRONMENT | 4 |
| 2.1. Attention economy | 4 |
| 2.1.1. Attention work and attention workers | 6 |
| 2.1.2. Open media ecosystems | 7 |
| 2.2. Marketization of media | 8 |
| 2.2.1. Television news as infotainment | 11 |
| 2.2.2. Tabloidization of the press | 14 |
| 2.3. Media under crisis | 15 |
| 2.4. Media convergence | 19 |
| 2.5. Moving towards ubiquitous media and communication | 22 |
| 2.6. The growing role of social media in news circulation | 23 |
| 2.7. The Internet and social media as the 5 th estate | 24 |
| 2.7.1. Social media and Arab Spring | 25 |
| 2.7.2. The Kony 2012 campaign | 26 |
| 2.8. Future technologies | 28 |
| 2.9. Summary of trends facing the media environment | 29 |
| 3. CHANGES IN JOURNALISTIC WORK | 34 |
| 3.1. Assembly-line journalism and the three breeds of journalists | 34 |
| 3.2. Interesting content as news criterion | 36 |
| 3.3. Squeezing journalists in the name of profits | 37 |
| 3.4. The converged journalist | 38 |
| 3.5. Effects of social media on journalistic work | 40 |
| 3.5.1. Social media use by Finnish journalists | 40 |
| 3.5.2. Twitter as a journalistic tool | 42 |
| 3.5.3. Trendsetter in Finland | 45 |
| 3.6. Summary of changes in journalistic work | 46 |
| 4. EXPECTATIONS | 54 |
| 4.1. What are stakeholder expectations? | 54 |
| 4.2. Managing expectations | 55 |
| 5. RESEARCH METHODS AND DATA | 57 |
| 5.1. Qualitative research | 57 |

| | |
|---|-----|
| 5.2. Qualitative interviewing | 58 |
| 5.3. Semi-structured interview | 59 |
| 5.4. The research sample | 60 |
| 5.5. Qualitative analysis | 64 |
| 5.6. Research process | 65 |
| 6. RESULTS | 67 |
| 6.1. The future looks bleak | 67 |
| 6.1.1. Changes in the media environment | 68 |
| 6.1.2. Internet and mobile news could replace newspapers | 70 |
| 6.1.3. Working conditions and the quality of journalism in danger | 73 |
| 6.1.4. Social media's influence was expected to grow | 77 |
| 6.1.5. The effects of world economic crisis on media | 78 |
| 6.2. The future journalist is multi-talented | 84 |
| 6.2.1. Journalists' roles are differentiating | 84 |
| 6.2.2. Fragmenting media landscape alters the role of journalists | 86 |
| 6.3. Social media divides the opinions of journalists | 89 |
| 6.3.1. Journalists' use of social media | 90 |
| 6.3.2. The effects of social media on journalistic work | 91 |
| 6.3.3. Disadvantages of social media for journalists | 93 |
| 6.4. Journalists' expectations towards media | 95 |
| 6.4.1. Wanted: better quality journalism | 97 |
| 6.4.2. More jobs and better working conditions were expected | 99 |
| 6.5. Expectation gaps | 101 |
| 7. CONCLUSIONS | 104 |
| 7.1. Answers to research questions | 104 |
| 7.2. Future possibilities | 117 |
| 7.3. Future threats | 121 |
| 8. DISCUSSION | 126 |
| 8.1 Standing at a crossroads | 126 |
| 8.2. Evaluation of the study | 128 |
| 8.3. Possibilities for future research | 129 |
| LITERATURE AND SOURCES | 130 |
| APPENDIX 1. Research interview question sheets in Finnish and English | 142 |

1. INTRODUCTION

Media industry and journalism are currently going through major changes because of the Internet and technological convergence. Internet has already become the most important media in Finland. (Taloustutkimus 2011, 7). Nowadays, everything is digitalized and news articles, audios and videos flow free of charge on the web. At the same time, interactivity between journalists and consumers of news is increasing, because web applications called the social media offer new channels for feedback.

The convergence of media has happened on technological and on industry levels. On the technological level, news content has been converted to digital forms that can be delivered through the Internet to computers and other computer-like devices such as smart phones. On the industry level media, technology and telecommunications companies have merged or formed alliances to develop new profitable business models to spread the digital content (Encyclopedia Britannica, 2011).

Media convergence has dramatically cut the costs of starting a new news service. Anyone with a computer and an Internet connection is able to publish and share different kinds of content on various social media websites like blogs, video sharing services and social networking sites. However, despite these new abilities not every content producer is able to catch the attention of the masses. This limits their influence.

It has been suggested that in this age, we live in an attention economy where attention is the real currency of businesses and individuals. Attention is more valuable currency than money in modern societies (Davenport & Beck 2001, 3). In this attention economy, information brokering and journalism are changing and so are media's business models, distribution channels and ways of producing content. This has caused a lot of challenges or even a crisis for traditional media companies and especially newspapers, because people are less willing to pay for media content than before since they have an access to unlimited online content. Internet is also altering journalistic work because the web is never turned off. Now there is a 24 hour deadline, and the morning's newspaper offers yesterday's news.

On top of technological changes, the media has also faced recent political decisions that will have an effect on their operation. In late 2011, during the course of this study, the Finnish government made two major decisions regarding media. First, the parliament decided to set a 9 per cent value added tax for newspapers and magazines. Secondly, the parliament also decided to reform the funding of Yleisradio (Yle), the Finnish public broadcasting company. In the old system Yle was funded through a television licence system. Starting from the beginning of year 2013 Yle will be funded through a new mandatory “Yle tax”. (Yle Uutiset, 2011). At this point it is too early to tell how these new taxes will affect the media business.

The changes in the media environment have changed the organizational structures of media companies. They have also had an impact on working conditions and job descriptions of journalists. Many media companies have kicked out journalists (Herkman 2009, 40). In many newsrooms, the remaining workers have had to learn new skills because of media convergence. Now journalists have to be able to create content for multiple media platforms such as print, online, radio and television. Some newsrooms are also starting to use Twitter as a journalistic tool. These changes have increased the workloads of the remaining journalists and made their work hastier.

Previous studies show that many Finnish journalists are not happy with these developments. For example, journalists feel that the continuous deadline of online news leaves less time for them to analyze things and check facts. Most journalists think that urgency of work affects news values and source criticism. Some think that haste may also affect topic selection because it is easier to produce news items that are easy to execute (Juntunen 2011, 55). The hastiness of work, too much work and problems related to them, such as fatigue and decreased motivation, hinder journalists (Jyrkiäinen 2008, 36).

Many newspaper journalists have got new duties such as responsibility for thematic pages or appendixes. This harms journalists’ concentration on their main job (Hujanen 2005, 276). Some journalists think their job descriptions are unclear. The ever increasing amount of new tasks has left them feeling that they have to do too many different things and have too many responsibilities (Jyrkiäinen 2008, 39).

This research is a part of University of Jyväskylä's research project "What is expected of the media in a reputation society?" (WEM). The project maps the expectations of media companies' different stakeholders such as journalists, advertisers, editors, NGO experts, media researchers and futurists, youth, and sources/public relations. The WEM project studies what is expected of the media and whether the current practices of media companies and the expectations of stakeholders meet.

This master's thesis sheds light on the expectations and experiences of journalists and freelancer journalists working for major Finnish media companies. More precisely, the purpose of the study is to find out how journalists see the future of media, how they see their own future roles as journalists, how social media has affected journalists' work and what do journalists expect from their employers or clients and the media in general.

Journalists are a vital stakeholder group for news media companies, but their expectations towards the media have not been studied much in Finland. It is important to map the expectations of journalists working in the changing media organizations, because met expectations generate trust, which has a positive effect on company reputation. Stakeholder expectations that are fulfilled create stakeholder favor. Unfulfilled expectations may hamper or even prevent stakeholder cooperation. Also, maintaining good terms with stakeholders is believed to improve organizational legitimacy and long-term performance (Olkkonen & Luoma-aho 2011). In other words, fulfilling stakeholder expectations helps media companies survive in the future.

In this research, the expectations and experiences of journalists were collected through qualitative interviews. A total of sixteen journalists and freelancers working for the biggest media companies in Finland were interviewed for this research.

The structure of this thesis is as follows: the changing media environment and the various changes affecting journalistic work will be described in theoretical chapters 2 and 3. The theoretical background for stakeholder expectations is briefly presented in chapter 4. The research method and data will be presented in chapter 5 and the results of the study in chapter 6. Answers to research questions and conclusions will be submitted in chapter 7. Finally, the findings of this research are discussed, the study is evaluated and some suggestions for future research will be given in chapter 8.

2. THE CHANGING MEDIA ENVIRONMENT

Media environment is currently in a mode of rapid change because of technological development. Traditional media have difficulties in competing with free Internet content. Some say the media is in crisis. New technology, such as tablet computers, smart phones and news robots, also offers new possibilities for creating, distributing and consuming media content. The various current trends and changes facing the media industry will be discussed in this chapter.

First, the concepts of attention economy, marketization of media and media convergence will be described. Second, the crisis facing media will be explained. Then, the idea of ubiquitous media and communication will be presented and the growing role of social media in news circulation described. Then, social media's role as the fifth estate will be discussed. Lastly, news robots and their possible uses will be narrated.

2.1. Attention economy

It has been suggested we now live in an information society. In the era of the Internet and the unlimited information flow it offers, the business models of the media are changing. In this new media environment telecommunications bandwidth, information and knowledge are easily available, but human attention is scarce (Davenport & Beck 2001, 2). The new issue is which information gets attention. (Nordfors 2009, 11). In this kind of environment the main scarce good is the amount of attention available to an individual or within in a target group (Laermans 2011, 119).

The continuously created flow of information possibilities circulating within contemporary information society is not homogenous. The information flow is segmented and each segment addresses specific target groups. At all times, the available amount of information possibilities and sources within each target group also largely transcends the momentarily available amount of attention. Therefore, the information society is divided into innumerable large and small markets on which information providers actively try to catch attention (Laermans 2011, 120-121).

It has been suggested that in this age, attention is the real currency of businesses and individuals. In modern societies attention is more valuable currency than money (Davenport & Beck 2001, 3). According to Davenport and Beck “understanding and managing attention is now the single most important determinant of business success” in this new attention economy (Davenport & Beck 2001, 3).

The competition for attention is hardest and most visible within the sphere of media (including also for example advertising and social media). The mass media point the way in the competition for attention because production of attention is their main goal. Newspapers, magazines, radio stations, television channels and web sites are all in the business of production of highest possible amount of collective attention. Commercial mass media companies generate a certain amount of collective attention, for example 500 000 daily readers, and sell it to the advertisers to get revenues. They have to succeed continually to attract satisfactory amount of attention or otherwise the advertising revenues will start to drop. Nowadays even publicly funded media organizations such as Yle or BBC are regulated according to the model of the market. Thus, they are also under the pressure to produce information that is public friendly (Laermans 2011, 124). This means that their success is measured by viewer ratings or the amount of hits their web news headlines gather.

Mass media mainly try to get and increase individual attention by offering information possibilities that try to hook the public emotionally because it increases the chance the consumer will continue watching, reading or listening. This has led to a situation where style matters more than substance. The way of presenting information seems often more important than the offered content (Laermans 2011, 125). It can be argued that this is one more reason behind the proliferation of infotainment and soft news.

The attention economy has laws of supply and demand, for example when the amount of information available increases, the demand for attention also increases (Davenport & Beck 2001, 11). The supply and demand are not balanced, which has led to a widespread deficit of attention. As a result a lot of information will be ignored, because it doesn't receive enough attention (Davenport & Beck 2001, 12).

Another law of attention economics is that more attention one has to begin with, the easier it is to get more. For example A-list celebrities receive attention no matter what they do. Also well-known organizations receive attention from the media easier than unknown ones (Davenport & Beck, 12). This kind of attention given to attention is called reflexive attention. It means noticing what is noticed. Reflexive attention for example significantly directs the use of YouTube and affects Google's search results. The overall function of reflexive attention is to act as a selection filter within information (Laermans 2011, 126).

Even as the amount of different media increase, they seem to cover the same people and topics. The logic behind this is that as the media companies' competition for public's attention intensifies, all the different media are after the topics that can get the most attention (Davenport & Beck, 12).

The power of mass media and their central position within contemporary information society is based on their ability to synchronize the attention of countless individuals and while doing this creating a temporary common sphere. Mass media act as producers of interim social integration through the production of news events, fashions, trends and celebrity information (Laermans 2011, 126-127). In addition to synchronizing the attention of individuals, sometimes the mass media contributes to their capability to speak as a temporary organized mass for example on some social issue (Laermans 2011, 130). This can manifest for instance as an ad hoc campaign group on Facebook.

2.1.1. Attention work and attention workers

Nordfors has suggested that in the attention economy attention workers are key actors. Attention work is a concept that means "the professional generation and brokering of attention" (Nordfors 2009, 13). Journalists in commercial media companies, public relations practitioners and communication professionals working for organizations or private enterprises generate and broker attention professionally. Attention is the most important scarcity in the attention economy and attention workers are needed in creating and keeping up attention economies (Nordfors 2009, 13).

Attention workers are not the same as knowledge workers who create and broker knowledge professionally. For example scientists, engineers and analysts are considered knowledge workers. Attention workers and knowledge workers need each other, because knowledge workers need attention to generate and broker knowledge and attention workers need information that they can spread to generate attention. The idea of attention work can help build understanding between different types of polarized workers such as journalists vs. PR or vs. lobbyists. According to Nordfors, all of them are different players on the same field which is “the communication system that influences the flows of attention in the larger ecosystem.” (Nordfors 2009, 14).

The idea of the attention economy may help us understand how society is changing while we go from information scarcity to information ubiquity. Nordfors has argued that traditional media companies have only little competitive advantage in the competition for public’s attention by controlling information infrastructure such as printing presses, television broadcasting hardware or even computer servers (Nordfors 2009, 11).

Traditional media companies do not control the content on the Internet. That is why controlling machinery and other assets for information distribution are not required for doing journalism anymore. Because of this, according to Nordfors, the media industry is facing “an identity crisis in the attention economy: should it identify with the content or the medium?” (Nordfors 2009, 12).

2.1.2. Open media ecosystems

Uskali argues that in the 21st century we have moved from closed media ecosystems to the age of open media ecosystems. Before the Internet, during the time of closed media ecosystems media companies controlled the production and delivery of media content. Starting a new media company used to require a lot of capital, but Internet changed the game. Today, in this new age of open media ecosystems basically anyone can easily start a new Internet based global news service. Starting a new Internet business doesn’t require much funds and the costs of delivering content are also low (Uskali 2011, 111).

One of the best examples of successful new online media is the Huffington Post, an American news website, content aggregator and blog, which was launched in 2005. In

2011, AOL bought Huffington Post for 315 million dollars. In 2012, Huffington Post was the first American commercial digital media to win a Pulitzer Prize (Wikipedia 2012a).

It has been suggested that the spread of Internet may be separating journalism from the media. Corporations like Google and Facebook control publishing platforms on the Internet, but are not in the business of creating content. They try to remain neutral in the eyes of their users, who in turn create the content for these services. This has an effect on national legislations for freedom of the press, which is addressed in the constitutions of different countries (Nordfors 2009, 12).

In some places this new system has broken the traditional mainstream media's monopoly over the publishing of content and the control of medium. The change has also raised questions over who actually is a journalist (Nordfors 2009, 12). Can anyone writing a blog about social issues or creating and publishing documentary and news-like videos be considered a journalist?

In this kind of open media ecosystem, journalism needs a new definition. Nordfors offers the following definition: "journalism is the production of news stories, bringing public attention to issues of public interest. Journalism gets its mandate from the audience. It is required to act in the interest of its audience. It is not performed on behalf of its sources or its advertisers. When attention work is done in the interest of the sources, it is PR, not journalism." (Nordfors 2009, 16).

2.2. Marketization of media

In the end of 1990s the structures and the ideological basis of media changed. Journalism's moral task as the citizens' information broker had to give room for economical view. The change can be called the marketization of media. This change has had an effect on the content and quality of journalism. This change can also be seen in Finnish journalism (Herkman 2009, 32).

Customer oriented business strategy and audience research that goes with it, steer the future planning in media business ever decisively. The studies offer data about people's

tastes and behavior for marketing and advertising. More and more, the audience research also drives the development of journalism. The formula for success and the criteria of failure are found in the logic of the market. Journalistic content, that attracts large audiences, is preferred (Hujanen 2005, 273).

According to Antti-Pekka Pietilä, the former editor-in-chief of the tabloid newspaper *Iltasanomat*, media has turned into news industry, which produces current affairs content, entertainment and full-blown nonsense. The term news industry depicts the way of production which is based on process organizations and also business that is based on commercial thinking and strict profit-making. News industry is steered with continuously growing profits and share value in mind. (Pietilä 2007, 18-19).

Traditional media business thinking has included the building of long-term reader relationships and the publishing of content that is not profitable but has an important meaning for citizens. The news industry way of thinking dismisses these old views, because success is measured every three months like in all stock market investments (Pietilä 2007, 19). Customer-oriented strategy diminishes the societal role of newspapers. The existence of the Finnish press has been traditionally based on cultural, political, regional and societal mission. Newspapers' turning into consumer goods is a great historical change (Hujanen 2005, 284).

News industry, that is based on mass production and follows stock investors' profit targets, is different in many ways compared to the traditional way of communicating information. The hunt for profit has changed the development targets of content and the ways of producing it. Profit driven thinking has also changed the way how work in the media business is managed (Pietilä 2007, 244).

The driving force behind these changes is the changes in the pattern of consuming and buying among the audience. It has redefined the importance of the content. The audience's choices are now dictated by interest value. The demand driven news industry has adapted to the market and produces content that sells. Pietilä argues that news industry is trying to entertain its audience and fill the audience's consciousness rather than explain the surrounding reality (Pietilä 2007, 244).

In Finland, the focus of developing news journalism in the press is centered on the younger generations, especially young people living in cities. The bosses in many daily newspapers believe that journalistic innovations should be targeted to young people under the age of 30 (Hujanen 2005, 273). Customer-oriented strategy has led to a situation where many newspapers want to make their publication more interesting. This means that the stories have to entertain and touch the reader. To draw the attention of the younger crowd, many newspapers try to become more mundane and get rid of stiffness in their journalism. The goal is lifestyle and service journalism that guides people as consumers and aficionados. This kind of journalism is easy to understand and enjoyable in its language and form (Hujanen, 279).

According to Herkman, the changes in the media environment have at least indirectly had an effect on journalism. More and more the principles of corporate economy define the basics of journalistic work. Private ownership through the stock market has grown in the Finnish media, while the number of political publications has dropped and even the Finnish public service broadcaster Yleisradio has faced changes. This marketization of media has set journalism free from the grip of political influence (Herkman 2009, 38-39).

The good thing about marketization of media is that media is less directly controlled by politics than it used to be. Now journalism can act as the fourth estate better than before. After the Soviet Union collapsed the uncritical view towards the powerful eastern neighbor fell also. The “Finlandization” of media and politics is not an issue anymore in the 21st century (Herkman 2009, 39).

These changes do not mean that there is no ideology behind privately owned or corporate media. The independent Finnish press is basically bourgeois. Other kinds of politics than straightforward commitment to political parties have gained new forms in Finnish media. It can be seen for instance in some media’s commitment to support or oppose the possible Finnish NATO membership (Herkman 2009, 39).

2.2.1. Television news as infotainment

Despite the massive growth in online media, television still continues to be the world's most powerful medium. Television news shape the world views of millions people all around the world (Thussu 2007, 10).

Thussu (2007, 10) argues that “in the battle between public-service and private, commercially driven television, the commercial model of broadcast has won”. In this profit-driven American-style around the clock broadcasting environment, television news is heading towards infotainment like soft news and consumer journalism. Soft news includes for example news about celebrities, lifestyle, scandalous crime and violence. It is presented in a form of spectacle and it supersedes political, civic and public affairs news (Thussu 2007, 8-10).

Infotainment is a buzzword from the late 1980's that refers to the genre-mix of information and entertainment in news and current affairs programming. It means a type of television news where mode of presentation is more important than the content (Thussu 2007, 8). Infotainment news displaces the criteria of recentness and relevance from news selection and substitutes it by a focus on ratings and the supposed needs of the audience. Commercial aspects of selling news are more important than selecting news that is based on critical and informing journalism (Altmeppen 2010, 575).

Infotainment is a form of popular journalism. It uses visual forms and styles copied from television commercials, fast-paced visual action and rhetorical headlines from a celebrity anchor person. Infotainment is considered to be the answer to attracting the younger generation of media users who are inclined towards channel surfing and online and mobile news. The infotainment style of presentation of news has its roots in American ratings-driven commercial television news culture. It is becoming more popular around the world as news channels try to increase their ratings (Thussu 2007, 8). Part of the reason for this is the world's broadcasters' dependence on news footage mainly from just two news agencies, Reuters Television and Associated Press Television News (Thussu & Freedman 2003, 120). This applies also to Finland. All the television networks here use at least one of these news agencies in production of their news.

Calabrese (2000) argues that advertising modifies the television (and also print) news story selection and framing more than most journalists are ready to admit publicly. Otherwise it wouldn't be so important for television station to follow the ratings of their news shows so closely. The ratings affect the prices they can charge advertisers for certain amounts of airtime (Calabrese 2000, 55).

The globalization of infotainment can be detected around the world. The emergence of all-news channels has also had an effect on European news networks, where there is a tendency to move away from public-service news agenda to more marketed tabloid style news with emphasis on consumer journalism, sports and entertainment (Thussu & Freedman 2003, 122).

This infotainment trend is arising also in Finland. MTV3 uses a lot of latest visual technology such as touch screens in its broadcasts and has hired celebrity television host Peter Nyman as their news anchor. Nelosen uutiset will renew its television news broadcasts late 2012 after the fusion with Helsingin Sanomat. The goal is to start doing international standard television news broadcasts that will entertain their audience. One of the channel's upcoming news anchors will be the celebrity dance instructor and television presenter Marco Bjurström. (Helsingin Sanomat 2012a). Yle Uutiset is also currently renewing its television news broadcasts with an emphasis on live reporting, interesting content, visuals and design (Yle Intranet 2012).

Sometimes, even wars and conflicts are presented on television news in an entertaining way, using the conventions of Hollywood (Thussu 2007, 11). War and conflict reporting are especially prone to infotainment because of the characteristics of television news such as need for arresting visuals and dramatic pictures. Some key features of depiction of war in news have emerged over the last two decades. They use entertainment formats such as video game style images of surgical strikes by smart weapons, satellite pictures and "chat show" use of experts. This kind of coverage of wars without showing blood, mutilated corpses or general destruction can desensitize the audience towards the horrors of war (Thussu & Freedman 2003, 124). Furthermore, journalists working for the international 24 hour news channels are under significant pressure to make war

reporting entertaining because of the television channels' fierce competition for ratings (Thussu 2007, 118).

During wartime, media messages usually follow closely the interests of their owners. State media follow the government line and commercial media present war news as drama and infotainment, the good guys versus the bad guys. As the old saying goes, truth is the first casualty of every war. But there is no single truth. In conflict situations the truths of different sides are often turned into propaganda. In an ideal situation journalists are able to do independent reporting but in reality they are prisoners of the socioeconomic and political structures they belong to. They can try to be neutral and unbiased in a conflict situation but while doing that they might risk losing their jobs or being labeled as a traitor (Tehrani 2004, 237).

There are significant global implications of presenting war as infotainment for public-opinion formation and its manipulation. American and British 24 hour news channels such as CNN and BBC influence the news agendas across the world and the US-dominated television images have the potential to shape the public opinion worldwide. This helps to feed the Western foreign policy agenda to a global audience through 24/7 news channels and news agencies (Thussu 2003, 128). The commercial media corporations often consider their interests as closely bound to the American empire in the current world order. They generally follow the ideology of the U.S. government in framing their foreign news (Tehrani 2004, 237-238). Latest example of this can be seen in war reporting on Syria, where president al-Assad is depicted as a mad butcher while the Western and al-Qaida backed rebels are depicted as victims and heroes.

It has been suggested that foreign news on commercial television are slowly disappearing and being substituted by soft news and infotainment (Altmeyden 2010, 567). Compared to other types of television production, foreign news is an expensive operation and needs large resources for programming, because hiring correspondents or sending journalists and cameramen abroad needs a lot of funds compared to many other types of journalism. Only large media corporations or well-resourced state organizations can operate successful news channels (Thussu 2007, 69).

In Germany, television media's covering of international news has shown a decline in foreign news reporting. Nowadays resources for foreign news reporting are modified by the process of economization. This means that decisions are made in newsrooms based on economic factor instead of editorial standards of news reporting. The current media crisis shows that it can be assumed that globally changing media structures are leading to a slow reduction of foreign news from commercial television (Altmeyden 2010, 567-568).

As the entertainment market on television grows bigger, the news market continues to shrink. The space for foreign news on television is narrowing with the exception of events of great worldwide relevance such as 9/11 terrorist strike, wars (Iraq, Libya etc.) and great catastrophes like the Fukushima nuclear accident and the Boxing Day tsunami in 2004. As long as journalism isn't allocated proper resources that are fundamental to foreign reporting, foreign news may continue to decrease (Altmeyden 2010, 576).

2.2.2. Tabloidization of the press

In recent years, newspapers around the world have been forced to put a lot of effort into making themselves more attractive to the public. They have done this in three different ways. Newspapers have had to modify their content, their lay-out and design, and use marketing measures outside the newspaper itself to draw more readers (Schönbach 2000, 64). To be successful in the competition for people's attention against entertainment offered by television and the Internet, a newspaper has to offer its reader funny and relaxing experiences (Hujanen 2005, 281).

The term tabloidization is a kind of synonym word for infotainment. It refers to tabloid newspapers or "yellow newspapers" that try to reach large audiences through popular journalism such as entertaining soft news content and gossip. Tabloidization connotes the lowering of journalistic standards that will eventually weaken the ideal functions of mass media in democratic societies (Gripsrud 2000, 285). Tabloidization of the press refers to the idea that the so called serious quality newspapers have started imitating the tabloid press, magazines and commercial television infotainment news broadcasts in their coverage of news to get the attention of a wider audience (Schönbach 2000, 64).

The urge to entertain brings daily newspapers closer to tabloid newspapers and changes the press considerably. The stars and professionals of popular culture, sports, and beauty become a part of so called quality media's content (Hujanen 2005, 281). According to Sparks (2000), tabloid journalism "devotes relatively little attention to politics, economics, and society and relatively much to diversions like sports, scandal, and popular entertainment; it devotes relatively much attention to the personal and private lives of people, both celebrities and ordinary people, and relatively little to political processes, economic development and social changes" (Sparks 2000, 10).

