JYU DISSERTATIONS 738

Minna Koivula

Journalism Made Different

Continuity and Change in Contemporary Newsrooms

UNIVERSITY OF JYVÄSKYLÄ
FACULTY OF HUMANITIES AND
SOCIAL SCIENCES

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ABSTRACT

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Journalism's survival in the digital age has been one of the central questions both in the field and in academic research in recent years. This dissertation takes part in that discussion through an examination of how media organizations and their journalists engage in development work, that is, in activities that aim at ensuring journalism's future through advancements in, for example, the journalistic product and its production process, the journalists themselves, or media organizations. Development work serves as an aggregate concept as it holds within it the dissertation's central concepts of creativity, innovation, and learning. In the study's context, they all highlight the same objective: How to do better journalism so that the institution of journalism survives in the digital age?

The study's context is that of digital journalism, specifically from the viewpoint of information and communication technologies (ICTs) in organizational settings. Contemporary newsrooms are permeated by ICTs, and interaction between members of the newsroom is often mediated by a communication technology, like a chat application. Theoretically, institutional theory serves as the theoretical framework through which development work in the newsroom is studied. Two approaches from the institutional tradition are deployed to explore continuity and change in the organizational field of journalism: organizational isomorphism from neo-institutional theory and institutional logics. Neo-institutional approaches help in explaining stasis whereas institutional logics account for change and variety within the organizational field. Combined, they serve as the analytical tool to 1) examine development work in the context of digitalized media work, 2) account for the role of ICTs for development work, and 3) describe and understand the institutional complexities surrounding development work.

In addition to the Introductory part, this thesis comprises three original articles that examine development work through a qualitative approach. The central argument of this dissertation is that journalism as an institution is adapting to the pressures it faces from other institutions, such as the institutions of technology and the markets, by becoming more collaborative, highlighting technological skillsets, and emphasizing the need for reflexive learning.

Keywords: creativity, innovation, learning, development work, institutional theory, newsrooms

TIIVISTELMÄ

Koivula, Minna
Journalismi muutoksessa: Liike ja pysähtyneisyys nykypäivän toimituksissa
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Journalismin selviytyminen digitalisaatiokehityksen puristuksessa on ollut yksi sekä media-alan että journalismin tutkimuksen keskeisimpiä kysymyksiä viime vuosikymmenen aikana. Tämä väitöskirja osallistuu tähän keskusteluun tarkastelemalla mediaorganisaatioissa tapahtuvaa kehitystyötä. Kehitystyö ymmärretään toimintana, jonka tarkoituksena on parantaa esimerkiksi journalistista tuotetta, sen tuotantoprosessia, journalistia itseään tai mediaorganisaatiota. Kehitystyö toimii väitöskirjassa kattokonseptina ja se pitää sisällään tutkimuksen keskeiset käsitteet: luovuus, innovaatio ja oppiminen. Tämän väitöskirjan kontekstissa nämä käsitteet auttavat vastaamaan kysymykseen siitä, miten journalismi selviää tulevaisuudessa.

Tutkimus sijoittuu digitaalisen journalismin tutkimuksen kentälle ja sen keskiössä ovat erityisesti informaatio- ja viestintäteknologiat organisaatiokontekstissa. Nykytoimitukset ovat informaatio- ja viestintäteknologioiden kyllästämiä, ja viestintä toimitusten jäsenten välillä tapahtuu usein teknologiavälitteisesti. Teoreettisesti työ nojaa institutionaalisen teorian kahteen eri haaraan, neo-institutionaaliseen teoriaan ja institutionaalisiin logiikoihin. Näiden teoreettisten lähestymistapojen avulla tarkastellaan muutosta ja pysähtyneisyyttä journalismin organisaatiokentällä. Väitöskirjan tavoitteena on 1) tarkastella kehitystyötä digitalisoituneen mediatyön kontekstissa, 2) kuvata informaatio- ja viestintäteknologioiden roolia kehitystyössä, sekä 3) kuvata ja ymmärtää digitalisoitunutta kehitystyötä ympäröiviä institutionaalisia tekijöitä.

Väitöskirja koostuu kokoavan osan lisäksi kolmesta tutkimusartikkelista. Tutkimusote on laadullinen. Tutkimuksen keskeisin havainto on, että journalismi instituutiona mukautuu muiden instituutioiden, kuten teknologian ja markkinoiden, aiheuttamiin paineisiin korostamalla yhteistyöhön pohjaavia toimintatapoja, toimittajien teknologisia taitoja ja kykyä refleksiiviseen oppimiseen.

Avainsanat: luovuus, innovaatio, oppiminen, kehitystyö, institutionaalinen teoria, toimitukset, journalismin muutos

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Olen ollut etuoikeutettu väitöskirjantekijä siinä mielessä, että olen saanut tehdä työni pääasiassa tutkimushankkeissa. Aloitin väitöskirjani tekemisen Media-alan tutkimussäätiön vuosina 2018–2019 rahoittamassa Somedia-hankkeessa, josta jatkoin Helsingin Sanomain säätiön vuosina 2019–2022 rahoittamaan Media Work 2030 -hankkeeseen. Kiitän molempia säätiöitä nöyrimmin tutkimustyöni mahdollistamisesta, sekä Media-alan tutkimussäätiötä lisäksi konferenssimatkoihin saamistani apurahoista. Sain viimeistellä väitöskirjani Jyväskylän yliopiston humanistis-yhteiskuntatieteellisen tiedekunnan väitöskirjatutkijan työsuhteen turvin, mistä olen myös äärimmäisen kiitollinen.

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Akateeminen kotini on koko väitöskirjaprosessin ajan sijainnut Jyväskylän yliopiston kieli- ja viestintätieteiden laitoksella. Kiitos kaikille entisille ja nykyisille kollegoille, joiden kanssa olen saanut kasvaa ja kehittyä tällä tutkijanpolulla. Hanketyön lisäksi yksi suurimpia kokemiani etuoikeuksia on ollut se, että kollegat kahdesta eri oppiaineesta ovat toivottaneet minut tervetulleeksi omaan yhteisöönsä. Oma oppiaineeni journalistiikka muodostui tutuksi ja turvalliseksi

kotipesäksi jo perustutkinnon aikana, mutta jatko-opinnot ja väitöstutkimus avasivat oven myös viestinnän oppiaineen suuntaan. Olen ollut uskomattoman onnekas ja onnellinen siitä, että ympärilläni on ollut näin paljon tukea ja kannustusta. Erityisesti haluan kiittää väitöskirjatutkijakollegoitani FM Margareta Salosta ja FM Jonna Leppäkumpua tämän tien kulkemisesta yhtä matkaa. Vertaistukenne on ollut korvaamatonta. Lämmin kiitos myös neuvoistanne, avustanne ja jakamistanne kokemuksista FT Sari Rajamäki, FT Kaisa Laitinen ja FT Mitra Raappana. On ollut onni saada juuri teidät elämääni.

Väitöskirjatyö on luonteeltaan varsin rajatonta, sillä tutkimusteemat pyörivät usein mielessä työajan ulkopuolellakin. Kiitos siis rakkaat ystäväni, että onnistutte viemään ajatukseni muualle ja että kanssanne saa nauraa, itkeä ja jakaa sitä muutakin elämää kuin työtä. Erityiskiitos teille, Laura ja Suvi-Tuulia; kolmisin olemme kulkeneet (tai kontanneet, laahustaneet univajeisina zombeina, haahuilleet – mitä metaforaa haluaakaan käyttää) läpi vauvavuosien ja kasvaneet äiteinä ja vanhempina. Ilman maratonmittaisia WhatsApp-keskustelujamme elämä olisi ollut paljon tylsempää. Kiitos myös paras ystäväni Jenni siitä, että kanssasi saan ajatella pääasiassa täysin muita asioita – kakkuja, Criminal Mindsia, Teeleidin iltapäiväteetä – sillä yleensä muistamme puhua töistä vasta kaikkien muiden asioiden jälkeen.

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Kiitos puolisoni Rauli siitä, että olet jakanut kaikki nämä vuodet kanssani. Sekä arki että juhla kanssasi saa minut usein ajattelemaan, että olen maailman onnekkain ihminen. Yhdessä olemme saaneet aikaiseksi myös kaksi ihanaa lasta. Mauno saapui väitöskirjaprosessin keskelle muistuttamaan minua, että elämän merkityksellisimmät asiat tapahtuvat muualla kuin töissä. Mauno – jokainen hetki äitinäsi on ilo ja jokainen kotiinpaluu on onnellinen, kun saan nähdä sinut minua vastassa. Saapuva pieni ihmeemme – odotamme sinua kovasti.

Jyväskylässä 30.11.2023
Minna

FIGURES

FIGURE 1 Original articles' approach to "technology" 23

TABLES

TABLE 1 Research questions in the original articles 41
TABLE 2 Summary of research data 54

CONTENTS

ABSTRACT
TIIVISTELMÄ
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS
FIGURES AND TABLES
CONTENTS

1 INTRODUCTION 11

2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK 17
2.1 Continuity and change: Institutional theory and journalism 17
2.2 A strained affair: Media organizations and technology 22
2.3 Proposing "development work" 26
2.3.1 Key concepts: Creativity, innovation, and learning 27
2.3.2 Isn't it all just change? 35
2.3.3 Defining and situating "development work" 37
2.3.4 Switching the lens: Development work and well-being 38
2.4 Research objectives 39

3 METHODOLOGY 42
3.1 Philosophy of science in this study 42
3.2 Data collection and research data 45
3.2.1 Data collection methods 45
3.2.2 Article I: Ethnography in a regional newspaper organization 48
3.2.3 Article II: Ethnography in a PSM organization 50
3.2.4 Article III: Qualitative interviews with Finnish journalists 52
3.3 Analysis method: The phronetic iterative approach 55
3.4 Research ethics 60

4 ORIGINAL ARTICLES 64
4.1 Article I: Creativity and Innovation in Technology-mediated Journalistic work: Mapping out Enablers and Constraints 64
4.2 Article II: Practical, not Radical: Examining Innovative Learning Culture in a Public Service Media Organization 65
4.3 Article III: "I Love Learning New Things": An Institutional Logics Perspective on Learning in Professional Journalism 67

5 DISCUSSION 69
5.1 Characteristics of development work 69
5.2 ICTs and their role in development work 73
5.3 Institutional perspectives on development work 75
5.4 Change and continuity in the institution of journalism 80

6 CONCLUSION 83
6.1 Evaluation of the research 83
6.2 Practical implications 87
6.3 Open questions and avenues for future research 89

SUMMARY IN FINNISH 92

REFERENCES 98

APPENDIX I: Interview guide I

APPENDIX II: Interview guide II

APPENDIX III: Interview guide III

ORIGINAL ARTICLES

1 INTRODUCTION

When I worked as a journalist, I had an editor who had a tiny black notebook.

That's where ideas went to die.

I wondered about the notebook for months – for how could it be that a relatively large news organization could rely on pen and paper in the hands of a single person to record all the ideas that people in the newsroom proposed? What made the practice so striking was, interestingly, that I had previously worked in a much smaller organization where ideas were recorded into a section in a digital content management system, and they could be used by everyone in the newsroom. But that tiny black notebook, it ate ideas for breakfast, and they were rarely seen again.

The disparity between organizational practices in how creativity was facilitated in newsrooms launched me on a trajectory toward researching how ideas are treated in media organizations. It is no surprise that the object of my study expanded from mere "ideas" to include a set of related concepts like creativity, innovation, and learning. Innovation especially has been the attention of much research in media and journalism studies in recent years (e.g., Pavlik, 2013; Westlund & Lewis, 2014; Dogruel, 2014; Ekdale et al., 2015; Paulussen, 2016; Boyles, 2016; Evans, 2018; Bélair-Gagnon & Steinke, 2020; Bossio & Nelson, 2021) as it has been seen as an essential ingredient in the economically sustainable future of the media business. Both industry and scholarly literatures are full of concerned journalism enthusiasts calling for media organizations to innovate to secure their survival in the future (e.g., Küng, 2011, 2017; Kwong, 2020). Relatedly, commentators have suggested that creativity also pays a strategic role in media organizations' survival: As journalism is inherently creative work (Deuze, 2019a), employee creativity should be harnessed for innovation (Küng, 2017; Malmelin & Virta, 2016). The message in the field, about a decade ago, was that media organizations need to learn how to make use of the creativity of their employees and turn it into profit-making innovations which are going to save the business (e.g., Küng, 2017; Mierzejewska & Hollifield, 2006).

Driving this "rampant innovation speech" (Evans, 2018) was a set of societal developments that had eroded journalism's traditional business model.

Audiences were less interested in paying for news and rather spending their time with streaming services and social media, political populism was on the rise, and advertisers were abandoning legacy media and especially newspapers for digital options (Picard, 2014). The need for innovation – that holy grail that would help journalism survive – was palpable, which, researchers have since noted, led media organizations to adopt technological solutions without reflection on what problems they help solve in the long run (Posetti, 2018; Evans, 2018). In the past few years, however, the narrative has started to turn away from the technologically oriented, business-focused mindset toward a more inclusive, socially grounded definition of innovation (Bossio & Nelson, 2021; see also Steensen & Westlund, 2021, Chapter 6). Critical voices have also noted how the "crisis of journalism" is notably a Western one, propelled by the fall of big media conglomerates and their established business models while journalism in other parts of the globe is doing relatively well (Mustvairo et al., 2021).

This dissertation project is partly a child of the "frenzied era" of newsroom innovation but much like any other project that takes years to finish, here too, the viewpoints I have adopted have morphed over time. My focus has gone from creativity and innovation toward learning and the institutional conditions that surround these phenomena. Consequently, in this dissertation, I study creativity, innovation, and learning, and their relationship to information and communication technologies (ICTs) through a theoretical framework that draws from institutional theory. The three original articles included in this project examine the phenomena as single, yet intertwined units whereas this introductory part combines them under the conceptual umbrella of *development work*. Development work is defined as *activities performed by journalists that aim at improving journalism through advancements on the individual, team, and organizational levels to better accommodate the requirements set by the contemporary, digitalized media landscape*. The aim of the dissertation is three-fold: First, to describe the characteristics of development work as journalists experience them in their daily work; second, to account for the role of information and communication technologies for that work; and third, to examine the institutional conditions surrounding development work in media organizations.

Theoretically, I combine approaches from journalism research, organization theory, and organizational communication research. I draw especially from institutional theory and its branches of neo-institutionalism (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983) and institutional logics (Thornton, Ocasio & Lounsbury, 2012) to study continuity and change in the institution of journalism. Neo-institutional perspectives have traditionally highlighted the stability and endurance of institutions, but they lack the capability of explaining variety in those same contexts (Ryfe, 2019). Hence, I also adopt the institutional logics perspective for studying development work to be able to explore how the institution of journalism is changing. Moreover, as the central phenomena of this dissertation – creativity, innovation, and learning – are inherently about change, adopting a theoretical framework that can offer explanations from the viewpoints of both stability and change is a reasonable choice.

Studying the processes of creativity, innovation, and learning is justified because of two interlinked reasons: 1) These phenomena can contribute to a more sustainable future of journalism in the Western context, but 2) meaningfully executing them has become increasingly challenging in media organizations as resources have decreased. In the past 15 years, media organizations have been forced to cut down on costs. Consequently, journalists both globally and in Finland have seen layoffs after layoffs (e.g., Harju et al., 2017), most recently in the wake of the Covid-19 pandemic. This has led to a smaller workforce with growing workloads to take on, where the focus of daily work is putting the journalistic product out there for the audience to consume and considerations of the long-term future receive considerably less attention. Recognizing that these pressures hit rank-and-file journalists hard in their daily work, it seems salient to examine how journalists manage to be creative in their work, whether they are able to innovate, or how they learn new skills. Overall, I posit that it is increasingly in the job description of rank-and-file journalists to find creative solutions to problems, to work on developing their own job in the long-term, and to take care of their employability through learning.

From a research perspective, creativity and learning are understudied topics in journalism studies (e.g., Malmelin & Virta, 2016; Stoker, 2020) while media innovation studies have lacked the voice of "regular" journalists – those whose work is not specifically tied to research and development activities but who still need to think about new ways of going about their work on an almost daily basis. However, I am not arguing that creativity, innovation, and learning should be studied because they can miraculously be turned into profit making machines for newsrooms. Rather, I am proposing the opposite: Researching development work especially from the point of view of rank-and-file journalists can help us understand how these processes might be improved in a way that makes them more meaningful for journalists, which will possibly, through gains in well-being, contribute to a more sustainable future for the field. I want to center individual and organizational well-being, not profit.

The need to link development work and well-being rises out of the simple observation that the media field, as it currently operates, cannot proceed to do so at the expense of its workforce. Lay-offs, harassment, burnout – the negative implications of being a journalist in the 2020s – are all taking a toll on those working in the media (for an overview, see, e.g., Bélair-Gagnon, Holton, Deuze & Mellado, 2024). Development work, specifically creativity and learning, however, can be approached as potential remedies: Both processes have proven positive effects on employee well-being and consequently contribute to organizational success (see, e.g., Acar et al., 2021; Watson et al., 2018). Arguing for the well-being implications of development work further links this dissertation to research considering the affective turn in journalism studies (Wahl-Jorgensen, 2020; Kotisova, 2019) even though my main contributions lie in the application of institutional theory to the study of creativity, innovation, and learning as well as ICTs in media organizations.

In this dissertation, I approach technology from three different viewpoints: As communication technology used in newsrooms, as ICTs used for producing and distributing journalism, and as an institution. This focus situates this study in the long line of research on how new technologies are impacting change on journalism (e.g., Kosterich, 2022; Küng, 2017). Research into technology in journalism has taken a few twists and turns in the past two decades: There was the initial excitement over technology's possibilities for renewing journalism (in the form of innovations such as participatory journalism; for an overview, see, e.g., Engelke, 2019), a period of skepticism and criticism, where both industry experts and scholars blamed media organizations for chasing after the "bright, shiny" (Posetti, 2018, 15) new technologies, and now, in the 2020s, an emerging era of a more reflexive technology relationship in organizations. Research in this last phase has also drawn attention to the negative effects of ICTs on well-being that journalists experience while on the web (e.g., Löfgren Nilsson & Örnebring, 2016; Waisbord, 2020; Tandoc et al., 2023). By making technology an object of study, I am not arguing that it is the only driver of change in contemporary journalism (cf. Appelgren, 2023), but note that it is a major force in the field affecting, for example, what kinds of skills are expected of a journalist (Kosterich, 2022) and how workflows are organized in media organizations (Laaksonen et al., 2022). Technology is tightly intertwined with the concept of innovation – at least historically (Bossio & Nelson, 2021) – and, as the original articles in this dissertation show, it also plays a role in creative processes and journalists' learning in the newsroom. My approach in this dissertation aims for reflexivity, that is, I try to provide a nuanced account of how different institutional aspects shape development work while my primary interest lies with technology.

Finally, I also think that journalism as a practice, as a societal sector, as an institution is worth preserving. Reese (2021, 2) notes that "oddly this proposition has not seemed particularly urgent for journalism research, especially those studies caried out on a dwindling number of traditional news organizations and their newsroom employees." That is why here, I am taking the explicit stance of providing both the industry and the scholarly community with *research that helps journalism go forward*. This stance is reflected in a number of aspects in this dissertation ranging from the choice of topic to adopting an analysis method that highlights actionable, useful knowledge as research results (see Tracy, 2020). It should also be noted that this dissertation is not intended as a definitive representation of its themes but more as an ongoing exploration, a process that is still unfolding – an attempt to understand situated phenomena. This view is mirrored in the dissertation's title – Journalism made different – which is a wordplay on the definition of the word "change." Change translates to "something made different," which I am trying to uncover here. How is journalism made different, how does it stay the same? Hence, the journalism that is preserved might not be what we traditionally think of as the journalistic institution but something blurrier and more difficult to define, but journalism, nonetheless.

The central argument of this dissertation is that journalism as an institution is adapting to the pressures it faces from other institutions, such as the institution of technology and the markets, by becoming more collaborative, highlighting technological skillsets, and emphasizing the need for reflexive learning. These adaptations illuminate how journalism as an institution is becoming less clearly defined as categorical markers of "what is journalism" and "who is a journalist" are more challenging to put down. The findings suggest that rather than being independent workers, journalists are increasingly required to collaborate (i.e., journalism is collaboration) and to do that, they need an increasing variety of technological skills (i.e., a journalist is skilled in technologies). Furthermore, the findings also offer ideas on how these changes could be made use of in a sustainable way, that is, through reflexive learning practices. Finally, this dissertation contributes to research on creativity, innovation, and learning by highlighting the viewpoint of rank-and-file journalists and the day-to-day realities of journalists' work and connecting it to the emerging research trend on well-being in the media field (e.g., Bélair-Gagnon, Holton, Deuze & Mellado, 2024; Wahl-Jorgensen, 2020). This is done by flipping the viewpoint on some long-held ideas in journalism studies on how routines contribute to change and stasis in the field – and proposing that we need a new outlook on them.

• • •

A few notes on how this introductory part is written and structured: First, throughout the text I will refer to my research participants as journalists. I take the term in its widest possible meaning as in "a person engaged in journalism" as per the definition of the Merriam-Webster Dictionary (2023). A journalist is in this study considered to be someone whose daily work engages with journalism in its multiple forms. This can be producing it, reporting it, thinking about its publishing formats, managing social media for a news organization and so on. A journalist is, hence, someone whose work is engaged in the processes of journalism and its production. All my participants work either in editorial jobs, in management roles for editorial jobs, or in the somewhat more atypical (becoming typical) editorial jobs, such as social media editors or community managers. Essentially, they all do journalism, but practices and platforms vary. Moreover, I refer to both "I" and "we" as I talk about conducting research. Especially in the Methods section, I use "we" often to signify that the work done is not purely done by me but instead a group of researchers that includes myself. This dissertation is an output of two larger research projects, Somedia and Media Work 2030, which means that I have not done all the data collection, analysis, or writing tasks on my own but rather, I have worked as a member of a research group. On the textual level, I have tried to make sure that the reader is always able to follow who is the "we" that I am referring to and what has been my personal contribution.

A declaration of authorship is thus warranted. All original articles are co-authored pieces but my role in coming up with the research design, carrying out

data collection, doing analysis and drafting up the final reports have been substantial in all articles. In Article I, I was responsible for collecting the whole data set (14 interviews, 9 observations) and analyzing it as well as writing the paper; Villi and Sivunen provided help in the analysis phase, commented on the manuscript, and aided in the revision process. In Article II, I was responsible for collecting 9 out of 10 interviews and for 2 out of 8 observations as well as data analysis and a significant part of the reporting. Laaksonen helped in the analysis, wrote a part of the methods section, and provided comments, Villi helped discuss the analysis and provided comments. Finally, in Article III, I collected 13 out of the 30 interviews, was responsible for the main analysis and writing of the report; Saari and Villi helped refine the analysis and provided comments.

Finally, this dissertation is structured as follows: After the Introduction, I will outline the theoretical framework in Chapter 2 through which I will be interpreting the findings of the original articles. The concept of development work is further introduced there. Chapter 3 will go over the methodological considerations of my work with sections on philosophy of science, data collection and analysis, and ethical considerations of these processes. Further, Chapter 4 provides brief summaries of the original articles, whose findings are interpreted through the lens of institutional theory in Chapter 5. Finally, Chapter 6 focuses on evaluation of the research, practical implications, and avenues for future research. The dissertation also includes three appendixes which contain the interview guides used in the data collections for each original article.

2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This section details the dissertation's theoretical framework in four parts. The first part gives an overview of institutional theory in journalism studies which will provide the overall analytical framework for the interpretation of this dissertation's findings. The second part zooms in on the context of this research by focusing on media organizations and their relationship to information and communication technologies. With the theoretical and contextual stage set, the third part provides a discussion of the central concepts of creativity, innovation, and learning, and proposes the aggregate concept of *development work* with an aim to 1) provide a working definition of development work for the purposes of this dissertation, 2) justify the use of the conceptual device, 3) situate it in the theoretical and contextual framework proposed in the first two parts, and 4) establish a link between development work and well-being. Finally, this chapter on theory closes with a description of research objectives and questions.

As a whole, this section details the theoretical frameworks and concepts I have used in the original articles, namely psychologically safe communication climate (PSCC; Article I), organizational ambidexterity (Articles I and II), innovative learning culture (ILC; Article II), as well as approaches situated in the tradition of institutional theory, that is, institutional isomorphism (Article II) and institutional logics (Article III). This review of literature serves as the background against which I will discuss the findings of the whole dissertation project.

2.1 Continuity and change: Institutional theory and journalism

Institutional theory has been an influential approach in media and journalism research since its second coming in organizational sociology in the 1980s (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Meyer & Rowan, 1977) and eventual adoption to journalism research by scholars like Cook (1998) and Sparrow (1999). Today, it is a widely recognized theoretical approach in the field (Ryfe, 2016). Generally, institutional theory suggests that meso-level variables, like ideas, beliefs, values,

norms, rules, and practices, mediate the relationship between macrostructures such as the economy, politics, or journalism, and the micro-actions of individuals and organizations (Ryfe, 2019). Hence, institutional theory is a structural theory of organized social action where institutions are understood as meso-level mediating structures that lie between larger theories of society and ground-level studies of social groups (Reese, 2021). Journalism research has traditionally understood journalism (or The Press especially in the American context) to constitute an institution because it enables and constrains individuals' choices, extends over space, and endures over time, and presides over a societal and/or political sector (Cook, 1998). Reese (2021, 264) notes that journalism becomes institutional when it "transcends any one person, organizational form, professional community, or set of social practices." The use of institutional approaches is common in journalism studies both on the organizational (e.g., Ryfe, 2012) and media systems (e.g., Hanitzsch et al., 2010) levels of analysis.

As a theoretical framework, institutionalism has a reputation for emphasizing the durability of the institutions it is used to study, and analyses made with its tools often highlight the difficulty of change within organizations and organizational fields (Ryfe, 2016). This tenet is quite natural as one of the defining characteristics of an institution is its durability over time. Consequently, research stemming from this tradition, especially studies making use of neo-institutionalist approaches (e.g., DiMaggio & Powell, 1983) or Bordieu's (2005) field theory, tends to describe journalism and journalists as unwilling to innovate and change and rather underlines the continuity of the institution and its practices (see, e.g., Tameling & Broersma, 2013; Larrondo et al., 2016; Salzmann et al., 2023). On a practical level, institutional theory sees journalism having a set of rules that are learned and understood as cultural consensus of how to do journalism (Hanitzsch & Vos, 2017), that is, an entrant to the field usually learns the ropes of journalism through socialization and copying of colleagues' actions (Ryfe, 2006). The daily work of a journalist is guided by norms, rules, and procedures as well as assumptions about legitimate modes of practice (Ryfe, 2006; Cook, 1998). These characteristics make journalistic work marked by routines which, on one hand, enable journalists to do their work efficiently while maintaining editorial independence (Tandoc & Duffy, 2019), but, on the other, also make learning – other than through socialization – creativity, and innovation difficult (Paulussen, 2016).

Organizational isomorphism is one of the key conceptual devices used in studies that utilize institutional theory in journalism studies. Organizational isomorphism conveys the influential idea that in the face of uncertainty, organizations tend to look at successful competitors in the field and model their behavior after them, which, over time, leads to similarity between organizations and practices in a field (e.g., Meyer & Rowan, 1977; DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). Studies in this research tradition, a branch of organizational sociology, investigate the ways in which organizations adapt to pressure from their external environment (Greve & Argote, 2015). Adaptation often takes place as organizations compete for resources and customers and try to maintain their

institutional legitimacy in the society (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). DiMaggio and Powell (1983) describe three forms of isomorphism in their seminal study of the topic: coercive, mimetic, and normative isomorphism. Coercive isomorphism is based on authority where the organization experiences formal or informal pressures through political influence from the structures upon which it depends. Mimetic isomorphism derives from responses to uncertainty which leads organizations to mimic other successful organizations in the field. And finally, normative isomorphism stems from professionalization and the development of professional norms and collective unity among organizations in a field.

In journalism studies, DiMaggio and Powell's approach has been used widely, especially in relation to mimetic isomorphism (see, e.g., Cools, Van Gorp & Opgenhaffen, 2023; Kuai, Ferrer-Conill & Karlsson, 2022; Meese, 2021). In media innovation studies, newsrooms' inability to innovate is usually attributed to isomorphic behaviors which aim at reducing uncertainty rather than exploiting the uncertain market situation for competitive advantage (e.g., Lowrey, 2011, 2012). In such a situation, media organizations set up innovation labs or projects to remain competitive in the market but lack a clear organizational strategy for innovation (Villi et al., 2020). Media organizations' tendency to focus on short term development projects has been labeled as a chase after the "bright, shiny things" (Posetti, 2018, 15) in which organizations try to adopt the latest technological advances without clear ideas on what innovation means to them and how to draw value from it (Evans, 2018). Consequently, in journalism studies, uncertainty for media organizations has often been seen to stem from new technologies and unstable markets (e.g., Lowrey, 2011), which leads to a paradoxical situation: when the competitive setting calls for innovation, the contextual setting pushes organizations to mimic their competitors.

This particular explanation, often repeated in media innovation research, for journalism's inability to innovate its way out of its bleak economic situation is foremost a Western notion (Mustvairo et al., 2021). Its popularity might partly stem from the relative attractiveness of mimetic isomorphism as a concept: It conveniently explains why a researcher interested in change is unable to find much proof of radical transformation in their object of study, e.g., a newsroom, and why journalism tends to look the same and journalists across organizations tend to take the same steps in relation to changes in the field. Journalism studies' "innovation frenzy" of the 2010s, on the other hand, has generally contributed to researchers' enthusiasm to find empirical evidence of radical change efforts in the field – only to find incremental change in its place – a notion made in organizational ambidexterity research years ago (e.g., March, 1991). Generally, reinventing the wheel and pseudo-progress of theory are symptoms of institutional theory reaching its "middle age" and going into crisis mode, Alvesson and Spicer (2019) argue. At this point, its explanatory power may weaken under its extensive theoretical apparatus – a point which is further discussed in section *6.1. Evaluation of research.*

I use organizational isomorphism in a very conventional way in Article II to explain why journalists at a Nordic public service media company, while

aiming to be radically innovative, end up copying practices from social media platforms. Isomorphism is also referenced in Article III, which explores learning among professional journalists, where I use it to illustrate how a focus on stability and endurance in media innovation studies is an unsuitable focus for studying learning. Indeed, the neo-institutionalist way of researching institutions is in itself a type of "blunt instrument" when it comes to researching change in the media field: by definition, the theory places a focus on the things that make up an institution and the things that make it durable over time (for a new theoretical advancement combining institutional theory and field theory, see strategic action field theory, Ihlebaek & Figenschou, 2023). The central concepts of this dissertation, creativity, innovation, and learning, on the other hand, are *fundamentally about change*. Consequently, studies that try to explain how newsrooms innovate using neo-institutional theory end up often explaining why newsrooms do not innovate. Neo-institutional theory's inability to explain how "old institutions are challenged or repudiated, and new institutions are invented" (Ryfe, 2016, 2) has served as the basis for the theory on institutional logics - which provides the specific theoretical framework upon which Article III is built.

Institutional logics can be conceived of as operating principles for institutionally legitimate behavior through which institutions guide practical action. Institutional logics are

> socially constructed, historical patterns of cultural symbols and material practices, assumptions, values, and beliefs by which individuals produce and reproduce their material subsistence, organize time and space, and provide meaning to their daily activity (Thornton & Ocasio, 1999, 804).

While the neo-institutional approach highlights stability, institutional logics account for change and variety within organizational fields (Thornton et al. 2012). Furthermore, while individual agency in the neo-institutional tradition is often treated as nonexistent, in the institutional logics perspective agency is seen as a situated and embedded phenomenon where both automatic, taken-for-granted behavior and agency and reflexivity are possible (Thornton et al. 2012). Institutional logics theory sees the relationship between an individual and the institution as inherently causal, but the effect is not only top-down, from structure to actor, but rather an incorporation of cross-level (both top-down and bottom-up) mechanisms (ibid). The idea of embedded agency rests on the assumption that institutional logics are both enabling and constraining of individual actions (Friedland & Alford, 1991).

Research making use of institutional logics in journalism studies is only starting to accumulate. In recent years, it has been used to examine, for example, the institutionalization of fact-checking sites (Lowrey, 2017), the adoption of newsbots (Bélair-Gagnon et al., 2020), and the emergence of product manager roles in news organizations (McMullen Cheng & Bélair-Gagnon, 2022; Kosterich, 2022). Scholars have also identified multiple logics that operate in the organizational field of journalism, such as professional logics (Lischka, 2020), technology logics (Russell, 2019; Lischka, 2020; Kosterich, 2022), market logics (Lischka, 2020), and managerial logics (Raviola & Dubini, 2016; Andersson &

Wiik, 2013). Due to the existence of multiple logics, journalism can be characterized as a multi-domain constellation where logics that arise from media organizations' democratic-capitalist operating environment are often contradictory (Lischka, 2020). A classic example of conflicting logics is the clash of professional and market logics in journalism's operation of dual markets: journalism has a societal role to fill as the watchdog of those in power, but it also must make a profit while serving in that role. Hence, from an organizational viewpoint, media organizations represent "hybrid organizations" (Brés et al., 2018, 376) that face logics that are inherently incompatible or even oppositional.

Past research has shown that professional and market logics are traditionally compartmentalized in media organizations through the separation of editorial and business sides of the organization but that they can also become fused in, for example, audience-oriented journalism (Lischka, 2020). In relation to innovation and learning, competing logics present journalists and media organizations with a paradox: the logics need to be balanced in daily work which requires careful coordination and collaboration (Bélair-Gagnon et al., 2020) but may also lead to too much institutional complexity (Oostervink et al., 2016) and put the brakes on creativity, innovation, and learning.

Interestingly, however, the object of study for traditional institutional analysis is shrinking as legacy media organizations and their journalists face a reality in which both their legitimacy in a democratic society and their economic success are under duress. In focusing on aspects of stability and continuity in fixed organizational settings, neo-institutionalist perspectives are, consequently, less helpful in analyzing which aspects lead to the delegitimization of an institution and further, how the process could be undone and possibly reversed, that is, how journalism could be sustained in the future. Reese (2021) notes that it is increasingly difficult to pin down what an institution is in journalism research because its traditional definition is outdated and not suitable for the current media landscape. (The same applies in general organizational research as well; for a discussion, see Alvesson & Spicer, 2019.) Basing his work on Chadwick's (2013) concept of the hybrid media system, Reese argues that journalism studies is in need of a definition of an institution that allows a way of thinking about journalism not predicated on pre-set organizational or professional boundaries. Reese (2021) defines an institution as

> a complex social structure - formed by an interlocking network of rules and activities, roles, technologies, norms, and collective frames of meaning - which work together to sustain its coherence, endurance, and value. (p. 257)

While the original articles of this dissertation are based on empirical work I and my coauthors have conducted in legacy media organizations – those shrinking objects of study – Reese's definition of an institution is a useful tool in analyzing the original articles' findings further. While the definition is general in that it is not a definition of journalism as an institution, it is geared towards use in journalism studies and allows a way to theorize the institutional conditions of creativity, innovation, and learning more flexibly than what a traditional, organization-centric view of journalism as an institution would. In developing

the definition, Reese invokes the concept of assemblage which he defines as a network of emerging and dynamic elements - actors, technologies, logics, and behaviors - that are put together for some purpose (Wise, 2013). Hence, his view of an institution is one of constant becoming, being "under construction", rather than one of stasis and continuity. As an analytical device, the definition of an institution beyond organizational and professional boundaries is one step further from the theoretical approaches that are deployed in the original articles and as such, it gives an opportunity to discuss development work in the context of the constantly changing organizational field of journalism. The following section takes a closer look into the fundamental changes that have shaped journalism in the wake of the development and adoption of information and communication technologies.

2.2 A strained affair: Media organizations and technology

Information and communication technologies (ICTs) have become an inseparable part of organizational life. Much of journalistic work has digitalized in the past two decades: journalists gather information through the web, write their stories in digital content management systems, chat with their colleagues on enterprise social media platforms, publish stories on the web, and share those stories and interact with audiences on social media. In traditional media organizations, ICTs often penetrate the whole newsroom as communication technologies are used for interaction between journalists and managers, journalists and their sources, and journalists and the audience. Some newsrooms even operate fully through communication technologies without the need for a physical office (e.g., Bunce et al. 2018; Hendrickson, 2009). Most definitions of ICTs highlight their diverse nature from hardware and software that enable work to be done to communication technologies that facilitate interaction between people (Laitinen, 2020). This is also visible in the following definition:

> *Information and communication(s) technologies* most generally refers to the devices, applications, media, and associated hardware and software that receive and distribute, process and store, and retrieve and analyze digital information between people and machines (as information) or among people (as communication) (Rice & Leonardi, 2014, 426).

In this dissertation I have been broadly interested in the role of ICTs for the processes of creativity, innovation, and learning. ICTs are approached through three different viewpoints: Article I focuses on communication technologies that are used inside the newsroom to facilitate communication and interaction between journalists and managers. The focus of the analysis is on team level characteristics. Article II also emphasizes the use of communication technology, but the use context is that of external social media, that is, social media platforms used for publishing and distributing journalism. The analysis is conducted on the organizational level. And finally, Article III approaches technology as an

institution with power over the institution of journalism. These different levels of analysis are visualized in Figure 1 and explored further below.

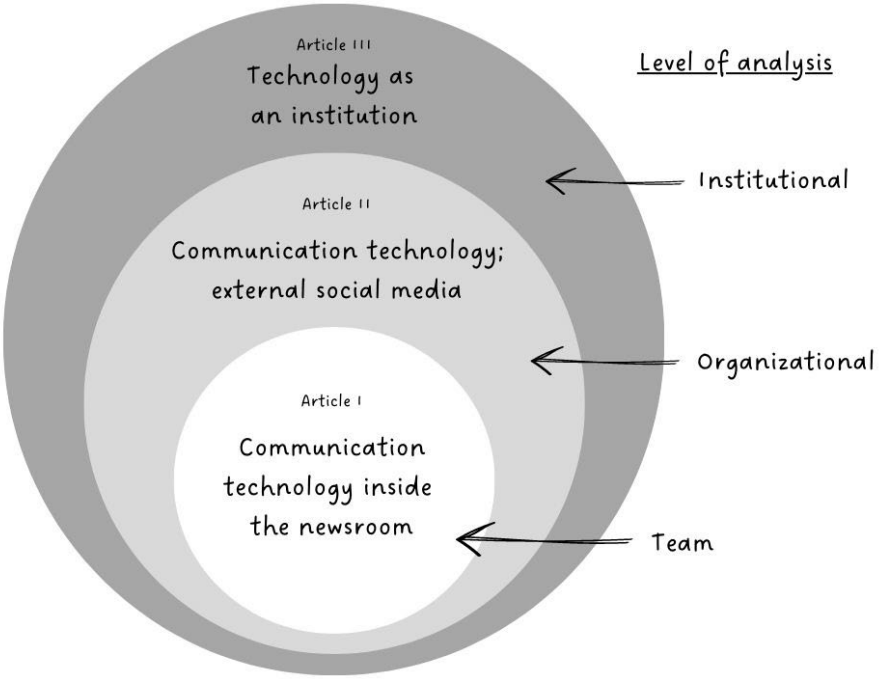

FIGURE 1 Original articles' approach to "technology"

While journalists use communication technologies for a variety of work tasks, the focus of Article I was on how communication technology is used inside newsrooms, that is, between journalists and their peers and journalists and managers. Overall, contemporary work is characterized by collaboration as narrow expertise and complex tasks require employees to cross disciplinary, organizational, and other boundaries to accomplish goals (Edmondson & Lei, 2014). This work is accommodated in organizations by adopting information and communication technologies (Ellison, Gibbs & Weber, 2015) which allow employees to communicate and work together despite temporal and/or geographical dispersion. Past research has noted that these types of communication technologies, when used in organizational settings, increase knowledge sharing and reduce hierarchies (Gibbs et al., 2015; Hendrickson, 2009) and facilitate information dissemination and idea generation (Razmerita, Kirchner & Nabeth, 2014; Turban, Bolloju & Liang, 2011). In newsrooms, communication technologies have been found to increase egalitarian decision making and collaboration between geographically dispersed team members (Hendrickson, 2009; Bunce et al., 2018). However, past research has shown that the opportunities that communication technologies present for organizations do not automatically lead to beneficial outcomes as mere adoption of a communication technology does not mean that it will be integrated into

employees' daily workflows (Kane et al., 2014). Additionally, employees' previous experiences relating to communication technologies shape how the technologies are used and interpreted as part of work (Treem et al., 2015).

In Article I, I examined the creative processes of two geographically dispersed journalistic teams that went about their daily work through communication technologies. Also termed online collaborative software (OCS), the teams made use of an enterprise messenger called Slack that has been widely adopted by newsrooms in recent years (Benton, 2019). Slack is but one communication technology used to facilitate communication and collaboration in newsrooms (other examples include software such as Microsoft Teams, Google Hangouts, Yammer) but its role for the studied teams was essential: As one of the team members stated in an interview, "our team would not exist without Slack." How employees talk about communication technology and what kind of meanings it takes on in a work context is essential for how communication technologies are ultimately used (Davidson, 2006; Laitinen, 2020).

Traditionally, collaboration and coordination in media organizations has been found a challenging task even if ICTs offer increasing opportunities for such modes of work (Westlund & Krumsvik, 2014; Ess, 2014). In Article I, we deployed the concept of a psychologically safe communication climate (PSCC) to examine why the creative process of two teams of journalists was successful despite the teams' geographical dispersion and technology-mediated way of working. PSCC is defined as an atmosphere within a team that is characterized by open, supportive communication, speaking up and risk taking (Gibson & Gibbs, 2006). It is derived from the concept of psychological safety which describes a shared belief between individuals as to whether it is safe to engage in interpersonal risk-taking in the workplace (Edmondson, 1999). Past research has shown that PSCC can mitigate the negative effects of a technology-mediated work setting on innovation processes (Gibson & Gibbs, 2006) – hence, it provided a suitable framework for studying why journalists working in a dispersed, technology-mediated setting were successful in their creative endeavors.

While communication technologies facilitate work inside newsrooms, ICTs shape journalistic work on a wider scale too. Article II, which looked at innovation and learning in a Nordic public service media organization, approached communication technology through an empirical case study centering on a development network that tries to find solutions for doing journalism on social media platforms, such as Facebook and Instagram. A platform is in this context defined as "a programmable digital architecture designed to organize interactions between users" (van Dijck, Poell & de Waal, 2018, 4). Users include end users, corporate entities, and public bodies. Platforms cannot be approached as single entities; rather, they form an assemblage of networked platforms that is geared toward the systematic collection, algorithmic processing, circulation, and monetization of user data (van Dijck et al., 2018). Since their adoption into newsrooms during the 2010s, platforms have become essential features of the journalistic production process.

Platforms shape media organizations' strategic operating environment through algorithmic isomorphism (Caplan & boyd, 2018): The changing distribution environment for news has forced media organizations to change their dissemination practices, adopt newsfeed journalism styles, and include social media specific roles in newsrooms (see, e.g., Boczkowski et al., 2018; Bakker, 2014). Past research has argued that technologies form an institutional structure as they regulate, constrain, and facilitate communicative behavior (Katzenbach, 2012). Indeed, the institutional dependencies between news media and social media platforms have been the object of study for many scholars in the past few years: Bailo et al. (2021) looked at the institutional pressures that changing algorithms cause for media organizations, Vos and Russell (2019) theorized institutional relationships between journalism and Silicon Valley, and Caplan and boyd (2018) suggested that platforms function as administrative mechanisms for news media organizations. This shaping and restructuring of the media field and journalism is essential in understanding the institutional power platforms and technology companies have over journalism (see, e.g., Laaksonen et al., 2022). In Article II, platforms are approached as a vessel of organizational isomorphism, that is, they are seen to shape work in media organizations on the organizational level.

In Article III, information and communication technologies are examined as an institution. The institutional logics literature in journalism studies has put forward a technology logic: Russell (2019) argues that Silicon Valley – not platforms specifically, but the general geographical area characterized by technology companies, their experts, and an overall positive attitude toward innovation and information freedom – can be conceptualized as an emerging institution and that it might have power over the institution of journalism. This belief in the power of technology to solve societal problems is a tenet that gets repeated in later work on technology logics in journalism. Kosterich (2019, 2022), in her work on news nerds, argues that news nerds are professionals who are driven by journalism's democratic agenda and believe that problems can be solved through technologies. Similarly, Lischka (2020) draws on Russell and Kosterich (among others) to support her argument that "technology" is indeed a domain from which an institutional logic can arise from and shape journalism.

Drawing on the characterizations in previous work (Russell 2019; Lischka 2020; Kosterich 2019), the technology logic can be best defined as a belief in digital technologies' capacity to solve societal problems. This logic arises from the emerging institution of digital technology companies, most often situated in the Silicon Valley, who share the idea that every problem can be solved with digital technology and that technology, therefore, serves society. This type of technology logic, however, is often negotiated against a professional logic in journalism. Recent research shows how journalists negotiate the influence of digital technologies with a dominant professional logic: Lischka (2020), for example, points out in her analysis of the Future of Journalism predictions by NiemanLab that expressions of technology were related to two themes: technology as an enabler and the double-edged role of digital publishers. In essence, journalists

often treat digital technologies as a tool to improve journalism and thus reach the normative goals of professional logics. Lischka (2020) goes on to argue that professional logics do not remain static but that they are becoming increasingly infused with the technology logic. The professional logic is used to weaken the role of the technology logic and create a type of hierarchy between them.

Finally, journalism's strained relationship with ICTs is also visible in the "rampant innovation speech" (Evans, 2018; Posetti, 2018) that the industry has been blamed for. This view becomes apparent in the following section which offers an overview of the central concepts of creativity, innovation, and learning.

2.3 Proposing "development work"

"How can journalism survive" has been the question to ask in journalism studies for the past decade. It has spurred a plethora of studies in various subfields such as media innovation research, media management research, and media business studies, among others, in which scholars try to pin down what, exactly, journalists and media organizations should do so that journalism as we know it would not cease to exist. The imperative for research, at least some five to ten years ago, consisted mainly of two things: 1) journalism's economic troubles and 2) technological change (Steensen & Westlund, 2021; Bossio & Nelson, 2021). Usually, the causal explanation offered was that journalism's technological operating environment was changing so rapidly that business models could not keep up (read: first came the internet and then social media, who set the pace, and journalism could only follow). In this line of research both journalists and scholars have been criticized for chasing after the "bright, shiny things" – a term coined by Posetti (2018) and readily adopted by the field (e.g., Min & Fink, 2021; Lin & Lewis, 2022). Two types of studies emerged: those tracking the adoption of new technologies and those critiquing the too descriptive technology adoption studies (see Carlson & Lewis, 2019). But more than a decade has passed so how can we start to answer the original question of how will journalism survive?

In the three original articles that make up this dissertation, I have approached that very question through analyses of creativity, innovation, and learning in journalism. These three phenomena form the conceptual core of my work, but, ironically enough, they vary in how conceptually well-defined each concept is in the scholarly literature. One might ask, for example, where is the analytical line between creativity and innovation? Is learning an antecedent of innovation or part of the process? How does creativity contribute to learning? The answers would vary depending on definitions and operationalizations, of course, but based on my own work and past scholarly literature, it seems fair to ask: Why do we use these interrelated, yet discreetly different concepts when the analytical line between them is so blurred? Could we use them better?

Consequently, in this section I will take up the task of conceptual explication (Reese, 2022) to examine creativity, innovation, and learning in detail and to show how they intersect. The aim is to form a clearer understanding of the

concepts and their interrelations as they are often used interchangeably in previous research. Moreover, my goal here is also practical in making the dissertation's central concepts easier to manage: instead of always repeating the list of creativity/innovation/learning, I will use the aggregate concept of development work to take stock of all the activities journalists perform that aim at improving journalism. The first section outlines the three key concepts, and the following sections build on the explication done here to further argue for the relevance of development work and situate it in a larger context.

2.3.1 Key concepts: Creativity, innovation, and learning

Creativity: Novelty, usefulness, and social judgment

Creativity has remained an elusive concept in journalism studies (Malmelin, 2015; Malmelin & Nivari-Lindström, 2017) even if it has been argued to be inherent in all journalistic work (Deuze, 2019a). Especially in media management research, however, creativity gets touted as the potential solution to journalism's economic troubles through its connection to innovation, that is, creativity has been argued to be a strategic resource which management needs to tap into more effectively to produce more innovations (e.g., Küng, 2017; Porcu, 2020). Malmelin (2015) notes that creativity has suffered from conceptual unclarity due to its abstract nature and resulting contradictory discourses in past studies. While there seem to be no systematic literature reviews on creativity research in journalism studies available, a screening of the literature shows that three definitions of creativity have often been used by journalism researchers in past studies: Stein's (1953, 311) standard definition sees creativity as a "novel work that is accepted as tenable or useful or satisfying by a group in some point in time." Amabile (1983, 31), who draws from the field of social psychology, in turn, provides us with the following characterization: "A product or response will be judged as creative to the extent that (a) it is both novel and appropriate, useful, correct, or valuable response to the task at hand and (b) the task is heuristic rather than algorithmic." And finally, psychologists Sternberg and Lubart (1999, 3) define creativity as "the ability to produce work that is both novel (i.e., original, unexpected) and appropriate (i.e., useful, adaptive concerning task constraints)."

These definitions have key similarities: they all require the elements of novelty and utility and aside from Sternberg and Lubart, also social judgment. In Article I, I made use of Amabile's (1983) work as it stems from the socio-constructivist paradigm in that it sees and treats creativity more as a phenomenon emerging in interaction between individuals rather than as an aspect of individual cognition. In the context of working life, Amabile and colleagues (1996) have identified three components of creativity: creative thinking skills, industry knowledge and expertise, and motivation. They suggest that creativity requires the ability to find alternative solutions to problems, previous knowledge of the structures of one's field, and motivation and appreciation for the work one is doing. These insights make it feasible to apply Amabile's definition to the context of journalism: a journalist usually needs to be aware of previous reporting to make decisions on newsworthiness, know how to

find sources and navigate interactions with them without losing authority over editorial decisions, and is often motivated by journalism's democratic agenda (among other things).

These definitions, however, while useful in determining how we should judge if something is creative, give us less in terms of concretely operationalizing creativity in the context of journalism. Deuze (2019a) helpfully puts to words the challenges of studying creativity in journalism by describing its extent in the field:

> Creativity plays a part in all aspects of the journalistic product cycle, starting with story ideation and inspiration; creative approaches to researching, gathering, selecting, and verifying information; the production process, promoting, publishing, and distributing the news, up to and including creative ways to engage the audience. (p. 130)

A dive into scholarly literature on creativity shows that only a few studies attempt to pin down the "inherent" creative process of journalism while many more focus on describing what creativity is in the field and how it is shaped by the operating environment. Those studies that do engage in figuring out how the creative process works in journalism (e.g., Lam Chan, 2021; Tuazon et al., 2020) often adopt the process model of creativity developed by Csikszentmihalyi. The motivation for deploying a process model to get a sense of the creative process is obvious but leads to a situation where almost anything relating to the journalistic production process is considered within the boundaries of creativity. While previous research explicitly notes (as suggested above by Deuze) that almost anything in journalism *can* be creative, analytically this notion presents us with a dead end: if everything is creative, then also nothing is creative. Empirically this creates a situation where concrete operationalization of creativity becomes difficult and plagued with haziness, which consequently affects the credibility of any findings arising from this type of research.

Hence, instead of studying the creative process, many studies rather describe journalists' descriptions of and experiences about creativity as well as the environment in which creativity takes place. An unclear definition as well as a research tradition that repeats the narrative that creativity is difficult to define encourage researchers to ask their participants to define creativity for them and draw conclusions from that (e.g., Malmelin & Nivari-Lindström, 2017; Fulton & McIntyre, 2013). Fulton and McIntyre (2013), for example, asked their study participants the simple yes or no question of whether it is possible for a journalist to be creative. The answer was a resounding yes and when asked to describe how, a description of the regular production process of print journalism emerged echoing that all aspects of it can be seen as creative. In a similar but much less straightforward fashion, Berglez (2011) tackles the relationship between media logic and creativity with a case study of climate reporting. In the article's findings section, journalists describe how they go about reporting the climate disaster creatively from within, outside, and beyond traditional media logic, which, in essence, results in a detailed description of the production process of journalism, that is, creative practices to do climate reporting. Furthermore, Malmelin and Nivari-Lindström (2017) studied journalists' implicit theories of creativity by operationalizing the standard definition of creativity in a set of questionnaire

items relating to novelty/uniqueness and usefulness. The result: a findings section that covers most of the journalistic production process (e.g., ideation, implementation of ideas, and their commercial success).

Studies that explore the environment for creativity are usually situated in media management research and ask how managers should approach creativity to best utilize it to the media company's advantage (see, e.g., Malmelin & Virta, 2016, 2017, 2019a, 2019b; Mierzejewska & Hollifield, 2006; Küng, 2017). These studies sidestep the issue of clearly operationalizing creativity by focusing on the organization, field, or institutional level factors that shape the creative process. Malmelin and Virta (2016), for example, analyze a development team in a media organization trying to launch a new service and deploy a definition of organizational creativity for their study. Their analysis, however, discusses the organizational conditions that facilitate or constrain creativity in their empirical case. The study is a good example of a management-oriented essay where, on the surface, creativity is the topic but when we look at the operationalization, the object of analysis is something completely else. This is not to critique these – or any other – authors on their decisions relating to operationalization but rather to highlight that many studies that claim to be about creativity rarely study the phenomenon itself and instead focus on its context.

The considerations above also urge us to consider levels of analysis and data collection methods as well as the product/process dichotomy. Traditional creativity research stemming from psychology treats creativity as a trait of the individual's cognition (for an overview, see, Malmelin & Poutanen, 2017), which is a stance quite poorly suited for journalism studies simply because journalism studies' object of study is broadly speaking the institution of journalism rather than individual cognitive capabilities. Instead, scholars in journalism studies have approached creativity through data collection methods that reveal journalists' perceptions of and experiences with creativity through self-reports, such as qualitative interviews (e.g., Fulton & McIntyre, 2013), questionnaires with both closed and open-ended questions (e.g., Malmelin & Nivari-Lindström, 2017; Lam Chan, 2021) and the diary method (e.g., Malmelin & Virta, 2016, 2017, 2019a, 2019b). Hence, the analyses are often situated on the routines and organization levels (see Shoemaker & Reese, 2014), while work on team, institutional, and social system levels of analysis is rarer (see also, Rosso, 2014). Studies that report journalists' views and experiences are, in essence, secondhand reports of the phenomenon rather than direct observations (for an exception, see Nylund, 2013).

Finally, in regard to the process/product dichotomy, past research is not always clear on which aspect it considers. While the process studies (e.g., Tuazon et al., 2020; Lam Chan, 2021) indicate their stance quite overtly, with other types of research on creativity it is much more difficult to discern whether the authors see and treat creativity as a constantly unfolding process, as a relatively stable trait in, for example, the journalistic product, or something else. Part of this ambiguity stems from the abstract nature of the phenomenon itself which is contrasted with academic research's and journalism's need for measurable

outcomes. Klausen (2010), for instance, notes that most definitions of creativity require that the creative process results in something novel and useful and thus expect the process to always reach this stage of fruition to be considered creativity, when in reality many organizational processes go wrong and end up scrapped. Nevertheless, a creative process might have taken place even if the end result did not fulfill the academic definitions' notions of novelty, usefulness, and social judgment. When it comes to innovation, however, the need for a measurable outcome is much clearer.

Innovation: A tool for competitive advantage

In contrast to creativity, the study of media innovation is a more established research (sub-)field within journalism studies. In their systematic literature review on media innovation research in journalism studies between 1990 and 2018, Bélair-Gagnon and Steinke (2020) note that the number of studies examining media innovation has risen steadily in the past three decades. Their analysis shows that while media innovation studies lack a grand theory, researchers have deployed a variety of concepts and theories, including for example diffusion of innovations (e.g., Holman & Perreault, 2022), gatekeeping theory (e.g., Witschge & Nygren, 2009), convergence (e.g., Singer, 2004), and professionalization of journalism (e.g., Barnard, 2016). Methods-wise, media innovation research is characterized by social constructivist and post-positivist notions in that scholars treat innovation as a phenomenon that can be described and measured (Bélair-Gagnon & Steinke, 2020). The authors (ibid) posit that existing literature on media innovation in academic journals casts "media innovation as a means for organizations to improve work methods, foster compelling interactions with audiences, organize and align talents and assets, create complementary products and services, and connect with others to create value" (p. 14). Much like creativity, media innovation is a multifaceted phenomenon that can be examined on multiple levels of analysis and viewed both as a process and an output.

In terms of definitions, value creation in order to increase competitive advantage is the key in innovation. Whereas creativity can be implicit in all processes of journalism, media innovation is usually characterized through its relationship to advancing the organization's business operations. A general definition of innovation highlights the overarching nature and complexity of the concept:

> Innovation is the production or adoption, assimilation, and exploitation of a value-added novelty in economic and social spheres; renewal and enlargement of products, services, and markets; development of new methods of production; and establishment of new management systems. It is both a process and an outcome. (Crossan & Apaydin, 2010, p. 1155)

In my work, I have broadly defined innovation as the implementation of ideas in an organizational context (Amabile, 1996), which can transform into revenues, cost savings, or new areas of business (Lehtisaari et al., 2018). Additionally, in Article II, I have adopted the definition proposed by Garcia-Avilés and colleagues (2018) where media innovation is defined as a media organization's

> capacity to react to changes in both products, processes, and services through the use of creative skills that allow a problem or a need to be identified, and to solve it through a solution that results in the introduction of something new that adds value to the customer or the media organization. (p. 3)

The definition is extensive but raises one clear critique: It does not position the media organization as an instigator of innovation but rather views innovation as a reaction to changes in the operating environment. Hence, a media organization is viewed as a passive player while other actors in the media field drive change. While past research has indicated that especially technological innovation is often instigated outside the media field and that media organizations tend to strategically follow platform companies rather than the other way around (e.g., Bell & Owen, 2016; Laaksonen et al., 2022), not positioning a media organization as the instigator of innovation can be problematic. Downplaying media organizations' agency in the field assumes that innovation efforts in them are purely incremental, and not capable of changing the playing field. Further, the omission also depicts a media organization that is in the hands of institutional forces without power over its own operations. With that said, research is quite unanimous in that innovation that takes place in newsrooms is often incremental rather than radical and aims at small changes in products and processes to sustain an organization economically (Krumsvik et al., 2019).

Incremental and radical innovation are terms that relate to the literature on organizational ambidexterity. Organizational ambidexterity is a framework for researching innovation on the organizational level of analysis and it is widely deployed in journalism studies (see, e.g., Bygdås, Clegg & Hagen, 2019; Järventie-Thesleff et al., 2014; Westlund & Lewis, 2014) as it helps in explaining why media organizations have suffered such significant economic troubles in the past two decades. Ambidextrous organizations are able to balance short-term activities, such as daily news work, with long-term exploration, like developing new products that allow it to respond to changes in its business environment (O'Reilly & Tushman, 2013). Incremental innovations are exploitative in nature in that they often build on previous work through mimicry and only slight additions and modifications are made (March, 1991). Radical, explorative innovation, on the other hand, is the result of "out of the box" ideas which are needed to strategically change where the organization is headed and, for example, find new revenue streams. Incremental innovation is usually concerned with sustainability in the short-term whereas radical innovations are needed for the organization to survive in the long-term (March, 1991; O'Reilly & Tushman, 2013). For media organizations, ambidexterity has not come naturally as the often-hectic daily production of news has been seen to suck out journalists' creative energies (Porcu, 2020; Porcu et al., 2022).

Innovation is usually treated as an organization level concept as it is tied to an organization's success in the future, not individual success. A criticism I have received for both Articles I and II relates to the fact that the studies examine innovation on the team level through the actions of rank-and-file and social media journalists who are not R&D specialists, but in both studies, we justify the research with *media organizations'* need to innovate. A recurring question in peer-

reviews has been "why should we care about the innovative behavior of these people? It's not their job." I argue, however, that innovation will increasingly be in the job description of regular rank-and-file journalists. Especially in mid-sized regional media organizations, the tightness of resources often results in a situation where there simply is not enough funding for an innovation lab or an R&D department. This puts the organization in a tight spot in terms of securing its future (Villi et al., 2020). Consequently, if media organizations want to stay afloat, someone needs to do the innovating. In the original articles, we played with the idea that it could be rank-and-file journalists.

Theoretically, in Article II specifically, we made use of the innovative learning culture framework (ILC; Porcu, 2020) that focuses on the cultural prerequisites of innovation in newsrooms. Essentially, Porcu (2020) argues that ILC is a prerequisite for explorative innovation to take place in legacy media organizations and among journalists. ILC is defined as a social climate that encourages people to work and learn together, to grow as individuals and groups, teams, and organizations, and that provides people with autonomy, flexibility, chances to experiment, to be creative, and to investigate radical possibilities in order to have better chances at survival in the future (Porcu, 2020, 1559). With its clearly operationalized characteristics (see Porcu, 2020, 1564), the framework allowed us to focus on the organization level and examine how journalists, many of whom were not in management positions, innovated and learned in the context of their daily work. ILC highlights the fact that even though innovation is often treated as an organization-level phenomenon, its analysis is still often empirically grounded in the practical work of journalists who are responsible for the innovating and implementing of, for example, new strategies of content production in practice.

ILC is motivated by the economic troubles that face journalism and media organizations today. It has a normative aim in helping media organizations perform better and thus help journalism, which is a justification found in much of media innovation research (Bélair-Gagnon & Steinke, 2020). It should be noted, however, that journalism's economic crisis is mainly a Western notion where "the decadent business model" which granted media conglomerates a monopoly of news and a position of privilege and power no longer works (Mustvairo et al., 2021). Mustvairo and colleagues (2021, 997) note that "this does not mean that journalism is in crisis in the rest of the world." This focus on the Global North is reflected in media innovation studies more broadly: In Bélair-Gagnon and Steinke's (2020) literature review, their sample was dominated with studies conducted in the United States, the United Kingdom, the Nordic countries, Spain, Germany, and Australia whereas studies situated in Latin American, Asian or African countries were in a minority.

Finally, this brief literature review on media innovation in journalism is not complete without a discussion on the concept's relationship to technology. As noted earlier, much of media innovation research has been claimed to be too technologically oriented and hung up on the business aspects (see, e.g., Posetti, 2018; Bélair-Gagnon & Steinke, 2020; Bossio & Nelson, 2021; Steensen &

Westlund, 2021). In the past five years, while making this dissertation, however, the narrative has been slowly changing. A 2021 special issue in *Journalism Studies* aimed to "unburden the language of innovation in journalism to be more inclusive, diverse and socially focused" (Bossio & Nelson, 2021, 1380). Similarly, a media innovation themed issue in *Media and Communication* in 2023 aimed to "move beyond the focus on changing media platforms or where new technologies serve as de facto exemplars of innovation."[1] Consequently, a more well-rounded picture of media innovation is starting to emerge.

Learning: Building routines and increasing skills

While innovation has received a lot of attention from journalism scholars, learning has, thus far, garnered less interest. Learning as a concept has mainly been used in studies relating to student journalists and journalism education (e.g., Stoker, 2015; Valencia-Forrester, 2020) where studies often adopt the perspective of the journalism educator and ask which skills journalism students need in order to be successful in the job market (Örnebring, 2019). Similarly, in the context of professional journalism, skill requirements, that is, the object of learning, have attracted more scholarly attention (e.g., Örnebring & Mellado, 2019) than the process or context of learning. I propose, however, that in the wake of the media field's digitalization and increased precarity in the labor market (Örnebring, 2018), learning as a skill in and of itself has become increasingly important for both individual journalists as well as newsrooms and media organizations. In Article III, I adopt the following definition of learning:

> Learning is an enduring change in behavior, or in the capacity to behave in a given fashion, which results from practice or other forms of experience (Schunk, 2014, p. 3).

Definitions and conceptualizations of learning that have been used in journalism studies mainly come from the educational sciences. The above definition by Schunk is also adopted by Stoker (2020) who examines how early career journalists learn ethical conduct at the workplace. Similarly, in her theoretical essay on innovative learning culture, Porcu (2020) draws from the educational sciences literature in her definition of a professional learning culture:

> Professional learning culture is a social climate in which all members of a newsroom learn by working together to reflect, to research, and to professionalize. This is facilitated by serving leadership, clear communication, support among the members, and mutual trust in each other and the organization (Porcu, 2020, p. 1562).

While Schunk's definition characterizes learning itself, Porcu's definition of PLC suggests what characteristics the learning environment should have for learning to be successful. It is notable that while Schunk's definition can be applied on the individual level too, Porcu's concept is decidedly a social constructionist device which means that a learning culture is something collective and mutually shared. Porcu (2020, 1561) argues that "only a collective learning culture can make sure *continuous* learning in the organization takes place" (emphasis in original). Hence,

[1] https://www.cogitatiopress.com/mediaandcommunication/pages/view/nextissues#UnpackingInnovation

learning is in this dissertation understood as an ongoing process and an enduring change in behavior resulting from practice or experience and it can be shaped by its organizational and institutional contexts.

Journalism research's relative lack of focus on learning can be explained by researcher's extensive focus on innovation on one hand, and on skills on the other. Innovation is generally considered to be the source of competitive advantage for organizations as opposed to learning. Porcu (2020), however, notes that organizations who encourage a true learning culture among their members have the best chances to innovate, obtain advantages over competitors, transform themselves through knowledge creation and survive disruptions in the long run. The central idea is that by encouraging learning, journalists can gain new skills and knowledge, which can later be turned into innovations that turn in profit. Past research has, however, also shown that journalists are a tough crowd when it comes to learning. Studies on mid-career training, for example, have found changing journalists' mindsets and established skill-sets difficult: Salzmann et al. (2023) found that turning print journalists into multitasking, fast-acting smartphone video reporters was a goal that conflicted with the reporters' professional identities. Similarly, Smith et al. (2022) studied the effects of a science journalism course for political reporters and found that there was only a modest increase in the use of scientific material after the training. In a similar fashion to media innovation research, the modest amount of learning research that there is available in journalism studies seems to be pointing toward familiar conclusions: for journalists, change is difficult to implement (e.g., Tameling & Broersma, 2013; Ekdale et al. 2015).

From institutional theory's viewpoint, these findings sound reasonable: Journalists have developed ways of working in institutionally legitimate ways, which, when challenged, seem to espouse themselves into the professional practice even more concretely than before. Learning, as viewed from institutional theory's perspective takes place through socialization where newcomers to the field learn how to do journalism by copying their colleagues' actions (Ryfe, 2006). Stoker's (2020) study on how early-career journalists learn ethics in the workplace is one of the rare studies to tackle the process of learning on its own and her findings support what previous literature suggests: Stoker (2020, 185) shows that journalists in her study drew on their community of practices' "historic and collective wisdom in making sense of ethical approaches to journalistic work." In other words, early career journalists were socialized into the field of journalism by drawing on their colleagues' experiences through collaborative approaches to major stories, in problem solving, by asking questions and observing, finding key information, and through reflections about their work.

In relation to skill requirements, past research has documented how journalists and media organizations arriving at the digital age have been required a novel set of skills. The driver of change in this case has been multimedia production that takes place around the clock, which has forced journalists to find new ways of doing journalism (Örnebring & Mellado, 2019). In addition, journalists have had to acquire a plethora of skills and competencies varying

from dealing with online harassment (Bossio & Holton, 2021), to career skills (Hedman, 2020) as well as using new technologies (Cornia et al., 2016; Min & Fink, 2021). In sum, when studies look at phenomena close to learning, they often either approach it through a case study of a skill to be mastered (like personal branding, e.g., Hedman, 2020) or through a set of skills that the ideal journalist should have (e.g., Chew & Tandoc, 2020). Hence, learning can be characterized as an amorphous object of study in journalism research: it has been examined from multiple viewpoints but not many studies take it as their analytical or empirical starting point.

While learning might seem like the most straightforward concept to define out of the three key concepts, its relationship to innovation and creativity is nothing but. The next section will offer some thoughts on how the concepts are related to each other as well as engage in some critique.

2.3.2 Isn't it all just change?

As the previous section suggests, the analytical line between creativity, innovation and learning is somewhat blurred. In the case of creativity, the overall difficulty of pinning down what creativity is can be considered as the main source of unclarity in relation to the other two concepts: if there is no surety of what constitutes creativity in journalism studies, both researching it independently as well as in relation to other concepts becomes challenging. Some critics of creativity research have argued that, in fact, we should not use creativity as a concept on its own but rather use it in connection with other terms, and study phenomena like creative work and creative products, where the overall concept is anchored into something more easily defined (Runco, 2014). Studying creative work, for example, narrows down the object of study and enables us to focus on practices, for instance, instead of considering the whole production process of journalism, the journalist, the audience, and so on. Furthermore, Markham (2012) notes in his critical essay on the role of creativity in the media industry that creativity has become a smokescreen for precarity. He also criticizes the role of social judgment for creativity:

> …while any ideas or innovations generated as the result of their implementation may be called creative, the extent to which they would be considered so beyond the professional discourse of creativity is moot. -- creativity means nothing more or less than what those working or with a stake in the creative industries say it means. (Markham, 2012, 196)

Creativity's caveat in academic analyses is, hence, its context dependency which allows it to escape scholarly definitions. It is similarly problematic in relation to innovation: some scholars see creativity as informing the beginning stages of the innovation process (e.g., Porcu, 2020), like ideation, whereas others see that it is inherent in all parts of the process (e.g., Küng, 2017). The degree to which the innovation process is creative, however, only matters if one needs to distinguish between the two phenomena analytically, like in Article I in this dissertation. Here, it helps to focus on the tangible aspects of media innovation and

differentiate the two phenomena based on the one defining characteristic of media innovation: a measurable outcome that produces economic gains.

The relationship between innovation and learning, on the other hand, is a bit more straightforward, yet paradoxical. Past research has seen that learning could be an avenue to explorative innovation and thus to media organizations' economic sustainability in the long run. Porcu (2020), the developer of the ILC framework, for example, champions this view in arguing that learning allows journalists to gain skills which can help in innovation and, on the organizational level, help in creating a secure future. However, there is also a contrary view which explains how learning in fact might stop innovation from taking place. In organization theory, there is a view of learning as a mechanism to build routines (Edmondson & Moingeon, 1996). Routines represent an inventory of past learning and may make new learning more difficult to achieve – a notion that is easy to accept both intuitively as well as based on the research tradition of institutional theory in journalism studies. Consequently, learning can be understood as a "faulty mechanism" (Edmondson & Moingeon, 1996, 19) that, rather than straightforwardly leading to skill gains and eventual innovations, may also lead to stasis and the solidifying of existing practices. This view of learning is more thoroughly explored in the Discussion section.

Finally, one might also ask whether it makes sense to study change through these multiple yet overlapping concepts. After all, they all account for the same question – how we can improve journalism – only from slightly different angles. Creativity, innovation, and learning are all essentially about change in the organizational field of journalism, whether it is more implicit, like when we examine creative ways to produce the journalistic product, or more explicit, like with official media innovation projects. Indeed, researching change has been a contested topic in journalism studies in recent years: Carlson and Lewis (2019), for example, argue for more temporal reflexivity in journalism studies in relation to researching new technologies. They highlight the need to more concretely recognizing "passing fads" from more fundamental changes in the industry in scholarly work. Similarly, Lewis and Molyneux (2018) note in their essay on social media research in journalism studies that most studies on the topic treat technology-related change, including social media, quite uncritically as a net positive for journalism, when, the authors show that there is evidence also to the contrary. Lewis and Molyneux's (2018) article is some five years old at the time of writing, so it should be noted that in recent years journalism studies has seen more work on how social media and platforms are harmful to both the institution of journalism and individual journalists (see, e.g., Bossio & Holton, 2021). Overall, Carlson and Lewis (2019) note that as researchers, we tend to be interested in things that are changing, bringing new and fresh angles to our object of study – and in recent years, much of the newness in journalism has come from technology-related phenomena.

The answer to the question asked in the heading of this subsection, "Isn't it all just change?", is yes. Yes, creativity, innovation, and learning are all essentially about change, but analytically they cannot be reduced to just "change"

– each concept has their problems and definitional difficulties but taken together they help in making sense of change in a more inclusive and reflexive manner than just using each one individually. The following section will build on this premise and define development work as a concept – the aggregate of creativity, innovation, and learning – for the purposes of this dissertation.

2.3.3 Defining and situating "development work"

In the previous sections of this chapter, I have engaged in conceptual explication and offered definitions and elaborations on the three central concepts of creativity, innovation, and learning. Above, I propose that what these concepts have in common is their ability to answer the question of "how to improve journalism?" In the following, I will group the three concepts under the umbrella of "development work". Development work will function as an aggregate concept, and, in the context of this dissertation, I define it as follows:

> Development work comprises activities – creativity, innovation, learning - performed by journalists that aim at improving journalism through advancements on the individual, team, and organizational levels to better accommodate the requirements set by the contemporary, digitalized media landscape.

Consequently, development work comprises creativity, innovation, and learning from the viewpoint of improving journalism. The central concepts have, in this dissertation, been analyzed on different levels of analysis: creativity on the team level, innovation on team and organization levels, and learning on individual, organization and institutional levels. Hence, development work, as a concept, lends itself for analysis on a variety of levels from the individual to the institutional.

"Journalist" is in the definition and in this dissertation understood to apply to employees situated in media organizations whose daily work engages the production and/or management of journalism. They do not necessarily need to be reporters; rather a wide variety of roles can be characterized as engaging with journalism (e.g., social media managers, community managers etc.) if the *object* of the employees' work is journalism. The definition focuses on journalists employed by media organizations for two reasons: First, the question of how journalism will survive is pronouncedly an institutional one, but its basis is in the organizational level when it asks how media organizations – and an institutionalized form of journalism – survive economically. Hence, the aim of development work is to uphold institutional forms of journalism often found in established organizational settings. Second, the focus of the original articles in this dissertation is on employed journalists and the organizational settings they inhabit.

The contemporary media landscape in the definition refers to an operating environment increasingly characterized by digitalization and the growing institutional power of the technology field on journalism. As the above literature review on the role of ICTs and the technology sector overall exemplifies, contemporary journalism is increasingly shaped by the technologies it makes use

of both inside and outside the newsroom. Finally, in line with the previously introduced view of an institution as always becoming (Reese, 2021), development work can be thought of as a process concept (Reese, 2022). Development work is not a fixed entity with strictly defined boundaries but rather a phenomenon constantly under construction. With this characteristic, development work also lends itself to a more holistic and reflexive treatment of any activity with an aim to improve journalism – including those that end up failing, being forgotten, or scrapped under organizational pressures.

2.3.4 Switching the lens: Development work and well-being

How is development work related to well-being? In the Introduction of this thesis, I posit that the goal of this dissertation is not only to help media organizations survive economically but also to approach creativity, innovation, and learning as avenues to increased well-being in the field. The relationships between creativity, innovation, learning and well-being have been studied previously in other fields than journalism: Positive psychology, for example, has been interested in finding out how creativity and well-being are linked (e.g., Ceci & Kumar, 2016; Acar et al., 2021) while organizational psychology and the educational sciences have examined the relationship between learning and well-being (Watson et al., 2018; Hanson et al., 2016). Recently, journalism studies too has taken an interest in the happiness and well-being of people working in the field (for an edited book, see Bélair-Gagnon, Holton, Deuze & Mellado, 2024).

Bélair-Gagnon and colleagues (2024) note that journalism is a form of affective labor where the boundaries between personal and professional lines often become blurred. Hence, it is curious that issues regarding engaging in work that contributes to the common good, that fosters a sense of belonging or meaningfulness, and an overall more holistic appreciation of happiness at work tend to be absent from the literature of news organizations. However, the link between creativity and positive affect, for example, is well-established: People have a more open mind when they feel happy, whereas fear, stress, and ambiguity may lead to reduced creativity (e.g., Lee, Chang & Choi, 2017). Moreover, a meta-analysis examining quantitative studies about creativity and well-being showed that there is a significantly positive, yet modest, relationship between the two (Acar et al., 2021). The authors note that the finding may be interpreted at least in two ways: 1) Creative people tend to have higher well-being, or 2) those with higher well-being tend to be more creative. The direction of causality is difficult to infer mainly because the effects may work both ways: Creative people may have higher well-being because creativity can entice a positive mood but also because creative thinking and activity play a crucial role in the self-actualization of creative potential.

The ties to journalism practice are tangible as scholars have noted how, as a practice, journalism is inherently creative and enables the individual journalist to be creative in various ways (e.g., Deuze, 2019a). Hence, journalism as a professional practice has the potential to induce well-being in those who engage in it – but much like any other work, the realities of producing journalism in a

digitalized, high-speed environment also brings about stress and fear (e.g., Porcu, Hermans & Broersma, 2022).

Similarly, Watson and colleagues (2018) note in their review of literature on learning in the workplace and well-being that learning opportunities can deliver important well-being outcomes for individuals and beyond: Individuals' ability to either protect their own well-being through learning or develop capabilities to become more skilled and proficient in their role will impact work relations with colleagues and wider organizational outcomes positively. Generally, there is evidence that learning is associated with well-being (Duckworth & Cara, 2012) and that well-being is associated with organizational performance (Whitman, Van Rooy & Viswesvaran, 2010). Training and development opportunities at work can hence be seen as beneficial to employee well-being – and, in contrast, there's also evidence that when learning opportunities are scrapped, because of efforts to maximize profit, this can be at the expense of well-being (Lantz Friedrich, Sjöberg & Friedrich, 2016).

If creativity and learning are thought of as essential parts of both organizational life generally and innovation processes in organizations specifically, development work's role for the meaningful survival of media organizations in the future becomes obvious. Fostering opportunities for creativity and learning will benefit media organizations not only just through enhancing innovative processes and effective problem solving but also through gains in employee well-being. Consequently, harboring an organizational culture in which development work is possible and encouraged will help media organizations both survive economically as well as maintain a workforce that is committed to journalism and to the organization that helps them produce it.

2.4 Research objectives

In the light of the literature reviewed in the previous sections, this research aims to describe and understand development work in media organizations through a theoretical lens offered by institutional theory. This dissertation has three interlinked objectives: First, to describe and gain an understanding of the characteristics of development work in media organizations; second, to account for and understand the role of information and communication technologies for development work; and third, to examine the institutional level conditions under which development work takes place. To that end, the study poses three research questions:

1. What are the characteristics of development work as experienced by journalists in their daily work?
2. What is the role of information and communication technologies in development work?
3. What institutional level factors shape development work in media organizations and how?

Consequently, the dissertation has two different but intertwined objects of study, development work and the role of technology, which are examined through the lens of institutional theory. The three original articles included in this dissertation present a total of five research questions and all contribute to answering the three overarching questions outlined above. The questions presented in the original articles are summarized in Table 1.

In relation to previous research, this dissertation aims, on one hand, to produce new knowledge on how the central concepts of creativity, innovation, and learning operate in the context of journalism and its digitalized operating environment, and on the other, to increase the general understanding of how information and communication technologies shape the processes related to the three central concepts. Moreover, the dissertation connects empirical findings about these issues to previous theoretical frameworks, specifically from institutional theory, and aims to advance theoretical understanding of them while also providing actionable information for the journalism industry.

These aims and the related research questions are approached through qualitative research materials: Two ethnographic data sets and one set of semi-structured qualitative interviews. The characteristics of development work are explicitly examined in the first research questions of the first two original articles, while the role of technology is explicitly mentioned only in the second research question of the first study (see Table 1). However, the second and third studies also speak substantially to information and communication technologies' role in development work as the findings of the analyses in those studies highlight journalism's technological operating environment. The articles vary in their use of theories and concepts, as well as levels of analysis as the first original article focuses on creativity and innovation on the team level, the second on innovation and learning on the organizational level, and the third on learning on the individual and institutional levels. Consequently, the articles shed light on development work and technology's role for it from a variety of viewpoints and collectively contribute to answering the dissertation's overarching research questions.

TABLE 1 Research questions in the original articles

Article	**Research questions**
I Koivula, Villi & Sivunen (2023) *Creativity and innovation in technology-mediated journalistic work: Mapping out enablers and constraints*	1) What kind of factors enable and constrain idea sharing and development in a dispersed team of journalists in a technology-mediated work setting? 2) How is idea sharing and development shaped by a technology-mediated work setting in dispersed journalistic teams?
II Koivula, Laaksonen & Villi (2022) *Practical, not radical: Examining innovative learning culture in a Nordic public service media organization*	1) What characteristics of innovative learning culture can be identified in a development network operating in a public service media organization, and how do the characteristics manifest in the network's working practices? 2) What are the contextual factors that shape innovative learning culture in the network?
III Koivula, Saari & Villi (2023) *"I love learning new things": An institutional logics perspective on learning in professional journalism*	1) In professional journalists' descriptions of learning, which institutional logics can be identified and how do the logics manifest?

3 METHODOLOGY

3.1 Philosophy of science in this study

The following section will give an overview of the philosophical assumptions underpinning this research. I will present the ontological and epistemological premises that guide how the study sees and treats "reality" and "knowledge" respectively, and how these views are reflected in decisions relating to, for example, theory use and methodological choices.