There has been a lot of worry over the "dumbing down" of media in recent years. British tabloids are often used as an example of this phenomenon because of their sensationalist news style, a celebrity-oriented and sexualized news agenda, and the use of aggressive journalistic methods such as cheque book journalism and paparazzi coverage. Tabloids have been criticized for downplaying journalism, to the harm of the overall media climate (Johansson 2008, 402).

Tabloidization is a double-edged sword. Popular journalism has helped in many cases to open the public democratic sphere. It has fostered popular interests in politics and forced the politicians to address the concern of the public, and provided a forum for popular movements and opinions. In other cases, the negative consequences of tabloidization include the displacement of political and other hard news, warping the public agenda, marginalizing or stereotyping some minority groups, and providing a platform for propaganda which the media owners can use for their own purposes (Hallin 2000, 281).

2.3. Media under crisis

Journalism has been in crisis many times since its invention, but it has proven itself to be a very persistent institution and practice. Discussion about the crisis of media has increased in the early 21st century. It seems like the economy of the press and the credibility and quality of journalism are in crisis. Especially the growing use of the Internet has caused challenges for the traditional media. Less and less people are willing to pay for professional journalism, because the Internet is full of free content. Also there

has been a lot of discussion about commercialization of journalism and news becoming more like entertainment (Väliverronen 2009, 7).

Advertising revenues and circulation numbers of newspapers are decreasing and the audiences of television stations are fragmenting. At the same time people feel that the quality of journalism is weakening and serious journalism is disappearing. According to opinion surveys the power of media and individual journalists are growing but at the same time their credibility is weakening (Väliverronen 2009, 13).

Traditional media has lost its role as the gatekeeper who chooses what topics is news and when they are published. More and more news circulate in social media first before the traditional media pick them up. Public has become a source of news, participant and publisher. Furthermore, also non-government organizations have started to publish news and challenged the traditional media on their specialist arenas. For example Amnesty International has hired professional journalists and started its own News Unit in 2011. Their goal is to become the world's leading publisher of human rights news. For these reasons, the amount of people taking part in creating and circulating journalism has multiplied (Vehkoo 2011, 14-16).

These changes in the media environment have created new challenges for the traditional media corporations and their business models. While the popularity of social media and Internet news are increasing, at the same time newspapers published in the Western economies have been losing paying customers. This has caused a crisis for journalism in Western countries. Media companies are making cuts in their newsroom personnel and the future of the traditional media looks uncertain (Nordfors 2009, 6).

In North America and United Kingdom newspapers have gone into bankruptcy or disappeared totally because of declining circulation, rising costs and huge debt loads. A hundred years old newspapers such as Denver's Rocky Mountain News are dead. At the same time newspapers like The Philadelphia Inquirer, Chicago Tribune and the Los Angeles Times are bankrupt. Even America's leading newspaper, the New York Times, is almost insolvent (Compton & Benedetti 2010, 487).

In Finland the development of the crisis has been slower. Even though many Finnish newspapers are suffering from decreasing subscriptions, in general they have made good profits during the last decade, though the economic recession of 2008 has had a negative effect on advertising revenues. (Väliverronen 2009, 16). Newspapers' share of all Finland's media advertising was still 51 percent in year 2007. (Nordic Media Market 2009, 28).

It can be argued that many Finnish media companies are actually good money-making machines for their owners. The average operating margin of Finnish media companies was 14.9 per cent in 2011. The operating margin of Sanoma was 8.7 per cent, and for Alma Media it was 13.3 per cent. Personnel reductions have been a key reason for media companies' good viability. Listed companies have reduced their personnel by over 4000 workers during the last four years. They have also started outsourcing the production of content to freelancers. Another reason for big profits is that the media houses have not invested funds in new innovations. Instead the money has flowed to the shareowners as dividends (Journalisti 2012). Publishing of newspapers has been a profitable business in Finland in the early 21st century. It is vital to separate the journalism's funding crisis from other crisis discussion. (Väliverronen 2009, 16).

Total circulation of all Finnish newspapers has fallen from 3 million in year 2001 to a little over 2,8 million in year 2010. (Sanomalehtien liitto 2011). As an exception to this rule the local newspapers are doing well compared to the bigger newspapers. Some of the local newspapers have even been able to increase their circulation in recent years. (YLE Uutiset 2010). One common reason behind the falling circulation numbers of newspapers is the free content services offered by the Internet. (Väisänen 2011, 98). Most local newspapers don't really have Internet based competitors in Finland so they have been safe from the effect of free Internet content, at least for the time being.

The Finnish press has traditionally enjoyed zero per cent value added tax for newspaper and magazine subscriptions that last over one month. In November 2011 the parliament decided to set a 9 per cent value added tax for newspapers and magazines. The government has calculated that this new tax will bring 90 million Euros a year to the state budget. The press doesn't believe this because increasing prices might cut the

circulation numbers of different papers. This new tax might also have a negative effect on media companies' profitability. (Helsingin Sanomat 2011).

People's unwillingness to pay for media content is not a problem only for the commercial media corporations. The Finnish Broadcasting Company Yleisradio (Yle) has also had problems with its funding, because increasing amount of people will not bother with paying the television license subscription. About 250 000 television watching Finns who should be subscribing the television license, don't pay it. The amount of non-payers has increased by 50 000 in recent years (Uutispäivä Demari, 2011).

Finnish government has decided to renew the Yle's funding, because the current television license based business model is not working. The new system will be put in use at the beginning of year 2013. Then Yle will get straight budget funding from Finnish government. The money is collected from all citizens through mandatory media payment or tax (Yle Uutiset 2011). It has been argued that the budget funding will strengthen Yle's dependence on politicians. In the worst case scenario it will have an effect on Yle's journalism and programming. (Journalisti 2011a, 3).

In the current crisis situation, journalism complains about the changed rules and altered resources of news reporting. The rules change because of increased competition provided by new distribution channels of news. The resources change in the face of the new competition. Also the worldwide financial crisis has had an effect on the media system (Altmeppen 2010, 573).

Media companies divide the resources journalists need for working. In this current situation editorial budgets are declining in response to shrinking advertising revenue. Less money for editorial budgets means lower quality of journalism. At the same time new Internet-based competitors are entering the media market and trying to grab slices of advertising revenues, and the audience is switching to these new content providers. Because of these developments, traditional business and revenue models are crashing down and the traditional media are facing huge economic problems (Altmeppen 2010, 573).

In the current era of free Internet content, the problem facing the traditional media companies, especially the press, can be simplified as follows: they need new business logic. In the future, also advertisers need to find new techniques to reach their potential customers, who will mostly be web surfing diginatives (Väisänen 2011, 98-99). Newspapers need to develop totally new sources of income. Kauppalehti has already created a paywall on their web sites that allow only a certain number of news items to be read for free during a month's time. Also Helsingin Sanomat has announced that it will create a paywall for its online content. (Helsingin Sanomat 2012b). If the user wants unlimited access to these sites, he or she has to pay a subscription fee. It has also been suggested that the know-how of the newsroom could be used in the future to produce books, events and to offer training. Publishers could also start to sell data and technology. From a journalistic point of view, one questionable way to get more income is to allow advertisers to sponsor journalistic content (Journalisti 2012c, 5).

2.4. Media convergence

Media is going through a phase of convergence. Media convergence is a term that has many meanings depending on the context. In journalism convergence refers to the blurring of the limits between various different media (broadcast, print, Internet) and their production routines. (Masip, Cabrera & others 2007, 3).

In a wider sense, according to Encyclopedia Britannica media convergence means the “phenomenon involving the interlocking of computing and information technology companies, telecommunications networks and content providers from the publishing worlds of newspapers, magazines, music, radio, television, films and entertainment software. Media convergence brings together the “three Cs” of computing, communications and content” (Encyclopedia Britannica, 2011).

Lawson-Borders offers a more simple definition of the term media convergence. According to her the term can be defined as “the combining of old (traditional) media with new media for the dissemination of news, information and entertainment. This could occur as content or product” (Lawson-Borders 2006, ix).

Convergence offers an opportunity for the traditional media to fully benefit from the technologies of the 21st century. One of the goals of convergence for media organizations is to integrate content on different media platforms to connect users (Lawson-Borders 2003, 91). Convergence also represents a cultural shift as circulation of media content in some cases is heavily dependent on audience's active participation. (Jenkins 2006, 3). Examples of this can be seen in the sharing of news stories on social media networks like Facebook and in linking to news articles on various discussion boards.

Media companies' logic behind the convergence of different media platforms is that it will bring them a bigger audience including more ratings, subscribers and website traffic (Lawson-Borders 2003, 91). Bigger audience usually also means more advertising revenues. Convergence poses also a risk for media conglomerates because it can cause fragmentation of their markets. For example every time a company moves content from its print publication or television channel to the Internet or vice versa, there is risk that the audience will not return to the content (Jenkins 2006, 19).

The convergence of media has happened on technological and on industry levels. On the technological level news content has been converted to digital forms that can be delivered through the Internet to computers and other computer-like devices such as smart phones. On the industry level media, technology and telecommunications companies have merged or formed alliances to develop new profitable business models to spread the digital content (Encyclopedia Britannica, 2011).

The driving force behind technological convergence is the concentration of media ownership. Multinational media corporations have controlling interests in the whole entertainment and news industries. Warner Bros. in the United States, for example, produces all kinds of media content from film, television and music to computer games and toys and from newspapers and magazines to books and comics (Jenkins, 2006, 16).

Media convergence is not only a shift in technology. It has to also be seen as having its own cultural logic. According to Deuze convergence "blurs the lines between different channels, forms and formats, between different parts of the media enterprise, between the acts of production and consumption, between making media and using media, and

between active or passive spectatorship of mediated culture” (Deuze 2008, 103). It also changes the relationship between existing technologies, markets, industries and audiences. Convergence transforms the media industries’ operation logic and the way media consumers deal with news and entertainment. The convergence of media and the spreading of smart phones, laptops and tablet computers are pushing us to an era where media is everywhere (Jenkins, 2006, 15-16).

From the perspective of fragmented media audiences, convergence can be seen as a tool. Convergence modifies the media consumers from passive readers, viewers and listeners to active audience. New technology such as social networking applications like Facebook and Twitter give audiences a new way to interact with journalists behind the news stories. Social media also allows audiences to create their own mass media content (Rodica, 2011, 49).

For many journalists the convergence of media means that they are expected to create news content for multiple platforms. For example a reporter has to make different versions of same piece of news for television, radio and web. This means that the journalist has to know how to use different content production tools such as audio and video editing software.

The multi-skilled journalists working in multimedia newsrooms have to decide which platforms to use for reporting each story, and in the case of multimedia productions they have to be able to create story packages instead of reporting single stories in multiple platforms (Deuze 2005a, 451). They also have to adapt to the characteristics and language of various mediums. These demands on journalists’ skills could lead to a new job description as the ‘converged journalist’.

Convergence may seem tempting to editorial managers and publishers who may believe that multi-skilled journalists are potentially able to produce more stories for the same cost. In this case the organization might cut costs because of better productivity. This can be translated as hiring multi-skilled reporters, means hiring less reporters (Rodica 2011, 52).

In Finland, the latest example of media convergence is the Sanoma Corporation's fusion of its newsrooms at Nelosen Uutiset and Helsingin Sanomat. At the same time, Helsingin Sanomat will start to write news for Radio Aalto and Radio Rock. This whole reorganization will take place in autumn 2012. According to Eero Hyvönen, the editor-in-chief of Nelosen Uutiset, the aim of the fusion is to offer news in a new way in different mediums (online, mobile, radio, television and print). At least in the beginning, no journalists will be kicked out because of the fusion (Journalisti 2011c).

2.5. Moving towards ubiquitous media and communication

Internet penetration in Finland is very high and still growing. In year 2011, already 89 per cent of Finns aged between 16 and 74 use the Internet and three out of four use it daily. The use of the Internet is increasing especially among older people. The share of Internet users among those aged 65 to 74 increased by ten percentage points to 53 in 2011. Finland is one of the top countries in Internet usage in Europe (OSF 2011). In 2011, Internet became the most important media for the Finnish people. Over a third (38 per cent) of the population considers Internet the media they can't imagine giving up (Taloustutkimus Oy 2011, 7).

Internet use is growing in Finland at the same time as smart phones are getting more popular. In spring 2011 a little over 40 per cent of Finns had a smart phone in use. This number has doubled from 2010. Internet use with a mobile phone has more than tripled from 2009 to 2011. Today 29 per cent of Finns use mobile phones to surf the Internet. Men have embraced the new technology more than women. 39 per cent of men use the Internet with a mobile phone compared to 19 per cent of women (OSF 2011).

Internet use outside of home and place of work or study is becoming more common. In spring 2011, thirty per cent of Finns aged 16 to 74 used the Internet on the move. Men are also more active in using the Internet on the move than women. Mass media use on the Internet is also very common in Finland. For example 74 per cent of people aged 16 to 74 had read news on newspapers' and television channels' web sites in year 2010 (OSF 2010).

It can be argued that the high Internet penetration and the new communication and computer technologies, such as smart phones, tablet computers and social media applications, are moving humanity to a totally new era of media. This new era has been called the age of ubiquitous media and communication. Now people, machines and even things can be continuously connected to each other through technology and the Internet (Uskali 2011, 20). People can access Internet based media almost anywhere anytime.

2.6. The growing role of social media in news circulation

The rise of social media and its potential effect on news attracted probably the most attention out of all technology topics in 2011 (Mitchell, Rosenstiel & Christian 2012). Facebook, the gigantic global social networking site, has turned into an important player in news. According to Pew Research Center, in 2010 all except one of top 25 most trafficked American news sites derived at least some of their audience through Facebook. The exception was Google News, whose content doesn't link to their rival (Olmstead, Mitchell & Rosenstiel 2011).

Facebook has over 500 million users across the world and its audience is considerably larger than any news organization. Facebook's role has progressed from a network for friends to share personal information to a medium for users to share, recommend and link various types of information, also news. Olmstead, Mitchell and Rosenstiel (2011) have suggested that "if searching for news was the most important development of the last decade, sharing news may be among the most important of the next." (Olmstead, Mitchell & Rosenstiel 2011).

Currently, Facebook and also somewhat Twitter, rule the crossroads between news and social media. In 2011, Facebook boosted its news element with developments like the Social Reader which makes it possible for users to read and share news without leaving the service. Facebook and Twitter work differently as news sources. The news items come mostly through friends and family on Facebook. On Twitter, users generally get news from a larger group of recommenders (Mitchell & Rosenstiel & Christian 2012).

The role of Facebook and Twitter may not be as big as some have suggested. The amount of people who use these networks for news is still relatively small. Only 9 per

cent of American digital news consumers follow news recommendations from Facebook or Twitter very often. Furthermore, these social media news consumers haven't abandoned other ways of getting news. It can be argued that social media are additional paths to news. They do not replace the old ways of getting news (Mitchell & Rosenstiel & Christian 2012).

Social media use is already common in Finland. Forty two per cent of Finns aged 16 to 74 had registered to some social networking service in spring 2010. For the time being, social media users are usually the younger users of the Internet. Two out of three youngsters and young adults use some social media service daily (OSF 2010). For comparison, in the United States 93 per cent of teens and young adults in the age group 12-29 use the Internet. A little over 70 per cent of these wired teens and young people use social networking sites. (Lenhart, Purcell & others 2010, 2-4).

2.7. The Internet and social media as the 5th estate

Historically media has been considered to be the 4th estate. It refers to the watchdog role media has over the government and other organizations. It has been suggested that the Internet and the social media are the 5th estate when public use them to act as a watchdog of different organizations (Dutton 2007).

In best examples, recently bloggers, tweeters and other social media users have informed the world about wrongdoings of their governments when the traditional media has been silent or shut off. Examples of this can be found in the Arab countries like Egypt, Libya, Syria and Iran where activists have used the social media to share information and to organize protests during the so called Arab Spring popular uprisings against the governments. The Occupy Wall Street movement in the US and other Western countries has also used social media effectively in communication and in organizing protests against the undemocratic power of Wall Street banks and multinational corporations.

In Finland, the 5th estate has manifested itself mostly as ad hoc pressure groups on Facebook that like-minded people can join. The purpose of these groups is to support or oppose some cause or development. For example, the Kallio-liike is a Facebook group

that was started by student Erkki Perälä after he read from a newspaper that the bread queue was in danger of being evicted from the neighborhood of Kallio in Helsinki, because some people living near the queue thought it was causing them annoyance and diminishing the value of their flats. Kallio-liike tries to influence public discussion and the decision making of Helsinki city. The group opposes not-in-my-backyard-thinking and wants to show that there are a lot of people in Kallio, who don't mind having bread queues, immigrant reception centers, graffiti or homeless shelters near their homes. Later Kallio-liike expanded to real world and started to organize flea-markets and support events for the homeless, bicycle demonstrations and Kallio Block Party (Helsingin Sanomat kuukausiliite 2011, 69-73).

2.7.1. Social media and the Arab Spring

After the Arab Spring there has been an intense debate about social media. It has been admitted widely that Facebook and Twitter had a key role in broadcasting information from inside the demonstrations in Cairo's Tahrir Square and other places. People in Arab countries use Twitter and Facebook to share videos of demonstrations, discuss the revolutionary movement and analyze the mainstream media's reports of what is going on the streets and in the corridors of power (York 2011).

According to Electric Frontier Foundation's director for international freedom of expression, Jillian C. York, social media has found its place in the Arab media ecosystems and also elsewhere: "Social media now hold a vital place in this media ecosystem, filling informational voids left by the still bridled state and traditional media. Words written on them also round off the unknowing edges of reporting done by foreign media who fail at times to understand certain cultural, political or societal dimensions of their stories." (York 2011).

Examples of this filling of informational voids can be currently found in places like Syria where people upload videos of government's violent crackdowns on protestors and Saudi Arabia where women film their attempts to drive cars despite it being illegal (York 2011).

Arab state media largely has the role of government propagandist. Independent news organizations in the Arab world have to be careful about which topics they report on. Editors and reporters self-censure certain topics or hold on to safe views because otherwise they are in danger of losing their job or even worse consequences. Western news organizations like the CNN in turn are seen as distributing pro-American propaganda (York 2011).

In this kind of media environment there are gaps to be filled in information distribution. Small independent online media, which rely on user-generated content, can fill these gaps. These online writers and other content producers try to offer an alternative view that is inherently impartial and closer to public interest than the biased state and international media (York 2011).

Anti-government protestors and activists are not the only ones who can use social media to help their cause. User-generated content surely offers new perspectives but it can also be used for all kinds of pro-government or other propaganda. Recent examples of this can be found in Bahrain and Syria, where pro-government users of Twitter and Facebook have flooded these services with their own views or propaganda (York 2011).

Critics in the Internet based alternative media have protested the idea that social networks like Twitter and Facebook played a decisive role in the Arab-Spring uprisings. It has been claimed that many so called social media activists fighting for change in the Arab countries are in fact fake accounts created by foreign agents trying to destabilize the ruling regimes (Corbett 2012). The fact, that the U.S. military has admitted it is developing software that will let it secretly manipulate social media sites by using fake online personas to influence Internet conversations and spread pro-American propaganda, makes these claims plausible (Guardian 2011).

2.7.2. The Kony 2012 campaign

Social media can be a powerful weapon in the hands of propagandists. In March 2012, a video about the Ugandan rebel commander Joseph Kony went viral on social media and got over a hundred million views in a short time period (Yle Suora linja 2012a). The video was produced by an American non-government organization called the Invisible

Children. The purpose of the film was to end the use of child soldiers in Joseph Kony's rebel war against the Uganda's president Yoweri Museveni (Invisible Children 2012).

The makers of the video demand, that the U.S. must deploy troops to Uganda to help Ugandan army fight the rebels (Yle Suora linja 2012a). About a week after the Kony 2012 video went viral, two U.S. House lawmakers introduced a resolution supporting the efforts to counter the Lord's Resistance Army. The resolution calls for expanding the number of regional forces in Africa to protect civilians and placing restrictions on individuals or governments found to be supporting Joseph Kony (CBS 2012).

Critics of the Kony film say that the video is pure propaganda used to justify military presence of the United States near the oil-rich northern Uganda, South Sudan, Congo and the Central African Republic (Black Star News 2012, Anonymous 2012). A British oil company Tullow Oil found a huge oil field in Uganda in 2009 (Guardian 2009). Now the company believes there is over a billion barrels of oil yet to be found in Uganda's Lake Albert Rift Basin area. (Tullow Oil 2012). According to analysts, Uganda could become one of the top 50 oil producers in the world by 2015 (Reuters 2009).

In the light of these new oil finds, the timing of the release of the Kony 2012 video and the following call for sending more U.S. troops to Africa raises some serious questions about the motives of the Invisible Children and the forces behind them. It can be argued that the U.S. military and its allies need bogeymen like communists, Osama bin Laden, al-Qaida, Saddam Hussein, Muammar Gaddafi etc. to launch wars and occupy resource rich foreign lands. Is the Kony 2012 campaign a show of strength by the Fifth Estate and social media activism or just a slick new style of government propaganda used to justify geopolitical military action?

Various parties from corporations and politicians to special interests groups try to influence journalists' reporting in different ways because one the simplest and most effective techniques of propaganda is to disguise its sponsors. (Collison 2004, 35). Whatever the truth behind the video is, this Kony 2012 campaign proves the great power social media can have as a propaganda tool. For journalists, this means they have to be very critical and suspicious of these kinds of manufactured media events. In these

kinds of situations journalists are in danger of unknowingly being used to spread indirect propaganda.

Propagandists try to legitimize their message by recycling it through journalists who publish the information as news. This way the message becomes more credible in the eyes of the public and receives more attention. In this kind of environment, doing solid background work is vital for journalism's credibility. Journalists need to stay alert so they can recognize if some party is trying to manipulate them, influence their reporting or use them as pawns in information warfare. Using social media sources such as Twitter tweets or YouTube videos is particularly risky for fast-paced conflict reporting because the content on these services is hard to verify and can be easily faked.

2.8. Future technologies

Many kinds of new technologies have potential to have an impact on journalism in the future. One of them is artificial intelligence or AI. The term artificial intelligence means the science and engineering of making intelligent machines and intelligent computer programs (McCarthy 2007).

AI algorithms are altering journalism and academic research related to it. AI is effecting journalistic content through automatic content analysis and advertising by gauging consumer attention and targeting ads according to user behavior (Latar & Nordfors 2011, 4). AI can also be harnessed to generate news stories.

One example of AI assisted journalism is Stats Monkey. It is a computer program created by the Northwestern University's Intelligent Information Laboratory in the United States in 2009. Stats Monkey can write valid stories in seconds. The text written by the program beats a human journalist in many ways because it doesn't do grammar mistakes or work slowly (Vehkoo 2011, 84).

Currently, the Stats Monkey can generate stories about sports: baseball, American football and basketball. It gets information from two kinds of sources. First the system analyses the statistics of the game such as win and score tables. This way it knows which team was the favorite and which one the underdog. Then the program finds the

most important player of the game and finds his interview quotes from the Internet. The program can also make headlines and add the picture of the player to the story, if the picture can be found on the Internet (Vehkoo 2011, 86).

According to the Intelligent Information Laboratory, the technology underlying the Stats Monkey system can be applied to any sport or event in which the events produce substantial quantitative data. It can also be used to create story types that are primarily data-driven such as many kinds of business stories, market updates and so on. The Stats Monkey system can be used by news organizations or any organizations that want to publish information about their activities. Eventually, the system can be programmed to write stories in different styles for different audiences as well as stories that include quotes from people involved in those stories (when the quotes are available online) (Intelligent Information Laboratory 2012).

The creators of Stats Monkey hope that the program will become the savior of professional journalists. Human journalists can concentrate on more important work such as investigative journalism, when the machines generate stories about ballgames and stock market reports. On the other hand this kind of automated content creation system can give yet another excuse for media bosses to kick out some more journalists (Vehkoo 2011, 87).

2.9. Summary of trends facing the media environment

The different trends and developments affecting journalism which were discussed in chapter 2 are summarized here.

Table1: Current and future trends of journalism

| Trend | Description | Outcome | Source |
|--------------|--|---|--|
| Media crisis | Internet and its 24 hour news deadline have caused a crisis especially for | Less jobs for journalists as newspapers kick out personnel to cut | Väliverronen 2009, Vehkoo 2011, Nordfors 2009, Compton & |

| | | | |
|-------------------------------|---|--|---|
| | <p>newspapers. The morning's newspaper has yesterday's news and there are new Internet based competitors. Newspapers' circulation numbers are going down. Advertisers are moving to online.</p> | <p>costs. Media companies need to find new sources of revenues. Media's role as the gate keeper is diminished because of social media. Journalists have work faster because of the 24 hour online deadline.</p> | <p>Benedetti 2010, Journalisti 2012, Altmeppen 2010</p> |
| Convergence | <p>Media content has been digitalized. Almost everything is available online.</p> | <p>Increased number of mediums. Journalists need to be multi-skilled. They have to know how to create content for different mediums. Media companies may reduce journalists.</p> | <p>Lawson-Borders 2003, Jenkins 2006, Deuze 2008, Rodica 2011</p> |
| Industrial production of news | <p>Media companies are run in a corporate way with share value and profit as the number one priority.</p> | <p>Journalists must create content that sells. Artistic freedom and quality of journalism diminish. Media is not directly controlled by politics any more. Media can act as the 4th estate better</p> | <p>Pietilä 2007, Hujanen 2005, Herkman 2009</p> |

| | | | |
|----------------|--|--|---|
| | | than before. | |
| Infotainment | Television news broadcasts become more like on 24 hour news channels. News items need to be visually arresting and they have to be presented in an entertaining way. | High ratings is the most important thing to lure advertisers. Emphasis on journalists' and news anchors' good appearance increases. Smoother performance is expected. News topics are chosen based on how they can be presented on television. War news becomes more like propaganda. Serious but visually unattractive topics get less airtime. | Thussu 2007, Thussu & Freedman 2003, Altmeppen 2010, Calabrese 2000, Tehranian 2004 |
| Tabloidization | Newspaper stories become more entertaining. | Interesting becomes more important as a news criterion. Journalists have to choose their stories according to interest factor. Celebrities get more visibility. Serious but boring topics get less | Schönbach 2000 Gripsrud 2000, Hujanen 2005, Hallin 2000 |

| | | | |
|--|--|---|---|
| | | publicity. Quality of journalism is lowered. Forces politicians to address the concern of the public. | |
| Rise of Social media | Online applications such as blogs, discussion boards, Facebook and Twitter allow anyone to publish different types of content on the web. | Interaction with the audience increases. Bloggers and other social media actors challenge journalists as information brokers and analysts. Social media offers new tools for journalists. | Vehkoo 2011 |
| Social media as the 5 th estate | Social media as the fifth estate challenges traditional media as the watchdog of different institutions and organizations. Different parties in conflict zones use social media for reporting their side of events and also for war propaganda. Governments may create fake social media accounts to | The gatekeeper role of journalist is diminished. Journalists get new sources and new topics to report about. The relationship is somewhat symbiotic; traditional media sometimes act as catalysts for social media pressure groups. Journalists need to be extra cautious about | Dutton 2007, Helsingin Sanomat kuukausiliite 2011, York 2011, Corbett 2012, Guardian 2011 |

| | | | |
|--------------------|---|---|--|
| | manipulate public opinion. | trusting social media sources. | |
| AI and news robots | Artificial intelligence programs such as the Stats Monkey can automatically write reports about sports results, stock exchange reports and so on. AI programs can also be used in targeting online ads. | News robots allow journalists to concentrate on more important tasks instead of mechanical reporting. | McCarthy 2007, Latar & Nordfors 2011, Vehkoo 2011, Intelligent Information Laboratory 2012 |

3. CHANGES IN JOURNALISTIC WORK

Technological development, changes in the organizations of media companies and the pressures created by these changes towards cost-saving, critical assessment of old ways of working and tightened production schedules, are the reasons behind the changes in journalistic work (Jyrkiäinen 2008, 44).