The overall research approach in this dissertation draws from constructivism. Constructivism maintains that scientific knowledge is constructed by scientists and that knowledge of the world is always a human and a social construction (Myers, 2020). More specifically, the meta-theoretical view adopted in this dissertation is Critical Realism (CR) which assumes a realist ontology, a relativist epistemology, and judgmental rationality (Bhaskar, 1989/2011). In essence, CR assumes that there exists a world outside an independent observer, but knowledge about that world is socially constructed and always fallible (Benton & Craib, 2011). CR treats the world as theory-laden, but not theory-determined (Fletcher, 2017). It does not deny that there is a real social world we can attempt to understand or access through social science, but some knowledge of it can be closer to reality than others (Benton & Craib, 2011). CR's ability to engage in explanation and, in some cases, causal analysis makes it useful for analyzing social problems and suggesting solutions for social change (Fletcher, 2017).

The CR approach does not equate ontology with epistemology, i.e., what is real cannot be reduced to our knowledge of that reality (Fletcher, 2017). This view suits the purposes of journalism research well (Ekström & Westlund, 2019; Wright, 2011): Journalists have traditionally had a problem with overtly constructivist approaches to reality as journalists claim to report the facts of something that is outside themselves, i.e., journalism is about covering "real world events" outside itself (Wright, 2011; Godler & Reich, 2013). Journalism

practice is, therefore, rooted in a realist ontology which is, to this day, reflected in journalists views regarding the object of their reporting: 44 percent of respondents to the latest wave of the international Worlds of Journalism study in Finland agreed with the statement that "it is possible to present an objective reality in reporting" (Väliverronen et al. 2023, 54). Moreover, as journalism is one of the most influential knowledge-producing institutions in modern society and much of its legitimacy rests on claims of neutrality, objectivity, factuality, and transparency, adopting a realist ontology answers to the professions' goal of providing the society with authoritative, accurate and verified knowledge about daily events (Barnhurst, 2015; Carlson, 2017).

Communication research and journalism research as its (independent) subfield, especially in the qualitative tradition, however, have often drawn from the more interpretive, constructivist approaches to reality where reality is seen as socially constructed and meaning is seen to emerge from interaction between individuals (e.g., Scwandt, 2000). In the words of Gergen (1985, 267), "terms acquire their meaning not from real-world referents but from their context of usage." In line with this view, epistemology in journalism studies has been traditionally approached from a sociological viewpoint (Ekström & Westlund, 2019). In the sociology of epistemology, knowledge is studied as a social phenomenon and questions such as how knowledge is produced and used, and how knowledge claims are justified in different social contexts and institutions, such as news journalism, are considered (Ekström & Westlund, 2019; Ettema & Glaser, 1987). The classical newsroom studies of the 1970s and 80s drew from organizational theories and constructivism (e.g., Tuchman, 1978; Schudson, 1989) to study news production and its routines as socially constructed phenomena. From these studies onward, Ekström and Westlund (2019) note, scholars in journalism studies have been trying to understand news production in a social context "without falling into the dead end of radical constructivism."

In an attempt to avoid both naïve realism as well as radical constructivism, Critical Realism has been proposed as a solution to journalism research's ontological and epistemological struggles (McDevitt, 2022; Guardino, 2020; Ekström & Westlund, 2019; Wright, 2011; Lau, 2004). In CR, reality consists of layered strata. The most basic domain, as described by the meta-theory's developer Bhaskar (1989/2011), refers to the domain of the real. It consists of generative mechanisms typically not subject to direct observation. These forces can potentially take shape in the next level of reality called the domain of the actual. The top layer, the domain of the empirical, consists of perceived events. Thus, CR is an ontological framework of emergence (Bhaskar, 1989/2011). As Wright (2011, 162) notes, however, emergence is not a bottom-up process but "a complex web of feedback between the different layers of reality." Journalism as in journalistic products, stories, can be said to operate mainly on the level of the empirical, while journalism research, on the other hand, can aim to uncover more of the underlying mechanisms (Lau, 2004).

The ontological and epistemological stances in the three original articles of this dissertation can be placed on a continuum between more constructionist and

more critical realist approaches. Article I, which examines creativity and innovation in journalistic teams in a technology-mediated setting, can be situated near the constructivist end of the continuum. In the article, creativity and innovation are defined as phenomena that materialize in communication between team members, i.e., creativity on the team level is socially constructed (Kristensson & Norlander, 2003). Creativity and innovation are operationalized as ideas and their development pertaining to story topics, working processes and the like. The study's contribution rests partly on the introduction of the concept of a psychologically safe communication climate (PSCC) (Gibson & Gibbs, 2006) into journalism studies. PSCC is about how team members view the team's communication climate which should, ideally, be characterized by open communication and feelings of safety. While PSCC is a constructionist concept, the findings section of the article also outlines team characteristics such as team dispersion and team history as factors that shape the creative process in technology-mediated work. These aspects can be seen as existing outside the team members' socially constructed realities.

In Article II, I and my coauthors adopt the Innovative Learning Culture (ILC; Porcu, 2020; Porcu, Hermans & Broersma, 2021) framework to study innovation and learning in a Nordic public service media organization. ILC is rooted in social constructionist approaches: Porcu (2020) writes that organizational culture can be expressed in language, stories, and rituals and its meanings are shaped by organizational members because culture is produced in social interaction and the processes that derive from these interactions. Organizational culture is in the framework seen as "the whole conscious and unconscious assumptions, norms and values of members of an organization (or group), processed by spontaneous construction and dynamic sense making among members, resulting in concrete expressions or artefacts" (Porcu, 2020, 1560). Methodologically, we adhere to the original framework's notion of social constructionism in that we utilize qualitative data of observations, interviews, and chat logs that detail communication behaviors and perceptions to approach our research questions. In the discussion section of the article, however, I and my coauthors argue that ILC lacks a holistic understanding of the institutional level influences that shape innovation and learning processes in media organizations. We outline these institutional level factors as journalistic practice, technologies and platforms, and organizational strategy. While they could also be socially constructed, our treatment of them echoes the view that they exist outside the study participants' socially constructed reality as something existing independently of observation.

Finally, in Article III, we adopt institutional logics theory (Thornton, Ocasio & Lounsbury, 2012) to explore which institutional logics shape learning in professional journalism. Institutional logics are defined as "socially constructed, historical patterns of cultural symbols and material practices, assumptions, values, and beliefs by which individuals produce and reproduce their material subsistence, organize time and space and provide meaning to their daily activity" (Thornton & Ocasio, 1999, 804). Institutional logics theory is originally realist in nature: it assumes that logics and their causal effects are real in the sense that

they "exist independently of a researcher's analysis of them" (Ocasio, Thornton & Lounsbury, 2017, 511). While the authors follow a realist ontology in their own research, they acknowledge that the utilization of the theory does not necessitate the adoption of their ontological stance. As I utilized a qualitative approach in the study, arguing for strong causal relationships between the logics identified in the analysis and the journalists' experiences of learning was not feasible. However, through a close reading and analysis of the interview material, we can capture how the logics may shape journalists' learning. This is because "vocabularies and language are central to meaning, linking individual cognition and social interactions to culture at the level of organizations and institutional fields" (Thornton et al., 2012, 102). In short, while the causal mechanisms between logics and individuals cannot be inferred from qualitative material, the nature of the social structure in operation may still be approached through rigorous qualitative inquiry (Fletcher, 2017).

Overall, Critical Realism reflects how this dissertation approaches the production of scientific knowledge: CR regards knowledge production as a process that necessitates work. As some events on the empirical level may appear to be one thing but in reality they may be something else, their true form can only be approached through the scientific method (Benton & Craib, 2011). This implies that theories need to be used and tested, and that old theories are open to correction – an exercise taken up in this dissertation.

3.2 Data collection and research data

The data collection strategy adopted in this dissertation is qualitative. The data sets can be grouped into two categories: ethnographies and interviews. Articles I and II make use of ethnographic data sets that consist varyingly of observations, interviews, and digital chat data, while Article III makes use of a larger set of qualitative, thematic interviews. All data sets were collected between 2018-2020 as part of research projects. The ethnographic data sets come from the "SOMEDIA - Enterprise social media as an enabler and promoter of innovation in Finnish media organizations" project, and the interview data set from the "Media Work 2030 - An interdisciplinary approach to media work in the age of digital disruption" project. Somedia was interested in digital innovation work in media organizations while Media Work 2030 focused on digitalization and well-being in media work. Below, each data collection method and data set is described in more detail. A summary of the data sets can be found in Table 2.

3.2.1 Data collection methods

Ethnography allows a researcher to understand the broader context within which people work (Myers, 2020; Kramer & Adams, 2018). It allows a researcher to try to understand why individuals do things (e.g., their motivations) and how they

do them (e.g., the process) (Pratt & Kim, 2012). Hence, ethnography is a suitable method of inquiry for this study as the study's overarching aim is to describe and understand development work carried out by journalists in newsrooms, that is, in an organizational context. Myers (2020) notes that studying organizational culture with ethnographic methods often requires extended periods of time spent doing fieldwork through which an understanding of the unwritten rules of how things work or how they are supposed to work can be discerned. Ethnography is, hence, explicitly an interpretive activity where the researcher is an active participant in the research process (Singer, 2009). The goal is to gain an insider's perspective of the studied organization (Kramer & Adams, 2018).

In adopting an ethnographic approach to studying development work in newsrooms, this study becomes a part of the research tradition of newsroom ethnographies (for an overview, see Robinson & Metzler, 2016). In the 2020s, ethnography in a media organization is characterized by digitalization: Much of newsroom discussion has moved to online spaces which are less visible to the organizational ethnographer than physical events in the newsroom (e.g., Bunce, Wright & Scott, 2018; Nylund, 2013) and require specific maneuvers to get access to (Steensen & Westlund, 2021). Many newsrooms rely on chat-based applications like Slack or full-on enterprise social media systems like Facebook Workplace to facilitate communication and interaction between different stakeholders in the organization (Bunce et al., 2018). Gaining access to these digital spaces is crucial for understanding the context of contemporary work in journalism (e.g., Hendrickx & Picone, 2022).

The two ethnographic data sets comprise semi-structured interviews, observations, and digital chat data. Below, I briefly discuss interviewing and observing as data collection methods as well as shed some light on the collection of chat log data. Generally, qualitative interviewing has been likened to having "night-vision goggles" (Rubin & Rubin, 2011, p. vii) on you: Interviews enable the researcher to discover and probe into topics, themes, and phenomena that may otherwise remain hidden or unseen. Tracy (2020) portrays qualitative interviewing as an opportunity for mutual discovery, understanding, and reflection via an organic and adaptive path. She argues that interviews are "as much about rhetorically constructing meaning and mutually creating a story as they are about mining data gems" (p. 156). Interviews conducted in both ethnographies were semi-structured in nature meaning that interviews were guided with a set of themes and related questions but deviances from those themes and pre-set questions were also possible. The same applies for the larger interview data set used in Article III. Hence, interview guides were used flexibly to stimulate discussion rather than dictate it (Roulston & Choi, 2018).

Utilizing semi-structured interviews as a data collection method requires reflexivity on the part of the researcher as interviews are not neutral exchanges of information but active, embodied processes where the researcher almost always has more power over the direction of the dialogue and topical emphasis (Kvale, 2006; Tracy, 2020). The researcher self becomes evident in the process of interviewing, in the co-creation of stories with the interviewee (Brinkmann, 2018;

Lillrank, 2012). Roulston and Choi (2018) note that for researchers who hold an insider's view on the topic they are researching, preparing for and conducting an interview will be different compared to scholars with less knowledge on the research topic. For me, advance knowledge about the organizations we were researching and my personal experiences as a journalist functioned as primers for the interviews and shaped what kinds of questions I asked. Moreover, past experiences both as a journalist and as a student doing research interviews have shown me that I approach interviews as conversations between people rather than as a set of questions and answers leading to new information, which shapes how I ask questions. Through this self-reflexivity, I tried to control how much my subject position influenced the research and data collection processes.

Observations conducted in both ethnographies were a form of participant observation where the researcher attempts to gain an understanding of the beliefs and motives of the people they are researching from the inside (Myers, 2020; Diamond, 2006). This means that engaging with people while doing fieldwork is necessary and required to start seeing things from the people's point of view. Participant observation is grounded in events from which descriptions and stories are derived, and if there are stories, "there has to be an author/researcher active in their production" (Diamond, 2006, 59). In other words, there is no room for an invisible author in organizational ethnography and participant observation. Indeed, both ethnographic data sets are shaped the way they are because of my and my colleagues' presence at the site of research. My level of participation in the two organizations we researched could be described as "observer as participant" (O'Reilly, 2009) where, depending on the situation at hand, I either stayed on the sidelines of the meetings I observed or when addressed, took part in the actual meeting. For the most part, however, I simply made my presence known at the beginning of each meeting I observed and participated when, for example, asked a question or an opinion.

Finally, to capture organizational life more holistically, we also collected digital materials, like chat logs, slideshows, and links to sources. These data functioned as tools for contextualizing what took place in the organizations we studied and provided supplementary material for analysis (Billups, 2021). As noted above, doing meaningful newsroom ethnography in contemporary newsrooms requires access to more than just the physical newsroom. To see more of what is going on in a newsroom, an ethnographer needs access to the digital spaces where journalists, managers and the various other professionals in the newsroom communicate and interact with each other (Steensen & Westlund, 2021). These data, used in varying ways in the original articles, provide key insights into the organizations and the daily lives of journalists and enabled us to capture more accurately the environment in which journalists work. The following sections draw a more detailed picture of the data sets and the contexts in which they were collected.

3.2.2 Article I: Ethnography in a regional newspaper organization

The first data set, collected in the Somedia project in September-December 2018, consists of qualitative thematic interviews (n=14), observations of team meetings (n=9) and digital chat data. For the purposes of Article I, the interview and observation data were utilized in the analysis. We – I and a doctoral researcher colleague – collected data from two dispersed teams of journalists (with six and eight members in each team) going about their daily work through communication technologies. I either conducted or was present for all the 14 interviews and observed all nine meetings jointly with my colleague. The teams were situated in a large Finnish media conglomerate that owns and publishes a variety of local and regional newspapers. The teams, one producing a weekly feature-section for the Sunday paper (the feature team) and the other producing national news every day of the week (the news team), consisted of journalists employed by different newspapers owned by the conglomerate. Journalists in the conglomerate's newspapers could apply to become a member of one of these teams and if accepted, they went on to work in the teams for two or three years after which they returned to their earlier positions in their home organizations.

At the time of data collection, the feature team consisted of four journalists, a graphic designer, and an editor, with the latter two being placed permanently in the team. The team produced a weekly Sunday section for its four client newspapers and its production was heavily geared toward print publication even if all stories were also published online. As the name suggests, the feature team produced long-form feature journalism and it had specific story types that appeared on the paper every week. The print-heavy publication tactic and its 20-year history as an award-winning feature section were echoed in the team member's working practices (e.g., story selection, graphic design choices).

The news team was a newer addition to the conglomerate's portfolio: At the time of data collection, the team was merely two years old. It consisted of a producer and seven journalists with the producer being the only permanent member. The news team had 11 client newspapers and its goal was to produce news that would garner national attention. Success in the team was measured via citations in other media outlets which guided the team member's working practices (e.g., decisions relating to newsworthiness, interviewee selection). Neither team experienced changes in membership during the four-month data collection period (September-December 2018) but shortly after we left the scene both teams went through changes as journalists returned to their home organizations and newcomers replaced them.

A distinct feature of both teams' everyday operations was their use of communication technology to organize work and facilitate all types of communication and interaction between team members. Both teams were dispersed in nature: in the feature team, four members (editor, graphic designer, two journalists) worked in the same physical location and two journalists worked remotely; in the news team, a maximum of two members were in the same office. The teams utilized the same technologies for communication: The online collaborative software (OCS) Slack was used for chat-based communication and

Google Hangouts for videoconferencing. Both teams had adopted Slack as their main avenue of communication, but it was a shadow channel not sanctioned by the conglomerate's IT department. After the data collection period was over, both teams were forced to migrate to Microsoft Teams.

Interviews. We interviewed all members of the two teams which resulted in a total of 14 interviews. Semi-structured interviews were carried out in October-November 2018. Five interviews were conducted face-to-face, one via telephone and eight through Google Hangouts. Six of the interviewees identified as male, and eight of them as female. Their age range was between 35 and 61 years and they had experience in the field of journalism from five to 35 years. All of them also had a higher education degree. The interview guide covered four themes: work as a journalist, creativity in journalism, innovation in journalism, and technology-mediated work and work-life boundary management. For the purposes of Article I, the section relating to work-life boundary management was not analyzed. The interview guide can be found in Appendix I. In length, the interviews ranged from 40 to 100 minutes and averaged at 69 minutes. All interviews were recorded and transcribed to text. The transcriptions total at 263 pages (12-point font in Times New Roman with a line-space of 1.0).

Observations. We observed altogether nine team meetings: four in the feature team and five in the news team in parallel during a four-week period in November-December 2018. As the weekly meetings took place on Google Hangouts, we joined them once from the feature team's newsroom and during subsequent observation times through our own computers from the university. All meetings were recorded with a screen-recording software and the recordings were stored on the university's secure server. In addition, a total of 66 pages of field notes were made during the observations.

The feature team had weekly meetings on Mondays and Thursdays. Mondays were dedicated to updates on ongoing story projects and brainstorming new ones, Thursdays for check-ups that the current week's issue was coming together as planned. The feature team's meetings averaged 26 minutes with the shortest taking 17 minutes and the longest 37 minutes. The news team had a weekly meeting on Tuesday mornings which consisted of feedback on past stories, updates on ongoing projects and ideation of new topics. In addition to the weeklies, we attended one meeting specifically dedicated to brainstorming new story ideas for the then upcoming Christmas holiday season. The news team's meetings averaged 29 minutes with the shortest taking 11 minutes and the longest 45; the idea generation meeting lasted 94 minutes.

Chat log data. While the original idea was to collect chat log data from the Slack workspaces of both teams, we ran into technical problems with one of the teams and ended up in a situation where we were able to secure the chat logs of just one of the teams. Hence, Article I does not specifically make use of chat log data but relies on two sources of information regarding the use of Slack: the team member's reflections of the platform from the interviews as well as my personal experience of spending four months on the platform with the interviewees. I was granted access to both teams' Slack workspaces for the duration of the data

collection period (September-December 2018) which allowed me to observe the teams' working practices and get familiar with their routines of communication in real time. While not explicitly mentioned in the Data and methods section of Article I, this observation of the teams' use of Slack contributed to my understanding of how the teams go about their work and allowed me to better reflect on the team members' experiences and anecdotes brought forward in the interviews.

3.2.3 Article II: Ethnography in a PSM organization

The second data set collected in the Somedia project similarly consists of interviews (n=10), observations (n=8), and chat log data from different sources but the organizational context is rather different compared to the first data set described above. In February-June 2019, we – I and a post-doctoral researcher – spent six months collecting data at a Nordic public service media (PSM) organization. I collected nine out of ten interviews and two out of eight observations while the post-doctoral researcher collected one interview, six observations, and the digital materials. The organization produces journalism for TV, radio, and online and in size, it is one of the biggest players in its national media field. Our focus was on a network-type team of organization members organized around the production of journalism for social media. Essentially, there was a network of employees inside the organization sharing best practices, learning from each other and outside experts about how to produce journalism for social media platforms. The network also facilitated more general discussions about journalism's future, but all talks nonetheless centered around new technologies and their impact on the media. The network organized weekly meetings around different topics, and members communicated about the network's central themes on multiple digital platforms.

Observations. We observed a total of eight weekly meetings organized by the network which resulted in approximately 20 hours of observation and 46 pages of single-spaced fieldnotes. I carried out two of the observations (one in-person at the organization, the other remotely through Hangouts) and a post-doctoral researcher did the remaining six. We took a copious amount of fieldnotes of each meeting and shared them with the project team usually immediately after a meeting had ended. The fieldnotes and the researchers' initial thoughts about the meetings were discussed on the research project's internal Slack channel as a way to begin processing the data already as it was being collected.

The weekly meetings usually consisted of two distinct sections: first, an invited presenter either from the organization or an outside expert would give a talk on a relevant topic. Second, a discussion would usually follow, where participants presented their thoughts and questions. The atmosphere of the meetings was informal, and questions and discussions were encouraged. Examples of topics include an introduction to TikTok, how to use the power of Facebook groups to drive traffic and engagement, the future of biometric data in storytelling, and the experiences of two journalists from a recent conference trip.

The participants of the network were a varied group: they came from all around the organization (e.g., newsroom, archival unit, radio) but most attendees somehow dealt with social media production in their daily work. The meetings had about 160 people on the invitation list but only about 20 usually participated.

In addition to the fieldnotes, we also collected digital materials from the meetings when they were available. These include pdf-files of presentations, links to the organization's strategy that is publicly available on the web, links to videos shown in the meetings and pictures of the spaces where the network gathered. These materials were used to enrich the data set but served a lesser role in the analysis of Article II.

Interviews. We interviewed ten active members of the network. One of them was the Head of social media at the organization who also spearheaded the network and was the one to organize the weekly meetings. The interview with the Head of social media was conducted face-to-face by a post-doctoral researcher and the rest of the interviews with network participants were collected remotely through phone and videoconferencing software by me. In addition to background information about the interviewee, the interview guide covered three themes: work as a journalist, social media and innovation, and teams and technologies. The interviews were semi-structured in nature. The interview guide can be found in Appendix II.

Snowball sampling originating from the Head of social media was used to find interviewees, i.e., interviewees were asked to suggest other people we should talk to about the network and its operations. Interviewees were selected primarily based on their activity in the weekly meetings and their central role in the network so that they would have relevant experiences relating to our research themes. Eight of the interviewees identified as female and two as male, and they had experience in the field of journalism from five to 30 years. While all the interviewees dealt with journalism in their daily work, their titles reflect the fact that they are not traditional journalists per se: The interviewees titles include, for example, social media manager, community manager, executive web producer, and reporter. All interviews were recorded and later transcribed by a research assistant. The average length of an interview was 56 minutes.

Chat log data. The network members communicated on social media related topics on digital platforms. We collected data from two of them: an internal WhatsApp group of social media managers who were also active members of the network as well as a Google Hangouts group with about 600 organization members in it. The social media managers' WhatsApp group chat contained 823 lines of plain text, 32 images and three videos sent between August 2018 and September 2019. The period includes the whole message history of the group from its formation to the point of data collection. The group was used by its members to, for example, share information on how content was doing (metrics-wise) on different platforms and to ask for practical help. There were seven members in the chat. The Google Hangouts group, on the other hand, functioned as an intranet-type community where members posted links to interesting stories about social media and journalism online and asked for

practical help. Discussion was more sporadic and less frequent than in the smaller WhatsApp group. In addition to observing the Google Hangouts space, we collected 11 screenshots of which three depict the Hangouts starting screen with multiple posts visible and eight screenshots of individual posts. The screenshots were collected in March 2019. Both channels were accessed with a permission from the network leader and the presence of a researcher was made clear for all participants.

3.2.4 Article III: Qualitative interviews with Finnish journalists

The third dataset, utilized in Article III, comprises 30 qualitative semi-structured interviews with Finnish journalists. Collected in the Media Work 2030 research project, the focus of the interviews was on the digitalization of work in the media field and its effects on occupational well-being among journalists. The interviewees were participants of a quantitative survey carried out in September 2019 where they had the opportunity to indicate that they were willing to be interviewed further regarding the project's themes. The original survey was conducted in collaboration with the Union of Journalists in Finland which means that the 30 journalists we interviewed were all members of the Finnish trade union for journalists.

We - I, a post-doctoral researcher, and a research assistant - collected data from March to June 2020. I collected 13 of the interviews, the post-doctoral researcher did 14, and the research assistant carried out three interviews. Data collection took place right at the outset of the COVID-19 pandemic and hence, all interviews were conducted remotely either on the phone or through videoconferencing systems such as Skype, Zoom, or Google Meet. As a researcher, I had experience conducting interviews through technologies as both ethnographic data sets had included them. By the time data collection started, most of our interviewees had also switched to remote work and interacting through online videoconferencing software had become a mundane occurrence. Nevertheless, I asked my interviewees to specify which platform they were comfortable using and conducted the interview through that. This was one of the steps in building rapport with the interviewees, which previous research on interviews through technological platforms has identified as crucial (Heiselberg & Stępińska, 2022). I also took some time for small talk at the beginning of each interview, told the interviewee about myself and the project, and started off with questions that were easy to answer, such as their career path in the field of media.

The interviewees are all journalists employed by media organizations in Finland and no freelancers are included in the sample. Their job titles include, for example, news reporter, editor, foreign news reporter, and sports journalist. Their employers represent a wide variety of news outlets in Finland from newspapers and news agencies to radio and TV. Seventeen of the interviewees identified as female and thirteen as male. The youngest of them was 27 and the oldest 63 while the mean age was 45 years. Their experience in the field of journalism ranged from five to 42 years with an average of 21 years. The

interviews average at 58 minutes with the longest taking 119 minutes and the shortest 38 minutes. All interviews were recorded and professionally transcribed.

The interview guide covered four overarching themes as well as background information about the interviewee: 1) work and changes in the media field, 2) digitalization in media work, 3) well-being at work, and 4) future of media work. Additionally, while the pandemic was not a specific theme in our interview protocol, much of the interviews also contain participants' reflections and thoughts about the situation, specifically as we talked about technology use and remote work. The interview guide can be found in Appendix III.

TABLE 2 Summary of research data

	Article I	**Article II**	**Article II**
Research context	A sizable regional media organization in Finland; two teams of journalists. Feature team: Six members in total of who four were journalists, one graphic designer and one producer. News team: Eight members in total of who seven were journalists and one producer.	A network-type team situated in a Nordic public service media organization with a focus on journalism on social media; members from various organizational units.	Finnish journalists from different organizations and with different titles; all members of the Finnish trade union for journalists.
Data collection method	Organizational ethnography: semi-structured interviews, participant observation, chat log data	Organizational ethnography: semi-structured interviews, participant observation, chat log data and screenshots	Thematic, semi-structured interviews
Type and amount of data	14 interviews (all members of the two studied teams); average length 69 minutes. 9 observed team meetings: 4 with the feature team, 5 with the news team. 66 pages of field notes. Chat log data: Observation of both teams' Slack workspace + the chat log of the feature team (used as supporting material, not analyzed)	10 thematic interviews with active members of the network; average length 56 minutes. 8 observed weekly meetings resulting in a total of 20 hours of observation and 46 pages of fieldnotes + digital materials (slideshows, links, pictures) Chat log data: Social media managers' WhatsApp chat (823 lines of text, 32 images, three videos); 11 screenshots from the network's Google Hangouts group.	30 interviews with individual journalists; average length 58 minutes.
Research project and data collection period	Somedia; September–December 2018	Somedia; February–June 2019	Media Work 2030; March–June 2020

3.3 Analysis method: The phronetic iterative approach

In line with the general qualitative approach of this dissertation, I have utilized Sarah J. Tracy's (2020) phronetic iterative analysis in all three original articles. Briefly put, an iterative analysis approach alternates between considerations of relevant literature, pre-existing questions or goals, and existing theories, on one hand, with emergent qualitative data, on the other, with the goal of advancing knowledge about both the research topic at hand as well as its theoretical understanding (Tracy, 2020; Srivastava & Hopwood, 2009). This section further describes the analysis processes of the original articles and justifies the selection of the iterative approach in relation to the dissertation's overall research aim. More information on each analysis can be found in the original articles.

The phronetic iterative analysis approach can be split into two distinct concepts of phronēsis and iteration. Tracy (2020, 6) refers all the way back to Aristotle in her definition of phronēsis: generally translated it means "prudence" or "practical wisdom." In the context of qualitative research, phronēsis is concerned with contextual knowledge that is interactively constructed, action-oriented, and imbued with certain values (Cairns & Sliwa, 2008). Furthermore, research conducted with a phronetic approach aims to outline how things could be done differently but simultaneously acknowledges that there may not be ultimate answers to these questions or even a single version of what the questions are (Flyvbjerg, 2001). The approach prioritizes practice in context and assumes that perception is always related to a self-reflexive subject position (Tracy, 2020). One of the original goals of this dissertation project was to produce knowledge that would be useful for media organizations, newsrooms, and individual journalists. Hence, the phronetic emphasis of the analysis method is well-suited for the purposes of this dissertation: It has allowed me and my co-authors to present practical suggestions in the articles as well as invite people to apply our findings in practice rather than just understanding them in context (Huffman et al., 2019).

An iteration is a cycle that repeats. In an iterative process, the approach to data is not fully grounded nor fully a priori, but rather the researcher moves abductively between inductive data analysis and deductive considerations of existing theory (Huffman et al., 2019). Abductive reasoning refers to the back-and-forth process of constructing a hypothesis or a research question, carrying it out into the field, and revising it when it is negated with new discoveries (Tracy, 2020). In practice, after first engaging with the research material on its own terms, the researcher then turns to scholarly literature, existing theories, and ideas in search of related notions and examines them for fit or lack of fit. This is how the iterative qualitative researcher both applies and tests theory while letting the data speak on its own terms in relation to the broader scholarly literature (Huffman et al., 2019; Srivastava & Hopwood, 2009). In reality, researchers often have ideas and interests even before going into the field and starting their research. These

ideas are termed sensitizing concepts, that is, they are theories or interpretive devices that serve as jumping-off points or lenses for qualitative research and offer frameworks through which researchers see, organize, and experience the emerging data (Charmaz, 2014). In this dissertation, my experiences as a journalist and my interest in creativity and innovation as well as newsroom culture served as an initial lens in Articles I and II and, during the research process, guided my attention to the importance of learning, which acted as the sensitizing concept for Article III.

The iterative analysis process always starts with *what*: What is present in the data, what are the people talking about in research interviews, what are they posting on chats or intranet pages, what did I as a researcher see and hear at the organization and jot down in my field notes? After the research material has been uploaded into an analysis software - I used Atlas.ti for all initial analyses and pen and paper for further rounds - the first round of analysis always focuses on what is present. Tracy (2020, 213) refers to this stage of the analysis as the "data immersion phase" where the goal is to "marinate in what you have learned so far, jotting down reflections and hunches, but reserving judgment." With all three articles, I had an idea of what the topic of my research would be and hence, some ideas on what to look for during these initial phases. I started with first reading all the research material to familiarize myself with it. I wrote down thoughts and ideas, articles that had something to do with what I was reading but refrained from actually coding the material at first.

This data immersion phase and eventual first-level coding took many rounds with all three data sets. With Article I, which examines obstacles and drivers of creativity and innovation in technology-mediated work in journalistic teams, I was most familiar with the data set before analyzing it since I had collected it with a fellow doctoral researcher. Additionally, the organization we researched was very familiar to me before starting fieldwork. I knew the interviewed journalists were talking about drivers and obstacles to their creative process in the data, but I did not know whether I would also be able to say something about innovation in the two teams. A tentative reading confirmed that studying innovation was possible as it showed that elements of innovation, e.g., attempts to develop better production processes in the teams, were described in the interview data. The same applies to Article III on learning in professional journalism: as I had collected 13 of the 30 interviews, I knew that looking at learning in journalism with the dataset was possible as journalists discussed topics like skill requirements in the interviews. Here, however, the initial rounds of immersion were also required for me to get to know the rest of the data that had been collected by a post-doctoral researcher and a research assistant.

The starting stages of the analysis process were a bit more meandering with Article II as what I was originally planning to do did not eventually materialize as a publication. I wanted to analyze how journalists who are not R&D specialists but still have to use new publication channels and platforms in their work understood innovation. The initial analysis was guided by that question ("How do journalists define innovation?") and the first draft of findings

looked very different than the eventual publication. In the process of iteration, I came to realize that the insights I was gleaning from the data were not novel enough and I needed some other way of making use of what I still thought was a pretty interesting case study. As I came across the ILC framework (Porcu, 2020), it seemed to speak to my data. Finding an analytical framework that fit with my data required me to go through the immersion and initial coding phases again and apply what I had read to the research context at hand. The initial analysis I did for Article II was not wasted but much of it was redone and recontextualized to fit the ILC framework.

After the data immersion phase, I usually began coding the material. Coding refers to "an active process of identifying data as belonging to, or representing some type of phenomenon" (Tracy, 2020, p. 213). In an iterative analysis process, the first-level codes are always descriptive, and they focus on describing the empirical material in as much detail as possible. This phase of the analysis process is called "primary-cycle coding" (Tracy 2020, p. 219). In the analysis leading up to Article I, I used two types of codes: a set of codes relating to creativity and a set of codes for innovation. They were not mutually exclusive as the line between innovation and creativity is blurred, but distinguishing between the two helped in separating the phenomena at least analytically. At first, the distinction between the concepts was data-driven, that is, I coded passages as pertaining to each phenomenon based on how interviewees labeled them. In subsequent rounds, the operationalization was made more distinguishable, as I and my co-authors decided that routine content production and its related activities (e.g., presenting ideas for story topics) would be labeled as creativity, and activities that were aimed at developing team practices would be categorized as innovation. Tracy (2020) notes that distilling empirical materials down to manageable conceptual categories is helpful for making sense of the phenomenon you are researching. Furthermore, even though the article presents an analysis of drivers and obstacles, this division is not black and white. Factors that support can also hinder work in dispersed teams – hence, the original codes did not reflect whether the coded bit was signifying a driver or an obstacle.

With every analysis process, I kept an analysis journal (see Tracy, 2020, 228). In practice, my analysis journals are Word files which detail what I did to the data, on which date, and what kind of ideas emerged. I kept track of codes, relevant research, possible themes, and everything else analysis related in those documents. Keeping track of what I was doing enabled me to write about the analysis process efficiently in the original articles where word limits were strict as well as detail the analysis processes of the articles here. Using an analysis journal was a decision based on utility: writing with it became easier, it guaranteed that I remained on top of my analysis activities and provided a log for later when I needed to revise papers and possibly return to previous analyses.

The jump from first-level descriptive codes to second-level analytical categories was different, yet similar in all three articles. Tracy (2020, 225) calls this secondary-cycle coding where a researcher critically examines the codes they have formulated in primary cycles and begins to "organize, synthesize, and

categorize them into interpretive concepts." While all the articles make use of existing theories in different ways and the degree to which I considered theory in each analysis process varied, all analyses have materialized mainly through me writing (about) them. Using writing as a method of inquiry (Richardson & St. Pierre, 2018) is the one step of the analysis process that is not described in detail in the original articles, mainly because of journals' word limits. Writing is, however, essential for how I make sense of research material (and the world more generally) and especially how I arrive at analytical, second-level categories and the arguments I and my co-authors present in the original articles. While my research in this dissertation does not stem from the postmodern, post-qualitative paradigm that Richardson and St. Pierre (2018, 1423) ground their work in, my way of treating empirical material and its relation to writing is similar to what St. Pierre describes: "Writing *is* thinking, writing *is* analysis, writing is indeed a seductive and tangled *method* of discovery" (emphasis in original). My writing of analysis took place both in the analysis journals as well as in drafts of findings sections in the original articles. It speaks to my choice of method and way of working/thinking, that for Article III, for example, there is the 30-page first draft (double-spaced with a 12-point font in Word) and a corresponding notes document with 34 pages (single-spaced, varying fonts, fractured paragraphs, an overall messy text containing bits and pieces I did not end up using in the manuscript) along with a separate 18-page analysis journal.

The analysis for Article I, dealing with obstacles and drivers of creativity and innovation in technology-mediated work in journalistic teams, was the most data-driven out of the three. Innovation and creativity, operationalized as idea sharing and development, functioned as the sensitizing concepts going into the data. While immersing myself in the material, the importance of communication climate became apparent in how journalists in the teams talked about the overall atmosphere in their teams and, in subsequent rounds, I continued coding aspects of the data that pertained to the studied teams' communication climate and its meaning for ideation. Simultaneously, I reviewed literature on creativity and innovation in journalism, but nothing quite explained the role of communication climate in these processes. The framework that did explain the role of communication climate for ideation eventually came from outside journalism studies: As I discussed my initial findings with the co-authors of the article, one of them suggested I look into the concept of a psychologically safe communication climate (PSCC) (Gibson & Gibbs, 2006). While there were also other aspects that shaped idea sharing and development in the teams, the adoption of PSCC guided the analysis process to focus on aspects of communication behavior (e.g., informal communication, giving and receiving feedback, asking for help, voicing concerns). Eventually, I formed three second-level analytical categories, each with two subcategories, to show what kind of factors enable and constrain idea sharing and development in dispersed journalistic teams.

As described, the analysis process for Article II was a bit less focused in the beginning as I had to adjust the scope of the emerging research as it

progressed. I went into the data with the aim of finding out how journalists define innovation but came out with a set of practices that describe how journalists actually try to innovate in their daily work. At this point, I returned to the literature to dig more deeply into what we know about R&D activities that are taken on by regular journalists and not specialists hired for that work. The ILC (Porcu, 2020) framework manifested as a boon to my calling: a framework that did not view journalists as unwilling to change. My data seemed to be implying the same: journalists talked about change as a necessity in the interviews and talked about finding new ways to do journalism on social media in excited, development-oriented ways in the weekly meetings.

I took my initial analysis and combed through it and the data set again to identify the characteristics of ILC from the data. I was not able to analyze all the characteristics of ILC due to the fact that my data had not been collected with the framework in mind, but, nevertheless, the eventual second-level analytical categories we sketched out together with the other authors of the article took us to test the utility of the framework for qualitative analysis. We used my original analysis and the new insights as a starting point to map out the characteristics of ILC in the organization while also memoing and discussing the institutional level factors visible in the data. The first version of the article was an empirical, qualitative exploration of ILC in the context of a public service media organization. The analysis was, however, further refined in the course of peer-review as one of the reviewers suggested we bring on the concept of organizational isomorphism (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983) to explain our findings further. Finally, we ended up with a findings section that consists of a sub-section that outlines how the characteristics are visible in the studied team's working practices and a more abstract section detailing the contextual, institutional factors that shape how ILC manifests in the team.

With Article III, which examines learning in professional journalism and especially the institutional logics at play in journalists' learning experiences, my decision to adopt institutional theory came before starting the initial analysis. I had noticed how journalists from different organizations described skill requirements in a similar fashion in the interviews: there seemed to be this "invisible hand" dictating what and how they should learn, and I wanted to concretely pinpoint what that hand was. Institutional theory, which I had already applied in Article II, seemed to provide some hints, but the neo-institutional approach seemed insufficient in explaining the differences in journalists' experiences. I initially discovered the idea of institutional logics from Belair-Gagnon and colleagues' (2020) work on R&D teams and chatbots and was fascinated with the idea that logics could account for variety within fields. Hence, the larger scope of looking at learning through the analytical lens offered by institutional logics emerged before the analysis took place.

Consequently, the first analysis round focused on finding sections of the interviews where the journalists talked about learning and skills. I coded those with descriptive codes with the goals of 1) finding out what kinds of skills they were describing and 2) how they described getting those skills. During this initial

coding, it became clear that the journalists' descriptions of their motivations for learning were far more interesting than the mere listing of skills and how to acquire them. Subsequent rounds of reading the material through and coding focused on identifying how the journalists justified their need to learn or described what drove them to learn new things.

My first attempt at bridging the gap between the empirical material and institutional logics theory resulted in a findings section that detailed four institutional logics that shape learning among professional journalists: the continuous learning logic, the intensification logic, the technology logic, and the professional logic. Within the institutional logics literature in journalism studies, the technology and professional logics are quite established (see e.g., Lischka, 2020) whereas the continuous learning logic and the intensification logic were the result of my analysis and discussions with co-authors. In this case, however, connecting the empirical material meaningfully with institutional logics theory required the insightful feedback of a journal reviewer. In the review, they pointed out how we had applied the concept of an "institutional logic" somewhat illogically and that the logics we were proposing, while interesting, could be more meaningfully named and conceptualized as something else. I went back to the data, took the reviewer's feedback seriously, did some more analysis to identify how the logics were negotiated by the journalists and wrote multiple different versions of the findings section until I came upon one that best reflected what was taking place in the data. The final published version of the article details a labor market logic along with the negotiations of technology and professional logics, and professional and market logics.

The analysis processes and their results I have described above are distinctly the result of my thinking, working, and writing complemented with the insights of my co-authors and the helpful feedback of journal reviewers. While I have been responsible for the bulk of the analysis in all articles, my co-authors have provided me with their knowledge and expertise in discussing the codes and analytical categories I have proposed and at times suggested further reading or concepts.

3.4 Research ethics

Reflecting on research ethics is essential for any research process but is especially important in the humanities and social sciences as research often deals with human participants. As a general guideline, all research should respect the rights of research participants and avoid causing harm to them in any form (Vuori, n.d.). Ethical considerations are part of every step of the research process from deciding on research questions, collecting data and analyzing it to reporting and dissemination of results. In this dissertation, the research process has been informed by the Responsible Conduct for Research guidelines by the Finnish National Board on Research Integrity (TENK). All data sets have been collected as part of larger research projects whose research and data management plans

have guided the processes of interacting and conducting research with informants. This section covers questions of research ethics relating to data collection and analysis, and researcher positionality.