Economic and journalistic reasons have hastened the transformation of news rooms towards more teamwork oriented organizations. Technological development has made the job descriptions of journalists more flexible. Furthermore, media convergence has altered the journalistic work process because many journalists have to create different versions of the same stories for multiple platforms (Jyrkiäinen 2008, 9).

New communication technologies have created new possibilities for interaction and co-operation between journalists and their audiences. News organizations have created discussion forums for the public on their web sites. Furthermore, blogs and other independent Internet publications alter the traditional media's operating environment. Internet has become a dominant news platform which has accelerated the news cycle and widened the supply of news (Jyrkiäinen 2008, 9-10). Most news organizations have also entered social media, mainly Facebook and Twitter, to share their news items.

According to Jyrkiäinen (2008), journalists feel that aiming stories for certain target groups and producing stories for more than one medium has become more common since 2005. Furthermore, journalists are expected to produce more stories per week than before. At the same time the number of journalistic personnel compared to the amount of produced content has fallen (Jyrkiäinen 2008, 45).

3.1. Assembly-line journalism and the three breeds of journalists

One of the current trends in journalism is the fact that increasing amount of media content deals with media itself in one way or another. This kind of journalism can be called media journalism. It finds its news topics, sources and points of view from media content. Media journalism is interested in celebrities, news papers stories and television programs. It quotes other media and repeats well-known forms of media content. The

main task of media journalism is to keep the machinery of the news industry rolling because only repeated drama guarantees profits and keeps the content interesting (Herkman 2009, 45).

Juntunen (2011) has researched the news sourcing practices of the largest Finnish media companies. According to her, a large share of news flow is based on material produced outside newsrooms. Overall, 36 per cent of all news published in the Finnish mainstream media was somehow based on PR material. Furthermore, 30 per cent of all news was based on material provided by some news agency and on average, 18 per cent of published news is borrowed from some other media. In part these numbers overlap. Overall, only about a quarter of stories were not based on PR, news agency or media material. The tendency to use ready-made material as a source was higher in web news than on television or in newspapers (Juntunen 2011, 52).

According to Vehkoo (2011), rank-and-file journalists' job in a modern copy-paste newsroom is often frustrating. They present their own story ideas in editorial meetings but are told instead to produce stories that competitors published the previous day. Soon they might stop presenting their own ideas (Vehkoo 2011, 98). Furthermore, Juntunen argues that while practicing assembly-line journalism, journalists could lose their hunger for news and their motive to find their own story topics. Especially important public news could be ignored. Another danger is that media that is recycling news turns inwards and forgets the outside world. Instead of finding their own news, the media companies only observe each other. The result is that the content of different media becomes more one-sided (Juntunen 2011, 51). For these reasons, it can be argued that media journalism is a threat to independent search for news and versatility of media content.

Vehkoo (2011) divides future journalists into three classes: robots, drones and elite forces. An increasing number of journalists have become robots, who work on the so called assembly-line, mass producing copy-paste stories which repeat themselves on different media platforms. In Finland, the robots work in online newsrooms. They don't go out of the newsroom, because they are too busy writing up to dozens of stories during their work shift. The middle class of journalists, the drones, rarely write their own stories. Instead, they go through material produced by others and find the best bits.

Drones are professionals in editing, piecing together and contexting information. This kind of curation is becoming an important journalistic skill. The elite forces are the highest caste of journalists. Their number is shrinking and it is becoming harder to get into this group. An elite journalist can produce stories about his or her specialist field and some of them get do stories about anything they want. More and more elite journalists are freelancers (Vehkoo 2011, 100).

3.2. Interesting content as news criterion

The amount of thrilling and entertaining news content is growing. The mass media aim for more predictability in their operations which has led to uniformity of content across different media. News rooms have adopted style guides which control the creation of news stories. The media are shifting towards industrial way of producing news (Jyrkiäinen 2008, 9).

Because of their customer-oriented business strategy, media companies want their news content to be interesting so it can get the largest possible audience. Regardless of genre, market based interesting journalism is easy to consume, popular and non-technical. A good newspaper story is short, compact, and is formed of various elements such as information boxes and graphic presentations. The language of the story is vivid, colorful, flashy and youthful (Hujanen 2005, 280). These criteria have forced press journalists to learn new ways of writing and presenting their stories.

Even political news has been popularized. The goal is humane and non-technical societal journalism. News about political meetings and briefings are problematic because they are dry, and not interesting. Because of this, newspapers try to avoid publishing news about bureaucratic topics. For individual journalists, it means that they have to get near people. In this kind of environment, good journalism narrates what things mean to people, instead of displaying abstract decisions or complex strategies. Journalists have to get rid of administration journalism and find example cases about how certain political decisions affect people. The general guide is that news has to be covered from regular citizen's point of view instead of politician's or official's (Hujanen 2005, 280).

The market value of emotions is high, because it is believed that they affect readers. In crime or catastrophe journalism, the quotes of victims or injured can bring emotions to the story. This kind of journalism requires the journalist to be brave and ask direct questions. Newspapers have started to publish more human interest stories than before. The detailed depiction of people's destiny offer emotions and experiences for the readers (Hujanen 2005, 281).

3.3. Squeezing journalists in the name of profits

Structural changes in the media environment have changed the organizational structures of media companies. They have also had a direct impact on working conditions and job descriptions of journalists. Many media companies have reduced their journalistic personnel (Herkman 2009, 40). These reductions were still going on in autumn 2011. Nearly 20 Finnish media companies were firing journalists and news photographers. Others were offering voluntary resignation and retirement packages for their personnel. Over 300 people were in danger of losing their jobs. Media bosses justify these reductions with the uncertain future of the media business (Journalisti 2011b, 4-5).

Some foreign researchers have argued that by continuously cutting costs media bosses are trying to extract all possible profits from their companies before the print newspaper dies. According to Vehkoo (2012), this kind of business strategy is called harvesting in the United States. It is designed for doomed business fields.

In April 2012, Alma Media announced that it has started a new company called Alma Aluemia which aims to increase co-operation between its provincial and local newspapers. The purpose of Alma Aluemia is also to significantly reduce overlapping work in its newsrooms. This means the company will reduce a maximum of 135 workers from the newsrooms of its five provincial newspapers and 29 local newspapers and free papers, which have a total of 810 personnel (Alma Media 2012). In 2011, Alma Media's turnover was 316,2 million euros and its profit margin was 13,3 per cent. According to Vehkoo, Alma's strategy is a sign that the Finnish press has reached the harvesting phase (Vehkoo 2012).

The media companies' aim to maximize profits also affects hiring new journalists. All recruitments must be justified thoroughly and if somebody leaves the company, nobody is automatically hired to replace him or her (Hujanen 2005, 276). Instead, more and more content production is outsourced to freelancers. As the number of journalists working in newsrooms decrease, the remaining personnel must do more work. This has led to a situation, where haste is chronic.

Many Finnish journalists feel that the continuous deadline of online news leaves less time for them to analyze things and check facts. Most journalists think that urgency affects news values and source criticism. Some think that haste may also affect topic selection because it is easier to produce news items that are easy to execute. Many journalists admit that unchecked content get published more often on the web than on other platforms, even though the requirements of trustworthiness are the same for all mediums (Juntunen 2011, 55).

According to Jyrkiäinen (2008), deadline pressures form the biggest professional problem for Finnish journalists. The urgency of work, too much work compared to time available and problems related to them such as fatigue and decreased motivation hinder journalists. They connect haste with increased tasks, bad leadership, lack of resources, reduction of staff, lack of time to recover from work, uneven distribution of work between working days and concern about lowered journalistic standards (Jyrkiäinen 2008, 36).

Many journalists have got new duties such as responsibility for thematic pages or appendixes. This harms journalists' concentration on their main job (Hujanen 2005, 276). Also unclear job descriptions are a big problem for some journalists. The ever increasing amount of new tasks has left them feeling that they have to do too many different things and have too many responsibilities (Jyrkiäinen 2008, 39).

3.4. The converged journalist

The digitalization of media has driven journalists to learn new skills. They have been forced to develop new skills related for example to social media, audiovisual narrative, publication and computing. (Masip, Cabrera & others 2007, 9). In a converged media

environment, most journalists need to be flexible and multi-skilled. They have to be able to take care of the whole production process of a news story by adapting to the technological and the language demands of different mediums (Masip, Cabrera & others 2007, 10).

Some of the benefits of multi-skilled 'converged journalists' include the fact that they have more control over the production of news stories (Masip, Cabrera & others 2007, 10). Convergence enables the journalists to report their story in the most suitable medium, as they are free from the limitations of a single medium (Rodica 2011, 52). The 'converged journalist' also has an increased potential to influence public opinion because his or her work reaches a wider audience through various mediums compared to a traditional journalist producing content for a single media platform (Masip, Cabrera & others 2007, 10).

Multi-skilled journalists are also more independent as they are not dependent on technical staff such as video and audio editors. They can also react better to different situations while working on the field because of today's portable, light and small-sized technological equipment (Masip, Cabrera & others 2007, 10). In its most extreme form one person can carry in a backpack all the needed equipment for doing multimedia journalism from almost anywhere. Hence, this kind of one-man operation type of video journalism has been named backpack journalism. The term refers to the multi-skilled nature of its practitioners in addition to the compact nature and portability of the equipment used (School of Communication 2012).

Critics of convergence argue that multi-skilled journalists working in converged newsrooms have to take on more work. They have no extra time for these new tasks though, so they have to create different versions of the story quite fast. This increases the possibility of mistakes in the reporting and makes the news more superficial as the journalists have less time for checking facts and researching background information (Masip, Cabrera & others 2007, 10-11). There is also a possibility that the journalists making multiple versions of a story for different mediums will repeat themselves on different platforms and will not be able to take advantage of the individual characteristics of these mediums. Critics also claim that multi-skilled converged

journalists can do a little bit of everything but they are not masters of any medium unlike the journalists who produce content only for one medium (Rodica 2011, 51-52).

3.5. Effects of social media on journalistic work

Social media has become a key source and tool for journalists in many countries because it offers new ways to connect with the audiences, publish and circulate news and find story ideas and people to interview. In the future, the role of social media in news work will probably grow as new services with new features are invented and introduced to the market.

3.5.1. Social media use by Finnish journalists

There haven't been many studies mapping Finnish journalists' use of social media. Two recent studies can be found though. The media information and communication service company Cision Europe and the Canterbury Christ Church University recently studied the social media use of journalists in the UK, Germany, Sweden and Finland. In Finland 448 journalists took part in the study (Cision Europe & CCCU 2011, 1). More than a third of them worked in newspapers and one third of them worked in magazines. Less than a third of the surveyed journalists worked in digital media, social media, television, radio or news agencies (Cision Europe & CCCU 2011, 6).

Cision & CCCU found that almost all Finnish journalists (96 per cent of them) use social media in their work. Two thirds of them separate the professional and private use of social media. One quarter of them don't make this distinction (Cision Europe & CCCU 2011, 9). The most used social media services are information storage sites like Wikipedia, which are used by 86 per cent of all journalists in Finland. Social networking sites like Facebook are also popular. About 70 per cent of journalists use them. Rarely used services are Twitter and other microblogs and professional networking sites like LinkedIn (Cision Europe & CCCU 2011, 2-3). Only 9 per cent of Finnish journalists use Twitter in their work regularly and 29 per cent use it sometimes (Journalistiliitto & Aleksi Kaiku 2012).

Journalists in the UK and Sweden use social media in their work slightly more than their Finnish colleagues. Journalists in the reference countries, especially in the UK, are clearly more likely to use microblogs such as Twitter and professional networking sites than Finnish journalists (Cision Europe & CCCU 2011, 4).

Social media use is more common in larger media organizations. Journalists working in small organizations (less than 20 employees) use less social media in their work (Cision Europe & CCCU 2011, 5). The length of journalistic career doesn't affect the activity of use of social media, but it does affect the content and the number of different social media services used by the Finnish journalists. Younger journalists use more social networking services, blogs and microblogs than their older colleagues. They are also more likely to use several different social media services (Cision Europe & CCCU 2011, 7).

Finnish journalists think that the most important uses of social media are the publication and spreading of content, advertising and social networking. (Cision Europe & CCCU 2011, 2). Seventy per cent of journalists believe that they are better connected with their audience because of social media. Especially journalists working in the fields of social media, radio and digital media think this is true (Cision Europe & CCCU 2011, 8).

Nearly half of journalists use Facebook and other similar services as a source for news. They think that Facebook is the social media service that will affect their work the most in 2012. Social media as a primary source of news or as a medium of inspecting and confirming facts strongly divides the opinions of Finnish journalists. One third of journalists think these are important ways to use social media and one third are indifferent about using social media this way. Finnish journalists appreciate social media as a primary source of news or as a tool in confirming facts less than their colleagues in the reference countries (Cision Europe & CCCU 2011, 7).

Finnish Journalist Association and communication firm Aleksi Kaiku mapped the Finnish media workers' use of social media in January 2012. A total of 536 people answered the survey. According to this study, one tenth of Finnish journalists never use social media in their work. The most active users of social media were sports journalists

(59 per cent use social media in their work) and lifestyle & entertainment journalists (57 per cent) (Journalistiliitto & Alekski Kaiku 2012).

According to the Journalistiliitto & Alekski Kaiku study, the most common reason for journalists to use social media was to find ideas for news and other stories. 54 per cent of all journalists use social media to find story ideas and 45 per cent use it to look for complementary content such as background information and people to interview. 80 per cent of younger journalists use the social media to find news. Great majority of journalists are critical towards information found on social media. Only 8 per cent trust information on social media (Journalistiliitto & Alekski Kaiku 2012).

Three quarters of journalists think that the biggest problem with social media is its inaccuracy. Three quarters of journalists also think that social media reinforces the softer news topics like entertainment news compared to serious topics like politics. Finnish journalists also believe that social media increases opinion journalism. They were more convinced that social media empowers shallow news topics than their colleagues in the reference countries (Cision Europe & CCCU 2011, 11).

Finnish journalists are not very active in creating content for social media services. The most common platform is Facebook. A little over half of the surveyed journalists publish some content on Facebook fairly often. Less than 10 per cent write blogs. About the same number take part in discussions on their media's discussion forums (Journalistiliitto & Alekski Kaiku 2012).

3.5.2. Twitter as a journalistic tool

In many countries, newsrooms have quickly adopted the micro-blog service Twitter because its speed makes it ideal for publishing scoops and breaking news to Twitter-using readers. In America, newspapers started using Twitter in 2007 to post fast-changing updates following natural disasters in their areas (Farhi 2009, 28). In Australia, newsrooms started discovering Twitter around 2009, when the Black Saturday bushfires showed some of its potential applications (Clayfield 2012, 92).

In many countries, journalists nowadays routinely tweet from all kinds of events such as speeches, meetings, conferences and sports events, even though all tweets are not useful. Twitter works best in situations where the story is changing fast, for example riots, political events and disasters. Twitter can be an important tool in reporting. It can be used to find facts, new sources and story ideas, and it can also allow instant access to professionals and experts of various fields such as researchers, government officials or corporate executives. Twitter can also be used for crowdsourcing in situations where the media is looking for regular people to interview or eye-witnesses of some event (Farhi 2012, 28-29). Journalists can also ask for suggestions and questions from their followers (Palser, 2009, 54).

Twitter can be used as a platform for real-time reporting by journalists in the same way as a broadcast news live report. This kind of live reporting via Twitter, or live tweeting, can be done as events are happening. It can be understood as the real-time text version of live radio reporting. Twitter affects especially the work of print journalists because now they can publish information through Twitter immediately, and stay competitive against broadcast journalists in today's 24-hour news cycle (Clayfield 2012, 92-93).

The Mumbai 26/11 terror attacks in India in 2008 can be considered the first major example of Twitter showing its potential in crisis situations. Never before had a crisis discharged so much raw information without interpretation as the terror attacks in Mumbai unfolded. Eye-witnesses at the crime scenes tweeted and uploaded cell phone pictures. On Twitter, people were able to follow what was happening in Mumbai even though no one knew who was behind the attack and why was it being carried out. Technology journalist Alexander Wolfe argues that "Mumbai is likely to be viewed in hindsight as the first instance of the paradigmatic shift in crisis coverage: namely, journalists will henceforth no longer be the first to bring us information. Rather, they will be a conduit for the stream of images and video shot by a mix of amateurs and professionals on scene" (Wolfe 2008).

The Guardian's Paul Lewis has named this new breed of journalists as "anchor journalists". Their job is to try to sort out the chaos during big news events. Many journalists, for example in United Kingdom, United States and Australia, are already starting to function like Twitter conductors. They digest, sort, corroborate, debunk, and

disseminate bits of citizen journalism (Lewis 2011). Twitter anchors have been doing this kind of work since the Mumbai attacks, but Arab Spring really brought them to prominence (Clayfield 2012, 95).

Currently, the NPR journalist Andy Carvin can probably be considered the best known anchor journalist in the world. He is mainly focused on deciphering news events in the Middle East (Lewis 2011). Carvin retweets Western correspondents on the ground, and also civilians and citizen journalists, who have information. He has also used crowdsourcing to confirm news and debunk rumours. This kind of Twitter curation is one of the jobs that a so called drone journalist does, as described by Vehkoo (2011, 100).

Twitter demands journalists to develop new skills. Live tweeting reporters and anchor journalists need to learn to manage real-time audience interaction because live reporting a story through Twitter is dynamic. Audiences are able to “enhance” professional coverage in real time by their own eye-witness accounts and their video, audio and images to back themselves up (Clayfield 2012, 93).

Twitter anchoring has its negative sides too. Journalists practicing it are restricted to the office so they can't be where the news event is happening. There is also the risk that journalists will start to publish information that they don't know is true and wait for it to be debunked (Lewis 2011).

Twitter also allows journalists to differentiate themselves from the media they work for. It allows them to develop their own personal brand. Increasingly, journalists' individual online following can threaten or even supplant their institutional legitimacy. In the future, journalist's properly polished personal brand can be more important than the brand of his or her employer. This can be a good thing especially for younger journalists who can take their followers with them if they change jobs. As a result, nice sized Twitter following can be considered a professional asset (Clayfield 2012, 95-96).

As the research by Journalistiliitto & Aleksi Kaiku shows, Finnish journalists have not really adopted Twitter yet, but they are slowly starting to experiment with it. Anna-Liina Kauhanen, the Stockholm correspondent for Helsingin Sanomat, for example tried

live tweeting while reporting from Norway during the Anders Behring Breivik's massacre trial in spring 2012. It was the first time Helsingin Sanomat used live tweeting to report a story (Journalisti 2012b). Currently, many Finnish newsrooms use Twitter mainly to advertise their news stories.

Journalists have to be very careful when using Twitter as a source. Faking Twitter accounts is very easy and impostors have faked many accounts of famous people. For example an impostor created a fake account in Dalai Lama's name and got 20 000 followers in two days, assisted by news media that swallowed the hoax (Palser 2009, 54). One of the world's most successful Twitter hoaxers, an Italian named Tommaso De Benedetti, has faked the identities of various world leaders and fooled the media to publish false stories. He says he did it to expose how unreliable social media is as a news source (Guardian 2012).

3.5.3. Trendsetter in Finland

Currently, the best example of social media inspired journalism in Finland is Yle's live television and online news broadcast Yle Uutiset Suora linja. It started in early 2012. The idea of Suora linja is to let the audience take part in the production of the night's stories through online discussions. Usually Suora linja asks for viewers' opinion on some issue such as "what kind of experiences do you have regarding beggars in Finland?", "how can Greece make it, if all the young people leave the country?" or "how does your employer reward personnel for good work?"

At the same time, the journalistic process becomes more transparent to the public. Suora linja publishes its editorial day list every day before the night's broadcast. After the live broadcast, the program continues for 15 minutes on Suora linja's Twitter (#suoralinja) and Facebook page. During this time, the journalists comment the broadcast and discuss it with the audience (Yle Suora linja 2012b).

Interactive Suora linja takes advantage of modern communication technology. The audience can communicate with the journalists through social media and on the program's web site, where the makers of the program ask for people's opinions and experiences relevant to the day's story topic. Viewers can also take part in the live

broadcasts as interviewees through Skype, the online phone call application, and offer their opinion. Suora linja also finds some of its topics from social media phenomenon such as the Kony 2012 campaign.

The role of social media seems to be growing in Yle's programming. In early 2012, Yle started to broadcast a current affairs discussion program, A-Stream, which takes advantage of Skype and social media contacts with the viewers. According to Yle's program plans 2013-2015, television and radio expression is becoming more thrilling and eventful, and Yle is following this trend. Yle wants to be the most interesting and trustworthy Finnish news media with a strong societal news supply (Yle intranet 2012).

In the near future Yle Uutiset will start doing more live broadcasts, and it invests in design and the modern use of studio technology, visual presentation and uniqueness. Yle Uutiset will also invest in online, social media and mobile platforms. Yle is getting ready for a situation where the consumption of news is detached of time and place. The company will create services and ways of working that support this new reality. Journalists specializing only in online journalism will strengthen Yle's online news service. To reach the people under the age of 45, Yle Uutiset will build an active interaction with the audience that takes advantage of all Yle's mediums (Yle intranet 2012).

Even though Yle says it wants to retain a strong societal news supply, it can be argued that Yle Uutiset may be taking a step towards American style commercial infotainment news broadcasts with these reforms that emphasize visual presentation and the interest value of news items. The company is also getting ready for the age of ubiquitous media and communication. Yle's investments in online journalism will probably get a lot of protests from its commercial competitors, who think Yle's free online news content prevents them from creating paid online content services.

3.6 Summary of changes in journalistic work

The different trends and changes in journalistic work and possible future roles of the journalist, which were discussed in chapter 3, are summarized here.

Table2: Current and future trends of journalistic work

| Trend | Description | Outcome | Source |
|---|--|---|----------------------------|
| Media journalism | Increasing amount of news content deals with media itself in one way or another. It finds its news topics, sources and points of view from media content. | Journalists have to make stories about topics that other media are also reporting. Leads to “copy/paste” journalism. | Herkman 2009 |
| PR, news agency and other outside material as news source | A large share of news flow is based on material produced outside newsrooms. Most stories are based on PR or news agency material or news quoted from other media. Only about 25% of stories are based on newsrooms’ own ideas or topics. | Journalists have to quote other media and use news agency and PR material. Journalists’ independence diminishes. Leads to “copy/paste” journalism. May lead to a situation where journalists stop finding and presenting their own story ideas. | Juntunen 2011, Vehkoo 2011 |
| Interesting content as news criterion | Media companies want their news content to be interesting so it can get the largest possible audience. | Journalists have find news topics that interest large audiences. They have to learn new ways of presenting | Hujanen 2005 |

| | | | |
|---|---|--|--|
| | Regardless of genre, market based interesting journalism is easy to consume, popular and non-technical. | their stories. Journalists need to cover stories from ordinary citizen's point of view. Boring but important topics get less attention. | |
| Reduction of journalistic personnel / harvesting as a business strategy | Media companies have been shaving their newsrooms to cut costs even though they are making good profits. Many journalists have lost their jobs. This process is still going on. | Many journalists are in danger of losing their jobs. The media companies' aim to maximize profits also affects hiring new journalists. All recruitments must be justified thoroughly. Journalistic work is outsourced to freelancers. Remaining journalists have to do more work faster than before. Quality of journalism diminishes. | Herkman 2009, Journalisti 2011b, Hujanen 2005, Vehkoo 2012 |
| 24 hour deadline | Online news have 24 hour deadline. Big news has to be published as soon as possible to stay | Journalists' work has become hastier. There is less time for analyzing developments, | Juntunen 2011 |

| | | | |
|--------------------------------|--|---|--|
| | competitive in news competition. | checking facts and finding story ideas. Mistakes have become more common especially in online news. “Copy/paste” journalism increases. | |
| Social media use | Almost all Finnish journalists use some social media in their work. | Journalists can use social media to find facts, new sources and story ideas. Social media also offers new ways to interact with the audience. Journalists have to be very careful when quoting social media sources because they can be faked and are hard to verify. | Cision Europe & CCCU 2011, Journalistiliitto & Aleksi Kaiku 2012 |
| Twitter as a journalistic tool | In many countries, newsrooms have quickly adopted the micro-blog service Twitter because its speed makes it ideal for publishing scoops and breaking news to | Twitter can allow journalists quick access to professionals and experts of various fields. Twitter can also be used for live reporting and crowdsourcing in | Farhi 2012, Palser 2009, Clayfield 2012 |

| | | | |
|--|------------------------|--|--|
| | Twitter-using readers. | situations where the media is looking for regular people to interview or eye-witnesses of some event. Individual journalists can brand themselves. | |
|--|------------------------|--|--|

Table3: Journalists' possible future roles

| Role | Description | Requirements for journalists | Source |
|-------|---|--|-------------|
| Robot | Robots work on the so called assembly line, mass producing copy-paste stories which repeat themselves on different media platforms. They work mostly in online newsrooms. | Fast writing skills, language skills (can translate stories quickly into Finnish), online skills (can find interesting topics). | Vehkoo 2011 |
| Drone | Drones rarely write their own stories. Instead, they go through material on social media that is produced by others. Then they find the best bits. | Drones are professionals in editing, piecing together and contexting information. This kind of curation is becoming an important journalistic skill. | Vehkoo 2011 |

| | | | |
|----------------------|--|---|-------------------------------|
| Elite forces | An elite journalist can produce stories about his or her specialist field and some of them get do stories about anything they want. More and more elite journalists are freelancers. | The elite journalists are specialized into a specific field such as foreign news or political news. They need to be somewhat experienced to get into this position. Freelancers need good contacts to get their stories published. | Vehkoo 2011 |
| Converged journalist | In a converged media environment, most journalists need to be flexible and multi-skilled. | Journalists have to be able to take care of the whole production process of a news story by adapting to the technological and language demands of different mediums. The 'converged journalist' also has an increased potential to influence public opinion because his or her work reaches a wider audience through various mediums. | Masip, Cabrera & others 2007, |

| | | | |
|------------------------------------|--|---|------------------------------|
| Backpack journalist | A sub group of the converged journalist. Operates all equipment and creates stories almost almost anywhere. | Journalist needs to be multi-skilled. He or she has to know how to operate video and sound equipment. The journalist also has to be very independent as a person. | School of Communication 2012 |
| Live tweeting reporter | Twitter allows journalists to report events as they are happening. It can be understood as the real-time text version of live radio reporting. | Live tweeting reporters need to learn to manage real-time audience interaction because live reporting a story through Twitter is dynamic. Audiences are able to “enhance” professional coverage in real time by their own eye-witness accounts and their video, audio and images to back themselves up. | Clayfield 2012, Wolfe 2008 |
| Anchor journalist / Twitter anchor | Their job is to try to sort out the chaos during big news events. Many journalists, for | Twitter anchors digest, sort, corroborate, debunk, and disseminate bits of | Lewis 2011, Clayfield 2012 |

| | | | |
|--|--|--|--|
| | <p>example in United Kingdom, United States and Australia, are already starting to function like Twitter conductors.</p> | <p>citizen journalism on social media. They can use crowdsourcing to confirm news and debunk rumors. There is also the risk that journalists will start to publish information that they don't know is true and wait for it to be debunked by readers.</p> | |
|--|--|--|--|

4. EXPECTATIONS

Expectations can be defined as “mental standards on what is considered important or as heavily invested beliefs and anticipations about what will occur in the future or how others behave. What makes these mental standards tricky is that they are subject to change and affected by emotions.” (Olkkonen & Luoma-aho 2011, 14). Expectations can be trusting/positive or distrusting/negative (Lewicki, McAllister & Bies, 1998).

4.1. What are stakeholder expectations?

Stakeholder is for example a person, a group or an organization, who affects or can be affected by an organization's actions. (Wikipedia 2012b). Journalists are personnel in media companies. As workers, they are also one important stakeholder group of the media. Fulfilling journalists' expectations is important for media companies, because it leads to worker trust and satisfaction.

According to Vos & Schoemaker (2005) worker satisfaction means “the degree to which the organization, the work and the working conditions meet the expectations of the workers”. Worker satisfaction may indicate the workers' willingness to dedicate their selves to the organization. Satisfaction motivates workers for change, for example to contribute to the increase of quality. Dissatisfaction can cause unwanted worker behavior such as personnel turnover and absence through illness (Vos & Schoemaker 2005, 93).

Companies are increasingly interested in stakeholder expectations, because maintaining good relationships with stakeholders is considered to make organizational legitimacy and long-term performance of the company stronger (Donaldson & Preston 1995). Suchman (1995, 574) defines legitimacy as follows: “legitimacy is a generalized perception or assumption that the actions of an entity are desirable, proper, or appropriate within some socially constructed system of norms, values, beliefs, and definitions.”

Companies are required to know what their stakeholders are expecting and they also need to know how these expectations can be fulfilled. This is a challenge for companies

because stakeholders' expectations can change over time (Olkkonen & Luoma-aho 2011, 14). Different stakeholders can also expect different things, and these different expectations can contradict each other. This makes it difficult for individual companies to fulfill the expectations of all their stakeholders (Olkkonen & Luoma-aho 2011, 15).

Expectations can derive from mediated or personal experiences. Many times, the origins of expectations are difficult to define clearly, because both individual clues and weak signals are merged to form a scenario of what is likely to happen. For this reason, stakeholder expectations are more discreet than stakeholder demands and they will not necessarily lead to visible outcomes like boycotts or strikes. Instead, they result in silent feelings of satisfaction or dissatisfaction. These feelings are many times indicated through choices in identification, consuming and the willingness to co-operate (Olkkonen & Luoma-aho 2011, 14).

4.2. Managing expectations

Communication has a critical role in managing expectations. Companies need to know their stakeholders and listen to their demands and expectations, because communication cannot be successful without real actions to back it up. Managing stakeholder expectations has importance for organizations because fulfilling expectations make stakeholders favorable to the organization. Unfulfilled expectations can impede or even prevent collaboration of the stakeholders (Olkkonen & Luoma-aho 2011, 14).

Organization's actions and behavior affect stakeholder expectations even if the organization is not aware of those expectations. The actions of the organization affect whether the stakeholder expectations are positive or negative (Lewicki, McAllister & Bies, 1998). This can influence stakeholder trust, organizational reputation and legitimacy. Corporate reputation influences the products consumers choose to buy, the companies investors choose to invest in and the jobs workers accept. Reputation is especially important for knowledge-based institutions such as universities, investment banks and also media companies, because the services they provide are intangible. (Fombrun 1996, 4- 7).

Companies and other organizations can basically fail, meet or exceed stakeholder expectations. Companies need to gain at least a minimum level of responsibility of not causing harm to others with their business to maintain basic legitimacy. This means various things like environmental considerations and social considerations such as fair treatment of workers (Olkkonen & Luoma-aho 2011, 14-16).

Letting down stakeholder expectations is connected with refusing or deficient communication, or communication that is conflicting with the actions of the organization. A company can be unsuccessful in filling stakeholder expectations of responsibility by refusing to take responsibility, by taking it and not communicating about it, or by telling about it but not actually doing it. A situation, where minimum expectations of responsibility are not met, has the potential to cause damage for organizational reputation and legitimacy (Olkkonen & Luoma-aho 2011, 16).

5. RESEARCH METHODS AND DATA

This study maps the expectations of journalists. The aim of this research is to find out how journalists see their own future role as journalists in this current rapidly changing media environment and how journalists perceive the effects of social media on their work. The research also sheds light on how journalists see the future of media.

Main research problem of this study consists of the following four questions:

RQ1. How do journalists perceive the future role and developments of media?

RQ2. How do media professionals see their future role as journalists?

RQ3. How has social media affected journalists' work?

RQ4. What do journalists/freelancers expect from their employers/customers in the future?

This chapter describes the principles of qualitative research and the data collection method of this study, which was semi-structured interview. Also the research sample and the method of data analysis are presented in this chapter.

5.1. Qualitative research

Qualitative research is experiential and based on measuring or observing the subject of the study. In other words it is empiric. Data collection and analysis methods are amplified in empiric qualitative inquiry (Tuomi & Sarajärvi 2002, 20-21).

Qualitative research tries to describe some phenomenon or event, understand some action or give a theoretically meaningful interpretation to some phenomenon. (Tuomi & Sarajärvi 2002, 87). Qualitative research methods are used to study issues in detail and depth. They usually produce a lot of detailed data about a small number of people or cases. This makes it possible for the researcher to understand in-depth the studied situations and cases. The person doing the inquiry is the so called research instrument in qualitative research. For this reason the credibility of qualitative methods depend on the skill, competence and precision of the researcher doing fieldwork (Patton 2002,14).

Qualitative results are typically long, detailed and their content varies. Analyzing qualitative findings is difficult because answers are not systematic or standardized. The open-ended answers to questions allow the researcher to understand the world the same way the respondents see it (Patton 2002, 21).

5.2. Qualitative interviewing

The data collection method of this study was semi-structured interview, which is a sub-category of qualitative interview. Qualitative interviewing is based on the supposition that the point of view of others is meaningful, knowable, and able to be made accurate. Interviews are made to find out what somebody else has on their mind, to gather their stories (Patton 2002, 341).

“The purpose of qualitative interviewing is to capture how those being interviewed view their world, to learn their terminology and judgments, and to capture the complexities of their individual perceptions and experiences... The fundamental principle of qualitative interviewing is to provide a framework within which respondents can express their own understandings in their own terms” (Patton 2002, 348).

There are three basic ways of gathering data through qualitative interviews. They all use open-ended questions. Each of the approaches needs a different kind of preparation, perceiving and instrumentation. They have their pros and cons and they serve different purpose. The three approaches are the informal conversational interview, the general interview guide approach and the standardized open-ended interview (Patton 2002, 342).

The standardized open-ended interview was chosen as the way of collecting data in this study, because each interviewee could be interviewed only once for a fixed time of around one hour. This way the predetermined set of questions helped to steer the interview in right direction and cover all important topic areas in the limited time-span. Also the data analysis is easier with this approach because each interviewee's answer to the same question can be found quickly (Patton 2002, 346).

The standardized open-ended interview requires exact wording of all questions before the interview. All interviewees get asked the same questions in the same way and same order. This way the gathered data is open-ended in the way that the interviewee gives the response in his or her own words, but the exact wording of the questions is predetermined (Patton 2002, 344-346).

The shortcoming of the standardized open-ended interview is that it doesn't allow the interviewer to explore topics or issues that were not expected when the interview questions were written. For this reason the method of this study was modified by combining the standardized approach with the informal conversational interview as the three different interview strategies do not exclude each other. This allowed the basic questions to be asked the same way in each interview but it also allowed the interviewer to ask additional questions when necessary to go deeper into the subjects or even to ask questions about things that were originally not planned while writing the interview questions. (Patton 2002, 347).

In this study each respondent was asked the same basic set of questions. If something interesting stood out in their answers then the respondent could be asked another detailing question.

5.3. Semi-structured interview

The data collection method of this study was semi-structured interview using the standardized open-ended interview as a strategy. Semi-structured interview is also known as the thematic interview. In a semi-structured interview the interview is conducted according to pre-determined themes and focusing questions related to them. Methodologically semi-structured interview highlights people's interpretations about things, the meanings they give to things and how meanings are born in interaction (Tuomi & Sarajarvi 2002, 77).

It is up to the researcher to decide, whether to ask all the respondents all the planned questions, whether to ask the questions always in the same order and should the wording of the questions be exactly the same in all interviews. This demand for

uniformity varies between studies using the semi-structured interview as a data collection method (Tuomi & Sarajärvi 2002, 77).

The pre-planned themes of the semi-structured interview are basically based on the theoretical frame of reference of the study. In other words it is based on what is already known about the studied phenomenon. The semi-structured interview tries to find out meaningful answers according to the purpose of the inquiry (Tuomi & Sarajärvi 2002, 77-78).

5.4. Research sample

Qualitative research concentrates in depth on small samples that are selected purposefully. (Patton 2002, 230). It is important in qualitative research that the people, from who the data is collected, know as much as possible about the studied phenomenon or they have experience about it. The selection of respondents should be purposeful and well considered for this reason (Tuomi & Sarajärvi 2002, 88).

For comparison quantitative methods normally use large samples that are selected randomly. The strength of qualitative sampling is based on the logic and power of choosing information-rich cases for study. Instead of empirical generalizations, insights and in-depth understanding can be obtained by researching these information-rich cases. Purposeful sampling is centered on selecting cases whose study will answer the questions under research (Patton 2002, 230).

There are many strategies for purposefully choosing information-rich cases for research. Each one of them has a different purpose (Patton 2002, 230). Two different selection strategies were used in this study. They were the maximum variation sampling and snowball sampling.

The main sampling strategy of this study was maximum variation sampling. Its purpose is to capture and describe the central themes that can be found in a great deal of variation. When studying small samples, a lot of heterogeneity may be a problem because each case is so different from the others. The maximum variation sampling approach alters this weakness into strength because any common patterns that arise

from wide variation are very valuable in capturing the main experiences of the interviewees. The data collection and analysis of a small but diverse sample will give two kinds of results: detailed descriptions of all cases and important shared patterns that arise from these cases and get their significance from heterogeneity. Both of these are important findings in qualitative research (Patton 2002, 234-235).

Snowball sampling was the secondary strategy for finding information-rich respondents. Basically the process starts by asking a well-situated people for tips on how to find suitable people to interview (Patton 2002, 237). Data collection is done by progressing from one respondent to another as the researcher is introduced to new people by the previous respondents. (Tuomi & Sarajärvi 2002, 88). In this study some respondents were asked if they knew other journalists in their organization, who might be interested to take part in this study.

The empirical part for the research was gathered by semi-structured interviews with journalists. A sample of 14 full-time and 2 freelancer journalists representing the fields of print, broadcast and online media were chosen from five major Finnish news organizations. Thirteen journalists were found using the maximum variation sampling strategy and three were found using the snowball approach. The number of interviewed journalists from each newsroom was mostly based on the size of the media. In general, the bigger audience the media had, the more interviewees were chosen from that newsroom. The individual journalists were chosen so that there would be an even mix of general and specialist journalists representing different fields such as foreign, regional or political news.

Target news organizations

The target companies for this study were Sanoma News, Alma Media, MTV3 Media, STT and Yleisradio. Both of the freelancers had at least one of these companies as a client. These companies were chosen as target organizations for this study because they are the biggest actors in Finnish television, radio, print and online media. STT was chosen because it has an important role in the Finnish media ecosystem as the Finnish news agency that produces a lot of news content for various newspapers and radio news broadcasts.

Yleisradio or Yle is the state owned public broadcasting company of Finland. It has a unique role in the Finnish media environment because of its role as a non-commercial public service provider. Yle is also the most trusted institution in Finland (Yle Uutiset 2010). Yleisradio's news unit Yle Uutiset was chosen for this study because of its leading role in television, radio and online news. Yle Keski-Suomi was chosen because it represents Yle's regional offices and also it was easy to reach because it is located in Jyväskylä.

In the field of print media Sanoma News is the leading newspaper publisher and also the largest media corporation in Finland. (Markkinointi & Mainonta 2011). Their flagship newspaper Helsingin Sanomat is the biggest daily in Nordic region. (Sanoma News, 2011). Sanoma News also publishes the popular tabloid newspaper Ilta-Sanomat which has the second biggest circulation of all newspapers and their website is the second most popular in Finland. (Sanomalehtien liitto 2010, TNS Gallup 2011). Sanoma News also owns the television channel Nelonen. Helsingin Sanomat and Ilta-Sanomat were chosen for this study, because they are the biggest newspapers in Finland. Nelonen was chosen because represents Sanoma News on television.

Alma Media is the second biggest newspaper publisher and the third biggest media corporation in Finland. (Markkinointi & Mainonta 2011). Their tabloid newspaper Iltalehti has the fifth biggest circulation of newspapers in Finland. (Sanomalehtien liitto 2011). Iltalehti was chosen for this study because it is the competitor of Iltasanomat and it has the most popular website in Finland. (TNS Gallup 2011). Alma Media's business newspaper Kauppalehti was chosen for this study, because it represents the important specialist field of business journalism.

MTV3 Media is the fifth biggest media corporation in Finland. It is owned by the Swedish media group Bonnier, which is the biggest media corporation in Scandinavia. (Markkinointi & Mainonta 2011, Bonnier Oy 2011). MTV3 is the most watched television channel in Finland and their television news get high ratings. Radio Nova is the only nationwide commercial radio station in Finland. It is a part of MTV3 Media. MTV3 and Radio Nova have a shared newsroom. Many journalists working there make news for television, radio and web.

Table4: Target news organizations

| Company | Media / newsroom | Number of interviewed journalists |
|-------------|---|-----------------------------------|
| Alma Media | Iltalehti | 2 |
| Alma Media | Kauppalehti | 1 |
| MTV3 Media | MTV3 & Radio Nova (shared newsroom) | 2 |
| Sanoma News | Ilta-Sanomat | 1 |
| Sanoma News | Helsingin Sanomat | 2 |
| Sanoma News | Nelosen Uutiset | 1 |
| STT | STT | 1 |
| Yleisradio | Yle Keski-Suomi | 2 |
| Yleisradio | Yle Uutiset | 2 |
| Freelancers | various, including Helsingin Sanomat | 2 |

Interviewees

A total of 16 journalists were chosen for the interviews (one to four journalists from each media). The interviewees were picked from the ranks of reporters, desk journalists, news anchors and other journalists who actually make the news. Some of them had also special roles like working part-time as a journalist and part-time in company development projects or as a part-time trade union steward. Management or editor level journalists were framed out of the sample.

The interviewees were chosen so that they represent different age groups, different mediums (radio, television, online, print) and different topic areas (for example homeland news, foreign news, business news, political news, entertainment news, reportage and provincial news). There were nine male and seven female journalists among the interviewees. The youngest was 25 and the oldest was 62 years old.

There are no rules concerning sample size in qualitative research. The information richness of the chosen cases and the analytical skills of the researcher are more important for the competence, usefulness and insights yielded from qualitative research than the size of the sample. (Patton 2002, 244-245).

Saturation of information is the goal in purposeful sampling in an ideal situation. In that case sampling is continued until no new information is gained from new sampled units. Aiming for informational redundancy works best when there is unlimited resources and time (Patton 2002, 246). It has been suggested that around 15 responses to a question are enough to reach the saturation point when no new information is gained from additional interviews, but it varies from study to study (Tuomi & Sarajärvi 2002, 89).

As the resources and time were limited in this study, sixteen interviewees were set as a realistic number of cases to get meaningful results. It is enough to give a wide spectrum of different opinions but it is not too much work for a master's thesis.

5.5. Qualitative analysis

Qualitative analysis modifies data into findings (Patton 2002, 432). Several interesting things can be found in the data of a qualitative study, but not all of them can be researched in a single study. It is very important to choose some precisely framed phenomenon and report everything about it. All other interesting material found in the data must be framed out of the study (Tuomi & Sarajärvi 2002, 94).

The analysis method of this research was theory-driven deductive content analysis. It means that the analysis is based on previous framework that can be a theory or a system of concepts. The analysis is driven by themes or a map of concepts (Tuomi & Sarajärvi 2002, 116). Content analysis involves identifying, coding, categorizing, classifying and labeling the main patterns in the data. The core content of interviews is analyzed to find out what is meaningful. This means the early stage of qualitative analysis is typically inductive. Discoveries emerge out of the data, through the researcher's interaction with the data (Patton 2002, 453-463). All the data received through semi-structured interviews was analyzed with this method.

Content analysis tries to organize the research data in a compact and clear form without losing the information included in the data. The analysis brings clarity to the data so that trustworthy conclusions about the studied phenomenon can be made (Tuomi & Sarajärvi 2002, 110). In this research the content analysis was done through themetizing the content of the interviews.

When patterns and themes have been established through inductive analysis, the final stage of qualitative analysis may be deductive in testing and affirming the authenticity and appropriateness of the inductive content analysis, including carefully examining deviate cases or data that don't fit the categories developed (Patton 2002, 452).

5.6. Research process

In the beginning of the research the five target companies were set. The journalists to be interviewed were found using many ways that included personal contacts, the snow ball method and e-mail inquiries to journalists working for the target organizations, and to freelancers who had their own websites.

The names of journalists targeted for e-mail inquiries were picked up from newspaper or web news story bylines, different media's web sites and Google searches for freelancers. Dozens of journalists were contacted but only a minority answered the email and some of them did not want to participate in the study.

In the end sixteen journalists were interviewed through semi-structured thematic interviews. The interviews were pre-planned one-on-one interviews and the language used in the interviews was Finnish. The interviews were conducted in the journalists' work places and homes, different cafes and restaurants or on the phone. Thirteen interviews were done in person in Helsinki and Jyväskylä and three interviews were done on the phone. There was not much difference in the amount of data gathered in these two different ways. Each interview lasted 45-90 minutes.

The interviews were centered on three topic areas which were media, social media and the journalists' own work. The question sheets in Finnish and English can be found in appendix 1. The goal was to find out how the journalists see the future of media, how

they see the future role of journalists, how social media has affected their work and what do they expect from their employers or clients in the future.

All interviews were recorded. Only the interviewees' answers were transcribed. The answers were freely translated into English and edited a little by removing repetition of words for easier reading in the analysis phase of the research. The collected and transcribed data was read through a few times to get big picture. The preliminary themes and coding categories were also created during these first readings.

After that, the text was marked by color codes according to which research question it was related to. As there was a large amount of text, the color marked texts of each interview were saved into separate files to make the handling of the data easier. In the end, there were four themes and each of them had several subcategories so the data could be classified. Then, this themetized and classified data was analyzed. Finally, the conclusions of this research were made from the analyzed data.

6. RESULTS

The results of the research are presented in this chapter. They are discussed in the order of the research questions including 1) journalists' views about the future of the media, 2) journalists' perceived future roles, 3) effect of social media on journalists' work, and 4) journalists' expectations towards their employers and the media in general. Answers to research questions of the study will be presented in chapter 7.

To ensure the anonymity of the respondents, they are not referred here by names or codes. All details that could allow the respondents to be recognized have been removed from the quotations. Furthermore, all speech-language and unnecessary fill words have been removed. Since the interviews were conducted in Finnish, the researcher has translated the quotations freely into English.

6.1. The future looks bleak

The research revealed that journalists' perceptions about the future of the media vary a lot. Most respondents were pessimistic about the future of the traditional media. Some were even more pessimistic. No one expected the traditional media business to grow in the near future. Rather, the media business was expected to shrink.

"During the next ten years it (the media business) will apparently shrink and it will shrink maybe twenty per cent. But probably there will be new phenomenon. There will be new business logics. Some are here already. Another thing is that they won't necessarily be compatible with the traditional nonpartisan image of the journalist." q1

"Partly, the worst current extreme phenomenon will continue and amplify. Resources will be reduced continuously. It means all resources but especially it means the people, who do the work. They're being reduced all the time in the name of short-sighted balancing. These actions don't even lead to cutting costs every time, which is so stupid. Some content will be outsourced or bought from some other company. The goal is just to move costs from one place to another. This kind of stupidity will continue." q2

Some journalists thought that even though many Finnish media companies are making good profits, the owners of some newspaper media are killing their companies on purpose to extract all the possible profits before the old-fashioned newspaper dies as a medium.

“I have trusted the fact that it will be alright and the highest leadership and the boards of directors of the media companies are full of people, who have visions and views. Somehow, the only vision that comes to mind is that they are milking these firms dry and then let them die off, which is very sad.” q3

6.1.1. Changes in the media environment

Many respondents expected the news cycle to keep on accelerating in the future. At the same time, the risk of mistakes is growing because journalists do not have enough time to check facts. Secondly, a couple of respondents thought that the worst emphasis on speed in news publication has been passed and things have calmed a bit recently.

“The risk of publishing untrue information is constantly growing because things have to be published fast. Then unchecked information can be published and it can have serious consequences. Well, then we’re talking about defamation and things like that. It is a direction where we shouldn’t be going to. This possibility of mistake is growing all the time.” q4

Some of the interviewees expected the media to divide into expensive quality media and free or nearly free bulk media. Highly educated people will follow the quality media and the others are content with the bulk. Some expected online news content to become paid.

“I think that if you look a few years ahead, these current developments will probably lead to a situation where there are bulk publications for great masses and the ones who want some kind of quality content and information from the media, will start to follow their own media, which are not like the current offerings.” q5

“You probably can never fund quality online content with advertisers’ money only. Neither can you fund quality content for press, radio or television anymore with it. Readers, watchers and listeners will have to pay in some way for information.”q6

Many interviewees expected the media environment to fragment further. On one hand, there will be more new small media. On the other hand, existing companies will be concentrating to bigger units. This would force the different media to profile themselves in new ways, which could mean tabloidization in some cases. The news competition on the Internet was expected to go global. Some journalists believed that in the future, foreign news media will challenge the Finnish media more and more, because people are able to follow any media outlet they choose on the Internet. At the same time, the offered points of views about different events will be diversified.

“I think that it will globalize so, that we start to follow international news media. English language skills are already common among the younger generation and also us. We follow global news on the Internet.”q7

One respondent believed that the power of international news agencies will grow in foreign reporting in the future.

“In foreign reporting, central news agencies such as Reuters provide international images, and if you watch news broadcast on any news channel today, you’ll see that everyone has the same images, maybe in a different order. So in a way, I would say, it is centralizing.”q8

The majority of the interviewees expected the print media to change the most in the future. Small provincial newspapers, political newspapers and one of the tabloids (Ilta-Sanomat or Iltalehti) were expected to suffer the most from the current media environment. Many respondents believed that many small newspapers will die. Others were not so pessimistic. The effect of the new nine per cent value added tax for subscribed newspapers was expected to further hurt the smaller newspapers.

“I suspect that secondary provincial newspapers and political parties’ newspapers are in biggest trouble. Some are expected to die and the reason for this is the value added

tax that comes into force in the beginning of next year (2012). I suspect that there could be quite rough elimination there. Maybe there will be no deaths of newspapers but at least their frequency of publication will be thinned out.”q9

“I would say that media houses, for example Alma Media, will drop many newspapers. They will invest in some. The largest provincial newspapers will remain and Iltalehti. If I say some percentage, I would say that in five years’ time, the biggest newspaper companies will publish at least forty per cent less print newspapers than now. Maybe the small provincial newspapers will suffer the most. The biggest ones will remain.”q10

The large provincial newspapers were expected to do quite well in the future, because they do not have any competitors in their area. Some smaller provincial newspapers, owned by the same corporation, were expected to merge in the future.

“Aamulehti in Tampere, Kaleva in Oulu and Keski-suomalainen in Jyväskylä, they report about the matters of the local community. They have a very good gap in the market. They have monopolies in their areas. They are overpowering in their own community and the only choices available. There will be no new competitors for them. For example, if someone tried to invade their market through an Internet media, they would not succeed.”q11

One interviewee thought that freelancers may start to organize themselves in new ways in the future.

“I believe there will be journalists’ communities. Of course, there already are firms like Kynämiehet. But there could be rings of independent entrepreneurs. I don’t know if they will be cooperatives or what, but there will be producer rings, because single freelancers are in a bad position when they have big publishers as clients.”q12

6.1.2. Internet and mobile news could replace newspapers

The interviewees believed that the importance of the Internet as a news medium will grow in the future. Television news broadcasts were expected to shift to web and there will be more on-demand content. Television news will be streamed online real-time at

the same time they are being broadcast on television. Some believed media companies will start their own Finnish online news channels.

"This media convergence that has been talked about for years, will continue. A few years ago tablet computers were kind of a maybe. It would have been difficult to imagine. The speeding up of the mobile broadband connections mean that tv broadcasts will be done through the Internet. They are not broadcasts anymore but more like on-demand services that are available when people want to watch. Radio audio and video will still be produced in electric mediums but it will be distributed through some other channel." q13

"At some point someone, whoever it is, will start a news channel on the Internet like CNN and BBC." q14

The respondents expected news distribution and audiences to start to shift from newspapers to the Internet, tablet computers and other mobile devices in the future. News was expected to be consumed anywhere, anytime.