We – me and my colleagues in each respective research project – acquired informed consent from all research participants (Myers, 2020). In each project, we made sure that the participants were well-informed of their rights from the beginning. With the ethnographic data sets, access was negotiated with team leaders before data collection started and once observations in the organizations started, we always made sure the participants knew that a researcher was present both in physical and digital spaces. With the interviews that were conducted as part of the ethnographies (Articles I and II) and that form a single dataset (Article III), all interviewees were given as much information as possible about the interview before it took place. In the emails we sent to potential interviewees, we laid out the purpose of the interview, the prospective themes the interview would consist of and the expected duration of the interview. We also promised anonymity in reporting the results and highlighted that participation was voluntary and opting out at any time was a possibility. These introductory emails also included the necessary GDPR documents (description of the study, a privacy notice, and a consent form to be signed).

In the interview situation, we stressed that everything discussed in the research interview would stay confidential and that the interviewees would stay anonymous in the final reports. In the published articles, I have made use of both pseudonyms (Article II) and combinations of letters and numbers (Articles I and III) to indicate different research participants. We also had to make decisions on, for example, when to indicate the participants' job titles and when not as the research context combined with titles could have possibly compromised anonymity (see, e.g., Ciambrone, 2004). Moreover, during data collection and especially after it, I put an emphasis on communicating with the research participants in a way that highlights mutual respect and my appreciation of their time and expertise. An aspect of relational ethics, this entailed treating the participants as "whole people rather than subjects from which to wrench a good story" (Tracy, 2020, 285). In practice, I sent emails about the progress of data collection, about ongoing writing projects, and about publications to the participants.

In relation to data management, all interview materials were transcribed verbatim by either a research assistant or a professional transcriber. A sufficient level of accuracy in the transcriptions offers a base for credible analysis and further interpretation of findings (Finnish Social Science Data Archive, n.d.). The transcribed interviews were stored on University of Jyväskylä's secure server accessible only by members of the research team in each research project. A similar process took place in relation to fieldnotes as well as the digital chat logs and materials from the ethnographic data sets: the detailed notes and logs were kept on a secure server and accessed only by relevant team members in each project. With all three data sets, data was anonymized on the individual level, that is, we kept relevant information about teams and organizations in place in

the analysis process, but personal details were removed prior to analysis. In the final publications, information about teams and organizations is pseudonymized or anonymized.

Finally, researcher positionality played a large role in negotiating access to one of the organizations in the ethnographies and more generally, is important to how I have interpreted data and ended up with the results in the original articles. Hence, it pays off to be reflexive about my role and relationship to the research context as it shaped the way this dissertation turned out. Reflexivity involves understanding how processes of doing research shape its outcomes, reflecting upon the ways in which we carry out empirical projects and explaining to the audience how we move through the research process to our conclusions (Corlett & Mavin, 2018; Stuart, 2018). Before starting as a doctoral researcher, I worked as a journalist. I have the knowledge of someone who has been trained as a journalist in a university degree program and experience of working in journalism for several years. Those aspects gave me an insider's view especially at the start of the dissertation project as one of the organizations we studied was my former employer. I had quit working at the organization before we started fieldwork there but most of the people who became our research participants were somewhat familiar to me beforehand. I had not worked directly with them prior to the data collection period, but rather, my knowledge of them and their knowledge of me was based on working in the same large organization but on different projects and in different teams. Importantly, however, my position as a former employee was key in negotiating and getting access to the organization which, in turn, guaranteed sufficient possibilities for collecting rich qualitative data. In a way, the often required "period of enculturation" (Myers, 2020) at the researched organization was in this case skipped.

One might also claim that my position as a former employee of the organization that I studied and on which I reported on in Article I shaped the overall research process. Indeed, I cannot deny that my position as a somewhat of an insider in the organization would not have influenced how the research turned out as, in addition to making negotiating organizational access more fluent, it also made interpreting organizational lingo easier. As a former journalist, professional language was familiar to me and made interpreting discussions at weekly meetings easier, for example. However, my familiarity with the research context could have also induced blind spots for me as I observed meetings and conducted interviews and, after data collection, interpreted aspects of organizational change or the lack of it. This aspect of my own positionality was to some extent controlled by the presence of another researcher – a doctoral researcher colleague – who was unfamiliar with both the studied organization and journalism as a profession. As stated earlier in this Methods section, all interviews and observations with the two teams that appear in Article I were conducted with both me and the other researcher present. We often engaged in peer-debriefing practices after data collection sessions where we discussed what we had seen and heard and tried to make sense of how our experiences related to the themes of the overall research project. Data from that

specific organization was also discussed among the research team which included senior scholars from both journalism and communication fields, which helped put my interpretations of organizational phenomena into perspective (Jensen et al., 2020; Dean et al., 2017). Given these considerations, it is possible that a researcher without my background and preunderstanding of the research context would have arrived at different conclusions in Article I. It should also be mentioned that in relation to Article II, I did not have a similar personal tie to the studied organization, that is, the organization was familiar to me only on a very general level.

My position as a former journalist has also guided the research questions I have asked and the problems I have tried to solve through my research. As I have stated in the Introduction of this thesis, I have had the goal of finding out how to help journalism survive (Reese, 2021). I want to preserve the institution because I think it is important for a well-functioning society and provides people with opportunities for making sense of the world around them, that is, journalism is useful for a society and the individuals in it. Consequently, my analyses have aimed at providing both practical and theoretical implications in relation to their objects of study: Especially Articles I and II are practice-oriented and offer insights to industry experts whereas Article III is more theoretically motivated and geared toward the scholarly community. With these differences, the original articles try to serve a wide variety of audiences and produce new, meaningful knowledge about the phenomenon of development work. In sum, they attempt to contribute to the larger society by suggesting ways journalism could be made better and, in turn, society itself could perform better.

4 ORIGINAL ARTICLES

4.1 Article I: Creativity and Innovation in Technology-mediated Journalistic work: Mapping out Enablers and Constraints

The first article, *Creativity and innovation in technology-mediated journalistic work: Mapping out enablers and constraints* (Koivula, Villi & Sivunen, 2023), examines two dispersed teams of journalists going about their daily work through communication technologies. The aim was to qualitatively examine those aspects of the technology-mediated setting that enable or constrain creative work and innovation. There were two research questions:

1) What kind of factors enable and constrain idea sharing and development in a dispersed team of journalists in a technology-mediated work setting?
2) How is idea sharing and development shaped by a technology-mediated setting in dispersed journalistic teams?

The study's theoretical framework utilizes two perspectives: research on creativity and innovation in journalism studies and research on technology-mediated work in organizational communication studies. The study draws from a socioconstructivist view of creativity, i.e., creativity is seen to manifest in interaction between team members (Amabile, 1983). The empirical part consists of interviews with all members of the two teams (N=14) as well as observations of the teams' weekly meetings (N=9). The data was analyzed using Tracy's (2020) iterative analysis procedure.

The findings indicate that creativity and innovation in technology-mediated journalistic work were shaped by goals and habits relating to ideation, whether there was a psychologically safe communication climate in the team, and by team characteristics. Especially the importance of the psychologically safe communication climate (PSCC; Gibson & Gibbs, 2006) was highlighted in the findings: in both teams, journalists felt that the communication climate in their

team allowed them to be themselves and share ideas freely without the fear of being humiliated. They were able to discuss story ideas openly, get support from colleagues, and even take risks in presenting ideas that were not fully formed. The concept of PSCC was adopted because of its suitability for analyzing teamwork: sharing ideas in a team requires a shared understanding between members of what kind of communication is allowed (Putnam & Cheney, 1985).

Furthermore, the teams approached the process of ideation in different ways. In the news team, there were dedicated meetings for ideation, concrete goals for how many and what type of ideas should be generated and developed, and all members of the team were included in the process. PSCC was heavily present in the team and its members had also been able to, for example, develop their editing practices – i.e., they had been able to extend the creative process outside content production. In the feature team, on the other hand, journalists were expected to develop story ideas by themselves and not much idea development took place in team meetings. In the interviews, journalists talked of how much of the creative process takes place in informal gatherings during the workday, like during lunch or coffee breaks, between the team members that were physically located in the same space. Journalists in the feature team also experienced PSCC, but the findings indicate that it only extended to content production while developing team practices was not possible. The feature team had a longer history as a publication and thus it also had more traditions and routines in relation to creative work which might have been difficult to break.

In addition to making visible the factors that shape creativity and innovation in dispersed journalistic teams, the study's findings also shed light on technology's role in creative work in journalism. Technology functioned as a fundamental enabler for work in both teams, but it also made it possible to shut out team members from the creative process especially if they were situated remotely while most of the team worked in the same office. Additionally, communication technology induced uncertainty into, for example, feedback and idea development processes as journalists in the teams were hesitant to drive changes regarding, for example, production processes.

4.2 Article II: Practical, not Radical: Examining Innovative Learning Culture in a Public Service Media Organization

The second article, *Practical, not radical: Examining innovative learning culture in a public service media organization* (Koivula, Laaksonen & Villi, 2022), tracks the emergence of a specific theoretical concept, the Innovative Learning Culture (ILC; Porcu, 2020) in a media organization, and asks which contextual factors shape its occurrence. ILC is broadly defined as a "learning culture that triggers and fosters innovation" in legacy media organizations (Porcu, 2020, p. 1556). The framework is based on the idea that learning is essential for innovation in that it allows a media organization to obtain advantages over its competitors (see, e.g., Yolles,

2009). The aim of the study was to track the emergence of the six characteristics of ILC in the case organization and to analyze how those are shaped by the organization's institutional context. The empirical material consisted of ethnographic data gathered from a network-type development team situated in a Nordic public service media (PSM) organization. We asked two research questions:

1) What characteristics of innovative learning culture can be identified in a development network operating in a public service media organization, and how do the characteristics manifest in the network's working practices?
2) What contextual factors shape innovative learning culture in the network?

In addition to ILC, the theoretical framework of the study draws from research on media innovation (March 1991; O'Reilly & Tushman, 2019; Bygdås, Clegg & Hagen 2019) and newsroom culture (Ryfe, 2009, 2012; Tameling & Broersma, 2013; Ekdale et al. 2015) as well as organizational isomorphism (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Lowrey, 2011). Past research has seen newsroom culture mainly as an obstacle in innovation processes: journalists have been depicted as unwilling to change and innovate, and journalism has been accused of chasing the latest technological fads while ignoring planning for long-term survival (see, e.g., Posetti 2018;). ILC adopts a view counter to this: It sees learning from peers as a strength for newsroom innovation and aims to help uncover the cultural drivers and obstacles of innovation processes (Porcu, 2020). The dataset consisted of interviews with network members (N=10), observations of weekly meetings (N=8), and chat log data from two platforms (WhatsApp and Google-based intranet). The analysis process was iterative (Tracy, 2020).

In the analysis, we were able to pinpoint four out of the six characteristics of ILC – learning from each other, research/investigation, experimentality and creativity – in our empirical case as well as identify the clear lack of explorative innovation. Analysis of the characteristics of ILC in the network highlighted how the network structure of organizing for work enabled the journalists to share knowledge and ideas across different departments in the organizations. The journalists were also learning from each other and cultivated among them a mentality of experimentation. This need to experiment to succeed was highlighted more in the interviews while practical work in the weekly meetings often centered around sharing of best practices.

Furthermore, we identified three institutional-level, contextual factors that shaped the emergence of ILC in the organization as *journalistic practice*, *technology and platforms*, and *organizational strategy*. The aforementioned tendency to focus on best practices in the weekly meetings arises from journalists' need to be able to "routinize the unexpected" in news production to be efficient and maintain editorial independence (Tuchman, 1973; Tandoc & Duffy, 2019). In other words, the practical realities of needing to produce journalism for social media efficiently made radical, explorative innovation difficult in the empirical case. In this context, technologies and social media platforms could be seen to drive innovation and

learning efforts in the case organization indicating that the need for media innovation originated outside the field of journalism. In the network, the need to develop new ways of production or publishing often resulted from social media platforms changing the features of their service. This tendency to focus on short-term development tasks was further highlighted by the organization's strategy that stressed the need to find new, younger audiences – a goal which was to be achieved through social media platforms. In sum, the network fostered a culture of experimentation but in practice, its working practices were heavily influenced by journalism's need to be efficient and timely, by the social media platforms the journalists operated on and by the organization's strategy.

4.3 Article III: "I Love Learning New Things": An Institutional Logics Perspective on Learning in Professional Journalism

The third article, *"I love learning new things": An Institutional Logics Perspective on Learning in Professional Journalism* (Koivula, Saari & Villi, 2023) focuses on the institutional level factors that shape learning experiences among professional journalists. We approached the phenomenon of on-the-job learning through institutional theory and specifically by utilizing the institutional logics perspective. Institutions guide practical action through institutional logics which are defined as "socially constructed, historical patterns of cultural symbols and material practices, assumptions, values, and beliefs by which individuals produce and reproduce their material subsistence, organize time and space, and provide meaning to their daily activity" (Thornton and Ocasio, 1999, 804). In the study, we aimed to identify which institutional logics are present in our participants' descriptions of learning and how they manifest. The empirical data comprises 30 semi-structured interviews with Finnish journalists from organizations across the media field.

Building on previous studies on learning in journalism as well as the theoretical framework of institutional logics, we dove into our empirical dataset to explore our interviewees' learning experiences. The iterative analysis process (Tracy 2020) led to the emergence of three analytical categories: the labor market logic, the negotiation of technology and professional logics and the negotiation of market and professional logics. As the study's main contribution, we propose the labor market logic which essentially describes how the journalists' worry over employability both in their current organization as well as in a situation where they need to enter the job market manifests as a need to learn continuously. This perceived need for continuous learning was visible in our participants' talk no matter how long they had been in the field which exemplifies that the need to update one's skills is not related to purely finding new employment but also about succeeding in one's current job. In journalism, this comes to be through the increase of general assignment tasks in newsrooms as due to budget cuts and lay-offs more journalists work on general news topics rather than specified beats. The

need to take in large amounts of new information in relation to story topics daily was met with both positive and negative attitudes in our sample, but all recognized the same tendency: to be a good journalist nowadays, you need to be able to learn. Overall, the conceptualization of the labor market logic offers a new theoretical instrument for examining precarity in the journalistic field and we suggest that future research could do more with it, for example, by suggesting an ideal type of the institution of the labor market (Thornton et al., 2012).

The other two categories represent negotiations between different logics the journalists described in speaking of on-the-job learning. The first one, negotiation between technology and professional logics, was essentially about how the technology logic, conceptualized as a reliance on technology to solve societal issues, pushed journalists to embrace learning digital skills but the demand was met with a more dominant professional logic that highlights journalism's role as the fourth estate. In practice, journalists recognized the increased need to learn digital, technology-related skills, but they countered this need to learn by evaluating its utility in relation to producing good journalism, performing the watchdog role and, at times, questioning the need to learn altogether. The second one, negotiation between market and professional logics, was visible in how journalists described the pace of their daily work and learning in relation to it. In short, journalists talked of the overall intensification of work in journalism where an individual is forced to work faster, multitask more, and invest more and more effort in their everyday work (Kubicek et al., 2015). This was seen to be the result of lessening resources in newsrooms and due to it, learning experiences were also colored with time pressures. In practice, journalists described how, for example, skills learned in trainings offered by their employers never went to use as there was no time or other resources to hone them amid daily work.

The presence of the experience of intensification may have further consequences for both journalists' occupational well-being as well as the profession's skill levels in the future. In addition to decreasing journalists' ability to produce quality work, intensification and intensified job demands have been linked to lessening job satisfaction and an increased risk of burnout (Rantanen et al., 2021; Kubicek et al., 2015). Furthermore, not being able to hone new skills in daily practice may lead to the plateauing of journalists' skill levels: while past research has argued everything from de-skilling to up-skilling taking place in the profession (Örnebring, 2019), our findings would indicate that neither takes place because of the absence of resources on learning. Finally, in relation to previous research on newsroom change, we argued that learning allows for the building of routines which, in essence, constitute an inventory of past learning making new learning more difficult to achieve. Hence, rather than viewing learning normatively as a way to eventual skill gains and innovations, learning should be approached as a "faulty mechanism" (Edmondson & Moingeon, 1996, 19) that contributes to the building of routines. Consequently, examining learning rather than innovation in media organizations provides a more fruitful view into why change is such a difficult process in newsrooms.

5 DISCUSSION

5.1 Characteristics of development work

The aim of this dissertation has been to describe and understand the phenomenon of development work in journalism's digitalized operating environment. The first research question asked, "What are the characteristics of development work as experienced by journalists in their daily work?" The findings of the original articles lend themselves to three characterizations: 1) Development work is collaborative and takes place in a lateral network, 2) Development work requires constant learning and reflexivity, and 3) Development work can be unmethodical and sporadic. Each is described more in detail below.

1) Development work is collaborative and takes place in a lateral network
While the image of a journalist as a lone soldier marching for democracy lives on (e.g., Kotisova, 2019; Örnebring & Mellado, 2018; Sjøvaag, 2013), the findings of this dissertation point to a different reality where journalistic work in general and development work in particular are increasingly collaborative in nature and characterized by teamwork. Journalists in the empirical studies of the original articles (Articles I and II) did not merely work individually on their own tasks while belonging to a team but rather, they worked *as a team* to further a common goal or agenda, like developing better products, cultivating more fluent working processes, or finding solutions to reaching organizational goals (e.g., how to produce journalism for social media platforms to reach new, younger audience segments). Furthermore, empirical findings in Articles I and II also highlight the importance of a communication climate on the team level and organizational culture on the organizational level, both of which need to be supportive and open in nature for development work to be successful. While the notion of journalism as a collaborative effort is not exactly novel (e.g., Westlund, Krumsvik & Lewis,

2021; Westlund & Krumsvik, 2014), studying these phenomena as communicative (that is, manifesting in communication between journalists) contributes to identifying *how* the teamwork itself can be made easier and more meaningful. Findings from Article I, for example, show that focusing on open communication, where ideas are welcomed with encouraging feedback and an attitude that emphasizes collaborative work for enhancing said ideas is beneficial for team creativity.

Moreover, treating development work as an organizational phenomenon rather than limiting it to the newsroom implies a slight but significant reorientation in the object of study: When development work is studied as collaborative work in an organization, it suggests a process that includes all parts of the media organization (also outside the newsroom) and a process that includes a multitude of aspects in addition to news production. Newsrooms are often in research treated as arenas for news production while other organizational phenomena, like the social relations that shape development work in the newsroom (for example, on the effect of feelings on idea sharing, see Porcu et al., 2022), receive less attention. Article II and its empirical case study of a network inside a media organization exemplify an organization-wide effort at development work that includes employees from outside the main newsroom.

Relatedly, development work takes increasingly place in horizontal, low-hierarchy networks between peers rather than as a top-down management decision. The findings of Articles I and II highlight how newsroom management has an essential role in *facilitating* development work in organizational settings, but contrary to past research, management does not dictate the terms of the process (such as implementation of ideas, adoption of new technologies). Past research has shown that journalists tend to resist innovation efforts and change in general mainly because it interferes with their learned ways of doing journalism, their professional identities, and because it comes as a top-down managerial ultimatum without clear justifications (Lowrey, 2012; Paulussen, 2016; Salzmann et al., 2023). Paradoxically, scholars have also shown that developing new things can be motivating for journalists if their professional identities are not threatened by, for example, market pressures in the innovation process (Malmelin & Virta, 2016; Deuze, 2004). The findings emphasize the simultaneous need for managerial facilitation of development work but also the need for management to take a step back and allow journalists to figure out the process of development work themselves. On the team level, managers have an important role in setting tangible goals and reserving time and space for development work whereas on the organizational level management is important for casting a wide net in the organization in order to make development work inclusive of all departments in an organization. On both levels, managers also have the important task of building and maintaining a culture of openness and support together with journalists.

2) Development work requires constant learning and reflexivity

On the individual level, development work is characterized by the requirement of constant learning. Findings from Articles II and III indicate that in order to

improve journalism through advancements on the individual, team, and organizational levels, learning is essential. The findings in Article III show that, on the individual level, the need to learn often stems from developments in information and communication technologies and that those technologies can be both inward-facing (like messaging applications or content management systems in the organization) and outward-facing (such as social media platforms used to distribute journalism and connect with audiences). As development work is essentially about improving journalism to meet the needs of the digitalized operating environment, journalists' need to master new ICTs becomes apparent. This finding is in line with previous research that has noted how journalists feel a pressure to embrace technology-related skills but often contrast them with traditional skills like writing and interviewing (e.g., Min & Fink, 2021; Royal & Kiesow, 2021). Similarly, journalists in Article III felt the need to learn continuously to meet employer needs and those needs, they believed, often stemmed from advancements in ICTs.

Moreover, findings from Article II suggest that individual learning may be facilitated in organizational settings through a network-like structure which enables the participation of multiple stakeholders from different parts of the organization and allows for the flow of ideas between different departments. While past research in journalism studies has not taken a hard look at peer-learning in media organizations, the siloed nature of innovation labs has received more attention: Boyles (2016, 241), for example, notes that intrapreneurial units "limit on-the-ground creative responses from journalists in the trenches, and may also promulgate the creation of competitive tribes within the newsroom." The findings here indicate that the same might apply to learning also: Journalists studied in Article II tended to view boundary-crossing collaborative work as beneficial for individual learning.

Learning as a characteristic of development work also necessitates a certain level of reflexivity both on the individual and organizational levels. Articles II and III explored the relationship between journalistic routines and learning: While Article II showed that journalistic practice can act as a constraining element in the learning and innovation process as it acts as a guide for how to do journalism (Ryfe, 2006), Article III shed light on how learning allows for the building of those very same routines that end up shaping future learning. Hence, learning has a paradoxical, tensioned role in the process of development work and mitigating its constraining effects, such as the building of unnecessary, limiting routines, requires reflexivity from both the individual journalist and the media organization. In essence, individuals and organizations should be able to recognize when a process has turned into a habit or routine and evaluate whether it should stay so or if it needs to be changed. Past research has, however, showed that this level of self-monitoring is often beyond media organizations' capacity in all the instances where researchers have chastised the industry for chasing after the "bright, shiny things," that is, for adopting and implementing new technological innovations without enough reflection on what purpose they serve (e.g., Posetti, 2018; Evans, 2018). The findings in this dissertation's original

articles, however, imply that reflexive learning processes might be the key to successful development work.

3) Development work can be unsystematic and sporadic

The findings in the original articles show that development work can be unsystematic and sporadic. Consequently, development work stands in contrast to standard research and development activities in its relationship to systematicity. As the literature reviewed at the beginning of this dissertation shows, activities falling under the category of R&D in media organizations often require a somewhat methodical process to come to fruition and success is a must in terms of measuring whether something is creative or innovative (e.g., Klausen, 2010). As a concept, development work, on the other hand, makes no such assumptions: the activities journalists undertake to improve journalism need not be systematic or successful, rather just aimed at the goal of improving journalism.

The three original articles all speak to this tenet: In Article I, the creative processes of the studied teams varied greatly and to an outside observer, one team was clearly more systematic in its efforts of novelty than the other, but importantly, both teams perceived their work as fundamentally creative. In Article II, the systematic nature of the network's working practices was highlighted in their weekly meeting schedule but outside of it, their work was heavily guided by, for example, the isomorphic influence of social media platforms and their metrics. In Article III, the individual journalists all recognized the need to learn constantly but also highlighted the constant pressures related to it as solidifying new skills was not always possible due to lack of resources. Overall, the process of development work – comprising the processes of creativity, innovation, and learning – is more unsystematic and sporadic, even messier, than what existing scholarly descriptions make it out to be.

The scholarly definitions of creativity, innovation, and learning all emphasize change that can be somehow perceived or measured. As a concept, innovation specifically is plagued by the requirement of measurability that hinges on success (Küng, 2017) and the same can be said for creativity as well (Klausen, 2010). Overall, scholars have often examined these phenomena in cases where efforts to be creative, to innovate or to learn something have been successful and consequently, also measurable. This dissertation, however, shows that a preoccupation with success and measurability makes research miss processes in media organizations that do not lead anywhere: scrapped projects, failed attempts to create new products, and journalists struggling to update their skills, however, all contribute to change in the field, even if they are rarely studied as examples of these phenomena. For all its touting of how media organizations need to innovate to stay afloat, journalism research has devoted strikingly little effort in studying failures or processes that abruptly stop and start anew (see Carlson & Lewis, 2019).

5.2 ICTs and their role in development work

The second research question asked about the role of information and communication technologies in development work. The findings of this dissertation indicate three distinct roles: 1) facilitator, 2) instigator, and 3) constraint.

1) Communication technology functions as a fundamental facilitator of development work in media organizations

The findings of the original articles show that development work in media organizations is characterized by its inherent digital nature: Communication technologies, such as chat applications, videoconferencing software, and intranet communities, function as key digital spaces where development work takes place. In other words, development work materializes and is made visible in those digital spaces. More than just providing an avenue for journalistic teams to interact, communication technologies take on a fundamental facilitating role in contemporary journalistic work (see also, Bunce et al., 2018; Hendrickx & Picone, 2022). The original articles illustrate how platforms like Slack, Google Hangouts, and WhatsApp provide journalists with possibilities to share ideas and hone them collectively, engage in knowledge sharing and learning from each other, and build and maintain team and organization culture.

However, as suggested by earlier research on communication technologies in organizational settings (e.g., Treem et al., 2015), the mere adoption of a communication technology does not guarantee that development work takes place. Instead, communication technology's usefulness for development work is tied to *how* it is used as suggested by the findings relating to the importance of communication climate and organizational culture in Articles I and II. The fundamental facilitation role may also serve as a constraint and source of institutional dependency, which is explored further below in the third point.

2) Information and communication technologies instigate development work on the individual and organizational levels

ICTs have a key role in instigating development work both on the individual and organizational levels. On the individual level, Article III shows that developments in ICTs were experienced as a source of skill requirements instilling in journalists the pervasive feeling that constant learning is required to keep their jobs in the media industry. Consequently, ICTs have a role as change agents on the individual level as they push journalists to embrace new technology-related skills in order to perform better in their work. On the organizational level, findings from Article II indicate that ICTs serve as motivators for development work. Here, ICTs were more often technologies that enable communication with audiences, such as new social media platforms or applications, that force the media organization to adapt, change its routines of production, and possibly try to invent a new approach to producing journalism. This instigator role on the organizational level is an example of the often-

mindless chase after technological innovations that media organizations have been criticized for (in a PSM context, see also Sehl & Cornia, 2021).

As suggested above, these findings are in line with previous research on skill requirements for professional journalists (e.g., Min & Fink, 2021; Örnebring & Mellado, 2018) and on how media organizations tend to approach new technologies (e.g., Küng, 2017; Sehl & Cornia, 2021). However, the findings also indicate consequences for the use of ICTs in media organizations. Past research has noted that how employees talk about communication technology specifically and what kinds of meanings it takes on in a work context is essential for how communication technologies are used in organizational settings (Davidson, 2006; Laitinen, 2020). The findings here as well as in previous research seem to suggest that journalists have a somewhat tensioned relationship to ICTs overall (see, e.g., Chew & Tandoc, 2022) as they present journalists with demands for learning new digital skills but also facilitate work and provide opportunities to distribute journalism and connect with audiences. Importantly, the narratives that ICTs take on in the context of journalism may prove either fruitful or destructive for journalists and development work: it matters whether ICTs are a source of stress or an enabler of meaningful work (see, e.g., Barley, Meyerson & Grodal, 2011; Olsen, 2023).

3) Information and communication technologies constrain development work in media organizations

The findings in the original articles show that in addition to facilitating and instigating development work, ICTs also constrain development work on the individual, team, and organizational levels. Article I showed that the technology-mediated setting created uncertainty in team communication, especially when it came to interpersonally risky behaviors like giving and receiving feedback (Gibson & Gibbs, 2006). Article II highlighted the isomorphic tendencies rising out of the media organizations strategic operating environment and the specific context where the studied network operated: Because of their orientation toward social media content production, social media platforms and their functionalities proved to be a source of institutional isomorphism for the network and the organization. Similar findings highlighting mimetic isomorphism have been presented in relation to PSM and social media platforms also previously (Sehl & Cornia, 2021). Finally, Article III illustrated that while advancements in ICTs made journalists feel the need to constantly update their technology-related skills, ICTs utility was often measured against their ability to serve the normative goals of professional journalism (see also Lischka, 2020).

Taken together, these findings highlight how the institution of technology, and the organizational field of technology and platform companies specifically, shape and restructure journalism and media organizations. These tendencies have been noted in past research on the institutional dependencies between news media and platform companies (e.g., Bailo et al.; 2021; Sehl & Cornia, 2021; Meese & Hurcombe, 2020; Vos & Russell, 2019). Importantly, however, the findings in this dissertation highlight how technology companies infiltrate the media organization even on the micro levels of individuals and teams, not just the

macro levels of organizations and fields. In Article I, for example, the two journalistic teams were dependent on Slack and Google Hangouts as infrastructural services in order to perform their basic work of putting together a print journalism publication. Furthermore, the teams' communication practices were shaped by the technology-mediated context as some journalists were hesitant about giving feedback on others' work and avoided evaluating the team's working practices. ICTs isomorphic tendencies in the media field are further discussed in the following section.

5.3 Institutional perspectives on development work

The third research question asked, "What institutional level factors shape development work in media organizations and how?" The answers proposed to the two earlier research questions above as well as findings in the original articles indicate that development work is shaped by 1) the routines embedded in the institution of journalism, 2) information and communication technologies, and 3) market pressures in the media industry. Each category can be approached as an institution on their own (journalism, technology, market) with technology and the market having power over the institution of journalism. Each institution and their respective mechanisms are explored below.

1) Routines in the core of the institution of journalism
Journalism is routinized work, which is highlighted both in previous literature (Tuchman, 1978; Tandoc & Duffy, 2019) and in the original articles of this dissertation. Tandoc and Duffy (2019) note that journalists need to follow certain procedures to "routinize the unexpected" (Tuchman, 1978) in news production, that is, they need to follow certain steps to transform the unexpected events that construct news into recognizable news products. This routinizing also functions as a mechanism for quality control: As news is produced following a certain format, it contributes to news being perceived as objective, factual, and truthful (Lowrey, 2014). In this dissertation's original articles, journalists' tendency to do things by a routine was interpreted as a constraining factor for development work: When a journalist follows the rules inscribed in the institution to produce journalism, they often have a hard time breaking from those routines to "think outside the box" (see, e.g., Porcu, 2020; Ekström & Westlund, 2020; Lowrey, 2014). Furthermore, in Article III, we argue that journalism research could view learning specifically as a "faulty mechanism" (Edmondson & Moingeon, 1996) as it contributes to the building of routines in organizations. Routines are, essentially, an inventory of past learning.

This paradox raises the question of how to approach development work in a way that takes into account the routinized nature of news production without unnecessarily blaming journalists for not being able to break the routines they have been socialized into, but also without overtly disregarding the role of routines for the credibility of the institution. Here, it is notable that previous

research on change in newsrooms has tended to view routines in a negative light as something that makes journalists unable to change (e.g., Ryfe, 2009; Ekdale et al., 2015). This view is also echoed in more traditional organization research where routines are seen to, for example, support effective organizing, introduce stability into organizational life, and lead to mindlessness in organizations (e.g., Ashforth & Fried, 1988). More recent approaches, however, suggest that routines can also bring about flexibility in organizational settings (Feldman & Pentland, 2003). Feldman and Pentland (2003) suggest that routines have some stabilizing effects but, as they are performed by humans, they also have variation, which supports organizational change.

A closer look at the relationship between routines and the institution of journalism also provides some explanation on why journalists are often labeled as resistant to change. As routines serve a role in quality control as well as for efficiency of output in newsrooms, they are tied to the fundamental questions of "what journalism is" and "who is a journalist." As a journalist, how you do your work *is* your work, that is, journalism is often defined through its practice, the means through which stories are produced and made legitimate (e.g., Ryfe, 2012; Tuchman, 1978; Gans, 1979). Routines then represent the work of journalism and, to an extent, contribute to also defining who is a journalist (i.e., in simple terms, by following certain institutionalized practices and norms, such as verification of information, using a neutral voice and aiming for objectivity in reporting one performs the practice of journalism thus also becoming a journalist). Viewed from this perspective, journalists' unwillingness to change the fundamental base of their work is quite natural: In a world that is increasingly burdening and hostile toward journalists both from pressures inside the institution (in the form of, for example, overwork, burnout, loss of meaningfulness; see, e.g., Rantanen et al., 2021) and outside it (through harassment, hate speech, online bullying; see, e.g., Bossio & Holton, 2021), sticking to the foundational core of the profession that defines what one does and who one is, is also an issue of well-being and safety.

Rethinking the relationship between routines and development work requires a different approach than what journalism studies has seen before. Instead of viewing journalists as resisting change just because they are unwilling and opposed to management imperatives (e.g., Gade, 2004; Ryfe, 2012), we should start viewing routines as a mechanism through which a sense of professional identity and some degree of security are gained. In relation to development work this means that the processes of creativity, innovation, and learning should be studied more forcefully in connection to journalists' well-being. Do media organizations whose journalists feel secure in their work succeed? Are those organizations more innovative than those that place an emphasis on economic success rather than employee well-being? The studies reviewed on creativity, learning, and well-being in section 2.3.4., that highlight the positive relationship between these phenomena, would suggest that making the above assumptions is not a too big of a leap. It is thus worthwhile to ask what

would a turn toward well-being look like for the whole institution of journalism – both among practitioners and researchers (Bélair-Gagnon, 2022)?

2) Technology, development work, and institutional tensions

Both the original articles and the findings presented in the previous chapter on ICTs and development work are a testament to the influence of the institution of technology on the institution of journalism. More specifically, journalism and technology have a tensioned relationship on the institutional level as their central institutional logics contradict each other especially when they meet on the organizational field of journalism. This notion is in line with previous research (see, e.g., Russell, 2019; Lischka, 2020) but, when examined in the context of development work, raises two notions that somewhat contradict previous ideas: 1) the "bright, shiny things" mantra (Posetti, 2018; Bossio & Nelson, 2021) that has been widely adopted in criticisms toward technology-driven media innovation in the field does not seem so salient in the light of the findings of this dissertation, and 2) technology's role on the organizational level in media organizations as a facilitator, instigator, and constraint of development work calls to question the fundamental idea that journalism is inherently independent work (and not teamwork).

Firstly, findings in the original articles show how journalists and media organizations both adhere to the logic of technology but also resist it in multiple ways. In Article II, for example, the journalists in the development network working to find solutions to producing journalism for social media platforms were quite critical toward the platform infrastructure when it was discussed in the interviews, but such criticality was gone in the wind when we observed their work in the weekly meetings. In Article III, a similar pattern was visible in the journalists talk of digital technologies: They felt they needed to learn digital skills, but many also resisted the imperative through evaluations of learning's actual usefulness for their ability to produce watchdog journalism. In essence, while the journalists and organizations in the original articles could be seen to somewhat adopt the technology logic and its imperatives, they did not do so without a grain of salt – which many authors in journalism studies have claimed especially takes place (see, e.g., Evans, 2018; Lewis & Molyneux, 2018).

Consequently, the original articles showcase the isomorphic tendencies between the institutions of technology and journalism but call to question their intensity (Sehl & Cornia, 2021). Mimetic isomorphism, the idea that organizations mimic successful organizations in the field in the face of uncertainty (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983), is somewhat visible but in a way that it cannot be described as a "chase after the bright, shiny things" (Posetti, 2018, 15) when critically examined on the institutional level. Similarly, notions of normative isomorphism (that is, isomorphism through professionalization) are seen in the journalists' descriptions of, for example, desirable skills both in Articles II and III as digital skills become more institutionally legitimate and sought for (see also Laaksonen, Koivula & Villi, 2022). This is not to say media organizations on the practical level have necessarily been wise about technology adoption in the past decade or so, but it is to redeem them from appearing like headless chickens running after new

technologies without assessing their role for journalism as a practice or institution. Findings here are reminiscent of what Chua and Westlund (2019, 2022) have found in their longitudinal studies on newsrooms' adoption of social media practices where there have been signs of platform counterbalancing: media organizations try to strategically reduce their dependency on platform companies. The findings here illustrate that journalists and media organizations are capable of reflexivity in the face of technological change and that they use normative justifications in their assessments while, granted, the imperatives for adhering to the technology logic are also forceful (Nielsen & Ganter, 2018).

Secondly, the role of ICTs on the practical level and technology on the institutional level seem to have consequences for how journalism is fundamentally conceptualized. Here, technology serves as a mechanism through which some long-held ideas about journalism as a practice are called to question: For example, the findings in this dissertation indicate that development work is collaborative in nature and that collaboration is increasingly facilitated by ICTs, which raises the question whether journalism as an occupation demands an independent take on work or the ability to work alone (e.g., Örnebring & Mellado, 2018; see also Kotisova, 2019). On a wider scale, then, the adoption of ICTs in the organizational field of journalism and the institution of technology can be seen to shape journalism's core ideals about autonomy and independence, especially in regard to others inside the profession. Autonomy is often thought in terms of editorial independence, but the profession has also embraced the idea of a journalist as a single unit that works in a chain of command, in a hierarchical position in relation to, for example, sources on one hand and editors on the other (e.g., Örnebring & Karlsson, 2019; Klein, Fondren & Apcar, 2019). The findings here would indicate that such hierarchies might be lowering and that technology as an institution might be one of the sources of this change.

3) (Labor) market logics and development work

Development work is shaped by both the market and labor market logics on the institutional level. The market logic, generally seen to push organizations to turn in more profit, creates pressures for media organizations to produce the same amount or even more journalism with less resources than before (Lischka, 2020). These resources include both money and journalists, which is reflected in the increased amount of general assignment tasks in newsrooms when specialized beats are shut down as newsrooms are downsized, journalists in Article III described. Market logics, in their push for profit, also encourage media organizations to think in the short term when it comes to renewing themselves as organizations set up innovation labs but do not make explicit strategies on how to make them work (Porcu, 2020; Villi et al., 2020). In the terms of organizational ambidexterity literature, this means media organizations tend to focus on short term exploitation of already existing solutions rather than exploring something completely new (March, 1991; O'Reilly & Tushman, 2013). Development work, then, becomes more about adapting to changes in the strategic operating environment rather than trying to get ahead by exploiting the uncertain market situation (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). In practice, the original

articles show how market pressures encourage media organizations to embrace short term development projects, like creating new publication formats for social media platforms, while opportunities for long-term renewal are sidelined (Article II).

Market logics are reflected on the individual level also, when journalists feel the pressure to be increasingly efficient in their daily work (Article III). Additionally, market logics contribute to the experience of precarity in the media field when there are less jobs available for journalists (Örnebring, 2018; McMullen Cheng & Bélair-Gagnon, 2022). Consequently, journalists experience a labor market logic which can be conceptualized as an individual journalist's need to maintain their employability by constantly learning new skills to satisfy employer needs both in their current and future workplaces (Article III). In this context, learning becomes an individual project not so much for the benefit of journalism as an institution but to ensure the individual has employment now and in the future. Development work, on the other hand, suffers if individual journalists get caught in the pressures between conflicting logics (see also Lischka, 2020; Oostervink et al., 2016). In Article III, we identified the experience of intensification of work as journalists described the pressures they meet when professional and market logics collide: They felt they needed to both be efficient and fast while also producing quality journalism. This intensification, defined as an individual's need to work faster, multitask more and devote more and more time for their daily work (Kubicek et al., 2015), has been linked to burnout. Overall, being unable to produce the best work one can is also linked to lessening job satisfaction in the media industry (Reinardy, 2014; Beam, 2006) while the constantly changing skill requirements in the media field have been found to induce stress on media workers (Rantanen et al., 2021). Stressed, overworked journalists are less likely to be able to "think outside the box" – which makes the success of development work, again, a question of well-being.

As with routines at start of this section, it pays off to ask here too, what would happen if instead of chasing profit (or bright, shiny things), media organizations prioritized well-being? As the literature above shows, market pressures have documented negative consequences for journalists' well-being, which in turn shapes what kind of development work journalists are able to do. One could argue that the short-sightedness that has been embedded specifically in media innovation activities in the industry in recent years is both a cause and a consequence from the interplay of market and professional logics tugging journalists and media organizations into different directions. The institutional complexity (Oostervink et al., 2016) caused by oppositional logics has simply been too much. In the future, then, the ability to reflexively negotiate and balance between different logics grows in importance. Bélair-Gagnon and colleagues (2020) note in their work on news bots and intrapreneurial units that competing logics are not a defeating proposition for innovation per se if they get negotiated the right way. The findings here suggest that the same applies in a larger scale also when it comes to the processes of creativity, innovation, and learning. Furthermore, it should be highlighted that competing and even oppositional

logics may be both hindrances and opportunities for development work depending on how they are negotiated on the individual and organizational levels. How reflexive negotiation of competing logics takes place – that is a question for future research.