"The trend surely is that news is not consumed in a specific place anymore. These current devices already make it possible, and the future devices will surely make it even easier. News broadcasts will be watched on tablet computers and smart phones. We're already going to that direction." q15

The speed and extent of this change divided opinions. Most interviewees believed that mobile news will be just another medium among others and they will not replace other mediums. Some interviewees thought that only short and fast news will shift to mobile devices and the media will still save their most important stories for their main platforms such as the newspaper or evening television news broadcast.

"At least these telegraph style news will shift but I don't really believe that television image will work well on a small screen except in communicating news headlines and such. Internet is already on portable devices. I don't believe that it will change too much anymore. Mobile news is already here. Of course you can look at pictures better on a tablet than on a communicator screen." q16

“I don’t believe that the biggest news items will shift to any mobile devices ever. Instead, I believe that media will tightly keep on publishing them on their main product which is the morning’s newspaper or the evening or the morning television news broadcast. I don’t believe the biggest news will shift to mobile devices unless this business changes totally.” q17

Some respondents believed that newspapers will still be around for quite a long time, because there are a lot of older people, who are used to reading newspapers. Others believed that mobile devices and the Internet will eat up the newspapers in just a few years.

”I believe there will be a dramatic change, regarding the press, in a very short time. It could be that in a couple of years a significant portion of newspaper content is consumed through tablet computers, and why not? If you think about the fact that we have printing presses which are damn expensive. It takes years to write them off. Printing and distribution costs are high. Before that you’ve had to cut down trees and make paper from them with an expensive machine. It is quite brutal. So in this sense, I see the electronic shift in a positive light.” q18

One technologically savvy respondent thought that tablet computers are just a phase in news distribution and the technology will improve a lot. The future devices, that are used to read news, will be something totally different from what we have today.

“I strongly believe that they (news) will shift to mobile devices. This iPad is not the peak of technology. It will develop. I believe there will be smart paper very soon. Then we have something that I can roll up and put into my pocket. I don’t think it will be a machine like this. Yes, it is versatile but it still is a totally shitty machine. I believe it will go like this.” q19

Journalists saw possibilities in the shift of newspaper content to tablet computers. During this phase, the media companies were considered to have an opportunity to increase the quality of their journalism, if they invest the money saved in printing and distribution costs to newsrooms. Tablet publications were also seen as a possibility for the media companies to create new business logics.

"I see good sides to the fact that there will be lower costs. There will be no more printing and distribution costs. I think it will be a potential opportunity for the media if the companies invest the saved funds in strengthening their newsrooms." q20

"Somehow I'm afraid that web's business logic has been messed up so badly a long time ago that it is very difficult to make it work again. It could be that it needs this kind of new platform (tablet computer) and a new type of distribution model along with it, which will really work." q21

But the benefits of the tablet shift will not come automatically. The new tablet publications can't be only like a newspaper in a digital form. Journalists and media companies were expected to learn how to use the new technology properly.

"We should learn to use the possibilities offered by the new technology in the best possible way. It is not enough to have moving images and funny stuff. The stories have to become deeper and they have to be packaged in such a way that the new information, the piece of news, is connected to a larger information context more seamlessly than before." q22

6.1.3. Working conditions and the quality of journalism in danger

News robots offer newsrooms new possibilities to free journalists from mechanical reporting and allow them to concentrate on more important work such as analysis. The respondents, who had an opinion about this, were not convinced that the media companies will take advantage of this possibility.

"There is a lot of talk in every forum that different news robots could take care of mechanical accident reporting. Apparently, it is being piloted already. It is surely already in use in many places in the United States. The trends trickle here slowly. Maybe, hopefully, if we're being idealists, the mechanical so called poop shoveling could decrease and we could do more analysis. I don't think so. Everything is being contracted anyway, because all media operate more and more under economic pressure." q23

The interviewees expected working conditions of journalists to deteriorate because media companies are always looking for ways to cut costs. Media convergence, personnel reductions and accelerating news cycle is expected to create pressures for the remaining workforce. At the same time, the quality of journalism was expected to suffer.

“Unfortunately, I expect the working conditions to weaken. We’ll have to make stories faster and for more news platforms than before, which mean inferior news stories than before. This is what I expect and fear.” q24

“Employers’ actions in human resources policy are maybe not fair in all respects. Outsourcing is always nasty and especially when two-tier job markets are created. Same work is done by the company’s own personnel and people working for an outsourcing company. It means that the people working for the outsourcing company have to work with significantly worse contracts. I don’t know, whose interest it serves, but it is a nasty trend.” q25

“The amount of very bad journalistic content will increase. It won’t look good. I’ve followed the web today and there is a week old article by Iltalehti in circulation, where they hadn’t realized that Ville Niinistö, the chairman of the Green party, is a Niinistö too. When someone says Niinistö, it doesn’t automatically mean Sauli Niinistö. There will be more this kind of stuff.” q26

Respondents predicted that the demand for fixed-term, outsourced and freelance work will increase. The interviewees expected that short fixed-term contracts and outsourcing weaken the personnel’s trust in their employer.

“If there is no commitment, if new people, young people, are only used and kicked out, it will direct the future of journalism and the media. People work best when there is safe commitment. When people come to work at a media company and if they are told in a month thank you, we don’t need your services now, come back after a couple of months, we’ll maybe call you. Then the work performance will not be so good. It affects the content of journalism and it will not be so high-grade.” q27

”Personnel’s trust towards the employer starts to crumble. The most terrible consequence of this is, in the worst case, journalists don’t care what they do once they find a job. You can do your job well or in a bad way. It doesn’t matter how well you do your job, because they can still send you a letter that they won’t continue your contract.”q28

Shift work was also expected to become more common in the future because the web is never turned off. Some journalists felt that this development threatens the quality content of newspapers.

“A lot of shift work is done in electronic media. It messes up the peaceful and careful following of long-term news stories. If this culture spreads more strongly to the press, like it looks like now, we have to do more and more news work 24 hours a day. It could mess up the best sides of the traditional press such as Hesari, Aamulehti and Turkkari. It could ruin the production of careful long-term journalism. It is a pretty serious trend in content production.”q29

Many respondents thought that entertaining content in news has increased and will continue to increase in the future. This development, especially Yle’s involvement in it, divided the opinions of journalists.

“There is a big struggle inside Yle. It is a journalistic battle about what is the ratio of infotainment and the traditional Yle style self-important performance in broadcasts. I belong to the school, who think that Yle must follow the current trends. Otherwise, we will fail. We must be able to do journalism with a lighter touch, with a Swedish touch if this cliché is allowed. In Sweden, they can make good television drama about difficult topics in a ludicrously light way. If we could bring that thought to Finnish journalism, in such a way that you don’t have to be stiff and self-important, we would still be able to handle boring subjects, important and difficult subjects, in a good and controlled but entertaining way. It is a change that is going on. Other media have done it quite a lot more. STT, for instance, is clearly going to that direction and they are ahead of us. They have to sell their news so they have to think about it a lot more.”q30

“I can name a trend that Yleisradio has been following along with other media. It is this trend of tabloidization. We are involved in it. We have gone along into bad populism in political journalism or financial journalism or whatever. We have taken part in this trend, where stimulus comes from outside and our own judgment doesn’t hold. We’re not able to fight it and do differently. These kinds of situations have come along now and then in recent years.”q31

Some interviewees believed that journalists working for the so called quality media, have to pay more attention to the way they present their stories in the future because of tabloidization of media content.

“People will probably have to make changes in the way they sell their topic, the idea and the narrative of the story. But it must not be allowed to affect the content and it won’t, if it is done carefully.”q33

Some respondents thought that the shortening of newspaper articles affects the topics journalists can write about. This could also weaken the quality of serious journalism.

“One typical development trend has been the shortening of articles. When the lengths of articles are minimal, it will lead to a situation, where one picks topics according to space because complex topics can’t be handled in short articles. You can’t compress them so much.”q34

Making journalism was expected to become more mobile and film crews smaller because of the new technology. One journalist can carry and operate all the needed equipment for making multimedia journalism.

“Surely, it will be so that things move, reception devices move and everything else too. This will alter how the work is done. Surely, also in the future stuff is made in rolling conditions. It is already increasing that only one journalist moves and he has everything he needs with him. This is how it will be made.”q35

6.1.4. Social media's influence was expected to grow

The interviewees believed that the role of social media in news business will grow in different ways in the future. All news media are expected to be present on social media. This will create challenges for newsrooms and also accelerate the news cycle further. Sharing of news items on social media was expected to become more important in news distribution.

"In the future, social media will probably give more news topics, create content or content is produced through it for the traditional media. The power of the one-way traditional media will slowly fade in relation to social media. It is very interesting to see how it will be handled here on the traditional media's side." q36

"There are Facebook share links on web sites. Of course, the goal is that people will share them more and more on social media so traditional media get more readers and clicks. This focus will grow." q37

The interviewees believed that social media and traditional media supplement each other. They were also seen as competitors for the attention of the audiences.

"Of course social media complements the service offered by traditional media. That is the relationship. It is the dimension that has been missing from the traditional media, maybe not totally, but partially at least. Social media is for human longing and being together or whatever." q38

"Nowadays they compete with each other to some extent. There are people, especially in the younger generations, who consume mostly social media and who might not have any relationship to any traditional media." q39

The influence of social media on political and societal movements was expected to grow. This development was expected to affect also journalism that follows these topics.

”There are a lot of campaigns and initiatives that have started on social media. (...) Surely there will be more of these movements and they will be born faster. Their influence in politics and society come through social media. The social media doesn’t create it but the people who use it. Internet is very effective and pretty scary medium in the hands of people or groups.” q40

Some journalists did not like social media. They considered it too wild and unregulated. They expected the social media to be more regulated in the future.

“The potential for abuse of social media is huge, much larger than in traditional media. It is totally free and totally wild. Social media is mostly unshackled too. I don’t mean it should be shackled a lot, but a certain amount of regulation is needed in the world and that’s something we can do nothing about. There are a lot of dangers in social media and they are related to privacy issues and so on. Actually, I think social media is a little bit repulsive.” q41

Some respondents expected the social media to start steering the entertaining news more and more in the future.

“It can be remarked that for example Ampparit, which measures the most read news on the Internet, the most clicked headlines, has a competing group on Facebook. It continuously lists ten most clicked news items. So I would argue that social media guides especially the more entertaining media.” q42

6.1.5. The effects of world economic crisis on media

Some respondents thought that the problems of the world economy have changed journalism. News criteria have altered because of the crisis. Economy has become the most important thing that affects everything in all sectors of public life.

“One thing that affects journalism is economy. It has become a subject and its own world. The significance of economy over-powers everything else in all sections of society including journalism. It dictates political activity and international relations. There is no independent politics anymore. All political patterns are dictated by the

*economy. (...) Economy's domination affects which things are reported in the media. It is actually one essential journalistic change that has happened. Economy is one very significant factor why events manifest in the media."*q43

The interviewees believed that the problems facing the world economy can reflect to media business in the form of disappearing jobs. Economic problems also affect the content of journalists' work.

*"I have to hope that it doesn't affect my own job so that it means that there is no more work. It can be a risk for the commercial media because competition is so hard and if there is no money, if there is no money to advertise, no Euros will come in. Then the company has to reduce staff. So of course it affects the media companies also here. But above all it affects media content."*q44

Some journalists thought that the bad economic situation in Europe has slowed down investments in media business.

*"The economic situation has obstructed reform. The changes have been more low-key and there have been less big investments. New project haven't been started. Companies are waiting for better times."*q45

In some media companies, the economic situation influences the length of journalists' fixed-term contracts.

*"It affects just as clearly as something can affect. In our company, only quarterly length fixed-term contracts are made because the world economy goes like it goes. It is a fact that the contracts are made in three month cycles. The economic situation directly affects them."*q46

The respondents feared that if economic depression hits Finland, the media companies may start reducing personnel even more. In that case, the demand for freelance work was expected to increase but freelancers' chance to negotiate their fees was expected to diminish. Other option is that, in the name of cutting costs, the media might increasingly

start to translate stories from foreign languages into Finnish, copying stories from the Internet and recycling story ideas from others.

“Newspapers have already reduced personnel and if there is a very big recession or just a fear of a recession, it will affect employment opportunities. Another side of the story is that if newspapers kick out journalists, they probably still need articles. In that case, they might increase the use of freelance workforce. It is a double-edged sword.” q47

Table5: How journalists see the future of media

| Expectation | Outcome | Positive/negative development |
|---|---|-------------------------------|
| Media business will shrink | Less resources for journalism, less jobs. | negative |
| Media bosses milk their companies dry | Less resources for journalism, less jobs. In the end the milked media dies because audience stop following it | negative |
| News cycle accelerates | Risk of mistakes in reporting increases. | negative |
| Media will divide into quality and bulk media | Educated people will follow expensive quality media and the rest follow the free or cheap bulk media. | positive/negative |
| Some online content becomes paid | Quality will hopefully increase. Audience diminishes for services that build paywalls. | positive/negative |
| Media will fragment further | More choice for consumers, media need to | positive |

| | | |
|--|---|-------------------|
| | differentiate themselves. | |
| News competition will go global | More choice for consumers, more different points of view. Domestic media may lose readers. | positive/negative |
| The role of news agencies will grow in foreign reporting | Foreign news on Finnish television assimilates on different channels. More effective spread of Western propaganda in war reporting. | negative |
| Small newspapers will face difficulties | Some newspapers may die or there may be mergers of two or more newspapers in the future. | negative |
| Freelancers will start to organize themselves in new ways | Freelancers could be in better position when negotiating with large companies. | positive |
| Importance of the Internet and mobile as news medium will grow | Television broadcasts will go online. Newspapers will lose readers to online media. | positive/negative |
| News will shift from newspapers to tablet computers and smart phones | News can be consumed anywhere anytime. Tablet computers offer new business logics for media companies. Printing and distribution costs will go down. Newspapers lose readers. | positive/negative |
| Media need to learn to use tablet technology | New kinds of journalistic content could be offered. | positive |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| News robots will take care of mechanical reporting | Less journalists are needed for these tasks. They could do something more important such as analysis or media companies could reduce personnel. | positive/negative |
| Journalists' working conditions will deteriorate | More pressure on journalists, quality of journalism will suffer. | negative |
| Outsourcing of journalistic work and short term contracts will increase | Freelance work will increase, personnel's trust in employers will diminish, quality of journalism may suffer. | positive for freelancers, negative for others |
| Shift work will become more common because of the Internet | Journalists working times become more irregular. This may threaten newspapers' quality content. | negative |
| Infotainment and tabloidization will become more common | News becomes more interesting to the masses. Journalists have to learn new ways of presenting their stories. Less hard news and more soft news. Quality of journalism can suffer or increase. | positive/negative |
| Newspaper articles become shorter | Affects topic selection. Quality of journalism suffers. | negative |
| Film crews become smaller because of new technology | One journalist can carry and operate all the needed equipment for making | positive |

| | | |
|---|---|-------------------|
| | multimedia journalism. | |
| Role of social media in news business will grow | All media brands are expected to be on social media. Sharing of news items becomes more important. News cycle will accelerate. Verifying information becomes more important. | positive/negative |
| Social media activism increases | 5 th estate challenges the media. More topics for journalists. | positive |
| More regulation for social media | Freedom of speech diminishes. | negative |
| World economic crisis has changed journalism | News criteria have been altered. Economy is the most important thing in all public sectors. | negative |
| Economic crisis affects media business | Bad economic situation has slowed down investments in media business and affected the length of fixed term contracts. If economy suffers further, journalists may lose jobs as people buy less newspapers and advertising revenues drop. Then also the quality of journalism will suffer. | negative |

6.2. The future journalist is multitalented

The interviewees had various views of journalist's future role. Some of these roles may overlap. The most common expectation was that in the future, journalists will be multitalented. They have to be able to create content for all mediums.

*"If it goes like this, I think the journalist's future role is to be multitalented. It is not enough if you can handle one medium. You have to be able to create content for all mediums. You have to get to know each medium and in what kind of situation it is needed. This will be amplified. It has been talked about for years but there are signs to be seen that multitalented journalists are wanted more than before."*q48

*"You have to handle at least two mediums such as print and online. But we also do web-tv. You have to know the basics of television work. All the time you have to be more and more multitalented in everything. That is the biggest change."*q49

Many interviewees believed that the traditional role of journalist will stay the same, only qualifications have risen. Journalists are better educated than before. They have more skills and better general knowledge.

*"I don't see any relevant change in journalism's basic principles or the requirements of journalists. The only thing is that the requirement for journalist's general knowledge has exploded. At the same time, the era of Renaissance geniuses is over because of the Internet. Audience always knows more about things than we do. It creates a lot of pressure towards journalists. We can't dictate the public what to think."*q50

6.2.1. Journalists' roles are differentiating

Some interviewees expected journalists to divide into two groups, which do different kind of work. These roles are the fast information broker and the background information creator.

"I think journalists will divide into two distinct groups. There will be those who are fast information brokers, those who write fast news items for online. When they have

finished it, they already have another article to write. Then there will be those who create background information for this kind of fast news. They will probably do it for another medium.”q51

”Because the world is so difficult and things are complicated, we need those who explain and give different options. They give explanations and analysis to different developments.”q52

Some expected also a third group of journalists to emerge. The third group has the role of moderator. Journalists were a little skeptic about this new role, because they don't believe that the Finnish audiences will significantly participate in citizen journalism or send useful information to the newsrooms.

“I know that now there is a trend that a journalist should be more like a kind of a moderator and then the citizens send him or her information. It may be good that this role is emphasized. (...) It could be quite useful if we had readers that we could activate and twirl. But I don't buy the thought at all that only useful information could be received. At least at this moment, it feels like there still are problems and then somehow you start to belittle your own professional skills. (...) It can be argued that journalist is already a moderator now, but the question is, a moderator of what kind of information? Current journalist is quite active because he or she collects information personally. In this new model, the journalist is considered more passive and readers or whatever, social media, send him a lot of everything. Then the journalist selects the top stories.”q53

“Citizen journalism is, maybe surprisingly, clumsy. It may work in some special magazines, but it is not easy to get people to participate. It would be nice if you could. But it is quite hard for me to see that typical Finnish audiences of general papers would start to participate significantly.”q54

The interviewees saw two different trends regarding journalists' need to specialize. Most interviewees believed that in the future journalists have to specialize more. Some believed the trend to be that the media companies try to get rid of specialist journalists because of their higher salaries.

"Journalists' work will start to differentiate. Companies must find competitiveness by having journalists that can do certain things very well. The companies look for competitive factors, so they can be very good at certain things."q55

"For some years we've had this kind of central management which is copied from America. The employer is trying to get rid of specialist journalists so everyone will be just journalists, who can do all topics the bosses tell them to do."q56

6.2.2. Fragmenting media landscape alters the role of journalists

Social media was expected to shape the role of the journalist somehow in the future. The respondents expected the fragmentation of the audiences to continue. At the same time, the roles of journalists differentiate. Different audiences have different expectations towards the media they follow. Journalists' roles were expected to shape according to what kind of media they work for.

"The role of journalist depends on the newsroom they work for. Our work has more to do with entertainment than what the work includes at the homeland newsroom."q57

The respondents also named several specific journalists' future roles. They are the servant of the public, the errand boy, the assembly-line worker, the celebrity, the commentator, the co-operation partner, the entrepreneur and the part-time publicist.

"The appreciation for regular person's own experience and understanding has risen. I think it should rise even more in these workplaces, because journalists work for the readers, watchers and listeners. Before, it was supposedly terribly smart for journalists to say that you can never underestimate the comprehension capacities of the readers. Rather, journalists are servants of their audience."q58

Some older respondents thought that journalists have become errand boys for their news editors.

"Before, a newspaper's errand boy could become the leader of a nation. Now journalists have been turned into errand boys. This is a backward development. Earlier

*journalist's work was very independent and you could find your own topics and write stories about them. Nowadays, this newsroom is organized so that the news editors decide what everyone does, what things are considered important and what things are reported."*q59

The assembly-line worker has to do the worst kind fast information brokering work mentioned earlier. The assembly-line worker only shovels articles to the web.

*"Too many people have been educated as journalists in Finland. We probably have the most journalists in relation to population in the whole world. We have educated a ridiculous amount of people and they have to do something for their bread. In this situation one must not be picky about work. A lot of smart young people come to the field but they get to do only very ungrateful assembly-line work."*q60

The journalists' opinions and comments have become more common in newspaper content. The commentator and the celebrity roles of the journalist are linked together. Some commentators become celebrity journalists. The respondents expected more celebrity journalists to pop-up in the future.

*"Many newspaper journalists have become like celebrities. Earlier they were just a name, who wrote some article. Now we read their comments, views and thoughts. Maybe journalism has personalized to journalists more than before. I won't take a stand whether it is a good or bad thing."*q61

One respondent thought that some parties in different sectors of public life have started to consider journalists co-operation partners.

*"I don't know if journalists want it, but they are being considered as co-operation partners. I think it didn't use to be like that before. I've done different stories as a sports journalist and I remember that back then journalists were separate from ice hockey teams and their background influencers. Nowadays they all are like one family."*q62

Media companies were expected continue reducing staff and at the same time switch to buying articles from freelancers. If this happens, more and more journalists will become

entrepreneurs. Also some freelancer journalists' and publicists' roles may mix up in the future.

*"One change might be that public organizations start to use freelancer publicists and journalists. Educational institutions do it already. Colleges, universities and different EU projects have communication obligations but they might not have personnel to write articles or do communication. I think this will become more common."*q63

Table6: Journalists' expected future roles

| Role | Description | Prevalence |
|--------------------------------|---|--|
| Multitalented | Knows how to produce content for different mediums. | Every journalist |
| Specialist | Specializes in some field such as political, economy or foreign news. | Works for quality media |
| Non-specialized | Creates stories about any topic. | Works for bulk or regional media |
| Fast information broker | Create stories quickly. | Online, radio and television journalists |
| Background information creator | Makes analysis and explain different developments. | Specialists |
| Moderator | Chooses interesting facts from different social media sources, combines them and creates stories. | New role, probably becoming more common |
| Traditional | Same it has always been. Only qualifications for journalists have risen. | Most journalists |
| Servant of the public | Appreciates the knowledge and experiences of the audience. | Every journalist |

| | | |
|----------------------|--|---|
| Errand boy | Creates stories about any topic boss tells them. Rarely able to create stories about own ideas. | Non-specialized journalists, becoming more common |
| Assembly-line worker | Writes fast news for online. “Copy-paste journalism”. | Some online journalists, increasing |
| Commentator | Comments events and news in newspaper columns and comment sections or online blogs. | Increasing |
| Celebrity | Some commentators become celebrity journalists and targets for individual media attention. | Rare, but becoming more common |
| Co-operation partner | Some entities such as ice hockey teams consider journalists as their partners. Non-critical. | Some sports journalists, maybe others too |
| Part-time publicist | Does PR or communication work for different organizations. | Some freelancers, increasing |
| Entrepreneur | Self-employed journalist who sells stories to news organizations. | Freelancers, increasing |

6.3. Social media divides the opinions of journalists

Using social media as a tool in journalistic work divided the opinions of journalists. There seemed to be a generational difference in the attitude towards social media. The results of the research show that younger journalists were more likely to use social media in general and especially use it as a tool in their work. Some of the veteran journalists found social media even a little repulsive.

“Some older journalists just don’t want to get into social media. They don’t use it. It is a little like you would decline using some tool like the cell phone because it sucks. The same feeling is here. Why would you pass up using some tool that is available?” q64

Some interviewees thought that social media has had no impact on their work.

”I think that in this news work, it (social media) is so far away. You have to know, you would have to take part in the discussion at home and go to the discussion boards beforehand. It is a little alien for this news job.” q65

6.3.1. Journalists’ use of social media

The interviewees used mainly Facebook out of all the social networks. Majority of the interviewees (11 people) had Facebook accounts, but only some of them had used Facebook as a tool in their work. Five respondents were not registered in Facebook at the time when they were interviewed. Two of them said they are thinking about joining the service in the future.

Four respondents had also Twitter accounts at the time of the interviews but only two of them used it sometimes as a working tool. One interviewee was considering joining Twitter and one had tried Twitter but deleted her account. Some interviewees had also LinkedIn accounts for professional reasons.

Other social media services the respondents used were Wikipedia, Flickr, Picasa, YouTube, MySpace, Spotify and various blogs and discussion boards. The respondents used Wikipedia to check facts. One interviewee sometimes used MySpace and YouTube as sources for background information. Some respondents used blogs as a source for story ideas and finding specific information. Interviewees mostly followed discussions on their own media’s web site to know audience reactions to different events or news items.

6.3.2. The effects of social media on journalistic work

The interviewees thought that social media's significance as a distribution and marketing channel for news has increased, but some did not want to share their own stories for example on Facebook. Some even considered it annoying when journalists personally share their own news items.

"It (social media) has become an essential part of information brokering in our newsroom. It doesn't take much time and hasn't brought a big change in the work, but through social media news can be spread much more wider and through it we can get more people to follow our media."q66

The respondents, who found benefits in using social media in their work, thought social media is a new source among other sources. It is a source for news topics, information, tips and a way to find people to interview. Some respondents thought that especially Facebook has made their job easier.

"Facebook is very good for finding out links between people. They don't protect their connections very well. You can find these connections on Facebook if you want to dig. I've heard it works very well in crime news and it works also in politics."q67

"Yes, I've found some big topics on Facebook. My contacts get in touch with me. I am in many networks and somebody always suggests some topic or I see something. It is very positive."q68

At the time of the interviews, according to the respondents, Twitter was mainly a tool for foreign journalists. They used Twitter search words or hashtags to look for relevant tweets or information during big news events. Twitter was also used to find interviewees.

"When Václav Havel died, Carl Bildt was one of the first to comment it on Twitter. I wrote blabla in my story, the normal stuff you write in this kind of situation. Then I picked the Bildt's comment from Twitter and added it to my story."q69

“I use Twitter mainly to look for some politicians’ tweets. I don’t do it much because I’m not a foreign journalist, but I’ve heard they use Twitter. I’ve heard that you can find foreign experts or professors and other such people there. Twitter is often used to find interviewees.”q70

Many respondents said that social media has had an effect on journalists’ work especially during big crisis events such as school shootings or the Boxing Day Tsunami in 2004. During these times, social media offers information that is not available elsewhere, but the problem is that the validity of the information can’t necessarily be checked.

”It (social media) has changed my work during special occasions such as disasters and so on. Otherwise, it hasn’t had an effect on reporting slower processes, which make up the majority of this work. It hasn’t had a big significance there. We still try to check facts from many sources and so on.”q71

”You’re totally powerless in situations (such as school shootings), where there is a total communication barrier and then you start to receive scattered information. Social media has been quite strong in these situations. We’ve received information from discussion forums, which has not been available anywhere else.”q72

Social media has brought journalists and newsrooms a new kind of interactive relationship with the audiences.

”It (social media) affects our work in many ways. People may discuss about your own stories on Facebook status updates. It is a good thing in a way, because it offers a new possible channel for critique.”q73

“We use social media in some ways, but it is still used quite little. For example, in car journalism, we have asked the audience for some snags and then written about them and then again got some feedback and then again considered something.”q74

Some respondents did not wish to interact with the audience on Facebook, because it takes too much time and is mentally tiring.

“Of course if someone wants to comment my stories, they can post the comment to our discussion board or send it to the reader’s pages in the print newspaper or send it directly to me. My stories do not need to be commented on Facebook.”q75

According to the interviewees, social media has increased work tasks of some journalists. It has also increased judgment related to publication decisions. This emphasis was expected to grow.

”We have blog shifts, during that shift I write a blog. I read the discussions that are linked to our articles. I follow them somewhat. It is a question of time management. If I search and need something, I will find it. But I can’t invest too much time in it.”q76

“You have to weigh everything much closer because basically news items are published on the web and people discuss them fast.”q77

”I believe that journalists must be much more alert in the future because the Internet has caused that irrelevant information can be circulated. We have to be exact what information we publish, and whatever we’re doing check it as well as possible.”q78

Furthermore, some newsrooms used social media to organize competitions. Social media can also be a recruiting channel for organizations.

6.3.3. Disadvantages of social media for journalists

The interviewees said that social media has also caused them harm. For example, stories had been exposed on social media before official publication due to journalist’s own error.

”One of my topics was once exposed on Facebook because my account settings were not in proper order. It got into wide circulation. It was known before publication, that it will be a big story. It happened one year ago. I’ve learned it now.”q79

Videos of mistakes made by journalists, news anchors or their guests during live broadcasts are uploaded to YouTube and stay there forever. This can be just a little funny and harmless accident or a very embarrassing mistake.

”It is maybe a little unfair that nowadays everything ends up on YouTube and the Internet. If this (an embarrassing mistake) had happened ten years ago, it wouldn’t have been on YouTube or elsewhere. Last five years have been decisive. Now everything goes online. Then if somebody removes it, somebody will always re-upload it. I think the video has been removed many times and then it always comes back there.”q80

Interviewees said that badly written stories may spread fast and quite wide through social media. Also stories with mistakes spread rapidly because of social media. Correcting the mistakes takes a lot of work.

“Somehow I feel that the number of totally terrible news articles has increased. (...) It is possible that this is an observational error and they just pop-up easier because of these new mediums. They are shared and circulated. People are like look, what a shitty article.”q81

Furthermore, some feedback journalists had received through social media had been offensive. Some also believed that social media had deteriorated the manners of the audience.

”Because of the Internet, I believe, I haven’t been a journalist very long, but I believe and I’ve heard from older journalists, that in a way journalists are exposed much more directly to critique towards their work than before. One can receive very direct feedback and also quite offensive feedback on the Internet discussion forums.”q82

“If you write critically about the Perussuomalaiset, well, a few times I’ve received a series of threats and insults that is campaign-like and lasts for months. It is nationwide. I don’t know what kind of system they have, but apparently there are real people, because at least the styles and arguments are same type. This is a clear effect of social media.”q83

Social media increases the possibility of interaction with the audience. Some interviewees thought this interaction can give a fake impression about the opinions of the audience.

“Social media has a danger that a specific group of people stigmatize it. Supposedly, it is considered interaction but in reality the overpowering majority is left outside. It can be their fault but it happens anyway.”q84

Spreading of disinformation was also considered a disadvantage of social media for journalists.

“It (social media) has disadvantages, of course, if you think of these. In its different forms, it promotes criminality, harassment and disinformation. It is also a scrap heap where you have to dig for the valuable things.”q85

Some respondents felt that working as a journalist restricted their possibility to express their opinions on social media.

“I always represent my employer. It restricts all my expression on the Internet. Of course, I can't write what I want on my status updates.”q86

According to the interviewees, social media use can also waste too much working time.

6.4. Journalists' expectations towards media

Journalists had various expectations towards their employers and the media in general. Many respondents thought that there were problems in the management of media companies. The interviewees expected better leadership and lower number of bosses.

“I wish the most that we learned to lead ourselves and others. Usually, it doesn't require more than having courage to make decisions and courage to face the other person, whether it is a superior or a subordinate. It is clear that we need less hierarchical steps in the organization.”q87

”They (bosses) act too much according to what our competitor does. They do not dare to make decisions, which is crazy. We are the leading media. X is the smaller one and the competitor. Especially on the editor-in-chief level they are too cautious. The news editors rarely say no. They are really well on board. But then the editor-in-chief level may say no or tell us how we have to do it.”q88

Some respondents thought that their higher level superiors had separated from everyday reality of journalistic work. The media bosses were expected to have a better understanding of their own field of business and its purpose in society. Media was expected to serve its function as a societal institution better and not just aim for the highest profits.

“Media need to be much sharper in their strategy than they currently are. They need to find their weapons from journalistic tradition to compete on the media market.”q89

“This has turned into business and its being managed by business men with business logics and targets. There has been a dramatic societal, could it be called injustice, but failure anyway. The media’s important societal function has been perverted because of these commercial interests. I think that at least the press and Yleisradio should see their mission as something else than maximizing profits and audiences. I’d rather see them do less but better content. Yleisradio’s dictatorship of largest possible audiences has skewed its original cultural mission that it had, when the company was established.”q90

Media companies’ organizational structures have been changing a lot in recent years and the interviewees expected them to keep changing in the future. For this reason, more open and effective internal communications about these changes were expected from the media companies.

“I think that when all sides play with as exposed cards as possible, it increases job satisfaction. Instantly, if there is a feeling that something is happening behind my back, that affects my job, and I am not told about, it is not a good thing.”q91

“It is a habit here that big changes are dictated from above without considering those, who execute the changes, and who will be put in a new situation.” q92

Some female journalists thought that male bosses do not always understand their female subordinates and can't appreciate and make use of women's difference. Both genders were expected to have equal opportunities and obligations. Some even want women's quota for management posts.

“I absolutely think that we roughly need women's quota when women are not otherwise understood to be elevated enough to management posts, superior positions and in a way, ahead in their career. There needs to be new indicators, such as number of readers and web visitors or financial responsibility, that measure success and women can reach these goals in other ways than men. They can do it their own way. It shouldn't be the indicator that women must be like men. Man is not the indicator. It should be something else.” q93

6.4.1. Wanted: better quality journalism

Many respondents thought that the quality of journalism has deteriorated because of various reasons such as personnel reductions and the 24 hour news cycle of the web. Many journalists thought that too much content on the web is currently being recycled from others and poorly prepared. Media companies were expected to invest in the quality of their content in many ways.

“Instead of taking the easiest route, I wish companies had more ambition in their own information acquisition and finding their own news. There should be more of that. Most content is good, but we should be able to offer readers more intellectual challenges.” q94

“The amount of crappy journalism, which is published a lot, should be reduced. I mean such weakly prepared, non-analytical stuff that is too much linked in the current moment. This lemming effect, when everyone rages about the same topic and no one thinks if there is any sense in all of it, should be reduced. We should concentrate on more important stories. I think it would be great, if all media companies had strong

journalistic visions. Companies should concentrate on some stories and not try to grab it all.”q95

“Complaining about web headlines is a classic topic. They are really schematic and then some try to argue that they are clever and attract people to click. No, they don’t or else humanity is truly on a path to doom, because they are terribly bad. (...) We also are starting to have heaps of spelling mistakes. We should correct at least these.”q96

More precisely, better content was expected in the form of reporting more about societal evils and offering options for the future. Furthermore, some interviewees wished media to commit themselves more towards societal matters in their editorial pages.

”I wish for more journalism that targets change and future and also media content that creates belief in the future, not only entertainment. Of course, things can be laid out in an interesting and entertaining way. But somehow I wish that the media would take a more direct, clear and also controversial look at the future in a way so that we could see options and not only problems.”q97

”I think it is quite desirable for media to use its power so that it would bring such things under observation, which need processing in the society, for example topics related to the underprivileged of the society. Media has to bring forth these things and maybe even affect the way they should be processed.”q98

Tablet computers and the Internet offer new ways to present stories and news robots, such as the Stats Monkey, could make journalists’ life easier and reduce the mechanical work in newsrooms. The media companies were expected to invest a lot into technological development so that the maximum benefit of these technologies can be exploited.

”Firstly, it should be understood that clear big investments are needed for development, as it has been for a long time. I mean ungodly large investments. It doesn’t mean only technological development but it means the combination of technological and content development.”q99

6.4.2. More jobs and better working conditions were expected

The interviewees wished for more permanent jobs for journalists. If work load of journalists grows, the media companies were expected to hire more workers so that the existing ones do not burnout. Media bosses were also expected to value their fixed-term personnel more.

*"I would take a permanent contract immediately if it was offered to me. I hope it would really change so that those people who are not in permanent jobs would be appreciated more. Their know-how would be appreciated more and they would be given a chance more often."*q100

*"Employers and media should understand that when it is time for change and we're heading towards new ways of doing this work, it must show also on the grassroots level. Resources should be allocated better and companies must be ready to hire new people, if they're needed. We should not just go on with the same crew even if workloads are getting bigger."*q101

Some respondents wished for more flexibility to working hours.

*"I don't count working hours when work has to be done. I require that employer flexes another day when it is quieter. Then you should be able to go home earlier or concentrate on background work. If the employer can offer flexibility to working hours, though it's a little bit difficult in this kind of shift rotation, it would be a pretty good trump."*q102

The interviewees wished for more time to make deeper and better stories. They expected to be able to dig things and spend time looking for their own story ideas at least sometimes so their work won't be just haste all the time.

"It would be great if there was more time to really develop story ideas instead of being told to go immediately somewhere 90 per cent of the time. Then every morning they ask for stories that sell. Where do you get these stories if you don't have time to leave your desk anywhere but to those gigs that are compulsory? If there was more time,

journalists could dismount more often and they wouldn't get stories just from foreign or domestic web sites. We should be able to build contacts and find news also in the old-fashioned way."q103

The interviewees expected salaries, working conditions and fees paid to freelancers to remain reasonable.

"I wish the working conditions would be fair and that I will receive just compensation for my work, a compensation that I can live on. These are my humble wishes."q104

"I expect a possibility to do ambitious journalism and of course a salary that is sufficiently good. It is important that they pay a good salary for this job. It is also important that the working conditions are reasonable so that the workers are not exhausted with work. There needs to be enough workers so you won't burnout at work."q105

Technology is currently changing rapidly. Employers were expected offer training to journalists to ensure they have the technological capabilities to use new devices and produce content for new platforms. Possibility to receive other kinds of training was also expected.

"I expect the employer to have a possibility to ensure that if I need more training for something, then I will get it. I think that in this phase people are slowly getting left behind from development. If you're not on board, if you can't do a little bit of everything, I don't know if it's possible anymore."q106

"We are used to do things in certain ways, which are not necessarily the best ways to do these things. Of course, I am interested in receiving training or taking courses and so on, if it means that my work will improve. But there is a more selfish motive also. If you're invaluable enough as a worker, you're not likely to get fired among the first ones if there are bad times ahead."q107

Some journalists also thought that journalism research and practical work should be combined better. The connection could be made stronger. Furthermore, the respondents

also wished for better working tools, such as phones and tablet computers. They also expected to have diverse work tasks and horizontal and vertical career possibilities.

“Hopefully I can make a documentary movie that I’ve been planning here for a long time.”q108

“Mainly, I would like be able to write newspaper stories but also sometimes, if I felt like it, I would like to do television and maybe even radio. It would be an ideal situation if I could do many different kinds of things, then the work would stay interesting.”q109

6.5. Expectation gaps

The results of this research indicated that journalists’ expectations are not currently fully met by their employers. These expectation gaps are mostly related to media companies’ personnel reductions, leadership problems and fixed-term contracts.

Many respondents thought that there have been too many personnel reductions and currently newsrooms are tuned too tight. When the number of journalists working in newsrooms is reduced, the remaining ones may have to do more work and it becomes more mechanical and hasty. Many journalists felt that they do not have enough time for analysis or to dig for information and find their own story ideas.

”In an ideal world with no lack of resources, I think I would wish for more analysis. This is probably a continuing wish among all journalists. It would be nice if there was time and space and a possibility to get deeply involved with the topics and then analytically report the backgrounds of different news events.”q110

Many especially younger journalists are forced to work under chained short fixed-term contracts. All the respondents who had fixed-term contracts expected to get permanent jobs instead.

“I remember when I came to work here, X had a super good reputation as an employer, but that can’t be said anymore. The reputation has been eroded with this wheeling and dealing with employee contracts. (...) It is insane to increasingly keep people hanging

on fixed-term or come-to-work-when-asked contracts only. During the last year, we lost really good people, who were total professionals. They got fed up with the hustle. They did not go to work for a competitor but to other functions outside this house.”q111

Journalists expected their employers to back them up and defend them more in sticky situations. This expectation was not met by media companies. Some respondents felt that their bosses do not stand up enough for them, if they make a serious mistake in their hasty work.

”Later, this journalist, who made a mistake, changed jobs from here to another company. Before that, X had made a mistake in the “Y” story and transferred to another company. There have been cases like these. X had also his own fault pretty much in his case so it was not the company’s fault. But it is a rather nasty feeling how poorly we are being defended by the bosses. They demand us to make stories in haste and if there is a mistake, then they don’t defend us. It is a serious flaw.”q112

Freelancers expected tighter connections with the producers, who buy stories from them. There had been often some issues with the communication but they were not critical problems.

”It takes a long time before you get comments about a topic you’ve proposed. These producers are very busy. It would be better, how would I say it, if there was a tighter connection with these producers. It is quite frail sometimes there are misunderstandings about what has been ordered and what has been received. In some cases, there is too little communication with the producers simply because they are so overloaded with work, but not always. It is possible to handle those subscribers too.”q113

Freelancers also expected that their stories will not be edited too much before publication and that they don’t have to write unnecessary contracts to be able to do their job.

“Biggest disappointments regarding my work are related to situations where my articles have been mangled new without my knowledge. They have been edited more than what I consider reasonable. When you make this kind of reportage journalism,

*narrative journalism, aside from information brokering, it has an artistic dimension in a certain way. It can be quite fiction-like and if somebody then edits it, at least in my eyes, the whole story can change totally in its tone so that I won't recognize it anymore."*q114

*"As a freelancer I strongly hope that I wouldn't have to waste resources in these insufficient feeling whims, such as these freelance contracts, that some media are obsessed about. Instead, I'd rather do my job. (...) There are a mindless number of obscurities in them. They are not even legally valid."*q115

7. CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this study was to find out how Finnish journalists perceive the future developments of media and how they see the future role of journalists. Furthermore, the aim of this research was to explore how social media has affected journalists' work and what do journalists expect from their employers or clients in the future. These questions will be answered in this chapter according to the results of the research interviews. Finally, as a conclusion, a set of possibilities and threats facing media will be derived from the results of the research interviews.

7.1. Answers to research questions

RQ1. How do journalists perceive the future developments of media?

In general, journalists' perceptions about the future of the media were pessimistic, even though Finnish media companies are currently making good profits. Most journalists expected the media business to shrink in the near future and at the same time personnel reductions to continue. Some journalists even thought that the owners of some newspaper media are killing their companies on purpose while trying to extract all possible profits from them before the print newspaper dies. This is the business strategy Vehkoo (2012) calls harvesting.

Many journalists expected the media field to keep on fragmenting in the future; there will be more small media but at the same time large media companies will be concentrating to bigger units. Some journalists expected media to divide into quality and bulk media. The quality media will be expensive and have better content than what the media offer currently. Some believed quality online news content to become paid. At same time, the bulk media will be free or very cheap and offer more tabloid or infotainment style news.

More players in the media environment mean more competition. Many journalists believed the news cycle will accelerate in the future even more. This will increase the risk of mistakes in reporting as journalists have less time to check facts. Some journalists believed that the news competition on the Internet will go global. In the

future, foreign online news media was expected to challenge the Finnish media more and more when reporting international news, because people are able to follow any media outlet they choose on the Internet. At the same time, the offered points of views about different events were expected to be diversified. On the global level, some journalists expected the power of international news agencies to grow in foreign reporting, because only a few major news agencies provide photos, video footage and news reports to media organizations in various countries across the world.

Majority of journalists thought that the print media will change the most in the future. The fate of print newspapers divided the opinions of journalists. Many expected a lot of smaller print newspapers would die, others were not so pessimistic. Journalists thought that large provincial newspapers will do well in the future. Some smaller provincial newspapers, owned by the same corporation, were expected to merge in the future. This kind of development has already begun at Alma Media after the research interviews were conducted in late 2011 and early 2012.

On the technological front, journalists expected the Internet's significance as a news platform to grow in the future. News items were expected to be consumed anytime anywhere through mobile devices and television broadcasts were expected to shift to web. The speed and extent of this change divided the opinions of journalists. Most believed that mobile news will not replace other mediums. Others expected newspaper content to shift to mobile devices and the Internet quite rapidly. Journalists saw good possibilities in this shift. During this phase, the media companies will have an opportunity to increase the quality of their journalism, if they invest the money saved in printing and distribution costs to newsrooms. Tablet publications were also seen as a possibility for the media companies to create new business logics.

Many journalists expected the working conditions of journalists to deteriorate in the future. Media convergence, personnel reductions and accelerating news cycle create pressures for the remaining workforce. For this reason, the quality of journalism was expected to suffer. Some respondents thought that the shortening of newspaper articles affects the topics journalists can write about. This could also weaken the quality of journalism. News robots could offer possibilities to free journalists from mechanical reporting and allow them to concentrate on more important work such as analysis.

Journalists were not convinced that their employers will take advantage of this possibility, because media companies are always looking ways to cut costs and increase profits.

Demand for fixed-term, outsourced and freelance work was expected to increase. Many journalists believed this development will weaken journalists' commitment and trust in their employers. Shift work was also expected to become more common in the future because the web is never turned off. Many journalists expected tabloidization, infotainment and soft news content to increase in the future. This was expected to affect the way news stories are presented. Some journalists expected the social media to increasingly steer the entertaining news in the future.

In general, journalists believed that the significance of social media will grow in news business. There will be more sharing of news and it will also accelerate the news cycle. Traditional media and social media were expected to supplement each other and at the same time, compete for the attention of the audiences. Some journalists expect the social media to be regulated more. The influence of social media on political and societal movements was expected to grow. This was expected to affect also journalism and media.

Some journalists thought that the world economic crisis that started in 2008 has changed journalism. News criteria have been altered because of the crisis. Economy has become the most important thing that affects everything in all sectors of public life. In some media companies, the economic situation influences the length of journalists' fixed-term contracts. Journalists believed that the problems facing the world economy can reflect to media business in the form of disappearing jobs. Journalists feared that the media companies may start reducing personnel even more if an economic depression hits Finland.

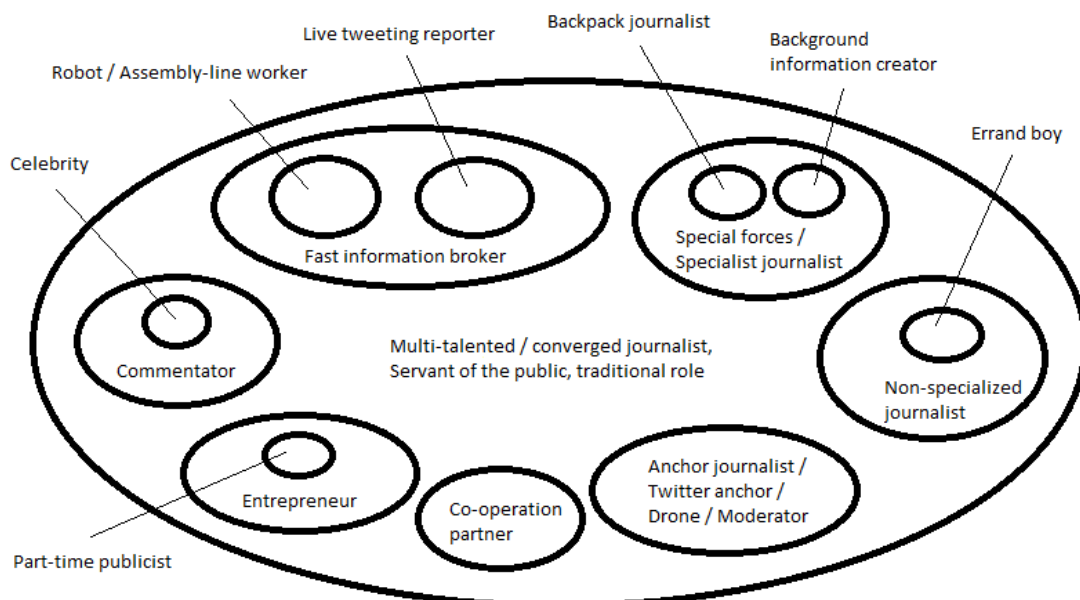
RQ2. How do media professionals see their future role as journalists?

The results derived from the research interviews show that journalists expect the future journalist to be multitalented. He or she has to be able to create content for multiple or

all different platforms. This means that requirements for journalists will rise. Majority of journalists believe that the traditional role of the journalist will remain the same.

Journalists see two different developments for their need to specialize in the future. Most expect that more and more journalists need to specialize in some field. Others see a reversed trend; some newsrooms are trying to get rid of specialist journalists because of their higher salaries. These two opposite views may indicate that the different media have already started to divide into quality and bulk media. The quality media would need more specialists so they can offer better content for their audiences, and the bulk media would try to cut costs and get rid of expensive specialists.

Picture1: Journalists' future roles



Four different basic future roles of journalists can be found in the research data. They are the fast information broker, the moderator and the specialist and the non-specialized journalist. They have also their own sub-roles which are depicted in picture 1 on the next page. Three of these four basic roles are basically the same as the Vehkoo's (2011,100) three journalists' future roles (robots, drones and elite forces). Fast information brokers are journalists who have tight deadlines. Their job is to work get information or news out fast. The moderators (also called "drones", "anchor journalists" or "Twitter

anchors” in theory section of this thesis), are the ones, who process information sent to the newsroom by the audience through social media.

Journalists are still skeptical about the moderator role and do not expect Finnish audiences to significantly participate in citizen journalism or send useful information to newsrooms. The specialists or “elite forces” are the ones who make reportages, analysis and give explanations to different developments of their own specialist field. Non-specialized journalists create stories about any topic.

Furthermore, social media is expected to shape the role of the journalist somehow in the future, though none of the respondents had a clear view how social media will change it. Journalists expect the fragmentation of the audiences to continue. At the same time, the roles of journalists are expected to differentiate. Different audiences have different expectations towards the media they follow. Journalists’ roles will shape according to what kind of media they work for. It should be noted also that the same journalist can have different roles depending on the work shift. Currently, it is common that journalists working in converged newsrooms do television, radio and online shifts at different times.

The respondents of the study also named several specific journalists’ future roles. They are the servant of the public, the errand boy, the assembly-line worker, the celebrity, the commentator, the co-operation partner, the entrepreneur and the part-time publicist.

Journalists’ possibility to choose their own story ideas has narrowed. For this reason, some older respondents think that especially non-specialized journalists have become errand boys for their news editors. The assembly-line worker has to do the worst kind fast information brokering work mentioned earlier. The assembly-line worker only shovels content to the web.

Journalists’ opinions and comments have become more common in newspaper content. Many journalists also write blogs. The commentator and the celebrity roles of the journalist are linked together. Some commentators become celebrity journalists. More celebrity journalists are expected to pop-up in the future. Also some parties in different

sectors of public life, especially in sports, have started to consider journalists as co-operation partners instead of non-partisan reporters.

Journalists believe that media companies will continue reducing staff and at the same time switch to buying articles from freelancers. In that case, a growing number of journalists will become freelancers or entrepreneurs. Also some freelancer journalists' and publicists' roles may mix up in the future, because many public organizations have communication obligations but they do not necessarily have people to do this job. So they need outside freelancers to do it for them.