5.4 Change and continuity in the institution of journalism

What do the findings outlined in the previous chapters tell us about continuity and change in the institution of journalism? Taken together they illustrate 1) how journalism as a practice is changing, 2) how technology as an institution and ICTs as a material manifestation of that institution contribute to change and 3) how these processes are leading to some fundamental shifts in journalism's ontological and epistemological foundations. This section considers the dissertation's findings from the specific lens offered by the idea that journalism's edges are becoming increasingly blurred (Reese, 2021; Deuze, 2019b) and sketches out how the institution of journalism both stays the same and is made different.

In outlining the theoretical framework for this dissertation, I have relied on institutional theory, and on neo-institutional (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983) and institutional logics (Thornton et al. 2012) approaches specifically. While these are the theoretical lenses used in the original articles, I also proposed that it could be useful to go one step further in examining development work in relation to yet another conceptualization of journalism as an institution, specifically that of Reese's (2021). He proposes a definition that draws from the idea of assemblages and defines an institution as "a complex social structure - formed by an interlocking network of rules and activities, roles, technologies, norms, and collective frames of meaning - which work together to sustain its coherence, endurance, and value" (Reese, 2021, 257). Similar ideas about the blurring boundaries of the journalistic institution have been presented elsewhere too: Deuze (2019b, 3), for example, argues that he no longer believes that the news industry is, in its current form, essential to the survival of journalism: "What explains 'journalism' are the affective and cognitive ties that professionals -- bind to it." In other words, it is increasingly difficult to pinpoint what journalism is and who is a journalist by relying on categorical markers of, for example, organizational affiliation. Rather, the boundaries of the profession are constantly negotiated anew (Hanitzsch & Vos, 2017; Karlson & Sjøvaag, 2016; Lecheler et al., 2020). Development work, as it comprises much of the central activities that journalists undertake in organizations as they do creative work, (try to) develop innovations, and learn from each other, serves as a useful empirical case to examine how the institution's fundamental tenets are negotiated in practice.

Summarizing the key findings from the previous sections, an examination into development work yielded the following characterizations: 1) Development work is increasingly collaborative and takes place in low-hierarchy networks, 2) Development work requires constant learning and reflexivity from individuals

and organizations, and 3) as a process, development work is often unsystematic, sporadic, and altogether messy. To outline these is not to argue that hierarchies do not exist in newsrooms or that all journalists do their work collaboratively (or that autonomy does not matter!) but rather highlight how some of the foundational assumptions about the nature of journalistic practice can be called into question. Relatedly, the findings illustrate the role of the institution of technology and ICTs for change in the institution of journalism. Technology as an institution, and ICTs as its material manifestation, have three roles to play in development work: those of 1) facilitator, 2) instigator, and 3) constraint. As per the analyses in the original articles, technology as an institution seems to be the source of some of the foundational change in journalism as the institution exerts its power over how journalists work, what types of skills they value, and what kind of beliefs they hold. In addition to technology, the institutional level shaping elements outlined in the findings section were journalistic routines and market and labor market logics.

Practices, ideas, values, beliefs, norms, and rules are important for an institution and its boundaries as they are the mechanisms through which an institution essentially comes into being and is upheld (Ryfe, 2019). In relation to changes in practices, the findings highlight how journalism is increasingly practiced in collaborative settings rather than alone – a change to which developments in ICTs specifically have contributed through their facilitation of communication and collaboration in newsrooms. While previous research has recognized the facilitator and instigator roles of ICTs more generally (e.g., Bunce et al., 2018; Laaksonen et al., 2022; Sehl & Cornia, 2021), the findings here show that in addition to changing the practices of journalistic production, technology as an institution is also shaping the organizational arrangements in which journalism is practiced, that is, in teams and lateral networks rather than individually in hierarchical settings.

On a related note, technology is also contributing to change in beliefs and values in terms of what skills journalists generally see as worth acquiring: The dissertation's findings illustrate how digital skills are becoming increasingly important for journalists' perceptions of employability and success in their work. In Article III, technology logic presented journalists with a hefty amount of skill requirements while in Article II, journalists tended to view some proficiency in platforms' operating logics as an essential for being able to produce journalism for consumption on them. The fundamental aspects of what one should know as a journalist, hence, seems to be increasingly intertwined with journalism's overall digitalization as well as the interaction with the institution of technology (Lischka, 2020; Schaetz, Laugwitz & Lischka, 2023). This, too, is a signifier of change in terms of what characteristics constitute "the journalist" as an institutional ideal type.

Finally, in terms of ideas central to the institution of journalism, researchers in journalism studies (especially those following neo-institutionalist approaches) have long believed that learning in the field takes mainly place through socialization and that it is the institutional aspects of journalism that make the

profession almost allergic to change (e.g., Ryfe, 2012). In this context, the routine nature of journalistic production that is seen to contribute to a rigid organizational culture often gets the blame for putting the brakes on newsroom change (e.g., Ekdale et al., 2015), but as discussed in previous sections, the relationship between routines and change is somewhat more complex than what first meets the eye. Rather than being socialized into the institution of journalism and learning through copying of colleagues' actions, the findings here suggest that learning takes place in an institutionally challenging environment. For it to be successful, learning requires constant balancing of competing institutional logics (Bélar-Gagnon et al., 2020). Learning in the profession is not, hence, a passive process of socialization where the journalist has no agency but rather an active negotiation of conflicting needs and demands.

It has to be noted that the institutional level view often highlights the conformity of journalism, but zooming in on the individual level reveals a more complex picture: Deuze (2019b, 3) notes that when looking at journalism writ large, the tendency to see coherence is strong, but "when you switch to individual journalists - when the unit of analysis becomes what newsworkers do and under which conditions they do it - a messy reality emerges." Indeed, a change in how learning is viewed can be mainly attributed to the theoretical framework of institutional logics that highlights variety and change in organizational fields (Thornton et al., 2012) – but it is, nevertheless, an important deviation from how routines and learning have been previously thought of in journalism studies.

The changes in practices, beliefs and values, and ideas outlined above help illustrate the larger process of change in the institution of journalism described at the beginning of this section, that is, how the boundaries of the institution of journalism are constantly negotiated anew (Reese, 2021; Hanitzsch & Vos, 2017). These notions contribute to a shift in how we understand journalism as an object of study: The institution is changing ontologically from a clearly outlined entity with straightforward, categorical definitions of what is journalism and who is a journalist toward an understanding of journalism as a fluid enterprise with boundaries that are constantly negotiated (Karlson & Sjovaag, 2016; Lecheler et al., 2020). This constant (re)negotiation of boundaries also requires researchers to evaluate the epistemological underpinnings of the methods we use, that is, what kind of knowledge they produce and how. Focusing on development work – the processes of creativity, innovation, and learning – as an empirical case of change processes inside the institution will continue to provide fruitful ground for the exploration of how journalism's institutional arrangements shift and how journalism is made different.

6 CONCLUSION

6.1 Evaluation of the research

The limitations of this thesis are related to three central decisions, namely 1) considering technology as a driver of change, 2) adopting institutional theory as the main theoretical lens, and 3) the pro-change attitude I have articulated throughout this work. In the following section, I aim to reflect honestly and openly on how these decisions have shaped my dissertation work and the research I have produced (Tracy, 2011), i.e., the aim is to be reflexive about the theoretical, cultural, and political context (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2018) in which this dissertation was produced.

What else drives organizational change than technology? While I have in this thesis focused exclusively on technology as a driver of change, it should naturally be acknowledged that technology alone does not impart change on journalism or media organizations. Journalism research in the past decade has been accused of being too technology and business focused (e.g., Bossio & Nelson, 2021; Steensen & Westlund, 2021) – an argument I have referenced multiple times in previous chapters. It can't be denied, however, that this thesis is also a part of that line of research considering technology and its capabilities as sources of change processes in the media and in doing so potentially overlooking other explanations. My personal interest in technological change and its effects on journalism grew out of multiple sources: a job opportunity I missed before starting this thesis, my work in a research project interested in technology-mediated communication in workplaces (Somedia, described further in section 3.2), and my understanding of the journalism studies literature – which, at the time of crafting a research plan for this dissertation in 2019, was bursting with accounts of new software, hardware, and their adaptations and adoptions (for an overview, see, e.g., Ahva & Steensen, 2017).

In addition to technological, drivers of change in organizations can be, for example, political, cultural, demographic, economic, or market-related (Alvesson & Sveningsson, 2008). Often in its attempts to account for and explain change, journalism research tends to, in addition to digitalization, point to the economic troubles of media organizations when arguing *why* journalism should change. In fact, these two explanations are usually tied together with the logic that digitalization is the key player that ate away the economic sustainability of the media industry (e.g., Picard, 2014). In that sense, journalism research is much like general organization research where most accounts of organizational change refer to an outside stimulus as the need for cultural change for an organization to survive economically (Alvesson & Sveningsson, 2008). In prioritizing technology-induced change in this dissertation, I have not paid attention to, for example, the globalization of journalism and how ideas developed and adopted elsewhere in the world impart change on the organizations I studied locally. Similarly, the cultural and political changes of recent years, mainly the rise of populist politics in Western societies (e.g., Rae, 2021), could have also proven to be a fruitful base for a critically oriented analysis of development work: How are newsrooms responding creatively to attacks on their legitimacy? What kind of innovation do attacks on journalistic values inspire in newsrooms?

Overall, it should be noted that while journalism research has been keen to analyze technology-infused change, the field keeps struggling with how it views technology as a source of change. Appelgren (2023) writes that historically, journalism scholars have been wary of technologically determinist statements and that in most mentions of technological determinism by journalism scholars in the past ten years, scholars mention the concept specifically to swear it off. I would like to note here that despite my focus on technology-induced change in journalism in this dissertation, I do not consider it to be the only source of change – the world is much more complex than that. In my analysis, I have attempted to be as explicit as possible regarding levels of analysis as well as definitions of technology: Article I moves on the team level and considers technology as tools that allow technology-mediated communication between team members, Article II focuses on social media platforms (both internal and external) on the organizational level, and Article III takes a step back and considers technology as an institution on its own. Through these explications, I have aimed at producing a detailed description of how technology is changing journalism – one which I hope manages to explain a part of the evolution of journalism in recent years.

A second limitation relates to my decision to adopt institutional theory as the overall interpretive framework for this dissertation. As I have noted in the theoretical framework of this dissertation, institutional theory, and its neo-institutional branches specifically, can be criticized for their inability to account for change within institutions and fields (Ryfe, 2016). Similarly to my fascination with technological change in the industry, the decision to adopt institutional theory while writing Article II rose out of an initial personal experience of frustration in that I was seeking to study change but as I analyzed my data, I saw

very little of it. Institutional theory seemed to provide answers, in the form of isomorphism, for why change was slow or nonexistent, but as my familiarity with the theory grew, I also came to realize its obvious limitations (e.g., inability to explain how institutions come to be or die out). Hence, in an effort to create a somewhat solid but varied theoretical base for this dissertation, I have made use of theory in different ways in the original articles in tandem with how my abilities as a researcher have grown over the years. Article I relies on a literature review of concepts and approaches, Article II adopts isomorphism as a central concept without much references to other aspects of institutional theory, and Article III adopts institutional theory and institutional logics wholeheartedly. In sum, the degree to which my work has been theoretically oriented varies. While I cannot claim that this has been an intentional move during the dissertation process, I now see it as a relative strength of this work in that the theoretical base reflects a variety of views and approaches.

In recent years, institutional theory has been criticized for conceptual fuzziness. What specifically constitutes an institution? Alvesson and Spicer (2019) note that in accumulating a vast amount of research around it, institutional theory has come to accept almost anything as an institution which has led to pseudo-progress and reinventing the wheel among institutional theorists. When institutional theory is applied in journalism studies, similar fuzziness remains in terms of concepts and their levels of analysis. Some of the most central units of analysis in journalism research can be viewed as institutions on their own, like the newsroom, the journalist or even the interview. An additional layer of confusion comes about when we consider the different logics present in the organizational field of journalism: In relation to technology, for example, there's a technology logic (Lischka, 2020), a Silicon Valley logic (Russell, 2019), a social media logic (Walters, 2022; Lischka, 2021), an algorithmic logic (Sirén-Heikel, Kjellman & Lindén, 2023) and even the product logic (McMullen Cheng & Bélair-Gagnon, 2022), which in the literature have come to signify similar types of things only with some differences in orientations. The conceptual playing field within institutional theory and in its applications in journalism studies is, thus, a slippery slope.

I have attempted to navigate this terrain with care and thought in how I define institutions, logics, and their relationships, but as with general institutional research, the same weaknesses that come with conceptual fuzziness apply here too. In relation to logics, for example, I made the decision to use the terms "professional logic" and "technology logic" as they appeared in those forms in the literature most often. However, my use of them can also be critiqued as presenting them in singular form (as in *a* logic) might give off the sense that the logics are somehow coherent, single entities. Using a plural form, like professional logic*s* or technology logic*s*, would have highlighted that a logic could be further broken down into different types of logics that operate in a particular domain. For the sake of clarity, however, I felt the decision to stick with the singular form was justified and hopefully also makes reading this dissertation a less of a fuzzy experience.

Thirdly, the last limitation of this dissertation (or rather, the last I am going to discuss because naturally more could be identified) relates to a pro-change attitude. Steensen and Westlund (2021) note that digital journalism studies has an inherent interest in the contemporary, which is reflected in the field's interests in terms of objects of study (usually new, technologically-oriented phenomena) as well as the literature it uses (often favoring approaches from the past decade rather than older texts). The authors effectively summarize how notions of innovation, change, newness, and technological optimism tie together in the field:

> Innovation research tends to emphasise newness and change. Whether it is a new idea, a new technology, a new commodity or a new combination of existing ideas, technologies, or commodities, it is the newness and its consequences that are under scrutiny. Newness and change are in other words integral parts of innovation as discourse. This discourse also emphasises structural factors such as technology and economy as drivers of change (Steensen, 2013), and it is therefore linked to the discourse of technological optimism – (Steensen & Westlund, 2021, p. 81)

Their central argument is that in the field of digital journalism studies, scholars often treat change normatively in a sense that change is a net positive for journalism. At the start of this dissertation project in 2019, my thoughts were the same. Article I uses an argumentation logic – and I simplify here for the sake of space – that goes roughly like this: "Journalism is facing an economic crisis due to technological change and in order to become economically sustainable again, it needs to innovate. New, technological solutions can help journalists and newsrooms do just that." While at the time of writing, this argumentation sounded reasonable enough, in the years after the publication of the paper its problems have become increasingly clear. Firstly, it presents the need for change simply as a matter of economic sustainability (that is, the motivator for change is essentially capitalist) and ignores other reasons for needing to renew journalism (e.g., audiences' increasing disinterest in news). Secondly, it assumes that technological innovation can help save journalism in the future and thus invokes two of the most often repeated mantras in digital journalism research in the past decade: that journalism is, in fact, in crisis, and that the savior is technology. In these statements, I come to repeat a Western-centric view of journalism (the crisis discourse) and somewhat succumb to technological determinism (the technological optimism discourse).

In subsequent articles (Articles II and III) and in this introductory part, I have tried my best to both write against those narratives or at least to complement them with other kinds of argumentation. Article II reflects a more minor shift in justifications of research as I adopted the ILC framework which is essentially based on the idea that legacy news organizations need to become profitable, while in Article III the focus on examining learning is additionally justified with a discussion on skill demands and journalists' well-being. In the Introduction of this dissertation, I try to motivate this work with more than just economic goals: I tie creativity, innovation, and learning more concretely to the well-being of journalists and that well-being to the overall future of the media field. While most of the literature I have used in defining the central concepts of creativity, innovation, and learning are, by their very nature, tied to economic

success (innovation especially), I have aimed at providing conceptualizations that cast a broader net in terms of motivations and justifications for research. How well I have achieved this goal is left for the reader to evaluate.

6.2 Practical implications

As I have stated in different sections throughout this introductory part of the dissertation, my goal from the beginning has been to produce useful, actionable knowledge that may help journalists and media organizations on their way to a brighter future. In this section, I will draw on the findings of the original articles as well as the introductory part to present practical suggestions on how development work, that is, the processes of creativity, innovation, and learning might be made easier and more meaningful in the future.

Many of the theoretical approaches utilized in this dissertation draw from communication studies and organization research. This focus, by putting communication center stage, makes the phenomenon of development work somewhat tangible. Focusing on communication on the individual, team, and organization levels enables journalists and managers to shape the processes of creativity, innovation, and learning so that they become both more efficient and more inclusive. Article I, for example, suggests ways to improve communication on the team level to enhance creative processes in technology-mediated settings. While this might not have been a relevant situation to many newsrooms before 2020, the Covid-19 pandemic and the ensuing remote work has made technology-mediated settings more common in the media field. Hence, it pays off to focus on how exactly a psychologically safe communication climate (Gibson & Gibbs, 2006), that supports creativity, can be built and maintained. The findings in Article I highlight the role of open communication: Team members should be encouraged to voice ideas without the fear of being ridiculed for them. In the study, journalists believed they could voice even unfinished ideas because they had trust in other team members' expertise.

Moreover, other important aspects of successful creative work in technology-mediated setting relate to the types of goals a team has as well as the mindful facilitation of creative work by management. Rather than simply stating that a team needs to be creative, concrete goals relating the types of ideas and possibly also the amount helped the teams in the study come up with a variety of possible solutions. Furthermore, reserving time and space for ideation and development of ideas ensured that ideas were not left "floating in the air" but that they were in fact materialized in a more concrete way in notes and memos and eventual journalistic products. Managers should also make sure the creative process includes everyone on a specific team: In the study, one team handled inclusivity better than the other which could be seen to result in more ideas. While we cannot draw a causality between including everyone and producing more ideas, the team members in this particular team felt that their creative process was supported by the inclusion of a multiplicity of voices and expertise.

The approaches outlined above assume that creativity in journalism plays out in communication between team members (e.g., Kristensson & Norlander, 2003) – that creativity is about collaboration. Article II adopts a similar view as it suggests that organizing in a network structure inside an organization might be beneficial for innovation and peer-learning processes. In the empirical case of the social media development network at a Nordic public service media company, the network structure enabled members from different parts of the organization to hear and learn from each other. Benchmarking as well as transfer of practical knowledge on how to do journalism on social media platforms took place in the network's weekly meetings. Here, however, reflexivity plays a key role: While benchmarking and copying of other's actions serve beginner learners well (e.g., Dreyfus, Dreyfus & Athanasiou, 1986), reflexivity about practice is needed when the beginner stage is passed, and it is time to start experimenting and improvising. Innovation, for example, cannot take place if benchmarking and sharing of best practices is all peer-learning opportunities and experiences have to offer. Rather, when managers facilitate development work in newsrooms, their role should also include being the critical voice if development work processes start to show isomorphic tendencies, that is, too much mimicry. Importantly, this role also applies to journalists as operating in a network might lower the traditional hierarchies of the newsroom.

In relation to learning, Article III highlights the importance of negotiating the pressures from competing institutional logics in a way that acknowledges the possibility of negative effects on skill levels and occupational well-being. In the analysis of institutional logics in professional journalists' experiences of learning, I and my coauthors identified four different competing logics which shaped how journalists learn on the job. Practice-wise, it is important to understand that the logics in themselves are not good or bad per se, but rather, they guide action in various (often conflicting) ways which might lead to confusion on the individual and organizational levels. Hence, my suggestion is that the pressures that journalists experience from the logics (such as the pressure to be fast, to constantly learn new skills, to produce quality journalism) are voiced in the newsroom and they are negotiated in accordance with organizational priorities. This means that managers specifically need to, first, be aware of the different influences on their own and journalists' work and, second, be willing to have the discussions that alleviate those pressures inside the newsroom. Again, the role of reflexivity is highlighted here as without an understanding of the drivers of action in the newsroom, managers and journalists will be unable to negotiate the logics in a sustainable way.

Finally, the introductory part points to two final ideas on how to go about doing development work in newsrooms. First, development work is inherently about collaboration which highlights the role of relational skills for journalists. While traditional skills, like interviewing and writing, and digital skills, like social media production, are often mentioned in studies on ideal skills (e.g., Örnebring & Mellado, 2019), relational skills have received less attention. Journalism's move from an individual accomplishment to a team effort puts an

emphasis on journalists' and managers' ability to work in collaborative settings and their ability to, for example, build and maintain a psychologically safe communication climate (Gibson & Gibbs, 2006) on the team level or an innovative learning culture (Porcu, 2020) on the organizational level. Second, the use of ICTs in a newsroom requires negotiation (Laitinen, 2020). Technology's varied roles as facilitator, instigator, and constraint of development work imply that the role is fundamental enough that it should be discussed and problematized in media organizations. While this is not explicitly a finding in the original articles, the aggregated findings presented in Chapter 5 about technology and development work advocate for this practical implication.

6.3 Open questions and avenues for future research

Writing this dissertation has resulted in more open questions than in answers that I sought when I started this process – but that is only the natural product of engaging with a topic deeply. Hence, below are outlined some of the ideas that, while writing this dissertation, have intrigued me the most and that I feel other researcher's may also take as their starting points in future research. They relate to the dissertation's central concept of development work, creativity as a phenomenon, reflexivity in learning processes and journalistic practice, and methodological approaches.

Firstly, I devised the concept of development work mainly for practical purposes while writing this introductory part. While always repeating the mantra of "creativity, innovation, and learning" seemed laborious, thinking about how to combine these phenomena into one was also a challenge. As a concept, development work is still only tentatively defined and lacks, for example, concrete operationalization. However, the concept might have potential for studying organizational processes that do not quite fit the requirements of other concepts, like creativity or innovation. Both creativity and innovation require "success" to be studied (e.g., Klausen, 2010) whereas development work is decidedly a process concept in that it allows for the attempts for improvement even if those attempts fail. Consequently, rather than using media innovation as a concept and ending up with findings that prove journalists and media organizations do not innovate, further refining development work and using it in studies to examine organizational development in media organizations might yield findings that are both organizationally situated and more inclusive in terms of what "counts" when we consider innovation processes, for example.

Secondly, journalism studies lacks a systematic approach to creativity research (Küng, 2017; Malmelin, 2015). A systematic literature review on how the concept is used in journalism studies is the first thing on the list of things to do to find out how the concept has been operationalized, and what types of research media and journalism scholars generally do with it. With this information, future research could aim at more tangible findings regarding creativity in journalism and in media organizations. A possible way to approach creativity in newsrooms

in a more tangible manner is taking its operationalization as a communicative phenomenon one step further and conceptualizing it as materializing in communication in line with the communication constitutes organizations (CCO) literature (e.g., Brummans, Cooren, Robichaud & Taylor, 2014). While a more in-depth dive into creativity and CCO is out of the scope of this dissertation, it needs to be noted that the theoretical framework does give some promise about going beyond the characterization of "everything is creative in journalism" through its explicit focus on communication. Adopting CCO, however, requires a vastly different ontological and epistemological framework than what journalism studies is used to (see Martine & Cooren, 2016; Cooren, 2020).

Thirdly, past research is filled with calls for reflexivity in relation to different phenomena such as temporality (Carlson & Molyneux, 2019), social media (Lewis & Molyneux, 2018) and technology-infused media innovation (Bossio & Nelson, 2021) – and I will make one more. Mine is, however, intertwined with all of the above as I think it would be worthwhile to really study what reflexive journalistic practice looks like. The findings in this dissertation highlight the need for reflexivity in development work on both individual and organizational levels in regard to personal well-being and isomorphic tendencies respectively. So, what characterizes reflexive journalistic practice on the individual level – what kind of choices do reflexive journalists make in relation to their occupational well-being, what values do they espouse, what kind of beliefs do they hold about the need for, for example, continuously learning new skills? Essentially, what are the ways of balancing competing institutional logics in a way that it is beneficial for well-being? This avenue of research might be methodologically challenging to pursue as researching well-being holistically would entail studying journalists in a variety of naturally occurring settings, which is why the fourth and last point explores methodological solutions to studying the phenomena described above.

Understanding the lived experiences of journalists, such as the reflexivity of their practice or their attempts to improve journalism, call for more "creative" use of methodologies (Deuze, Witschge & Willemsen, 2019). One way to capture the fluid nature of work in contemporary journalism would be to use organizational ethnography and shadowing, that is, following a journalist in the newsroom and on assignments, and even spending time with them while they are off the clock. This type of approach could help in mapping out how the institutional conditions of journalism are changing and in painting a more complete picture of work in the media field (for a discussion on ethnographic observing in different places, such as work and home, see Mazmanian, Beckman & Harmon, 2015). Such qualitative work is labor intensive but increasingly necessary as the object of study – journalism in itself – is getting trickier to define and approach. Additionally, ethnographers need to account for the digital life that takes place in newsrooms and across their borders. This brings about a challenge for researchers' skills as making use of large digital data sets often requires some computational skills and the ability interpret such data in a meaningful way (see also Steensen & Westlund, 2021; Robinson & Metzler, 2016;

Lindgren, 2020). Despite the challenges, however, these open questions and avenues for future research in relation to development work promise intellectual challenges and hands-on work in the future.

SUMMARY IN FINNISH

Länsimaista journalismia ja journalismin tutkimusta on kahden viime vuosikymmenen aikana leimannut kriisidiskurssi, jossa journalismi instituutiona on asetettu uhriksi erilaisten digitalisaatiosta juontuvien kehityskulkujen edessä. Internetin yleistyminen, sosiaalisen median alustojen kasvava suosio ja muiden digitaalisten palvelujen journalismille esittämä haaste yleisöjen ajasta ja mielenkiinnosta on sekä ammattilehdistössä että tutkimuksessa usein tulkittu yksipuoliseksi kausaalisuhteeksi, jossa digitalisaatio on johtanut perinteisen journalistisen instituution legitimiteetin murenemiseen (esim. Picard, 2014). Verkko ja sen eri sovellukset siis tulivat ja veivät mediatalojen liiketoiminnalta ensin taloudellisen pohjan ja sen jälkeen uskottavuuden.

Lääkkeeksi journalismin kriisiin on sekä alalla että tutkimuksessa paradoksaalisesti tarjottu uutta teknologiaa (Steensen & Westlund, 2021) – siis sitä samaa, jonka on diagnosoitu aiheuttaneen journalismin ongelmat alun perinkin. 2010-luvun alkupuolella alkoi puhe mediaorganisaatioiden pakosta innovoida tiensä ulos taloudellisesta kurimuksesta (esim. Pavlik, 2013), jonka seurauksena tutkimuksessakin yleistyi narratiivi, jonka mukaan toimitusten tulisi innovoida, mutta useimmat mediatalot ovat siinä tuskastuttavan hitaita (Evans, 2018). Tutkimuksessa päivittäisen uutistyön nähtiin vievän niin paljon aikaa resurssiköyhissä mediataloissa, että innovaatiotoiminnan aikajänne lyheni liiaksi, eikä ratkaisuja journalismin isoihin ongelmiin pystytty löytämään (esim. Porcu, 2020). 2010-luvun loppupuolella kriisinarratiivi otti uuden suunnan, kun aiempaa tutkimusta alettiin tarkastella laajemmin kuin bisneslinssin kautta: huomattiin, että journalismin muutosta voi ja kannattaa tutkia muutenkin kuin länsimaisin, taloudellisen kriisin värittämin ennakkokäsityksin (Bossio & Nelson, 2021).

Tämä väitöskirja sijoittuu edellä kuvatulle journalismin innovaatiotutkimuksen osa-alueelle, tosin niin, että toimituksissa tapahtuvaa innovointia ei tarkastella ainoastaan taloudellisen edun tavoittelun välineenä, vaan myös tapana lisätä mediatyöntekijöiden hyvinvointia ja sitä kautta mediaorganisaatioiden ja journalismin kestävyyttä ja merkityksellisyyttä pitkällä aikavälillä (vrt. Bélair-Gagnon, Holton, Deuze & Mellado, 2024). Tarkastelen väitöskirjaan kuuluvassa kolmessa artikkelissa ja tässä kokoavassa osassa toimituksissa tapahtuvaa kehitystyötä (engl. development work), viestintä- ja informaatioteknologioiden roolia kehitystyössä, sekä journalismin institutionaalista muutosta. Käsitteenä kehitystyö viittaa niihin luovuuden, innovoinnin ja oppimisen prosesseihin, joiden tavoitteena on jollakin tavalla kehittää tai viedä journalismia eteenpäin yksilöiden, tiimien ja/tai organisaatioiden tasolla. Kehitystyön ei tarvitse johtaa mitattaviin tai onnistuneisiin lopputuloksiin, vaan keskeistä siinä on prosessi, jossa luovuus, innovointi ja oppiminen tulevat näkyviksi vuorovaikutuksessa.

Väitöskirjan tavoitteena on 1) *kuvata kehitystyön keskeiset piirteet niin kuin toimittajat ne itse kokevat päivittäistyössään*, 2) *kuvata viestintä- ja informaatioteknologioiden roolia kehitystyössä*, sekä 3) *tunnistaa ja kuvata niitä institutionaalisia seikkoja, jotka muovaavat toimituksissa tapahtuvaa kehitystyötä*. Väitöskirjan teoreettinen tausta nojaa institutionaaliseen teoriaan. Teoriapohja on koostettu sekä

journalismin että organisaatiotutkimuksen perinteistä: hyödynnän sekä journalismin tutkimuksen käsitystä journalismista instituutiona (Cook, 1998; Sparrow, 1999; Ryfe, 2016) että organisaatiotutkimuksen alalle sijoittuvaa institutionaalista teoriaa erityisesti organisaatioiden välisistä suhteista (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Meyer & Rowan, 1977) sekä yksilöiden ja organisaatioiden käyttäytymistä kentällä selittävää institutionaalisten logiikoiden lähestymistapaa (Thornton, Ocasio & Lounsbury, 2012). Yhdistän näihin teoreettisiin lähtökohtiin journalismin tutkimuskirjallisuudesta erityisesti luovuuden, innovoinnin ja oppimisen tutkimusta, joista kaksi ensimmäistä ovat alalla paremmin ymmärrettyjä ja määriteltyjä kuin viimeinen.

Tutkimuksen tieteenfilosofiset lähtökohdat sijoittuvat tulkinnalliseen viitekehykseen. Tarkemmin väitöskirjaan kuuluvien artikkeleiden ontologiset ja epistemologiset lähtökohdat vaihtelevat sosiaalisen konstruktionismin ja kriittisen realismin (Bhaskar, 1989/2011) välillä. Keskeistä on käsitys itsenäisesti olemassa olevasta todellisuudesta, josta tieto kuitenkin muodostuu yksilöiden välisessä vuorovaikutuksessa (Benton & Craib, 2011). Tämä näkemys on jokseenkin linjassa journalismin tutkimuksen yleisten käsitysten kanssa siitä, miten journalismi itsessään toimii maailmassa: se kuvaa jotakin itsensä ulkopuolella, mutta tieto tuosta ulkopuolisesta on sosiaalisesti rakennettua (Ekström & Westlund, 2019).

Väitöskirjan menetelmällinen lähestymistapa on laadullinen. Empiirinen aineisto koostuu kahdesta etnografisesta aineistosta ja yhdestä haastatteluaineistosta. Ensimmäinen etnografinen aineisto on kerätty Somedia-hankkeessa syksyllä 2018 ja se koostuu isossa maakunnallisessa mediaorganisaatiossa työskentelevistä toimittajista. Aineiston rakentavat toimittajien haastattelut (n=14, keskipituus 69 minuuttia), tiimitapaamisten observoinnit (n=9, yhteensä 66 sivua kenttämuistiinpanoja) sekä digitaaliselta chat-alustalta kerätty vuorovaikutusdata. Ensimmäisen artikkelin analyysissa hyödynnettiin haastatteluja ja havainnointiaineistoa.

Toinen etnografinen aineisto on kerätty pohjoismaisesta julkisen palvelun mediaorganisaatiosta, jossa toimi Somedia-hankkeen aikaan keväällä 2019 sosiaalisen median toimintaan keskittynyt sisäinen verkosto. Verkoston jäseniltä kerättiin haastatteluja (n=10, keskipituus 56 minuuttia) ja heidän viikoittaisia tapaamisiaan havainnoitiin sekä kasvokkaistilanteissa että etäosallistumistyökalujen kautta (n=8, noin 20 tuntia seurattuja tapaamisia, 46 sivua kenttämuistiinpanoja, lisäksi tapaamisista koottuja digitaalisia materiaaleja). Lisäksi verkoston sisällä toimineelta ydinryhmältä kerättiin WhatsApp-dataa (823 riviä tekstiä, 32 kuvaa, kolme videota) ja verkoston intranet-sivulta otettiin 11 kuvakaappausta. Molempien etnografisten aineistojen keskiössä oli Somedia-hankkeen tutkimustavoitteen mukaisesti kartoittaa viestintäteknologioiden välityksellä tapahtuvaa luovaa työtä ja innovointia mediaorganisaatioissa.

Kolmannen aineiston muodostavat Media Work 2030 -hankkeessa keväällä 2020 kerätyt 30 haastattelua. Suomen Journalistiliiton kanssa yhteistyössä toteutetun hankkeen osallistujat olivat kaikki journalistisessa työssä, mutta työnantajaorganisaatiot vaihtelivat. Haastateltuja kuvaakin parhaiten nimike mediatyöntekijä. Haastattelujen keskimääräinen kesto oli 58 minuuttia ja teemat pohjasivat

Media Work 2030 -hankkeen yleisiin kiinnostuksen kohteisiin eli digitalisaatioon ja hyvinvointiin toimitustyössä.

Kaikki aineistot on kerätty yhteistyössä muiden tutkijoiden kanssa osana kutakin tutkimushanketta. Etnografisten aineistojen keräämisessä oma roolini on ollut seuraava: Ensimmäisestä aineistosta keräsin kaikki 14 haastattelua yhdessä toisen väitöskirjatutkijan kanssa niin, että olimme molemmat paikalla jokaisessa haastattelussa. Olin läsnä myös jokaisessa havainnoidussa tiimikokouksessa, sekä tutkittujen tiimien digitaalisissa viestintäkanavissa. Toisessa etnografisessa aineistossa keräsin yhdeksän kymmenestä haastattelusta, sekä havainnoin kaksi kahdeksasta viikkotapaamisesta. Hankkeessa työskennellyt post doc -tutkija keräsi yhden haastattelun, kuusi havainnointia sekä digitaaliset aineistot. Media Work 2030 -haastatteluiden suhteen olin ratkaisevassa asemassa luomassa haastattelurunkoa ja keräsin yhteensä 12 haastattelua. Hankkeen post doc -tutkija teki 13 haastattelua ja maisteritutkielmantekijä yhteensä viisi haastattelua.

Kaikki aineistot on analysoitu iteratiivisen sisällönanalyysin keinoin (Tracy, 2020). Iteratiivinen sisällönanalyysi etenee kehämäisesti niin, että tutkija lukee rinnakkain sekä keräämäänsä empiiristä aineistoa että tutkimuskirjallisuutta ja yhdistelee havaintojaan molemmista. Analyysi saa muotonsa aineiston ja kirjallisuuden vuorovaikutuksessa niin, että sekä teoreettisen että käytännöllisesti hyödyllisen tiedon tuottaminen on tutkimusprosessissa mahdollista. Jokaisen artikkelin analyysiprosessi alkoi dataan uppoutumisella ja siihen tutustumisella, ”marinoitumisella”, jonka jälkeen kirjasin ylös tästä prosessista heränneitä havaintoja ja ajatuksia, sekä viittauksia aiempaan kirjallisuuteen. Keskustelin usein muotoutuvasta analyysista jo tässä vaiheessa artikkeleiden kanssakirjoittajien kanssa. Jokaisessa väitöskirjaan kuuluvassa artikkelissa kuvattu analyysi on pääasiallisesti minun ajatteluni tulosta; kanssakirjoittajat ovat antaneet tukeaan, mielipiteitään ja huomioitaan analyysiprosessin varrella. Aineistossa marinoitumisen jälkeen olen koodannut kaikkia aineistoja systemaattisemmin riippuen kunkin projektin keskeisestä kiinnostuksen kohteesta. Tässä vaiheessa analyysi on ollut usein vielä ilmiötä kuvailevaa ja vaatii analyyttisen ”hyppäyksen” päästäkseen uudelle, korkeammalle abstraktiotasolle. Tämä taso löytyi usein sekä kanssakirjoittajien kanssa tuloksia ääneen pohtiessa että artikkeleiden arviointiprosessien aikana asiantuntevien arvioijien ehdotusten seurauksena.

Väitöskirjan keskeisimmät tulokset kiertyvät kehitystyön ja teknologian välisen suhteen ympärille, sekä tätä suhdetta muovaaviin institutionaalisiin tekijöihin. Ensimmäinen tutkimuskysymys kohdistaa huomionsa toimituksissa tapahtuvan kehitystyön keskeisiin piirteisiin. Alkuperäisartikkeleiden pohjalta kehitystyön keskeisiksi piirteiksi voidaan mainita kolme seikkaa: 1) Kehitystyössä keskiössä on yhteistyö toimituksen jäsenien välillä. Tämä yhteistyö tapahtuu usein matalan hierarkian verkostoissa; 2) Kehitystyö vaatii jatkuvaa oppimista ja refleksiivisyyttä; ja 3) Kehitystyö voi olla epäsystemaattista ja ajallisesti hajanaista. Journalismi on perinteisesti totuttu näkemään yksilöiden pelinä: toimittajan on usein kyettävä autonomiseen työskentelyyn ja itsenäinen työote korostuu alan ammattilaisten vastauksissa hyvän toimittajan ominaisuuksista (Örnebring & Mellado, 2018). Toimituksissa tapahtuvassa kehitystyössä, siis luovuuden,

innovoinnin ja oppimisen prosesseissa, on kuitenkin perustavanlaatuisella tavalla kyse vuorovaikutuksesta yksilöiden välillä – ideoiden jakamisesta, niiden kehittämisestä, soveltamismahdollisuuksien kehittämisestä yhteistyössä muiden kanssa. Kehitystyö näyttäytyykin siis itsenäisen ja autonomisen uutistyön rinnalla aiempaa yhteistoiminnallisempana.

Väitöskirja myös osoittaa, että kehitystyössä on usein kyse jatkuvasta uuden oppimisesta ja erityisesti refleksiivisyydestä oppimisprosessissa. Kehitystyö vaatii sekä yksilöiltä että organisaatioilta kykyä tunnistaa oppimisen paikkoja sekä tukea oppimisprosesseja niin, että journalistisen työn rakenteet – eli institutionaaliset seikat – eivät estä kehitystyötä. Käytännössä tämä tarkoittaa usein esimerkiksi innovaatioprosesseissa toimitusten kykyä tarkastella omaa toimintaansa kriittisesti ja arvioida, yritetäänkö prosessissa kopioida jo ennalta hyviksi todettuja ratkaisuja vai edetä aidosti uusiin näkökulmiin. Teoreettisessa mielessä aiemmin toimineiden ratkaisujen kopioiminen esimerkiksi kilpailijalta on esimerkki isomorfismista (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983) eli organisaatioiden tavasta kopioida kentällä menestyviä pelaajia epävarmojen olosuhteiden vallitessa. Alkuperäisartikkelit tukevat myös sitä havaintoa, että vaikka usein innovaatio- ja luovuusprosessit pyritään toimituksissa kehystämään systemaattisiksi kehitysprosesseiksi, kehitystyö harvoin on juuri sellaista. Pikemminkin kehitystyötä luonnehtii sen epäsystemaattinen ja ajallisesti hajanainen luonne, jossa tärkeää ei ole niinkään työskentelyn systemaattisuus, vaan ylipäätään tavoite parantaa journalismia jollakin tapaa. Näiden yritysten ei tarvitse olla onnistuneita tai mitattavissa, eikä ajallisesti yhteneväisiä.

Väitöskirjan toinen tutkimuskysymys kääntää huomion informaatio- ja viestintäteknologioiden rooliin kehitystyössä. Alkuperäisartikkelien tulokset johtavat kolmeen mahdolliseen rooliin: 1) kehitystyön perustavanlaatuinen fasilitoija, 2) kehitystyön stimuloija, sekä 3) kehitystyön rajoittaja. Yksinkertaisimmillaan informaatio- ja viestintäteknologiat toimivat kehitystyön perustavanlaatuisina fasilitoijina, sillä ne välittävät ja tallentavat toimitusten jäsenten välisiä viestejä ja tietoa. Tulokset kuitenkin myös osoittavat, että pelkkä viestintäteknologian läsnäolo toimituksessa ei saa toimittajia käyttämään sitä kehitystyöhön. Informaatio- ja viestintäteknologiat toimivat myös kehitystyön inspiraationa tai stimuloijina mediataloissa, sillä erityisesti sosiaalisen median työkaluissa tapahtuneet kehitysaskeleet saivat tutkitut mediaorganisaatiot kehittämään aktiivisesti uusia mahdollisuuksia tehdä ja välittää journalismia yleisöille. Lisäksi informaatio- ja viestintäteknologiat voidaan nähdä kehitystyön rajoittajina, sillä vaikka ne stimuloivat kehitystyötä, ne myös asettivat kehitystyölle raamit, joiden puitteissa mediaorganisaatiot joutuivat toimimaan.

Kolmas tutkimuskysymys on kiinnostunut kehitystyön institutionaalisista olosuhteista eli niistä institutionaalisen tason seikoista, jotka muovaavat päivittäin toimituksissa tehtävää kehitystyötä. Alkuperäisartikkelit yhdessä osoittavat, että kehitystyötä muovaavat journalismin rutiinit, teknologia kenttätason instituutiona, sekä markkinalogiikat. Journalismi on rutinoitunutta työtä, jossa rutiinien seuraaminen on nähty sekä laadunvalvonnan että legitimiteetin mekanismina (Tandoc & Duffy, 2019). Seuraamalla journalistisessa prosessissa tiettyjä

rutiineja, kuten neutraalia ääntä, tasapuolisuutta, sekä objektiivisuutta, journalisti osoittaa kuuluvansa journalismin instituutioon ja takaa näin oman paikkansa institutionaalisella kentällä. Innovaatiokirjallisuudessa rutiinit on kuitenkin nähty usein innovaatioiden ja luovuuden hidasteina (esim. Porcu, 2020), mikä on johtanut toimittajien leimaamiseen muutoskyvyttömiksi. Väitöskirjan tulokset viittaavatkin siihen, että näkökulma journalistisiin rutiineihin pitäisi päivittää: rutiinit suojaavat toimittajaa sekä kentän sisältä että ulkoa tulevilta hyökkäyksiltä (esim. vihapuhe, matala palkka, burnout) ja niiden omaksuminen on siten hyvinvointiin ja turvallisuuteen liittyvä kysymys. Miltä siis näyttäisi journalismin tutkimus, jonka keskiössä olisikin näkemys rutiineista suojan välineenä, ei itsepäisenä muutosvastaisuutena?

Institutionaalisella tasolla tarkasteltuna journalismin ja teknologian välinen suhde näyttäytyy tämän väitöskirjan tulosten valossa monimutkaisempana kuin aiempi kirjallisuus on sen esittänyt. Aiempi tutkimus on usein esittänyt mediaorganisaatiot niin sanotusti päättöminä kanoina, jotka ottavat käyttöön uusia teknologioita ilman reflektointia (Posetti, 2018; Evans, 2018). Alkuperäisartikkeleiden tulokset sen sijaan nostavat esiin sen, miten monilla tavoilla mediaorganisaatioissa kyseenalaistetaan ja jopa vastustetaan teknologioista kumpuavia muutoksia nimenomaan refleksiivisellä otteella, ei pelkästään muutosvastaisuuden ilosta. Lisäksi teknologiaan keskittyvät tulokset nostavat esiin sen, että journalismin muuttuminen yksilökeskeisestä suorituksesta tiimityöksi voi osaltaan olla seurausta digitalisaatiokehityksestä.

Alkuperäisartikkelit herättävät tarkastelemaan myös journalismin ja markkinoiden suhdetta. Perinteisesti markkinoiden on ajateltu työntävän journalismia yhä tehostetumpaan suuntaan, jossa toimitusten resursseja leikataan ja sama tai jopa isompi määrä työtä pitää tehdä pienemmällä henkilöresurssilla. Alkuperäisartikkelit kuitenkin osoittavat, että markkinalogiikat muovaavat toimituksissa tehtävää kehitystyötä myös yksilökeskeisemmin, sillä juuri markkinalogiikoiden koettiin aiheuttavan jatkuvan paineen oppia uusia (digi)taitoja ja näin varmistaa työn jatkuminen myös tulevaisuudessa. Markkinalogiikan rooli kehitystyölle oli siis kahtalainen: toisaalta se kannusti toimituksia ja toimittajia omaksumaan uutta, mutta samalla sen kuvattiin aiheuttavan kokemuksen työn intensifikaatiosta (Kubicek et al., 2015), jossa uuden omaksuminen oli työn eri puolien ristipaineessa hankalaa.

Kokonaisuudessaan väitöskirjan havainnot kertovat journalismin muutoksesta instituutiona. Määritelmällisesti instituutioille ovat merkityksellisiä nimenomaan toimintatavat, ideat, arvot, uskomukset, normit ja säännöt, jotka ylläpitävät instituution rajoja (Ryfe, 2019). Tämän väitöskirjan tulokset auttavat hahmottamaan, millä tavalla journalismin toimintatavat, ideat ja uskomukset, sekä arvot ovat muutoksessa. Tulosten perusteella voidaan hahmotella, miten nykymuotoinen journalismi on instituutiona vaikeaa määritellä tarkasti, sillä keskeiset ideat esimerkiksi siitä, mitä toimittajan pitäisi osata ovat muutoksessa. Tulokset esimerkiksi viittaavat siihen, että sosiaalisten ja teknologisten taitojen merkitys tulevaisuudessa korostuu, mikä eroaa aiemmasta toimittajan ideaalityypistä, joka on nähty enimmäkseen autonomisena vahtikoirajournalismin tekijänä.

Keskeisimmät havainnot siis osoittavat, miten journalismi instituutiona toisaalta on muutoksessa ja toisaalta pysyy oleellisilta osin samanlaisena.

Väitöskirjan tutkimukselliset heikkoudet liittyvät kolmeen keskeiseen lähtökohtaan: 1) teknologiaan muutoksen lähteenä, 2) institutionaalisen teorian selitysvoimaan teoreettisena viitekehyksenä sekä 3) tutkimustyön normatiiviseen suhtautumiseen muutokseen. Tutkimuksen keskeinen kiinnostus nimenomaan teknologiaan voi nostaa teknologisen muutoksen liiaksi näyttämölle journalismin muutosta analysoitaessa. Onkin todettava, että kiinnostukseni teknologiaan on ehdottomasti sulkenut pois muita selitysvaihtoehtoja ja näkökulmia, jotka olisivat voineet olla kehitystyön kontekstissa hedelmällisiä ja kiinnostavia. Institutionaalinen teoria puolestaan kärsii oman työkalupakkinsa sekalaisuudesta erityisesti käsitteiden tasolla. Aiempi tutkimus on todennut, että institutionaalinen teoria on alkanut viime vuosina kärsiä inflaatiosta selitysvoimansa suhteen, kun lähes mikä tahansa seikka (journalismissa esimerkiksi toimitus, toimittaja tai jopa haastattelu) voidaan käsittää instituutiona (Alvesson & Spicer, 2019). Lisäksi olen tässä väitöskirjassa käsitellyt muutosta lähtökohtaisesti positiivisena asiana (kuten journalismin tutkimus yleensä; Steensen & Westlund, 2021), mikä on muovannut tuloksia muutosta korostavaan suuntaan – kenties pysyvyyden analyysin kustannuksella.

Kehitystyö – siis luovuus, innovointi ja oppiminen – toimituksissa antaa paljon eväitä jatkotutkimukseen. Yksittäisten käsitteiden tasolla erityisesti luovuuden systemaattisempi käsittely journalismin kentällä olisi tarpeen; toisaalta myös oppimisen analyyseista on kokonaisuudessaan pulaa journalismin tutkimuksessa. Hyödyllistä voisi olla myös vahvemman viestintäteoreettisen lähestymistavan omaksuminen, esimerkiksi journalistisen luovuuden tai laajemmin kehitystyön prosessien tarkastelu CCO-teorian linssien läpi.

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APPENDIX I

Interview guide from the Somedia project used to collect semi-structured interviews from the members of the two teams in a regional media organization.

Background information on the interviewee

- Name, age, title
- Educational background
- Place of work
- Work experience in the field of journalism

Work as a journalist

- Describe your regular workday.
    - How do you start your day, what types of routines do you have for starting your workday?
- Do you work in multiple shifts?
- Do you use apps related to work before your shift starts?
- Who do you mainly work with?
- How long have you been a member of the team?
- And how does your workday end? Do you work from home after the official workday has ended? What do you do and how?

Creativity in journalism

- How is creativity visible/present in your work?
    - Could you give us an example of creativity in your work?
- And how is creativity present in your team's meetings?
- What kind of things support creativity in your work?
    - What factors in your team's communication climate support creativity? What is it about your colleagues'/boss' action that supports creativity?
    - How is it visible in interaction (face-to-face or on Slack)?
- What kind of things constrain creativity?
- You have now described creativity in your own work. Could define what creativity is in your opinion?

Innovation in journalism

- You have talked about creativity in your work and in your team. Could you now tell us, in your own words, how is creativity connected to innovation?
- Could you define innovation?
- Are you expected to innovate in your work? How?
- Could give us an example of a situation where you succeeded in innovating?

- Could you give us an example of a situation where the innovation process went wrong?

Technology-mediated work

Next, we'll discuss the work you do in the news/feature team.

- What types of technologies you use and how?
    - Do you ever work face-to-face?
- What is the meaning of communication technology for innovation and creativity in your team? How does technology support or hinder innovation activities in your team?
- Could you give us an example of a situation where you have been creative or innovative as a team through communication technology?

Work-life boundary management

We have discussed your work in relation to creativity, innovation, and technologies. In a way, these themes are also related to the next section, in which we will focus on work-life boundary management.

- Can you describe how Slack has changed your working practices?
- Can you reflect on the time you did not use Slack for work and the current situation?
- Have you received any guidelines for the use of communication technologies from your employer?
- How fast do you think you need to answer messages in Slack, do you need to be always available?
- How has the use of communication technology shaped the relationship between work and other aspects of your life?
- Do you perceive work and life to be separate zones or intertwined somehow, why? Can you give us an example of a situation where this is visible?
- How much do you discuss work-related things outside of work? Who do you talk with, how do they react?
- Do people in your team know people from your personal life?

We only have one more future-related question to end the interview with: What kinds of skills or expertise do you think a journalist should have in order to be successful in the future?

Has anything come up during the interview you'd still like to discuss? Anything you want to ask us?

APPENDIX II

Interview guide from the Somedia project used in the Nordic public service media organization.

Background information on the interviewee

- Name, age, title
- Educational background
- Where do you mainly work?
- How long have you worked in journalism?

Experience as a journalist and routines in daily work

- Describe your work at the organization? How has it changed over time?
- Describe your workday, how does a normal workday progress?
- Who do you mainly work with, what type of team do you have?
- What types of communication routines are related to your job?

Social media and innovations

- What's the role of social media in your work? How do you generally see social media's role for journalism?
- How has your organizations tried to adopt social media?
    - What is the role of metrics and data in your organization's work?
- Would you define innovation in your own words for me?
    - Do you think about the work that you do on social media (and in the network) as innovative, how?
- Would you describe a situation you think is an example of a successful innovation? Why do think this is a good example?
- Could you tell me about a situation that is an example of an unsuccessful innovation?
- Do you have any ideas on how to conduct the work that you do with less resources?

Teams and technologies

- Would you talk to me about the working practices of the social media development network?
- How has the network structure worked? What are its benefits or downsides?
- How does the network structure shape your work (support/constrain)?

Conclusion

- What kind of skills and competencies do you think media organizations should have in order to survive and thrive in the future?
- Has anything surfaced during the interview that you still want to discuss?
- Anything you want to ask us/me?

APPENDIX III

Interview guide from the Media Work 2023 project used to collect interviews from Finnish journalists on their experiences on digitalization and well-being.

Background information on the interviewee

- Educational background and working history
- How long have you worked in the media field?
- How many positions have you held during that time?
- How would you describe your current job: where and what type of work it is?

- Title, employer
- How long have you worked in your current job
- Form of employment
- Describe your typical work day / what did you do yesterday at work?
- Do you work in shifts?

THEME 1: The Media Field and Its Changes

- How did you become a professional in the media field? Why did you choose this field?
- Do you think work in the media field has changed significantly in the last ten years (or during the time you have worked in the media)? What have the changes been like?
- Has your job changed in the last five years? How?
- Do you think your job requires different skill now than it did ten years ago? What kind?

THEME 2: Digitalization of media work

- Digitalization at work
    - How would you define digitalization in the media field?
    - How is digitalization visible in your organization?
    - (Has digitalization shaped your work in the past ten years?)
    - What are the most important digital software and devices that you use in your job and what is your experience of them?
        - Email, content management system, online videoconferencing software, chat systems, intranet or internal social media, external social media
    - How much do you use some kind of digital systems during the workday?
    - How and why does digitalization make your job easier or harder?
- Digital skills

    - What kind of digital skills do you have? Do you think you know the digital software and devices required in your work well enough?
    - Where have you acquired your skills? Does your employer offer training?
    - In what kind of situations do you feel your digital skills are not good enough? What happens then, what do you do?
    - Do you get enough support for the use of technologies, software and applications at work? Who do you get it from?
- Digitalization and work-life balance
    - Does work infiltrate you free time because of digital devices? How? Can you give a concrete example?
    - What benefits or negative effects do you see in the blurring of these areas of your life?
    - Have tried to set boundaries for these areas of your life to keep them separate?
    - Does your organization assume that employees follow work-related messages during free time? How is this visible in your working practices?
    - Has your employer given any guidelines on using communication technologies outside working hours?

THEME 3: Occupational Well-being

- Stress, pressures, and multitasking
    - Do you feel a lack of time in your work? How do you experience the speed requirements of your work?
    - Is being busy tied to digitalization, organization of work or something else?
    - Do you feel that your normal working hours are enough to do your job, or do you often work outside normal working hours?
    - Do you multitask? Do you need to jump between different types of tasks? Is it a normal part of your job or does it have an effect on you?
    - Do you feel like you are able to do your job the best you can? If not, what would have to change for that to happen?
    - Downsides, upsides to being busy? How does being busy affect your newsroom? Is the theme discussed at the workplace? If yes, how?
- Autonomy and leadership
    - How much do you have a say in how you do your work or where you work, the amount of work? Can you give an example where you have been able to develop your work somehow?
    - Are you satisfied with the management and leadership at your workplace? Why, why not?
    - Do you feel that management is doing all that it can to enable you to do your best work? What would need to change for this to happen?

    - Do you think media organizations should generally be managed differently than they are now?
- Meaningfulness of work and commitment
    - Is your current job meaningful on a personal level? If yes, why?
    - What's rewarding about your work?
    - How meaningful do you think your work is on a societal level?
    - Are you planning on staying in the media field or switching jobs? Why?

THEME 4: Future of Media Work

- How do you see the future of the media field and your own work in it? What kinds of challenges or opportunities do you predict?
- What kind of skill does your own work require in five years?
- What kind of skill should a media organization possess in order to exist in five years?
- If we would do this interview again in five years, how would we talk about the general themes of this interview (work in the media, digitalization, well-being)?

Conclusion

Anything you still want to discuss or ask me/us?

ORIGINAL PAPERS

I

CREATIVITY AND INNOVATION IN TECHNOLOGY-MEDIATED JOURNALISTIC WORK: MAPPING OUT ENABLERS AND CONSTRAINTS

by

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Creativity and Innovation in Technology-Mediated Journalistic Work: Mapping out Enablers and Constraints

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ABSTRACT

This qualitative study examines creativity and innovation in dispersed, journalistic teams. Specifically, we study the factors enabling and constraining creativity and innovation in journalistic work in technology-mediated settings and explore how technology shapes these phenomena in dispersed journalistic teams. The study is motivated by the media industry's heightened need for creativity and innovation as well as the changing nature of working life where an increasing amount of work is done via information and communication technologies. By closely examining two journalistic teams and their idea sharing and development processes, this study finds that successful creative work and innovation in dispersed journalistic teams is characterized by intentional idea sharing and development habits and tangible goals as well as a psychologically safe communication climate. Furthermore, team characteristics, such as geographical dispersion and team history also shape creativity and innovation. The findings indicate that communication technology gives journalists more opportunities for sharing ideas, but it also induces uncertainty into the idea development phase. The study extends existing knowledge on remote, technology-mediated work in media organizations and offers valuable practical implications as the findings can encourage new cultures of experimentation and innovation in media organizations.

KEYWORDS

Creativity; innovation; psychologically safe communication climate; journalistic practices; media work; technology-mediated work

Introduction

Innovation in the media business is much about change and adaptation to a new strategic environment (Küng 2017). In this, media organizations depend largely on the creativity and skills of their employees (Mierzjewska and Hollifield 2006; Malmelin and Virta 2016) as creativity is an essential part of developing innovations (Küng 2017). However, the context for experimentation and innovation, as well as other journalistic work, is changing as work is increasingly done in dispersed teams with the help of communication technology. These technologies allow journalists to work collectively despite geographical and/or temporal dispersion and they have been reported to lend themselves to more knowledge sharing, open discussions as well as lowering

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hierarchies (e.g., Bunce, Wright, and Scott 2018; Gibbs et al. 2015; Hendrickson 2009). Importantly, communication technology has the potential to shape creativity and innovation by changing the practices of idea and information sharing (Razmerita, Kirchner, and Nabeth 2014; Turban, Bolloju, and Liang 2011).

Broadly, innovations have been deemed important for the survival of media organizations (Posetti 2018; Pavlik 2013; Küng 2017, 2011) even though the strategic environment for innovation and creativity has become increasingly difficult. Loss of audiences, the diminishing effectiveness of media business models and the increasing competition with digital giants such as Google and Facebook have all taken a toll on media organizations (Picard 2014). Consequently, technological advancements, changes in platforms, products, and consumption habits are forcing media organizations to be creative and innovative on a wider scale than before. In addition to being creative content-wise, media organizations need professionals who can innovate in areas such as new technologies, content distribution and audience engagement (Küng 2017).

In the light of these developments, studying creativity and innovation in the context of media and journalism seems especially salient. Hence, the aim of this study is to recognize how creative work and innovation is carried out through and shaped by communication technologies in media organizations. The study examines two teams of journalists that go about their daily interaction mainly through communication technologies. By observing team meetings and interviewing journalists, we analyze the factors that enable and constrain creative work and innovation in journalistic teams. We focus specifically on idea sharing and development.

Our study contributes theoretically to the still somewhat small reservoir of research on creative and technology-mediated work in journalism and media organizations. We introduce concepts, such as psychologically safe communication climate (PSCC), from the field of organizational communication to the study of journalistic work, which has not been previously done extensively in journalism studies (cf. Evans 2016). Our approach is novel also compared to previous work on creativity in newsrooms which often adopts a media management perspective (e.g., Malmelin and Virta 2016; Virta and Malmelin 2017; Banks et al. 2002). Importantly, we add to the ongoing discussion on technology-mediated, remote work in journalism (e.g., Bunce, Wright, and Scott 2018), which, at the time of writing, is especially timely due to the COVID-19 pandemic forcing journalists to work from home. Our findings and especially the understanding of the relevance of PSCC in journalistic work can be useful for journalism practitioners as they can assist in generating creativity supporting practices for technology-mediated work, as well as encourage new cultures of experimentation and innovation in media organizations.

Theoretical Background

Creativity and Innovation in the Field of Media and Journalism

Journalism is inherently creative work. It can serve journalists well to be able to produce novel ideas for stories, gather information in unconventional ways or find fresh avenues to discuss their work with audiences. In this study, creativity is defined as the production of novel and useful ideas (Amabile 1983). It is tightly interwoven with

communication, especially on the group level (Kristensson and Norlander 2003), and thus we approach it from a socioconstructivist perspective, i.e., creativity emerges in interaction between people.

In media management research, creativity has been recognized as a key competitive resource for media organizations in general and news organizations in particular (Küng 2017). As Deuze (2019) describes it, "creativity in this context gets heralded both as a special and unique ability that brings that little bit of extra to a certain way of doing things" (p. 130). Indeed, scholars have found that journalists regard creativity as an essential aspect of their work (Fulton and McIntyre 2013; Malmelin and Nivari-Lindström 2017; Hanusch et al. 2016; Hunter and Nel 2011; Bjornsen, Hovden, and Ottosen 2007) and that creating new practices and processes feels motivating and meaningful if not hindered, for example, by the commercial pressures of the journalistic profession (Malmelin and Nivari-Lindström 2017; Malmelin and Virta 2016). In practice, however, creativity has not been so much about creating new things but rather about refining and developing existing ideas (Nylund 2013; Malmelin and Nivari-Lindström 2017). Overall, the field has tended to approach creativity only in connection to content production rather than widening its scope to other domains of journalistic production (Küng 2017).

Despite the work done within media management research, creativity remains an under-researched area in journalism studies (Malmelin 2015). Witschge, Deuze, and Willemsen (2019) note that creativity in journalism has mostly been studied through the lens of technological innovation. Moreover, studies on the group and organizational levels are scarce (Rosso 2014; Malmelin and Virta 2016) and there is also a significant gap in literature on creative journalistic practices (see e.g., Banks et al. 2002; Mierzjewska and Hollifield 2006; Küng 2017; Hesmondhalgh and Baker 2011; Virta 2018). Adopting views from organizational communication and zooming in on group level activities in journalistic teams (idea sharing and development) allows us to view the phenomenon of creativity from a slightly different angle compared to media management research and thus better contribute to theory on creative work practices in journalistic teams (Rosso 2014).

Furthermore, in an organizational context, innovation can be defined as the implementation of ideas (Amabile 1996), which can transform into revenues, cost savings or new areas of business (Lehtisaari et al. 2018). In the media industry, innovation comes in many different shapes (product innovation, process innovation, position innovation, paradigmatic innovation, genre innovation, social innovation) and can involve different degrees of novelty (Krumsvik et al. 2019). Researchers also argue that true media innovation should be distinguished from routinely produced media products (Dogruel 2014; Westlund and Lewis 2014; Trappel 2015) which excludes daily content production from being counted as innovation. However, innovation in the media industry is often incremental and focused on small improvements in products (Krumsvik et al. 2019). Journalists' "creative energies", as Porcu, Hermans, and Broersma (2020) write, are sucked dry by the day-to-day news production that focuses on efficient output and short-term demand. Hence, legacy media organizations' innovation efforts are often exploitative (short-term, "inside the box") rather than explorative (long-term, "outside the box") even though, according to multiple researchers (Porcu 2017; Porcu,

Hermans, and Broersma 2020; Küng 2015; Westlund and Lewis 2014), explorative innovation is what these organizations most desperately need in order to reinvent themselves and survive in the future.

In this study innovation is approached as the implementation of ideas in an organizational context, in which ideas are aimed at developing practices or processes. Ideas for new content are treated as creative work and not innovation as such. However, we wish to also acknowledge that drawing a clear line between creativity and innovation can be difficult in the context of media and journalism (Küng 2017). The two concepts intercept in many ways: Creativity is an essential part of the early stages of the innovation process as it is about producing novel and useful ideas which, in turn, can be turned into innovations (Amabile 1996; Baregheh, Rowley, and Sambrook 2009).

Organizational Communication Meets Journalism: Idea Sharing and PSCC

As the need for creativity and innovation in media organizations increases (Küng 2017; Mierzjewska and Hollifield 2006), the context for doing work is also changing. Overall, an increasing amount of contemporary work is done in collaborative situations as narrow expertise and complex work require employees to cross disciplinary, organizational, and other boundaries to accomplish goals (Edmondson and Lei 2014). This type of work is accommodated in organizations by adopting information and communication technologies (Ellison, Gibbs, and Weber 2015) which allow employees to communicate and work with each other despite geographical and/or temporal dispersion. Teams that work together through technology are termed 'dispersed teams' or 'virtual teams' and defined as "a group of people who work interdependently with a shared purpose across space, time, and organizational boundaries using technology" (Lipnack and Stamps 2000, 18).

Technologies that facilitate work in dispersed teams can be termed Online Collaborative Software (OCS; see e.g., Bunce, Wright, and Scott 2018) and examples of such technologies include chat-based applications like *Slack* and *Microsoft Teams* and video-conferencing software like *Zoom, Google Hangouts* and *Skype*. Slack, specifically, has been widely adopted by media organizations and has recently also drawn the attention of scholars (Bunce, Wright, and Scott 2018; Paul and Sosale 2020; Moran 2020). Previous research has noted that these types of technologies, when used for work purposes, increase knowledge sharing and reduce hierarchies (Gibbs et al. 2015; Hendrickson 2009) as well as facilitate information dissemination and idea generation (Razmerita, Kirchner, and Nabeth 2014; Turban, Bolloju, and Liang 2011). In media organizations, collaborative technologies have increased lateral, egalitarian decision making (Hendrickson 2009) and supported extensive collaboration between geographically dispersed team members (Bunce, Wright, and Scott 2018). In contrast, there are also signs that collaborative technologies have not enhanced journalists' capacities for collaboration and that editorial, business and IT sectors in media organizations remain secluded from each other (Westlund and Krumsvik 2014; Ess 2014).

To understand how creative work takes place in and is shaped by these virtual spaces, this study is interested in *idea sharing and development practices in dispersed journalistic teams*. Specifically, we introduce the concept of a psychologically safe

communication climate (PSCC) to studying teams of journalists. The concept is well-suited to researching creative work and innovation as idea sharing requires a shared understanding between team members of what type of communication is acceptable in the team. This understanding constructs the team's communication climate (Putnam and Cheney 1985). Thus, PSCC is defined as an atmosphere within a team that is characterized by open, supportive communication, speaking up and risk taking (Gibson and Gibbs 2006). PSCC is derived from Edmondson's (1999) concept of psychological safety which describes a shared belief amongst individuals as to whether it is safe to engage in interpersonal risk-taking in the workplace. In a psychologically safe work environment, employees feel that they will not be rejected or humiliated by colleagues for being themselves or saying what they think. Moreover, the competence and expertise of others are valued and, importantly, experimenting feels safe (Newman, Donohue, and Eva 2017; Edmondson 1999). Behaviorally, psychological safety manifests as open communication, voicing concerns as well as seeking feedback, which are all interpersonally risky behaviors (Pearsall and Ellis 2011; Newman, Donohue, and Eva 2017). Although psychological safety overlaps somewhat with trust, the two concepts are fundamentally different, as psychological safety focuses on how group members perceive a group norm whereas trust in this case is about how one person views another (Newman, Donohue, and Eva 2017).

PSCC has been positively associated with knowledge and information sharing as well as innovative behavior in dispersed teams (Gibson and Gibbs 2006; Kirkman et al. 2013). Gibson and Gibbs (2006) looked at the role of PSCC regarding team innovation processes and distinguished between four different aspects of virtuality that could potentially hamper innovation: geographic dispersion, electronic dependence, dynamic structure, and national diversity. Their results indicate that PSCC can mitigate these negative effects. Previously, PSCC has been researched in relation to innovative performance (Gibson and Gibbs 2006; Boyratz 2019; see also Gu, Wang, and Wang 2013). However, considering that creativity is an essential part of the innovation process and that the two phenomena are inextricably linked, this study applies PSCC to the case of creative work in dispersed teams.

In sum, the theoretical lens of this study consists of perspectives into creative work and innovation in journalism as well as technology-mediated work in dispersed teams. Synthesizing the literature outlined above, this study takes as its starting point the fact that the media industry needs to understand and harness creativity better due to developments mainly in digital technologies that shape both journalistic practices and consumer preferences. We treat creativity as socially constructed and draw from literature on organizational communication and the concept of psychologically safe communication climate (PSCC) to aid us in analyzing how creative work and innovation are conducted through and shaped by technology in journalistic teams. Creative work and innovation are examined through communicative behaviors, specifically idea sharing and development. Thus, our research questions are as follows:

RQ1: What kind of factors enable and constrain idea sharing and development in a dispersed team of journalists in a technology-mediated work setting?

RQ2: How is idea sharing and development shaped by a technology-mediated work setting in dispersed journalistic teams?

Data and Method

Research Setting: Teams and Their Communication Technologies

This study examines technology-mediated creative work and innovation in journalistic teams and, specifically, aims to outline the factors at play in idea sharing and development in two teams of journalists. The teams under study are both part of a large Finnish media corporation, although there are some differences in their purpose and daily workflow. The first team is a feature journalism team that consists of an editor, a graphic designer, and four journalists. Four of the team members are located physically in the same geographic location while the two remaining members work remotely. The team produces a weekend-style section for its client newspapers once a week. All their stories are published both in print as well as online, however, their focus is very much on print production. The other team is a news journalism team. It consists of a producer and seven journalists and it is more equally dispersed compared to the feature team: The members are located in different newsrooms across Central and Southern Finland, and there is a maximum of two members in the same physical newsroom. The team produces daily national and regional news for its clients and its production is balanced quite equally between print and online.

The corporation owns regional and local newspapers in various parts of Finland to which the teams cater their content to. Considering that both teams are focused on content production rather than research and development, they are a typical example of journalistic teams found in regional/metropolitan newspapers and as such, they illustrate the challenges presented to metropolitan newspapers by their position between national and more local news outlets (see Villi et al. 2020). We wanted to examine creative work and innovation in journalistic teams in regional newspapers with limited resources rather than focusing on R&D teams in well-funded, quite atypical, media organizations (such as *The New York Times* or *The Washington Post* would be in the US context). Moreover, we also wished to account for the increasing amount of journalistic work done through communication technology, which guided us to focus specifically on dispersed teams rather than studying purely local teams. Thus, focusing on two dispersed teams allows us to better analyze the enablers and constraints of creative work and innovation in technology-mediated work as well as discuss how technology shapes creative work and innovation in journalism.

Both studied teams utilize Slack for chat-based communication among team members and Google Hangouts for videoconferencing. Slack's architecture echoes social media and the informal, collaborative norms of digital culture (Bunce, Wright, and Scott 2018). Its dashboard is organized around channels (chatrooms) and inside these channels, users can text, tag each other, share links, documents, photos and so on. In the field of media, Slack's clients have included BuzzFeed, Vox, Medium, The Atlantic, and Slate (e.g., Owen 2015). Moreover, the videoconferencing software Google Hangouts is a part of Google's services for work purposes. Hangouts allows team members to communicate via video, sound, and chat messages, and it can be incorporated into Slack as the teams in this study have done.

The feature team has two weekly meetings via video, on Mondays and Thursdays, and other communications are handled face-to-face or through Slack and telephone.

On Monday, the team reviews what its members are doing for the current week's issue and briefly discuss plans for upcoming weeks. During the week's second meeting, stories are discussed further. These meetings usually take 20–30 minutes. In Slack, the feature team has organized its channels so that every journalist has their own channel where their stories can be discussed publicly. The team also has a channel for general discussion. The news team, on the other hand, has a morning meeting via video every morning on weekdays. Usually 20 to 45 minutes in length, the meeting consists of updates on upcoming stories as well as brainstorming new story ideas. The meetings are usually led by the editor or in his absence, one of the journalists. In Slack, the team utilizes one channel for messaging among team members and several other channels to communicate with their client newspapers.

Data Collection

The data for this study consists of qualitative interviews with journalists and observations of team meetings. All members of the two teams were interviewed in late 2018 which resulted in a total of 14 interviews. Five interviews were conducted face-to-face, one via telephone and eight via Google Hangouts. Six of the interviewees were male and eight of them were female. Their age range was between 35 and 61 years and experience in the field of journalism ranged from five to 35 years. All interviewees had a higher education degree.

The interview guide covered the following topics: work as a journalist, creativity in journalistic work, innovation in journalistic work, and technology-mediated work. Semi-structured interviews were used as the data collection method in order to gather information on the interviewees' views and experiences (Kvale 2007). Semi-structured interviews also allowed us to ask additional questions and gave interviewees a chance to discuss aspects of the research topic they felt were important (Tracy 2013). The interviews ranged from 40 to 100 minutes in length and averaged at 69 minutes. All interviews were recorded and later transcribed to text. The transcriptions total at 263 pages (12-point font in Times New Roman with a line-space of 1.0).

In addition to the interviews, we observed altogether nine team meetings (four in the feature team and five in the news team), which allowed us to capture team members' interactions more accurately. We observed four team meetings in both teams in parallel during a four-week period in November and December 2018. In addition, we observed one news team meeting which was specifically dedicated to brainstorming new story ideas. We took part in eight meetings via video and for one meeting we went to the feature team's office and took part in the videoconference from their newsroom. All videoconferences were recorded with a screen-recording software and a total of 66 pages of field notes were made of the meetings. The news team's meetings averaged 29 minutes (the shortest took 11 minutes, the longest 45; the idea generation meeting lasted 94 minutes) and the feature team's 26 minutes (with the shortest taking 17 minutes and the longest 37 minutes).

Chatlog data was not collected due to access reasons. However, we asked our interviewees to discuss their team's Slack use in the interviews by having them describe the channels they had created and how those channels were used.

Data Analysis

Interview data were analyzed by utilizing Tracy's (2013) iterative approach, in which the analysis alternates between emergent readings of the data and the use of existing models, explanations, and theories. This approach is similar to what Srivastava and Hopwood (2009) describe when they write about iteration: It is not a mechanical task but rather a reflexive process where the researcher visits and revisits the data and connects them to emerging insights and refines her analysis. In this study, previous research on creative work and innovation in newsrooms as well as research on technology-mediated work provided a reference point for the analysis.

In the first round of coding, interview transcripts were read through and coded with the qualitative analysis software Atlas.ti. In primary-cycle coding, codes were created to present what was present in the data (Tracy 2013). This initial coding revealed the importance of communication climate which we took into account in the following rounds. In the following cycles, the descriptive codes were fractured and combined further, and families were created in order to form more analytical, second-level categories (Tracy 2013). Observation data was treated in a similar fashion. All recordings and field notes were reviewed, and specific attention was paid to idea generation and sharing (e.g., presenting ideas, reacting to ideas, developing ideas) as well as the teams' communication climate (e.g., open, informal communication, giving and receiving feedback, asking for help, sharing information, voicing concerns). The bulk of the analysis was done by the first author; however, the results were discussed, and unclear cases solved among all authors.

All interviewees were promised anonymity and thus, in the following section they are given codes to indicate which team they belong to (F for feature; N for news). Our analysis yielded three main categories each holding two subcategories. The main categories are *habits and goals in idea sharing and development, the importance of a psychologically safe communication climate* and *team characteristics*.

Findings

Habits and Goals in Idea Sharing and Development

Habits and goals that relate to idea sharing and development in dispersed journalistic teams were a key factor in shaping the studied teams' creative work. This category holds two subcategories: *time and space for idea sharing and development* and *tangible goals as drivers of new ideas*.

Time and Space for Idea Sharing and Development

There was a notable difference in how the teams in this study dedicated time and space for idea sharing and development. The feature team did not have a clear, dedicated time for ideation, whereas the news team devoted time for idea sharing and development in their meetings every morning as well as held separate meetings for ideation. These habits were formed and upheld by both team leaders as well as team members.

Both teams' morning meetings provide examples of how idea sharing and development were prioritized or neglected. In the feature team, the morning meetings functioned as roundups, taking place twice a week, where the editor went over the current week's stories and journalists updated the editor and each other on their ongoing and upcoming projects. The meetings were formal and highly structured in nature and did not prioritize idea sharing or development. The editor often postponed idea sharing and development into the future where a face-to-face discussion would be possible, which illustrates how technology shapes these processes. The following excerpt is from a morning meeting that took place in Hangouts. The editor delays ideation until a journalist working remotely returns to the physical office.

> Feature team editor (F1): Do you want to come up with a news story for next week?
>
> Journalist (F2): We could try to think of it together …
>
> F1: Let's think …
>
> F2: We can try to think about this together.
>
> F1: There's plenty of time to do this next week. –
>
> F2: Do you have anything on the list that could be worked on?
>
> F1: Yeah, there's a lot, don't worry about it, let's think about it when you come back to town. We'll think of an easy topic, a quick one, I mean. It seems that the story on [story topic] is not going to be ready so we need to think of something to replace it.

While the feature team did not have a dedicated time or space for ideation, the news team put in effort to come up with and discuss new ideas in every morning meeting. The habit had been instigated by the news team producer and was successfully upheld by the journalists even in the producer's absence. In the team's editorial meetings on weekday mornings, the producer (N5) would let everyone first discuss their current work and then ask if there's "anything on the radar or under it we need to react to." This often resulted in lengthy discussions about daily politics or just anecdotes from the journalists' lives. In the interview, the producer described his style of leading the meetings: "Some people can't stay silent longer than two seconds and others wait until the end to summarize things. That requires some structure [in the meetings] so that everyone gets to voice their thoughts."

Additionally, the news team set aside time for specific idea sharing and development meetings that would take place separately from the morning meetings. During our observation period, the team held one such meeting. Before it, the producer divided the journalists into pairs and tasked them with creating ideas for a story series. These ideas were discussed and developed further in the meeting. The producer again talked of his role: "Brainstorming has proved to be surprisingly efficient for us, specifically because its free-form. During it, I try to act as one of the team members and not steer the conversation one way or another." In sum, the news team was more successful in dedicating time and space for idea sharing and development than the feature team.

Tangible Goals as Drivers of New Ideas

The two teams also set different types of goals for their creative work. The news team, with its relatively young age, had a goal mandated by the newspapers it produced

content for. At first, the team was tasked with producing stories that would garner national attention and as many citations from other news outlets as possible. In our interviews, news team journalists described how this goal forced them to approach topics with a new mindset and choose issues to cover that would get them closer to that fixed number of citations from other outlets. Some of the journalists felt the goal spurred their creative thinking whereas others thought it limited their ability to cover interesting topics. A news team journalist (N4) described her feelings: "The citing goal was really limiting – but now that they've lifted it, I feel like it brings a lot of creativity into this job." Indeed, the news team's goal was later modified, and the team started to approach topics with a human-interest mindset, i.e., journalists wrote about societal phenomena but always started their stories with an interesting individual story. Importantly, whichever the goal (number of citations from other media or starting with an actual person's story), the team had a tangible goal for their creative work.

In the feature team, the goal for creative work was more ambiguous. Many of the feature team journalists described how being part of their team imposed upon them the requirement of "hypercreativity." This discourse was the most evident among the two newest members of the team who had only been part of the team for three weeks at the time of the interviews. They described how the publication's reputation as an innovative feature-style weekend section published in many newspapers forced them to think of story topics differently compared to their previous jobs in hard news. In short, the feature team only had the goal of being more creative than other outlets, but it had not set any standards to measure its success.

The Importance of a Psychologically Safe Communication Climate

Equally important to habits and goals is the existence of a psychologically safe communication climate. This main level category includes two subcategories which relate to the nature of communication in the teams and the technologies they use: *open communication as a precursor for both idea sharing and development,* and *technology as a source of uncertainty in the form of fear of misunderstandings*.

Open Communication

According to our interviewees, a psychologically safe communication climate was in place in both the news and feature team. In the interviews, PSCC manifested as descriptions of the journalists being able to "be themselves," "be somewhat crazy" and not having to fear being humiliated or embarrassed by their coworkers. In the following examples, feature and news team journalists describe the communication climate in their team.

> It supports [creativity] … that … no one is embarrassed. Like there is no idea that is so bad that you couldn't talk about it. Like being open is in every way beneficial for creativity … like you have approval for it. You have the approval to be crazy. [F3]

> I think we have quite a creative, and like … like we don't say 'that's not a good idea', like we can quite nicely find ideas and [ask others] what do you think – I think we can quite nicely do it as a team and then the stories just kind of start to write themselves in our discussions. [N2]

The members of the feature team who were located in the same physical newsroom described how their face-to-face discussions over lunch or coffee often took flight and produced ideas that eventually made it into the final publication. The feature team journalists attributed this to the permissiveness of their communication climate: It allowed them to talk about things outside their current tasks and find topics "from the sidetracks" as one journalist (F2) put it – even if this occurred mostly in face-to-face settings and only rarely in their morning meetings.

Open communication was integral in the news team's creative process also. The team had developed similar habits on Slack as one would find in a physical newsroom: Journalists usually said 'good morning' on the team's internal channel as they arrived at work and 'goodbye' as they left for the day. The bulk of communications was handled through Slack and only emergencies were handled through phone. Other things than work drizzled often to the conversations between team members: someone's car had broken down, the other had to pick up the kids earlier than usual. Here, technology gave the team members a chance to discuss their lives with others and offered a channel through which PSCC could be bolstered. In the following excerpt a news team journalist describes the team's communication climate:

> Yes, I think that type of talk that isn't related to story topics … undoubtedly it has an effect [on creativity]. If it were strictly just work or going through work stuff then it wouldn't [support creativity], but now it kind of makes the creative process possible when you can sometimes talk freely. [N6]

Overall, open communication in both teams functioned as a precursor for both idea sharing and development. In both teams, many story ideas stemmed from journalists' personal experiences which they were able to share to the team because they felt safe expressing their thoughts. This feeling of security also somewhat carried over into the development process where ideas were discussed further. In the news team specifically, presenting ideas that were outside one's expertise was done regularly, and according to our interviewees this was made possible by the lack of fear of embarrassment. One of the journalists (N3) told us that it was easy to present an idea that was not about her beat because "there's always someone who knows something deeper about the topic." Illustrative of this tendency to lean on others' expertise is also the news team producer's (N5) description of teamwork: "I don't think anyone here has to solve problems on their own – that dynamic makes creativity easier."

Technology as a Source of Uncertainty

PSCC manifested a bit differently in the two teams when it came to giving feedback and developing work practices. In relation to feedback, most journalists in the feature team spoke about technology creating a barrier for creative work and innovation in the form of fear of misunderstandings. While meeting each other physically only twice a year, the feature team journalists felt that it was easy to be misunderstood while giving feedback through Slack. The team's Slack workspace was built around public feedback as each journalist had a channel for their stories where others could contribute to ideas. In the next quote, a feature team journalist describes her feelings about giving feedback.