Table7: Summary of journalists' future roles from theory and interview data

| Role | Description | Frequency | Source |
|---|---|---|---|
| Robot / Assembly-line worker | Works on the so called assembly-line, mass producing copy-paste stories which repeat themselves on different media platforms. | Works in online newsrooms, increasing role | Vehkoo 2011, interview data |
| Elite forces / Specialist | Produce stories about their specialist field and some of them get do stories about anything they want. More and more elite journalists are freelancers. | Works mainly for quality media in the future. Increasing role for freelancers | Vehkoo 2011, interview data |
| Converged journalist / Multitalented journalist | Knows how to produce content for different mediums. | All journalists in the future | Masip, Cabrera & others 2007, Rodica 2011, interview data |
| Backpack journalist | Operates all | Very rare in Finland, | School of |

| | | | |
|--|---|--|---|
| | equipment alone and creates multimedia stories almost anywhere. | mostly some foreign journalists, probably increasing role in the future | Communication 2012, interview data |
| Live tweeting reporter | Twitter allows journalists to report events as they are happening. It can be understood as the real-time text version of live radio reporting. | Very rare in Finland, probably increasing role in the future | Clayfield 2012, Wolfe 2008 |
| Anchor journalist / Twitter anchor / Drone / Moderator | Anchor journalists digest, sort, corroborate, debunk, and disseminate bits of citizen journalism on social media. They use crowdsourcing to confirm news and debunk rumors. | Non-existing or very rare in Finland, probably increasing role in the future | Lewis 2011, Clayfield 2012, Vehkoo 2011, interview data |
| Non-specialized | Creates stories about any topic. | Most journalists, works especially for bulk or regional media | interview data |
| Fast information broker | Create stories quickly. | Online, radio and television journalists | interview data |
| Background information creator | Makes analysis and explains different developments. | Specialist journalists | interview data |
| Traditional | Same it has always been. Only qualifications for | Most journalists | interview data |

| | | | |
|-----------------------|--|---|----------------|
| | journalists have risen. | | |
| Servant of the public | Appreciates the knowledge and experiences of the audience. | All journalists | interview data |
| Errand boy | Creates stories about any topic boss tells them. Rarely able to create stories about own topics. | Non-specialized journalists, Increasing role | interview data |
| Commentator | Comments events and news in newspaper columns and comment sections or blogs. | Increasing role | interview data |
| Celebrity | Some commentators become celebrity journalists and targets for individual media attention. | Rare, but increasing role | interview data |
| Co-operation partner | Non-critical (sports) journalists. | Some sports journalists | interview data |
| Part-time publicist | Does PR or communication work for different organizations. | Some freelancers, maybe increasing role in the future | interview data |
| Entrepreneur | Self-employed journalist who sells stories to news organizations. | Freelancers, increasing role | interview data |

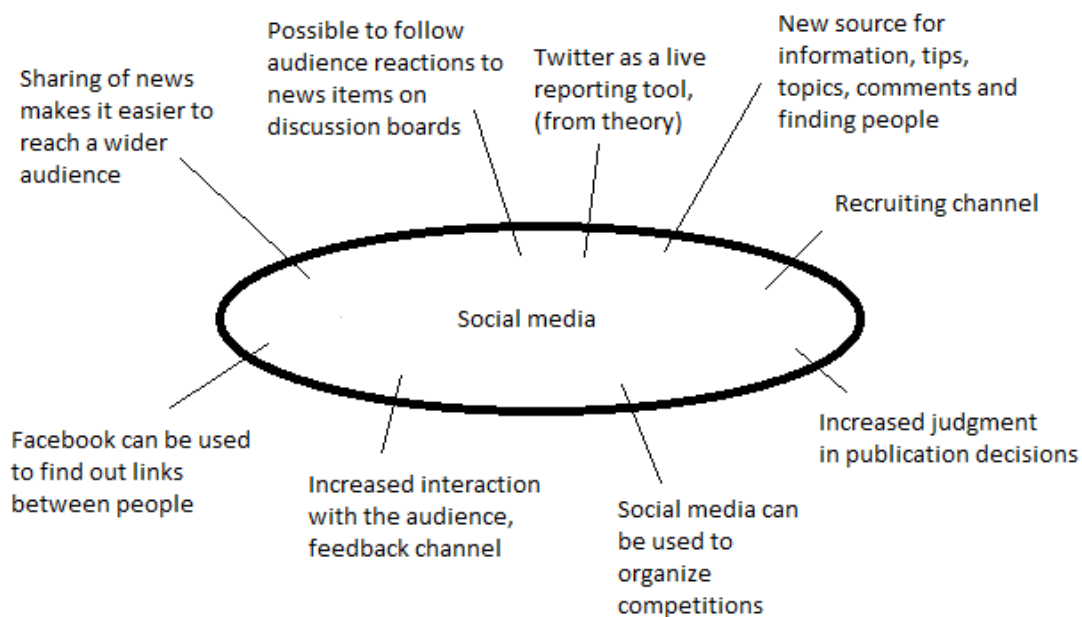
RQ3. How has social media affected journalists' work?

According to the results of this study, most journalists think social media has had some kind of effect on their work. A minority of journalists say that social media hasn't had any impact on their work. Currently, it seems like the effects of social media on journalistic work may have been overstated. News journalists think that social media affects their work mostly during big news events and crisis situations such as school shootings. During these times, social media offers information that is not available elsewhere, but the problem is that the validity of the information can't necessarily be checked.

Using social media as a tool in journalistic work divides the opinions of journalists. There seems to be a generational difference in journalists' attitudes towards social media. In general, younger journalists are more likely to use social media. They are also more likely to use social media as a tool in their work. Some of the older journalists do not like the social networking sites and social media in general. They think social media is too unregulated, even a little bit dangerous, and have problems with user privacy.

Finnish journalists' favorite social media is Facebook. A majority of the respondents of this study (11 people) have Facebook accounts, but only some of them have used it as a journalistic tool. Five respondents were not registered in Facebook at the time when they were interviewed. Two of them considered joining the service in the future.

Four of the Facebook using respondents had also Twitter accounts at the time of the interviews but only two of them used it as a journalistic tool. One respondent was thinking about joining Twitter and one had tried Twitter but deleted her account. Some respondents have also LinkedIn accounts for professional reasons. Other social media services some of the respondents use are Wikipedia, Flickr, Picasa, YouTube, MySpace, Spotify and various blogs and discussion boards.

Picture1: Benefits of social media for journalists

Those journalists, who think social media has benefitted their work, say that social media is a new source among other sources. For them, social media is a source for information, tips, news topics and a place to find people to interview.

Currently, journalists use mostly Facebook and blogs as sources in their work. Blogs are used as a source for story ideas and finding specific information. The respondents mostly follow discussions on their own media's web site to know audience reactions to different events or news items. Facebook is used for example to get story ideas and find out links between people such as politicians. Respondents also think that sharing and linking of news items on social media, especially on Facebook, help newsrooms to reach wider audiences.

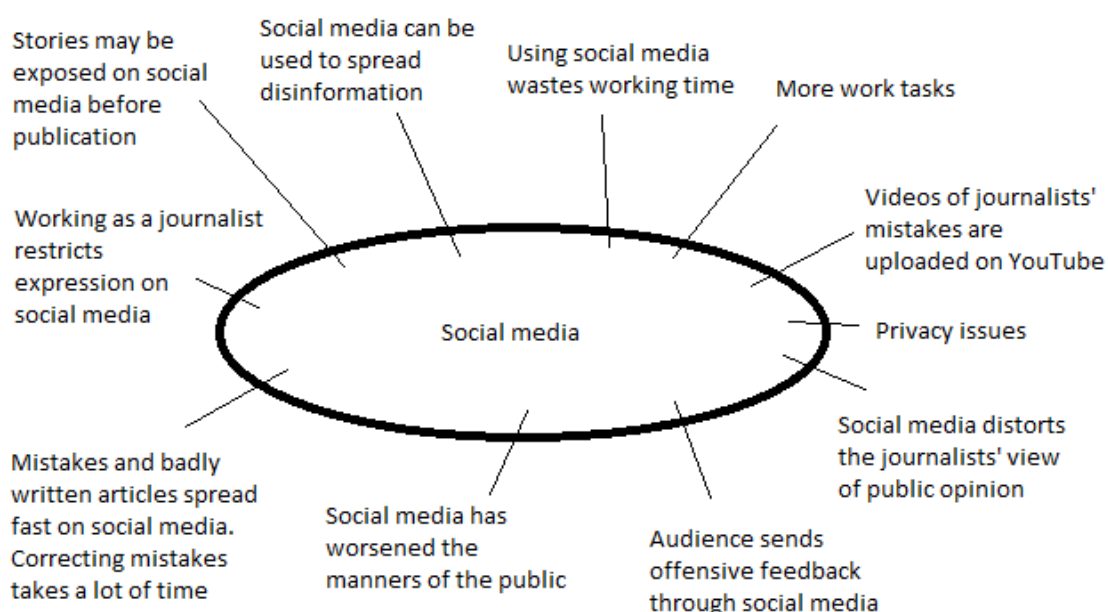
Currently, Twitter is rarely used as a tool in Finnish newsrooms. Only two respondents use it sometimes in their work. During big news events, journalists use search words to find relevant tweets or information. Twitter is also used to find comments from domestic or foreign politicians and experts.

Social media has brought journalists and newsrooms a new kind of interactive relationship with the audiences. Newsrooms and individual journalists get feedback from the audience through social media. Currently, some respondents do not wish to

interact with the audience on Facebook, because it takes too much time and is mentally tiring.

Social media has also increased judgment related to publication decisions, since mistakes spread faster and wider than before because of social media. This emphasis is expected to grow. Furthermore, some newsrooms use social media to organize competitions. Social media can also be a recruiting channel for organizations.

Picture2: The disadvantages of social media for journalists



The results of this study show that social media has also disadvantages for journalists. Social media has increased work tasks of some journalists. News stories might be exposed in social media before official publication due to journalist's own error. Videos of mistakes made by television journalists, news anchors or their guests during live broadcasts are many times uploaded to YouTube and stay there forever.

Badly written stories may spread fast and wide through social media. Also stories with mistakes spread rapidly because of social media. Correcting the mistakes takes a lot of extra work.

Furthermore, the feedback journalists receive through social media may be offensive. In worst cases, it can be a campaign-like series of smear messages on public discussion forums. Some journalists think that social media has deteriorated the manners of the audience.

One of the benefits of social media is that it increases the possibility of interaction with the audience. Journalists think this interaction can give a fake impression about the opinions of the audience, because only a part of the audience takes part in this interaction. It can skew the view about what the audience really thinks. Journalists also consider the easy spreading of disinformation on social media a disadvantage for them.

Some respondents feel that working as a journalist restricts their possibility to express their opinions on social media. Social media use can also waste too much working time.

RQ4. What do journalists / freelancers expect from their employers / customers in the future?

The results of this research show that journalists have various expectations towards their employers and the media in general. Many respondents think that there are problems in the management of media companies. They expect better leadership and think that there should be a lower number of bosses and less hierarchy in organizational structures of the newsrooms.

Some journalists think that their higher level superiors have separated from everyday reality of journalistic work. The media bosses are expected to have a better understanding of their own field of business and its purpose in society. Journalists think that media should serve its function as a societal institution better and not operate purely on commercial terms and just aim for the highest profits.

Some respondents feel that their bosses do not stand up enough for them, if they make a serious mistake in their hasty work. Journalists expect their employers to back them up and defend them better in sticky situations.

Some female journalists think that male bosses do not always understand their female subordinates and can't appreciate and make use of women's difference. Both genders are expected to have equal opportunities and obligations as workers. Some journalists want women's quota for newsroom management posts.

There have been a lot of changes in the organizational structures of newsrooms in recent years. This process is expected to continue in the future. Journalists expect more open and effective internal communication about the changes that affect their work.

More resources and better quality control for journalism are needed

Many journalists are worried that the quality of journalism is going downhill because of various reasons such as too many personnel reductions and accelerating news cycle. The respondents expect a greater number of permanent jobs for journalists. Many are worried about deteriorating working conditions in newsrooms. If the work load of journalists grows, the media companies are expected to hire more workers so that the existing ones do not burnout. Media bosses should also value their fixed-term personnel more. In general, journalists expect their salaries, working conditions and fees paid to freelancers to remain reasonable. Some respondents wish for more flexibility to working hours.

Many respondents think that too much content on the web is currently being recycled from others and poorly prepared in general. Journalists expect media companies to invest in the quality of their journalistic content in many ways. For example, newsrooms should do more their own information gathering and find their own news topics and not just copy ideas from others. The respondents wish for more time to make deeper and better stories. They expect to be able to dig things and spend time looking for their own story ideas, at least sometimes, so their work won't be just haste all the time.

Journalists think that newsrooms should at least correct spelling mistakes and use better, more innovative headlines in their online news. Furthermore, media should report more about social problems such as matters related to the underprivileged of the society. Some journalists also expect media to commit themselves more towards societal matters

in their editorial pages. Journalists also expect media to report more about big issues facing the world or humanity, and offer positive options for future development.

New technology should be harnessed in newsrooms

Technology is currently developing rapidly. Employers are expected to offer training to journalists to ensure they have the technological capabilities to use new devices and produce content for new platforms. Possibility to receive other kinds of training is also expected.

Tablet computers and the Internet offer new ways to present stories and news robots, such as the Stats Monkey, could make journalists' life easier and reduce the mechanical work in newsrooms. Journalists expect the media companies to make great investments into technological and content development so that the maximum benefit of new technology can be exploited. Some journalists hope that harnessing these new technologies would allow them to concentrate on more important work such as analysis instead of mechanical assembly-line journalism.

Freelancers wish for tighter connections with the producers, who buy stories from them. At the moment, freelancers think that there are often problems with the communication because the producers are so busy. Freelancers also expect that their stories are not edited too much before publication and that they don't have to sign unnecessary contracts to be able to do their job.

Furthermore, the respondents also wish for better working tools, such as phones and tablet computers. They also expect to have diverse work tasks and horizontal and vertical career possibilities. Some journalists also think that journalism research and practical work should be combined better. The connection could be made stronger somehow.

7.2. Future possibilities

Tablet computer technology offers new exciting possibilities in presenting journalistic content and creating new business logics. News robots could allow journalists to free

themselves from mechanical reporting and concentrate on more important work such as analysis of different events and developments. Social media applications could increase journalists' or newsrooms' interaction with the audience. Taking advantage of this possibility could open doors for new kind of interactive journalism. Twitter anchoring and live tweeting offer possibilities for new kinds of roles for journalists. Live tweeting is also a new tool that especially newspaper journalists can employ to stay competitive in the accelerating news cycle.

Journalists expect media companies to make large investments in technological and content development. Media companies are currently making good profits so they do have money for investments. This means the share-holders of media companies need to be satisfied with smaller profits for some time. They need to understand that the investments could enable the media companies to make bigger profits in the future.

As newspaper content starts to shift to tablet computers, the print media can save a lot of money from declining printing and distribution costs. The companies should invest these funds to development and improving the quality of journalism, which could attract bigger audiences for their products in the future. Bigger audiences could mean increased advertising revenues for the companies.

Media environment is fragmenting because of the low cost of starting new Internet based media. These newcomers could challenge the current hegemony of established corporate media companies and offer more critical views of societal matters and corporate culture. It means more choice for consumers. Internet based media also offers journalists new job opportunities. If traditional media companies start to outsource journalistic work more and more, it means more opportunities for freelancers.

Table8: The best case scenario for the future of Finnish journalism

| Trend / expectation | Outcome | Source |
|---------------------|--|----------------|
| Better leadership. | Media bosses understand journalism's function in society better and they | interview data |

| | | |
|--|---|----------------|
| | realize that media companies can't be run purely like industrial companies. | |
| Media companies cut their profit margins and invest in quality journalism. | More jobs for journalists mean better quality journalism. Different media will have more own stories and less copying ideas from others. Audiences will grow. | interview data |
| Media will divide into quality and bulk media. | Quality of serious media will increase. | interview data |
| Some online content becomes paid. | Quality of online content will increase. | interview data |
| Media will fragment further. | More choice for consumers, more diverse and critical media. | interview data |
| News competition will go global. | More choice for consumers, more diverse media. Finnish media are able maintain their audiences in the competition. | interview data |
| Freelancers will start to organize themselves in new ways. | Freelancers are in a better position when negotiating with large companies. | interview data |
| News will shift from newspapers to tablet computers and smart phones. | Media companies save money in distribution and printing costs and invest in technology and quality journalism. Companies are able to learn to use the | interview data |

| | | |
|--|---|---|
| | possibilities of tablet technology and create new business logics that work. | |
| News robots will take care of mechanical reporting. | Journalists can concentrate more on analysis, digging information and finding their own stories. Quality increases. | Vehkoo 2011, Intelligent Information Laboratory 2012, interview data |
| Infotainment and tabloidization will become more common. | Media are able to reach bigger audience, especially youngsters, because of interesting content. Journalists learn new ways to present their stories and can apply these styles in all reporting making even boring subjects more interesting. Quality improves. | Thussu 2007, Thussu & Freedman 2003, Altmeppen 2010, Calabrese 2000, Tehranian 2004, Schönbach 2000, Gripsrud 2000, Hujanen 2005, Hallin 2000, interview data |
| Film crews become smaller because of new technology. | Media are able to send their own foreign reporters (backpack journalists) abroad more often, because they have to pay only one person's expenses. Quality and trustworthiness of foreign journalism increases. | School of Communication 2012, interview data |
| Role of social media in news business will grow. | Some journalists become Twitter anchors (moderators). Social media offer new tools for journalists. Media are able | Farhi 2012, Palser 2009, Clayfield 2012, Vehkoo 2011, interview data |

| | | |
|----------------------------------|---|---|
| | to create an interactive relationship with their audiences. New types of journalism will be born. | |
| Social media activism increases. | The 5 th estate compliments the media and helps journalists work as watchdogs to politicians, corporations and other institutions. The 5 th estate will also watch media and prevent it from abusing its power. Democracy is increased. | Vehkoo 2011 Dutton 2007, Helsingin Sanomat kuukausiliite 2011, York 2011, Corbett 2012, Guardian 2011 interview data |

7.3. Future threats

Journalists expect their employers to defend them if they make mistakes in work. They also expect the media to offer more permanent jobs instead of chained fixed-term contracts. Currently, these expectations are not fully met by media companies. If the situation doesn't improve and these expectations are not met in the future, there is a threat that media companies begin to lose skilled workforce. As the results of this study show, some newsrooms have already started to lose professional journalists because of these flaws. Losing experienced journalists could weaken the quality of journalistic content.

Newsrooms in many companies have been shaven in recent years. Journalists feel that this trend threatens the quality of journalism. New technology offers media companies a chance to reduce their personnel even further. For example employing news robots to do mechanical reporting could be used to justify more reductions. There is a threat that if too many journalists are kicked out of newsrooms, the quality of journalism will crash when the remaining personnel can't handle all the work they are supposed to do. Then it will be very hard to revert back to the original situation.

The significance of social media is expected to grow in news distribution. Journalists are worried that if social media is given too big role inside newsrooms, there is a risk that the decision making about publication starts to slide outside the newsrooms.

Another risk is that propaganda will become legitimized through journalists quoting untrustworthy social media sources. As the news cycle accelerates, the possibility of mistakes in reporting increases. These developments lower the trustworthiness of media in the eyes of the public.

As the quality of journalistic content and trustworthiness of media decline, the audiences may abandon the traditional media in the future. This will mean smaller or no profits for the owners of the media companies. In the worst case, it could also harm the democratic process of the whole country.

Table9: The worst case scenario for the future of Finnish journalism

| Trend / expectation | Outcome | Source |
|--|--|--|
| Media business will shrink / Media bosses milk their companies dry (apply harvesting as a business strategy) | Less resources for journalism, less jobs. There will be a cycle of diminishing quality, which leads to diminishing audiences and advertisement revenues. They lead to more cuts and less resources for journalism. In the end the media company may die. | Herkman 2009, Journalisti 2011b, Vehkoo 2012, interview data |
| News cycle accelerates. | Mistakes in reporting will be more common and the quality and trustworthiness of media worsens. | Juntunen 2011, interview data |
| Media journalism and using PR material as | Media content assimilates. More non-critical | Herkman 2009, Juntunen 2011, |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| source increases. | journalism. | Vehkoo 2011 |
| Media will divide into quality and bulk media. | The quality media will not be any better than current offerings, only more expensive. More and more people follow only bulk media. Democratic process suffers. | interview data |
| Some online content becomes paid. | The paid content is not any better than free content. Media will lose audience because no one wants to pay when they can get the same news for free. Paywalls harm sharing of news on social media. | Journalisti 2012c, interview data |
| News competition will go global. | Finnish news companies start to lose audiences to foreign media. | interview data |
| The role of news agencies will grow in foreign reporting. | Foreign news assimilates especially on different television channels. Pro-Western propaganda becomes more common in conflict reporting. | Thussu 2007, Thussu & Freedman 2003, interview data |
| Small newspapers will face difficulties. | Many newspapers will die and journalists lose their jobs. | interview data |
| News will shift from newspapers to tablet computers and smart phones. | People stop subscribing newspapers. Tablet version subscriptions become a flop. Audiences start to use free online news services. | interview data |

| | | |
|--|---|---|
| | Media companies give the money saved in printing and distribution costs to shareholders. | |
| News robots will take care of mechanical reporting. | The number of journalistic personnel is reduced even more. | Intelligent Information Laboratory 2012, Vehkoo 2011, interview data |
| Journalists' working conditions will deteriorate. | More pressure on journalists, quality of journalism will suffer. | interview data |
| Outsourcing of journalistic work and short term contracts will increase. | Personnel's trust in employers will diminish, quality of journalism may suffer. | interview data |
| Shift work will become more common because of the Internet. | Journalists working times become more irregular. May threaten newspapers' quality content. | interview data |
| Infotainment and tabloidization will become more common. | Important information is not reported to the public. Instead, the amount of brainless and sensational celebrity news is increased. War reporting as infotainment distorts public's view of different conflicts. Quality of journalism diminishes. | Thussu 2007, Thussu & Freedman 2003, Altmeyden 2010, Calabrese 2000, Tehranian 2004, Schönbach 2000, Gripsrud 2000, Hujanen 2005, Hallin 2000, interview data |
| Newspaper articles become shorter. | Affects topic selection because difficult topics cannot be handled in short space. Quality of | interview data |

| | | |
|--|--|--|
| | journalism suffers. | |
| Role of social media in news business will grow. | A lot of disinformation and propaganda is published as fact as stunts like the Kony2012 campaign or fake social media activism become more common. Journalists can't properly use new tools offered by social media. | Farhi 2012, Palser 2009, Clayfield 2012, Vehkoo 2011, interview data |
| More regulation for social media. | Freedom of speech diminishes. | interview data |
| World economic crisis has changed journalism. | Everything is about economy. People and societal functions are only observed in terms of cost efficiency and profit. | interview data |
| Economic crisis affects media business. | Media companies lose advertising revenues, which lead to personnel reductions. | interview data |

8. DISCUSSION

In this final chapter, the future of Finnish journalism is discussed in the light of the results of this study. Then the credibility of this study is evaluated. During this research, two ideas for future research arose. They are also presented in this chapter.

8.1. Standing at a crossroads

Journalists believe that Finnish media has tough times ahead. Based on the results of this research, it can be argued that the quality of Finnish journalism and trustworthiness of different media are in danger because of diminishing resources for journalism and media companies' hunt for ever increasing profits. Big commercial media companies are making a lot of money but still they are reducing journalistic personnel to cut costs and please the shareholders. There are signs that some media companies may have chosen harvesting as a business strategy for some of their newspapers. This would mean that in the future these newspapers may die.

Some journalists believe that commercial media is getting close to a point of no return because of cutting costs. They fear the quality of journalism will collapse after too many cuts, because the remaining personnel will not be able to handle all the work. Personnel reductions, outsourcing and offering only short fixed-term contracts to workers is also lowering many journalists' trust in their employers.

It can be argued that the commercial media is standing at a crossroads. One path leads to better quality content and more expensive news products such as paid online news or more expensive newspaper and tablet version subscriptions. The other path leads to cheap or free bulk content with lower quality and less unique content. Each media has to decide which path to take. Helsingin Sanomat and Kauppalehti have already chosen to build paywalls on their websites. It will be interesting to see how the paywall affects the traffic on their web sites and how other media react to it. Yle's situation is different as the company's funding will increase because of the new "Yle tax". This could mean that Yle's role in Finnish media environment may grow in the future as the company hires more online journalists while other companies are making cuts or building

paywalls on their web sites. Yle is also trying to harness social media to make journalism in new ways (for example Yle Uutiset Suora linja).

Based on the theoretical part of this thesis and the research interviews, it can be argued that Finnish television news media are clearly taking a step towards 24h cable network infotainment style news broadcasts with their emphasis on interesting content, visuals and celebrity hosts. Interesting content is also increasing in newspapers. If done properly, infotainment style news could reach a wider audience and even boring subjects could be reported in a more interesting way. In the worst case, important topics will be left uncovered in the news because they aren't interesting enough for the great masses. How it all plays out and how the changes affect journalistic content of each media remains to be seen.

Finnish foreign journalism is facing challenges and changes because of globalizing news competition and new portable multimedia technology. The news competition will probably become the toughest in foreign reporting because audiences are able to follow foreign media through the Internet. Already now you can read foreign news and analysis on the web sometimes days before the same news is published in Finnish media. Many interesting news stories are not even reported in Finland. Foreign journalism is also very expensive to make. It can be argued that foreign journalism is in danger when companies are looking for new ways to cut costs. Luckily, new small sized camera technology allows one backpack journalist to do foreign reporting alone. This means that television newsrooms can send foreign journalists abroad cheaper than before, because they don't have to pay for cameraman's expenses. Shooting and editing news videos may become important skills for foreign journalists in the future.

The role of social media in news business is expected to grow. Currently, Finnish journalists are lagging behind journalists from other countries in using social media in news work. Newsrooms are trying different ways of using social media though. Live tweeting will probably become more common in the future. Some journalists could also become moderators or anchor journalists, but it will probably take some time before this kind of role becomes common in Finland as the audiences here are not currently very active in participating in citizen journalism through social media.

The expectations of different stakeholders can be opposite to each other. It seems that in the current situation journalists' and shareholders' interests are in conflict. Shareholders want big profits and journalists want more resources for newsrooms. The majority of journalists want to do good journalism, but it is not always possible under the current circumstances. Media companies should listen to journalists' needs and expectations more, as they are a vital stakeholder group. Media companies should not always consider shareholders as the number one stakeholder group, whose needs are always above others. In this situation where everything is changing and converging, it would be wise for the media companies to lower their profit targets, and invest in technological development and quality journalism to ensure their long-term success. Media companies should also pay more attention to fair treatment of workers. Being a good and fair employer may offer a competitive edge in finding the best journalists to hire.

In the end, a news media company's success depends on the quality and credibility of its content. If the content is good people are more likely willing to pay for it. If the quality is bad, very few want to pay for it. Journalists are the people who make the news and they are saying that the quality of journalism is in danger. This message should ring some alarm bells on the executive floors of different media houses.

8.2. Evaluation of the study

The credibility of all research should be evaluated according to reliability and validity. The reliability of research means the reproducibility of the results. Validity means the research method's ability to measure exactly what is meant to be measured in the research (Hirsjärvi, Remes & Sajavaara 1997, 216).

In qualitative research, reliability and validity have received different kinds of interpretations. Concept of validity is somewhat unclear in qualitative research. Researcher's exact narration of how the study was conducted, improves the credibility of qualitative research (Hirsjärvi, Remes & Sajavaara 1997, 217). The research process of this thesis is detailed in chapter 5.6.

In this research, deficiencies for validity might have been caused by the research framework. The research was centered on journalists working for the biggest media

companies in Finland. Journalists working for smaller media might have different expectations and visions for the future of media. Only two freelancers were interviewed in this study. The results show that some of their expectations towards media companies vary from monthly salaried journalists' expectations. The data about freelancers' expectations was probably not saturated so some of their expectations might have been missed in this study.

Everyone interprets data in their unique way. There can be disagreements about interpretation of facts (Hirsjärvi, Remes & Sajavaara 1997, 214). For this reason, reproducing the same results from one set of data, by two different researchers, may not be possible in qualitative research. This researcher's personal qualities and background in journalistic work and journalism studies might have affected the interpretation of the data.

The subjectivity of the interviewed journalists may have had some impact on the validity of this research. As journalists are workers in media companies, they might have given more favorable answers to questions regarding their own employers than what they really think. A couple of respondents did not want to tell about situations where they have been disappointed in their current employer.

The biggest issue in research ethics of this thesis is privacy. Full anonymity of the participants was guaranteed by removing all information from quotations that could be traced back to the respondents.