> I'm very eager to comment [on stories, but] it's also scary [on Slack] because you're not personally there but you just write. – I don't want to say 'this is shit', if the other person can't see that I'm laughing at the same time. – In the [physical] newsroom you can just say stuff, harshly even, but then they can see your tone, expression, like … You can kind of be combative there but you don't want to do that in Slack. [F2]

This hesitancy to give feedback transferred over to developing work practices and discussing group norms in the feature team. Three out of the six journalists in the team talked of how they thought their expertise in other areas of journalism than writing was not utilized because tasks were strictly assigned according to positions. The three journalists discussing this issue felt they could contribute to the visual layout of the publication, but group norms did not allow them to do so. A journalist (F6) talked about this by taking us through his work history and describing how in his previous positions "the journalistic process continued so much further [than writing, and] into layout, visuals, and publishing." In his current role, however, he felt he was limited to information gathering, interviewing, and writing. None of the journalists brought up these issues for public discussion in the team, which could indicate that even if the team appeared safe for risk-taking, that safety only applied to content production rather than developing practices.

In the news team, on the other hand, journalists reported having been able to successfully develop their editorial practices. As the team was first starting out, the producer noticed that stories were being published without proper proofreading and editing. He discussed the issue with the journalists and together they came up with guidelines to improve editing practices. Similarly, the journalists told us that they had been able to develop the responsibilities of the evening shift. Previously, the journalists doing the shift did not have clear directions on the tasks that would need to be done. Later, however, guidelines were developed by the team members most often doing evening shifts.

In sum, the feature team engaged in creative work as its members presented novel ideas which led to journalistic content – even if this was done mostly face-to-face rather than via technology. However, they did not develop their editorial practices or discuss group norms. The news team's actions, on the other hand, in developing working practices could be counted as (incremental) innovation as the team was able to apply their ideas in an organizational context and make their production process smoother.

The Impact of Team Characteristics

The third main level category pertains to team characteristics that shape idea sharing and development. The category holds two subcategories: *geographical dispersion* and *team histories*.

Geographical Dispersion

The teams' geographical dispersion shaped idea sharing and development in both teams. The feature team was unequally dispersed with four team members (editor, graphic designer, and two journalists) located physically in the same newsroom, and two members working remotely. This type of unequal dispersion made it possible for

a local clique to form inside the team where the local members ate lunch and had coffee breaks together. With the help of PSCC, the local members of the feature team discussed story ideas and fine-tuned them into more developed story topics on breaks during the workday. The editor (F1), for example, described how their ideas took flight in informal conversations over coffee but "it never gets that crazy in Slack." Another journalist (F4) told us that ideation never "reaches the same levels" through technology as it did in face-to-face situations.

The two remote workers in the feature team experienced ideation through technology rather differently. They were positive about the opportunities technology afforded them but both thought those opportunities went unused in the team's daily communication. One of them described how using communication technology "brings about a certain type of heaviness" (F5) into the daily communication process which she thought stemmed from the fact that the remote team members were not fully acquainted with the members of the localized part of the team. Interestingly, those feature team members who were located in the same newsroom felt their closest colleagues were the ones they shared an office with whereas the remote workers identified more with the virtual team.

In the news team, all journalists apart from one identified the members of the dispersed team as their closest colleagues rather than the people they shared an office with. There was a maximum of two team members located in the same physical newsroom which forced team members to actively collaborate through technology. However, with the help of PSCC and strong habits and tangible goals in idea sharing and development, the news team was able to overcome the challenges that dispersion could have induced.

Team Histories

Finally, team histories also played a role in idea sharing and development. At the time of data collection, the news team was barely two years old. It was still trying to develop its signature way of doing journalism as evidenced by the team's efforts to develop their editorial practices and adjust their goals for creative work. In short, the news team did not have a history to lean on which made it quite agile in its work. The feature team, on the other hand, had over 20 years of history, a recognizable brand and the newspapers' expectations that had been formed and cemented over time. Developing the team's editorial processes proved difficult: Even if journalists in the team noticed things worth developing, such as handing out tasks, they had not been able to raise these issues to discussion and make changes. Moreover, the feature team's goal of "hypercreativity" stemmed from its long history as the publication was known for its original approaches to topics. This made it more difficult for the team to develop editorial practices.

Discussion

This article has examined the enablers and constraints of creative work and innovation in dispersed journalistic teams in a technology-mediated work setting through a theoretical lens that combines creativity and innovation research in media (e.g., Fulton and

McIntyre 2013; Malmelin and Virta 2016; Malmelin and Nivari-Lindström 2017; Nylund 2013) as well as research on dispersed teams and the role of a psychologically safe communication climate (Gibson and Gibbs 2006; Edmondson 1999). Regarding the study's first research question, our findings suggest that factors enabling and constraining creativity and innovation in technology-mediated journalistic work relate to habits and goals in idea sharing and development, the building of a psychologically safe communication climate and specific team characteristics such as geographical dispersion and team history. Concerning our second research question, we studied how technology shapes creative work and innovation in dispersed journalistic teams and found that while providing more avenues for sharing information as well as anecdotes, for example, from the journalists' personal lives, technology also induced uncertainty into the idea development phase. This uncertainty could be alleviated with PSCC.

The two teams in this study approached ideation rather differently. While the news team dedicated time and space for ideation via technology and set tangible goals for creative work, the feature team relied more on informal face-to-face discussions and had more abstract goals for creativity. It could be argued that of the two teams in this study, the news team was the more creativity-oriented due to intentional idea sharing and development habits and tangible goals. Intentional idea sharing and development habits are about reserving time and space for ideation, actively seeking ideas in team meetings, making sure ideation includes all team members as well as setting concrete goals for creative work and innovation. The team leader is in a key position in instigating these habits, even if over time habits are also embraced and enacted by journalists. This finding describes how creativity in journalism is not fundamentally about the specific genre of journalism (e.g., "feature journalism is more creative than news journalism") but rather about other aspects, such as communication practices and team structure (cf. Fulton and McIntyre 2013; Deuze 2019)

Our findings illustrate how communication technology's role in creative work and innovation in journalistic teams is not one-dimensional but rather full of tensions. On one hand, technology is the fundamental facilitator of all communication in dispersed teams and thus also a requisite for creativity and innovation. Communication technology is needed to make creativity visible in dispersed teams as creativity manifests in interaction between team members (Amabile 1983). On the other hand, technology also induces uncertainty into creative work and innovation. This could be detected specifically in the journalists' somewhat reserved attitudes towards giving feedback and developing practices and processes when using communication technologies, which further highlights the important role of PSCC in technology-mediated journalistic work. The findings also mirror previous research in that while communication technologies provide avenues for collaboration in newsrooms, the technologies alone do not guarantee that teamwork takes place (Westlund and Krumsvik 2014; Ess 2014).

Our findings in relation to the role of PSCC for creative work and especially innovation are also in line with previous research (e.g., Gibson and Gibbs 2006). The results highlight the importance of PSCC for journalistic work specifically: PSCC enables journalists to share ideas and thoughts as well as discuss their private lives with coworkers, which allows them, in turn, to source story ideas from their personal experiences (cf. Nylund 2013). Furthermore, PSCC allows journalists to innovate new

ways of working. In our study, these processes could be detected in the news team but not in the feature team. This leads us to argue that PSCC can function on different levels in journalistic teams: It might only apply to content-related work or it might have a more profound role and enable journalists to innovate editorial practices through challenging group norms. This finding is specific to journalistic teams and warrants more examination in the future.

It should also be noted that the concept of enablers and constraints is not straightforwardly black and white. Factors that enable creativity and innovation through technology can also constrain it. For example, team dispersion can make creative work more laborious if viewed negatively but, in some cases, may also cause the team to be more mindful of including everyone in the creative process. Hence, it might serve dispersed journalistic teams well to take note of their team's characteristics (dispersion and history) and consciously work to alleviate the challenges they pose by engaging in intentional idea sharing and development practices as well as building a psychologically safe communication climate to ensure the best possible results for their creative endeavors.

Overall, our findings support what previous research on media innovation has found: Innovation in regional and metropolitan legacy media newsrooms is still more about exploitative, incremental innovation and less about explorative, "outside the box", innovation (Krumsvik et al. 2019; Malmelin and Nivari-Lindström 2017; Porcu 2017). The findings portray how change is notoriously hard to achieve in legacy media newsrooms (Villi et al. 2020; Ekdale et al. 2015; Ess 2014). However, our findings also point to a possible remedy: Building a strong PSCC could help media organizations in achieving a fertile environment for an innovative learning culture (ILC) that triggers and fosters much needed explorative innovation (Porcu 2017; Porcu, Hermans, and Broersma 2020). Supported by strong PSCC and ILC, legacy media newsrooms could be better equipped to ensure their long-term survival. However, other resources, such as time and funding, are also needed to make explorative innovation happen.

To conclude, we would encourage future research to examine how PSCC is formed and managed in newsrooms and journalistic teams. This type of research could prove valuable when developing communication processes and work practices in newsrooms in the future. When writing this, amid the COVID-19 pandemic, such processes and practices seem more important than ever, particularly in the context of technology-mediated work. Moreover, since the teams studied here are focused on content production, it might make for a compelling case for researchers to focus on R&D teams in media organizations and possibly consider the implications of PSCC for intrapreneurial units.

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II

PRACTICAL, NOT RADICAL: EXAMINING INNOVATIVE LEARNING CULTURE IN A PUBLIC SERVICE MEDIA ORGANIZATION

by

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Practical, Not Radical: Examining Innovative Learning Culture in a Public Service Media Organization

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ABSTRACT
Recent scholarship has argued for media organizations' need to radically innovate to ensure their survival in the future. This study deploys the innovative learning culture (ILC) framework to qualitatively study innovation and learning in a legacy public service media organization. While innovation and learning are linked, the learning processes of professional journalists have received only little attention. Through an analysis of a development network operating in a public service media organization, we identify characteristics of ILC in the network and how those characteristics manifest in practice, as well as examine contextual factors that shape ILC. Our findings indicate that innovation and learning processes in the network are shaped by journalistic practice, technology and platforms, and organizational strategy. Importantly, the organization's technological environment is seen to encourage mimicry in learning and innovation processes, leading to exploitative rather than explorative innovation. The study contributes theoretically to ILC by providing an organizationally situated understanding of the framework that accounts for institutional tendencies in media innovation.

KEYWORDS
Innovative learning culture; media innovation; public service media; legacy media; newsroom culture; ethnography

Introduction

In March 2020, Robin Kwong, newsroom innovation chief at the Wall Street Journal, wrote in his Medium blog:

> Where does innovation come from? At the Wall Street Journal, we believe that while new ideas can come from anywhere, those most likely to be implemented and to add value come from people who are working daily on our core product. In other words, the reporters, editors, producers, developers and designers who make up our newsroom. (Kwong 2020)

Kwong sees innovation as something that is driven by the media organization's key stakeholders rather than outside players such as technology companies – a tendency that has been recognized by recent scholarship on media innovation (e.g., Posetti 2018; Bell and Owen 2017). Kwong's views reflect those of many, both in the field of journalism

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and in academic research: media organizations need to tap into the intrinsic creativity of their employees to survive in the future (Fortunati and O'Sullivan 2019; Küng 2015).

In scholarly work on media innovation, there is much talk about media organizations needing to innovate to stay afloat (Belair-Gagnon and Steinke 2020; Deuze 2019). Evans (2018) describes innovation speech as "rampant" in the field of journalism and argues that it is turning into a problem as many organizations may strive for innovation without reflecting what the term means to them. This narrative is motivated by changes in media organizations' social, economic, and technological environments, which have made their overall strategic circumstances increasingly difficult (Küng 2017; Picard 2014). In this environment, innovation tasks fall to the hands of journalists whose "creative energies," however, are more or less spent on daily journalistic production (Porcu, Hermans, and Broersma 2020; Küng 2015; O'Reilly and Tushman 2013). Amid these strategic pressures, media organizations tend to focus on day-to-day news production and short-term development instead of aiming for long-term explorative innovation that could help renew and sustain their business in the long run (Järventie-Thesleff, Moisander, and Villi 2014; Steensen 2009). This, in turn, calls for an examination of how new, possibly explorative, ideas emerge and are developed among professional journalists, i.e., what are the cultural conditions for explorative innovation in newsrooms.

Theoretically, newsroom innovation has been studied using a variety of perspectives (for an overview, see Belair-Gagnon and Steinke 2020), such as diffusion of innovation theory (Holman and Perreault 2022), actor-network theory (Domingo 2008; Anderson 2013), and digital convergence of newswork as a stage for innovation (Singer 2004). In this study, we explore innovation in the newsroom from the perspective of organizational learning culture. Learning is essential for innovation as it allows a media organization to obtain advantages over their competitors (Yolles 2009) and to survive disruptions in the media landscape in the long run (March 1991; O'Reilly and Tushman 2013). Past research has, however, focused mainly on students of journalism in higher education settings (Salzmann, Guribye, and Gynnild 2021) rather than journalists working in newsrooms. Hence, we employ the innovative learning culture (ILC) (Porcu 2020; Porcu, Hermans, and Broersma 2020) framework to qualitatively study innovation and learning in a Nordic public service media (PSM) organization. Broadly defined, ILC is a "learning culture that triggers and fosters innovation" in legacy media organizations (Porcu 2020, 1556). The framework aims to shed light on learning processes among professional journalists and help identify the cultural conditions for explorative innovation in newsrooms. Through an analysis of ethnographic data from a network-type development team situated in the PSM, we pinpoint characteristics of ILC and their occurrence in the network's working practices as well as identify contextual factors that shape the emergence of ILC in the network.

This study contributes to the innovative learning culture framework by (1) applying it qualitatively—something its developers call for (Porcu, Hermans, and Broersma 2020, 15)—and (2) analyzing contextual factors that shape ILC in a media organization. Through an analysis of the contextual factors shaping ILC, this study highlights an opportunity for advancement of the framework by accounting for institutional tendencies in media innovation processes. Essentially, we argue that the framework currently lacks an understanding of macro-level influences on innovation and learning processes in newsrooms. Our analysis of the contextual factors shaping ILC in a newsroom provides

a more organizationally situated and holistic understanding of the framework and thus offers more basis for future qualitative and quantitative studies wishing to adopt the framework. The findings also yield practical implications for media organizations aiming for better innovation processes by suggesting possible modes of organizing around innovation work.

Literature Review

Media Innovation as a Balancing act

In journalism, innovation is about change and adaptation to a new strategic environment (Küng 2017) through the implementation of ideas that will transform into revenues, cost savings or new market opportunities (Lehtisaari et al. 2018). Media innovation can come in many different shapes and sizes with different degrees of novelty and entail product, process, position, paradigmatic, genre and social innovation (Krumsvik et al. 2019). Combinations of these are also possible in the form of storytelling innovation (Evans 2018). García-Avilés et al. (2018) define media innovation as a media organization's

> capacity to react to changes in both products, processes and services through the use of creative skills that allow a problem or a need to be identified, and to solve it through a solution that results in the introduction of something new that adds value to the customers or the media organization. (3)

In tandem with previous research (e.g., Paulussen 2016), media innovation is conceptualized as a dynamic process that is shaped by the cultural, technological, and organizational contexts the media organization is embedded in.

Most innovations in the media industry are considered sustaining or incremental innovations which only include small changes in products and processes and are aimed at sustaining media organizations economically (Krumsvik et al. 2019; Koivula, Villi, and Sivunen 2020). These types of innovations are exploitative in nature in that they often copy or mimic the features of previous successes. Moreover, exploitative innovation is often concerned with short-term success rather than long-term sustainability (March 1991; O'Reilly and Tushman 2013). Explorative, radical, or disruptive innovations, on the other hand, are often the result of "out of the box" ideas. These types of ideas are needed for media organizations to be able to create their own innovation opportunities instead of just copying or adapting to others (Küng 2017; Westlund and Lewis 2014).

Exploitative and explorative innovations are part of the literature on organizational ambidexterity. Ambidextrous organizations are able to balance short-term activities, such as daily news work, with long-term exploration, such as developing new products and services that allow the organization to respond to changes in its business environment (O'Reilly and Tushman 2013). For media organizations, ambidexterity has proven difficult since due to changes in their economic circumstances less time can be devoted to long-term development projects and more is spent on surviving the day-to-day demands of content production (Bygdås, Clegg, and Hagen 2019; Järventie-Thesleff, Moisander, and Villi 2014).

In the light of the challenges posed by organizational ambidexterity, we are interested in the extent to which the cultural prerequisites for media innovation are present in media

organizations and whether there is room for new, possibly explorative ideas to emerge and be developed. The study approaches media innovation qualitatively through the general lens of newsroom culture and the particular view offered by the ILC framework, both of which are explored in the following sections.

Media Innovation and Newsroom Culture

The relevance of newsroom culture for media innovation has been a point of discussion among journalism scholars especially since the emergence of the Internet and the overall digitalization of media production. In 2005, Boczkowski argued that newsrooms "appropriated new technologies with a somewhat conservative mindset, thus acting more slowly and less creatively than competitors less tied to traditional media" (Boczkowski 2005, 52). Later studies have made a similar argument: journalism is slow to change and newsrooms even reluctant to innovate (e.g., Ryfe 2009, 2012; Tameling and Broersma 2013; Usher 2014; Ekdale et al. 2015; Larrondo et al. 2016). Importantly, however, Paulussen (2016) points out that even if media organizations have been slow to react, their incremental evolution over several years has been significant due to the digital shift.

The lack of innovation in newsrooms has been seen to rise out of organizational isomorphism (DiMaggio and Powell 1983), a type of mimicry where media organizations set up innovation labs or projects to stay relevant and remain competitive in the market but lack a consistent organizational strategy for innovation (Lowrey 2011, 2012; Villi et al. 2020). In doing so, newsrooms chase the latest technological novelties without reflection on what innovation means to them (Posetti 2018; Evans 2018) and end up reacting to outside stimulus rather than innovating independently (Küng 2017; Westlund and Lewis 2014). Organizational isomorphism is likely, according to Lowrey (2011), when uncertainty about markets and new technologies is high. This leads to a paradoxical situation: while the competitive setting calls for (explorative and radical) innovation, the contextual setting pushes organizations to resemble their competitors (also DiMaggio and Powell 1983).

Cultural change in the newsroom is also about journalistic values and practice. Gade (2004; see also Gade and Perry 2003) showed that management's change initiatives in newsrooms are generally met with skepticism by rank-and-file journalists, and later studies have illustrated the importance of alignment between business and journalistic values for cultural change to become accepted in the newsroom (Tameling and Broersma 2013; Ryfe 2009, 2012). Ryfe (2009), for example, found that when an editor tried to change the ways reporters covered their beats, his suggestions were met with confusion and resentment because they challenged the way journalists conceptualized "good journalism". Similarly, Ekdale et al. (2015) found that the diffusion of technological and relational innovations was more easily accomplished compared to cultural innovation in the newsroom: resistance to cultural change stemmed from the journalists' view that the changes promoted by the CEO were not in line with the production of quality journalism.

Furthermore, literature also notes the braking effect of journalistic practice and routines on innovation. Routines are often deeply ingrained in the day-to-day work of journalists, and they become so taken-for-granted that journalists find it hard to imagine other ways to do their job (Paulussen 2016). Routines are ingrained into journalists

through the process of socialization where entrants to the field learn the unwritten rules of how news are collected and disseminated to the audience (Ryfe 2012). Despite the seemingly negative influence of journalistic values and practice on media innovation, journalists have also reported feeling inspired and motivated by innovation (Malmelin and Virta 2016) provided they "have a feeling that changes are somehow beneficial to them" (Deuze 2004, 145).

The studies reviewed above reflect a broader trend in media innovation research: the success and failure of change and innovation projects has been treated mostly as a management issue to be dealt with on the organizational level (Lowrey 2012; Paulussen 2016). Management's role in advocating and instilling cultural change in the newsroom cannot be denied, however, viewing innovation solely as a managerial issue fails to account for the roles of the multitude of newsroom actors (e.g., rank-and-file journalists, technologists, marketers) and their potential influence on change and innovation processes (Westlund, Krumsvik, and Lewis 2021; Westlund and Lewis 2014). Hence, a more holistic approach to viewing innovation and newsroom culture is needed.

Innovative Learning Culture in the Newsroom

As argued above, media organizations tend to be more focused on daily news production and short-term development than long-term explorative innovation (Järventie-Thesleff, Moisander, and Villi 2014; Steensen 2009). Consequently, it is important to explore the newsroom conditions in which media professionals are expected to innovate. To this aim, Porcu (2020) and Porcu, Hermans, and Broersma (2020) argue that for explorative innovation to take place in a legacy media organization, an innovative learning culture is necessary. As a framework, ILC highlights learning processes in the newsroom and asks, what are the cultural prerequisites for innovation in the newsroom and how professional journalists learn and innovate in it. The framework aims to help in identifying cultural drivers and obstacles of innovation processes in the newsroom. Thus, the framework builds on a normative assumption that considers innovation necessary for media organizations. ILC is mainly interested in what happens in the newsroom with respect to what *precedes* an innovation and if there is room for ideas to emerge. Porcu (2020) lists the characteristics of innovative learning culture as follows:

> Innovative learning culture is a social climate that stimulates people to work and learn together, to grow as an individual and as a group (team, organization), and that provides people with the autonomy needed to be flexible, to experiment, to be creative, and to investigate radical possibilities in order for the organization to have better chances for survival in the long run. (1559)

In the framework, organizational culture is defined as the collection of assumptions, norms, and values of the organization's members, dynamically shaped and constructed in social interaction and resulting in expressions or artifacts (Porcu 2020, 1560). The definition builds on social constructivist views to organizational culture that assume that organizational culture is rooted in language, stories, and rituals (Schein 1985; Smircich 1983) and reflected in the behavior of organizational members (Alvesson and Sveningsson 2008). Changing culture could thus be achieved by negotiating and renegotiating the daily practices of different newsroom actors (Domingo 2008; see also Paulussen 2016). Following this literature, we consider organizational culture as a socially

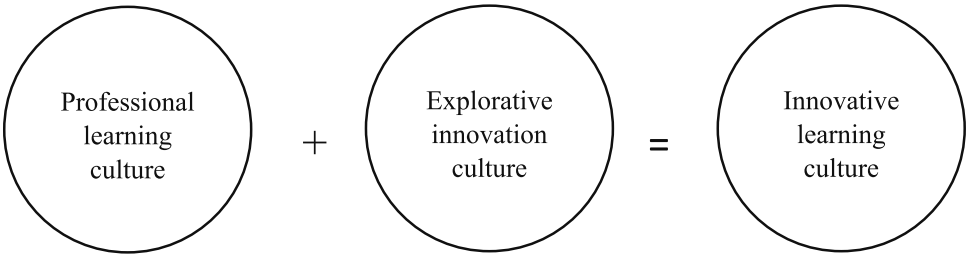

Figure 1. Innovative learning culture presented as the conceptual sum of professional learning culture and explorative innovation culture following Porcu (2020, 1560).

constructed dynamic phenomenon, which cannot be directly managed, but management practices can nevertheless influence the organizational culture through processes of communication and symbolizing that support sensemaking in the organization (see e.g., Porcu 2020; Fitzgerald 1988; Alvesson and Sveningsson 2008). Such change processes, however, are multifaceted and complex. It needs to be acknowledged that organizations do not have a single shared culture but rather competing subcultures across units and teams (Martin and Siehl 1983).

Innovative learning culture is the conceptual sum of two components: professional learning culture (PLC) and explorative innovation culture (EIC) (see Figure 1). Professional learning culture is derived from educational sciences literature and defined as "a social climate in which all members of a newsroom learn by working together to reflect, to research and to professionalize" (Porcu 2020, 1562). PLC is foremost a collective learning culture and not so much about individual learning, i.e., it emphasizes informal learning from peers, participative leadership, and collaboration among organization's members (Porcu 2020). Explorative innovation culture (EIC) is rooted in innovation literature and defined as a "social climate in which people are supported to (relatively) autonomously investigate, experiment, be flexible and learn to develop creative new and/or radical ideas, products, services or ways of working that ultimately will improve the news organization's market position and increase its chances of survival in the long run" (Porcu 2020, 1563). Explorative innovation is important for news organizations' long-term survival as it informs their ability to reinvent themselves (Küng 2017). From PLC and EIC, Porcu (2020) derives the seven characteristics of innovative learning culture, which can be found in Table 1.

While the ILC framework is aimed at analyzing market-oriented newspaper organizations, we utilize it to examine a legacy public service media organization. The reasons are following: First, similarly to newspapers, which have had to move from a print production to a multimedia production logic, PSM organizations too have faced the pressures

Table 1. Characteristics of ILC and their brief definitions following Porcu (2020).

1. Learning from each other	learning from others in the workplace community
2. (Re)search/investigation	investigation aimed at improving (one's) work
3. Experimental	trying out new possibilities with insecure outcomes
4. Autonomous	agency to make decisions about (one's own) work
5. Creative	inspiring the development of new ideas
6. Radical	stimulating all that is very different from the usual
7. Flexible	capacity of people to easily adjust, switch or change

of transforming their broadcast-based production to fit the current digital media landscape (e.g., Larrondo et al. 2016). Second, PSM organizations also face pressures to innovate as they compete for audiences' time and attention with market-driven media organizations, social media platforms, and other media offerings (Sehl, Cornia, and Nielsen 2016). Staying relevant for their national audience is key to maintaining their legitimacy in a democratic society and justifying their tax or permit-based funding model (Enli 2008). Finally, due to their funding model, PSM organizations might be better equipped to innovate compared to their commercial counterparts as they are generally seen to have more funds to allocate to development work and less pressure to produce innovations that would result in more revenue (Sehl, Cornia, and Nielsen 2016). The Nordic context of the current study further emphasizes the possibility for PSM to allocate people and resources for innovation work, as the Nordic countries, in a way, represent the "media welfare state" where PSM is rather generously supported (Lindell, Jakobsson, and Stiernstedt 2021).

Drawing on the literature outlined above relating to media innovation and newsroom culture as well as the framework of innovative learning culture, we ask the following research questions:

RQ1: What characteristics of innovative learning culture can be identified in a development network operating in a public service media organization, and how do the characteristics manifest in the network's working practices?

RQ2: What are the contextual factors that shape innovative learning culture in the network?

Data and Method

Research Setting

The empirical data for this study were collected from a Nordic public service media company. The company produces news and other journalistic content for television, radio, and online. Data were collected from a network-type team that focuses on development work specifically in relation to social media. As a PSM organization, the company's strategy is guided by the values of public service broadcasting (see e.g., EBU 2012). For our current examination, three specific goals stated in the company's strategy are especially salient in relation to innovation and learning. First, the company emphasizes reaching teenagers and young adults, which suggests it needs to find innovative ways to reach its target audience. Second, this is to be done on both the organization's own and third-party social media platforms. Hence, the organization must find novel ways to produce content interesting enough for its target audience. And finally, the company also wishes to be at the forefront of media innovation, which implies that on the organizational level, the need for innovation is pervasive (Küng 2017). The development network studied here was partly an attempt to reach these strategic goals.

The network was open to all organization members interested in social media even though the most active members were pronouncedly from units producing lots of social media content and with heavy leanings toward young audiences. Nevertheless, members came from, for example, breaking news, youth radio, and the archive units. The network was led by the organization's head of social media and included weekly meetings and

digital discussion channels. In the weekly meetings, network members could come share their experiences regarding social media or they could invite outside speakers to teach them about, for example, new platforms. There were 180 organization members on the meetings' invitation list but usually only about 20 participated in each meeting. Participation was possible either face-to-face or remotely through Google Hangouts. Additionally, there were two types of chat groups for network members and an intranet platform. The first one, a Hangouts group chat, was open to everyone in the organization and was used for asking for help and giving advice on social media related work. The second was a more private WhatsApp group chat where social media managers discussed daily issues relating to social media. Intranet was used for sharing updates and materials from the meetings and other interesting social media related news. In sum, the development network had weekly meetings centered around different topics and its members communicated with each other about social media related issues on digital platforms.

Data Collection and Analysis

We collected data in three ways: We observed team meetings, conducted qualitative, thematic interviews with active members of the network, and exported chat data from two platforms (WhatsApp and intranet). Combining multiple types of data allows us to view innovation and learning in the organization from multiple viewpoints and create a detailed picture of how the characteristics of ILC are present in the network (Tracy 2020). Observations of the network's weekly meetings were conducted during a six-month period between February and June of 2019 as part of a larger research project examining innovation and technology-mediated work in media organizations. We observed a total of eight meetings which were all composed of two sections: First, a network member or an invited guest would give a presentation and, second, a discussion would follow. Examples of topics included an introduction to TikTok by an outside expert, a lecture on the use of biometric data in storytelling from the company's R&D department, and experiences from a conference trip to the US by two journalists. These data consist of approximately 20 h of observations and 46 single-spaced pages of field notes.

Second, we conducted interviews with ten active members of the network. Snowball sampling originating from the company's head of social media was used to identify potential interviewees. Interviewees were selected based on their activity participating in the network, i.e., we utilized purposeful sampling (Tracy 2020) in selecting interviewees who had relevant experiences regarding the topic of our study. Interviews were semi-structured in nature to allow room for questions and discussions outside the interview guide. The interviews dealt with, for example, the role of social media in the participants' work and how, in their view, the organization has been trying to adopt social media as part of its journalistic practice, examples of innovation efforts in the organization, and if and how the network had influenced those efforts. Interviews were conducted between May and August of 2019 and their average length was 56 min. Eight of the interviewees were female, and two were male. The interviewees had experience in the field of journalism from five to thirty years and their working titles included, but were not limited to, executive web producer, social media manager, reporter, community manager and digital strategist. To protect our participants' privacy, they are given pseudonyms in the findings section.

Finally, we retrieved chat data from two different platforms. First, we used the social media managers' internal WhatsApp group chat which contained 823 lines of plain text, 32 images and three videos sent between August 2018 and September 2019. The time period includes the whole message history of the WhatsApp group from its origination to the point of data collection. Second, we used a set of screenshots from the development network's intranet community. All data were accessed with a permission from the network leader and the presence of a researcher was made clear for all participants both in the digital channels and the observed meetings.

The analysis process was iterative and reflexive. We utilized Tracy's (2020) iterative approach where the researcher moves abductively between inductive data analysis and deductive considerations of existing theory (Huffman, Tracy, and Bisel 2019). First phase of the analysis process was guided by a tentative research question asking how journalists define and describe media innovation in the context of their daily work. This preliminary question arose from the themes of the larger research project examining innovation and technology-mediated work practices in media organizations. First, all three datasets were read through by the first author and coded on a descriptive level to present *what* was present in the data. During this phase, the focus was on, for example, how journalists talked of media innovation in their daily work, how they defined innovation, described successful and unsuccessful innovation projects, and measured them. At this point, the supportive role of culture emerged as salient for the network's working practices. Hence, as we moved between data analysis and reading of literature, ILC was chosen as a framework to aid in our analysis since it provided analytical tools to examine the role of newsroom culture in innovation and learning processes in the newsroom. During the second round of coding, the data were combed through with an emphasis on the characteristics of ILC (Porcu 2020, 1564) (see Table 1). Out of the seven characteristics, five (learning from each other, research/investigation, experimental, creative, and radical) emerged as salient for our case study, while the two remaining (autonomy, flexibility) only rarely came up. Special attention was paid to the observation data as it enables the studying of culture through people's actions. After this phase, we had a structured view to the data based on the characteristics of innovative learning culture (see Table 1).

Next, in order to answer RQ2, we read through our material one ILC characteristic at a time and extracted features that support or hinder the observed manifestations of ILC. These factors were then mapped and connected using mind maps and discussed together by all three authors. Through these discussions and mapping exercises we aimed to identify the key factors shaping ILC in the network by comparing and contrasting both the ILC characteristics as well as the emerging themes coded by the first author. The main aim was to identify top-level factors that would group the data in a meaningful way. We now turn to the findings of our analysis.

Findings

Characteristics of Innovative Learning Culture in the Network

In response to the first research question, five characteristics of innovative learning culture were identified in the network's culture: learning from each other, (re)search/investigation, experimentality, creativity, and radicality.

Learning from each other, as in "learning from others in the workplace community" (Porcu 2020, 1564), was facilitated by the network. The network's purpose was to promote knowledge sharing between different departments in the organization, help ideas spread across different units, and give participants an avenue to discuss social media related topics with other interested members. Knowledge sharing had tangible advantages, according to the network leader: "When people know more, they can do product development better" (*Nora;* names are pseudonyms). In practice, learning from peers was achieved both through the weekly meetings and on digital channels. In the meetings, network members could share their experiences to a collegial audience. Many of the presentations observed during data collection were given by network members on topics they were experts in. Members of the company's R&D department gave a presentation on the use of biometric data in storytelling, two journalists who had participated in a training on Facebook groups shared their insights, and the writers of a satirical news show explained how they use Instagram stories to invite audiences behind the scenes. The presentations were often followed by a discussion on best practices, which we will cover later in relation to the second research question.

Similarly to learning from one's colleagues, the characteristics of (re)search/investigation and creativity were also made possible by the specific working practices of the network. In addition to coming to the weekly meetings to learn about new developments in social media, "investigation aimed at improving one's work" (Porcu 2020, 1564) could be achieved by accessing the network's intranet area or, to some of the members, by using the WhatsApp group. On these platforms, members asked for help and shared information on, for example, platform features and analytics. The following discussion from the WhatsApp group illustrates how members share and seek information about how well content has performed.

Aline: We had some pretty crazy numbers in our IGTV videos last week! They [Instagram] are clearly pushing them. And an observation about data, horizontal versus vertical video: if a video is not vertical its traction is 1–2%, when in vertical it is 15–19%. Kind of obvious but surprisingly visible in the data. So, they [users] rather skip [a video] than turn their phone
Tom: Interesting, thanks! [thumbs up emoji]
Layla: [thumbs up emoji] – how much do you post on IG TV? It would be interesting to hear about the ratio of content too – do you advertise TV content in story too?
Aline: We post about 2-3- IG TV videos per week
Aline: E-sports is a good example, they post one long interview per week.

Creativity, as in "inspiring the development of new ideas" (Porcu 2020, 1564), could be observed specifically in the weekly meeting discussions. The participants were eager to ask questions from the presenters, particularly in the sense of how to adopt presented ideas into their own projects. In these situations discussions often sprawled, and many participants provided examples from their own work. Ideation, however, was often driven by new technologies or online platforms releasing new functionalities. In a meeting about the social media production of the satirical news show, one topic of discussion was the popularity and reach of Instagram Stories. It spurred a conversation that led to multiple participants sharing their ideas and thoughts on how to best utilize Stories for storytelling [*field note by second author, February 13, 2019*].

The characteristic of experimentality, as in "trying out new possibilities with insecure outcomes" (Porcu 2020, 1564) presents an interesting conflict between what the network members think of media innovation and what happens in the network in practice. When talking of media innovation in the interviews, participants used phrases such as "trial and error", "playfulness" and "ripples in the waterglass." They thought of media innovation as something that, in regard to size, fit the framework of their daily tasks ("It doesn't need to be big, you don't need to get an innovation award for it," as *Camilla* put it) and was attainable in terms of resources. Interviewees felt that testing out different things was encouraged in the network. The following examples illustrate how interviewees talk of innovation as experimentation.

> That [innovation] is a funny word, you know, – I think about my daily work and mundane experiments, and then observing afterwards that ah, it worked. I mean, in social media work you never know what works and how, [but] then you can just be happy about some things afterward because they went well. [Layla]

> It is kinda like you notice that this, for example, way of talking or something goes through to the audience better. Not just by copying others but you go out there yourself and go see your results and notice that gee, maybe you should do it this way and then it works better. [Camilla]

In practice, this experimental mindset is contrasted with the realities of journalistic production where "insecure outcomes" are not always encouraged. However, even if the experimental attitude was only visible in the research interviews, it speaks to the network's culture that experimenting is seen as necessary for success. Similarly, the characteristic of radicality, as in "stimulating all that is very different from the usual" (Porcu 2020, 1564) manifested mostly as aspirational talk rather than actual working practices. This tension became visible specifically in a continuous negotiation process about the network's purpose and working practices. In one of the meetings we observed, participants pondered over future presentations and how they "should be concrete since people often struggle with concrete things in their work. Otherwise, it will be hard to find time for participation in the middle of the day. No abstract discussions." [*Field note by second author, February 13, 2019.*] Soon, however, participants were in the middle of a discussion about the effects of data gathering on people's everyday lives—and talk of actually practicing journalism was forgotten. Paradoxically, even if the network was established to foster the exchange of ideas and thus help the organization innovate better, the ideas network members shared were not radical.

Factors Shaping Innovative Learning Culture

The second research question focused on contextual factors shaping innovative learning culture in the network. We identified three overarching themes: *journalistic practice*, *technology and platforms*, and *organizational strategy*.

Journalistic practice. A key notion from our data is how journalistic practice and aspirational talk of media innovation collide and how practice pushes aspirational talk to the sidelines. As described above, network members were enthusiastic about experimentation and described it as something that was emphasized in the network. However,

our observations of the weekly meetings showed that in practice explorative innovation was rarely achieved. Specifically, learning from one's colleagues could be seen as hampering explorative innovation as network members often seemed to be more interested in how to apply existing solutions to their own projects rather than developing novel ones. The following vignette is from a meeting centering around TikTok and provides a glimpse into the discussions the network members had in the meetings.

> We are sitting in a conference room. There are around fifteen people present including several network members, the head of social media, the presenter and me. The topic of the day is TikTok and the presenter, who is a TikTok creator herself, has hooked up her phone to the computer and the screen is projected onto the wall behind her. She scrolls through the feed and demonstrates how the app works. Audience questions are frequent: A guy who produces content for teenagers asks the presenter for tips on organizing live streams and follows up with questions on technical aspects. A news journalist asks about monetization on the platform. Most questions seem to deal with best practices, audiences, and technical stuff. [Fieldnote by first author, March 27, 2019]

Rather than supporting experimentation and radical innovation, presentations and audience questions were oriented toward sharing *how* to produce journalism for social media. A narrative of "how to do social media right" was present both in presentations and audience questions. Notably, the network's ability to facilitate learning in the workplace community could be a part of why explorative innovation was difficult to achieve: Sharing successes keeps members' thinking "inside the box" and encourages them to mimic past successes. This is also tied to mastering the technical aspects of new technologies and platforms, to which we focus next.

Technology and platforms. Our analysis showed that technology shapes innovative learning culture in the network in three ways. First, network members highlighted the mastery of the technical aspects of social media as a prerequisite for experimenting with it. Second, ideation and content production were often prompted by platforms releasing new features. And third, confirmation for a successful media innovation came from data and analytics. Hence, the network members' working practices could be described as platform-centric and technically-oriented while data and analytics often functioned as measures of innovative behavior.

The need to master the technical aspects of social media was especially visible in the observed meetings. As described in the previous section, network members often inquired the presenters in the meetings about how to technically execute future projects or how past successes were achieved. For example, in a meeting titled "How to harness the power of online communities," network members asked detailed questions about privacy settings and requirements set for new Facebook group members [*field note by first author, June 12, 2019*]. This tendency to search for the correct way of doing social media points to a view of media innovation where some information and skills relating to technology and social media are deemed necessary for innovation, which contrasts with the experimental mindset found in the interviews.

Technology also shaped ideation and content production in the network. In the weekly meetings, network members often presented new ideas that were tightly interwoven with platforms and their functionalities and surfaced especially when a platform released a new feature. Similarly, technology and platforms also shaped what type of content the

network members produced: A producer told us that he was trying to change how video was edited in his team because young audiences were acquaintanced with the YouTube format instead of traditional TV. This is an example of organizational isomorphism, where social media platforms have the power to influence how journalism is done in news organizations.

Finally, technology's shaping of ILC was also visible in the journalists' talk of data and analytics. Journalists saw analytics as providing insights into user needs and as downright justification for media innovation. This type of narrative was abundant in all three data sets. As one network member put it, "analytics confirm a hypothesis of interesting content. So you can first think of a super good idea and topic, but only when you see the analytics, then it is true" (*Aline*). The motivation for utilizing analytics varied as some used data to develop their content published on social media and others as insights into what type of content they should produce for their own site. In both cases, however, analytics were seen to provide valuable information on audience preferences and used as a tool to improve work. Ultimately, data was seen as the best way to measure success.

Organizational strategy. The final contextual factor we identified in our analysis was strategy. As described earlier, strategy-wise our case is a typical PSM organization as its operations are guided by the values of public service broadcasting (EBU 2012). Salient for our examination are the three strategic goals that are highlighted in the operations of the development network. First, the organization had a goal of reaching more teenagers and young adults. Serving young audiences came up often in all data sets. Second, the organization wished to focus more on digital publishing and thus, serve audiences both on their own platforms as well as on third-party platforms to reach as large an audience as possible. And finally, the strategy also stated that the organization wished to develop and try out next generation media innovations and be at the forefront of utilizing new technologies.