8.3. Possibilities for future research

It was mentioned above that journalists working for smaller media might have different expectations than their colleagues working for the big companies. It could be interesting to study the expectations of journalists working for provincial and local newspapers.

Also, studying the expectations of a bigger group of freelancers might be worthwhile. By mapping the expectations of these groups, it would be possible to find out all the different expectations journalists working across the country have towards media companies.

LITERATURE AND OFFICIAL SOURCES

- ALTMEEPEN, Klaus-Dieter 2010. The gradual disappearance of foreign news on German television. Is there a future for global, international, world or foreign news? *Journalism Studies*, Vol. 11, No 4, 2010, pp 567-576.
- CALABRESE, Andrew 2000. Political space and the trade in television news. In the book *Tabloid tales: global debates over media standards*. Edited by Colin Sparks and John Tulloch. Rowmand & Littlefield Publishers, Inc. USA.
- CISION EUROPE & CANTERBURY CHRIST CHURCH UNIVERSITY 2011. 2011 Social Journalism Study. Toimittajien sosiaalisen median käyttö ja näkemykset Suomessa 2011.
<http://www.finbio.net/download/viestintapaiva-2011/toimittajien-sosiaalisen-median-kaytto.pdf>.
- CLAYFIELD, Matthew 2012. Tweet the Press. *Metro Magazine*, issue 171, Summer 2012, pp. 92-97.
- COLLISON, David 2004. Measuring Success: Profit and Propaganda. In the book *War, Media and Propaganda. A Global Perspective*. Edited by Yahya R. Kamalipour and Nancy Snow. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.
- COMPTON, James R. & BENEDETTI, Paul 2010. Labour, New Media and the Institutional Restructuring of Journalism. *Journalism Studies*, Vol. 11, No 4, 2010, pp. 487-499.
- CORBETT, James 2012. The “Twitter Revolution” Myth. The Corbett Report. Open Source Intelligence News website. <http://www.corbettreport.com/the-twitter-revolution-myth/>. Published: 6.3.2012. Read: 7.3.2012.
- DAVENPORT, Thomas & BECK, John 2001. *The Attention Economy: Understanding the new currency of business*.

- DEUZE, Mark 2005a. What is journalism? : Professional identity and ideology of journalists reconsidered. *Journalism*, Vol. 6(4) (2005), pp. 442-464.
- DEUZE, Mark 2005b. Popular journalism and professional ideology: tabloid reporters and editors speak out. *Media, Culture & Society*, Vol. 27 (6), pp. 861-882.
- DEUZE, Mark 2008. The Professional Identity of Journalists in the Context of Convergence Culture. *Observatorio (OBS*) Journal*, 7 (2008), pp. 103-117.
- FARHI, Paul 2009. The Twitter Explosion. *American Journalism Review*, June/July 2009, pp. 26-31.
- FOMBRUN, Charles J. 1996. *Reputation: Realizing Value from the Corporate Image*. USA: Harvard Business School Press.
- GRIPSRUD, Jostein 2000. Tabloidization, popular journalism and democracy. In the book *Tabloid tales: global debates over media standards*. Edited by Colin Sparks and John Tulloch. Rowmand & Littlefield Publishers, Inc. USA.
- HALLIN, Daniel C. 2000. La Nota Roja. In the book *Tabloid tales: global debates over media standards*. Edited by Colin Sparks and John Tulloch. Rowmand & Littlefield Publishers, Inc. USA.
- HERKMAN, Juha 2009. Journalismi markkinoilla. Konserni- ja mediajournalismia. In the book *Journalismi murroksessa*, pp. 32-49. Väliverronen Esa (toim.) 2009. Helsinki: Gaudeamus Helsinki University Press.
- HIRSJÄRVI, Sirkka, REMES, Pirkko, SAJAVAARA, Paula 1997. *Tutki ja kirjoita*. Kustannusosakeyhtiö Tammi, Helsinki. Jyväskylä: Gummerus Kirjapaino Oy.
- HUJANEN, Jaana 2005. Kiinnostava, kiinnostavampi, nuorekas? Tulevaisuuden yleisö bisnesmedian etsimässä. In the book *Media jättien aika – Uusia heikkoja*

signaaleja etsimässä. Edited by Jari Ojala & Turo Uskali. Inforviestintä Oy. Jyväskylä: Gummerus Kirjapaino Oy.

HUMANISTINEN TIEDEKUNTA 2012. Fenomenografinen analyysi.

Menetelmäpolkuja humanisteille. University of Jyväskylä web site.

<https://koppa.jyu.fi/avoimet/hum/menetelmäpolkuja/menetelmäpolku/aineiston-analyysimenetelmat/fenomenografinen-analyysi>. Read 13.4.2012.

JENKINS, Henry 2006. Convergence culture: where old and new media collide. New York University Press.

JOURNALISTILIITTO & ALEKSI KAIKU 2012. Sosiaalinen media on yhä

useamman työkäytössä. Web site of Finnish Journalist Association. Pekka Vehviläinen. <http://www.journalistiliitto.fi/?x233158=7264082>. Published 14.3.2012. Read 25.3.2012.

JOHANSSON, Sofia 2008. Gossip, sport and pretty girls. What does “trivial” journalism mean to tabloid newspaper readers? *Journalism Practice*, Vol. 2, No 3, 2008, pp. 402-413.

JUNTUNEN, Laura 2011. Leikkaa-liimaa-journalismia? Tutkimus uutismedian lähdekäytännöistä. Communication Research Centre. University of Helsinki. <http://helsinki.fi/crc/julkaisut/index.html>.

JYRKIÄINEN, Jyrki 2008. Journalistit muuttuvassa mediassa. Center of journalism research. University of Tampere. School of Communication. Publications Series B 50/2008.

LATAR, Noam & NORDFORS, David 2011. The Future of Journalism: Artificial Intelligence and Digital Identities. Sammy Ofer School of Communications & Stanford Center for Innovation and Communication.

LAERMANS, Rudi 2011. The Attention Regime: On Mass Media and the Information Society. Article in the book *In Medias Res*. Peter Sloterdijk's

Spherological Poetics of Being. Edited by Willem Schinkel & Liesbeth Noordegraaf-Eelens. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

- LAWSON-BORDERS, Gracie 2003. Integrating New Media and Old Media: Seven Observations of Convergence as a Strategy for Best Practices in Media Organisations. *The International Journal on Media Management* Vol.5, No. II, pp 91-99.
- LAWSON-BORDERS, Gracie 2006. Media Organizations and Convergence - Case studies of media convergence pioneers. New Jersey: Lawrence-Erlbaum Associates, Inc., Publishers. Google Scholar.
http://www.google.com/books?hl=fi&lr=&id=-rrw8OkT-I8C&oi=fnd&pg=PR9&dq=media+convergence&ots=xnrcfjq02V&sig=v3KI0YS8jHmnaI_wMXzd-aTAv4w#v=onepage&q&f=false.
- LENHART, Amanda, PURCELL, Kristen & others 2010. Social Media & Mobile Internet Use Among Teens and Young Adults. Pew Internet & American Life Project. Washington: Pew Research Center.
- MASIP, Pere, CABRERA, Angeles & others 2007. Journalistic convergence in Spain: changing journalistic practices and new challenges. Paper presented at the 2007 IAMCR Conference, UNESCO, Paris.
- MCCARTHY, John 2007. WHAT IS ARTIFICIAL INTELLIGENCE? Stanford University, Computer Science Department. Stanford University website.
<http://www-formal.stanford.edu/jmc/whatisai/node1.html>. Published 12.11.2007. Read 8.3.2012.
- MITCHELL, Amy & ROSENSTIEL, Tom & CHRISTIAN, Leah 2012. What Facebook and Twitter Mean for News. The Pew Research Center's Project for Excellence in Journalism. The State of the News Media 2012. An Annual Report on American Journalism. <http://stateofthemedias.org/2012/mobile-devices-and-news-consumption-some-good-signs-for-journalism/what-facebook-and-twitter-mean-for-news/>. Read 20.3.2012.

- NORDFORS, David 2009. Innovation journalism, Attention Work & the Innovation Economy. Innovation journalism Vol.6, No.1.
<http://www.innovationjournalism.org/archive/injo-6-1.pdf>. Published 1.5.2009.
- NORDIC MEDIA MARKET 2009. The Nordic media market 2009. Media companies and business activities. Compiled by Eva Harrie. Nordicom, University of Gothenburg.
- OFFICIAL STATISTICS OF FINLAND (OSF) 2010. Every second Finn uses the Internet several times a day. Helsinki: Statistics Finland.
http://www.stat.fi/til/sutivi/2010/sutivi_2010_2010-10-26_tie_001_en.html. Published 26.10.2010.
- OFFICIAL STATISTICS OF FINLAND (OSF) 2011. Use of information and communications technology 2011. Helsinki: Statistics Finland.
http://www.stat.fi/til/sutivi/2011/sutivi_2011_2011-11-02_tie_001_en.html. Whole report in Finnish
http://www.stat.fi/til/sutivi/2011/sutivi_2011_2011-11-02_fi.pdf.
Published 2.11.2011.
- OLKKONEN, Laura & LUOMA-AHO, Vilma 2011. Managing Mental Standards with Corporate Citizenship Profiles. Electronic Journal of Business Ethics and Organization Studies Vol. 16, No. 1 (2011).
- OLMSTEAD, Kenny & MITCHELL, Amy & ROSENSTIEL, Tom 2011. Navigating News Online. Pew Research Center's Project for Excellence in Journalism. Journalism.org web site.
http://www.journalism.org/analysis_report/facebook_becoming_increasingly_important. Published 9.5.2011. Read 20.3.2012.
- PATTON, Michael Quinn 2002. Qualitative Research & Evaluation Methods. 3rd edition. USA: Sage Publications, Inc.

PALSER, Barb 2009. Hitting the Tweet Spot. *American Journalism Review* 2009, 31 (2), pp. 54.

PIETILÄ, Antti-Pekka 2007. Uutisista viihdettä, viihteestä uutisia. *Median muodonmuutos*. Helsinki: Art House Oy.

RODICA, Melinda 2011. Convergence, the New Way of Doing Journalism. *Revista româna de Jurnalism si comunicare (Romanian Journal of Journalism & Communication)* Anul VI, nr.1 2011, pp. 48-53.

SAARANEN-KAUPPINEN & PUUSNIEKKA 2006. 5.1 Fenomenografia. *KvaliMOTV - Menetelmäopetuksen tietovaranto*. Tampere : Yhteiskuntatieteellinen tietoarkisto. <http://www.fsd.uta.fi/menetelmaopetus/>. Read 13.4.2012.

SCHOOL OF COMMUNICATION 2012. Courses. American University website. <http://www.american.edu/soc/backpack/Courses.cfm>. Read 6.3.2012.

SCHÖNBACH, Klaus 2000. Does tabloidization make German local newspapers successful? In the book *Tabloid Tales: global debates over media standards*. Edited by Colin Sparks and John Tulloch. Rowmand & Littlefield Publishers, Inc. USA.

SPARKS, Colin 2000. Introduction. In the book *Tabloid Tales: global debates over media standards*. Edited by Colin Sparks and John Tulloch. Rowmand & Littlefield Publishers, Inc. USA.

SUCHMAN, Mark C. 1995. Managing Legitimacy: Strategic and Institutional Approaches. *The Academy of Management Review*, Vol. 20, No. 3 (Jul., 1995), pp. 571-610.

TALOUSTUTKIMUS OY 2011. eMedia2011. Jaakko Hautanen & Kari Roose. A yearly follow up study. Report downloaded from Yle's intranet.

- TEHRANIAN, Majid 2004. War, Media and Propaganda: An Epilogue. In the book War, media and propaganda. A Global Perspective. Edited by Yahya R. Kamalipour and Nancy Snow. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.
- THUSSU, Daya Kishan & FREEDMAN, Des 2003. War and the Media. SAGE Publications Ltd. Gateshead: Athenaeum Press.
- THUSSU, Daya Kishan 2007. News as Entertainment. The Rise of Global Infotainment. SAGE Publications Ltd. India: Replika Press Pvt Ltd.
- TNS GALLUP 2011. Suomen web-sivustojen viikkoluvut. Viikko 46. The website of TNS Gallup. <http://tnsmatrix.tns-gallup.fi/public/>. Read 27.11.2011.
- TUOMI, Jouni & SARAJÄRVI, Anneli 2002. Laadullinen tutkimus ja sisällönanalyysi. Jyväskylä: Gummerus Kirjapaino Oy.
- USKALI, Turo 2011. Kohti ubiikkia mediaekosysteemiä. In the book Muuttuvat mediat – haasteelliset sukupolvet, pp 111-117. Matikainen Janne (toim.) 2011. Helsinki: Kirjapaino Suomen Graafiset Palvelut Oy.
- VEHKOO, Johanna 2011. Painokoneet seis. Kertomuksia uuden journalismin ajasta. Kustannusosakeyhtiö Teos. Jyväskylä: Bookwell Oy.
- VOS, Marita & SCHOEMAKER, Henny 2005. Integrated Communication – Concern, internal and marketing communication. Utrecht: LEMMA Publishers.
- VÄISÄNEN, Kari 2011. Mediamuotojen sukupolvet – sanomalehdistä hybridituotteiksi. In book Muuttuvat media – haasteelliset sukupolvet. Edited by Janne Matikainen. Infor Oy. Helsinki: Kirjapaino Suomen Graafiset Palvelut Oy.
- VÄLIVERRONEN, Esa 2009. Journalismi kriisissä? In the book Journalismi murroksessa, pp. 13-31. Väliverronen Esa (toim.) 2009. Helsinki: Gaudeamus Helsinki University Press.

YORK, Jillian C. 2011. The Revolutionary Force of Facebook and Twitter. In Nieman Reports web site. Fall 2011 Online Archives. The Nieman Foundation for Journalism at Harvard.
<http://www.nieman.harvard.edu/reports/article/102681/The-Revolutionary-Force-of-Facebook-and-Twitter.aspx>. Read 24.11.2011.

OTHER SOURCES

ALMA MEDIA 2012. Alma Media uudistaa alueellisten lehtiensä toimintatavan. A release on Alma Media's corporate web site.
<http://www.almamedia.fi/tiedote?tiedote=648227>. Published 16.4.2012.
Read 16.4.2012.

ANONYMOUS 2012. KONY 2012 Warning. A comment video released by the hacktivist group Anonymous.
http://www.youtube.com/watch?feature=player_embedded&v=qr1EdLzYz_M. Published 8.3.2012.

BONNIER OY 2011. Bonnier. Bonnier Oy website. <http://www.bonnier.fi/>. Read 27.11.2011.

CBS NEWS 2012. Joseph Kony resolution introduced in House. Stephanie Condon. CBS News website. http://www.cbsnews.com/8301-503544_162-57396592-503544/joseph-kony-resolution-introduced-in-house/. Published 13.3.2012. Read 13.3.2012.

GUARDIAN 2009. Oil find 'enough for Uganda'. Andy Checkley. Guardian website. <http://www.guardian.co.uk/katine/2009/jul/27/uganda-news-roundup-oil>. Published 27.7.2009. Read 10.3.2012.

GUARDIAN 2011. Revealed: US spy operation that manipulates social media. Nick Fielding & Ian Cobain. Guardian web site.
<http://www.guardian.co.uk/technology/2011/mar/17/us-spy-operation-social-networks>. Published 17.3.2011. Read 14.3.2012.

GUARDIAN 2012. Twitter hoaxer comes clean and says: I did it to expose weak media.
The Guardian web site. Tom Kington.
<http://www.guardian.co.uk/technology/2012/mar/30/twitter-hoaxer-tommaso-de-benedetti>. Published 30.3.2012. Read 4.4.2012.

HELSINGIN SANOMAT 2011. Eduskunta hyväksyi lehtien veron. Teija Sutinen.
Helsingin Sanomat web site.
<http://www.hs.fi/politiikka/Eduskunta+hyv%C3%A4ksyi+lehtien+arvonlis%C3%A4veron/a1305549937726>. Published 23.11.2011. Read 23.11.2011.

HELSINGIN SANOMAT 2012a. Nelosen uutisankkuripariksi Mikko Hirvonen ja Marco Bjurström. Helsingin Sanomat web site.
<http://www.hs.fi/kotimaa/Nelosen+uutisankkuripariksi+Mikko+Hirvonen+ja+Marco+Bjurstr%C3%B6m/a1305572080548>. Published 31.5.2012. Read 31.5.2012.

HELSINGIN SANOMAT 2012b. HS.fi kasvaa ja muuttuu osin maksulliseksi.
Helsingin Sanomat web site.
<http://www.hs.fi/kotimaa/HSfi+kasvaa+ja+muuttuu+osin+maksulliseksi/a1305594872749>. Published 23.8.2012. Read 23.8.2012.

HELSINGIN SANOMAT KUUKAUSILIITE 2011. Kallion kukoistus. Veera Luoma-aho. In Helsingin Sanomat kuukausiliite. November 2011.

INTELLIGENT INFORMATION LABORATORY 2012. About. Northwestern University web site. <http://infolab.northwestern.edu/projects/stats-monkey/>. Read 25.3.2012.

INVISIBLE CHILDREN 2012. Kony 2012. Invisible Children NGO website. <http://www.invisiblechildren.com/>. Read 9.3.2012.

JOURNALISTI 2011a. Ylen rahoitus kuntoon. Markku Lappalainen. In Journalisti, the newspaper of the Finnish journalist association, 22.9.2011.

JOURNALISTI 2011b. Tuli musta syksy. Katri Porttinen. In Journalisti, the newspaper of the Finnish journalist association, 3.11.2011.

JOURNALISTI 2011c. Uutisia uudella tavalla. Jessikka Aro. In Journalisti's web site. <http://www.journalistiliitto.fi/journalisti/lehti/2011/20/artikkelit/uutisia-uudella-tavalla/>. 20/2011.

JOURNALISTI 2012a. Väki vähenee, tulokset paranevat. Matti Remes. In Journalisti, the newspaper of the Finnish journalist association. 22.3.2012.

JOURNALISTI 2012b. HS tweettasi oikeudenkäynnin suorana. Jessika Aro. In Journalisti's web site. <http://www.journalistiliitto.fi/journalisti/lehti/2012/09/uutiset/rankka-keikka-oslossa/>. 9/2012.

JOURNALISTI 2012c. Verkkomaksut eivät pelasta sanomalehtiä. Sanna Sevänen. In Journalisti the newspaper of the Finnish journalist association. 31.5.2012.

LEWIS, Paul 2011. The Rise of the Anchor Journalists. Wired magazine web site. <http://www.wired.com/cs/promo/blogs/changeaccelerators/2011/09/29/the-rise-of-the-anchor-journalists/>. Published 29.11.2011. Read 4.4.2012.

MARKKINOINTI & MAINONTA 2011. Suurimmat mediayhtiöt 2010. The website of Markkinointi & Mainonta –magazine. http://www.marmai.fi/multimedia/archive/00091/Suurimmat_mediayhti__91614a.pdf. Read 27.11.2011.

REUTERS 2009. Uganda poised to become top50 oil producer. Christopher Johnson. Reuters website. <http://www.reuters.com/article/2009/11/24/us-oil-africa-uganda-analysis-idUSTRE5AN2FM20091124>. Published 24.11.2009. Read 10.3.2012.

SANOMALEHTIEN LIITTO 2010. Suomen 10 suurinta sanomalehteä levikin mukaan 2010. <http://www.sanomalehdet.fi/index.phtml?s=119>. Read 27.11.2011.

SANOMA NEWS 2011. About us. Sanoma News website.

<http://www.sanoma.com/about-us/sanoma-news>. Read 27.11.2011.

VEHKOO, Johanna 2012. Mediatalojen äärimmäisestä talousajattelusta. Johanna

Vehkoo's blog. <http://vehkoo.wordpress.com/2012/04/16/mediatalojen-aarimmaisesta-talousajattelusta/>. Published 16.4.2012. Read 18.4.2012.

WIKIPEDIA 2012a. The Huffington Post. Wikipedia online encyclopedia.

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Huffington_Post. Read 11.6.2012.

WIKIPEDIA 2012b. Stakeholder. Wikipedia online encyclopedia.

<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Stakeholder>. Read 22.8.2012.

WOLFE, Alexander 2008. Twitter in controversial spotlight amid Mumbai attacks.

Information Week web site.

<http://www.informationweek.com/blog/global-cio/229209104>. Published 29.11.2008. Read 4.4.2012.

YLE INTRANET 2012. Ohjelmistosuunnittelu 2013-2015. Yle's targets for 2013-2015.

Published on the Yle's intranet. No link available for outsiders.

YLE SUORA LINJA 2012a. Verkkoilmiöksi noussut Kony-video herättää kritiikkiä.

Yle Suora linja website.

http://yle.fi/uutiset/puheenaiheet/2012/03/verkkoilmioksi_noussut_kony-video_herattaa_kritiikkiä_3321453.html. Published 9.3.2012. Read 10.3.2012.

YLE SUORA LINJA 2012b. Suoran linjan päivälista. Yle Suora linja website.

http://yle.fi/uutiset/puheenaiheet/2012/01/suoran_linjan_paivalista_316262_9.html. Published 10.1.2012. Read 5.4.2012.

YLE UUTISET 2010. MTV3: YLE on luotettavin. Yle Uutiset website.

http://yle.fi/uutiset/kulttuuri/2010/02/mtv3_yle_on_luotettavin_1430030.html. Published 9.2.2010. Read 27.11.2011.

YLE UUTISET 2011. Ylelle tulossa rahoitus Yle-verosta. Yle Uutiset website.
http://yle.fi/uutiset/kulttuuri/2011/12/ylle_tulossa_rahoytus_yle-verosta_3105693.html. Published 16.12.2011. Read 23.2.2012.

APPENDIX 1. Research questions in Finnish and English

Perustiedot

Nimi

Ikä

Sukupuoli

Työkokemus toimitustyöstä (työuran pituus ja kokemus eri välineistä)

Nykyinen työnantaja

Nykyinen työnkuva

Mediaan liittyvät kysymykset

1. *Kuinka määrittelet termin media?
2. Kuinka kuvailisit suhdettasi seuraamiisi eri medioihin? Mitkä ovat eri medioiden erot?
3. Mikä mielestäsi on median nykyinen rooli yhteiskunnassa?
- Mikä sen tulisi mielestäsi olla?
4. Onko toimittajan rooli muuttunut? Miten?
5. Mikä mielestäsi on toimittajan rooli tulevaisuudessa?
6. Minkälaisena näet media tulevaisuuden kehityksen?
- Mikä olisi paras mahdollinen kehityskulku median tulevaisuudelle?
- Mikä olisi pahin mahdollinen kehityskulku?
7. Mitä odotat tulevaisuudessa medialta työnantajana?
8. Vastaavatko median nykyiset käytännöt odotuksiasi sekä työntekijänä että kuluttajana? Mikä toimii työssäsi ja mikä ei?
9. Mikä media on kuollut viiden vuoden kuluttua? Miksi?

Sosiaaliseen mediaan liittyvät kysymykset

10. Onko sosiaalinen media vaikuttanut työhösi? Miten?
11. Onko sosiaalinen media vaikuttanut odotuksiisi työtäsi kohtaan? Miten?
12. Mitä sosiaalisen median palveluita käytät? Miksi? Miksi et?
13. Näetkö sosiaalisessa mediassa enemmän haittoja vai hyötyjä?
14. Minkälaisena näet sosiaalisen median ja perinteisen median suhteen?

Työhön liittyvät kysymykset

15. Oletko tehnyt muutoksia työtapoihisi lähiaikoina? Miksi?
16. Onko jotain muuttunut journalismissa? Mikä?
17. Onko nopeuden arvostaminen journalismissa (tai uutistyydyssä) on muuttanut odotuksiasi työtäsi kohtaan? Miten?
18. Uskotko uutisten siirtyvän mobiililaitteisiin kuten älypuhelimiin ja tablettitietokoneisiin? Milloin?
19. Kuinka uskot maailmantalouden ongelmien vaikuttavan työhösi?

20. Kuinka kuvailisit suhdettasi työnantajaasi? Onko se muuttunut? Haluaisitko sen muuttuvan?
21. Kuvaile tilannetta, jossa olet pettynyt työhösi
22. Kuvaile tilannetta, jossa olet ollut erityisen tyytyväinen työhösi
23. Kuvaile tilannetta, jossa olet pettynyt mediaan, joka on työnantajasi
24. Kuvaile tilannetta, jossa olet ollut erityisen tyytyväinen mediaan, joka on työnantajasi. Kuinka se vaikutti työsi, jos ollenkaan?
25. Oletko harkinnut työpaikan vaihtoa? Miksi?
26. Missä mediassa olet töissä viiden vuoden kuluttua? Miksi?
27. Onko jokin tärkeä asia, joka jäi käsittelemättä? Mikä?

Basic information

Name

Gender

Age

Work experience in journalism (years of experience and experience from different mediums)

Employer

Current job description

Questions marked with * are shared questions for all WEM-project interviews. These questions cover the same topics but from different perspectives depending on the group of stakeholders being interviewed.

Media related questions

1*How do you define “media”?

2* How would you describe your relationship with the media that you use? What are the differences between different media?

3. How do you see the current role of media in society?

- What should it be?

4. Have there been changes in the role of journalist? What are they?

5. How do you see the future role of journalists in society?

6. How do you see the future developments of media?

- Best case scenario

- Worst case scenario

7. What do you expect of the media in the future as an employer?

8. Do the present day practices of media meet your expectations as a worker and as a consumer? What is currently working in your work and what is not?

9* Which media has died in 5 years? Why?

Social media related questions

10. Has social media affected your work?

11. Has social media changed your expectations towards your own field of work?
12. Which social media sites do you use? Why?
13. Do you see more benefit or problems regarding social media?
14. How do you see the relationship between traditional media and social media?

Work related questions

- 15* Have you made any changes to your work routines recently? Why?
16. Has something changed in journalism?
17. Has the value of speed in journalism changed your expectations towards your work?
18. Do you think news publishing is going to smart phones and tablet computers in the future?
19. How do you think the current difficulties in world economy will affect your work?
- 20.* How would you describe your relationship with your employer?
Has it changed? Would you like it to change?
- 21* Could you describe a situation where you have been disappointed in your work?
- 22* Could you describe a situation where you have been particularly satisfied with your work?"
- 23* Could you describe a situation where you have been disappointed in the media you work for?
- 24* Could you describe a situation where you have been particularly satisfied with the media you work for (expectations have been exceeded)? How did it affect your work, if at all?
25. Have you considered changing your work place/job? Why?
- 26* Which media will you be working for in 5 years? Why?
27. Is there some important thing we didn't handle here? What is it?