All these goals were pursued in the development network, but the two goals of reaching young audiences on different platforms were emphasized more compared to the rather abstract objective of being at the forefront of new technologies and media innovation. Reaching young audiences is in itself more actionable than being a forerunner in media innovation. However, serving young audiences is pronouncedly a short-term goal, even if it contributes to long-term survival through targeting and finding new audience segments. In practice, these strategic goals are intertwined with the findings on journalistic practice and platform technology. As described in the previous sections, many presentations discussed platforms and their functionalities in detail, and similar information was also shared on the network's digital channels. Presenters gave out advice that was targeted towards mastering platforms technically and how to succeed in the footsteps of those who had gathered massive online followings. This type of work again emphasizes short-term goals. This overarching tension between strategic goals is well shown in the following excerpt from a slideshow presentation that gives out advice on how to create content for YouTube.

> The presenter has a slideshow with one point on each slide. She makes comments and gives suggestions. "Slide #2. Benchmark. What type of content are others producing? What does the audience want? What's missing?" a. It takes too much effort to come up with a

> concept that's going to blow up [on the platform], you should rather think about ideas you can use again and again. In YouTube/social media you don't own concepts as such, trending things just spread. b. Note that national creators use content from international competitors so competition is harder! [Field note by second author, April 3, 2019]

In sum, the network's conflicting strategic goals pushed working practices into different directions and as a result exploitation often trumped exploration.

Discussion

This study examined innovative learning culture (Porcu 2020; Porcu, Hermans, and Broersma 2020) in a Nordic public service media organization. Our empirical investigation concentrated on a development network focusing on social media and consisting of members from different parts of the organization. We asked two research questions: (1) What characteristics of innovative learning culture can be identified in the network, and how do the characteristics manifest in the network's practices, and (2) what contextual factors shape innovative learning culture in the network? Regarding the first research question, five characteristics of ILC were especially salient for our case: learning from each other, experimentality, (re)search/investigation, creativity and (the lack of) radicality. In ILC terms, there was room for new ideas to emerge and be developed in the network (Porcu 2020; Porcu, Hermans, and Broersma 2020), but those ideas were often exploitative rather than explorative in nature (see also Koivula, Villi, and Sivunen 2020).

In response to the second research question, we found that ILC is shaped by journalistic practice, technologies and platforms, and organizational strategy. Our findings align with previous research on innovation efforts in newsrooms in that they highlight the braking effect of journalistic practice on innovation (Ryfe 2009, 2012; Tameling and Broersma 2013; Ekdale et al. 2015) while also reporting the network members' positive attitudes toward innovation and change (Malmelin and Virta 2016; Deuze 2004). Hence, while some characteristics of ILC were present in our case, those characteristics and associated working practices did not instigate explorative innovation, contrary to what the ILC framework suggests. Our analysis indicates that this is due to organizational isomorphism rising out of the technological environment the public service media organization is embedded in (cf. Lowrey 2011, 2012), including the technology-oriented long-term goals stated in the PSM's strategy. As we outlined in the Findings section, technologies and platforms shaped how network members thought of the skills needed for media innovation, what types of ideas were presented, and eventually how success in innovation was measured. These practices answer to the organization's overall strategy of reaching young audiences on different platforms but disregard long-term development work. A contributing factor could be the ILC characteristic of learning from one's colleagues. As the network facilitated learning among organizational members, it also enhanced mimicry. Network members were prone to copying the actions of their peers as well as eager to find a recipe for doing social media "right", which reduces possibilities for exploration.

Thus, we argue that even if the innovative learning culture framework can be a useful tool in assessing the conditions for explorative innovation in legacy media newsrooms on the individual and organizational levels, the institutional setting that shapes innovation processes in media organizations is presently overlooked in the framework. Currently,

the framework does not account for macro-level, institutional tendencies in media innovation processes that, according to our analysis as well as literature on organizational isomorphism, shape innovation processes heavily. In doing so, the framework falls somewhat short on its promises of delivering "a more nuanced picture of newsroom innovation processes" (Porcu 2020, 1557) and mimics previous media innovation research in focusing on individual and organizational perspectives over macro-level viewpoints (Dogruel 2015). Consequently, the framework would benefit from a more integrated view of the factors at play in the media innovation process by including macro-level considerations. This could lead to more holistic analyses of media innovation in the future (cf. Westlund and Lewis 2014).

Moreover, theoretically, the framework aims to de-emphasize the role of technology in the media innovation process and consider "people first, then technology" (Porcu 2020, 1567). However, the current study as well as trends in media and journalism research indicate that technology plays a large role in contemporary journalism (e.g., Küng 2020): The need for innovation is largely motivated by media organizations' challenges in going digital—something that is inherently about technology. Rather than arguing for the centrality of people over technology, the ILC framework could be more useful to scholars if it considered newsroom workers and technologies as equally important factors in media innovation processes (Westlund and Lewis 2014). Moreover, highlighting one over another seems redundant in an age where, for example, intelligent technologies such as social bots are becoming an integral part of organizational life (Laitinen, Laaksonen, and Koivula 2021).

In our empirical case, while radical innovations were hard to achieve, the development network did manage to facilitate the flow of information, ideas, and skills between departments in the organization, allowed members to learn on the job, and, at least in theory, encouraged experimentation. The network's main mission was to enable its members to do better journalism on social media platforms, which partly explains why we did not find much overall resistance to change (cf. Ryfe 2009; Tameling and Broersma 2013). Our findings indicate that a media organization might benefit from adopting a network-like structure in regard to development projects and instilling a sense of ILC in it. This type of organizing for innovation work could be more fruitful than, for example, separate innovation labs which have been seen to lead to the isolation of innovation (Boyles 2016). Furthermore, it should be noted that management can have an organizational hand in encouraging all ILC characteristics. In our case organization, for example, management's role in providing time and space for development work was key as the network was spearheaded by the organization's head of social media (cf. Küng 2020). However, as Hatch and Schultz (1997) remind, social constructivist views on organizational culture acknowledge the inherent paradox of managing and influencing organizational culture as the managers themselves are always part of the same culture. Therefore, in order to better understand the complex relationship between organizational and institutional factors and media innovation, we encourage future studies on media innovation to embrace qualitative and constructivist approaches in addition to the somewhat structuralist and normative views present in many current studies. This notion applies to the ILC framework (Porcu 2020) as well: it claims to adopt a social constructivist approach to organizational culture while also having the goal of making media innovation efforts more tangible in newsrooms.

Finally, this study is not without its limitations. We acknowledge that by building on the ILC framework our view to media innovation and learning cultures adopts a normative stance towards the necessity of innovation in media organizations, including the specific language related to innovation discourse. A more critical approach towards, for example, the ways in which our informants discuss media innovation, could shed further light to the contextual constraints identified in this study. Furthermore, in this study we have focused specifically on the process of innovation and learning as it unfolds in organizational life, but we recognize that media innovation scholarship would also benefit from studies that explicitly measure learning outcomes in relation to ILC. Additionally, management's role in instituting ILC in an organization warrants more examination as overlooking it misses the basic finding in media innovation research in terms of why journalists have resisted innovation: it has been predominantly a top-down management decision (e.g., Sylvie and Gade 2009). Hence, exploring how management can better facilitate learning and innovation through ILC would provide important insights for both researchers and practitioners. Finally, future studies could also take the values of public service broadcasting as their starting point and examine their effects on innovation and development work. Such an approach could result in valuable understandings of how the strategic goals of PSM organizations can contribute to learning and innovation in media organizations.

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III

"I LOVE LEARNING NEW THINGS": AN INSTITUTIONAL LOGICS PERSPECTIVE ON LEARNING IN PROFESSIONAL JOURNALISM

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"I love learning new things": An institutional logics perspective on learning in professional journalism

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Abstract

In contemporary working life, journalists are often faced with the pressures of an increasingly precarious field where employment is less stable and more contractual than in previous years. Consequently, learning as a skill has grown in importance as journalists enter and leave the job market. Previous research has often portrayed professional journalists as unwilling to learn due to the persistence of the institution of journalism. Consequently, this study examines learning in professional journalism through interviews with 30 Finnish journalists. We adopt the institutional logics perspective to examine which institutional logics manifest in journalists' descriptions of learning and how. We identify a labor market logic that highlights how the need to learn continuously to satisfy employer needs is felt as pervasive. Additionally, our analysis suggests that journalists negotiate the technology logic's push for learning digital skills with journalism's professional logic. The analysis also highlights a negotiation of market and professional logics in the journalists' experiences of intensification in relation to learning. Intensification, specifically, may have consequences for journalists' skill levels and occupational well-being.

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Learning, institutional theory, institutional logics, occupational well-being

Introduction

While labor in journalism has historically been precarious due to its nature as a creative field (Örnebring, 2018), the intensifying of neoliberalism as well as the pandemic era and subsequent layoffs have added to the field's precarity (e.g., Quandt and Wahl-Jorgensen, 2021). Recent studies have shown that rather than having careers, journalists now have contracts (Deuze and Witschge, 2018) and that the 'culture of job insecurity' has become a norm in newsrooms (Ekdale et al., 2015). Journalists, faced with uncertain employment and a tumultuous labor market, are increasingly pushed to develop their skills to keep their jobs while their newsroom leaders are faced with trying to produce more journalism with less resources (Cohen, 2015; Min and Fink, 2021). In this environment, learning as a skill in and of itself has become increasingly important for the individual journalist.

This study examines learning in the journalistic profession and argues that it is shaped by multiple institutional logics prevalent in the field of journalism. We consider the phenomenon of learning through the lens of institutional theory with a specific focus on institutional logics. The institutional logics perspective (Thornton et al., 2012) has gained popularity among journalism scholars in recent years: It has been utilized to examine, for example, the institutionalization of fact-checking sites (Lowrey, 2017), the adoption of newsbots (Bélair-Gagnon et al. 2020), and the emergence of product manager roles in news organizations (McMullen Cheng and Bélair-Gagnon, 2022). In this study, we ask which institutional logics can be identified in professional journalists' descriptions of learning and how those logics manifest in their descriptions. Contrary to previous neo-institutional approaches that emphasize the relative stability of the institution of journalism (see e.g., Lowrey, 2011; Laaksonen et al., 2022), the institutional logics perspective highlights agency and accounts for change and diversity in the organizational field (Thornton et al., 2012). It is therefore a suitable framework for examining learning.

In previous research, skill requirements (i.e., the *object* of learning) for professional journalists have been the topic of much debate (see, e.g., Royal et al., 2020; Bro et al., 2016; Nygren, 2014). Recent studies have examined which skills journalists themselves value and found that "traditional skills," such as writing and interviewing, are still respected, but that the demand for "digital" and "technology skills," is increasing (e.g., Min and Fink, 2021; Royal and Kiesow, 2021). Recent research also indicates that the constantly changing skill requirements strain journalists: Rantanen et al. (2021) found that intensified job demands and the fast-paced rhythm of work in the media sector are associated with cognitive stress symptoms at work, such as difficulties in concentration, decision making, and memory. Overall, the intensification of work in general (Kubicek et al., 2015) and journalists' inability to produce quality work as its result have been found to reduce job satisfaction among workers in news media (Reinardy, 2014; Beam, 2006).

Learning as a process has received less attention from journalism scholars. Schunk (2014: 3) defines learning as "an enduring change in behavior, or in the capacity to behave

in a given fashion, which results from practice or other forms of experience." Apart from some studies that examine the process of learning in the newsroom (e.g., Stoker, 2020; Porcu, 2020; Laaksonen et al., 2022), surprisingly little is known about professional journalists' learning amidst their daily work. This gap is partly explained by researchers' focus on innovation as it is generally considered to be the source of competitive advantage for organizations as opposed to learning (e.g., Porcu, 2020). Considered through the lens of institutional theory, journalism studies' relative lack of attention to learning becomes more pronounced. The theory posits that journalists are socialized into the profession and that they often learn how to do journalism through repetition of their colleagues' actions (Ryfe, 2006). This raises the question of what happens next: after socialization, what does the process of on-the-job learning look like for professional journalists and what shapes it?

We build on previous research on newsroom learning and expand knowledge specifically on how journalists employed by news organizations and in different career phases embrace learning rather than focusing on students of journalism or early-career journalists (e.g., Stoker, 2020; Jaakkola, 2018). Furthermore, our utilization of institutional theory enables us to highlight an experience that unifies journalists across organizations: the need to learn continuously is felt as pervasive – no matter the individual skill. The utilization of institutional logics as a theoretical lens allows us to tease out the influences shaping learning in professional journalism: We conceptualize the journalists' perceived need to learn continuously as a labor market logic, i.e., journalists experience a need to learn continuously in order to remain employable. Additionally, we identify how a technology logic may push journalists to learn digital skills and how that push is negotiated against a professional logic, as well as analyze how the interplay of market and professional logics manifests in descriptions of intensification of work among our interviewees in relation to learning. Our findings contribute to research on institutional logics in journalism through the identification of the labor market logic which has only been hinted at in previous work (see e.g., McMullen Cheng and Bélair-Gagnon, 2022), and build new knowledge on learning in professional journalism through the analysis of market and professional logics illustrating the role of intensification in relation to journalists' skill levels and occupational well-being.

Literature review

Institutional logics and journalism

Institutional theory argues that meso-level variables such as ideas, beliefs, values, norms, rules, and practices mediate the relationship between macrostructures such as the economy, law, politics, or journalism, and the micro-actions of individuals and organizations (Ryfe, 2019). In journalism research, there is a general consensus that journalism constitutes an institution even if it being a profession has long been debated (Hanitzsch and Vos, 2017). Most agree that journalism is a social institution in that it enables and constrains individuals' choices, extends over space, and endures over time, and presides over a societal and/or political sector (Cook, 1998). This section outlines the

institutional logics perspective and the following section dives into research on learning connecting it to institutional theory.

Institutions guide practical action through institutional logics. Institutional logics are "socially constructed, historical patterns of cultural symbols and material practices, assumptions, values, and beliefs by which individuals produce and reproduce their material subsistence, organize time and space, and provide meaning to their daily activity" (Thornton and Ocasio, 1999: 804). Unlike neo-institutional approaches, the institutional logics perspective highlights agency and change (Thornton et al., 2012): Logics provide individuals with sense-making frameworks for daily activity as they guide individual action, but the logics may also be shaped by actors in return (Ocasio et al., 2017). As a social institution, journalism has a set of rules that are learned and understood as cultural consensus as to "how we do journalism" (Hanitzsch and Vos, 2017). The day-to-day work of a journalist is guided by assumptions and expectations about legitimate modes of practice (Ryfe, 2006) and decisions at work are often navigated with uncritically accepted norms, rules, and procedures (Cook, 1998). Consequently, journalistic work is marked by routines that can be hard to break and can act as brakes in learning and innovation processes (Paulussen, 2016).

Each institutional domain has a central logic that guides its organizing principles and provides actors with vocabulary of motive and identity (Thornton et al., 2012). Journalism can be conceptualized as a multi-domain constellation where logics arising from news organizations' democratic-capitalist operating environment are multiple and often contradictory (Lischka, 2020). A classic example of conflicting logics is the clash between a professional logic, which is about journalism's role as the fourth estate and its watchdog function over societal domains such as politics and the economy, and the market logic, which arises from media organizations' need to treat news as a product to be sold for profit (Lischka, 2020). Thus, media organizations represent what Brés et al. (2018: 376) term "hybrid organizations," i.e., they face logics that are incompatible or even oppositional. Professional and market logics have been traditionally compartmentalized in media organizations via the separation of editorial and business sides. Research has, however, shown that the two logics can become fused in, for example, audience-oriented journalism (Lischka, 2020).

Recent studies have highlighted the growing role of the technology logic for journalism (e.g., Russell, 2019; Lischka, 2020; Kosterich, 2019). Based on an analysis of the Riptide oral history of digital disruption in journalism, Russell (2019) argues that Silicon Valley can be identified as an emerging institution with power over the institution of journalism. As an institution, Silicon Valley is defined by the shared belief that technological solutions are possible for societal problems, that entrepreneurs are better at innovation than industry incumbents, and that information should flow freely. Later work by Lischka (2020) builds on this characterization by suggesting a technology logic in journalism: At its core, the same belief in digital technologies' capacity to solve societal problems and thus, serve society. In newsrooms, this technology logic has been shown to be negotiated against a professional logic (Kosterich, 2019; Lischka, 2020; see also Laaksonen et al., 2022). Kosterich (2019) shows how journalism's professional logic and the technology logic become fused in "news nerds," a generation of media professionals

who are driven by journalism's democratic agenda and believe problems can be solved through technological applications. Wu et al. (2019), on the other hand, highlight how journalists also tend to resist technology adoption in fear of being replaced by automation. This leads to a situation where, according to Lischka (2020), professional logics are in constant change triggered by technology logics.

In relation to innovation and learning, competing logics may cause challenges: Studying the adoption of newsbots, Bélair-Gagnon et al., (2020) found that newsworkers had to balance their own logics of experimentation, audience orientation, and efficiency with the logic of professional journalism. The authors argue that competing logics are not a defeating proposition for innovation but require careful coordination. The logics reviewed above are not the only logics guiding action in journalism as, for example, managerial logics have also been identified as influential (e.g., Raviola and Dubini, 2016). However, for our analysis, professional, market, and technology logics proved to be the most salient.

Learning in professional journalism

In the past two decades, journalism research has seen multiple accounts of how journalists coming to the digital age have been required a change of pace and skill set. Essentially, multimedia production, taking place around the clock, has forced the journalistic workforce to learn new ways of doing journalism (e.g., Örnebring and Mellado, 2018). These encompass a plethora of skills and competencies varying, for example, from learning to use new technologies (Cornia et al., 2016), dealing with online harassment (Bossio and Holton, 2021) to career skills, such as personal branding (Hedman, 2020). Many of these changes and the subsequent need to learn are consequences of the transformation of news organizations' economic, technological, and social environments as the field has gone through a gradual, yet dramatic, strategic shift. Simultaneously, working life in general has experienced an acceleration of pace, and the resulting intensification of job-related skill demands has been linked to, for example, burnout and lessening job satisfaction (Kubicek et al., 2015).

The changing skill demands have been well-documented in academic research on, for example, newsroom convergence and multiskilling (Bro et al., 2016; Nygren, 2014; Cottle and Ashton, 1999) as well as in studies on ideal skills for both professional journalists (Chew and Tandoc, 2022; Royal et al., 2020; Min and Fink, 2021) and students of journalism (Valencia-Forrester, 2020; Jaakkola, 2018; Mensing and Ryfe, 2013). Some studies have looked at the effects of newsroom culture on learning and innovation (Porcu, 2020; Porcu et al. 2022; Koivula et al., 2022) and, relatedly, still others have examined the effects of mid-career training (Smith et al., 2022; Salzmann et al., 2021). These studies exemplify the amorphous nature of learning in journalism as an object of study: Learning has been examined from multiple viewpoints but studies that focus on the process of learning or its larger institutional context are rare.

In one such study, Stoker (2020) investigated how early career journalists learn ethics and found that her study participants mainly learned ethical conduct from their community of practice and through exposure to formal and informal learning opportunities.

Stoker (2020: 185) shows that journalists drew on their community of practices' "historic and collective wisdom in making sense of ethical approaches to journalistic work." In other words, early career journalists were socialized into the field of journalism (cf. Ryfe, 2016). Moreover, the effect of a journalist's social environment on learning has been noted in other works too: Porcu (2020: 1559) suggests that legacy media newsrooms would benefit from an "innovative learning culture" (ILC) which propels newsroom members to "work and learn together" and ultimately gives the organization a competitive advantage over its competitors. Learning is considered as a key process leading up to innovation and seen normatively as a tool to improve a media organization's economic stance. The ILC framework, however, has also been argued to lack a holistic view into institutional factors shaping learning in news organizations (Koivula et al., 2022).

Learning in journalism can take place both formally through degree programs and training as well as informally in the newsroom. Studies examining mid-career training often find journalists a hard audience: Researching mobile journalism training in German newsrooms, Salzmann et al. (2021) found that turning print journalists into multitasking, fast-thinking, and fast-acting smartphone video reporters was an ambitious goal that conflicted with the reporters' professional identities and established skill sets. Similarly, Smith et al. (2022) examined the effects of a science training course for political reporters and found that while the journalists wrote with more certainty in their published pieces after the training, there was only a modest increase in the use of scientific material, such as peer-reviewed studies. These findings are in line with the long tradition of research depicting journalists as unwilling to change (e.g., Tameling and Broersma, 2013; Ekdale et al., 2015).

Finally, Örnebring (2019) notes that the majority of research that addresses skills has been conducted from the perspective of the journalism educator. These studies tend to ask if students of journalism have the skills they need to be employed as journalists (see e.g., Jaakkola, 2018). However, in the light of the increased precarity in journalism, addressing the same question becomes salient in relation to professional journalists. As McMullen Cheng and Bélair-Gagnon (2022) illustrate, journalism professionals especially in R&D roles experience a "logic of precarity" through multiple changes in tenureship in relatively short periods of time, i.e., they enter and leave the labor market quite steadily. In this context, the ability to learn new skills manifests as a way to increase employability and manage the precarity of the field.

In sum, we see that due to precarity journalists are increasingly expected to take care of their employability by learning new skills. Constantly changing skill requirements, however, have been found to induce stress for media workers (Rantanen et al., 2021). Against this backdrop, on-the-job learning can become an arduous task. Institutional theory, on the other hand, highlights socialization into the journalistic profession, but fails to ask what happens after. Institutional logics, accounting for change within fields (Thornton et al., 2012), help in shedding light on how learning among professional journalists may be shaped by the institution of journalism as well as other institutions. It is noteworthy that institutional logics can also be contradictory, and result in rivalries, collaborations, or hybrid logics (cf. Belair-Gagnon et al., 2020). This "institutional complexity" (Oostervink et al., 2016) may complicate learning. Hence, we

ask: *In professional journalists' descriptions of learning, which institutional logics can be identified and how do the logics manifest*?

Data and method

Research context and data collection

We collected data from March to June 2020. We interviewed 30 Finnish journalists who had taken part in a quantitative survey research about media workers' occupational well-being in September 2019 and indicated that they were willing to be interviewed further. Due to the COVID-19 pandemic, interviews were conducted on the phone and through videoconferencing systems such as Zoom. The average length of an interview was 58 min with the longest taking 119 min and the shortest 38 min. Participants were informed of their rights in accordance with the European data protection regulations and they were promised anonymity in the reporting of data. Thus, all interviewees are given ordinal numbers in the Findings section.

Our interview guide covered four themes in addition to background information about the interviewee: (1) work and changes in the media field, (2) digitalization in media work, (3) well-being at work, and (4) future of media work. Interviews were carried out by first and second authors as well as a research assistant, recorded, and professionally transcribed. We opted for a semi-structured approach to allow our interviewees to describe and explain the themes they felt were important (Kvale, 2007). Interview questions covered, for example, the interviewee's working history as a journalist, changes in skill requirements, and technologies used in daily work.

Interviewees' job titles include, but are not limited to, journalist, news reporter, editor, and sports journalist. Participants' employers represent a variety of media outlets in Finland: newspapers of different sizes, radio, and TV. 17 of our interviewees identified themselves as female and 13 as male. Age-wise, our youngest interviewee was 27 and oldest 63, with the mean age being 45 years. Participants' experience in the field of media and journalism ranged from 5 to 42 years with an average of 21 years. Interviewees' titles, size of their employer, and sector of work are shown in Table 1.

Data analysis

All interview transcripts were imported into the analysis software Atlas.ti and read through several times by the first author and subsequently discussed among all authors. We examined our data with an iterative approach, letting the data speak for itself but also considering it through previous research (Tracy, 2019). An iterative approach moves abductively between inductive data analysis and deductive considerations of existing theory (Huffman et al., 2019).

In practice, in the first phase of the analysis process, the interview transcripts were read through twice: the first reading focused on determining *what* was present in the data, i.e., which themes and topics our interviewees were discussing. The topic of skills and learning had emerged as early as the data collection phase and the first, preliminary

Table 1. Interviewees' titles, sectors of work, and sizes of employer.

Interviewee	Title	Sector of work	Size of employer
J1	Reporter, host	Radio	National
J2	News journalist	TV, radio, online	National
J3	Culture reporter	Newspaper	Local
J4	Foreign news reporter	TV, radio, online	National
J5	Foreign news reporter	TV, radio, online	National
J6	News journalist	Newspaper	National
J7	Foreign news reporter	News agency	National
J8	News journalist	Newspaper	National
J9	Reporter, host	Radio	National
J10	News journalist	News agency	National
J11	News journalist	Newspaper	National
J12	Photographer	Magazine	National
J13	News journalist	Newspaper	National
J14	Editor-in-chief	Newspaper	Local
J15	News journalist	Magazine	National
J16	News journalist	Newspaper	Regional
J17	Sports journalist	Newspaper	National
J18	News journalist	Newspaper	Regional
J19	journalist, opinion editor	Newspaper	Regional
J20	Production coordinator	TV	National
J21	News journalist	Newspaper	Regional
J22	Reporter, host	Radio	Regional
J23	News journalist	Newspaper	Regional
J24	Culture reporter	Newspaper	Regional
J25	News journalist	News agency	National
J26	News journalist	Newspaper	Local
J27	News journalist	Newspaper, radio	Regional
J28	News journalist	Newspaper	Regional
J29	News journalist	Newspaper	National
J30	Editor-in-chief	Newspaper	Local

reading of data determined that the theme could be explored further. During subsequent readings, the first author coded the data in relation to the theme of learning and by looking for, for example, descriptions of learning experiences and mentions of skills. This resulted in 28 descriptive codes, such as "learning new things", "handling all outlets", and "visuality, visual thinking."

A close reading and thematic coding of these descriptive categories allowed us to identify larger analytical themes, which led to three categories: the labor market logic, the negotiation of professional and technology logics, and the negotiation of professional and market logics. From these, the labor market logic was identified more inductively based on our participants' descriptions, whereas the negotiation of technology and professional

logics as well as the negotiation of professional and market logics were identified based on previous research arguing for the centrality of these logics.

Findings

Our research question asked which institutional logics can be identified in journalists' descriptions of learning and how the logics manifest in those descriptions. The analysis led to three analytical categories representing the logics: the labor market logic, the negotiation of professional and technology logics, and the negotiation of professional and market logics. The section below starts by outlining the labor market logic which, to our knowledge, has not been conceptualized explicitly in journalism research previously. We then turn to how our participants negotiated the skill demands arising from the technology logic with the professional logic and close the section with an analysis of the interplay of market and professional logics, which, through the intensification of work, enable and constrain learning.

The labor market logic

> *Everyone has to re-educate themselves. Especially middle-aged journalists like me.* (J2)

The quote above, coming from a news reporter working for a national news outlet, embodies our key finding well: the need to learn continuously is felt and seen as pervasive among our interviewees. Being able to learn was seen as an important skill in and of itself for a journalist to have. As one of our participants, a newspaper reporter (J28), put it: "If I'm not actively developing myself, I'll fall behind very soon." This learning ability was extended to, for example, learning new ways of working, such as mastering new technologies, learning about story topics, or just plain speed – learning how to get one's job done faster. This need to continuously learn was motivated by journalists' perceptions about employability: They saw learning as a skill that would keep them employed both currently and in the future. Hence, the journalists' perceived need to learn continuously can be conceptualized as a *labor market logic* that pushes individual journalists to learn 1) to meet the needs of their current employer and 2) to be successful in the labor market in the future.

In discussions related to the precarity of the journalistic field, our interviewees saw learning new skills as a strategy for securing employment. A magazine journalist stated that "I'm 48 and halfway through my career. I have 20 years left until retirement, so I think learning these digital skills is the most important thing for me" (J15). Our interviewees were keenly aware of the relationship between their willingness to learn and their future chances of employment. This finding is further highlighted when considered through the distribution of working experience among our interviewees: No matter how long they had been in the field, journalists recognized the need to learn – variance was found in their willingness to do so. Journalists with less than 10 years of working experience tended to view the continuous need to learn as normal while journalists with more than 30 years of

working experience were quite reserved about mastering new skills. Journalists falling in between these groups, i.e., those with more than 10 but less than 30 years of experience had more ambivalent attitudes toward learning. The following excerpts illustrate these varying attitudes:

> *Just to keep your job, like I've done so many different things and never said no to any task. – – In the future, I think it's so important that you're able to embrace [new] things.* (J6, seven years of experience)

> *For someone my age, learning these [technical] things is somewhat hard already. Retirement is so close that I really have no ambition other than surviving these last couple of years.* (J10, 32 years of experience)

These findings can be explained by the times the journalists entered the field: Newer entrants arrived at a field disrupted by technologies and disintegrating business models, whereas journalists with 10–30 years of experience had entered the profession at a relatively stable moment only to find their skills insufficient later. For those nearing retirement, learning had no specific purpose anymore as their careers were ending. Importantly, however, all recognized the need to learn continuously.

The labor market logic could also be identified in our participants' talk of the daily requirements and practices of their work. They saw that learning was an essential skill in producing good journalism as news organizations have moved from the beat reporting system toward employing more general assignment reporters due to shrinking budgets. This shift requires journalists to be able to take in sizable amounts of information in a short period of time (i.e., to learn about story topics) and present that information to audiences as if they are experts in it. Journalists approached the change from beat to general assignment reporting in different ways. Where one journalist delighted in getting to learn about a new topic each day, others saw the decline of expertise as a threat to the quality of journalism as the following quotes illustrate:

> *I get to take in new interesting topics, new interesting themes every day and I learn so much from that, which is so valuable to me because I love learning new things. – – If I'm bored at work, I'll read Wikipedia.* (J7)

> *It's a shame that expertise is disappearing. Now you should just know everything about everything, which easily leads to a situation where nobody knows nothing.* (J10)

Our participants also discussed how general assignment reporting tasks are going to keep increasing, indicating that related skills will be necessary when entering the job market in the future. A reporter (J6) said, "People who can embrace new things fast and play expert in them, we need that kind of people." In other words, journalists were aware of how they should meet employer demands through learning in order to succeed in both their current organization and in the labor market in the future.

Negotiating technology and professional logics

The analysis indicates that our participants used professional logics to combat the effect of the technology logic in relation to learning. The technology logic could be seen to push journalists to learn digital skills, such as cross-platform production, which did not always align with what the journalists thought journalism should be about, i.e., the profession's watchdog role. Journalists negotiated this tension with three methods: (1) they evaluated the need to learn through its usefulness to filling the watchdog role, (2) they assessed learning in relation to the quality of journalism, and (3) they questioned the need to learn as a chase after "shiny new things" (Posetti, 2018). Taken together, these methods can be seen to mirror the professional logic of journalism. Consequently, the role of the technology logic for learning in journalism gets downplayed by the journalists with the use of a more dominant professional logic.

The technology logic manifested in this study as the main driver of skill requirements. From the viewpoint of institutional theory, skill requirements can be seen as traits for an imagined ideal journalist that sets the bar for institutionally legitimate behavior (cf. Lowrey, 2017). Our participants' descriptions of how skill requirements have changed or which skills they will need in the future reflect how journalists are trying to come to terms with the increasing digitalization of their profession: While traditional skills, like writing and general knowledge, were still present in their descriptions, most devoted time to talking about the importance of digital skills. In the interviews, journalists talked of skills such as understanding data and audience analytics, being able to produce journalistic content to social media platforms, and being able to use different types of software. The following quote, coming from a radio reporter, illustrates how a seasoned journalist is struggling to adjust to the demands of producing journalism to digital platforms, i.e., how the technology-related skill demands are met with journalism's professional logic:

> *For radio reporters, there's now pictures, video, editing, and all that… - - And it requires a whole different thinking process. If I go out in the field, I'm focusing on radio even though I know I should also get stuff for social media and pictures, video and so on.* (J1)

Journalists tended to assess the usefulness of learning in relation to producing quality journalism on one hand, and on fulfilling journalism's watchdog role as the guardian of democracy on the other. These aspects were also at times intertwined as producing good journalism entailed fulfilling journalism's role as the fourth estate for many of our participants. In the interviews, journalists described their (un)willingness to learn through their assessment of whether learning gave them the ability to do better journalism or whether it took time from them to do good journalism. The following quotes illustrate both of these attitudes toward learning. It is also noteworthy that both interviewees discuss digital skills in relation to doing quality work:

> *When I've mastered these digital things, I really want the chance to do good digital content like producing quality [content] for the web. Or to be able to do something new, like podcasts.* (J15)

> *I really don't have the energy to learn all the nitty-gritty [technical] stuff. Like what I said about being on-call [for the website], there are so many little things you need to remember, like I'm not interested in that. I just want to do the job.* (J11)

In relation to the watchdog role, a key tenet in our participants' descriptions was the highlighting of the relative stability of "what journalism is" in relation to the rapidly changing technological environment. In other words, the professional logic provided the institutionally legitimate baseline for approaching the phenomenon of digitalization and the associated skill requirements. For example, a reporter (J4) talked about understanding algorithmic decision-making at length but then finished off with a note highlighting journalism's meaning for society: "I don't think journalism's basic nature is going to change. We tell people important and meaningful stories and contextualize them."

Finally, technology and professional logics were negotiated by questioning the need to learn altogether. This took place only rarely, but when it did, learning was often equated with journalism's chase for "shiny new things" (Posetti, 2018). Specifically, those participants that expressed critical views wondered what the consequences of continuous learning and adoption of new technologies are for the journalistic work process and journalism's societal role. A culture reporter (J3) described how many digital tools were made to simplify her work but then asked "what's the overall benefit of them? I can't see it." Similarly, a magazine reporter (J15) was worried how learning digital skills might affect the journalistic production process: "But all that learning, I wonder if it takes up room from something slower but important, like editing." Again, the technology logic was met with a dominant professional logic.

Negotiating market and professional logics

Our analysis suggests that the market logic may function both as an enabler and constraint for learning among professional journalists. This was visible in our participants' descriptions of intensification of work which can be understood as an individual's need to work faster, multitask more, and invest more and more effort in their everyday work (Kubicek et al., 2015). Essentially, the market logic has pushed individual journalists to be able to learn about story topics more widely than before as it has driven newsrooms to size down and emphasize general assignment reporting. On the other hand, it has also induced time pressures on journalists as less journalists are taking on the same or even a bigger workload while other resources have not increased. These pressures are often met with a professional logic that can be seen to motivate journalists to produce quality journalism to serve society. Consequently, the market and professional logics present journalists with conflicting demands in relation to learning: the market logic highlights the need to learn on a wider scale and faster than before while the professional logic emphasizes the journalists' need to simultaneously produce quality journalism that serves society. The experience of intensification can be identified as journalists describe these pressures in their daily work.

In the interviews, our participants described how intensification in journalism is not merely about winning the race for news but rather about a more comprehensive

intensification of all work. This manifested in their talk about, for example, learning about story topics, which many felt there was not enough time to do. A radio reporter specializing in food journalism (J9) said, "you have to know everything in a very short amount of time. You don't have enough time to familiarize yourself with these topics in the same way [as before]." Similarly, a foreign news reporter (J5) reflected on the rapid pace of change in her newsroom, where technological change and the requirement to learn new software felt demanding:

> *Sometimes it feels like we have these pretty intense periods of like, there's something new all the time, and you don't have the time to take it all in. Like I was on a pretty long sick leave and when I came back it felt like all the software had changed. Usually, I think new is good but sometimes it just feels like 'oh no, something new, again.'* (J5)

Furthermore, the phenomenon of intensification arising from the interplay of the market and professional logics was visible in how journalists talked about their ability to make use of new skills in daily work. Essentially, journalists described how, due to time pressures, they rarely had the chance to solidify new skills through repetition. A journalist (J3) explained how their employer provided training for the use of a new content management system but how the things taught in that training never went to use as there was no time to make use of the skills in daily work. Similarly, a magazine journalist detailed how the time pressure she experienced daily influenced her ability to hone her skills:

> *We've had video training, for example, -- but the problem is that afterward, we don't have the time or resources to do anything. You spend a day or a half in training, but you never have the time to use those skills in your work and they're forgotten and wasted.* (J15)

In this sense, the market logic may also constrain learning: as it pushes journalists to perform their work efficiently, it may decrease journalists' chances to make use of new skills in the long-term. This could have ramifications for journalists' skill-levels in the future as well as consequences for occupational well-being as the intensification of job demands has been shown to lead to burnout and decreasing job satisfaction (Kubicek et al., 2015; Rantanen et al., 2021).

Discussion

This study examined learning in professional journalism through the analytical lens of institutional logics (Thornton et al., 2012). Drawing from institutional theory and previous research on learning in journalism, we identified the labor market logic, the negotiation of technology and professional logics, and the negotiation of market and professional logics as influential for learning among professional journalists. The findings contribute to research on both institutional logics in journalism as well as learning in the journalistic profession. Firstly, the conceptualization of the labor market logic sheds light on why journalists experience the need to learn as pervasive regardless of their position in

the field: Journalists' perceived need to learn continuously stemmed from their experience of precarity and learning functioned as a mechanism to control their employability in their current organization and when entering the job market. Previous research in journalism studies by McMullen Cheng and Bélair-Gagnon (2022) has identified a potential "logic of precarity" among news product personnel and operationalized it as relatively frequent changes in tenureship. Our analysis indicates that the logic of precarity may be more aptly conceptualized as a labor market logic that can push journalists to embrace learning to meet current and future employer needs. Furthermore, the labor market logic offers an instrument for examining precarity in journalism and future studies should continue to conceptualize it in more detail through, for example, ideal type typologies as proposed by Thornton et al. (2012).

Secondly, the negotiation between technology and market logics identified in the analysis aligns with previous research in highlighting how the technology logic, while introducing new skill requirements to the field of journalism, is often met with a dominant professional logic (cf. Russell, 2019; Lischka, 2020). Journalists in this study assessed skill demands based on their usefulness in relation to journalism's watchdog role and their personal ability to produce quality journalism while at times questioning the need to learn in the first place. These tactics can be interpreted as journalists' attempt to reduce institutional complexity (Oostervink et al., 2016) arising from the competing logics. Notably, our analysis did not indicate that the technology logic would have been adopted without critique on the individual level as the journalists did not speak of technologies as serving society without also implicating the professional logic (cf. Wu et al., 2019). This finding also speaks to previous research in the neo-institutional tradition that has directed attention to media organizations' increased dependence on platform companies (e.g., Laaksonen et al., 2022). While on the macro-level media organizations seem to be showing isomorphic tendencies in their adaptation to the platform economy, analysis of the individual level shows that variance and even opposition to the institution of digital technology can still be found.

Thirdly, the analysis of market and professional logics highlights the journalists' experience of intensification of work (Kubicek et al., 2015). In relation to learning, the two logics posed journalists with conflicting demands when the market logic pushes journalists to embrace learning on a wider scope than previously but also to do it faster, while the professional logic demands journalists' also produce journalism that serves societal needs. As these pressures are in conflict with each other, being constantly forced to negotiate the competing logics might have consequences for journalists' occupational well-being: Being unable to produce the best work one can may lead to decreasing job satisfaction (Reinardy, 2014; Beam, 2006). Moreover, the presence of the experience of intensification also subjects journalists to an increased risk of burnout (cf. Kubicek et al., 2015; Rantanen et al., 2021).

Contrary to previous research on learning and innovation, this study found variance in attitudes toward learning: Our participants were not completely unwilling to change as many newsroom studies suggest journalists are (cf. Tameling and Broersma, 2013; Ekdale et al., 2015). This is due to the study's adoption of the institutional logics perspective which allows the highlighting of diversity of experiences within a field. Furthermore, the

study's focus on learning instead of innovation merits a notion: while journalism innovation research often concludes that news organizations are incapable and/or unwilling to produce innovations and thus secure their future (see Koivula et al., 2022), less attention has been devoted to the mechanism through which this comes to be. Learning allows for the building of routines which make new learning more difficult to achieve (Edmondson and Moingeon, 1996). Rather than seeing learning normatively as a mechanism to gain skills and develop innovations, it should be viewed as a "faulty mechanism" (Edmondson and Moingeon, 1996: 19) where routines represent an inventory of past learning. This applies specifically to news organizations that, in the process of producing news, constantly have to "routinize the unexpected" (Tuchman, 1973) in order to be efficient and maintain editorial independence (Tandoc and Duffy, 2019). Hence, examining learning instead of innovation reveals a more nuanced picture of why change might be difficult in newsrooms.

Finally, this study is not without limitations. To establish a causal link between institutional logics and learning on the individual level, a different methodology should be applied. Furthermore, the study's connection to a research project examining digitalization in media work may highlight the role of technology more than what a dataset collected with a different focus would. However, it is noteworthy that news organizations' need for learning is largely motivated by the organizations' challenges in going digital (Küng, 2020). Hence, it could be fruitful to examine whether journalism's professional logic has changed over time to accommodate the demands of the technology logic.

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